

HERITAGE TURKEY

BRITISH INSTITUTE AT ANKARA



Volume 5 | 2015

The British Institute at Ankara (BIAA) supports, enables and encourages research in Turkey and the Black Sea region in a wide range of fields including archaeology, ancient and modern history, heritage management, social sciences and contemporary issues in public policy and political sciences. Founded in 1948, the BIAA was incorporated in the 1956 cultural agreement between the Republic of Turkey and the United Kingdom. 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.

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

The Institute uses its financial, practical and administrative resources to conduct high-quality research. The overall focus of the research sponsored by the BIAA is on history, society and culture from prehistory to the present day, with particular attention to the ideas of Turkey as a crossroads, Turkey's interactions with the Black Sea region and its other neighbours, and Turkey as a distinctive creative and cultural hub in global and neighbourhood perspectives. The BIAA supports a number of projects grouped within its Strategic Research Initiatives, which reflect current research concerns in the international and the UK academic communities. These are: Habitat and settlement in prehistoric, historical and environmental perspective; Migration, minorities and regional identities; Cultural heritage, society and economy in Turkey; Religion and politics in historical perspective; Climate and its historical and current impact. The Institute also offers a range of grants, scholarships and fellowships to support undergraduate to postdoctoral research.

The BIAA is an organisation that welcomes new members. As its role in Turkey develops and extends to new disciplines, it hopes to attract the support of academics, students and others who have diverse interests in Turkey and the Black Sea region. The annual subscription entitles members to: copies of the annual journal, *Anatolian Studies*, the annual magazine, *Heritage Turkey*, and newsletters; a 20% discount on BIAA monographs published by Oxbow Books and a 30% discount on books relating to Turkey published by I.B.Tauris; use of the Institute's facilities in Ankara, including the hostel, research library, laboratories and extensive research and archival collections; attend all BIAA lectures, events and receptions held in London or elsewhere in the UK; nominate candidates for and stand for election to the Institute's Council of Management; discounts on Turkish holidays organised by travel firms closely associated with the BIAA. Membership including subscription to *Anatolian Studies* costs £50 per year (or £25 for students and unwaged).

To join the Institute, or for further information about its work, please contact us at

British Institute at Ankara, 10 Carlton House Terrace, London SW1Y 5AH | biaa@britac.ac.uk | www.biaa.ac.uk

Council of Management 2015

Chairman Sir David Logan

Honorary Secretary Shahina Farid

Honorary Treasurer Anthony Sheppard

Elected Members Dr Othon Anastasakis, Dr Gülnur Aybet, Dr Simon Corcoran, Dr Katerina Delacoura, Dr Warren Dockter, Professor Deniz Kandiyoti, Dr Neil Macdonald, Professor Stephen Mitchell, Dr Claire Norton, Dr Aylin Orbaşlı, Professor Scott Redford, Mrs Jill Sindall

President Professor David Hawkins; **Vice-Presidents** Sir Timothy Daunt and Sir Matthew Farrer

Honorary Vice-President His Excellency Mr Abdurrahman Bilgiç

Director Dr Lutgarde Vandeput

The British Institute at Ankara is an independent academic institution. It is committed to freedom of expression and has no governmental or party-political connections. As an institution devoted to the principle of academic freedom, research and activities sponsored by the BIAA may sometimes address issues which are politically sensitive. The BIAA accepts no responsibility for views expressed or conclusions reached in research and activities which it sponsors.

© British Institute at Ankara 2015.

A company limited by guarantee, registered in England No. 477436.

Registered Office: 10 Carlton House Terrace, London SW1Y 5AH. Charity Commission Reference 313940.

Edited by Gina Coulthard.

ISSN 2045-3272.

Printed in the United Kingdom at Bell & Bain Ltd, Glasgow.

The front cover features a stone figurine found this year at Çatalhöyük.

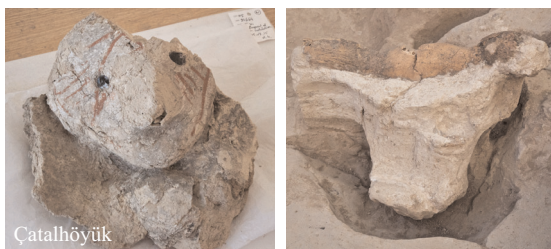
HERITAGE TURKEY

British Institute at Ankara Research Reports

Volume 5 | 2015

Contents

-
- 2 NEWS & EVENTS**
2 A letter from the Director *Lutgarde Vandeput*
-
- 3 CLIMATE AND ITS HISTORICAL & CURRENT IMPACT**
3 Quaternary environments in the upper catchment of the Kura river, northeastern Turkey: a context for early human occupation and migration *Darrel Maddy*
6 Life on the frontier: climate and landscape change in Byzantine Anatolia, AD 500–1200 *Warren J. Eastwood*
7 The challenges of introducing climate-responsive urban development to Mardin *Ender Peker*
-
- 8 MIGRATION, MINORITIES & REGIONAL IDENTITIES**
8 Sexualities in Roman Asia Minor *Sanja Vucetic*
9 Sun, sea and smack? Smugglers in the Ottoman and post-Ottoman Mediterranean *Daniel-Joseph MacArthur-Seal*
12 Balkan Futures in 2015 *Marc Herzog*
-
- 13 RELIGION & POLITICS IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE**
13 Bodies of evidence: the historic cemeteries of Çatalhöyük *Sophie Moore & Michelle Gamble*
15 Rethinking the role of the *ulama* in Turkey *Ceren Lord*
16 The ‘silent revolution’ of Cyprus *Neophytos Loizides*
17 Songs of fire and ice: contentious politics, regime response and state capacity in Turkey and Russia *Marc Herzog*
-
- 18 HABITAT & SETTLEMENT**
18 Boncuklu: the spread of farming and the antecedents of Çatalhöyük *Douglas Baird*
21 New discoveries and our interpretations of Çatalhöyük *Ian Hodder*
24 Lower Göksu Archaeological Salvage Survey Project *Naoise Mac Sweeney & Teyfik Emre Şerifoğlu*
26 Çaltılar Archaeology Project 2015 *Alan M. Greaves*
27 Continuity and interaction in the Iron Age of central Anatolia *Orlene McIlfrick*
30 Settlement, colonisation and Black Sea networks: Early Iron Age to Classical Sinope *Jane Rempel*
-
- 32 CULTURAL HERITAGE, SOCIETY & ECONOMY**
32 Archaeological- and eco-tourism in Pisidia *Işıl Gürsu*
34 Aspendos: cultural heritage management and the theatre *Işıl Gürsu & Lutgarde Vandeput*
36 Using digital technologies to create meaningful social and cultural experiences at archaeological sites *Sara Perry*
38 Devotion and desecration: Artemon and Nenas’ dedications in the Cabalia (northern Lycia) *Catherine M. Draycott*
40 The Ottoman archaeology and architecture of Bulgaria *Andrew Petersen*
-



From the Director, Lutgarde Vandeput

Ankara, November 2015

doi:10.18866/biaa2015.104

Dear members,

A lot of changes have taken place in the course of this year. Most importantly, Marc Herzog completed his four-year term as Assistant Director of the Institute at the end of August. Marc did a great job; he realised a wide array of activities on contemporary Turkey, raised the BIAA's profile and built up a solid network of institutions and scientists on which the Institute will be able to draw in the future. We wish him a wonderful future career and hope that he has benefitted as much from his time with us as we have from having worked with him. The torch of Assistant Director has now been handed over to Leonidas Karakatsanis, a name that may be familiar to many of you. Leo was indeed previously a BIAA postdoctoral fellow. This familiarity with the Institute has proved a great advantage, and Leo has been able to hit the ground running since his appointment.



Marc (braving the snow without a coat!) and Leo (in black and white hat) with other Institute staff members and scholars

As always, September saw us welcoming new postdoctoral research fellows. This year, Elisabetta Costa has joined us as the BIAA postdoctoral fellow. She is a social anthropologist and will be working on the use of social media by the Kurdish population of Ankara. We wish her a fruitful year and hope that she will enjoy her stay at the BIAA. A Strategic Research Development grant from the British Academy's BASIS committee has enabled us to grant a postdoctoral fellowship within the framework of a project focusing on diplomatic relations between Turkey and the UK, entitled 'Turkey and Britain 1914–1952: from enemies to allies'. After a thorough selection process, we granted the fellowship to Daniel-Joseph MacArthur-Seal, one of the 2014–2015 BIAA postdoctoral fellows. Together with the management team of the project, Daniel will be a driving force behind the four workshops that are to be organised in the UK and Turkey as part of this programme (<http://fromenemiestoallies.com/>).

You may have noticed that, unlike the previous three years, we have just one BIAA postdoctoral fellow for the 2015–2016 period. Bearing in mind the upcoming spending review, we decided to focus some funds on tackling several pending 'issues' during the current financial year. The first consists of sorting out the legal status of the BIAA in Turkey. This unresolved issue has become a serious problem in recent years and has hindered us in making even the smallest administrative changes. Currently, the Institute's legal advisors are finalising the preparation of an application to become a *temsilcilik*, i.e. a representative body of a foreign organisation (the British Institute at Ankara) here in Turkey. All looks good at the moment and we hope the process will be successfully completed during the current financial year.

Those of you who have not been to the Ankara premises in the past year or so are in for a pleasant surprise when you come to visit us next. New coats of paint and new flooring in many areas have vamped up the premises considerably. In addition, the kitchen has been refurbished and the flat on the second floor redecorated. We now feel as if we are working in a new building!

As in previous years, this edition of *Heritage Turkey* offers an overview of the results of the many research projects carried out in the course of 2014–2015 under the auspices of the Institute. I hope you will enjoy reading about them.

With best wishes,

Lutgarde Vandeput

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 Strategic Research Initiative 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.

Quaternary environments in the upper catchment of the Kura river, northeastern Turkey: a context for early human occupation and migration

Darrel Maddy | Newcastle University

With Tuncer Demir, Tom Veldkamp, Serdar Aytaç, Philip Glauberman, Jessica Playle and Lola Yusuf

doi:10.18866/biaa2015.105

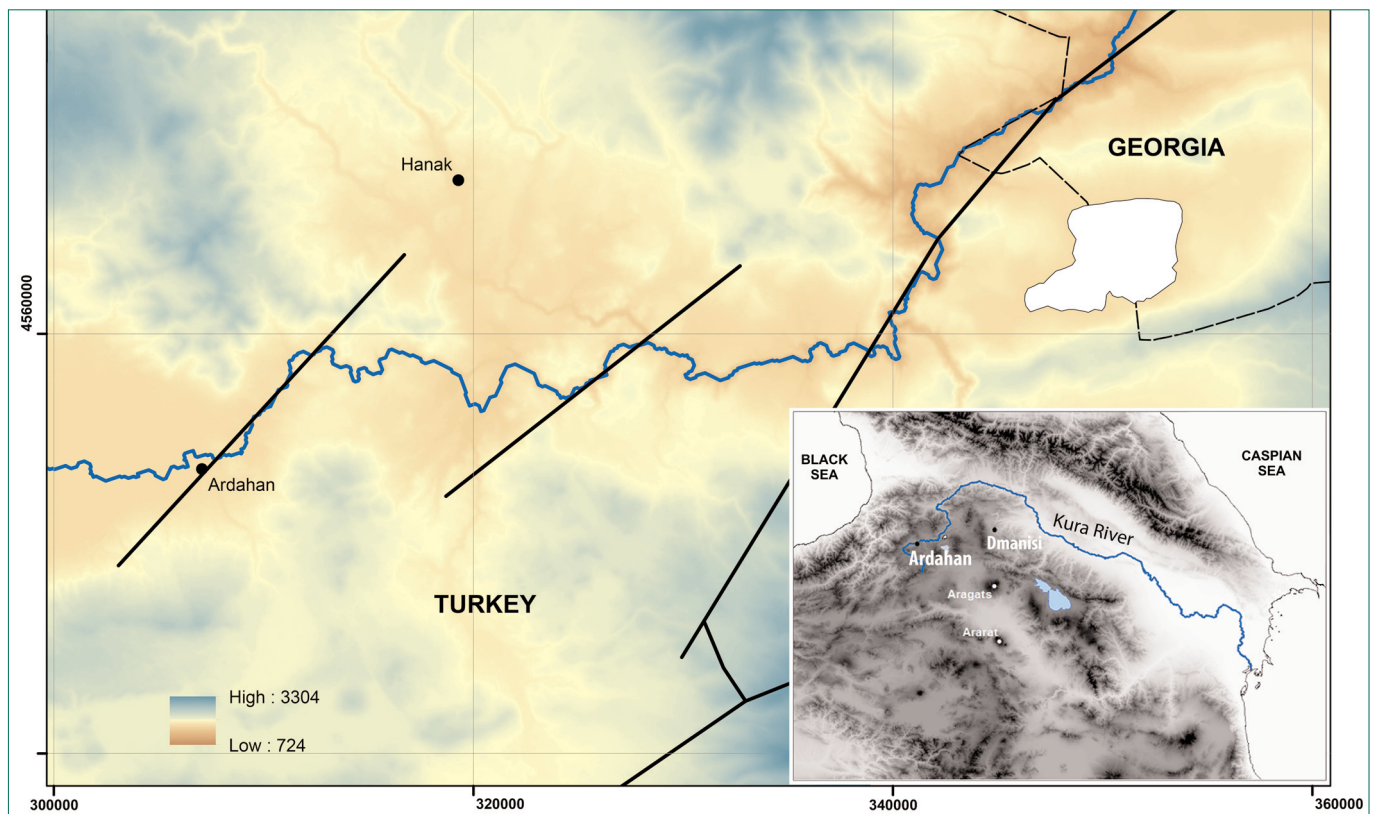
In this final year of our British Institute at Ankara pilot project we concentrated on obtaining higher-resolution landscape data in areas of particular interest to our overall study. One such area is the sequence of ancestral Kura river terraces around the village of Sevimli (see map over page) from which we reported a 'first look' last year here in *Heritage Turkey*. Although there are traditional maps of much of the study region, they contain only comparatively crude landscape data in the form of coarse interpolated contour maps. These maps at best display data using 10m contour intervals which is often too coarse a resolution to represent many of the landforms of interest to our study. There is also no prospect of obtaining access to aerial photographs for the area of interest, especially as this region lies close to international borders. This problem is not uncommon for large parts of the world, and so in recent years many researchers have turned to a new source of information, specifically remotely-sensed data, to improve the resolution of available topographic information. Satellite data have become widely available but are often only free at coarse spatial resolutions (for example Google Earth), with high-resolution data available only to those with large budgets. Thankfully there is a new, cost-effective way to obtain high-resolution topographic data by utilising consumer-grade cameras mounted on unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs). Overlapping low-altitude photographs can be processed using traditional photogrammetry techniques, in combination with newly developed algorithms (specifically Structure from

Motion or SfM algorithms), to produce very high-resolution digital surface height models (DSMs). These UAVs, or drones, have received large amounts of negative press recently, but here is just one example of the many positive benefits they offer. Although many westerners fear the invasion of privacy, here in the sparsely populated areas of the Kura valley local residents were very curious to see the UAVs in action and our frequently abrupt terminations of early flights (i.e. crashing into hillsides) were a source of much amusement both to the local children and to those members of our research team not responsible for ensuring a successful outcome! Although flights are largely autonomous, the rough terrain meant both take-offs and landings were performed manually, a skill which took some time to master.

This new drone method can yield superb results but it does require many hands helping out. Fortunately, this year we were joined in our fieldwork by two student fieldwork apprentices, Jessica Playle and Lola Yusuf, who were successful in receiving sponsorship from the Royal Geographical Society. Both are undergraduate students in



Tuncer Demir prepares the Skywalker 1900 UAV for a mapping mission



General topography of the Kura catchment close to the Turkey-Georgia border. Grid represents UTM Zone 38 coordinates

geography at Newcastle University and both played a crucial role in helping us to deliver the outcomes of this fieldwork. Neither student had previously been to eastern Turkey but both quickly settled into the fieldwork routine and started to appreciate the delights of the local cuisine and the ‘unusual’ animal-sourced materials used to build walls around dwellings (and, one presumes, used for fuel in the winter).

Our aerial photography was undertaken using a 12M pixel Canon S100 digital camera mounted in a 1.9m wingspan Skywalker fixed-wing air frame. The aerial photography mission requires relatively precise control over the location of each photograph in order to achieve the necessary ~60% overlap and sidelap in images. The flight route for the aerial mapping mission is pre-planned using open-source ground-control software and the mission transferred to an on-board flight controller (in our case a 3DR Pixhawk) which is linked to an on-board GPS. For the orthophoto shown in the figure on the next page (figure A) the mission required a mosaic of 222 photos taken at an altitude of ~120m above ground level. At this height each photo pixel covers a ground area of ~7cm². The data were processed in Agisoft Photoscan Professional software using a number of ground-control points measured to 2cm accuracy via a differential single frequency GPS system. The end result is a highly accurate DSM, accurate to within ~14cm in ground position and ~30cm in height. This level of accuracy is beyond that of commercially available satellite data and it serves as a detailed base map for all subsequent work.

Figure B shows a section of the mapped area immediately south of the deeply incised modern Kura river valley. Using a hill-shade of the DSM we can, despite the obvious agricultural modifications, clearly identify at least two high-level strath (erosional) river terraces cut into the underlying lava flow. These terraces must therefore postdate the lava flow but they must also predate the vertical incision of the Kura. The surface morphology of the lava flow indicates that it emanated from the south and flowed northwards into a contemporary ancestral Kura river valley which had its axis, indicated by a surface depression, to the south of the strath terraces. This is also confirmed by the subsurface data we see at outcrop. Indeed, as suggested last year, this lava flow blankets a palaeolandscape which includes the contemporary valley floor and at least two higher aggradational river terraces to the south. These pre-lava terraces have 5m+ of fluvially-deposited sediments and they represent a different style of fluvial activity to that witnessed by the post-lava strath terraces and subsequent near vertical incision of the Kura river.

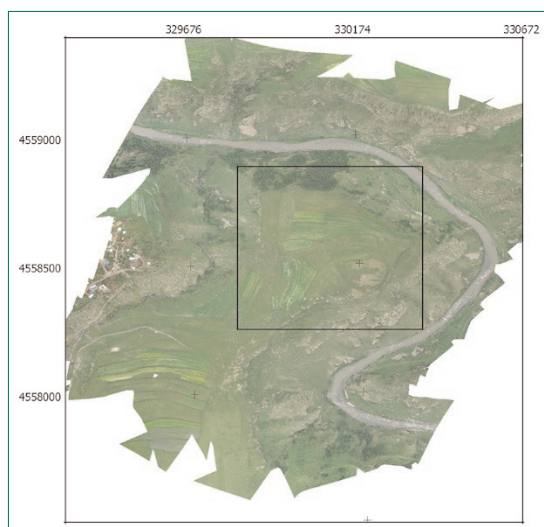
The pre-lava terraces are the deposits of a river which was able to move freely across the softer, more erodible upper parts of a much older basin fill. The wider area lies within a structural basin, referred to here as the Sevimli Basin, bounded to the east and west by major strike-slip faults (see map above), with smaller faults bounding the northern and southern margins. This structural basin is typical of the wider region, where tectonic extension resulted in the formation of

many initially internally draining (endorheic) basins. These basins gradually filled with thick sedimentary and volcanic sequences (up to ~300m thick) during the mid to late Miocene. The precursor to the current Kura river system, which now flows across many of the structural basins, did not evolve until after the onset of regional uplift and inversion of the basin sequences sometime in the late Miocene (i.e. between around 8Ma and 5Ma).

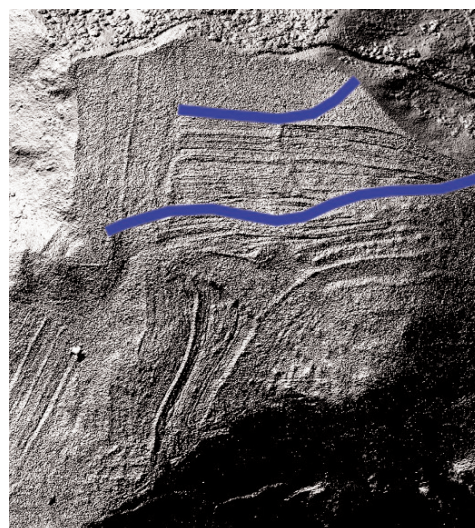
The pre-lava terraces appear to represent a comparatively large river system suggesting a catchment which extended upstream beyond the confines of the Sevimli Basin into the much larger Hanak Basin (see map) where our investigations have identified possible upstream equivalent deposits. As we await the results of our Ar-Ar analysis of this lava, we do not as yet know its age but we suspect it will be early within the Quaternary, i.e. the last ~2.5Ma. Further extension of this river system into the Ardahan Basin, and beyond into the Göle Basin, most likely occurred much later, and so this pre-lava flow ancestral Kura river had a catchment smaller than the current river. The sediments contained within the early terraces buried by the lava flow are sands and gravels cannibalised from the upper parts of the Miocene basin fill, both from the immediate Sevimli and upstream Hanak Basins. However, the majority of the sediments removed from the Miocene basins by this river system were ultimately exported further downstream into Georgia where they are stored in the Transcaucasus depression. Significantly, for at least part of this time the Transcaucasus depression would have been a seaway between the current Caspian and Black Seas acting as a variable base level for river incision. Although we have not yet identified any archaeological record from these sediments, they most likely represent deposition in channels set in a wide floodplain, an environment eminently suitable for early human occupation. Whether the early humans that settled around Dmanisi (Georgia: see map) around 1.8 million years ago walked this way we cannot tell, but it is certainly possible.

