

HERITAGE TURKEY

BRITISH INSTITUTE AT ANKARA



Volume 10 | 2020

The British Institute at Ankara (BIAA) is internationally renowned for conducting world-class research on Turkey and the Black Sea region in the humanities and social sciences. As one of the British International Research Institutes (BIRI) supported by the British Academy, the BIAA facilitates the work of UK-affiliated academics in Turkey and promotes collaborations with scholars based in Turkey and the Black Sea region. It has offices in Ankara and London, and is a registered UK charity, significantly dependent on voluntary income. The Institute welcomes members of all nationalities.

The BIAA provides a Centre for Research Excellence in Ankara for use by scholars and students, including a library of ca 65,000 volumes and laboratories for studying faunal and botanical material. Its extensive research collections include pottery, botanical, faunal and epigraphic material, all of which can be accessed online, as well as photographic and fieldwork archives, and maps. The Institute also offers a range of grants, scholarships and fellowships to support undergraduate to post-doctoral research.

In addition to its journal (*Anatolian Studies*), the BIAA also publishes this annual magazine (*Heritage Turkey*), regular newsletters and scholarly monographs relating to the archaeology and history of Turkey and contemporary Turkey, with a particular emphasis on publishing the results of Institute-funded research. Furthermore, the Institute runs an extensive programme of public events in the UK and Turkey pertaining to all facets of the research that it supports.

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 (discounted for students and the unwaged) entitles members to:

- hard copies of *Anatolian Studies* and *Heritage Turkey*, and regular electronic newsletters;
- use of the Institute's Centre for Research Excellence in Ankara, including the research library, the extensive research and archival collections, and the laboratories and hostel;
- attend all BIAA lectures, events and receptions held in the UK and Turkey, and attend and vote at the Institute's Annual General Meeting;
- discounts on BIAA monographs published by Oxbow Books and books relating to Turkey published by I.B. Tauris;
- 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/unwaged).

To join the Institute, or for further information about its work, please contact us at biaa@britac.ac.uk | www.biaa.ac.uk

Council of Management 2020

Chairman Professor Stephen Mitchell

Honorary Secretary Shahina Farid

Honorary Treasurer Anthony Sheppard

Elected Members Professor Jim Crow, Dr Catherine Draycott, Dr Warren Eastwood, Professor William Hale, Dr Tamar Hodos, Dr Ceyda Karamursel, Dr Natalie Martin, Dr Ziya Meral, Dr Aylin Orbaşlı, Dr Delwen Samuel, Dr Michael Talbot

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

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 that are politically sensitive. The BIAA accepts no responsibility for views expressed or conclusions reached in research and activities that it sponsors.

© British Institute at Ankara 2020.

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.

PDF ISSN 2057-889X.

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

The front cover shows the view from a British observation post at the Galata Tower during the Allied occupation of Istanbul: see pages 22–24.

HERITAGE TURKEY

British Institute at Ankara Research Reports

Volume 10 | 2020

Contents

2 News & events

- 2 A letter from the Director, *Lutgarde Vandeput*
4 *Gülgün Girdivan, Daniel-Joseph MacArthur-Seal & Lutgarde Vandeput* on the impact of COVID-19
5 *Naoíse Mac Sweeney* ponders the past, present and future of *Anatolian Studies*

6 Cultural heritage, society & economy

- 6 *Işıl Gürsu, Gül Pulhan & Lutgarde Vandeput* on safeguarding archaeological assets
9 *Richard Piran McClary* on Konya's Kılıç Arslan Köşk
11 *Daniel-Joseph MacArthur-Seal* explores the Feriköy Cemetery in Istanbul
13 *Matthew Whiting* explores emergency rule

15 Migration, minorities & regional identities

- 15 *Benjamin Irvine* considers archaeological science and the 'new normal'
18 *Gizem Tongo* revisits cultural life in Allied-occupied Istanbul 1918–1923
20 *Ioanna Sitaridou* on Romeyka heritage in Turkey



22 Anglo-Turkish relations in the 20th century

- 22 *Daniel-Joseph MacArthur-Seal* revisits occupied Istanbul
25 *Umut Parmaksız* considers secular migration from Turkey to the UK

27 Climate change & the environment

- 27 *Lutgarde Vandeput* on the Sustainable Water Management initiative of the British International Research Institutes
29 *Ender Peker* on water management in Istanbul

30 Legacy data: using the past for the future

- 30 *Nurdan Atalan Cayırezmez* reports on the Institute's digital repository
32 *Tamar Hodos* on how the course of archaeological research never did run smooth
35 *Stuart Blaylock* offers an overview of Gre Amer

37 Habitat & settlement

- 37 *Douglas Baird* considers Boncuklu through four objects
40 *Christoph Bachhuber & Michele Massa* on the Konya Regional Archaeological Survey Project
42 *R.R.R. Smith* on work at Aphrodisias in 2020
44 *Julian Baker* offers a view of the acropolis of Pergamon in the winter of 1302–1303

Ankara, November 2020

Dear Members,

I think we can all agree that ‘a year like no other’ is a fair description of 2020. I hope that you and your loved ones are fine and have escaped the COVID-19 virus. Here, at the British Institute at Ankara, we have managed to do exactly that so far. All of us staff and our close relatives are well. That said, the pandemic has had a serious impact on the Institute and its activities. The premises in Ankara, for instance, have been closed to the public since mid-March. After several months of complete closure, there has been a skeletal staff presence since June, but most of us are working from home. You will read more about the impact of the pandemic on the activities of the Institute and the research it supports throughout this edition of its magazine.

Of course, working from home does not mean that research is not thriving! Three postdoctoral fellows started work at the Institute in September 2020. Umut Parmaksız is the 2020–2021 BIAA Postdoctoral Fellow. He is a specialist in the social and political sciences and holds a PhD from the University of Bristol, where he was also a lecturer until the end of the academic year 2019–2020. Umut will be working on secular migration from Turkey to the UK during his time at the Institute, and you can read more about his research on pages 25–26.

I am pleased to be able to share with you that both 2018–2020 BIAA Postdoctoral Fellows have taken further steps on their career paths. Ben Irvine (see pages 15–17) has been awarded a DAI-ANAMED Joint Fellowship in Environmental Archaeology. We wish him and his young family good luck in Istanbul! Gizem Tongo Overfield Shaw (pages 18–19) is still with us at the Institute, but in a different capacity. Thanks to ‘Special Projects’ contingency funding from the British Academy, Gizem is one of two newly appointed postdoctoral fellows who will be at the Institute until the end of March 2021. Gizem is now working on a project with the BIAA’s Assistant Director, Daniel-Joseph MacArthur-Seal, which focuses on armistice-era Turkey (1918–1923). Ender Peker holds the second new postdoctoral position. As a specialist in urban development, he works on water management and related issues in Turkey, and more specifically in Istanbul. His work forms part of the larger British International Research Institutes’ initiative on water-management issues, of which the BIAA is the lead partner (pages 27–29).

Although Işıl Gürsu, BIAA Senior Cultural Heritage Fellow, has moved to Chicago, where her husband Michele Massa has recently taken up a position at the university (you can read his report on the work of the Konya Regional Archaeological Survey on pages 40–41), she remains employed by the Institute until the end of the year in order to finalise reports and publications. We miss both of them! Finally, we have been able to engage Gül Pulhan as a part-time Cultural Heritage Management Fellow. If that name, too, sounds familiar, it is because Gül was formerly Project Coordinator of the SARAT project (see pages 6–8). Clearly, the Institute would have been a busy place, if it were not for the Coronavirus pandemic.

Throughout the past year, we have also continued to build the digital repository, and the results of this work should start appearing in the next few months. At the same time, the Institute’s website will be redesigned. Please keep an eye out for these changes. We will, of course, also announce them in our regular BIAA e-updates. If you have not done so already, I would like to invite you to subscribe (<https://biaa.ac.uk/about-the-biaa/biaa-newsletter>).

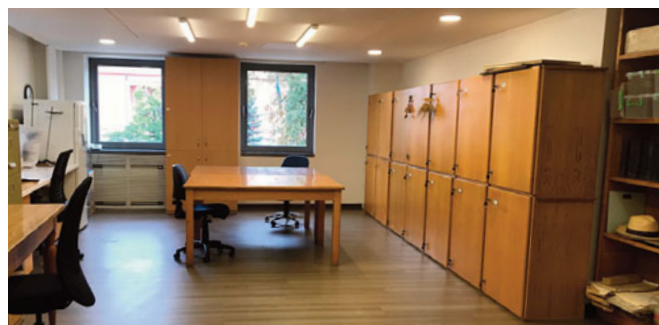
On a less positive note, the Institute experienced a deeply felt loss with the passing of Jim Coulton on 1 August 2020. Those of us who knew Jim have lost a much admired and valued colleague and friend, who was always kind hearted and ready to help. Classical archaeology has lost a renowned specialist in architectural studies and the Institute has lost a trailblazer in the field of modern archaeological survey in Turkey and a long-term Trustee and Monographs Editor. Through his work at the sites of Oinoanda and Balbura Jim introduced a new direction to the work of the BIAA. The two-volume publication of his research at Balbura is an exemplary achievement and of crucial importance for current research on the history and archaeology of southwestern Turkey. As a Trustee and the Institute’s Monographs Editor, Jim never sought the spotlight, but he achieved a great deal over the many years during which he volunteered his services and skills. All of us are very grateful for his enormous long-term contribution and support.



Jim Coulton at Aphrodisias, August 2015
(photo by Bert Smith).

Returning to more positive news, I would like to draw your attention once again to the Safeguarding Archaeological Assets of Turkey (SARAT) project. Since the project officially ended on 31 March 2020, it is thanks solely to one of its partner institutions, the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, Koç University Istanbul (ANAMED), that the online course, ‘Safeguarding and Rescuing Archaeological Assets’, can be offered for another year. The number of applicants for the latest session was as high as during the active period of the SARAT project, which demonstrates both continuing interest in the programme and its value. Furthermore, I am proud to report that SARAT won a Europa Nostra 2020 Award in the category Education, Training and Awareness Raising and was runner-up in the 2020 European Archaeological Heritage Prize of the European Association of Archaeologists. Please see the article on pages 6–8 to discover more about these achievements.

Last but not least, you may have heard about the removal of the Institute’s seed collections by the Turkish authorities in early September. Both the palaeobotanical collection and the contemporary reference seed collection were taken. The 108 boxes of palaeobotanical samples and the four cupboards containing the reference collection were removed to a museum in Ankara, where they are now being kept temporarily in storage in the depot. Collections from other institutions and archaeological excavations have also been requisitioned.



Top: the Institute’s palaeobotany laboratory before and after the requisition of the seed collections by the Turkish authorities. Bottom: seed reference collection samples in their specially designed storage system, before their removal from the Institute.

We have been told by the Turkish authorities involved that the collections will be incorporated into those of a soon-to-be-established national institution. It is not clear where this will be located or when it will be opened. We have been assured that scholars will be granted access to the institution and that the Institute’s samples that were previously accessible to the international scientific community will remain labelled as they were when they were held at the BIAA. Naturally, the Institute is in close contact with the Turkish authorities about this issue. Unfortunately, the story broke in the press, and this prompted a wave of coverage from very different points of view. I hope to be able to report in next year’s *Heritage Turkey* that the collections are once again available to the Turkish and international scientific communities, and that palaeobotany is once again a valuable functioning element of contemporary archaeological fieldwork in Turkey.

I hope that you will enjoy the articles in this year’s magazine, which report on the wide variety of work funded, facilitated and supported by the Institute. I am very proud of what has been achieved – a huge amount, despite the current pandemic.

With best wishes – and stay safe!

Lutgarde Vandeput, Director of the British Institute at Ankara

COVID-19 and the British Institute at Ankara

Gülgün Girdivan, Daniel-Joseph MacArthur-Seal & Lutgarde Vandeput | British Institute at Ankara

The first COVID-19 case in Turkey was announced on 11 March 2020. Soon after, the Turkish presidency declared that schools and universities were to be closed for three weeks. Accordingly, the BIAA's premises were closed to the public. All fellows were advised to work from home, while only a skeletal staff remained present in the Institute's offices. Due to rapidly increasing case numbers, it was decided that even these core staff should also work from home from 17 March to 15 June. During this period, the Institute was visited for maintenance purposes only and by individual staff members as and when required. On 15 June, key staff resumed a skeletal presence at the Institute, but under strict precautions. All offices were limited to a single occupant and staff were obligated to wear a mask and galoshes or indoor shoes. A new glass partition was installed in the reception area on the first floor and cooking in the kitchen was no longer permitted. Special filters were installed in the vacuum cleaners and a great quantity of bleach was used for cleaning. That said, staff and fellows have kept in contact via weekly virtual teatimes, at which we exchange news and update one another on our activities.

Alongside the offices, the Institute's collections also closed in March. After much discussion, it was decided to reopen the library to the public on a limited basis from mid-November. Since the library closed in March, we have received several hundred new books for our archaeology, history and contemporary Turkey collections, and these will soon be available for consultation. Under the new library regulations, appointments to visit the library must be booked between one and seven days in advance. Contact details and a government-provided health code (*HES Kodu*) are required from each reader. Only two readers are allowed to use the library each day. They are seated at opposite corners of the reading room, with desks disinfected between visits. Books are delivered by the librarians and set aside for 72 hours after use, before being returned to the stacks. Researchers are allowed to consult the other physical collections under the same restrictions. In this way, we hope to make the BIAA's resources available to the academic community, while maintaining the highest degree of protection for both users and staff.