The lava incursion required a re-routing of the river around the blockage. The strath terraces indicate that the river was able to find a new route around the dam to the north. It seems probable that this erosion removed what remained of the soft-sediment Sevimli Basin fill to the north, exhuming the upper surface of a thick sequence of older (Miocene) lava flows. These Sevimli Basin fill lava flows form the walls of the canyon into which the Kura river is now confined. The un-roofing of the basin fill lava provided a much more resistant substrate for erosion. Although the ancestral Kura continued to incise, it was now confined to the southern edge of the Sevimli Basin fill, unable to move laterally into the resistant lavas and thus widen its valley floor. The change of behaviour is thus unlikely to be solely a response to a changing external stimuli (for example an increase in uplift rate), but more likely it is a dynamical system response to a change in resistance to erosion of the material at the river bed. The narrow confines of the incised valley restrict the chances of preservation of any subsequent sediment accumulations and this section of the ancestral Kura system thus becomes a sediment transfer zone, conveying sediment from upstream downstream into Georgia.

This detailed local study, alongside our more regional observations, have highlighted the presence of a significant fluvial archive. The stratigraphy is complicated but there is sufficient exposure to afford a reasonable chance of establishing a meaningful interpretation. During our fieldwork we have observed numerous Palaeolithic artefacts highlighting the possibilities for significant and exciting discoveries in this key area for the human story. Now that we have some baseline information we have been able to construct a larger research proposal in association with archaeological colleagues from Turkey and the UK (now with the Natural Environment Research Council), in which we will seek to understand better the evolution of the Kura catchment in Turkey and Armenia, and attempt to determine further its significance for human dispersal throughout the Pleistocene.



Left (A): orthophoto of mapped areas south of Sevimli with inset showing approximate location of figure B. Right (B): detailed hill-shaded DSM with river terrace bluffs highlighted in blue



Life on the frontier: climate and landscape change in Byzantine Anatolia, AD 500–1200

Warren J. Eastwood | University of Birmingham
With Neil Roberts, Adam Izdebski and Çetin Şenkul
doi:10.18866/biaa2015.106

The transition from antiquity to medieval times in Anatolia was marked by important climatic fluctuations and by a change in rural land-use practices from tree crops (arboriculture or the cultivation of fruit and nut crops) to agro-pastoralism. The latter is particularly recorded by the end of the Beyşehir Occupation Phase (BOP) in pollen diagrams from southwestern and central Anatolia (Eastwood et al. 1998; England et al. 2008). At most sites in these regions, land abandonment is dated to the mid first millennium AD (late seventh and eighth centuries AD), around the time of the Arab incursions into Byzantine territory and the Arab-Byzantine wars. To the north, in contrast, Bithynia and Pontus lay relatively safe inside the frontier zone until the loss of the Anatolian plateau to Turkic tribes following the Battle of Manzikert (AD 1071). One of us (Adam Izdebski) has proposed that in northwestern Anatolia the demise of ‘Classical’ agriculture and the final end of the BOP was deferred by up to four centuries extending into medieval times, the so-called middle Byzantine period (Izdebski 2013; Eastwood, Yiğitbaşıoğlu forthcoming). Published pollen records from northern Anatolia, notably from Lake Abant (Bottema et al. 1993/1994), give some support to this idea. However, existing pollen sequences for this region and time period are not well dated and generally have relatively poor pollen resolution in order to investigate environmental changes of the late Holocene (for example the last 3,000 years or so). Essentially, the medieval/post-BOP period was not the prime focus of the original investigations by previous researchers (Beug 1967; Bottema et al. 1993), meaning that this research question cannot be resolved.

In this new project, a team of UK, Polish and Turkish palaeoenvironmentalists and historians will investigate changes in rural land use and vegetation change in northwestern Anatolia between the sixth and 13th centuries AD using pollen analysis, alongside reconstructed changes in climate from stable isotope analysis of lake sediments, peats and cave carbonates (speleothems). The resulting synthesis will build upon existing records, such as the record of past climate changes reconstructed from speleothems recovered from Sofular Cave in northwestern Turkey (Göktürk et al. 2011). Our work will involve the resampling and radiocarbon dating of archived sediment cores as well as a programme of field coring and laboratory analysis of additional sites.

Our first targeted site is Yeniçağa marsh, east of Bolu, in northwestern Turkey. Yeniçağa was one of the very first sites to be cored for pollen analysis in Turkey, by H.-J. Beug in 1957, but his published pollen diagram (Beug 1967) was only analysed at a low temporal resolution for the time



Yeniçağa marsh (photo by Aziz Ören)

period of our project. The predominantly peaty sediments of this site are particularly suitable for excellent pollen preservation as well for chronology building using ^{14}C dating. Following preliminary reconnaissance, we cored the marsh west of the lake in August 2015; the resultant sediment core is 9m long. Over the coming months, sub-samples from this core will be prepared for pollen analysis, in order to identify the end of the BOP, and ^{14}C dated, in order to establish the age of this important change in rural land use and settlement. We thank Aziz Ören and Ahmet Köse for assistance during fieldwork coring at Yeniçağa marsh.

References

- Beug, H.-J. 1967: ‘Contributions to the postglacial vegetational history of northern Turkey’ in E.J. Cushing, H.E. Wright (eds), *Quaternary Palaeoecology* 7. Newhaven and London: 349–56
- Bottema, S., Woldring, H., Aytuğ, B. 1993/1994: ‘Late Quaternary vegetation history of northern Turkey’ *Palaeohistoria* 35/36: 13–72
- Eastwood, W.J. et al. 1998: ‘Palaeoecological and archaeological evidence for human occupance in southwest Turkey: the Beyşehir Occupation Phase’ *Anatolian Studies* 48: 69–86; <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3643048>
- Eastwood, W.J., Yiğitbaşıoğlu, H. forthcoming: ‘Geology, geomorphology and palaeoenvironments’ in J.F. Haldon, H. Elton, J. Newhard (eds), *Euchaita: A Late Roman and Byzantine City in Anatolia*
- England, A. et al. 2008: ‘Historical landscape change in Cappadocia (central Turkey): a palaeoecological investigation of annually-laminated sediments from Nar lake’ *The Holocene* 18: 1229–45; <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0959683608096598>
- Göktürk, O.M. et al. 2011: ‘Climate on the southern Black Sea coast during the Holocene: implications from the Sofular Cave record’ *Quaternary Science Reviews* 30: 2433–45; <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.quascirev.2011.05.007>
- Izdebski, A. 2013: *A Rural Economy in Transition. Asia Minor from Late Antiquity into the Early Middle Ages*. Warsaw

The challenges of introducing climate-responsive urban development to Mardin

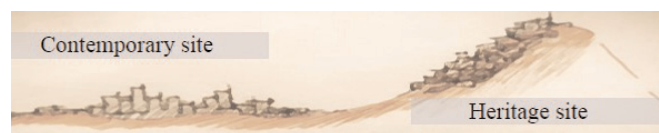
Ender Peker | University of Reading

doi:10.18866/biaa2015.107

The old city of Mardin, mainly medieval in origin, is located on the slopes of a rocky hill in southeastern Turkey (see photo below) and has been named as a candidate for the UNESCO World Heritage List. My current research in the city is an extension of a previous study on climate responsiveness in the vernacular urban pattern of Mardin (see last year's *Heritage Turkey*). This earlier project revealed that the urban built environment in the heritage area of the city presents relatively more responsiveness than areas of modern development, in terms of adaptation to local climatic challenges, especially to extremely high summer temperatures. Building on the distinctive urbanisation types in both the heritage area and the area of modern development, the main aim of my new research project is to explore the views of local authorities – the decision-makers – about the challenges of introducing climate-responsive urban development practices (i.e. the architectural lessons learned from the past) to modern-day development in Mardin.

To achieve this, an 'elite' interviewing technique was used to explore the current planning and urban development system used in the generation of contemporary urban built environments. In order to access the key actors in the urban decision-making processes, I mapped out the institutional urban-development system in the Mardin (Turkish) context, and determined (1) the key institutions which have a role in urban development, (2) the key departments that are relevant to this research and (3) the key individuals who have directorship roles in these departments. Using the referral sampling method, 15 interviews were conducted in total.

One of the major outcomes of this research was the determination of the weaknesses of the existing planning and urban-development system that leads to the provision of climatically and socio-ecologically unresponsive urban living environments in the contemporary part of Mardin. This was an important and yet underexplored area of study. Preliminary



results indicate that one of the main challenges that leads to uncomfortable urban experiences in the contemporary town originates from planning decisions which disregard the topography. Decision-makers explain that this is unavoidable because of the lack of vacant land on the slopes of the hills where the heritage area of the city sits. Challenges related to urban thermal comfort and the amount of energy consumed for the provision of a certain level of comfort start with this 'unavoidable', dense, high-rise and sprawling urban development in the modern area of the city. Although the lack of vacant land on the hillside leads planners to propose new development towards the agricultural plain, where the topography is relatively flat, this does not necessarily call for the building of high-density, high-rise apartment blocks.

There is no doubt that the role of topography (i.e. altitude and slope) in providing a cooling environment cannot be underestimated in the heritage area. But it is only one of the variables that influence the overall thermal comfort alongside other natural cooling sources (determinants of climatic characteristics) such as orientation according to the movements of the sun and/or the dominant wind directions.

The urban-development pattern in the heritage area presents a comprehensive 'design vision' which creates harmony between the forms and arrangements of housing units and brings order and structure to the streets, so that the built environment responds to local climatic characteristics and brings thermal comfort to everyday life. On the other hand, due to a lack of 'design vision' in the preparation of master-plans for the contemporary area, the city has been shaped with partial development decisions and without a comprehensive target aimed at creating urban settings that are more adaptive to climatic challenges.

Decision-makers claim that the planning board in the municipality faces various difficulties in terms of creating more responsive living settings. For instance, the small parcel sizes and the predominantly privately-owned land in the contemporary area make it difficult to provide sufficient hectares of green space, one of the crucial variables in the provision of cooling in densely urbanised areas. This calls for the development of a smart strategy which can both guide/direct and control private developers so that they implement construction projects in line with a predefined set of design strategies implemented by the local authorities.

Further challenges regarding urban development in Mardin will be discussed in my doctoral thesis, planned to be submitted to the University of Reading towards the end of 2015. Subsequently, based on the research findings and the video-data collected during fieldwork, a short documentary film will be published so as to engage wider audiences.

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 constituted them as a physical bridge and traditionally pitted them at the crossroads between different historical forces and empires. This was as much a feature in prehistoric as in historical and even contemporary times, 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 these countries' domestic and social make-up over time. It played an important role in forming cultural identities whether at individual, regional, national or supra-national level. Simultaneously, these processes in relation to migrant communities have also influenced the neighbouring areas around Turkey and the Black Sea region. This Strategic Research Initiative aims to promote research interests across different academic disciplines that pertain to the themes of migration across time in Turkey and the Black Sea coastal region.

Sexualities in Roman Asia Minor

Sanja Vucetic | University College London

doi:10.18866/biaa2015.108

A key concern within the discipline of Roman archaeology is the consequences of Roman imperialism on provincial communities. In recent times, one of the key questions for Romanists has been how provincial people generated, experienced, interpreted and responded to the socio-cultural and political forces of the Roman empire. It therefore comes as a surprise that the discipline has thus far remained only marginally concerned with sexualities in the imperial periphery. While our contemporary fascination with ancient sexualities is reflected in the numerous publications on this topic, archaeological and broader classical scholarship has generally been limited to the study of ancient texts and sexual imagery decorating luxury objects consumed by the elites of the city of Rome. This has produced an overwhelmingly static and elite-centric archaeological account of Roman sexuality. Yet sexuality was one of the crucial mechanisms in imperial situations, and is therefore integral to our understanding of the cross-cultural interactions, dynamics and changes in social identities in Roman provincial settings.

In my dissertation, titled 'Sexualities in Roman provinces: creating identities through sexual representations in colonial situations', I aim to shed light on the underexplored archaeological field of Roman regional sexual relations, practices and identities in order to gain a more nuanced understanding of peoples' lives during the period of Roman rule. I do so through the study of the nature of pictorial representations of humans engaged in sexual acts

and of myths with sexual narratives on mass-manufactured moulded terracotta lamps and fine tableware from the western and Mediterranean parts of the empire, including Roman Asia Minor.

Terracotta lamps were manufactured and used across the Roman world, and were accessible, for a prolonged period of time, to people of different social strata. During this period, lamps decorated with sexual iconography offered diverse pictorial decorations, ranging from mythological sexual pursuits to representations of humans engaging in sexual activity, including occasional depictions of bestiality. The sexual imagery decorating these ordinary, everyday objects is characterised by the apparent standardisation of the iconographic repertoire that is Romano-Hellenistic in nature. Nevertheless, preliminary study of the material from two sites located in Roman Asia Minor – Pergamon and Ephesus –



Roman terrace houses, Ephesus

reveals occurrences of unusual depictions of kissing couples engaged in sexual acts and the absence of otherwise common representations of dwarves in a range of coital positions. When compared and contrasted to the material from other provincial sites, this suggests that the production and consumption of certain sexual imagery is associated with specific provincial sites and that different provincial communities demonstrated distinct affinities towards certain types of sexual imagery.

In my study, I investigate continuity and change in the repertoire of sexual iconography over a period of five hundred years and also investigate patterns of consumption and the deposition of the cultural objects upon which such imagery occurs. In approaching sexuality as a lived experience informed by bodily representations and practices, I elucidate the social function and symbolic meaning of sexual imagery and associated material culture, and assert that they were used as a mechanism for producing, transforming and negotiating sexualities and gender hierarchies as provincial communities were integrated into the new and changing socio-political landscape of the Roman empire.

Generous support from the British Institute in Ankara, in the form of a 2015 Strategic Research Initiatives Study Grant, has allowed me to engage in three weeks of full-time research in Turkey, which has proved invaluable in achieving key research objectives for my dissertation. During my time in Turkey I was able to visit the archaeological museums and storerooms of Ephesus and Pergamon, study the material from the two sites and consult with archaeologists working on the material from the two excavations. The Austrian and German archaeological teams at Ephesus and Pergamon were extremely welcoming and keen to assist my specific interests and needs during my stay. This fieldwork trip has significantly enriched my PhD project and I am confident that I have broadened my approach to my research and have grown as an academic; this would not have been possible without the grant from the British Institute at Ankara. My time spent in Turkey was highly enjoyable and I am immensely grateful to the Institute for providing me with the opportunity to undertake such a successful research trip.

HERITAGE TURKEY ONLINE

The current issue and back copies of
Heritage Turkey are now
available online at

www.biaa.ac.uk/publications

Sun, sea and smack? Smugglers in the Ottoman and post-Ottoman Mediterranean

Daniel-Joseph MacArthur-Seal | British Institute at Ankara
doi:10.18866/biaa2015.109

When I began my fellowship at the Institute in September 2014, Ankara was something of a mystery to me – my work had always focused on Istanbul. From the perspective of the characters inhabiting my PhD thesis, which studies in detail the occupation of the Ottoman capital by Allied troops during the years 1918–1923, Ankara (or Angora) was a far-off centre of sedition, nationalist opposition and anti-imperialist conspiracy. Indeed, my thesis to some extent can be read as an explanation of the shift of the capital to central Anatolia and out of a city seen by 1923 to be irredeemably tarnished by Ottoman decadence and European imperialism.

While my heart and my head are still buried in Istanbul, I've come to darkly appreciate this city, looking as it does like a ready-made film-set for a state capital in an imaginary totalitarian future – *Bladerunner* (Kızılay's crowds), *1984* (the big-brother eyes staring at you at the city's metro stations) and *Alphaville* (the bakanlık buildings with innumerable tiny windows) rolled into one. As autumn now turns to winter, the city is as grey as ever, a contrasting backdrop to my current research on the very colourful history of smuggling in the eastern Mediterranean.

After finishing my PhD at Cambridge (a city that is perhaps the absolute opposite of Ankara in appearance and atmosphere) in May 2014, I finally had the time to begin pursuing what had been a side-interest in maritime smuggling. I had spent four years working on the meticulously planned (if not executed) military logistics that spread across the eastern Mediterranean during the First World War and its aftermath. Uncovering the secretive and dispersed smuggling networks that overlay, criss-crossed and succeeded them required a different archival approach.

To piece together these secretive transnational connections I have had to draw on multiple sources. My first leads were the documents written by British and French military authorities during the occupation of Istanbul, detailing the arrest of mostly Russian cocaine traffickers who made the most of the opportunities provided by a city in crisis. As Allied soldiers were consuming and at times aiding in the traffic of these drugs, military authorities in the city became acutely concerned. Nightclubs, like *La rose noire*, *Le Parisiana* and *L'oiseau bleu*, where cocaine was traded were put under surveillance and the Allies effected a number of arrests under martial law, targeting employees working in the city's recrudescing hospitality and entertainment sectors.

The occupied city's peculiar nightlife, booming from the demand of soldiers' wages but more tightly regulated than ever under the powers of martial law, was one of the major topics of my PhD thesis. Thanks to the support of the British Institute at Ankara, I was able to organise a day-long

workshop drawing together scholars working on aspects of nightlife in the eastern Mediterranean in the Ottoman and post-Ottoman eras. The presentations demonstrated the many uses and meanings of nightlife in religious festivals, prostitution, spectacles, cinema and the consumption of alcohol and other narcotics.

What made trafficking so threatening was not only that it transgressed morals and laws but that it traversed boundaries. In an age when the speed of travel was dramatically increasing with the rise of steam shipping and rail, motor and air travel, a fear took hold that the spread of narcotics, and with it moral and physical decline, would likewise accelerate. Smuggling by definition defies borders, in this instance borders which had proliferated with the dissolution of the Ottoman, Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires; it threatened the cohesion of the new national units on which it was hoped a broader regional order would be established.

For concerned statesmen and civil servants, it seemed the only means by which states could counter such a global phenomenon was through international cooperation, faith in which had grown exponentially since the First World War. The comparably timid pre-War 1912 convention governing the opium trade was enforced on Turkey as part of the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, but by that time was considered well out of date. A year later Mehmed Sureya was in Geneva representing Turkey in the negotiations that led up to the 1925 opium convention, which demanded limitations on opium production and export which the Turkish government rejected due to the potentially ‘disastrous results’ for the country’s opium economy. Most major League powers, however, signed the treaty, leaving Turkey, alongside Iran – another major opium producer – isolated and suspect in the eyes of prohibitionist campaigners.

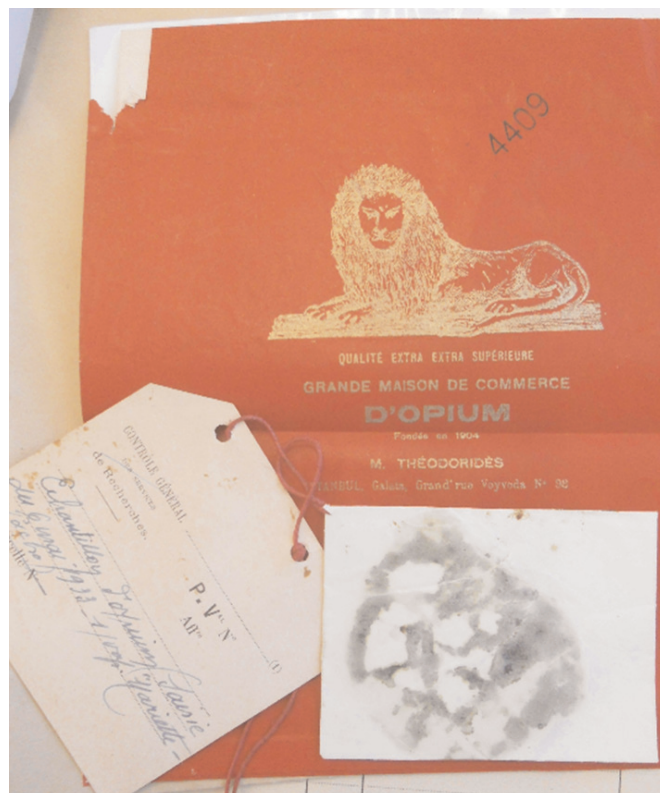
Legal codification was followed by the development of an international secretariat in Geneva, whose records form the second major basis of my research. Housed in the former League of Nations’ Palais des Nations in the UN compound in Geneva, where peacocks wander the grounds, it was a beautiful place to work, and contained some surprising documents on smuggling reported from across the region, not least one – pictured right – containing a sample of opium which would have a street value of some \$5,000 if it wasn’t 70 years past its use-by-date!