As far as archaeological fieldwork in Turkey is concerned, the General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the body responsible for the provision of permits, has issued two circulars (*genelge*) in line with the instructions and recommendations of the Ministry of Health. The first, dated 1 March 2020, stipulated that archaeological work could take



Tea time at the BIAA, 2020 style.

place with small and separately operating teams of experts focusing on necessary work in depots at excavation sites or in museums, and then only in accordance with a range of precautions, such as frequent disinfection. Work requiring labourers was to be postponed, except where absolutely necessary. Visitors were not allowed and contact with local communities was to be minimised.

This circular was followed by a second on 10 April which expanded the range of fieldwork that the first *genelge* had deemed acceptable. It stated that, provided the measures enumerated in the first circular were implemented, tasks such as conservation, restoration, cleaning and environmental planning could be undertaken. Such work was to be executed by small teams, composed of Turkish team members and foreign team members living in Turkey, under the supervision of the assistant excavation director.

Needless to say, these measures had a severe impact on fieldwork activities by British as well as other foreign academics working in Turkey. British scholars were prevented from travelling to Turkey by their home institutions, and this meant that only limited work was carried out at Boncuklu and Aphrodisias, led by the projects' respective assistant directors (see pages 37–39 and 42–43). The Konya Regional Archaeological Survey did take place, however, because the project's director, Michele Massa, lived in Turkey until recently (see pages 40–41).

In May, the Institute's Research Committee had the regulations of the Turkish authorities very much in mind as it made its decisions regarding project funding for the remainder of the year. Nevertheless, the pandemic has since developed in such a way that even fewer projects than projected were able to carry out their planned research, and so the Institute will roll over some of the grants awarded.

Naturally, we hope to be able to report a very different situation in the next edition of *Heritage Turkey*!

Anatolian Studies: the past, present and future of a journal

Naoíse Mac Sweeney | Universität Wien

This has been a strange year. Much of what has happened in 2020 has been tragic and frightening, and we have been shaken by major convulsions, both human and natural. One thing that has brought me much joy in these challenging times has been my new role as Academic Editor of the journal *Anatolian Studies*. Taking on this role, one feels an enormous sense of stewardship, overseeing a journal which has for 70 years published the highest quality research on the history and archaeology of Anatolia, and following in the footsteps of scholarly giants such as Oliver Gurney, Anthony Bryer and Roger Matthews.

It seemed like a good time to review the history of *Anatolian Studies* itself – to cast a retrospective eye over the changes and transformations that the journal has gone through and to identify patterns and trends in the research it has published. In the early part of 2020, I therefore spent many enjoyable hours leafing through back volumes, and a good few less enjoyable hours wrestling with a database programme in order to make some sense of the information I found.

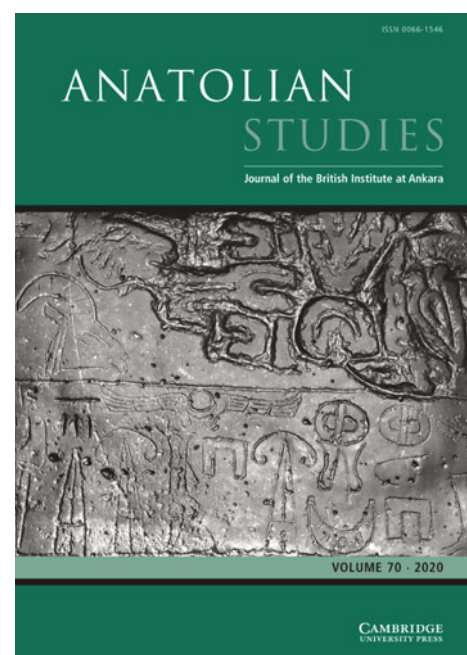
Over the 70 published volumes (1951–2020), there are a total of 716 research articles (excluding biographic, bibliographic and summary articles) written by 584 different authors. This works out as an average of 1.2 articles per author, but of course this average masks a wide range of publishing activity. At one end of the scale there are articles with multiple authors (the record is held by a 2013 article listing no fewer than 12 different authors) and at the other end of the scale there are some individuals who have been responsible for multiple articles over the years (the top three contributors being Stephen Mitchell with 16 articles, David Hawkins with 20 articles and James Mellaart with 24 articles).

In terms of their subject matter, these 716 research articles show considerable diversity. There are relatively large numbers of articles that deal with the Bronze Age (164 articles or 30%) and the Roman period (140 articles or 20%) – both subjects that remain perennially popular. There are notably fewer articles on later periods of Anatolian history – for the Byzantine, Seljuk, Ottoman and modern periods all together there are only 45 articles in total, or 6% – perhaps due to the journal's traditional focus on archaeology rather than history. There are similarly few articles on prehistory (only 78 or 11% deal with the Palaeolithic to the Neolithic) and the Greek period (only 69 articles or 10%), a trend that may perhaps be explained by the tendency for scholars working on these periods to publish elsewhere.

In terms of regional coverage, the published articles over the last 70 years consider the past of almost all regions of Anatolia fairly equally. The main exception to this is the relative paucity of articles dealing with northern Anatolia and the Black Sea coast (only 27 or 4% of articles). Another irregularity is the temporal factor for articles dealing with western Anatolia – these only appear in any substantial numbers after the late 1970s, being extremely rare before this date. These patterns can perhaps tell us where British archaeologists have tended to undertake fieldwork within Anatolia at different times.

And it is worth noting that the journal is linked, of course, to the British Institute at Ankara, and as such many of its authors are either British scholars or scholars working in Britain. Of the 584 different authors published so far in *Anatolian Studies*, the largest national grouping is indeed the British, which numbers 210. The next largest group consists of Turkish scholars (109 authors), followed by Americans (104 authors). Beyond this, other nationalities seem to publish in *Anatolian Studies* only rarely (the next largest national group is of Germans, who number 34; and then the Australians, who number 20). Yet there are considerable variations in this pattern over time. For the first twenty years of the journal's existence, its authors were almost exclusively British. American authors started to appear in greater numbers from the 1970s onwards, but Turkish authors began to appear only from the late 1980s. From the start of the 21st century, the numbers of authors of all three nationalities has been fairly even. The journal, then, has seen an increase in the diversity of its authors in recent decades. This is true also of gender. While only 167 of the 584 authors (28.5%) are female, the gender gap has narrowed over time, and since 2010 we have seen a much more even gender balance.

Anatolian Studies has changed over its first 70 years, and will continue to develop, I hope, over its next 70. We do seem to be appealing to a broad international base of potential authors, although we are maintaining traditional strengths in terms of subject matter and coverage. This year I have been privileged to get a 'sneak peek' at the cutting edge of current research, and I must say that next year's volume looks set to propel us into a bright future!



CULTURAL HERITAGE, SOCIETY & ECONOMY

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

doi:10.18866/biaa2020.04

A happy ending: a brief look at the outcomes of the SARAT project

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

The Safeguarding Archaeological Assets of Turkey (SARAT) project, led by the British Institute at Ankara in partnership with the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations (ANAMED) at Koç University and the UK Committee of the International Council of Museums (ICOM UK), was conducted between June 2017 and March 2020 thanks to a large grant awarded by the Cultural Protection Fund. SARAT focused on knowledge and capacity building and on raising awareness, and the project has had considerable impact in terms of the protection and appreciation of Turkey's rich, diverse and, at times, threatened archaeological heritage. In less than three years, the project has produced significant results by reaching out to different communities, including heritage professionals, journalists and collectors, as well as the general public. The various aims and programmes of the project have been presented in previous contributions to *Heritage Turkey*. Here, we would like to summarise the outcomes of the project.

Outcomes in a nutshell

The main activities of SARAT concentrated around five interwoven programmes: (1) the first nationwide public opinion poll on attitudes towards archaeology in Turkey; (2) an online course on emergency preparedness entitled 'Safeguarding and Rescuing Archaeological Assets'; (3) workshops with journalists on informed and ethical

reporting of archaeological issues; (4) 'Archaeology in Local Contexts' workshops with heritage stakeholders and (5) systematic interviews with registered collectors of antiquities. These activities have resulted in a wide range of immediate and intermediate impacts.

The opinion poll on attitudes towards archaeological heritage in Turkey revealed the high value attributed to archaeological assets by the various economic, social and cultural groups within the population. This established a baseline for leveraging the poll's results when engaging local communities in heritage protection. The results have been disseminated through a series of public events which have raised awareness about this study and other elements of SARAT among both Turkish and international archaeological communities. The opinion-poll results have been discussed in the final session of the online course. They also provided the basis for the social- and economic-capital building workshops, 'Archaeology in Local Contexts'.

The programme that really made SARAT's name among heritage professionals and students in Turkey was the online course 'Safeguarding and Rescuing Archaeological Assets'. This five-module/20-session free-of-charge programme, delivered in Turkish, was developed by the SARAT team and credentialled and offered by Koç University. Following its launch in April 2019, 8,357 people applied to take the course over a period of eight months. This degree of interest

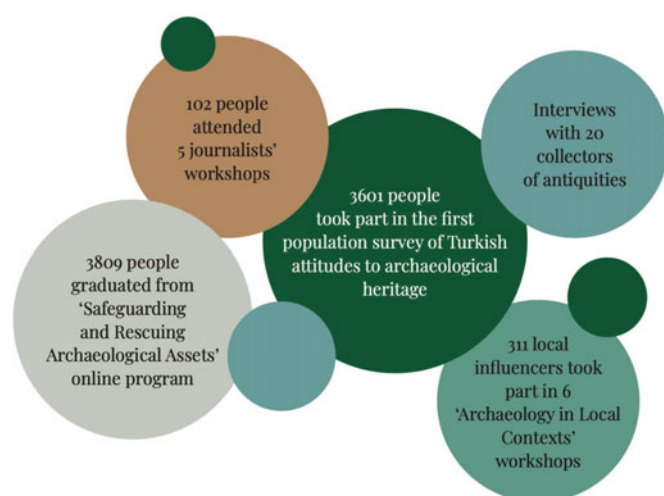
confirmed the need and appetite for training in cultural heritage risk management and first aid. The competitive selection process produced 3,809 graduates in four terms from all regions of Turkey and 17 other countries. An additional legacy of this programme is the generation of an anonymised dataset, based on information provided in the application process, which reveals the depth and breadth of the heritage community in Turkey and pulls together data that are unavailable elsewhere.

Since the completion of SARAT, the online course has been continued thanks to ANAMED, and is still offered free of charge. For further details about this remarkable programme, please visit ANAMED's website: <https://bit.ly/3owNad7>.

The workshops for journalists were organised across Turkey with the aim of encouraging more accurate and informed reporting of archaeological issues. Journalists have a great impact in shaping the public's view of archaeology and heritage, and they formed an important target group for the SARAT project. The workshop element of the programme aimed to form a bridge between the concerns and viewpoints of archaeologists and the needs and opinions of journalists. The SARAT team compiled a small handbook on archaeological terminology and chronology in Turkey for the use of journalists. This can be found on the SARAT website: <https://bit.ly/3jCZc0F>.

The workshops reached out to 102 media professionals who report on archaeology through various platforms. Preliminary evidence reveals that the principles of ethical reporting are now applied to new articles published by this group. Interestingly, some of them later enrolled in the online course.

The fourth element of SARAT was the series of 'Archaeology in Local Contexts' workshops. These were designed to inspire regional influencers working with local communities to develop sustainable social and economic benefits through leveraging heritage assets. The workshops



The impact of SARAT in a nutshell.



The SARAT project team in Şanlıurfa, October 2019.

aimed to provide options for engaging local communities with archaeological heritage and built on the results of the public opinion poll. Reaching out to 311 people in six provinces, they created a platform for establishing local networks of heritage-related organisations and associations.

Last, but not least, the interviews with collectors of antiquities aimed to build critical awareness within this key group, particularly regarding the scientific value of archaeological assets, the importance of context and the necessity of preserving the integrity of archaeological deposits. The collectors willingly engaged in the interviews and provided important preliminary insights into their ethics of acquisition, their motivations and practices, and the future of private collections.

One of the requirements of the funding provided for SARAT was the need for an impact assessment to be conducted upon completion of the project's activities. To this end, feedback from all participants was collected throughout the project, including pre- and post-assessments, in order to measure the impact of programmes, and comments from social media were archived so that the the story of the project could be narrated. The evaluation, conducted by independent assessor Carol Ann Scott, provides a systematic overview of the outcomes, successes, failures and overall legacy of the project. Some of the outcomes listed here are retrieved from the evaluation report.

After SARAT: continued impact

One of the most significant outcomes of the SARAT project is the recognition that valuing Turkey's archaeological assets is not the preserve of professionals; they are also valued across the spectrum of the general public. SARAT has initiated the process of leveraging this widespread attitude so that local communities can become engaged with long-term strategies designed to preserve archaeological sites.

Requests to share the project's models, results and experiences on national and international platforms continue to arrive, most recently from the Smithsonian Institute and the Prince Claus Fund, in relation to their 'Leadership for Cultural Heritage Stewards in Challenging Circumstances' training programme, the Netherlands Institute in Turkey and the Erasmus Rotterdam University.

Another particularly pleasing outcome is the project's cooperation with Erarslan Anadolu High School in Izmir, where an 'Envoys of Cultural Heritage' programme, modelled on SARAT, has been initiated for year-nine students. This innovative programme was generated by two energetic teachers (of literature and geography) who are both graduates of SARAT's online course.

Awards

High engagement numbers and continued interest in its programmes demonstrate that SARAT can be considered one of the most successful heritage projects conducted in recent years in Turkey, and also beyond. The success of the project has been acknowledged internationally by Europa Nostra (a pan-European federation for cultural heritage) which bestowed on SARAT a Europa Nostra 2020 Award at the European Heritage Awards in the category of Education, Training and Awareness Raising. The jury noted that SARAT 'is a new and innovative approach to awareness-raising in Turkey. It has approached the problems facing archaeology from diverse perspectives with a focus on education and the media and it has addressed problems relating to archaeology as a discipline and its management. The project's public focus is excellent and it does this by inquiring about public views and offering training and capacity-building. It has increased the awareness of the complexity and importance of archaeology, contributing to its care and in situ protection.



The Europa Nostra bronze award.



The international awards bestowed on SARAT are referenced on the cover of the project's report of results. The booklet is available at <https://bit.ly/3etImQU>.

The initiative has effectively changed the media's language around archaeology for the better. Its impressive numbers and the rapid uptake of participants for all activities is evidence of its success. The multi-disciplinary design team of both academic and non-academic experts ensured that the regionally diverse and inclusive programme was professionally executed and of high quality.'

Additionally, SARAT was the runner up in the 2020 European Archaeological Heritage Prize of the European Association of Archaeologists in the Institutional category.

The team members are honoured by both awards, and we extend our gratitude to Europa Nostra and the European Association of Archaeologists for their acknowledgement of the success of SARAT.

Future

Although March 2020 marked the completion of the SARAT project, there is evidence that it has become a significant 'presence' in the Turkish heritage community and it seems that an emerging network of partners, course graduates, local heritage organisations and professional associations is waiting with interest to see what further outcomes might be generated from the range of programmes initiated by SARAT.

Reconstructing a largely lost monument: the Kılıç Arslan Köşk in Konya

Richard Piran McClary | University of York

The central Anatolian city of Konya is well known as being the home of the mystical poet Rumi, and it was the main city of the Rum Seljuqs in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This was despite the fact that the idea of a capital city was still somewhat anathema to a semi-nomadic, and peripatetic, court.

The citadel hill, now known as Alaeddin Tepe, is in the centre of the city and was the nexus of power. The northern end was the location of not only the principal mosque and the dynastic tomb tower, but also the main royal palace. Little survives above ground of the palace, which was destroyed and rebuilt at least once in the early thirteenth century, but the brick and stone stump and part of the brick *muqarnas* balcony supports of one of a pair of kiosks still stand.

Long covered with a concrete shelter, this has recently been removed, and replaced with a rather Las Vegas-like simulacrum of the lost original that hovers over the surviving section atop a steel frame. However, most of the structure survived into the early twentieth century and was recorded by such leading scholars in the, then nascent, field of Islamic art as Gertrude Bell and Friedrich Sarre. Unfortunately, owing to a number of factors, the bulk of the upper portion collapsed in 1907, and the surviving decorative elements were dispersed, with large amounts being smuggled out to Berlin, where they remain in the Museum für Islamische Kunst. Other elements are in the Musée du Louvre in Paris, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the Victoria and Albert Museum in London and the Çinili Köşk Müzesi in Istanbul; some glazed tiles and stucco fragments are in the nearby Büyük Karatay Medrese Müzesi in Konya.

As the only medieval palace kiosk in the whole of the Persianate world to have survived into the modern age, it is an incredibly important structure, even in its current state. A close study of the building and its constituent elements can add to our understanding not just of this particular palace köşk or nearby ones such as those at the Kubadabad site to the west of Konya, but also buildings such as the palace of Badr al-Din Lu'lu, built in the thirteenth century and overlooking the Tigris in Mosul, and now completely destroyed.

The first major study of the köşk was published by Sarre in 1936 in his wonderfully clearly titled book *Der Kiosk von Konia*, but, important as this work is, much more information has come to light since then, and all the images are black and white, which is a shame as so much of the surviving decoration is brightly coloured, either painted or glazed. More recently, in 2017, I published a chapter on the building in my book *Rum Seljuq Architecture, 1170–1220: The Patronage of Sultans*, which grew out of my doctoral research at the University of Edinburgh. However, it became



The Kılıç Arslan Köşk in Konya prior to the collapse of 1907 (photo by Friedrich Sarre).



Mina'i tile composition from the Kılıç Arslan Köşk in Konya (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).



Stone lion from the front of the Kılıç Arslan Köşk in Konya (Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, İstanbul).

apparent as I was writing it that there was far more that needed to be said about the form, decoration and construction process than was possible in that context.

The consequent research project, which will result in a monograph and a digital online exhibition, is a joint undertaking between myself and Patricia Blessing at Princeton University. The work will draw on a combination of analysis of archival images, study of the dispersed fragments and the results of the long-running excavations at the site around the kiosk. These excavations have demonstrated the extent of the two phases of the palace: the first was built by Kılıç Arslan in the late twelfth century and destroyed by fire; the second by ‘Ala’ al-Din Kay Qubadh after 1220. A great deal more of the latter has been found to have survived, including red-painted plaster wall decoration. In addition, the foundations and lower walls of the second köşk, some 15m to the west of the partially surviving one, have been found, along with additional fragments of the distinctive (and unique in the context of Anatolia) overglaze-painted *mina’i* tiles. Having already gathered together a significant amount of archival resources and having managed to roll the dice successfully and make a mid-pandemic dash to spend time on the site in Konya and see the newly excavated material, the next phase is to conduct a thorough re-examination of all the material held in Berlin, hopefully at some point next year.

We will then be able to continue compilation of all the data that will enable both a detailed study of the structure and its constituent elements, and also a three-dimensional digital recreation of the whole building. This will aid in the creation of as clear an understanding as possible of not only the form and decoration, but also the construction process required and the structural elements within the fabric of the building. A number of these were revealed, for the first time since it was built in the late twelfth century, by the collapse of most of the upper section and almost all of the western side of the structure in 1907.

The building featured significant amounts of decoration in a variety of different media, including not only the glazed *mina’i* tiles, but also a pair of monumental carved-stone lions, one of which still survives and is in the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi in İstanbul. Despite it being attributed to the Seljuq period in all the publications that mention it, the fact that it is carved in the round and there is a large notch in the back to allow it to recess into the building, makes it likely that this lion is an earlier sculpture that was repurposed and placed on the northern façade of the building. Inside the köşk, along with the *mina’i* tiles and monochrome glazed tiles, in both star-and-lozenge and pointed-tip cross and eight-point star compositions, there was extensive use of mural stucco revetments, most likely as a dado decoration. Traces of pigments have been found on some of the pieces, showing that they were originally polychrome, rather than the white they are now. One of the most striking pieces, normally in the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi in İstanbul but currently on a brief sabbatical in the new İstanbul airport, is a panel featuring the typical princely pursuit of hunting on horseback, with both a dragon and a lion being killed by the two horsemen in the surviving section.

Despite the collapse of most of the building over one hundred years ago and the publication of a monograph on it in 1936, there is still a great deal more to be said about the site and the surviving fragments. With the generous financial support of the British Institute at Ankara, this project is now several steps closer to achieving its goal of demonstrating the significance of the Kılıç Arslan Köşk in Konya.



Stucco wall panel with hunting scene from the Kılıç Arslan Köşk in Konya (Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, İstanbul).

Feriköy Cemetery

Daniel-Joseph MacArthur-Seal | British Institute at Ankara

For just over a year now, the British Institute at Ankara has been an active partner in the Feriköy Cemetery Initiative. This was set up by the American Research Institute in Turkey, the Netherlands Institute in Turkey and the Orient-Institut Istanbul, and was joined in 2019 by the Hungarian Cultural Center and the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul. The initiative aims to help preserve, protect and promote the unique space of Feriköy International Protestant Cemetery. It also aims to provide advice to the diplomatic board that has administered the cemetery since its creation in the 19th century, currently composed of consular officials representing Germany, the United Kingdom, the USA, the Netherlands, Sweden, Hungary and Switzerland. Adjacent to the international cemetery is a graveyard for mostly Armenian, but also Greek and Assyrian, local protestants.

Opened in 1859, the cemetery helped make way for the northward expansion of Istanbul, allowing for the relocation of Christian graves from Taksim, then on the city's periphery but in the process of becoming an administrative and transit hub between Pera and the new suburb of Şişli to the still rural district of Feriköy. Now just a short walk from Istanbul's Osmanbey metro station and the fashionable districts of Nişantaşı and Kurtuluş, the Feriköy International Protestant Cemetery and the neighbouring Catholic cemetery form a small green island in an ever intensifying and expanding cityscape. The cemetery grounds provide shelter for birds and other wildlife and offer a place of peace, relaxation and contemplation for residents and travellers.

The cemetery is the resting place of numerous important individuals in the history of Istanbul, the Ottoman Empire and Turkey. Missionaries are particularly well represented. Elias Riggs (1810–1901), Mary Kinney (1874–1930) and John Kingsley Birge (1888–1952) were all members of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, who did much to maintain the grounds and records of the cemetery and whose archives were inherited by the American Research Institute in Turkey. It is also home to artists and photographers, such as Wilhelm Berggren (1835–1920) and Josephine Powell (1919–2007), and even a brewer, Franz Carl Bomonti, whose name graces one of the most popular brands of Turkish beer and whose brewery, now an arts and music space, is located a short walk from his tomb. The story of European investment in the Ottoman railways is represented in the graves of Wilhelm von Pressel (1821–1902) and Heinrich August Meissner (1862–1940), engineers for rail lines that connected the capital with Thessaloniki and Baghdad respectively. Many scholars of Turkey are also among those buried, such as the Hungarian manuscript



Dutch grave with chapel behind.

collector and translator Daniel Szilagyi (1831–1885), Istanbul University professor Traugott Fuchs (1906–1997), Robert College teacher and author of the acclaimed guide *Strolling through Istanbul* John Freely (1926–2017) and the Oxford- and later Bilkent-based historian Norman Stone (1941–2019).

Many more less well-known individuals from all walks of life – sailors, soldiers, merchants and others – are also buried in the cemetery, and their records help us to understand just how international and diverse the transient and resident population of Istanbul was in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Alongside Istanbul's many foreign churches and consular buildings, the cemetery at Feriköy and other international burial grounds, like the British military cemetery at Haydarpaşa or German war graves at Tarabya, speak to the degree to which the Ottoman capital became entangled in international politics and commerce.

A guidebook prepared by Richard Wittmann (Orient-Institut Istanbul) and Brian Johnson (American Research Institute in Turkey) has recently been published online and an updated printed version will be available in the coming months, offering further insights into the biographies of these figures and providing descriptions and histories of notable



Feriköy Cemetery (photo by Darwinek; CC BY-SA 3.0).

monuments in the cemetery. Copies of the guidebook will be available at the Institute's library, as well as at the libraries of the other institutions involved in the project and also the small visitor centre constructed near the entrance to the cemetery in the year 2000 thanks to a bequest left by Emma Ehrmann (1921–1995). In addition to the brief biographies and descriptions contained in the guidebook, the initiative plans to launch a bi-annual newsletter, where further research on the cemetery and those buried there can be shared as it becomes available.

The guidebook and newsletter are among many projects by which those involved in the initiative hope to make information on the cemetery available to researchers and the wider public. Fokke Gerritsen and colleagues from the Netherlands Institute in Turkey are preparing a digital map of the approximately 1,000 graves on the site, using aerial drones to capture images of otherwise hard-to-access plots. When finished, the map will allow for the easier location of gravestones for interested researchers and the relatives and descendants of those interred.

The extant graves at Feriköy represent just a fraction of the 5,000 or so individuals recorded as having been buried at the site. Those whose families had not purchased a permanent plot had their graves removed after a set period of time and their remains were placed in a collective ossuary, located near the cemetery chapel. For these individuals, only a paper record remains, in two volumes of cemetery burial logs covering the years 1858–1893 and 1894–1991. Thanks to the work of Richard Wittmann and colleagues, data from the logs – in most cases consisting of the name, nationality, age at death and date of burial – have been digitised and are available for consultation in the libraries of all member institutes, including the BIAA. Privacy concerns mean that this database is not currently available to consult online.

In spring 2021, the Institute aims to conduct an inventory to document the oldest gravestones in the cemetery, those moved from the previous Protestant burial grounds at Taksim, for which there are no extant records. Photographs of the graves will be processed using Virtual Reflectance Transformation Imaging (V-RTI), in order to make their

intricate inscriptions and coats of arms legible for researchers. In the near future, we hope to commission a conservation plan for these oldest gravestones in the grounds of the cemetery, which include many merchants of the Levant Company, the chartered trading body that managed commerce between Britain and the Ottoman Empire between the years 1592 and 1825. Of the better-known examples among them is the grave of Sarah Sarell (d. 1817) and her son James (d. 1811). James was registered as a Levant Company merchant in 1803 in Constantinople, at a time when Anglo-Ottoman relations were in a state of tumult due to the shifting alliances of the Napoleonic Wars. Members of the family married local Ottoman Greeks, and Sarah was impressed by her sons' aptitude in learning the many languages spoken in the city at the time, while she was an admirer of the the landscape and local crafts, if not the cuisine (<http://www.levantineheritage.com/testi41.htm>). Descendants of Sarah Sarell continued the family's entanglement with Turkey. Several more generations of Sarells are buried at Feriköy and Sir Roderick Sarell was posted as British Ambassador to Ankara from 1969 to 1973.

It is hoped that the details of these gravestones can provide a core source in a future academic publication on the history of British relations with the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth to nineteenth century.



Gravestone of Sarah and James Sarell.