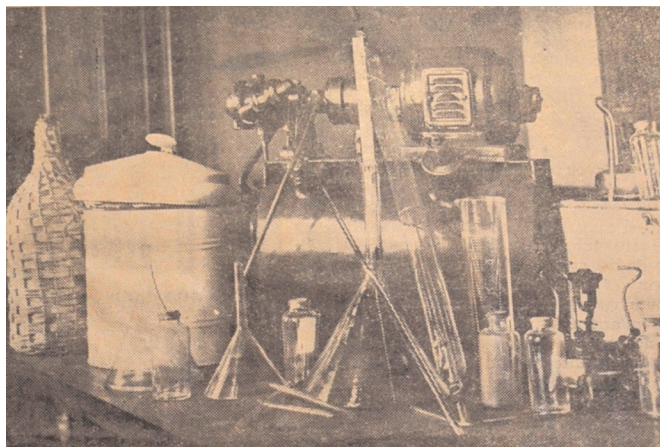
The 1925 treaty suppressed opium refinement in Europe, which, as a result, in part shifted to Istanbul, where three factories swiftly opened producing heroine and morphine. As Turkey remained outside the opium regime, such activities were closely monitored and contested, particularly by those countries which felt their citizens were suffering the ill effects of Turkish grown and manufactured drugs. Foremost among them was Egypt, which established its Central Narcotics Intelligence Bureau to fight trafficking in the country and beyond. Records from the bureau, including the

intelligence reports of agents it dispatched to Istanbul, are valuable in establishing the many connections between smugglers in Egypt and Turkey. Another major regional player was the French mandate government of Syria-Lebanon, a supplier of most of the region’s hashish, and the records of which I also consulted at the French archives diplomatiques in Nantes. As a result of the pressures of its Mediterranean neighbours and major powers, in particular the United States, Turkey eventually agreed to close its legal opium refinement factories and agreed to the successor narcotics limitation convention of 1931, while establishing a monopoly on the opium market for export purposes.

But since it was thereafter directly benefiting from opium sales, the Turkish state expanded efforts to market its products around the world, establishing an export company for the purpose. Sales to Asia, South America and Africa continued to generate concerns that Turkish opium once exported was being rerouted for recreational purposes. As major opium producers, such as India, curtailed exports under international pressure, Turkey found opportunities to replace its declining sales to Europe. The Turkish export monopoly’s negotiations with other parties and participation in trade fairs are the subject of contemporary newspaper reports and Turkish government documents available in the Başbakanlık Arşivleri, another major source for my research.

At the same time, however, the Turkish government faced the problem of the illegal refinement of narcotics. The suppression of open heroin factories in Istanbul led to the multiplication of illegal ones, and they were to be found in basements, attics and farm buildings across the city.





Tools used in the production of heroin found in an illegal factory in an Istanbul apartment

A succession of raids and arrests during the 1930s made for colourful newspaper headlines and stories. Research on Turkish newspapers from the period has been greatly eased by digitisation projects in recent years, making it possible to search the text of multiple newspapers across any given time period with relevant keywords. In combination with cross-referencing the dates of drug raids documented by the League of Nations, I have in this way discovered new details of cases and been able to assess the public reaction to them.

Indeed, investigating the public discourse on smuggling is as significant a part of my research as attempting to gauge the material networks that constituted it. For most of history, smuggling was simply a matter of avoiding taxes, but in the early 20th century prohibitionists claimed to have established a consensual medical and sociological basis for the outlawing of entire categories of goods. Alongside this global epistemological shift, Turkey's attempt to create a national economy, and indeed a homogenised nation, were the defining contexts to the smuggling debate. Newspaper editorials termed smuggling a threat to 'our state treasury, economic life, national wellbeing and morality', while smugglers themselves were categorised as anti-national and journalists emphasised their exoticness, foreignness and marginality. At the same time, the licensed export of opium was monopolised by the Turkish state, displacing foreign and Levantine merchants who had previously controlled the trade, in accordance with an intended shift in patterns of ownership and entrepreneurship across the economy.

The smugglers that succeeded these merchants (sometimes one and the same person) were drawn from a wide social, religious and ethnic spectrum that continued to characterise the major port cities of the eastern Mediterranean, despite a rising tide of nationalist critique and policies for ethnic homogenisation. They included all classes, from bank managers, to porters, to beauty queens, or at least runners-up (as in the case of Mademoiselle Araxie, whose Cihangir apartment was implicated in a major heroin

trafficking case in 1933), and opera singers, such as Mademoiselle Zozo Dalmas, pictured below. Through the study of such networks, my research challenges the class distortions of histories of the cosmopolitan Mediterranean which have typically focused on the mobile upper classes. Indeed, the diverse backgrounds of smugglers and their reliance on transborder kinship and migratory networks left minorities vulnerable to allegations that they were responsible for the spread of vices, a pernicious politics much evident in the contemporary world.

The politics of smuggling, forged during the rise of prohibitionism in the period I study, continues to shape views of the Mediterranean as a potential gateway by which unwanted products and people can reach Europe. Turkey's position as a transit point has long been entrenched in the minds of local politicians and weary international statesmen. Indeed the debate on smuggling in the region has been conducted in accordance with a long-held belief in a type of hyper connectivity, thought to have characterised the region from its ancient past to the present day. At the same time, each phase of mobility that captures public attention is thought to be multiple times greater than anything before it, the preceding years recast as a placid Mediterranean idyl. My research shows this to have been anything but the case, and provides background to and explanations for the debates raging around the trafficking of people and substances today.



Balkan Futures in 2015

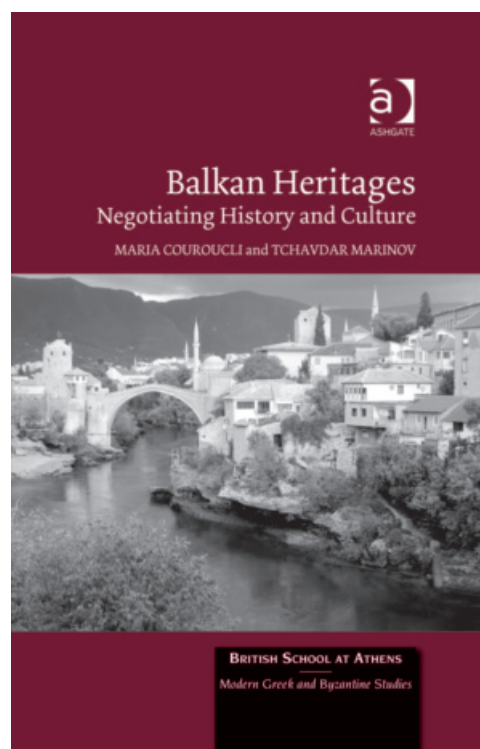
Marc Herzog | British Institute at Ankara

doi:10.18866/biaa2015.110

This article sums up the past and final year of the Balkan Futures research programme, which was as busy as the preceding two. Balkan Futures is a three-year British Institute at Ankara research programme that is jointly run with the British School at Athens (BSA) with the collaboration of the École française d'Athènes (EfA). In a rather nostalgic coincidence, the programme finishes in the same year as the main co-investigators all move on from their respective institutions.

Beginning in 2012, Balkan Futures is funded by the British Academy's Strategic Award Programme and counts the London School of Economics as an affiliated partner. The programme's overall analytical focus is on contemporary themes of inter-regional development and cooperation in the Balkans. Through assessment of these processes in the region's post-Cold War setting, the programme aims to define untapped and fruitful areas of research as well as stimulate the emergence of new research networks. The programme's analytical field has been complemented with a more particular focus on Greece and Turkey, examining their roles and interests in a region where they have historically played a major part in shaping social and collective identities. Secondly, Balkan Futures has, throughout its lifetime, aimed to locate its analytical engagement within the larger processes of EU accession, membership and integration as well as with the region's different and overlapping historical legacies.

The programme's life-span has been marked by four milestone workshops that have dealt with themes such as Turkey's regional role and engagement, the nature and history of state-building processes across the Balkans and the treatment and reinterpretation of Balkan historical legacies and heritage. For the last workshop, *Contemporary Mobility and Changing Stereotypes in the Balkans*, it was decided that the central theme should be the formation and reformulation of collective selfhood, self-image and otherness in the present-day Balkans. This particular theme was knowingly chosen in the context of the migratory movements currently unfolding across the region and over the last decade. The workshop took place at the EfA in December 2014. Workshop participants were asked to reflect on how, since the opening of national borders in the 1990s, traditionally-rooted stereotypes and perceptions of otherness have been reconfigured within the region, as well as by the outside world. In this regard, there was an added emphasis on how the ideational construct and image of 'Europe' has changed and how national and transnational processes of EU accession and integration have affected this image-formation or transformation. While basing itself in the post-Cold War context, this Balkan Futures workshop also maintained the concern that has run consistently through the series of linking up present and future socio-political processes and developments affecting the region with an eye towards the critical influences of its Ottoman, post-Ottoman, socialist and post-socialist historical legacies. The analytical focus of the workshop also compared the formation of contemporary forms of otherness with those of the national 'Other' of the 19th and 20th centuries. The workshop's output will be published as an edited volume.



The other publication projects from the Balkan Futures milestone workshops are also picking up steam. The edited volume from the first workshop in 2012, *Balkan Heritages: Negotiating History and Culture*, edited by Maria Couroucli and Tchavdar Marinov, will be published shortly with Ashgate. It had its origins in the workshop, *The Balkans: From Academic Field to International Politics*, which took place at the BSA in 2012. The book deals with the relationships between heritage, history and politics in the Balkans. The third Balkan Futures workshop also initiated an edited volume, entitled *The State in the Balkans: Histories and Futures of Public Service Institutions*. The volume approaches the formation of state and public service institutions in the Balkans from different levels and angles, opening up a much-needed interdisciplinary dialogue on the complexity of state-society relations. The volume, edited by Balkan Futures Fellow Özge Dilaver and Daniel Knight, is currently being prepared.

Balkan Futures has also led to the exploration of new avenues of future research, covering methodological innovations such as using agent-based modelling in archaeological research and international collaborations on Balkan studies. With British, Turkish, Greek and German universities, BSA and British Institute at Ankara researchers have prepared a proposal for a large-scale project investigating Turkey's involvement in the EU by studying its relations with its Balkan EU-member neighbours. If successful, the project will extend Özge's research to broader dimensions and will benefit from both the Institute's long-standing strengths in historical and archaeological research in Thrace and its more recent achievements in contemporary socio-political issues of the region.

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 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 also had an impact on the country's international standing and behaviour. Likewise, the balance between religion, 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 periods.

Bodies of evidence: the historic cemeteries of Çatalhöyük

Sophie Moore | University of Hull

Michelle Gamble | HARP Archaeology

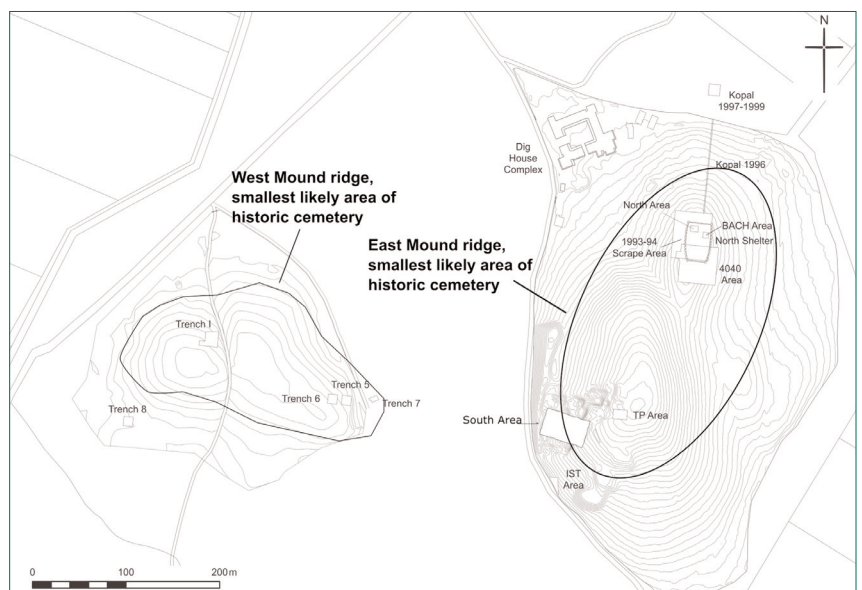
doi:10.18866/biaa2015.111

In addition to its fabulous prehistoric remains (see pages 21–23 below), both the East and West Mounds at Çatalhöyük were used as a series of cemeteries between the first and the 17th centuries AD. The burials of four different communities of practice are present on site: the graves of people who are likely to have been pagan Romans, plain earth burials of the Christian Byzantine population and two phases of Islamic-period burials with their crania or whole bodies rotated to face Qibla. To date, 190 well-contextualised, single primary inhumations have been excavated by the teams working at Çatalhöyük. Approximately a further 100 disturbed contexts and secondary burials containing disarticulated human remains from both mounds are likely to have been graves from one of the phases of the historic cemeteries. We have excavated less than 10% of the likely area of the cemeteries and along with the relatively constant frequency of burials across the majority of the excavated areas of the site this suggests a low estimate of the mortuary population of around 2,000 individuals interred on the site between the first and the 17th centuries AD.

The use of prehistoric tells as later-period cemeteries is common in Anatolia. One of the most recently excavated examples is Ilıpınar Höyük in the eastern Marmara region, where the Neolithic mound was used as a cemetery by Chalcolithic, Bronze Age and late antique populations (Roodenberg

2011). The unusual thing about the historic-period cemeteries at Çatalhöyük is that the four communities of practice are from consecutive periods. This means that the burials could potentially represent continuous use of the site as a cemetery. The cemeteries offer the opportunity to explore how and why burial practices changed over two periods of conversion: from paganism to Christianity and from Christianity to Islam. One of the foci of this year's field season was to construct a radiocarbon strategy which will allow us to determine whether each community of practice developed from the previous phase of use or whether there were significant breaks in use of the site.

Some aspects of the site suggest that the phases of burial are discontinuous. The burials which are likely to date from between the first and the tenth centuries AD do not intercut



Map of the East and West Mounds at Çatalhöyük showing the smallest likely area of the historic-period cemeteries. © Çatalhöyük Archive, with modifications by Sophie Moore

and are evenly spaced, suggesting that the locations of earlier graves were known. By contrast, the burials which are likely to date from between the tenth and the 17th centuries AD cut into the first- to tenth-century burials, suggesting that the earlier phases of burials may not have been visible on the surface of the mound during the later period. Each community using the site as a cemetery had some awareness that earlier people had used the site for the same purpose: the earlier phases because the graves are likely to have been visible and the later because during the process of grave digging they disturbed earlier graves. One of our key research goals is to establish what each community might have known about previous populations who occupied the site and how that knowledge might have affected their burial practices.

The research outlined above focuses on the morphological characteristics of the graves, the placement of the skeletons and the nature of the objects found in association with the individuals, allowing us to define the four separate communities of practice. In addition to this broad-scale analysis we are beginning to see results from a programme of osteological research focusing on burials at an individual level. The palaeopathological analysis of individuals will allow us to begin to discuss aspects of health, disease and medicine within each of the communities of practice.

The burials from the Roman cemetery have proven to be particularly interesting with regards to the palaeopathological evidence, with the skeletons of several individuals displaying significant pathological changes, including degenerative changes, genetic disorders and possible trauma. One individual, from feature 706 in Trench I on the West Mound, shows evidence of quite extreme pathologies. The individual from feature 706 is a male, aged 30–45 years at the time of his death, whose remains display a range of pathologies affecting almost the entire skeleton. The bones of the right arm and the legs were over-sized, suggesting an endocrine issue resulting in gigantism. Despite their size, the bones are lighter than expected, signifying a loss of bone density or osteopenia. An endocrine disease is also suggested by the presence of significant ossification of the entheses, particularly evident in the long bones of the left leg where connective tissue which is usually supple has turned to bone. This may not have affected mobility directly, but may have resulted in swelling of the limb. The long bones of the left arm were atrophied, meaning they are much smaller than would be expected for an individual of this stature; the atrophy of the left arm reflects a brachial plexus trauma, in other words, nerve damage. Finally, this individual has additional bone growth and changes to the spine reflecting possible diffuse idiopathic skeletal hyperostosis, a bony hardening of ligaments where they attach to the spinal column, and trauma, possibly resulting in the decreased bone density.



Left (bottom) and right (top) humeri, anterior view – note the difference in size of the two bones and general porosity of both. © Michelle Gamble 2015



Thoracic vertebrae, left-posterior view with first thoracic vertebrae to the right side of the image. Note the extension of the spinous processes and the fusion of the third and fourth bodies. © Michelle Gamble 2015

Taken together, the changes to the skeleton in feature 706 form a picture of a man who is likely to have suffered quite a bit during life, and yet managed not only to reach adulthood but to attain middle age. He was buried in a substantial grave which was capped with tile and from which coffin nails were recovered. No objects were deliberately placed with the individual from 706, but his burial is largely consistent with others from the group I Roman category in the Trench I area. The level of care which allowed this unusual individual to reach maturity and the nature of his burial have significant implications for concepts and evidence of care within the Roman community. It is hoped that through the combination of our osteological and contextual analyses we can continue to build a more nuanced understanding of the communities who lived and died in the vicinity of Çatalhöyük between the first and the 17th centuries AD.

Reference

Roodenberg, J. 2011: 'Ilipınar: a Neolithic settlement in the eastern Marmara region' in G. McMahon and S. Steadman (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Anatolia (10,000 323 BCE)*. Oxford: 950–67; <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195376142.013.0044>

Rethinking the role of the *ulama* in Turkey

Ceren Lord | Kadir Has University, Istanbul

doi:10.18866/biaa2015.112

During work towards my PhD in political science, focusing on state and religion in Turkey, I became increasingly interested in the role of the *ulama* within the context of (Sunni) Muslim majority countries. Put simply, the *ulama* are religious scholars and functionaries; they are those who are considered to have expert knowledge through their study of religious texts or Islamic law. The *ulama* have been described by various scholars as the transmitters and protectors of Islamic learning and as the guardians of tradition, and thereby can be considered to constitute a key pillar of the social order within Muslim populations (Kara 2005; Hatina 2009). At the same time, the *ulama* play a fundamental role in the shaping and (re)defining of the Islamic religion.

Despite this significant role, until recently the *ulama* were a neglected subject within academic and particularly Turkish studies. This was chiefly a reflection of two dynamics. Firstly, in its heyday, the *ulama* in the Ottoman Empire referred to a vast network of institutions headed by the *Meşihat-i İslâmiyye*, the office of the highest religious authority, the *Şeyhülislam*, comprising judicial and educational responsibilities alongside the *muftis* as well as imams, preachers and Sufi sheikhs and *waqfs* (Kara 2005). However, owing to the processes of secularisation associated with the emergence of the modern nation-state, an assumption arose that the *ulama* had been consigned to history. Indeed, in the case of the ostensibly laic Turkish Republic, following secularisation policies such as the closure of the *medreses* (religious schools), the adoption of a secular civil code and the abolition of the caliphate, the Ottoman *ulama*'s traditional domain of action and authority had been significantly reduced. Even the concept of *ulama* itself had been abandoned by the new Republican regime by the 1930s, whilst the Ottoman *ulama* was absorbed into a key institution of the Turkish Republic, the Presidency of Religious Affairs (*Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı*), which was established in place of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Pious Foundations in 1924.

Secondly, the role and authority of the *ulama* has been challenged by the pluralisation of knowledge (Hatina 2009) resulting from the growth of modern religious education and particularly the growth of Islamism since the 1970s.