Permanent emergency rule and democracy in Turkey, 1923–2002

Matthew Whiting | University of Reading

There is no need to remind observers of contemporary politics in Turkey that emergency rule can be used by governments as a method of eroding democratic checks and balances. The continuing fallout of the period of emergency rule declared after the failed 2016 coup is a testament to this. Following the declaration of emergency rule in July 2016, 37 emergency decrees were issued, all of which bypassed the usual legislative checks. Using emergency decrees, over 150,000 people were dismissed from their positions in public institutions, the media were further restricted, local Kurdish elected officials accused of crimes were removed and replaced with trustees across the southeast of the country, and power was concentrated in the hands of the presidency with few checks and balances. What is more, even though it officially ended in July 2018, this period of emergency rule became permanent in many respects. This was especially the case following the switch from a parliamentary to a presidential system following a referendum held under conditions of emergency rule that enshrined the newly powerful presidency as a permanent feature of political life. Many of these trends were already underway before the failed coup and the period of emergency rule (indeed since at least 2011), but there can be no doubt that emergency rule offered a way for the AKP (Justice and Development Party) to reinforce this trend.

Turkey is by no means unique in having emergency rule result in the reinforcement of autocratic tendencies or the rolling back of democratic checks. Ideally, declaring a state of emergency should be the exclusive preserve of states fighting for their very survival, when confronted with threats like terrorism or a severe economic shock. Emergency rule empowers a government to use extraordinary powers in the name of protecting the state, including bypassing the usual democratic checks and temporarily derogating from human rights and minority protections. The idea is that these extraordinary powers should be used only to help return the state to the same position it was in prior to the emergency, at which point emergency rule should be withdrawn.

However, in reality emergency rule may provide opportunities for political leaders to subvert democratic institutions while still following constitutional rules. Decrees made during emergency rule often go beyond just protecting the state and instead are used to change the ruling institutions permanently, usually in a way that concentrates power in the executive with little oversight. Indeed, democracies are 75 percent more likely to erode under a state of emergency. This is all the more problematic given the rise in the use of emergency rule today – in the last 40 years almost two-thirds of all democracies have been in a state of emergency at least

once. Emergency rule is no longer exceptional; instead, it has become a regular technique of government. The reality of emergency rule is that it has become, in effect, permanent and moved away from its benign ideals. By ‘permanent’ I mean two things: (1) emergency rule becomes an everyday tool of government and (2) laws passed during a period of emergency move beyond their conservative scope of protecting the state to changing the state with a lasting effect.

Yet what is often overlooked is that the AKP today is following in a long tradition in Turkish politics of declaring emergency rule to protect the state from some existential threat, and that this comes at the expense of democracy. Since the foundation of the Republic, Turkey has been under some form of emergency rule for almost half of its history. Indeed, the use of emergency rule dates back to the late Ottoman period, when the policy adopted was a vague one that allowed for its indiscriminate use by the ruling authorities against minorities and other groups that were seen as a threat to their authority. This original conception influenced the form of the policy that was adopted in the



A visit to Anıtkabir during a research trip to Ankara.



Meeting with local political candidates in Van.

early Republic and that played out in future iterations of the constitution. This is more than just generally saying that ‘history matters’ when it comes to looking at emergency rule in Turkey – it is noting that these early choices set Turkey on a particular path that determined the future use of emergency rule. They shaped how the notion of emergency was understood, the groups that became the typical focus of emergency decrees, the types of oversights that were put in place when emergency rule was declared and the extent to which it became a permanent feature of Turkish political life.

With this in mind, Zeynep Kaya (SOAS) and I set out to study how emergency rule in Turkey became permanent. Rather than considering each instance of emergency rule in isolation, we are adopting a path-dependency lens to demonstrate how decisions made at early time-points (the circumstances that justify emergency rule, how it was extended beyond its original remit and its focus on the periphery and minorities) have served as critical junctures that have shaped future uses of emergency rule.

To do this, we are examining three critical instances of emergency rule. Firstly, we are looking at emergency rule in the early Republican period, in the 1920s and 1930s, when the Kemalist government was trying to secure the direction of the new state. In particular, we are interested in emergency rule following Kurdish rebellions at the time, but also wider internal threats, and how they were managed through emergency legislation. Secondly, we are examining the military and judicial purge under emergency legislation following the 1960 coup. Finally, we are looking at the establishment of the OHAL (State of Emergency Legislation) region in the southeast following the 1980 coup, which in some provinces remained in place until 2002 when the AKP let this legislation expire rather than renew it. The goal is to examine the continuities and distinctions across these three episodes (while still acknowledging the contingent circumstances and specific contexts) to trace the long-term pathway of emergency rule.

To do this we are drawing on archival research, a review of historical newspapers and interviews, when first-hand recollections are still available. The data are being gathered in Istanbul and Ankara, but we are also using Van as a local case study in order to look at how the dynamics of emergency rule played out in one particular locality with a mixed Turkish-Kurdish (and other minorities) population.

Although we managed to squeeze in our first research trip to Ankara and Van over the summer, COVID-19 has, of course, taken its toll on the speed of our data collection. Nonetheless, initial findings have provided a basis for understanding the political context in which emergency-rule decisions were made in the 1920s and 1930s, the justifications used for these decisions and the goals of the policymakers at the time. A further notable observation (and one made by many others before us) is just how poor the handwriting of late Ottoman officials was!

Subsequent trips will begin to look at the other two time periods and trace the common trajectories. COVID-19 permitting, further trips to Ankara, Istanbul and Van are planned over the next six months. The ultimate goal is to place the use of emergency rule in a wider historical context and to use this to identify institutional designs that should be put in place during periods of emergency to prevent democratic erosion.



A visit to Van University with Zeynep Kaya, during a research trip to Turkey in summer 2020.

MIGRATION, MINORITIES & REGIONAL IDENTITIES

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

doi:10.18866/biaa2020.08

Peaks and troughs: archaeological science and the ‘new normal’

Benjamin Irvine | British Institute at Ankara

The past year, as I’m sure everyone is all too aware, has been one full of disruption and associated compromise and pragmatism. Cancelled or postponed conferences, lab time, fieldwork and research trips have resulted in many, myself included, adjusting to a ‘new normal’ of how we conduct and complete academic research, and maintain discussion and dissemination of information.

A research trip to Tokyo, which I had originally scheduled for late June, has been postponed indefinitely. The visit would have enabled me to analyse the stable isotope ratios ($\delta^{13}\text{C}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}$) of individual amino acids extracted from the bulk collagen samples I obtained during my doctoral research into the dietary habits of Early Bronze Age Anatolian populations. This would have provided a finer scale of analysis, which would have, in turn, enabled a clearer understanding of individual and population dietary habits, significantly developing and enhancing our current knowledge. Hopefully this research trip will be permissible at some point next year.

Additionally, the development of the (stable) isotope facility at TÜBİTAK-MAM (TÜBİTAK Marmara Araştırma Merkezi; i.e. the TÜBİTAK Marmara Research Centre) has experienced pandemic-related delays, but, all going well, it should be ready to receive samples for analysis in the very near future. This lab, when fully operational, will be a wonderful and exciting addition to the archaeological sciences in Turkey and to Turkish archaeological research.

Closer to home in Ankara, my co-organisers (Yılmaz Selim Erdal of Hacettepe University and the Institute’s Director, Lutgarde Vandeput) and I took the difficult but sensible decision to postpone our symposium on the bioarchaeology of prehistoric Anatolia that was originally planned for late October 2020. The symposium would have brought together a range of domestic and foreign specialists whose research is based on the plants, animals and humans of the Anatolian peninsula. We were all very excited about this event, which would have been of great benefit to the bioarchaeological and wider archaeological communities of Turkey-focused and Turkish-based research. Whilst we have no timescale for the de-mothballing of this symposium, we hope that it will be in the not too distant future.

Despite these negatives, there have also been many positives to focus on and celebrate. The ‘Physical Anthropology in Anatolia’ workshop, hosted at the British Institute at Ankara in November 2019, was a wonderful success, with the Wolfson Foundation conference room packed throughout the day. All of the presenters are currently hard at work transforming their interesting talks into contributions to the edited volume of papers. This will be published as an Institute Monograph, and, all going well, we hope that it will be published by the end of 2021. Currently, no such volume or monograph exists for the field of physical anthropology in Turkey. Thus, this publication will be the first of its kind, devoted specifically to physical and



A full house for the ‘Physical Anthropology in Anatolia’ workshop at the BIAA, 8 November 2019.

bioanthropological research in Turkey. The edited volume will be published initially in English, but also in Turkish as an e-book, ensuring wide accessibility. The Turkish-language version will be particularly important for domestic students as they will form the next generation of physical anthropologists working in Turkey on Turkish material, and it is only right that they should be able to gain easy access to this type of information and knowledge.

I am also delighted to announce that I have received a BIAA Research Grant for a project related to, and enhancing, my postdoctoral research. This project will develop a database collating all bioarchaeological isotope data from the greater Near East and construct a website to make the database available as an open-access resource. This website (BioIsoAne – A Repository of Bioarchaeological Isotope Analyses in the Greater Ancient Near East) will provide an invaluable research tool for archaeologists and specialists in bioarchaeological sub-disciplines. It will also increase the visibility of bioarchaeological research and promote awareness of the utility of isotopic analyses to answer socio-historical questions within the broader research community working in Anatolia and its adjacent regions (i.e. the region from the Balkans to the Caucasus). Additionally, the website will provide a platform to encourage robust standards of data reporting, something which, unfortunately, is still lacking in published research from the region. The website will be beneficial for archaeology students all around the world who are seeking to gain expertise in isotopic analyses, including those for whom resources may not be easily available. For researchers specialised in isotope analysis, a freely available online resource will greatly increase the dataset and knowledge availability, permitting increased opportunities

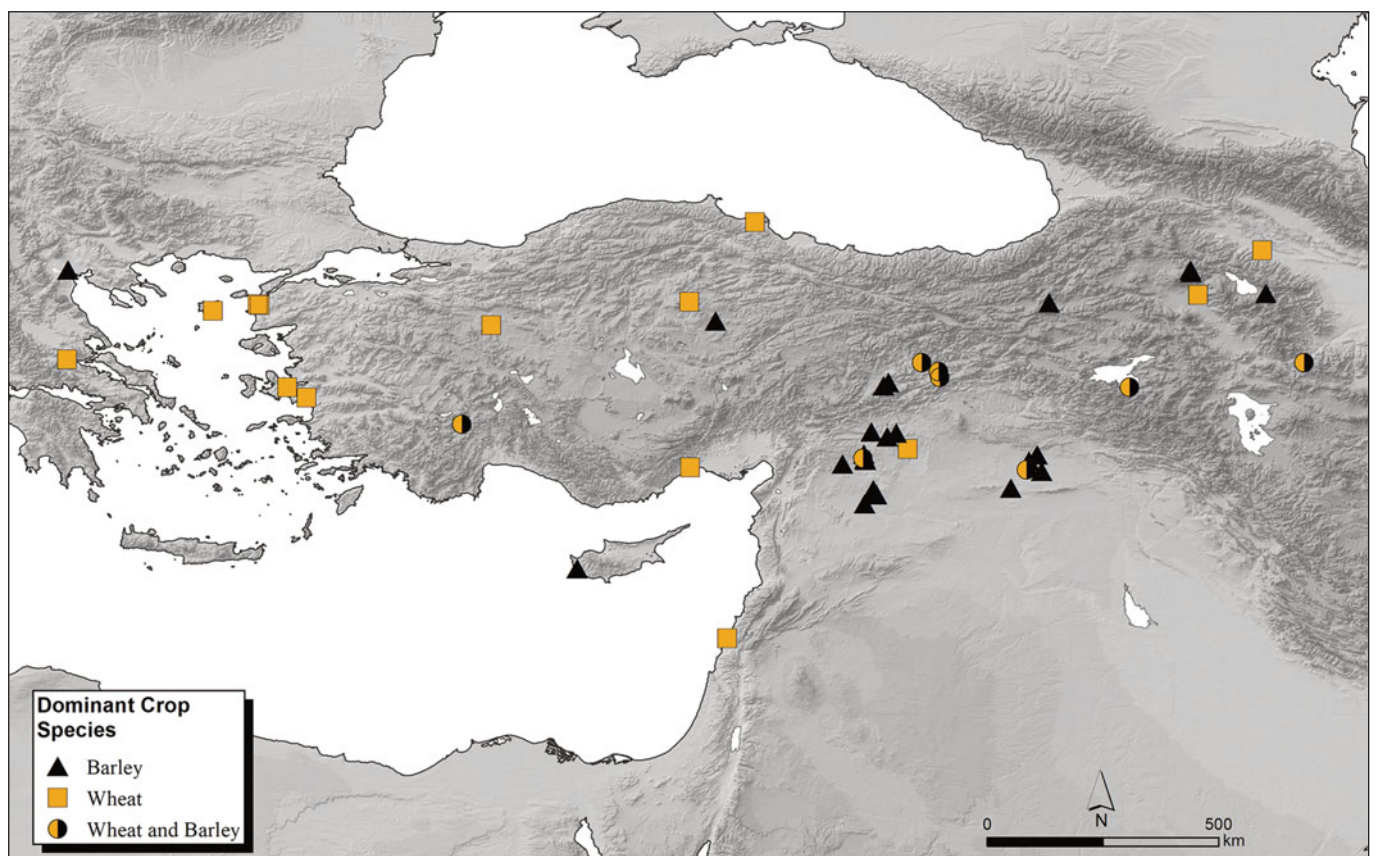
for collaboration and project development. This new programme is being conducted in collaboration with Bike Yazıcıoğlu-Santamaria (Simon Fraser University, Canada), and with the financial and logistical support of the BIAA it will further increase the Institute’s reputation as a source and hotbed of high-quality research with an international impact. The website project was instigated by the establishment and activities of AIRG (Archaeological Isotopes Research Group), which comprises a multidisciplinary and international group of researchers, including myself and Dr Yazıcıoğlu-Santamaria as key founding members. This working group provides a platform for researchers using biogeochemical methods in the region to discuss their own research as well as current trends in the field and how research standards can be improved. Work on this project is ongoing; we look forward to sharing more information about it shortly and hope to have the website up and running by summer 2021.

One of the most exciting aspects of my postdoctoral research project in the last year has been studying human-environment interactions in a pan-regional and diachronic manner by examining dietary habits, subsistence practices and agricultural strategies from the Neolithic to Byzantine periods of the greater Near East. By utilising a large-scale, ‘big-data’ and holistic approach through the examination of human stable isotope data, as well as archaeozoological and archaeobotanical data, I have been able to analyse diachronic changes and patterns across the region. Whilst a succession of forthcoming articles will analyse these findings in greater detail, I will briefly summarise some of them here. The human stable isotope values for the three main chronological epochs (Neolithic, Early to Middle Bronze Age and Classical

to Byzantine period) are distinct from one another. This, whilst interesting in itself by providing potential isotopic markers/ranges for the time periods, is particularly useful and stimulating as an indicator of changing and distinctive subsistence and agricultural strategies. For example, the adoption and exploitation of C_4 plants (in the case of the greater Near East, millet and sorghum) in the arable repertoire of the historical periods is clearly seen in the stable isotope data with a shift to more positive $\delta^{13}C$ values. In the Early to Middle Bronze Age there is a relatively (compared to other time periods) narrow range of $\delta^{13}C$ values, which suggests a relatively narrow range in the stable isotope values of consumed plant protein (either directly or via an animal vector); this, in turn, is indicative of a narrow range of plant food resources and standardised growing conditions. This conclusion is supported in the archaeobotanical and archaeozoological records for the period, which note a monoculture of wheat and/or barley as key crops cultivated in a standardised extensive agricultural system around settlements. The human stable isotope data from Anatolia very clearly demonstrates this shift in agricultural strategy from the Neolithic/Early Chalcolithic into the end of the Chalcolithic and the beginning of the Early Bronze Age (around the end of the fourth millennium BC), with an increased homogeneity in $\delta^{13}C$ and $\delta^{15}N$ values. Furthermore, the human $\delta^{15}N$ values for the Anatolian Early Bronze Age

are lower than in the periods before or after, clearly highlighting the move to an extensive agricultural system. This is combined with an intensification in the exploitation of animals' ante-mortem products and animals being viewed no longer just as a food resource, but as commodities themselves. These two aspects are the main components of what I have been referring to as a subsistence model of staple finance for the time period. The Early to Middle Bronze Age human stable isotope data for regions beyond Anatolia and northern Mesopotamia/the Upper Khabur and Jazira do not demonstrate such a degree of homogeneity, and one possible explanation for this is that there were core and periphery regions for this subsistence model. This suggestion can be tested in the future with further data and analysis.

So, as my tenure as Postdoctoral Fellow of the British Institute at Ankara comes to an end, I would like to thank sincerely and extend my gratitude to everyone at the Institute, in particular its wonderfully kind and supportive Director, Lutgarde Vandeput. I have thoroughly enjoyed my time in Ankara, and it has been an extremely beneficial and productive two years for my own research and career development. I cannot rate the BIAA highly enough as a centre of research, and, when a sense of normality returns to the world, I look forward to attending many tea breaks at the Institute and discussing my work with current, past and future members of the BIAA family.



Sites of the late fourth to second millennium and the dominant crop species in their respective archaeobotanical assemblages (map created by M. Massa).

Revisiting cultural life in Allied-occupied Istanbul 1918–1923

Gizem Tongo | British Institute at Ankara

Starting with the Balkan Wars in 1912 and ending with the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, the final decade of the Ottoman Empire was marked by titanic changes in the political, social and cultural life of Turkey and its people. In between came the disastrous experiences of the First World War (1914–1918), the Armenian deportations and killings of 1915, the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in 1918 and the occupation of Istanbul by the Allies (1918–1923). Until recently, the military victories of both the Gallipoli campaign (1915) and the War of Independence (1919–1922) have dominated the historiography of this decade, reflecting a general national amnesia regarding both the fate of non-Muslim Ottomans and the city of Istanbul. Indeed, whilst the human dimension of this history has been sacrificed to the story of a single ‘great’ man – Mustafa Kemal Atatürk – in nationalist history writing, occupied Istanbul has been overlooked by official historiography, which has focused on the establishment of the new parliament (Büyük Millet Meclisi) in Ankara (23 April 1920) and the military victories of the Nationalist forces over the Greek army in Asia Minor.

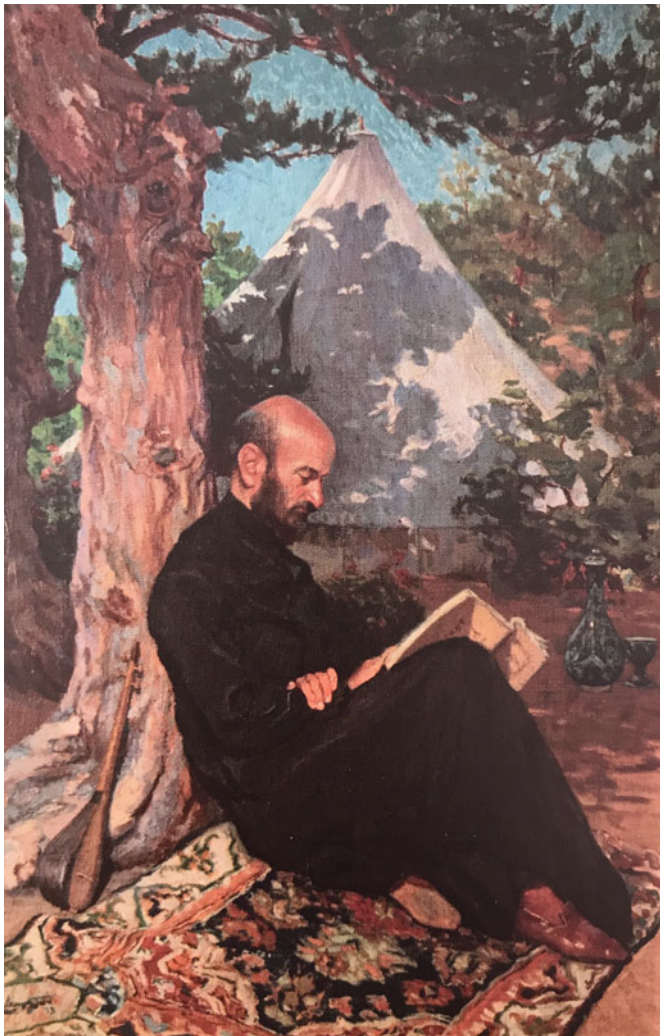
The centenary of the Ottoman Empire’s final wars has certainly encouraged many excellent revisionist studies in recent years. Yet, we still know too little about how the Ottomans perceived and configured the wars and the occupation that followed. My goal during my time as a Postdoctoral Fellow of the British Institute at Ankara was to fill this void by finalising my manuscript *War, Art and the End of the Ottoman Empire*, which explores how the Balkan Wars, the First World War and the War of Independence changed the conditions of art production, its agents and the art itself between 1913 and 1923. During my fellowship, I revised my doctoral thesis and wrote a new chapter on the Istanbul art world during the armistice period (1918–1922). Here, I complicate the nationalist narrative of Ottoman decadence and Turkish renewal and return the story of occupied Istanbul to the place it deserves in the histories of the post-First World War period in Turkey and beyond. The new materials I discovered in my second year in various libraries and archives, including the Ministry of National Defence (MSB) in Ankara, the Navy Museum in Istanbul and the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation in Lisbon helped me to explore how Ottoman artists, intellectuals and art collectors experienced and understood the occupation, not just through the militarist and Turkish frames of the rising nationalist movement, but also through emerging pacifist and socialist sentiments, and transnational cultural encounters and possibilities.

During the armistice period, Istanbul was indeed a sophisticated and vibrant cultural centre. It hosted concerts, films, theatres and art exhibitions that were organised and attended by a highly cosmopolitan and international Istanbul society, including Ottoman Muslims, Greeks, Armenians, Levantines, Russians and Allied soldiers. The rich diversity of art exhibitions during this period is a case in point. The Organisation of Russian Painters, founded in Istanbul in the spring of 1921, for instance, organised more than ten exhibitions in a single year. Moreover, the ‘Galatasaraylılar Yurdu’ art exhibitions, first organised in 1916 and 1917, continued to draw crowds after 1919 under their new name ‘Exposition des artistes turcs’, and the newly founded Armenian Society of the Fine Arts Union (Ermeni Sanayi-i Nefise İttihadı Cemiyeti) hosted displays which brought together many established and emerging Armenian painters.

For instance, Panos Terlemejian, the well-known portrait and landscape painter, was among the Ottoman Armenian artists and intellectuals who returned to the imperial capital during its occupation to attempt to renew Armenian cultural and literary life. Having received his art training first in St Petersburg and later in Paris and having survived the Armenian deportations and killings of 1915, Terlemejian held an art exhibition at the Armenian Association in Pera in 1920. He displayed around 90 works, including landscapes and portraits, ranging from images of the Bosphorus and Lake Sevan to a portrait of his close friend Gomidas (Soghomon Soghomonian), a respected ethnomusicologist and composer.

During my time as a BIAA Postdoctoral Fellow, the Institute has provided me with a wonderfully supportive research and working environment. I also feel very fortunate to have had the opportunity to work with Daniel-Joseph MacArthur-Seal, who arrived at the Institute as the Assistant Director during the second year of my fellowship. His expertise on the history of Istanbul during the armistice period has supported me through various stages of my research and the writing of my monograph.

During the second year of my fellowship, I also had the chance to give two talks (at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London and at Boğaziçi University in Istanbul) and work on four articles. My paper ‘An ambivalent patriot: Namık İsmail, the First World War and the politics of remembrance in Turkey’, which discusses the war and its commemoration by tracing the shifting cultural appropriations of a single Ottoman war painting, *Take Another* (1917, today in the collection of the Ankara Museum of Painting and Sculpture), was recently published



Panos Terlemezian's portrait of the musicologist Gomidas exhibited in Istanbul in 1920 (1913, oil on canvas, 80 × 53cm; © National Gallery of Armenia).

in an edited volume entitled *Portraits of Remembrance: Painting, Memory and the First World War*. I have also published a more popular piece for Pera Museum (co-authored with Irvin Cemil Schick) on the history of *turquerie* (literally 'Turkish stuff') and its artistic and cultural context in the eighteenth century. I have two other papers scheduled to be published by the beginning of next year: a review essay for a peer-reviewed journal, where I explore the commemoration of the centenaries of the Ottoman Empire's final wars, and a paper for an edited volume, where I focus on the development of state and civil-society patronage in the mobilisation of the art world between 1914 and 1918.

With cancelled conferences, restricted travel and closed libraries and archives due to the COVID-19 pandemic, research and academic production have indeed gained a 'new' form, and I am doing my best to research, produce and stay connected. The workshop I had planned to organize for this summer at the Institute, 'Cultural Life in Allied-

Occupied Istanbul 1918–1923', was unfortunately cancelled. My aim was to bring together cultural, social and art historians from various institutions (including Europe, the UK and the US) in order to foster closer connections and exchanges of ideas. Though coming together physically seems unlikely to happen any time soon, I am planning to keep the group connected by producing a special issue with the same working title. While only a few months remain until the end of my current BIAA fellowship in March 2021, I am delighted to continue to support research related to Turkey during the armistice period (1918–1923) with Daniel-Joseph, and am helping to organise a forthcoming conference on 'Occupied Istanbul: Urban Politics, Culture and Society, 1918–1923' at Boğaziçi University as well as working on a comprehensive bibliography of the period. Meanwhile, I am also conducting new research on the first Ottoman historical film, *Binnaz*, which was produced and aired in occupied Istanbul between 1919 and 1920.

Finally, there is something very uncanny about revisiting the history of the final decade of the Ottoman Empire as a global pandemic ravages the world's population, as also happened a hundred years ago during the influenza pandemic. Known as the 'Spanish flu', the 1918 virus broke down the infrastructure of daily life, pushed some countries to civil war and killed more people in two years than died throughout the First World War itself. Whilst there is no exact figure of pandemic-related deaths in the Ottoman Empire during the armistice period, it is clear that populations across the remaining territories would have had their physical and social resilience to disease severely weakened by the growing struggle between the occupying forces and nationalists in Anatolia, following so soon upon experiences of massive displacement and demographic engineering by the wartime administration of the Committee of Union and Progress.

Today, in the midst of global pandemic and continuing wars, whilst climate change threatens our earth and racism our humanity, I cannot help but recall the words of Walter Benjamin as he looked at Paul Klee's monoprint *Angelus Novus* and warned us about what we call 'progress' and what we expect from it ('Theses on the philosophy of history', *Illuminations*, tr. Harry Zohn, New York 1969: 249):

This is how one pictures the angel of history. His face is turned toward the past. Where we perceive a chain of events, he sees one single catastrophe which keeps piling wreckage and hurls it in front of his feet. The angel would like to stay, awaken the dead, and make whole what has been smashed. But a storm is blowing from Paradise; it has caught in his wings with such violence that the angel can no longer close them. The storm irresistibly propels him into the future to which his back is turned, while the pile of debris before him grows skyward. This storm is what we call progress.