The combination of these twin challenges, therefore, seemed to have marginalised the traditional *ulama* within modern Muslim majority societies. In the Turkish case, the lack of interest in the role of the official *ulama*, as represented within the *Diyanet*, also reflects the fact that it remains significantly different to examples elsewhere due to the secularisation of the Turkish legal framework; thus the *Diyanet* is comparatively far more circumscribed compared

to the *ulama* in most other Muslim contexts, given that the Turkish institution has no legal jurisdiction. In other words, in contrast to other settings, its *fatwas* (Islamic rulings) are not legally binding. Given this overall context and the *Diyanet*'s apparently more limited role, there have been only a handful of noteworthy studies on the institution, which have typically involved a focus on the nature of the laicism of the state.

In recent years, however, a number of scholarly works on religious establishments across the Muslim world have suggested a more complex reality and a need to rethink the role of the *ulama* within modern nation-states. The scholar Muhammad Qasim Zaman has, for instance, argued in his study of the *ulama* in Pakistan that the question should not be whether the authority of the *ulama* has declined or increased, but 'how that authority is constructed, argued, put on display, and constantly defended' (Zaman 2010). There have also been a number of studies on the ways in which the Ottoman *ulama* defended itself with flexibility against encroachments on its realm of action and authority (see, for example, Bein 2011 on the *ulema* as both agents of change and guardians of tradition).

In a similar sense, in my research I am interested in questions regarding the evolving role of the modern-day *ulama*, the *Diyanet*, not in terms of how it fits in with a particular understanding or regime of laicism, but the construction of its authority, the challenges to it and its relations with other religious and Islamist actors. These are important questions; how these dynamics play out will have a bearing on and shape Islamic discourse and the nature of religious authority.

References

- Bein, A. 2011: *Ottoman Ulema, Turkish Republic: Agents of Change and Guardians of Tradition*. Stanford
- Hatina, M. (ed.) 2009: *Guardians of Faith in Modern Times: 'Ulama' in the Middle East*. Leiden
- Kara, İ 2005: 'Turban and fez: ulema as opposition' in E. Özdalga (ed.), *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy* 3. London
- Zaman, M.Q. 2010: *The Ulama in Contemporary Islam: Custodians of Change*. Princeton

BIAA ELECTRONIC MONOGRAPHS

www.biaa.ac.uk/publications

A new publication by David French in the
Roman Roads and Milestones series

8. Roman Roads and Milestones, 'Errata and Indices'

The ‘silent revolution’ of Cyprus

Neophytos Loizides | University of Kent

doi:10.18866/biaa2015.113

In 2014, few experts would have cited positive developments on the Cyprus problem; since the collapse of the peace process a decade earlier, the Cypriot stalemate had been deepening each day. Yet, at the grassroots level, bicomunal activity has been emerging as a critical actor.

Active citizenship is the foundation of a democratic and plural society. Cyprus provides an insightful story of how civil society can play a critical role for peace. When, in September 2014, bicomunal negotiations ended after a Turkish frigate started seismic surveys in the Cypriot exclusive economic zone, peace activists continued their efforts. Unlike most cases across divided societies, where civil society institutions frequently side with nationalism, Cypriot peace activists identified promising opportunities in the crisis and sought alternatives in an attempt to reframe the Cypriot peace process.

Public diplomacy can be critical in identifying such opportunities. In February 2015, the British Institute at Ankara along with partners from Turkey (Uluslararası Stratejik Araştırmalar Kurumu, USAK) and the two communities of the island (the ‘Cyprus Academic Dialogue’) co-organised a flagship conference in Ankara, the first bicomunal event to take place in the Turkish capital after decades of Cypriot conflict. As the University of Kent, my home institution, also partnered this event, I witnessed first hand the multiple strengths of Cyprus-based academic and civil society practitioners and how they could prove catalytic for a settlement in the promising 2015 peace talks.

First, civil society can take risks that governments are commonly reluctant to entertain due to political risks. Organising a bicomunal conference in Ankara was, understandably, not an easy undertaking. But taking risks also pays; the event attracted 17 academics and NGO leaders from both communities on Cyprus. Even more impressively, from the Ankara end it attracted ten ambassadors, 33 officers from

24 different embassies (including the embassies of the US and 15 EU member states as well as the EU Delegation in Ankara), six officers from Turkish state institutions (including three from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), 11 researchers from nine think-tanks, 29 academics from nine different universities and ten reporters from five different media agents (including Reuters, France 24 and the Anadolu News Agency). It also included participants from the Turkish industrialists’ association and the country’s largest conglomerate, Koç Holding. This conference is just one example of what has been happening on a smaller scale across the island, in what the newspaper *Politis* has labelled the ‘silent revolution of the Cypriots’. Such civil society and public diplomacy events are critical in rallying political support for change at the government level.

Following months of preparations, the event in Ankara, hosted at USAK House, secured two high-profile speakers: the former Greek Prime Minister George Papandreou and the former Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs Hikmet Çetin. Papandreou, who engineered a transformation in the symbolic landscape of Greek-Turkish relations in 1999 (with his Turkish counterpart, the late İsmail Cem), made an impressive and decisive intervention in favour of peace. Moreover, Cypriot academics and NGO leaders spoke a shared language, hence signalling a convincing new direction in the peace talks. Thinking outside the box is easier for civil society leaders than governments. Participants at the Ankara conference did not speak in Greek or Turkish terms, but, rather, they framed issues in humanitarian and scholarly terms, and, in so doing, reached out to different audiences. Speaking on the same wavelength (despite disagreements) reflected a highly convincing case for reunification. The scholarly work presented at the Ankara conference provided tangible examples of what could work in a future settlement, not only for Cyprus but also in other comparable cases in the Middle East and the Balkans.

Civil society was a critical factor in the election of moderate peacemaker Mustafa Akıncı as leader of the Turkish-Cypriot community. Akıncı has supported peace initiatives on the island since the 1970s and through bicomunal networks gained the respect and trust of the Greek-Cypriot community. Likewise, Greek-Cypriot leader Nicos Anastasiades stabilised the Cypriot economy following near bankruptcy in 2013 and has made decisive gestures of reconciliation since Akıncı’s election.

At the symbolic level, a peace settlement for Cyprus could be as equally transformative for the eastern Mediterranean as the fall of the Berlin Wall was for Europe. A federal Cyprus would be the first example of an ethnically-partitioned society to reunify, after four decades, and, importantly, with the mutual consent of majorities in referendums in both communities. A Cypriot unification would be, undoubtedly, an inspiring model for those opposing destructive nationalism, ethnic cleansing and conflict in the eastern Mediterranean region.



The two keynote speakers: Hikmet Çetin (left) and George Papandreou (right)

Songs of fire and ice: contentious politics, regime response and state capacity in Turkey and Russia

Marc Herzog | British Institute at Ankara

doi:10.18866/biaa2015.114

This short article focuses on a research project in progress, the preliminary findings of which were presented at a politics conference in Graz in October 2015. The impetus for the project came from my mounting frustrations over recent years that, although references to the increasing convergence of Turkish and Russian politics in the context of authoritarian regime building were being made ever more frequently, especially in the domestic and international media, a more substantial analytical comparison of these trends remained absent. Thus, when a colleague at the University of Birmingham working on Russia expressed an interest in pursuing this theme in the format of a co-authored piece of work I jumped at the chance.

A dominant trend within comparative politics has been to address broader thematic concerns within the ambit of area or regional sub-system studies. This has perhaps come at the expense of a more globally interlinked understanding of critical socio-political processes and transformations. Therefore, in terms of the geographical parameters of this comparative research, we were particularly excited that this would include two cases that are not usually juxtaposed – Russia and Turkey. Arguably, embarking on the slightly more daring and unconventional format of evaluating the political evolution of these two cases could uncover insights that are generalisable for the wider world of hybrid regimes and electoral authoritarianism.

Despite the many contextual differences in culture, history and politico-economic development, however, when one looks closely there is actually an intriguing number of similarities between the Turkish and Russian political systems and cultures, and their respective state- and nation-building experiences that open up multiple spaces for comparison. For instance, both Russia and Turkey are successors to large multi-ethnic empires that collapsed after the First World War and were in turn replaced by semi-revolutionary, one-party regimes, although the time spans vary. In both cases, post-authoritarian political trajectories were characterised by weak democratic institutionalisation: significant abuse of power, political instability and the existence of significant non-democratic veto players and non-democratic tutelage. Equally, both countries have traditionally experienced ambiguous relations with the alliances and structures of the transatlantic West and encountered similar difficulties in their cultural placement and self-identification.

Moreover, as stated, although comparative work involving Turkey and Russia is still scarce, in recent years the international media and academic scholarship have focused more and more attention on both countries' similarities regarding their forms of political governance as



well as their respective leaders: President Putin and President Erdoğan. Both have been in power since the new millennium and they have developed similarly charismatic and populist leadership styles. In that sense, the research paper seeks to compare the electoral authoritarianism as a regime type in the context of Turkey and Russia, how the respective countries' state capacity enabled the establishment of authoritarian regime building at the expense of democratic consolidation, and how this informed and assisted their response to the large cycle of anti-regime protests that occurred in both countries between 2012 and 2014.

Our research begins by considering the conceptual categorisation and ordering of current regime dynamics in Turkey and Russia. Whilst recognising significant differences between the two cases, it argues that the concepts of electoral authoritarianism and neo-patrimonialism are particularly helpful in coming to a better understanding of systemic political evolution over the past two decades. Within this conceptual frame, we look at the interaction between state capacity and authoritarian regime building in light of recent research looking at how state capacity can support or undermine processes of democratisation and de-democratisation. For the purposes of the project, the concept of state capacity here has been parsimoniously disaggregated into the three smaller operational attributes of a state's extractive, administrative and coercive capacities.

The first preliminary conclusions we have been able to draw indicate that of the two cases, in Turkey, for a variety of reasons, the transition towards a political format based on electoral authoritarianism since 2010/2011 has been much more conflictual, unstable and characterised by more elite and social contention than in Russia. Up to now, Putin's Russia has proven more capable of harnessing the infrastructural and coercive capacity of the Russian state to institute a stable neo-patrimonial and authoritarian regime. In this regard we point towards the distinction Andreas Schedler makes between stably institutionalised forms of electoral authoritarianism, on the one hand, and the more fluid and competitive variant, on the other, where mobilisational and oppositional spaces are still sufficiently strong to allow for electoral alternation. In both cases, the process of authoritarian regime building seems to have come at the expense of strengthening and expanding state capacity in order to reinforce effective democratic governance.

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 human relationships with the environment, to the formation of large-scale settlements and the evolution 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, and also the effect of human beings on their natural environment and landscape. Research focused on assessing long-term change from prehistory to the present day is supported within this Strategic Research Initiative.

Boncuklu: the spread of farming and the antecedents of Çatalhöyük

Douglas Baird | University of Liverpool

With Andrew Fairbairn and Gökhan Mustafaoğlu

doi:10.18866/biaa2015.115

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

Household archaeology

We excavated four buildings this season that seem to represent variants of the standard domestic residence: Buildings 20 and 21 in Area P, Building 24 in Area M and Building 25 in a new Area J.

Building 21 seems to have been a long-lived building with many floors, of which we have excavated so far only the final few. Building 21 well illustrates some of the dynamic features of these households, seeing significant remodelling. The western wall seems to have seen major remodelling for the final floor of the building, with the insertion of a row of bricks on edge against the earlier interior face of the wall, possibly to correct for slumping, and major remodelling of the wall around a post. The northwestern hearth was moved from an earlier position in the central part of the northwestern space, to one immediately against the northwestern wall in the last phase of the life of the building. A temporary final smaller hearth was also cut into the final floor. So at the end of its long life this building had two hearths, perhaps allowing extra

cooking or heating capacity. It is possible that these structural modifications were necessary to extend the life of the house or to accommodate a changing household in terms of size or composition.

There are a number of elements of evidence that suggest the end of the life of a house was a matter of some importance to the household concerned and that ritualised dismantling may have occurred at Boncuklu, as seen later at Çatalhöyük. Perhaps the physical house was symbolically closely associated with the living household and required its own distinctive mortuary rituals. These could include the retrieval of the dead, as evidenced in Building 21. A circular cut was located in the final floor of the building and had not been plastered over. This had the appearance of a burial cut, as seen in other buildings, but there was no articulated body within it, rather a few human remains were found scattered in the upper fill. It may well have been a grave reopened, with most of the body removed. The floors seem to have been chiselled away around the cut as if people were searching for the cut. It was partially open when the building collapsed or was dismantled, as bricks from the fill had fallen into the top of the cut. There was an additional small cut at the base of the pit, into which had been placed a canid jaw, in what appears to have been a deliberate depositional act of symbolic significance. In addition, there were several small postholes around the edge of the walls of the building; in two cases when posts were removed, special deposits of obsidian, a bone tool and a figurine, which we think represents a bear, were placed in these postholes (see photo to right). The occurrence of a bear within such a context is interesting, given the bear reliefs found at later Çatalhöyük. The symbolic significance of particular animals, also important later, is clear here. These 'magical' practices involve interesting symbolic exchanges – figurines, bone tools and obsidian for posts, canid jaw for human body – potentially designed to satisfy various cosmological forces.



Building 21 and its hearths

The pattern of decorating only specific parts of floors with red paint seems well established in Building 21; for example, a burial slump had an area of thick red ochre on the floor and other floors had more extensive patches of paint. In Building 20, areas around post slumps were painted. We also saw the same phenomenon in Building 24 in Area M, where even silty floors in the western, apparently ‘dirty’, area of the house seem to have been coloured red on occasion, by including ochre into the floor makeup; similar phenomena mark some floors in Building 25. The decorative function of these paint areas is unclear; they often seem irregular and limited. It seems likely that these might mark specific moments in the life of the household connected with different parts of the buildings, perhaps appropriate to the people involved in the events thus marked.



Figurine and obsidian in Building 21 posthole

Non-standard buildings

Some buildings do not have the characteristics of the relatively standard structures that are apparently domestic residences. We continued excavation of one of these in Area M this year – Building 23 – which seems to have preceded two similar buildings. Like the domestic residences, these buildings evidence long-term continuity. Building 23 is characterised by silty floors, which do not seem to have had the robusticity or marl plaster content of the domestic residences. These characterised the northern parts of the building, where there seems to have been a raised platform hearth. In the western part of this structure was a series of posts that changed position very regularly, as if the superstructure may have seen frequent modification. There were at least two temporary pit hearths and several small shallow pits that sometimes had phytoliths, probably from reed, lining them. These shallow features seem like settings for objects such as baskets. Some of these floors in the south were covered by dense reed phytoliths representing spreads of reeds on the surfaces. These floors seem crowded with features and the buildings seem much more dynamic, in terms of the moving of fixtures and fittings, and busier, in terms of the number of features in given floors. These seem to be structures where activities involving fire and storage may have been important; they were possibly kitchen structures or task-specific buildings. These conclusions raise interesting questions about who used these buildings and whether they were linked to a specific household or sets of households.

Ritual and other activity in open areas

We continued working in Area M to examine a sequence of external areas. In 2014 we found a series of burials in these areas and this year we strengthened the evidence for an area of regular mortuary practice in the open spaces in this part of the site. We found two adult inhumations in close proximity to those previously excavated. One of these had over 50 marine shell beads around its neck, many coated with red ochre. We also found further evidence of skull detachment, circulation and burial, with the deposition of skulls in pits near these burials; at least one skull displayed evidence of having been painted. We completed excavation of Grave 43 (started last year), confirming that a detached skull had been placed over a large polishing stone and mass of yellow ochre, which in turn had been placed over poorly-preserved human bone, around which were scattered marine shell beads. Further work by Jessica Pearson, on a skull excavated last year, confirmed that the head area was covered with red ochre beads and – a surprise – two red ochre pendants/large beads. It is clear that, in terms of grave goods, these open-air burials could be as richly adorned as examples in houses. Indeed they were possibly more richly adorned, providing further evidence for our considerations about who these individuals might have been.



Marine shell beads around the neck of a burial in Area M

We excavated a $7\text{m} \times 5\text{m}$ area (Area J) to the north of Area M to see how much buildings may have encroached on this central area. The eastern part of this trench represented a new building – Building 25 – with many characteristics of the standard domestic residences. Thus it seems that buildings did occur in these central open spaces, and it appears probable that there was little demarcation of open space, in that domestic structures seem to be found over the whole site and could encroach on previously open spaces, as suggested by Building 24 in Area M as well. Whilst the use of external areas seems structured, little sign of patterning in the location of structures is suggested by the current evidence.

Geophysical survey

Kelsey Lowe and Aaron Fogel conducted magnetometry and ground-penetrating radar surveys of the site. The initial magnetometry results seem very promising, with probable hearths and pits showing along with anomalies that have a very similar sub-oval shape and orientation to our buildings, with possible hearths in the northwestern areas of the putative buildings. Very excitingly, there is variation in size in these structures, with the possibility of the presence of significantly larger buildings than those excavated to date. We plan to follow up the survey work with ground-truthing next season in order to test the survey findings.

Electronic recording

Our testing of the field recording tablet application developed by the Federated Archaeological Information Management System (FAIMS) continued with a redesigned app. As in 2014, the app allowed structured recording of all our field data, reducing by ca 90% the time required for data input and verification. The system worked well for much of

the season, but, with up to ten tablets simultaneously synching with the server, it is clear that Boncuklu has exceeded the current server capacity. 2016 will see significantly upgraded server and tablet hardware.

Experimental archaeology and outreach activities

Experimental work aimed at helping us understand the buildings and open spaces at Boncuklu continued this year. The buildings had stood up well to the year's rain, strong winds and snow, and needed only limited repair around the base of the exterior walls. Water seemed to have percolated along some of the roof beams where they protruded from the roof eaves and created drips on the floors, replicating some of the 'rosette' features we have observed on the Neolithic house floors. Dripping around the hearth through the smoke-hole, which remained open through the winter, was much less than expected, but also created some putative 'rosette' features.

We created a screen wall around one of the hearths, replastered the floors of the two houses, painted red bands using ochre along the clean/dirty floor division, created a bucranium in one house at the base of one of the walls and created a burial in each of the houses. Readers will be pleased to learn that these burials were not of enthusiastic



The experimental area at Boncuklu



Replastering and painting the floor of an experimental house



Rush matting and bucranium in an experimental house

experimental team members but rather two lambs that had died of natural causes, provided by local shepherds. The back-filled cut did not evidence any smell of decay initially, but after several days cracks appeared in the soil of the backfill and the smell of decay was noticeable but not strong. When the cuts were then plastered over as part of the floor replastering there was no smell. We also tried various fire experiments in the houses. Reeds, which do seem to have been a common element of fuel loads, as suspected, created very smoky fires, which made staying in the house unbearable; slow-burning embers, however, were much less problematic. Perhaps the reeds were used to start fires in the house hearths but not used constantly. In the external areas we created light structures and fire pits like those seen in the open spaces, and tried a number of cooking experiments to the considerable satisfaction of those members of the team with a penchant for barbecued animal head and marrow!

The Boncuklu visitor centre continued to welcome a steady stream of visitors. Among the visitors were more than 25 children at the Hayıroğlu village summer school, who were taken on a tour of the site and took part in art activities with the dig team. As the result of a successful AHRC grant application, Jessica Pearson is developing a new interpretation project to extend the existing education materials and displays in the visitor centre, focusing on the people of Boncuklu, including their diet and physical wellbeing. This project will also help to link Boncuklu to the story unfolding at Çatalhöyük.

Acknowledgements

The project was funded by the British Institute at Ankara, the University of Liverpool and the University of Queensland. We ran a very successful field school through the Institute for Field Research (IFR) and we would like to thank Ran Boytner and the IFR for their support. We would also like to thank the Director, Yusuf Benli, and staff of the Konya Museums and the Directorate-General in Ankara, and, in particular, our Ministry representative Fahri Ayçin.

New discoveries and our interpretations of Çatalhöyük

Ian Hodder | Stanford University

doi:10.18866/biaa2015.116

This has been a season of remarkable finds and new insights. The excavations took place between 25 June and 22 August with about 110 researchers and excavators on the site at any one time. Work continued in the South, North and TPC areas, and exceptional finds were made in all. For example, in the TPC area, in the rubble infill of a late building, a stone figurine was found that ranks with the best that have ever been found at the site. As in many examples, the head was removed at some time before deposition, but the body is well formed. The team has suggested for some time that the well-modelled figurines that occur throughout the occupation of the site, but especially in the later levels, tend to focus on bellies, buttocks and breasts of older or mature individuals. While the new figurine emphasises legs and buttocks, it also has a very marked pubic triangle although the central vertical line is less carefully executed than the rest of the figurine. The fact that such figurines tend to occur more commonly in the upper levels of the site fits in with other evidence of social changes that emphasises domestic production rather than rituals associated with wild animals.



Stone figurine found in the TPC area of excavations by the team led by Arek Marciniak (photo by Jason Quinlan)

A remarkable find was made in the North area too. In Building 132 a painted, modelled plaster head with inserted obsidian eyes was found. While a Neolithic statue with obsidian eyes has been found at Şanlıurfa, parallels for the Building 132 head are rare. Building 132 occurs probably in North F level, roughly comparable to James Mellaart's Level VII. The head had been replastered multiple times, and in



Plaster head with obsidian eyes and painted surface from Building 132 (photo by Jason Quinlan)

some of the replasterings the obsidian eyes were replaced with black paint. The head was originally attached to the wall of Building 132, above and looking into or watching over the entrance into the side storage room. It is tempting to interpret the head and its obsidian eyes as monitoring the movement of stores into and out of the side room. In the early and mid levels at Çatalhöyük there seem to have been strong constraints on the accumulation of stores and material wealth by individual houses and by individuals in those houses. It is not possible to determine easily whether the head represents a human or animal. When viewed face on, many observers see resemblances to a feline or bear, but when viewed from the side, the head has the type of nose and chin seen on anthropomorphic figurines.

In the South area, an in situ but badly damaged bucranium (plastered bull's cranium) was found in Building 89. This is of particular interest because it shows how the inhabitants of Çatalhöyük – as well as remembering past



Bucranium in Building 89 (photo by Jason Quinlan)

events by placing bucrania in houses – also at times put bucrania out of commission in a process of forgetting. In the 1960s, Mellaart found bucrania that had been allowed to sink into floors as plaster layers were added to them (in his 'Shrine 10' sequence). In Building 89 the bucranium had been defaced and then the floor had risen around it, completely burying it. So while the houses at Çatalhöyük have been described as 'history houses' in which histories were made by the accumulation of objects, they were also 'forgetting houses'.

As well as remarkable new finds, there were also important new insights as a result of the excavations in 2015. Two such insights resulted from the excavation of Building 132, mentioned above in relation to the discovery of the plastered head with obsidian eyes. The first insight resulted from the fact that the building had some unusual characteristics. For example, the building as excavated is very large; but it also extends to the west and east below as yet unexcavated buildings, making it by far the largest building yet excavated at Çatalhöyük. In addition, the walls are much thicker than other buildings of this time period (North F) and the building was abandoned in an unusual way, with 2.5m-high walls left standing.



View of the excavated floor of Building 132 (photo by Jason Quinlan)

All this suggests a building of special significance, an interpretation supported by the fact that the building above it, excavated over the last decade as Building 77, was very elaborate and had an unusually large amount of bodies buried beneath the floors. The main room in Building 132 was largely devoid of platforms in its latest phase before abandonment, but it did have ovens and hearths associated with in situ clay balls in its southern half. It is possible that this room acted as a food preparation and consumption area for a larger group than is normally seen at the site. Whether this is a special building for communal activity or just an unusually large building will have to await further excavation. But Building 132 does raise the issue of whether we have been entirely correct in saying that the society at Çatalhöyük was fully egalitarian.

Another insight deriving from the excavation of Building 132 concerns the large number of burials found in the northeastern corner of the main room. These, however, are all dated to the period after the abandonment of the building. There is much evidence of wall collapse, decay and rebuilding in the later phases of use of this building (again suggesting that a process of ‘forgetting’ was taking place). After a period of time in which the northeast of the abandoned building was used for refuse deposition, a series of burials was interred. The burials were placed before and during the foundation of Building 77 that was built above Building 132, and it was the northeastern corner that was to become the centre of burial and ritual elaboration in Building 77. It seems, then, that Building 77 was constructed over a cemetery located in the northeastern corner of the abandoned Building 132. A similar process has now been found in a number of cases, such as the plastered skull placed in a foundation burial in Building 53 and the cemetery found beneath the 65-56-44-10 sequence of buildings. Another possible example discovered in 2015 is the series of burials found beneath Building 17 in the South area. Although the floors of Building 17 remain to be fully excavated, there is much evidence that below this building there are midden layers into which elaborate burials were set. In one case, a thick layer of phytoliths seems to suggest a plank placed on or with the body. A very similar plank burial was found in the same building during excavations in the 1990s. Most commentators, including the present team, have interpreted Çatalhöyük as consisting of houses in which burials were placed. Perhaps we need to reformulate this perspective and see the burials as primary, with houses built up around them.

Another new emerging interpretation concerns the fact that in the North area we have now excavated four large and elaborate buildings in a row. In 2015 the metal bridge that allowed tourist viewing of Building 5 was removed so that we could excavate a large burned building. Building 131 was situated to the south of Building 5 (that had the burned Building 1 above it) and to the north of Building 132 (with burned Building 77 above it). We have thus now excavated four large buildings: from north to south, Building 5-1, Building 131, Building 132-77, Building 52. All these buildings are large, long-lasting, have many burials, are often very elaborate and ‘rich’, and have a final phase of burning. They are surrounded to the west and east by smaller buildings, less elaborate, often with fewer burials, often unburned, and by large areas of midden or open space. We have yet to understand fully what these linear arrangements of special buildings indicate, but we have seen similar arrangements in the South area – for example Mellaart’s ‘shrines’ 1, 8 and 10 form a similar row of elaborate buildings, often with many burials, that end in burning. Might these be spatial representations of lineages of related buildings?

Towards the end of the occupation of the Neolithic East Mound there were many changes in economic and social and ritual life at Çatalhöyük. We have come to understand these changes best in the TP, TPC and GDN areas of the site just to the east of the South Shelter. In 2015, excavation and research continued in the TPC and GDN areas where we discovered often very large buildings with thick walls and multiple rooms, and without burials beneath the floors. Another change that had been noted earlier is that wall decoration extends over the whole of the main room of houses in later levels rather than being confined to the walls near burials of adults in the northern parts of rooms. This observation was confirmed this year in the excavation of Space 462.

The walls of this room were richly decorated with geometric motifs, and the room had platforms, ovens, benches and bucrania, as well as two small painted pillars placed on a bench against the northern wall. In earlier levels of occupation at the site, the walls adjacent to storage rooms are not decorated. But in Space 462 the painted decoration extended over the eastern wall behind which was Space 493 containing five large storage bins for wheat and barley. So, while in earlier levels of occupation storage areas were not marked and were ‘watched over’ with obsidian eyes, in later phases there was more open recognition and even celebration of stored wealth. The accumulation of stored wealth seemingly became more acceptable in the later phases of occupation at Çatalhöyük.



Painted Space 462 in the TPC area of excavations found by the team led by Arek Marciniak (photo by Jason Quinlan)

Acknowledgements

The main sponsors of the project in 2015 are Yapı Kredi, Boeing and Koçtaş. Other sponsors are Shell and Çumra Şeker Fabrikası. Funding was also received from the Templeton Foundation, the British Institute at Ankara, Imitatio (Thiel Foundation), the Polish Academy of Sciences, SUNY Buffalo and Stanford University and Archaeology Center. We are, as ever, grateful for the support of Ömer Koç. Our deep gratitude is due to the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, and to our 2015 *temsilci*, Vahap bey, as well as to the Konya Museums and its Director, Yusuf Benli.

Lower Göksu Archaeological Salvage Survey Project

Naoise Mac Sweeney | University of Leicester

Tevfik Emre Şerifoğlu | Bitlis Eren University

doi:10.18866/biaa2015.117

The landscape of Rough Cilicia is dominated by the jagged spine of the Taurus mountains, a natural barrier between the Anatolian plateau and the Mediterranean coast. The Göksu river valley is the easiest route between the coast and the plateau; it snakes its way inland from Silifke (ancient Seleucia ad Calycadnum), past Mut (ancient Claudopolis) and up onto the plateau. The banks of the Göksu are also the only large area of easily-cultivable arable land in the region of Rough Cilicia, which is otherwise largely mountainous. The river valley is therefore of twofold significance: as a channel of communication and as the breadbasket of the immediate region. The importance of the valley through history is reflected in the richness of its archaeological record, from the spectacular ruins of the early Byzantine monastery of Alahan to the Hittite-style rock relief at Keben.

Plans to build a hydroelectric dam at Kayraktepe (approximately 10km northwest of Silifke) placed much of this unique archaeological landscape at risk, as they involved flooding the lower part of the Göksu valley. The Lower Göksu Archaeological Salvage Survey Project (LGASSP) was established in 2013 in response to this threat, with the aim of documenting archaeological heritage in the flood zone. To date, we have undertaken three field seasons, with the generous support of the British Institute at Ankara, Bitlis Eren University and, more recently, the British Academy through the Newton International Fund.

In this article, we will primarily present the findings of the 2014 and 2015 field seasons. Please see *Heritage Turkey* 3 (2013) for the results of the 2013 season, as well as our other interim publications (Şerifoğlu et al. 2013; 2014; forthcoming). Our 2014 season was conducted between 28 October and 10 November 2014, while our 2015 season was undertaken between 29 June and 16 July 2015.

The project has twin aims. First, we hope to record as many sites as possible within the flood zone, necessitating extensive survey work. Second, we plan to learn as much as possible about two key study areas within the flood zone to gain a deeper understanding of landscape use and settlement hierarchy, necessitating intensive survey work.

Due to the large size of the flood zone and the harsh nature of much of the terrain, our extensive work has mostly involved the identification of likely sites using remote sensing methods and then visiting these locations on the ground. Prior to the 2014 season, we identified more than 50 potential sites, focusing particularly on likely locations near to perennial water sources and on caves. Unfortunately, amongst these potential sites (mostly visited during the 2014 field season), only five yielded archaeological remains (Pamuklu cave, Pamuklu 1, Pamuklu 2, Ekşilerkalesi and

Evkaçiftliği). An additional three new archaeological sites were identified during the field season through discussions with inhabitants of nearby villages (Dağcamii, Ardiçlitepe and Göcekleritepe). In addition, further recording and evaluation was undertaken at one multi-period mound discovered by David French in 1963 (Örentepe; French 1965: 180) and another discovered by T.E. Şerifoğlu in 2006 (Şarlaktepe; Şerifoğlu 2007). Given the poor rates of discovery for new sites through remote sensing, it was decided that the primary focus for the 2015 season would be intensive work in our two key study areas.

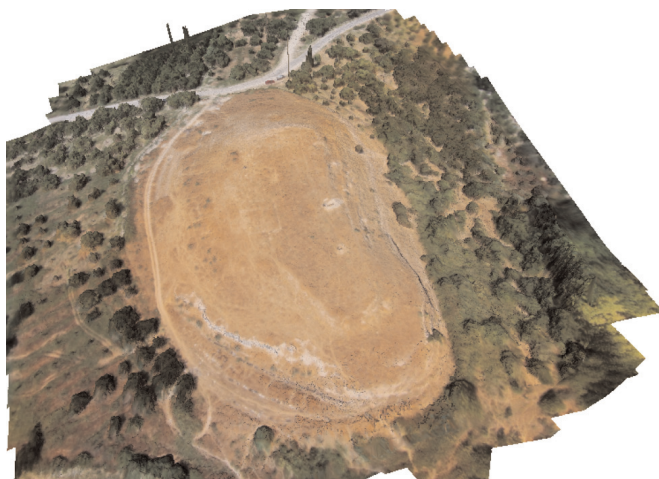
The two key study areas for intensive survey are located in two relatively flat and broad parts of the valley, which would have been the largest cultivable areas in the Lower Göksu. The more northerly of these key zones lies southwest of the modern town of Mut, while the second lies roughly halfway between Mut and Silifke, in the vicinity of the modern village of Kışla. In each of these two zones, there is a twinned pair of multi-period höyük mounds, one on each side of the river, which are all located on top of natural ridges. In the more northerly zone these are Attepe (French 1965: 180; Şerifoğlu et al. 2014: 75–76) and Görmüttepe (Mellaart 1963: 209; French 1965: 181; Şerifoğlu et al. 2014: 77), while in the more southerly zone these are Kilisetepe (Postgate, Thomas 2007) and Çingentepe (French 1965: 180; Şerifoğlu et al. 2014: 76). Of these, Attepe (located at the western side of the Göksu where the Ermenek river joins it) and Kilisetepe (located at the eastern side of the Göksu where the Kurtseyu river joins it) appear to be the larger and more important of the mounds. In 2014, we undertook geophysical surveys (resistivity) on the western slopes of both Attepe and Çingentepe, hoping to gain some sense of structures beneath the surface. We did not conduct geophysical surveys on the other two main mounds in the key zones as magnetic and resistivity surveys have already been done on Kilisetepe as part of an earlier project (Jackson 2012; Jackson et al. 2013: 9, 16) and because Görmüttepe has undergone major agricultural terracing and so interpreting geophysical results would be highly problematic. We continued this resistivity work in 2015 at a field just near the western slope of Çingentepe, investigating a broader area around the mound. We are still in the process of combining and analysing the resistivity images from the two seasons of work, but initial results indicate the presence of rectangular structures under the surface on both mounds. We hope to combine these geophysical results with information gained in 2013 from gridded surface collection conducted at the western slope of Çingentepe.

In 2015, we also undertook intensive fieldwalking in the more southerly key zone, covering the area between Kilisetepe and Çingentepe. Although we are still processing the ceramic information we gathered from this work, we are hopeful that we will be able to identify the edges of the occupation areas around these two mounds, as well as the ‘empty’ or less densely occupied zone between them.

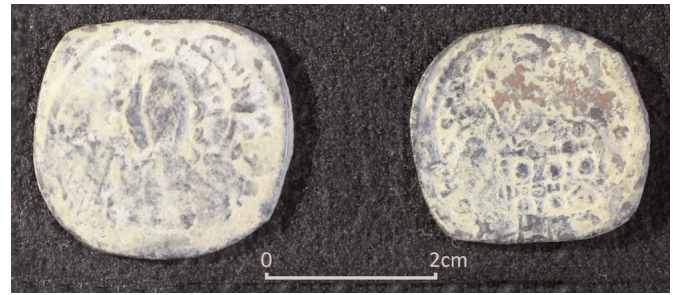
This work has led to a greatly improved understanding of the occupation history of both sites. Notably, we identified an area of Chalcolithic/Early Bronze Age occupation at the eastern edge of Kilisetepe, an area of Byzantine occupation (where a coin was also found) at the western edge of a hill to the north of Kilisetepe (Çakıltepe), the remains of a late Roman fountain to the northwest of Çingentepe and a strong Hittite presence at Çingentepe was indicated by the discovery of a libation arm. Once more, we are working to combine this new information from the 2015 field season with that of previous seasons. In particular, in 2014 we undertook a detailed study of several newly-opened illegal robber trenches at Çingentepe. These included one large shaft sunk into the top of the mound and a substantial section bulldozed from its western edge. We were fortunately able to discern some potentially helpful information from the sections of these illegal excavations. We also conducted intensive surveys at and around Attepe in 2015 and this yielded further traces of Chalcolithic or Early Bronze Age occupation at this site in the form of finely-worked lithics.

Another activity undertaken in the 2015 season in the two key zones was aerial photography with the use of a photographic drone. Three-dimensional models of Çingentepe, Çakıltepe and Maltepe (a Byzantine to medieval settlement recorded in 2013) were created using the photographs taken by the drone, allowing us to gain a better understanding of the topography and the potential for landscape use (see the model of Çingentepe below).

Much work remains to be done. Towards the end of the 2015 season, we were informed by the local authorities that the construction of Kayraktepe dam may be halted because of the potential environmental damage, and that the Lower Göksu may no longer be in imminent danger of being submerged by its flood waters. The long-term prospects of the dam project remain unclear however, and so we plan to continue our work documenting the valley's archaeological heritage. We hope to make progress pursuing both of our project aims in the 2016 season, documenting more new sites



Three-dimensional model of the mound of Çingentepe



Byzantine coin, found on the lower slopes of Kilisetepe

and learning more about our key study zones. In the meantime, we are analysing and processing the information we have already gathered. We are currently building an online searchable database and project website, with interactive maps and site models.

We would like to thank the British Institute at Ankara, Bitlis Eren University and the Newton International Fund for their generous support, the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism for granting us a permit and the director and staff of the Silifke Museum for all their kind help and hospitality.

References

- French, D.H. 1965: 'Prehistoric sites in the Göksu valley' *Anatolian Studies* 15: 177–201; <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3642511>
- Jackson, M.P.C. 2012: 'Excavations of the Byzantine-period levels at Kilise Tepe 2011: preliminary report on the final excavation season' *Dumbarton Oaks Project Grant Reports 2011–2012*: <http://www.doaks.org/research/byzantine/project-grant-reports/2011-2012/jackson>
- Jackson, M.P.C., Postgate, J.N., Şerifoğlu, T.E. 2013: 'Kilise Tepe 2011 yılı kazıları – Excavations at Kilise Tepe 2011' *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 34.2: 5–24
- Mellaart, J. 1963: 'Early cultures of the south Anatolian plateau, II: the Late Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Ages in the Konya plain' *Anatolian Studies* 13: 199–236; <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3642494>
- Postgate, J.N., Thomas, D. (eds) 2007: *Excavations at Kilise Tepe, 1994–1998: From Bronze Age to Byzantine in Western Cilicia*. Cambridge and London
- Şerifoğlu, T.E. 2007: 'An archaeological survey performed along the Göksu river valley in Turkey as a part of a doctoral research' *WAC Inter-Congress in Jamaica May 20–27, 2007*: http://www.worldarchaeologicalcongress.org/students/jamaica/e_session/Serifoglu.htm
- Şerifoğlu, T.E., Mac Sweeney, N., Colantoni, C. 2013: 'The Lower Göksu Survey' *Heritage Turkey* 3: 31; <http://dx.doi.org/10.18866/biaa2015.073>
- 2014: 'The Lower Göksu Archaeological Salvage Survey Project: preliminary results of the first season' *Anatolica* 40: 71–92
- forthcoming: 'Lower Göksu Archaeological Salvage Survey Project: the second season' *Anatolica* 41

Çaltılar Archaeology Project 2015

Alan M. Greaves | University of Liverpool

doi:10.18866/biaa2015.118

The Çaltılar Archaeology Project (ÇAP) applies various archaeological research techniques across the region of southwest Turkey known in antiquity as Lycia. Our international and interdisciplinary project aims to understand the ancient settlement history and environment of the upland (*vayla*) region of Lycia in particular. We work in partnership with academics from universities and museums in the UK, Turkey and the USA. Since 2008, we have conducted intensive archaeological surveys at the prehistoric settlement mounds (*höyük*s) at Çaltılar and Seki-Eceler.

Çaltılar Höyük is located just to the south of the modern village. Although small in size, our research shows that the site has a long history of settlement from the Chalcolithic period to the Early Iron Age (ca 5000 to 500 BC). Finds from the site suggest that it was well-connected in the Iron Age, with quality pottery imported from across a wide area. In 2012–2014 we surveyed at the site of Eceler, near Seki. This is a large, but relatively flat *höyük* next to a river. It is similar in character to Çaltılar, but has a longer occupation history – spanning ca 5000 BC to AD 500. Finds from the site suggest that it too was well connected in the Iron Age. Sedimentology cores taken nearby will give us further details about the site's immediate environment.

In addition to our fieldwork activities, we have been a partner, with Fethiye Museum, in an education and conservation project aimed at challenging illicit looting and vandalism at archaeological sites. We have also established a research and education centre in Çaltılar village and welcome visitors and school groups whenever we are working there.

The project is now entering its final writing-up phase with the entire team working together to prepare a monograph that will present the results of fieldwork and research conducted since 2008. In 2015, our activities in Turkey focused on two main areas of interest: geomorphological research led by Namık Çağatay of Istanbul Technical University (ITU) and the preparation of a heritage management plan by B. Nilgün Öz of the Middle East Technical University, Ankara.

In order to understand the wider environmental context, Professor Çağatay visited the Lycian highlands to observe the landscape and take notes and photographs. These observations will be vital to our understanding of the areas immediately adjacent to the Çaltılar Archaeology Project study area and will provide insights into their own geological and environmental histories. For example, Professor Çağatay was able to visit the fascinating site of Yazır Gölü in neighbouring Burdur province which a previous British survey team had identified as having been, at least partly, created by people who controlled the level of the lake by manipulating a natural sinkhole.



Çaylaklıtepe: on the border between the Muğla, Burdur and Antalya provinces, this mountain is the site of a sacred cave, investigated by the research team in 2012

In 2015, B. Nilgün Öz began work on an assessment of the long-term heritage management needs of Çaltılar and its environs, building on previous seasons' public meetings with the village community as well as informal meetings with other stakeholders and desktop research. Together, this information will be used to form the first draft of CHAMP – the Çaltılar Höyük Archaeological Management Plan. This will provide a framework for development of the archaeological resources in Çaltılar village and its surrounding area with a view to protecting them and using them to benefit the local community. It is hoped that this plan will also provide a basis for future research at the site.