Romeyka heritage in contemporary Turkey: socio-linguistic explorations of endangerment and preservation

Ioanna Sitaridou | University of Cambridge

With Erol Sağlam

The Romeyka Project (<https://www.romeyka.org/>) aims to document and preserve an endangered Greek variety, Romeyka, that is spoken in rural Trabzon, northeastern Turkey (Karadeniz), and diaspora communities. The language displays intriguing linguistic archaisms and idiosyncrasies that might radically alter our articulations of the phylogeny of the Greek language. Spoken uninterruptedly for centuries in secluded villages, Romeyka has been discreetly preserved to this day in an area known for its staunch Turkish nationalism. However, the discreet preservation of Romeyka seems to be no longer viable due to waning intergenerational transmission.

The Romeyka-speaking villages in the Of valley in the Trabzon region emerged as Christian Orthodox settlements in the fifteenth century following the Ottoman takeover of Trabzon in 1461; these villages are the primary location of my research. The valley underwent gradual Islamisation and a Muslim majority was consolidated by the seventeenth to eighteenth century. Conventionally, a linguistic shift to Turkish accompanied the Islamisation of communities across Asia Minor, but these communities in the Trabzon region have instead retained Romeyka to this day. With religion as the only criterion of the Graeco-Turkish population exchange of 1923, Greek-speaking Christians of the Pontus were forced to leave Turkey while Romeyka-speaking Muslim communities remained, which explains the modern-day presence of the Greek variety in the region. Today, Romeyka is spoken in a number of valley systems across the Trabzon area (Çaykara, Tonya and Sürmene) as well as in major Turkish cities (such as Istanbul and Bursa) and diasporic settings across Europe (such as Berlin, Paris and Brussels), due to migration over several decades. Despite the lack of a written form and dependence on oral transmission across generations, Romeyka continues to permeate local culture and intracommunal/intrafamilial relations, especially for the secluded rural communities across the elevated valleys of Trabzon. And yet, Romeyka has been rather invisible in public and is severely endangered due to a diminishing number of speakers both in Turkey and Europe. Communities refrain – at least openly – from identifying with the language out of fear that their heritage might be perceived as antagonistic to their Turkish-Muslim identity.

Romeyka presents a unique yet fragile window through which to explore the genealogy of Greek language in general and in Asia Minor in particular. While so-called Pontic Greek varieties (spoken by Christians in the region prior to the 1920s)

have been analysed extensively, Romeyka varieties in the Of valley, where the most archaic sub-dialects are spoken, have never been studied, documented or analysed, apart from some limited attempts. Before Peter Mackridge collected data from Sarahos in the Of valley in 1983, the only other scholars to visit the area were Ioannis Parharidis in 1876 and R.M. Dawkins in 1914. My first visit to Çaykara was in 2008, and a year later I carried out my first field trip to the village of Anasta.

Thanks to subsequent field trips, I was able to put forward a daring proposal: that the Romeyka infinitive must have descended directly from Hellenistic Greek, at least 500 years earlier than previously thought. Currently, I am working towards putting forward a rather unconventional and challenging hypothesis that might rewrite the metanarrative of the historical evolution of the Greek language. I intend to argue that Romeyka/Pontic Greek constitutes a separate branch of Greek within the Greek language family – not a ‘daughter’ of medieval/modern Greek, but rather a ‘sister’ – similar to the relationship between the Romance languages, which derive from a common source rather than from each other.

But how did it all start?

When I was invited to give a talk on the syntax of medieval Ibero-Romance infinitives at the University of Oxford in January 2006, Peter Mackridge was in the audience. It occurred to him that I might be interested in investigating the infinitive in Romeyka. Until that day, I had never heard of Romeyka, let alone the preservation of the Greek infinitive in today’s Anatolia. In the eleven years since my first field trip, I have published nineteen articles and book chapters, delivered 27 conference papers, been invited to give 52 talks across the globe, organised an exhibition about Romeyka in Istanbul, delivered six workshops on Romeyka, produced a video which has had more than half a million views (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UcAYP4irSyQ#https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UcAYP4irSyQ>) and obtained eight research grants, including three fellowships (at Princeton, Harvard and Sorbonne 3). Intellectually, I have had some very intense moments, yet what I will never forget is my first day in the village. I arrived during a funeral, and felt as if I had gone on a voyage back through time, to my own grandfather’s funeral many years previously. It was the first of many memorable experiences in the village and each has delivered a stronger dose of adrenalin, curiosity and love. I have received so much affection from the locals, for which I shall be grateful forever.



The author with Romeyka-speakers in the *parharae* (yayla).

Through knowledge exchange and provision of bias-free spaces, as was the case with the Romeyka-language exhibition in Istanbul in September 2019, Romeyka speakers and the wider public are empowered to reflect on heritage and language preservation, identity and cultural memory. My work demonstrates an interesting and counter-intuitive policy point, namely that raising the status of minority/heritage languages and cultures in a society can actually aid social integration, in direct counterpoint to the ideology underpinning nationalism. Nevertheless, Romeyka faces extinction and we must act urgently if this intangible piece of the cultural heritage of Trabzon is to be preserved.

Thanks to the British Institute at Ankara, a new and exciting phase of research on the sociolinguistic dynamics currently surrounding Romeyka will start as soon as the impact of COVID-19 lessens.

Erol Sağlam (Istanbul Medeniyet University), my research collaborator, and I plan to conduct structured interviews with Romeyka-heritage families in Istanbul, Ankara and Bursa. The research aims to understand heritage-speakers' relationship with the language and to document grammatical innovations so that we can assess language contact and hence the parameters of the language's endangerment. We will compare interview data from these urban heritage-speakers with the ethnographic datasets already collected from rural Trabzon (Çaykara). This will allow us to comprehend: the vitality/endangerment of Romeyka heritage in the Black Sea region and cities of contemporary Turkey; the causes of the differing trajectories of Romeyka in the rural settlements of Trabzon and urban

centres; and the most feasible preservation measures. The data yielded will be analysed through interdisciplinary collaborations and the findings will be shared in scholarly articles and a booklet.

This BIAA-funded research pursues linguistic and sociocultural questions. What can the diverging linguistic patterns of rural and urban Romeyka-heritage communities (across generations, genders, sociocultural status and occupations) tell us about contact-induced change and its implications for syntax? How is the language shift to Turkish accelerated in urban settings? Why is intergenerational transmission of Romeyka hindered in urban settings? Is Romeyka destined for extinction due to urbanisation? How do people engage with Romeyka heritage and construe its connection to Greek heritage? Which sociocultural practices (such as agriculture, transhumance, folk songs, etc) are more essential to the preservation of Romeyka in Trabzon? Are they absent from urban settings? How does their translocation or discontinuity affect revitalisation strategies?

Attending to these questions in an interdisciplinary manner in collaboration with Erol, who has conducted anthropological research in the area, will enable us to diagnose sociolinguistic perceptions and practices that undermine the vitality of Romeyka and, drawing on our findings, design strategies to forestall the extinction of Romeyka in the near future.

Nonetheless, it will be up to the Romeyka speakers themselves as to whether we have heard the last on the Greek infinitive or not.

ANGLO-TURKISH RELATIONS IN THE 20TH CENTURY

Pioneering a new research agenda on the history of UK-Turkey relations, the British Institute at Ankara introduced this strategic research initiative in 2015 in combination with the undertaking of a major research project entitled 'Turkey and Britain 1914–1952: From Enemies to Allies' that ran until 2019. This strategic research initiative aims to build on this project in order to create an active and sustainable network of scholars from Turkey, the UK and other countries that will promote diverse approaches to the study of the early Turkish Republic, especially its foreign policy, its relationship with Britain and its place in the world order. Research and funding administered under this initiative will support diversity and collaboration across different historiographic traditions (for example, diplomatic and military history, oral history and microhistory) with the aim of unearthing and accessing a full range of archival and other source material in the UK, Turkey and elsewhere. The objective is to promote the exploration of new themes significant for the understanding of bilateral relations in the past, as well as their development in the present and future.

doi:10.18866/biaa2020.11

Occupied Istanbul

Daniel-Joseph MacArthur-Seal | British Institute at Ankara

At 9.40am on 16 March 1920, Andrew Ryan of the British High Commission presented the Ottoman Prime Minister, Salih Hulusi Paşa, with a note informing him that the Allies had declared martial law and occupied Istanbul. Earlier in the morning, British, French and Italian troops, present in the city since November 1918 under the terms of the armistice that had taken the Ottoman Empire out of the First World War, had conducted a series of arrests of high-profile former and serving Ottoman officials and officers, and taken control of multiple government ministries. With official occupation came a greatly expanded Allied presence within the Ottoman administration. Everything from tax rates, to driving regulations, to bar closing times was subject to inter-Allied committees which frequently overran their authority and clashed both among themselves and with their Ottoman partners. The Allied forces would not depart from Istanbul until 6 October 1923, giving way to the arrival of Turkish forces loyal to the Grand National Assembly at Ankara, the centre of authority in the new Turkish Republic.

The centenary of the official occupation presents a useful moment at which to promote a more comprehensive study of the politics, culture and society of Istanbul during the period. Despite the wealth of relevant multi-national archival holdings available, the occupation has been largely overlooked in public memory and ignored by academic writings in the former occupying powers, and it is often marginalised in the Anatolian-focused history of the War of

Independence in Turkey. The few English-language publications to date have focused on international diplomacy around the status of Istanbul, while Turkish literature has concentrated on nationalist responses to the occupation, leaving developments in the city itself largely unexplored. The work of several early-career scholars is now making up for this historiographical neglect, and it is hoped that the centenary of the occupation will prompt academics with expertise in the adjacent periods of late Ottoman and early Republican history to extend their research to the years 1918–1923.

The British Institute at Ankara's current research project on armistice-era Istanbul aims to build on this effervescent interest in the period. My own PhD thesis, titled *Britain's Levantine Empire 1914–1923*, which I have edited into book form and which is due to be published by Oxford University Press next year, examines the occupation of Istanbul in comparison with Britain's military governance of Thessaloniki and Alexandria over the same period. It focuses in particular on the image and experience of the city as documented in the testimony of British soldiers, some 100 of whose letters, diaries and memoirs I consulted at libraries and archives across the UK. More recently, I have expanded my research on the civilian population of Istanbul to contentious social issues, such as alcohol, narcotics and prostitution, in both the armistice period and the later 1920s and 1930s. I am currently working on this research with Gizem Tongo, who, after completing a two-year

postdoctoral fellowship at the Institute, has now joined the project on a six-month research fellowship. Her forthcoming monograph, *War, Art and the End of the Ottoman Empire*, explores how the Balkan Wars, the First World War and the War of Independence changed the conditions of art production, its agents and the art itself between 1913 and 1923.

One of the unique features of armistice-era Istanbul was the diversity of forces and peoples that congregated in the occupied city. Arriving British, French and Italian forces were composed of European troops but also colonial detachments from India, North Africa and Southeast Asia. The Allies brought with them labour battalions from their previous bases of operations in Macedonia and Egypt. Large numbers of refugees, from ongoing conflicts in southern Russia, the Caucasus and eastern Anatolia, joined earlier waves of exiles from the Balkans in the imperial capital. Ottoman prisoners of war returning from Egypt and Russia added to the traffic through Istanbul's ports and on its roadways.



A British soldier looking down a street in Istanbul.



British soldiers smoke a nargile in Çanakkale.

This diversity of actors is reflected in a multiplicity of sources available for the study of the city, something that makes the work for researchers on this period particularly demanding. Anyone working on Istanbul in these years will encounter newspapers, memoirs and official documents written in Ottoman Turkish, Greek, Armenian, Ladino, English, French, Italian, Russian and more, and such sources may be housed in an equally geographically wide-ranging set of libraries and archives. During the preparation of my book, I worked in archives in the UK, US, France, Turkey and Greece, but am well aware that the field of research is still far from complete, with Italian and Armenian archives obvious omissions. The period not only generated a vast quantity of texts in different languages but also a variety of material objects, such as photographs, paintings, postcards and souvenirs. In order to help future researchers navigate this maze of sources, the research project is preparing an online bibliography for the multi-national primary and secondary sources available on Istanbul from the period.

Discussions with institutions in Istanbul are ongoing regarding the organisation of an exhibition on the occupied city. The project also organised a conference that was to be held at Boğaziçi University with the cooperation of the history department there, as well as the support of the American Research Institute in Turkey and the Institut français d'études anatoliennes. Some 40 leading Turkish and international historians of the city were due to speak over three days on 'Occupied Istanbul: Urban Politics, Culture and Society, 1918–1923', with panels covering a diverse range of subjects, from arts to policing and labour to diplomacy. Due to the ongoing pandemic, the conference was postponed from its intended date in September 2020 and a new date will be announced in the near future. Alongside events organised by the University of Michigan and Inalco Centre de Recherches Moyen-Orient Méditerranée, the



British observation post at the Galata Tower.

conference will contribute to the delivery of major new works on the occupation period, including an edited collection of selected papers.