Our outreach activities this year included redesigning and updating the website to include all the individual projects the team members have been working on in Lycia that fall under the broad umbrella of the Çaltılar Archaeology Project, including our previous archaeological surveys, museum projects and educational activities. Team members have also presented lectures in the UK and Turkey, raising awareness of our work within the international academic community.

Financial support for the CHAMP project was provided by the Koç University Research Centre for Anatolian Civilisations and the British Institute at Ankara. Other funding for ÇAP was provided by the University of Liverpool and the British Institute at Ankara. We are very grateful for the academic contributions of Namık Çağatay (ITU) and Sena Akçer and Zeki Bora On (Muğla University). We are also extremely grateful to Danielle Bradshaw of the University of Cambridge who has continued to maintain and update the project website (<http://sace.liv.ac.uk/lycia/>).



Namık Çağatay and colleagues at the Yazır Gölü sinkhole in Burdur province

Continuity and interaction in the Iron Age of central Anatolia

Orlene McIlpatrick | British Institute at Ankara

doi:10.18866/biaa2015.119

Background

The excavations at Çadır Höyük in central Anatolia evolved out of the original University of Chicago Oriental Institute excavations at nearby Alişar Höyük, which were undertaken by Hans Henning von der Osten from 1926–1932. In 1993, a project was initiated under the directorship of Ronald L. Gorny to re-map the mound and conduct a survey of the surrounding region. The survey brought to light the hitherto undocumented site of Çadır Höyük. These two neighbouring sites were occupied at the same time during the Bronze Age and the Iron Age.

The site at Çadır is a contender for the ancient city of Zippalanda, while Alişar is recognised as Ankuwa. Hittite archives document journeys taken by the king within this region, between these cities and also to the sacred mountain which became the Iron Age site of Kerkenes Dağ and to the capital at Boğazköy/Hattusa. These sites appear to have had interlinking social, economic and religious functions, and to have had significant interaction with one another, and were part of a wider network of settlements, each of which may have had its own particular inter-city relationships within the network. Understanding these relationships, or lack thereof, during the Iron Age is important for our overall understanding of post-Hittite central Anatolia.

Both Çadır Höyük and Alişar Höyük have yielded large assemblages of painted pottery of Iron Age date, containing thousands of sherds. The Çadır Höyük and Alişar Höyük Middle Iron Age ceramics are stylistically very similar. Decorative motifs are largely held in common, with ‘wavy line style’ ceramics and examples of pottery with a style of animal motif decoration commonly known as ‘Alişar IV ware’; the latter is more plentiful among the Oriental Institute’s collection, but there are a few examples from Çadır Höyük. Decoration was painted, probably with an organic brush, either directly onto the unfired ceramic body or onto a surface coated with a liquid clay slip of lighter colour than the fabric. Colours are most commonly dark-brown or black and red or red-brown.

A wide selection of ceramic material – from all levels of the sites – was used for this study, based on accessibility, permission of museum departments and the suitability of the sherds themselves. In this respect, thanks must be offered to the excavation directors of Çadır Höyük, for their permission to use the site material, and to the Oriental Institute, for facilitating access to its collection of pottery from von der Osten’s excavations at Alişar Höyük. Additional thanks go to the Lambarde Fund (Society of Antiquaries of London) for the research travel grant which was awarded to me to enable travel to Chicago.

Research questions and methodology

The primary purpose of my study is to attempt to ‘map’ the distribution of ceramic fabric types (that is, the clay from which the pottery was made) between, initially, these two neighbouring sites. Various questions may be answered by such an attempt. For example, does a chemically compared ceramic dataset of Iron Age pottery from the sites allow chemically distinct groups of pottery to be distinguished? If so, are the same groups present at both sites and might this indicate that the two cities were trading ceramics? Also, for the material from Çadır Höyük the internal distribution of fabric groups is of particular interest, the key question being whether or not use of any specific clay sources remained consistent over the course of the occupation of the site. Changes in the fabric types used for the pottery made and/or used across a city’s lifespan can illuminate a number of social and economic aspects, regarding the modes of production and distribution, access to raw materials and supply and demand. This year’s work necessarily focused on this last question first, as the outcome establishes the foundation for any future comparisons between sites. Lastly, I am interested to determine if there were ‘recipes’ for the various shades of colour used to decorate the pots, by testing the chemical makeup of the pigments used as paints on the pottery. Thus, where possible (in other words, in cases of well-preserved painted sherds), the paints were analysed to determine the mineral pigments used.

The analytical method I used to obtain data on the ceramic fabrics and pigments is called Portable X-Ray Fluorescence analysis (PXRF). Outside industrial contexts, this analytical method is now used by museums, art galleries and archaeologists to obtain detailed chemical fingerprints of materials being analysed, in the form of elemental spectrums. I chose this technique because it can be used on fragments down to 5m × 5mm in surface area, it is a fast method of data collection and it also offers the perfect balance between portability and accuracy, allowing me to take the instrument to museums and field labs with ease. Bruker Elemental have generously supported this project by loaning a Bruker Tracer III-SD instrument whenever required.



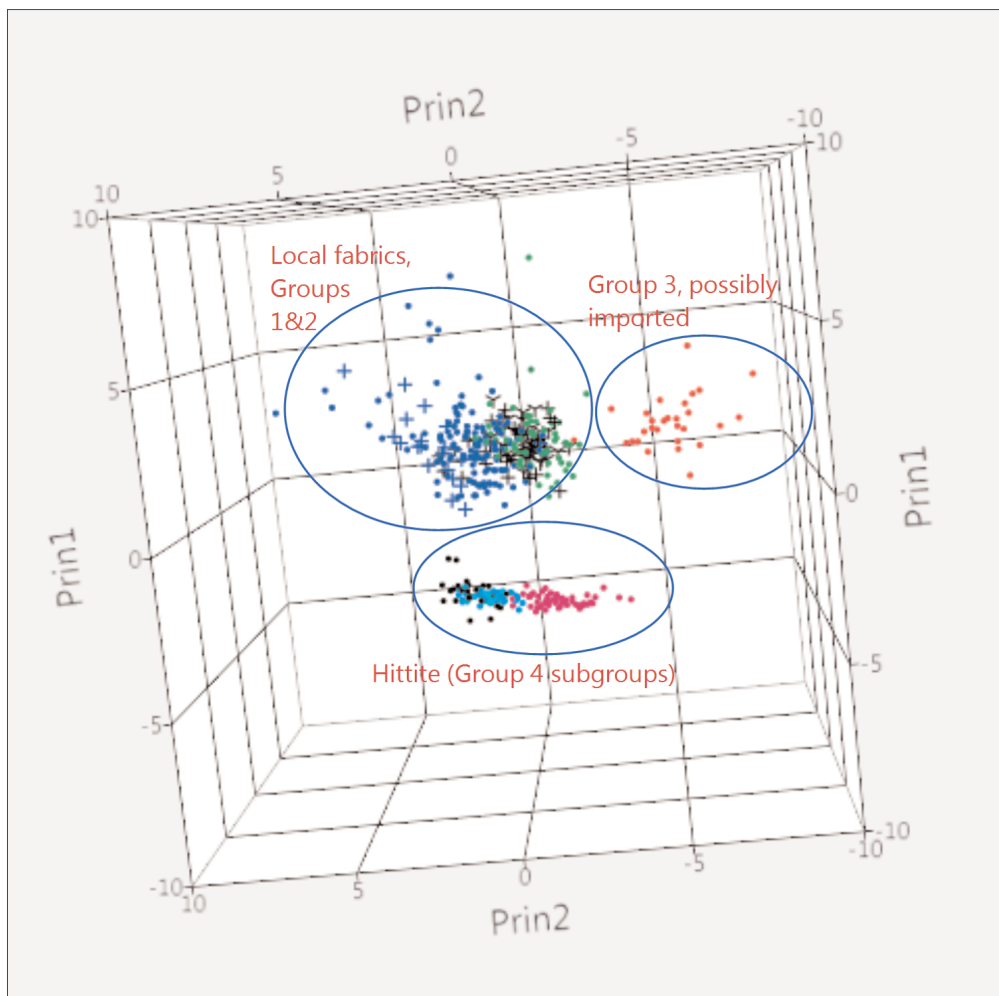
Sherd from Çadır Höyük displaying particularly fine geometric decoration

The results so far: fabric types

This year, all the necessary sample data were collected from the two sites that form the core of this study. It is hoped that permission will be forthcoming to add a further neighbouring site in the near future, in order to continue and expand the study. For the moment, only the Çadır Höyük results have been processed fully and can be reported on briefly here. A three-dimensional scatterplot (below) shows the fabric type groupings from all sampled levels of the site, from the Chalcolithic through to the Middle Iron Age. The Early Iron Age is not well defined at Çadır Höyük as yet, and so pottery from these disturbed layers was not selected for analysis.

The internal distribution of the ceramic types at Çadır Höyük shows an interesting pattern. Four broad fabric types can be determined by elemental content. Group 1 is an iron- and titanium-rich group (represented by blue dots on the scatterplot below); Group 2 is an iron- and titanium-poor group (green dots); Group 3 is a rubidium-rich group (red dots), which is particularly distinct; and Group 4 comprises three closely-related subgroups (Groups 4a, 4b and 4c shown by pink, light-blue and black dots respectively) which appear only in the Hittite-period material.

When the Çadır data are tagged for Chalcolithic, Early Bronze Age, Middle Bronze Age and Hittite pottery, the pattern of fabric-type use is extremely interesting; the plot is very distinctly patterned. Hittite pottery (shown by pink, light-blue and black dots; Groups 4a, 4b and 4c respectively) is completely separate from the other types used throughout all the other occupation levels, and appears to consist of three similar but not identical fabric types. Most interestingly, the Chalcolithic (shown as black 'Y' markers on the scatterplot), Early Bronze Age (black '+' markers) and Middle Bronze Age (blue '+' markers) types correlate exactly with Groups 1 and 2, with the Middle Bronze Age lying almost exactly within Group 1. In essence, this means that it can be safely stated that Groups 1 and 2 are definitely local to the site, as they comprise the totality of the ceramic assemblage across several occupation levels. The subgroups which make up Group 4 are so different that Josh Cannon (Hittite pottery specialist for the site) and I are of the opinion that they are an imported pottery type (or types). This would follow the accepted view expressed regularly about the centralised and controlled distribution patterns for goods. The



Three-dimensional scatterplot of fabric groups, including their chronological patterning

pottery may have been brought to the site from a neighbouring ‘hub’ city, though that is unlikely to be as distant as Boğazköy/Hattusa. The subgroupings we detect on closer inspection of the Hittite material alone may indicate that it comprises the production of more than one workshop, with the source clay being from the same general vicinity, with post-extraction treatments or processes (such as temper addition) being responsible for some alteration in the makeup. This Group 4 demonstrates a complete break in local clay exploitation during the Hittite period, with no local material appearing in the levels associated with Hittite ceramics.

Curiously, the pattern of clay exploitation reverts generally to use of the same local clay sources after the Hittite collapse, with the exception of Group 3, which may belong to a pottery type imported from a nearby city or may show the emerging use of a new clay deposit with a granitic geological basis. Granite geology does appear in the Alişar region, and this may be a clue to either the sourcing of the clay or indeed the import of finished wares. This issue will become clearer as the results from that site are processed in the coming months, and compared with the data from Çadır.

The results so far: paints and pigments

Three distinct groupings are observed in the plotted data for paint readings from Çadır Höyük. These groupings indicate three broad elemental composition types within the paint. Pigment Type 1, which includes all the red and reddish-brown paint samples, has a substantial amount of iron and very little manganese or other pigmented trace elements. Type 2 features all the brown and dark-brown paint samples, and is shown to be quite high in iron, but still relatively low in manganese with slightly elevated copper, nickel and cobalt values. Type 3 comprises all the darkest-brown and black pigments, and is typically high in both iron and manganese (though the actual ratio of manganese to iron is still very low) and relatively high in copper, nickel and cobalt impurities in comparison with the other two groups. Many of the very dark-brown or black pigments also display elevated levels of calcium in comparison to their respective substrate readings, which may indicate the addition of calcium-rich clay or ground eggshell paste to the pigment as a filler.

The local Yozgat province has widely occurring deposits of iron and ferromanganese ores of varying size and quality, such as the deposits at Eymir and Derbent, Cinhanpaşa Köyü and Büyükmahal Köyü. Many of these are quite distant from Çadır, lying almost a day’s journey away (around 17 hours walking time in the case of the Derbent deposit and between 10 and 11 hours for Eymir and Büyükmahal, for example). However, Çadır lies much closer – within a five- or six-hour walk – to two major deposits of minerals which could have been used to produce pigments for the painted pottery. Just three and a half hours away, along the modern road – less by overland hike, ‘as the crow flies’ – there is a deposit of

magnetite and hematite in the environs of Büyükören Köyü. A further two-and-a-half-hour walk leads to the magnetite and hematite sources that have been identified and examined from the environs of three small settlements: Karabacak Köyü, Atkayasi and Uzunkuyu. Hematite (Fe_2O_3) would also have leached into the soils immediately around these deposits and have led to red ochre earths, easily obtainable and easily carried in small quantities.

Also in the vicinity – a five- or six-hour walk from Çadır – is the large deposit of ferromanganese at Sarıkaya. This deposit in particular seems a plausible source for the paints in which manganese is a substantial component. Nodules of manganese-bearing minerals from the Sarıkaya deposit, in which there are types of varying quality, are a plausible source of black or very dark-brown pigment. Given the wide range of shades of brown and black observed on the sherds, it seems likely that the minerals were obtained in small batches, and may have been processed in various ways according to the particular preference of the craftsperson or workshop regarding the tonal shade or viscosity (and thus pigment density) of the paint. Tonal shade can be influenced by the preferred application method, whether by animal-hair brush, softened reed or some other form of organic applicator. Some ‘brushes’ require less viscous paints for proper application technique, for instance.

Final thoughts

The results from Alişar Höyük are eagerly anticipated. It will be very interesting to see if the mineral signatures are similar and if there was a preference for one or more of the three pigment types noted at Çadır. It will also be fascinating to learn if there is a reflection or correlation with the proposed ‘imported Iron Age painted pottery’ of fabric Group 3.



A Bruker Tracer III-SD analysis system
(image courtesy of Bruker.com)

Settlement, colonisation and Black Sea networks:

Early Iron Age to Classical Sinope

Jane Rempel | University of Sheffield

With Sue Sherratt and Owen Doonan

doi:10.18866/biaa2015.120

The town of Sinop, on the northern coast of Turkey, is blessed with two natural harbours. It was the most strategic port in the Black Sea region from antiquity until the Crimean War and, although today you are more likely to see yachts and fishing boats, larger tankers still take shelter there when a storm threatens. This connection to the sea was key to the foundation of ancient Sinope as a Greek settlement in ca 630 BC and its involvement in the movement of people, goods and ideas around the Black Sea throughout the first millennium BC.

In the summer of 2015, the University of Sheffield began its collaboration in the Sinop Kale Excavations, an exciting new archaeological project in the heart of the ancient city of Sinope. This project, directed by Owen Doonan (California State University Northridge), builds on more than a decade of survey and environmental research conducted by the Sinop Regional Archaeological Project and its aim is to investigate the nature of pre-Greek settlement as well as the early Greek settlement and its later development. The Sheffield contingent, supported by funding from the British Institute at Ankara and including Jane Rempel and Sue Sherratt from the Department of Archaeology as well as undergraduates Greer Dewdney and Nick Groat, worked alongside an international team including Associate Director Alexander Bauer (Queens University New York), Field Director Andrew Goldman (Gonzaga University) and students from both American and local universities.

Three operations were opened in a three-week season: the first was a 5m × 10m trench perpendicular to the line of the city wall; the second was a 2m × 2m trench against the wall extending from the edge of excavations carried out in 2013–2014 by the Sinop Museum; and the third cut back a section protected under an Ottoman concrete cap inside a Hellenistic tower. The most significant finds of the season include: the first evidence ever documented of Early Bronze Age settlement in the urban area of Sinop; two distinct types of pre-colonial stone-built houses each associated with ceramics from the northern Black Sea and central Pontic Anatolia respectively; documentation of an extensive early colonial settlement with handmade wares used together with Archaic (sixth century BC) and Classical (fifth to fourth century BC) Athenian ceramics; and evidence for the relationship of the city wall to Archaic and Classical horizons.

Of particular interest for Sherratt and Rempel is further understanding the ways in which Sinop was connected to larger Black Sea networks in the first millennium BC. Although the maritime linking up of the Black Sea coasts in general, and traffic along the Turkish Black Sea coast in particular, has traditionally been regarded only as an outcome

of Greek settlement from the later seventh century BC, archaeology in recent decades has demonstrated that maritime connections around and across the Black Sea (in some periods apparently more intense than others) go back well into prehistory, at least as far as the late Chalcolithic period in the fifth millennium BC (Bauer 2006). It also seems probable that, when Greeks finally ventured into the Black Sea in the later seventh century, this coincided with a period when Black Sea maritime networks were already in operation and when there was an increase in use of coastal sites in the area around Sinop (Doonan 2004). Later literary sources tell us that the Milesian settlement of Sinope immediately set up a daughter-settlement at Trapezous (modern Trabzon), on the coast further to the east, which suggests that Sinope's main purpose was as a way-station for Greek sea traffic along this coast. At any rate, survey by the Sinop Regional Archaeological Project, directed by Owen Doonan, has shown little sign of interaction between Sinope and its hinterland before the fourth century. It is possible, perhaps, that the rich iron and silver resources in Gümüşhane province near Trabzon may have been an attraction, not least since the *Iliad* describes the eastern part of the Black Sea coast as the place where 'silver was born'.

Ancient Sinope's seaward focus in these early periods is confirmed by its foundation of the secondary settlements of Kotyora (possibly modern Ordu) and Kerasous (Giresun), as well as Trapezous, to the east of Sinop along the Black Sea coast, probably not long after the foundation of Sinope itself. Epigraphic evidence demonstrates early diplomatic relationships with other Greek settlements on the Black Sea, particularly Histria and Olbia, which were also early Milesian foundations, as well as the presence of Sinopeans living in settlements around the Black Sea and the Aegean (Ruscu 2008). In 437/6 BC an Athenian cleruchy was established at Sinope as part of Pericles's Black Sea expedition, demonstrating the importance of Sinope to trading networks in the Aegean and further abroad.

Beginning in the fourth century BC, however, evidence for Sinope's participation in Black Sea networks increases significantly. The fourth and third centuries BC was a period of prosperity in the Black Sea region with the Greek settlements and local populations engaging in intensive networks of trade and exchange, diplomacy and elite display. Sinope's involvement in Black Sea trade during this period is clear; from the second half of the fourth century to the mid third century BC exports of amphorae and roof tiles from Sinope are found in all regions of the Black Sea. By the beginning of the third century BC, wine and oil amphorae from Sinope are the main imports at Greek settlements on the northern coast of the Black Sea (Krapivina 2010) and, by ca 325 BC, Sinope was the main trading partner for southwestern Georgia, based on the quantity of Sinopean roof tiles, amphorae and other pottery vessels, and coins found at sites in that region (Inaishvili and Khalvashi 2010).

Both the amphorae and roof tiles are identifiable as Sinopean products by their fabrics and shapes, but also because of their workshop stamps. In addition to an image, like the dolphin and eagle that branded Sinopean coins, these stamps often include the name of the potter as well as the *astynomos*, an annually appointed official. These stamps were used from the second quarter of the fourth to the early second century BC and can be placed in a relative sequence based on the names of the potters and *astynomoi* (Garlan 2004). This means that these stamps – and the amphorae and roof tiles that bear them – can be dated quite closely, lending a rich chronological resolution to our understanding of Sinopean exports in the Black Sea during this period.

Work conducted by the Sinop Regional Archaeological Project has indicated that it is only in this period – the fourth century BC – that Sinope's connection with its hinterland starts to develop. Beginning in the fourth century BC, new coastal sites were established: small settlements with primarily Greek pottery, such as Bostancılı, or a mixture of Greek and local pottery, like İlyan'ın Yeri. In addition, during this period Greek pottery is found for the first time at larger indigenous centres like Tingiroğlu and Maltepe, located at key transport points in the hinterland (Doonan 2004; Doonan et al. 2015). It is possible that this evidence for new interactions with the hinterland is related to increased agriculture production in support of Sinope's exports of oil and wine during this period.

However Sinope's new relationship with its hinterland also mirrors a general trend towards more intensive occupation and agricultural exploitation of the rural territory around Greek settlements in the Black Sea region. Beginning in the fourth and continuing into the third and second centuries BC, sites like Histria and Kallatis on the western coast, Olbia, Chersonesos and the Bosporan kingdom on the northern coast and Vani on the eastern coast all experienced increased numbers of rural settlements as well as new road networks and agricultural installations like field systems. This phenomenon is well documented in other regions of the Black Sea but less well understood for the southern coast. The potential for the Sinop Kale Excavations to refine local pottery chronologies for this period and add resolution to survey data will add significantly to our understanding of this phenomenon.

Indeed, the first season of the excavations provided exciting results. Located near the best-surviving section of the Hellenistic fortification wall that stretches across the Sinop peninsula, two smaller-scale evaluation trenches established initial results relating to the building of the city wall and to an uninterrupted superimposed sequence from the mid first millennium BC to the late first millennium AD. One of them also provided hints of an indigenous settlement which may have preceded the Greek settlement and/or co-existed with its earlier centuries. These results are highly significant for our understanding of the early Black Sea and demonstrate the outstanding promise the Sinop Kale Excavations hold for future research.

References

- Bauer, A.A. 2006: 'Between the steppe and the sown: prehistoric Sinop and inter-regional interaction along the Black Sea coast' in D.L. Peterson, L.M. Popova, A.T. Smith (eds), *Beyond the Steppe and the Sown*. Leiden: 227–46
- Doonan, O. 2004: *Sinop Landscapes. Exploring Connections in a Black Sea Hinterland*. Philadelphia; <http://dx.doi.org/10.9783/9781934536278>
- Doonan, O., Bauer, A., Casson, A., Conrad, M., Besonen, M., Evren, E., Domzalski, K. 2015 'Sinop Regional Archaeological Project: report on the 2010–2012 field seasons' in S. Steadman, G. McMahon (eds), *The Archaeology of Anatolia: Current Work*. Cambridge: 298–327
- Garlan, Y. 2004: *Les timbres céramiques sinopéens sur amphores and sur tuiles trouvés à Sinop*. Paris
- Inaishvili, N., Khalvashi, M. 2010: 'Sinopean imports on the Black Sea littoral of south-west Georgia' *Ancient Civilizations* 16: 487–509; <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/157005711x560471>
- Krapivina, V.V. 2010: 'Ceramics from Sinope in Olbia Pontica' *Ancient Civilizations* 16: 467–77; <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/157005711x560453>
- Ruscu, L. 2008: 'Sinopeans abroad and foreigners at Sinope' *Ancient West and East* 7: 79–103; <http://dx.doi.org/10.2143/AWE.7.0.2033254>



Sinop Kale Excavations at the base of the Hellenistic fortification walls and view to the northern coast of the peninsula (J. Rempel)

CULTURAL HERITAGE, SOCIETY & ECONOMY

The promotion, management and regulation of cultural heritage is a complex process involving many different agents and stakeholders on local, national and international levels. 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 arisen. It is these inter-relationships contained within the field of cultural heritage that this Strategic Research Initiative sets out to examine in the Turkish context.

Archaeological- and eco-tourism in Pisidia

İşıl Gürsu | British Institute at Ankara

doi:10.18866/biaa2015.121

Public archaeology and the promotion and management of cultural heritage represent important new approaches to the understanding and appreciation of Turkey's rich historic and archaeological past. The British Institute at Ankara is at the forefront of these developments and, since 2013, has been conducting one of the pioneer cultural heritage management programmes in Turkey. The programme concentrates on two sites – Aspendos and Pisidia – and is mainly funded by the Headley Trust and the Institute. The projects at both sites aim to create a 'road map' that will lay out guidelines for the implementation of an archaeological heritage management plan. The road maps will focus on the documentation and preservation of archaeological sites and the potential, with local collaboration, for sustainable socio-economic benefits.

The Aspendos and Pisidia projects have been developed separately, and the first phase of work was dedicated to the preparation of a sustainable development plan for the cultural and natural heritage of Aspendos and its surroundings, in collaboration with Hacettepe University, Ankara. This plan is now being put into action (see the next article, pages 34–35). The second phase consists of the creation of a regional cultural heritage plan for the ancient area of Pisidia, located in the Taurus mountain range to the north of the Pamphylian plain.

Destination Pisidia!

Pisidia is the ancient name of the region in southern Turkey that lies within the boundaries of the modern provinces of Antalya, Isparta and Burdur. This highland region stretches north of the coastal plain of Antalya and includes lakes

Burdur, Eğirdir and Beyşehir. Although Pisidia is extremely rich in terms of its archaeological heritage, it is little known and almost entirely unvisited.

This cultural heritage management project focuses on the ancient cities of southern Pisidia, most of which have been investigated by archaeologists affiliated with the British Institute at Ankara over the past three decades. These include Pednelissos, Melli, Sia, Ariassos, Cremna, Adada, Selge, Kapıkaya and Döşeme Boğazı. Despite its proximity to Antalya, one of the main tourism hubs of Turkey, this 20,000km² area does not attract or cater for visitors.

The city sites, hidden amongst the stunning forests of Pisidia, offer a unique and sublime experience to the occasional visitor. Considerable damage and deterioration have been noted at many of these Pisidian cities since initial investigations by Institute-affiliated archaeologists. Much of the destruction is due to illicit digging, but neglect is also a cause, and neither problem can be addressed by laws and regulations alone. Successful intervention has to involve the local communities in the protection of their heritage.

Thus this project for the development of archaeological- and eco-tourism in the ancient region of Pisidia aims to promote both the cultural and the natural heritage of the region for visitors, and especially for those who enjoy an off-the-beaten-track experience. Additionally, the project aims to implement a sustainable management plan which will enable local communities to offer suitable visitor facilities based on the ethos of eco-tourism. It is neither anticipated nor intended that Pisidia will become a mass-tourist destination within the foreseeable future; it could, however, become a 'green destination', so long as sensible strategies are introduced. As such, the region has the potential to become a model for other similar areas in Turkey.

The British Institute at Ankara has been trying to raise funds for the implementation of this project. The Pisidia Appeal has been one of the initiatives towards this goal (www.biaa.ac.uk/donate/pisidia-appeal; and see the advert on the inside back cover of this magazine). With contributions from supporters of the Institute based in the UK, Turkey and across the world, the project can continue to produce tangible results which will touch the lives of both the local communities living in the vicinity of the sites and those travellers who would come to explore this beautiful region.

The elements of the project that have been developed in order to promote Pisidia as a destination are formulated under two headings: those directed at visitors and those involving local communities.

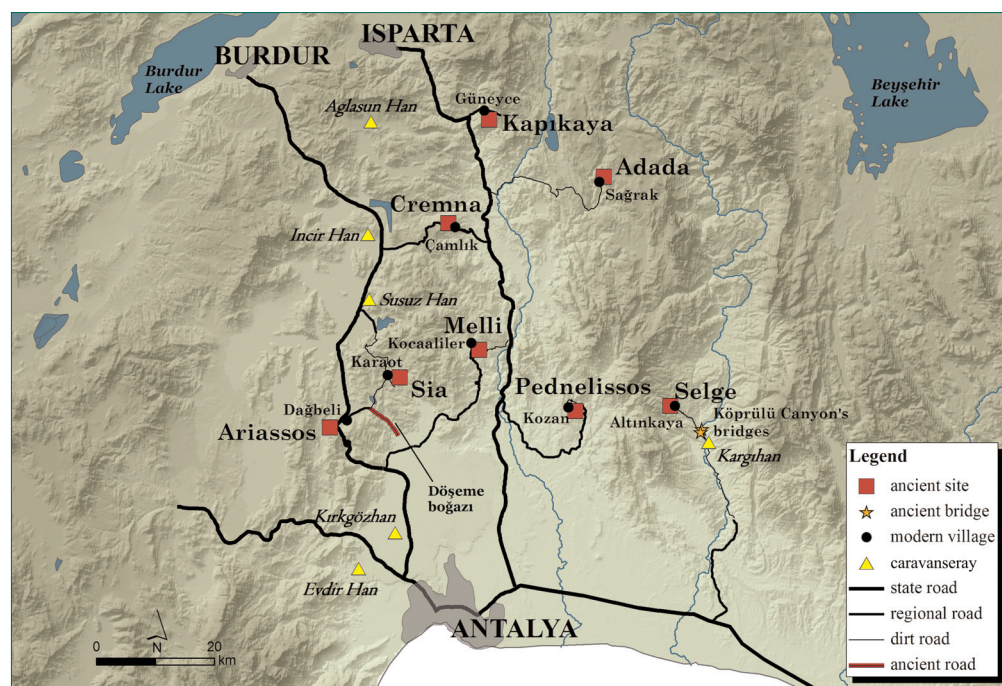
The elements of the project targetted at visitors involve the development of outreach facilities; these include the construction of very light infrastructure around the sites and making information about them available to potential visitors. Pisidian sites are valuable not only because of their archaeological importance, but also for the landscape in which they are located. There are already some paths that connect the sites to each other, some of which are remnants of ancient roads, and the ultimate aim is to create walking routes in Pisidia. This can be done by identifying viable routes and installing informative signage along them in order to orientate hikers and mountain bikers. GPS points that identify archaeological or natural points of interest can be shared via corresponding websites, apps for smartphones and printed maps in a guidebook.

One element of the project to promote Pisidia as a destination – ‘(un)known Pisidia’ – aims to evaluate the archaeological sites within their landscape, to produce

brochures and a website, and to use new technologies for the presentation of sites. For instance, stable solar-powered observation binoculars with Oculus Rift technology can be placed on site to display virtual three-dimensional reconstructions of monuments.

The second element of the project aims to raise local awareness about archaeological heritage and promote the Pisidia project in general. This will include bringing locals and archaeologists together for information sharing about the findings of surveys and excavations along with providing technical assistance for the conversion of a few houses to B&Bs; there are some traditional stone houses in the region which might be potential accommodation units. Additionally, capacity building in terms of developing organic farming and eco-tourism is another component of this part of the project. Lastly, the creation of an intangible heritage inventory of the region is planned. The inventory will include local cuisine, festivals, music, living traditions, etc., in order to promote these characteristics of contemporary life in the region.

To enable the realisation of the projects detailed above, we have started contacting government offices. Three informative meetings have been undertaken with Burdur Museum, Isparta Museum and the Regional Conservation Council. We are also preparing for exploratory trekking trips with Ümit Işın, a professional tour guide and an archaeologist with whom we will collaborate for the creation of paths and routes around and between the sites. Therefore, we plan to be in the Taurus mountains towards the end of this year and will share our findings via our website (www.culturalheritageturkey.com), and we look forward to the development of mobile apps and the publication of a guidebook in 2016!



Map of ancient Pisidia (produced by Michele Massa) and view of Pednelissos in Pisidia

Cultural heritage management

The British Institute at Ankara's cultural heritage management project at Aspendos started in 2013 and remains ongoing. From its very early stages, the underlying philosophy of the programme at Aspendos has been to adopt a 'people-based approach' towards creating a model project in public archaeology in Turkey. After setting up the theoretical foundations of the project, our work in 2015 has concentrated on putting these plans into action.

One important success has been the approval of the first phase of the landscaping element of the project by the Antalya Regional Conservation Council in August 2015. This element, which has been prepared as part of the Aspendos Sustainable Development and Site Management plan by Hacettepe University and the BIAA, entails the construction of a new visitor centre at the entrance to the site (with meeting spaces available for various events for locals, children and visitors), the placement of new information boards and signs with directions, and the establishment of new walking trails around the site. The implementation costs will be covered by the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, and the work is expected to start soon.

To enable a better presentation of the site, one of the interventions badly needed was the clearance of vegetation from around the monuments. After a series of meetings with the mayor of Antalya, the municipality decided to support this initiative by providing workmen and equipment this year and for several years to come. Since the involvement of local authorities is a crucial element in successful cultural heritage management, this new arrangement with the municipality is very important for the sustainability of the project.

Interviews with the local community, especially the workmen involved in the excavation and visitors, continued to be conducted this year. The overall aim is to incorporate the results of these interviews (that were also conducted in 2014) into the cultural heritage management plan for the site and also into the application for inclusion on the UNESCO World Heritage List (Aspendos was added to the tentative UNESCO list in April 2015).

Two other events that are definitely worth mentioning are a meeting with local children and an 'ask an expert' day. The first of these events took place on 21 August in Camili, beneath the famous aqueduct of Aspendos. The idea was to meet with children from Camili and Belkis villages and to explain and show them what archaeologists do, how they work and why the work that they do is important. This was not intended as an education-oriented event; the basic motivation behind it was not to train the children or offer any formal education in history or archaeology, but rather to communicate with them, to make them feel that their

participation was all that mattered. The event involved activities in an 'excavation pool' which had been previously prepared by the excavation team and in which many artefacts were waiting to be discovered by the young archaeologists. The recovered but broken artefacts were taken to a restoration table and put together under the watchful eye of a professional restoration expert and parents. Additionally, the children made leather Roman pouches, painted theatre masks and had their photos taken with their heads popped through cut-outs of Roman characters. It was a memorable event, both for the excavation team and for the local children and their families. The presence of our professional photographer on the day made the event even more 'memorable'!

On 2 September, we organised an 'ask an expert' day. As already mentioned, new information boards will soon be placed around the site; one of the common complaints regarding the information displayed on such boards is that it is too technical and fails to address the questions of the visiting public. Taking this into consideration, this particular initiative aimed to record questions from locals and potential



Children at the 'excavation pool' (photo by Gücügür Görkay)



Activities with local children (photo by Gücügür Görkay)

visitors regarding the site. We organised a trip to the site to enable them to raise questions or share their own knowledge about the landscape or the remains. The data gathered during this event are now being processed so that the contents of the information boards can be prepared based on input from potential visitors rather than being the product of the usual, one-sided ‘expert’ approach.

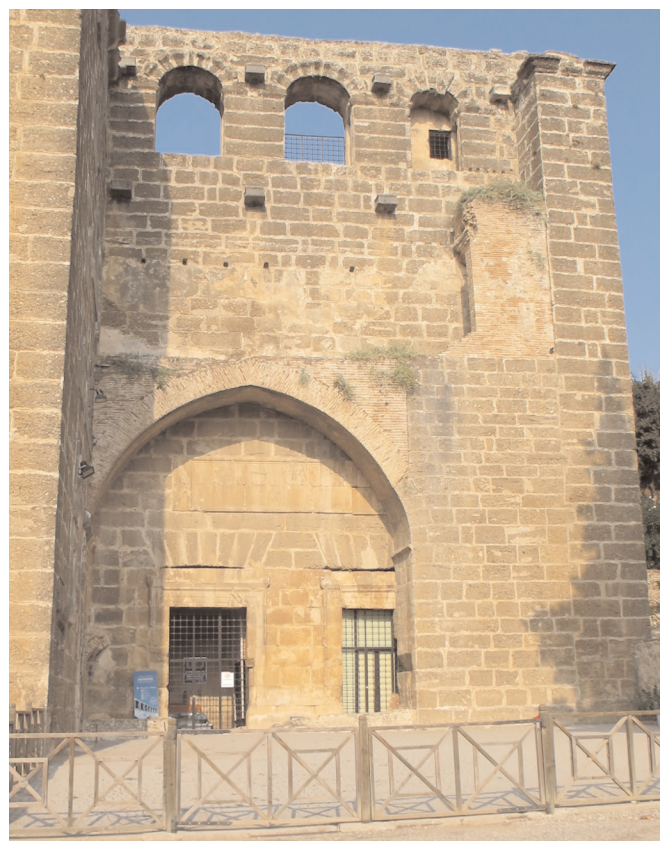
The theatre

As the main landmark of Aspendos and the primary ‘target’ of visitors to the site, the management of the theatre takes a central role in the cultural heritage plan of the site. However, as well as preserving the theatre and making it accessible, it is equally important to study the building and its history.

The theatre at Aspendos is particularly valuable for the study of ancient architecture because it is excellently preserved and, therefore, presents features that have been lost from theatres elsewhere. In addition, the majority of the *scaenae frons* and its decoration are largely preserved in situ and seem to belong largely to the original building phase, which is dated by inscription to the Antonine period. As a consequence, a thorough knowledge and publication of the building and its architectural decoration is important for the study of contemporary buildings elsewhere.

The results of the 2015 fieldwork indicate that the theatre may be the best-preserved ancient theatre in Turkey, and beyond, but that it may not have been the most richly-decorated example built in antiquity. Unlike the theatres of Perge and Side, for instance, elaborately-decorated doorframes giving actors access to the stage are not preserved; and the present remains do not offer any indication for their presence in an earlier phase. The study of the Aspendos theatre has also revealed clues regarding the conversion of the stage house (*scaenae*) and adjacent *versurae* or *paraskenia* (projecting side wings flanking the stage) into a Seljuk palace. At some point, for instance, the structures seem to have required measures to ensure their stabilisation. Reinforcement to the *scaenae* itself seems to have included the fitting of long rows of metal clamps to bridge cracks in the side walls of the structure. Buttresses on the external face of the wall of the *cavea* were enlarged and supportive arches added, which partially covered the dedication inscriptions above the main entrance doors and largely blocked a second entrance door (see photo top right). This, together with the shape of the arches, indicates that these adjustments must have been executed in preparation for the use of the structure as a Seljuk palace. Preserved patches of stucco covering the wall above the arches testify that the arches originally supported a covered corridor, but one which is unfortunately not accessible today.

With regards to the architectural decoration (see photo bottom right), the high degree of preservation allows insights into the decorative schemes of the region during the Antonine period. Comparisons with contemporary



Theatre of Aspendos: the external face of the *cavea* wall, with later changes (photo by Gücügür Görkay)



Theatre of Aspendos: architectural decoration of the entablature of the lower storey of the *scaenae frons* (photo by Gücügür Görkay)

monumental architecture in other cities in Pamphylia, such as Perge and Side, and also Sillyon and Antalya, not only contribute to the reconstruction of the development of architectural decoration in the region and beyond, but also to the study of settlement development in Pamphylia. The decoration of the theatre compares well with many less precisely dated monumental buildings in Perge and Side. Together, these buildings seem to indicate heightened construction activity in the Antonine period in Pamphylia.

Using digital technologies to create meaningful social and cultural experiences at archaeological sites

Sara Perry | University of York

doi:10.18866/biaa2015.123

As with museums, people typically visit archaeological sites in social groups. These visitors might join together as part of organised tours or they might make their own way to site with family and friends. At a rural destination like the UNESCO-designated Neolithic site of Çatalhöyük, independent visitors are relatively rare: people come from around the world (but predominantly from within Turkey itself) accompanied by their schoolmates, their tour groups, their partners, children or other known travelling companions. In this way, their visits can be defined as collaborative exercises, almost always realised via some degree of interpersonal cooperation and conversation.

Once on site, however, the extent to which such collaboration continues in a meaningful way is a matter for debate. How do visitors relate to one another while touring the archaeological record? How do they share their learnings amongst themselves and how does this sharing enhance or detract from the material culture in front of them? How do they use locations like Çatalhöyük – recognised as universally-relevant historical sites – to foster precisely what these sites are meant to foster: that is, real cultural understanding both about people from the past and between people in the present (including fellow tourists)? In other words, how do we ensure that the visitor experience at archaeological sites capitalises on the group dynamic, using the various group members to stimulate collectively thinking, discussion and reflection on the material record, and to create relationships between people in the moment – whilst touring the site itself?

Social interaction between visitors to museums has long been recognised as a critical component of the museological encounter. Conversation, in particular, has been highlighted as important to visitor experience in museums, so much so that recent research suggests it might be used as a metric for successful engagement. To facilitate such interaction, computational technologies are now increasingly intertwined into the normal visitor tour. These technologies range from digital displays that enable delivery of information to multiple people at once – including interaction between group members and collaborative planning and replanning of visits – to devices which send alerts to individuals to generate conversation between them (and others) about the contents of the museum.

These initiatives are significant because such technologies – mobile devices in particular – are often understood to be incompatible with face-to-face engagements between people. Mobile phones and tablets, for example, have regularly been accused of privileging the personalised experience above the group experience and hindering engagement between visitors overall. The paraphernalia



Screenshot from a video recording of two student volunteers testing a collaborative, mobile-delivered digital storytelling experience at Çatalhöyük. Funding for this research has been provided by the British Institute at Ankara (video footage by Vassilis Kourtis)

associated with mobiles, including headphones used to deliver content to improve the visitor-exhibit relationship, can further impede human-to-human connectivity; for instance, they can literally deafen visitors to the voices of their companions. The devices' screens themselves can also get in the way, distracting visitors from the items on display and focusing their gaze upon the machine instead of on the museum itself. Efforts to use mobile devices to post to social media sites in order to create 'conversations' about the exhibits with audiences outside of the venue can be similarly problematic. The likelihood of generating real and sustained dialogue through such posts is debatable, making the exercise a passive one at best.