We hope that the work we have carried out on occupied Istanbul will be a basis for a larger project grant application. This new research avenue will compare Istanbul with other major eastern Mediterranean cities in the period 1918–1923, as they moved from Ottoman sovereignty to the new nation states and mandates that were established in the wake of the First World War. It was not until 1922–1923 that the positions of cities like Istanbul, Izmir, Beirut and Alexandria were concretised in the post-war state system, as marked by the Greek defeat in Asia Minor, the recognition of the Turkish Republic by the Treaty of Lausanne, the establishment of the Kingdom of Egypt and the creation of British and French Mandates for Syria, Lebanon and Palestine. During the preceding period of uncertainty, projects from a broad ideological spectrum competed for the attention of the multi-ethnic populations of Istanbul and other cities in the region, and an array of political, cultural and social movements emerged, many of them marginalised in later history writing

that has been centred on the contest between imperialism and nationalism. This comparative-connective research agenda is particularly suitable for a group of cities that had long-standing commercial, cultural, political and migratory ties between them, but whose shared histories have been divided too often by the national frameworks that have bound history writing about the post-Ottoman states of Turkey, Syria, Egypt, Greece, Lebanon and Palestine/Israel.

Funding will allow the British Institute at Ankara to create a website for the project, housing not only the digital bibliography, with links to major holdings at global archives, but also a wiki of short articles written by academics on people and places in the occupied city, modelled on the excellent <https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net>. We also plan to add a cartographic component to this bibliography and wiki, so that events, institutions and images from the period can be geolocated on the streets of historical Istanbul and contemporary maps of the city. It is hoped that such academically rigorous yet accessible work will further engage researchers and the public in this overshadowed period of Istanbul's history.

Secular migration from Turkey to the UK

Umut Parmaksız | British Institute at Ankara

Since its establishment as an academic discipline, the pioneers of sociology have tended to understand secularisation as an essential aspect of modernisation. This view is now changing. Many scholars and sociologists have started to question the assumption that we can understand secular identities as merely being non-religious or unbelievers, and there is, in fact, a growing scholarship that interrogates such assumptions and has an interest in understanding secularity, and thereby secular individuals and groups, as heterogenous and something that cannot be defined necessarily by a lack of belief only, but also by different forms of believing and behaving (Asad 2003; Voas 2009; Parmaksız 2018). Furthermore, secular migration has not previously been problematized, as there has been an underlying assumption that secular citizens integrate into their host society without issue.

On the other hand, migration prompted by religious causes and the effect of religiosity on the migration process and integration have been topics of interest for scholars for many years. This interest has resulted in numerous studies that examine the transmission of religiosity between migrant generations and how religious networks provide migrants with social and cultural capital. Within the context of largely secular Europe, academic attention has been paid to how secular host societies react to migrants with strong religious beliefs and the growing salience of religion. This overwhelming interest in religion and migration is understandable, as there is an underlying assumption that cultural group identity and religious commitments form the roots of many issues regarding migrant integration and accommodation in different contexts. Migration of secular citizens on the other hand has not been a topic of specific research, and there are various reasons for this omission.

On a theoretical basis, social science has from its conception understood secularisation as the disappearance of a religious worldview and the institutional structures associated with it. Classical social theorists, such as Marx, Weber and Durkheim, predicted, for different reasons, the gradual decline of the appeal of religion in societies. In these models, secularity refers to the neutral social substratum that remains once religion disappears through rationalisation, specialisation, disenchantment or capitalist development. As a result, secularity has not been understood as forming a distinct and tangible identity.

Secondly, the predominant tendency in migration studies has been to study problematic cases or ‘challenges’. With the shift from class to culture, migration studies have focused on cultural challenges and tensions that the migration of people creates in host societies in the form of ethnic or religious

pluralism. As a result, the migration of secular citizens has not generated much interest as there is an underlying assumption that their presence in Western societies does not create issues or problems. As a consequence of these two concepts, secular migration in the form of lifestyle migration has been invisible and largely diffused under the label of economic migration.

My research intends to problematise secular migration from Turkey to the UK. Historically, the migration of Turks and other ethnic groups to the UK has occurred in a number of waves. The first wave of migration of Turks to the UK took place from Cyprus, a Commonwealth country, whereas the second wave consisted of Turks from Turkey, who migrated for economic and political reasons in the 1980s. A third wave occurred when many Kurdish activists and nationalists came to the UK as asylum seekers in the 1990s. In more recent years there has been a growing number of Turkish citizens moving to the UK.

My research hypothesises that this ongoing fourth wave of migration of Turks has been prompted by a reaction to the efforts of successive Turkish governments to deepen and extend the reach of, what I call, an islamonormative social and cultural order in Turkey. With Turkey being a highly religious Muslim society, where the level of belief is over 90 percent and an overwhelming majority identify as religious (Inglehart et al. 2014), social and cultural life is determined and conditioned by the expectations of the Muslim majority. This prevalence of the cultural and social presence of Islam in turn creates Islamonormative pressures of conformity on both non-believers and those Muslims whose beliefs and religious practices do not match orthodox expectations. Surveys and studies have demonstrated that being secular in Turkey makes more sense sociologically not as non-belief, but rather as a particular form of believing, in the form of either spiritualised or individualised Islamic interpretations or the exclusion of religious reasoning from everyday thinking (Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı 2014). Hence, within the context of Turkey, there is evidence to suggest that being secular corresponds not merely to a lack of belief, as it is commonly understood within the European context, but also to believing without behaving, or believing in a privatised and individualised manner.

Growing social conservatism over the course of the last three decades (Çarkoğlu, Kalaycıoğlu 2009; Yeşilada, Noordijk 2010) and certain government policies and actions during the past two decades have been points of grievance amongst a large portion of Turkish society. Partly in response to this, in the last decade, being secular in Turkey has been more and more construed and expressed not merely as a defence of

laicism as the separation of state and religion, but also as a lifestyle or way of life that has implications for everyday practices and actions in ordinary contexts. In many ways, the Gezi Park protests were an important turning point in this process. Here, many middle-class professionals took to the streets to protest against what they perceived as attacks on their secular lifestyle, urban renovation projects and environmental destruction. What largely motivated these people was not economic impoverishment, but rather the impoverishment of the social and cultural landscape and relations upon which their secular lifestyle flourished (Tuğal 2013).

This growing dissatisfaction with the politics of Turkey can in turn be understood to have caused a flow of migrants, mostly from middle-class, professional backgrounds with high social and cultural capital, from Turkey to various European countries, including the UK. For the UK, this process has been facilitated by the Ankara Agreement between Turkey and Britain, which provides a means for Turkish citizens to emigrate to the UK by setting up businesses, so bypassing strict government policies that have made it harder to emigrate to the UK over the course of the past decade.

The Ankara Agreement (officially the Agreement Creating an Association between the Republic of Turkey and the European Economic Community) was signed by Turkey and the EEC in 1963 in Ankara with the aim of sustaining economic and then political integration. When the UK joined the EEC in 1973, it became party to this agreement. Provisions of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union about workers' free movement were put under the Free Movement of Services and Capital in Articles 45, 46, 47 and 48. Later on, the clauses about free movement were reinterpreted, with several revisions. This agreement entitles Turkish citizens to apply for a UK residence permit, and in many ways it has provided the most convenient way of emigrating to the UK for many Turkish citizens who could not satisfy the requirements of the more stringent UK visa regime.

In light of the social, political and cultural transformation of Turkey highlighted above, my project, using qualitative

research methods, seeks to document the experiences and perceptions of Turkish secular migrants in the UK, to examine the causes of this secular migration and what determined the choice to emigrate to the UK over other countries, to understand the secular migrants' experience of integrating into British society and to assess the relationship of these new migrants to the already present Turkish or other Muslim communities in the UK.

Although the project intends to focus on migrants from Turkey, its findings could aid a better understanding of migration patterns from other predominantly Muslim societies to Western secularised societies. This research will provide valuable empirical evidence to enable these issues to be more effectively brought to the attention of policymakers in the UK and Turkey, and will offer an important basis for further research.

References

- Asad, T. 2003: *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity*. Stanford
- Çarkoğlu, A., Kalaycıoğlu, E. 2009: *The Rising Tide of Conservatism in Turkey*. New York
- Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı 2014: *Türkiye'de Dini Hayat Araştırması*. Ankara
- Inglehart, R., Haerpfer, C., Moreno, A., Welzel, C., Kizilova, K., Diez-Medrano, J., Lagos, M., Norris, P., Ponarin, E., Puranen, B. et al. (eds) 2014: *World Values Survey: All Rounds – Country-Pooled Datafile Version*. Madrid.
<http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSDocumentationWVL.jsp>
- Parmaksız, U. 2018: 'Making sense of the postsecular' *European Journal of Social Theory* 21.1: 98–116
- Tuğal, C. 2013: "'Resistance everywhere": the Gezi revolt in global perspective' *New Perspectives on Turkey* 49: 157–72
- Voas, D. 2009: 'The rise and fall of fuzzy fidelity in Europe' *European Sociological Review* 25.2: 155–68
- Yeşilada, B., Noordijk, P. 2010: 'Changing values in Turkey: religiosity and tolerance in comparative perspective' *Turkish Studies* 11.1: 9–27



A Turkish festival in London (photo by Glyn Thomas; <https://www.flickr.com/photos/glynthomas/28465354/>; CC BY-SA 2.0).

CLIMATE CHANGE & THE ENVIRONMENT

As environmental issues become an increasingly acute concern worldwide, Turkey is a country of prime interest in the field of climate studies. Due to its location, it presents an ideal opportunity to explore and understand 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 that have been under-explored in both Turkey and the wider Black Sea region. This programme of research into the vegetation and climate history of the region focuses on changes in vegetation, water resources, landscape stability and hazards in Turkey, the Black Sea area and much of the wider Middle East over time. It also provides a key context of interaction concerning human use of the landscape from prehistory to the present day.

doi:10.18866/biaa2020.13

Sustainable Water Management: a British International Research Institutes initiative

Lutgarde Vandeput | British Institute at Ankara

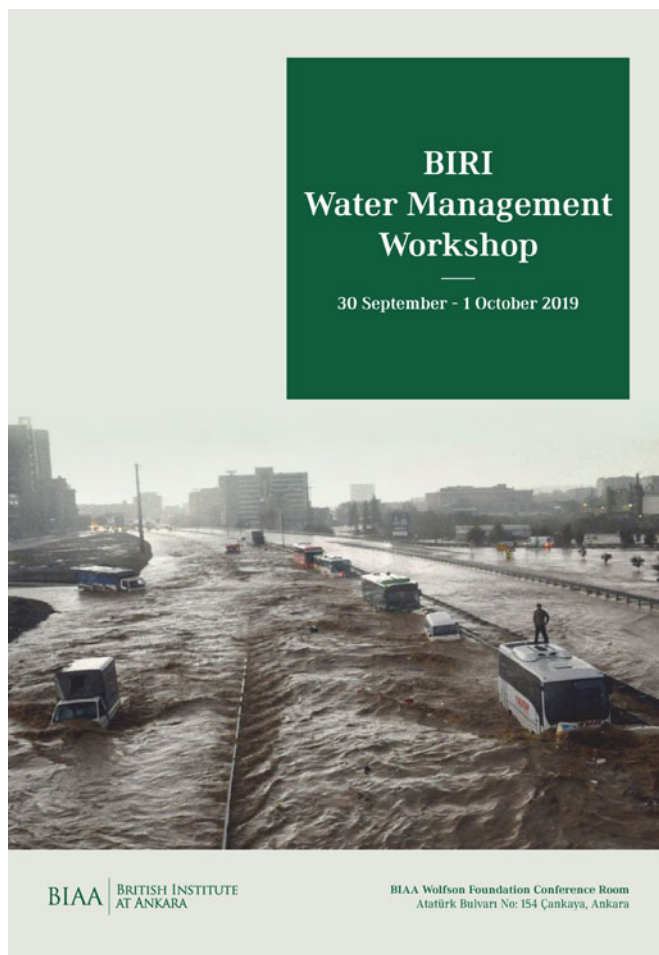
The Sustainable Water Management initiative of the British International Research Institutes (BIRI) brings together the member organisations in a network that intends to share research and expertise and develop joint research projects focused on water management. The British Institute at Ankara has been granted funding from the Business Development Fund of the British Academy to lead the project.

The world is becoming increasingly urban, with more than half of its inhabitants now living in cities. This proportion is expected to increase further during the current century, and this, in turn, will increase demand for urban water supplies. As a consequence, cities may well find themselves with a water deficit and conflicts between urban and agricultural demands for water are expected to increase.

All the organisations grouped together as BIRI are located in regions where reconsideration of current water-management practices is of the utmost importance due to increasing drought and mismanagement and/or excessive abuse of available resources, as well as the exponential growth of cities. The eight BIRI organisations are located around the Mediterranean and in Iran, Iraq and eastern Africa. All have already led or funded work on water management undertaken by UK researchers. Notably, the work of Duncan Keenan-Jones, formerly a Fellow at the British School at Rome and now working at the University of Queensland (Australia), was a particular incentive for the creation of the current initiative.

As a first step, and in order to understand what type of work had already been conducted under the auspices of each of the BIRI organisations individually, workshops were organised to bring together an initial group of experts. Three were planned, but the current pandemic made it necessary to cancel the last one in the series, which had been organised for March 2020. The first workshop took place at the British Institute at Ankara on 30 September and 1 October 2019. A multidisciplinary group of individuals – comprising 21 experts from the fields of archaeology, anthropology, geology, geography, urban planning and hydraulic engineering – took part, either in person or remotely via Google Hangouts. The participants represented seven of the eight BIRI organisations; many are based at UK higher-education institutions, others included BIRI staff and scientists from the regions under consideration. Although representatives of one of the BIRI organisations were unable to attend, they have been actively engaged in the project and the discussions surrounding it from the outset.

The range of topics covered by the presentations and discussions at the workshop was extremely broad, and included the study of antique waterworks around the Mediterranean, across the Near East and in the UK, anthropological work in eastern Africa and Greece, as well as geo-scientific research. The digital and engineering methodologies necessary to understand ancient practices, their functionality and efficiencies, as well as the various options for the implementation of insights derived from past



practices in modern situations were also discussed. As a consequence, the workshop generated a number of ideas about potential areas for joint research.