Despite these challenges with mobile technologies, many individuals and groups, both at museums and at archaeological sites, have continued to experiment with their possibilities. As reported in last year's *Heritage Turkey*, the Visualisation Team at Çatalhöyük is one such group. Our experiments have been motivated by seven years of qualitative and quantitative data collection about visitor experience, which testify to the site's complicated nature and resultant unintelligibility to many individuals. At Çatalhöyük, the archaeology is exposed, relatively uniform in colour and difficult to differentiate. Visitors cannot choose their own path through the site, cannot get close to any of the artefacts (which are transferred to museum stores upon excavation) and cannot experience the main attraction – the excavated buildings – from within the buildings themselves (only from a ramp overlooking them and via a generic replica house). Yet visitors also tend to arrive on site with mobile phones in hand and with knowledge derived from researching Çatalhöyük before arrival.

For these reasons, in 2014, funded by the British Institute at Ankara, we collaborated with the international CHESSE Project (Cultural Heritage Experiences through Socio-personal interactions and Storytelling; <http://chessexperience.eu/>) to produce mobile-delivered

digital stories about Çatalhöyük for visiting audiences. These stories aimed to enrich the on-site experience by connecting the physical remains of an excavated home (Building 52) with the ‘biographies’ of two hypothetical individuals associated with that home: Abla, a Neolithic woman who once lived in the building, and Archie, a modern-day archaeologist who excavated it. Using CHESSE’s existing digital platform, we authored Archie and Abla’s narratives in collaboration with the Çatalhöyük Research Project, integrated them into the platform and added further functionality to personalise and offer choice within the user experience. After preliminary evaluations of this experience with a series of users, we concluded that what continued to be most obviously missing was (1) interaction between visitors themselves and (2) sufficient aids to evoke the site properly as a once lived-in and fully built environment.

Accordingly, in 2015 with generous Institute funding, we returned to Çatalhöyük with a larger team comprised of members of CHESSE (Akrivi Katifori, Vassilis Kourtis and Maria Vayanou of the University of Athens), plus Laia Pujol of LEAP (LEarning of Archaeology through Presence; <https://www.upf.edu/leap/>) and Narcís Parés of Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona. We sought to extend our previous work by restructuring it to account for not only the feedback from our users but also the weaknesses of many mobile apps. In other words, we redesigned Abla and Archie’s stories in an effort to promote conversation and collaboration between group members on site. The redesign entailed several rounds of brainstorming and group critique of content, followed by populating the CHESSE mobile platform with a variety of interactive points of contact designed to facilitate collaborative learning in a two-person visitor group.

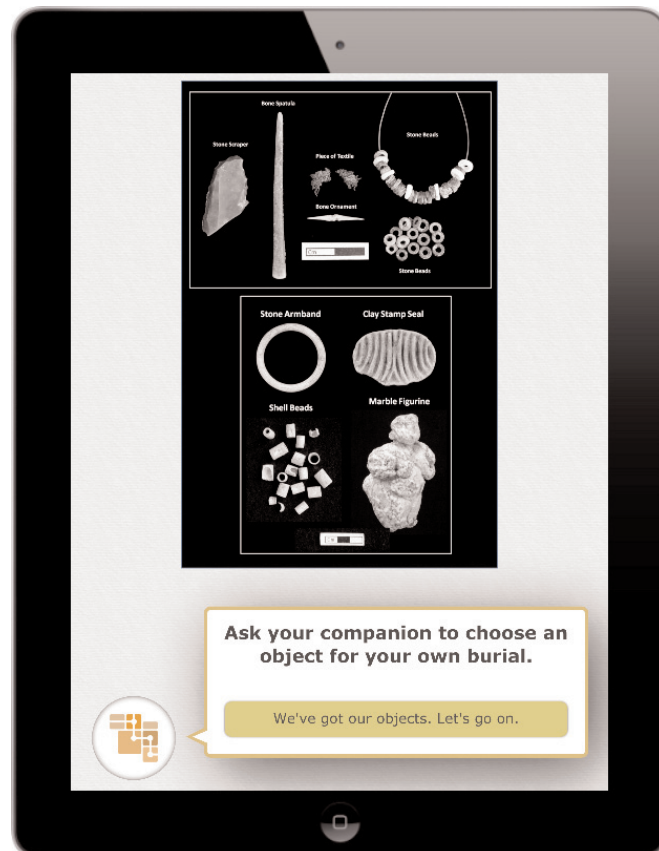
These interactive experiences between visitors took a variety of forms. Firstly, we experimented with narrative variation – the practice of supplying different information to each user through their respective mobile devices in order to encourage conversation between them to compile the complete story of Building 52. At multiple points, the digital narrative would split such that one visitor would exclusively follow Archie’s story, while the other followed Abla’s. A task or question would then be posed to each visitor which could only be resolved by mutual dialogue.

Secondly, we inserted references to current human behaviours, including personal practices and reflections, within the narrative. Visitors were then prompted to share their thoughts with one another before selecting to move along in the storyline. Thirdly, we attempted to integrate playful, comic points of interactivity between users; in particular, by asking visitors to choose objects displayed on the mobile device (and excavated from Building 52) for their companion. The intent here was to nurture not just knowledge sharing, but laughter, fun, rapport and camaraderie amongst the visiting pair, which have been demonstrated as integral components of successful visiting experiences.

Finally, we experimented with the notion of creating a ‘shared screen’ between visitors, wherein they were prompted to position their two mobile devices adjacent to one another, each displaying one half of a specific image. In so doing, visitors were then able to see the full picture and from there collaboratively explore the digital content related to Building 52 (in front of them on site).

We subsequently conducted a handful of preliminary evaluations with non-specialist and specialist visitors, and are now in the process of analysing the resulting data. We are already aware, however, that in the future we would like to stretch the interactive experience between visitors much further – not only in terms of types of interactions, but so too in terms of scale: interactions between triads and even larger groups, as well as interactions between strangers and diverse visiting parties that happen to be on site simultaneously.

Ours is amongst the first experiments with social engagement via mobile storytelling applications at remote, complex archaeological sites. Our early findings suggest that such applications have real potential to cultivate meaningful person-to-person and person-to-material culture interactions in situ between individuals using their own independent pieces of handheld technology. Importantly, though, our work also hints at the promise of these apps to impact human understanding more profoundly, generating active cross-cultural, cross-generational and cross-site reflection and critique in the moment through shared experience.



Screenshot of a playful interactive exercise in the narrative

Devotion and desecration: Artemon and Nenas' dedications in the Cabalia (northern Lycia)

Catherine M. Draycott | Durham University

doi:10.18866/biaa2015.124

Some time in the third century AD, Aurelius Artemon and his wife Aurelia Nenas had two reliefs erected at the mouth of a large hillside cave near Çaltılar, in one of the upland plateaux or *yaylas* in the north of the Tekke peninsula, ancient Lycia. Now usually called the Seki basin, Seki being the most prominent modern town in the area, this *yayla* was part of the region known as the Cabalia that was dominated in the period of the Roman empire by the prosperous towns of Oinoanda and Balboursa.

The reliefs were in honour of the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, twins born to the Spartan Queen Leda after Zeus had his way with her in the guise of a swan and the brothers of Helen (of Troy) and Clytemnestra, wife of Agamemnon. The duo were widely worshipped throughout the classical Mediterranean, and are shown in a range of images, often with horses, with which they were said to possess great skill. By the time of the Roman empire, Cabalian dedication reliefs such as Artemon and Nenas' had taken on a particular form, also shared with neighbouring regions such as the Milyad (the Elmalı basin) and Pisidia: the two gods were shown on horseback, flanking a veiled female (presumably a goddess) in the centre. The concentration of this kind of Dioscuri relief in the Cabalia as well as the fact that they outweigh reliefs to other gods in the region has led J.J. Coulton, director of the Balboursa Survey, to suggest that it may have been the home of a particular Anatolian version of the gods' cult.

The İntaşı Cave, where Artemon and Nenas had their dedications carved onto the walls and where there are four such reliefs in total, was in use for millennia, as shown by prehistoric materials found at the cave mouth. It may have



Aurelius Artemon's relief (photo by J.J. Coulton)



Aurelia Nenas' relief (photo by J.J. Coulton)

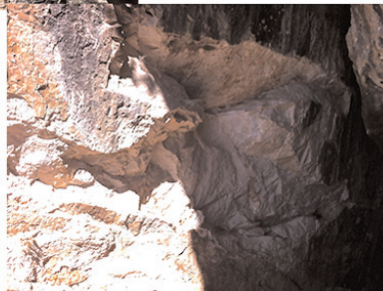


been associated with the Dioscuri by the Hellenistic period (ca 330–30 BC), if not earlier. It was not the busiest Dioscuri sanctuary, at least as far as the number of reliefs suggests. As Tyler-Jo Smith shows in her 1997 *Anatolian Studies* article on devotional reliefs in the Balboursa Survey area, there is a more populous sanctuary to the north, at Kızılbél, which boasts 18 reliefs, 17 of which were for the Dioscuri. Yet it was here, at the İntaşı Cave, that Artemon and Nenas decided to have their sculptures placed, perhaps the first at the site.

Although conforming to the standard Cabalian design, their reliefs were interestingly elaborate. Not only did they include remarkably long inscriptions, they both fell into a rare subgroup of such reliefs showing a fourth person to the right of the main group. Smith describes a figure in armour on the right of Artemon's relief and a figure of Hermes on the right side of Nenas' relief, indicating some link with that god, perhaps unique to their aspect at this cave. Unusually, under the Hermes figure was carved the name of the mason who made the reliefs – Nestor – an addition that underscores the quality of the reliefs, even if they look quite unsophisticated to anyone familiar with the 'high art' of the Classical period.

The longer than customary dedicatory inscriptions reveal intriguing details about these *yayla* dwellers. It was, for instance, important to declare that Nenas was from Side, on the coast of Pamphylia, perhaps showing Artemon's (and/or her own) connections. He was himself a citizen of Oinoanda, son of a man with an unusual Anatolian name (Gidlasis), hinting at some level of non-Greek local identity embraced by his family. His nomen, Aurelius, indicates that he was a Roman citizen, a status perhaps achieved only after the Constitutio Antoniana of AD 212 – an edict of Caracalla which bestowed citizenship on all free men living in the empire. He worked for the imperial estates in the region of Oinoanda and was a chief farmer on an estate and a representative for a woman called Procla, possibly Claudia Vilia Procla, daughter of a local senator, who provided funds for part of the cave offering.

In his appendix on the inscriptions in Smith's article, Nicholas Milner suggests that the armed figure on the right of his relief represents Artemon himself, possibly complementing his declaration of 'having come' (himself to the cave?) and adding a military aspect of his role not otherwise indicated by his titles, which are themselves of great importance for understanding the nuances of Roman administration and society in the area. The Dioscuri, interestingly, are not named, but called the 'listening gods' (*theoi epekooi*), which Milner points out is an epithet associated with healing or saving gods. Why Artemon and Nenas sought them out at this cave is not clear, but may be related to this special aspect of the gods in this place and a moment in their lives when they sought, or had received, particular aid.



Also difficult to understand, and in many ways less tempting to do so, is why their devotional offerings were vandalised in the summer of 2012. The reliefs had been recorded by the Balboursa Survey and published with photographs in Smith's article. Recognising the risks posed to open-air reliefs such as this, and wishing to test methods of achieving higher-resolution visual documentation, they were scheduled to be documented with three-dimensional scanning and RTI photography in a preservation recording project led by Alan Greaves, director of the Çaltılar Archaeological Project, as part of the *Illuminating the Land of Lights* Turkish-EU Intercultural Dialogue partnership of Liverpool University's Victoria Gallery and Museum, and the Fethiye Museum. Before this could be carried out, however, Nenas' dedication was entirely obliterated and parts of Artemon's, including his little figure, were hacked out. The rest of Artemon's relief, his long inscription and the other two reliefs in the cave were still preserved and duly recorded.

The destruction here is small-scale compared to what is currently happening in Syria and Iraq, and other places in the world, and done, no doubt, for different reasons. Nevertheless, the loss of these small monuments is poignant both because of the disrespect shown to devotional offerings and the hours of effort that went into making them, and because of the loss of sources that help us to understand life that shaped the *yayla* in the past. It underscores the urgent necessity of heritage schemes like the *Illuminating the Land of Lights* project, which can help to safeguard Anatolia's many open-air rock-cut monuments through digital recording, education and empowerment of those living in and shaping Anatolian lands today.

Acknowledgements

Thanks to Alan Greaves and the team which conducted the digital recording of reliefs in the Seki basin, and to J.J. Coulton for comments and photos.

References

- Coulton, J.J. 2012: *The Balboursa Survey and Settlement in Highland Southwest Anatolia*. London
- Smith, T.J. 1997: 'Votive reliefs from Balboursa and its environs' *Anatolian Studies* 47: 3–49; <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3642898>

Composite photographs of the reliefs after damage. Artemon's remains at the top left, while Nenas' has been completely hacked out of the rock face, lower right

The Ottoman archaeology and architecture of Bulgaria

Andrew Petersen | University of Wales Trinity Saint David

doi:10.18866/biaa2015.125

The aim of this research, funded by the BIAA, is to investigate the current state of and potential for archaeological research on the Ottoman period in Bulgaria. The first stage comprised an initial field survey of Ottoman remains and monuments throughout the country followed by a series of meeting with Bulgarian archaeologists and other academic researchers to assess the potential for further work.

Whilst Turkey is often thought of as the original heartland of the Ottoman empire, a significant part of its early territory lay within the Balkans, in the area of the modern state of Bulgaria in particular. Ottoman rule here lasted from the 14th century right up to Bulgarian independence in the 1870s: a much longer period of rule than any other Ottoman territory outside modern Turkey. Cities like Plovdiv (ancient Phillipopolis), Sophia (ancient Serdica) and Varna were major centres of the Ottoman state and functioned as bases for conquests further into the Balkans and on into central Europe. As a result, Bulgaria has some of the earliest examples of Ottoman architecture, including the late 14th-century *tekke* at Ikhtiman, between Plovdiv and Sofia, and the tomb of Kidemli Baba dated to the early 1400s. The range of surviving Ottoman-period buildings includes mosques, *zawiyas*, *tekkes*, bathhouses, bridges, tombs, clock towers and fortifications, as well as churches and synagogues. Not only do the buildings represent a wide variety of functions and architectural styles but they also testify to the Ottoman presence in all areas of Bulgaria, from the Thracian plain to the shores of the Black Sea, the banks of the Danube and the Rhodope and the Balkan mountain ranges.

However, for a variety of political and cultural reasons connected to the formation of the Bulgarian state in the mid to late 19th century, this Ottoman heritage has been largely ignored and in some cases wilfully destroyed. The Bulgarian nationalist movement of the 19th century regarded the period of Ottoman rule in an entirely negative way, referring to it as the ‘the Ottoman yoke’, and sought origins instead within the early medieval Bulgarian kingdoms which started in the seventh century and reached an apogee under Tsar Simeon (AD 893–927). Continuing conflict between the medieval Bulgarian tsars and the Byzantine empire caused serious depopulation in central Thrace to such an extent that as the

14th century ended the Ottomans were able to conquer the entire territory of modern Bulgaria. As a consequence of the invention of the Cyrillic alphabet by two Bulgarian monks and hostility to the Greek Orthodox patriarchate, the Russians were seen as natural allies for Bulgarian independence. Following the Crimean War, European demands for improved conditions for Christians living under Ottoman rule were overtaken by Russian support for Bulgarian independence. Once independence was achieved in 1876 the movement for ‘National Revival’ led to the destruction of many reminders of the Ottoman period; mosques were either destroyed or converted into churches and history was rewritten from a nationalistic perspective.

Despite the large-scale destruction of hundreds of Ottoman buildings and the negative characterisation of Ottoman rule, significant numbers of Ottoman monuments have survived as well as large quantities of buried archaeological remains. A number of foreign and Bulgarian scholars have worked against the nationalist narrative, striving for a more balanced view of the Ottoman period. The most prominent proponent of this view is Machiel Kiel who started making detailed studies of Ottoman architecture and history in Bulgaria from the late 1960s. Despite Kiel’s extensive research there is still considerable work to be carried out in terms of identifying and recording Ottoman architecture in the country. As a consequence of joining the European Union, large-scale developments are taking place throughout Bulgaria which involve extensive archaeological excavations; thus in the cities of Plovdiv and Sofia large areas of the historic centres have been uncovered, revealing significant Ottoman remains. In Plovdiv, for example, Ottoman-period kilns have been excavated. Elsewhere, renovation projects on Ottoman buildings have revealed earlier phases of Ottoman construction, such as in Razdgrad where excavators found a small 16th-century mosque beneath a larger 17th-century mosque on a different alignment.

Although there is considerable potential for Ottoman archaeology in terms of remains, extant monuments and historical sources in Bulgaria, there are still significant problems. One is the continued negative attitude towards the Ottoman past which can be seen in public presentations on history or archaeology where the Ottoman period is dismissed in a few lines. Another can be seen in major urban excavations, where the Ottoman material is quickly removed to get to the ‘more interesting’ medieval and classical periods.



The bridge of Mustapha Pasha at Svilengrad, built in 1528 and designed by the Ottoman architect Sinan

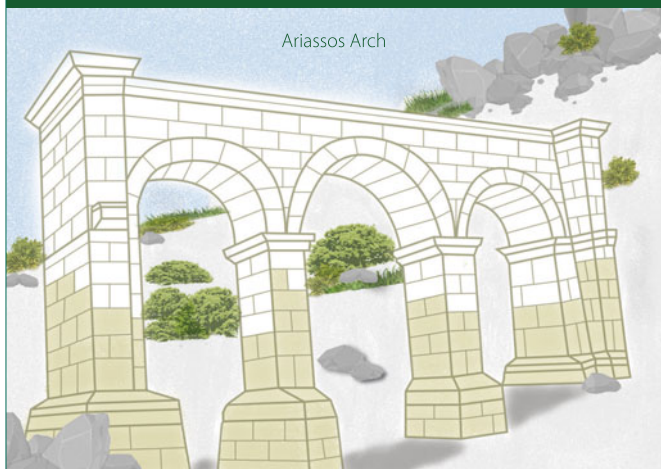
BIAA**BRITISH INSTITUTE
AT ANKARA**

Understanding Turkey and the Black Sea

THE PISIDIA APPEAL

Can you help us support the archaeology of ancient Ariassos and surrounding Pisidia?
The Roman Arch at Ariassos was built with some 1,000 stones – if we raise £30 for each stone we can do it.
We're hoping to raise £30,000 for BIAA work in this region of southwestern Turkey.

If you would like to make a donation please visit www.biaa.ac.uk



Ariassos Arch

This Arch is a dramatic gateway to the city of Ariassos in the ancient region of Pisidia, framed by the Taurus Mountains north of Turkey's Pamphylian plain. Built by the Romans in the third century AD, it opens on to the city, where Roman baths and the ruins of Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine streets remain. The region is thick with forests where the sun breaks through to light up hidden ruins – such as the Roman sarcophagi at Sia – left by the Greeks, Persians, Romans, Seljuk Turks and the Ottomans who in turn settled these lands.

Pisidian archaeology is part of Turkey's rich cultural heritage, its identity and the history it shares with Europe and Asia. BIAA scholars have already worked at Pisidian sites such as Adada, Ariassos, Cremna, Kaynarkale, Melli, Pednelissos and Sagalassos. But protecting the sites needs international support. If they can be interpreted, cared for and loved locally, they can be protected locally as well. Cultural heritage work started in 2013 when the BIAA unfolded its sustainable development plan for Pisidia, and its next phase is to involve local inhabitants, schools and international visitors in a long-term programme to keep the sites alive.

**EVERY "DONATION STONE"
YOU GIVE WILL HELP US
TO COMPLETE THE PLAN.**

WORK TO BE FUNDED

Your donations will go to BIAA cultural heritage projects.

BIAA archaeologists have worked in Pisidia for more than 30 years. But Pisidian sites still suffer neglect and illicit looting. We have already completed a plan to support the ancient city of Aspendos in neighbouring Pamphylia, known for its spectacular theatre, and we hope to continue working with Turkish archaeologists to sustain Pisidian sites. BIAA projects will explain the significance of sites to international visitors, involve local communities in nurturing and protecting them, and do so in the best way to protect the region's ecology.



BATH BUILDING, PEDNELISSOS



ARIASSOS ARCH



LANDSCAPE, PISIDIA

For more details of projects and site photos see www.culturalheritageturkey.com