A second workshop took place at the School of History, Classics and Archaeology of the University of Edinburgh on 12 February 2020. An initial concept note resulting from the first workshop was discussed in depth and developed further.

It was first concluded that future research projects needed to be founded on a thorough understanding of the current situation in all its aspects and to raise awareness of the increasingly unsustainable ways in which available water resources are used in many regions around the Mediterranean and in eastern Africa. How to manage water resources in the face of external stresses, such as climate variability, localised water scarcity, flooding, salinity, siltation and volcanic/seismic events and/or human-induced stresses, such as increasing population, social change or conflict, are challenges that not only the regions of focus face, but the world as a whole.

Secondly, it was agreed that the initiative should seek to understand, through a deep-time approach, how past urbanised societies responded to the problems associated with water management that are relevant today. Many ancient systems had much longer lifespans than those envisaged by the designers of modern infrastructure. Often,

ancient systems had lower energy consumptions and environmental impacts, more communal governance structures and were easier to operate and maintain. Although it is obvious that the problems and solutions of past urbanised societies cannot simply be transferred to the present-day situation, tested previous systems and practices may well inform today's problems and potential solutions, and those of the future.

To reach conclusions that may be of relevance for current water-related challenges, the geological and geographical contexts in which societies developed need to be considered, as do variations in climatic conditions over time. This will allow differentiation between natural and human-induced changes.

A combination of the results of the initiative should provide models that can be used to inform water-management practices today and into the future. Although joint projects are difficult to realise under the current pandemic, the individual BIRI organisations continue their work. For instance, the British Institute at Ankara has provided funding for several projects focused on water management. Again, the pandemic prevented fieldwork that was planned for summer 2020 taking place, but it is hoped this will be conducted in spring 2021 and that it will be reported in the next edition of *Heritage Turkey* (but, for now, see the following article by Ender Peker). The BIAA is also involved in several other projects, led by scholars in UK higher-education institutions, and, in this way, is part of an expanding network of researchers working on water-management issues in the UK and Turkey.



The workshop in Ankara in progress (photo by Martyn Weeds).

Urban water management in Istanbul: exploring the challenges in the face of climate change

Ender Peker | British Institute at Ankara

Water, in its all forms, is always on the move in a complex natural cycle. Climate change is making a measurable impact on this cycle by affecting the amount, availability and quality of water. Cities, expected to be home to 68% of the world's population by 2050, are experiencing this impact in terms of two extremes: water shortages and floods. The individual characteristics of a city – such as its location, climate, size, urbanisation pattern and population density – determine its experience of this impact.

Istanbul, the largest city in Turkey, demonstrates various water-management problems. There is considerable water loss from the distribution system, which requires significant investment in the water-supply network to fix (Yalçıntaş et al. 2015), and a threat of water scarcity due to illegal settlement in watershed zones (Saatçi 2013). There is also a risk of water shortages due to an imbalance between supply and demand (Bekiroğlu, Eker 2011), and the need to transfer water across significant distances to the city, up to 180km (Leeuwen, Sjerps 2015). These challenges call for a comprehensive understanding of water management that focuses on the relationships between the different areas and practices of local planning and administration.

Following publication of the *Istanbul Local Climate Action Plan* (2019), water management has been high on the planning agenda as one of several significant intervention areas with respect to climate adaptation. Since the local elections in 2019, the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality has placed more emphasis on the issue of water management along with other areas of climate-change adaptation. Accordingly, a symposium on climate change and water management, co-organised by the municipality and İSKİ (Istanbul Water and Sewerage Administration), took place on 8–9 January 2020. The programme was structured around a series of sessions, during which threats and opportunities were discussed by academics, professional experts and public institutions (with approximately 300 participants). The six sessions covered: (1) water-resource management; (2) the effects of climate change on water management; (3) comprehensive watershed management; (4) the potable water supply; (5) energy and water management; (6) water infrastructure resilience. Each session aimed to identify the underlying difficulties that have led to unsustainable use of water in the urban and adjacent rural areas of the Istanbul region.

Reflecting upon these issues, my research aims to explore the experienced difficulties of the current system of urban water management in Istanbul. To achieve this, I will first map the current water-management arrangement, including its roles

and institutions. This includes archival research and a literature review focused on water-usage patterns, management strategies, the leading actors and governance models at different times. I will then explore the experienced challenges and the potential to overcome them within the current socio-political situation. In-depth interviews will allow actors to describe the challenges they face in their roles within local-level water governance. The interviews will cover both their personal experiences and also their reflections on the performance of institutional water management.

In order to understand the commonalities and shared challenges that need to be overcome immediately, I will organise a participatory workshop with all interest groups. The critical point here will be to generate a dialogue that will allow the various stakeholders to discuss, reflect upon and prioritise the identified challenges. Thus the workshop will include key water-management actors from institutions such as the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, the Istanbul Water and Sewerage Administration, the Governmental Water Works Department, the Directorate of Provincial Agriculture and Forestry, and the Governorate of Istanbul. The representative engagement of all these parties through such a workshop is expected to strengthen dialogue and connection, not only in relation to this project but also regarding the future of the city's water-management practices.

The principal outcome of this research will be a report presenting the prioritised and shared action areas collectively identified by the water-management actors. The project will also strengthen the dialogue and connection between these actors and BIAA researchers. This, in turn, will provide new opportunities for future collaboration within the BIRI Sustainable Water Management initiative (see pages 27–28).

References

- Bekiroğlu, S., Eker, O. 2011: 'The importance of forests in a sustainable supply of drinking water: Istanbul example' *African Journal of Agricultural Research* 6.7: 1794–1801
- Leeuwen, K., Sjerps, R. 2015: 'Istanbul: the challenges of integrated water resources management in Europa's megacity' *Environment, Development and Sustainability* 18: 1–17
- Saatçi, A.M. 2013: 'Solving water problems of a metropolis' *Journal of Water Resource and Protection* 5.4A: 7–10
- Yalçıntaş, M., Bulu, M., Küçükvar, M., Samadi, H. 2015: 'A framework for sustainable urban water management through demand and supply forecasting: the case of Istanbul' *Sustainability* 7.8: 11050–67

LEGACY DATA: USING THE PAST FOR THE FUTURE

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

doi:10.18866/biaa2020.15

The Institute's digital repository: work in progress

Nurdan Atalan Çayırmezmez | British Institute at Ankara

Work on preparations for the creation of the Institute's digital repository have continued throughout 2020. Since the previous report was published in last year's *Heritage Turkey*, the repository's Assistant Manager, Gonca Özger, and I have made assessments of both the physical and digital collections and have continued the preparation of guidelines and policy documents for the digital repository. For the historical collections, it is difficult to determine the metadata. Information and communication technologies are changing rapidly, and it is challenging to adapt to new technologies and transform the old systems and databases into up-to-date ones. Nonetheless, the digital repository staff are working on the datasets and applying international metadata standards in order to update them. Another aspect of the ongoing work is the linking of the data of the Institute's collections with those of related datasets and the use of controlled vocabularies to define the data. Data verification is proving to be extremely time consuming because the archivist not only needs to check all the available information, but also to conduct further research in order to improve and expand it.

The COVID-19 pandemic has affected cultural heritage organisations greatly and forced institutions to transform their interactions and adopt digital means of communication. Thus the Institute started working online and using a digital platform to share documents. Given that the BIAA has existed for more than 70 years, files and folders generated over the course of this time needed to be organised on the digital platform in order to increase efficiency and performance. The availability of the platform has been a

great benefit, and has allowed us to work online with interns and volunteers during the pandemic.

Gonca Özger started work on 16 March 2020 as the repository's Assistant Manager, and, due to COVID-19, that had to be done online rather than in person. She has since prepared assessment reports for the photographic, squeeze, bone and botanical collections. She has also worked on the international standards to be applied to the datasets of the collections and digitised old documents for the digital repository. The Research Scholar, Joshua Britton, has helped to organise the digital files for remote working and has focused on entering keywords for the photographic collection. Interns and volunteers Luciarita Nunziata, Orhun Uğur, Münevver Erdoğan, Elif Nur Hamamcı, Sarka Velharticka, Muhammed Ali Akman and Tolga Karakoç have all worked for the digital repository office and library, and have helped to organise the physical archives. During the pandemic, some of the interns have continued to work with the digital collections online. They have also prepared reports on the squeeze archive, continued keyword entry, reassessed the Alan Hall archive and worked on georeferencing locations related to the collection materials. Georeferencing is vital for locating the collection data, and the Digital Repository Office is checking international resources (such as the *Getty Thesaurus of Geographic Names* and *Pleiades*, a community-built gazetteer of ancient places) to find toponyms and match locations with coordinates. It is also continuing work on setting up the digital infrastructure for the repository system and it is hoped to have the first phase ready in the early part of 2021.

The British Institute at Ankara is affected by the current pandemic just like other GLAM (galleries, libraries, archives and museums) institutions. Working experiences have been altered, and researchers have required more extensive and more frequent online access to collections all over the world. Open-access online collections have become more important than ever before. Throughout the pandemic, international institutions, universities and NGOs, such as UNESCO and the International Federation of Library Associations, have been preparing guidelines and arranging events and conferences on how to handle and organise both physical and digital collections, on cataloguing and on increasing access rates. The Digital Repository Assistant Manager and I have both attended webinars and online conferences in order to learn about the latest developments that will enable us to create and expand the Institute's network.

The BIAA is also involved in the SEADDA Project, a community of archaeologists and digital specialists working together to secure the future of archaeological data across Europe and beyond (<https://www.seadda.eu/>). Whilst face-to-face meetings were cancelled due to COVID-19, network activities have continued, and, as the Digital Repository Manager, I have attended online working-group and steering-committee meetings. I was the co-chair of Working Group 3 (Preservation and Dissemination Best Practice) and am now co-chair of Working Group 2 (Planning for Archiving).

Furthermore, the Digital Repository Office has translated the compact guide *Guidelines to FAIRify Data Management and Make Data Reusable* (*Veri Yönetimi ve Verinin Yeniden Kullanımı İçin FAIR Prensipleri Rehberi*) into Turkish (<https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3937149>). Open-access and FAIR (findable, accessible, interoperable, reusable) principles are useful for academics and repositories as a means to protect digital cultural heritage and increase access rates.

I have also participated in several training programmes over the past year, including an online course offered by the Digital Preservation Coalition ('Novice to Know-How: Online Digital Preservation Training') and the 'Methods of Digital Scholarship' course in Cologne, Germany, from 4 to

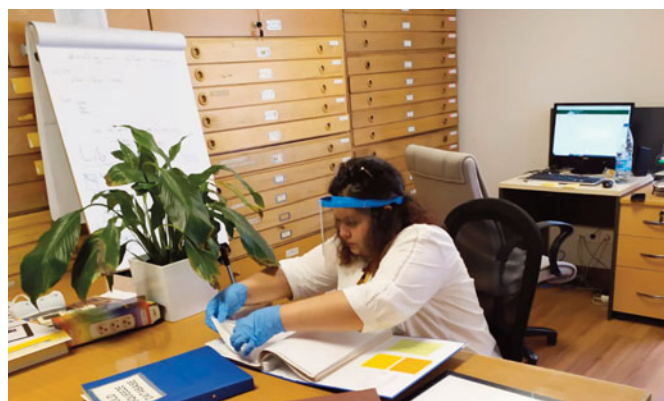


Intern Elif Nur Hamamcı working on the catalogue of duplicates for the BIAA library.

7 February 2020, thanks to a grant from COST Action, where I learnt about new digital methods for digital research. I also attended the 'Intangible Cultural Heritage Online Summer School' (29 June to 5 July), organised by the Turkish National Commission for UNESCO and the Institute for Intangible Cultural Heritage, as a discussant.

In October I spoke about national policies and directives relating to digital archaeology in Turkey at an online roundtable session ('Current Status and the Future of Digital Archaeology') of the Greek Chapter of the CAA (Computer Applications and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology), an international organisation bringing together archaeologists, mathematicians and computer scientists. Finally, to coincide with International Museum Day on 18 May, I moderated an online panel discussing 'The Pandemic and the Future of Museums Online'.

By participating in such events, not only do the staff of the Digital Repository Office receive further professional training and engage with colleagues worldwide, but also the visibility of the Institute's extensive and invaluable collections continues to be expanded.



Gonca Özger working – in COVID-safe attire – on the Alan Hall collections and archives.



Orhun Uğur explaining the keyword entry system for the library and photographic catalogues.

The course of archaeological research never did run smooth ...

Tamar Hodos | University of Bristol

We share our research in *Heritage Turkey* to celebrate the results of our endeavours in a more approachable manner than formal research publications allow. Those technical, comprehensive reports also enable us to gloss over the bumps along the way. The reality is that sometimes, perhaps more often than we might care to admit, research projects do not go to plan. This is one such tale.

Way back in May 2016, I received a Small Research Grant from the British Institute at Ankara (BIAA) to undertake non-destructive chemical analysis on part of the Institute's pottery collection. I was interested in a class known generally as Southwest Anatolian Ware (SWA). This type is ill-defined beyond being the primary painted ceramic output of the uplands of southwestern Anatolia during the first few centuries of the first millennium BCE, the period known generally as the Iron Age. SWA is characterised by geometric designs, particularly parallel bands, wave lines and concentric circles, although other motifs appear, such as star, hook or meander patterns, and occasionally natural designs (for example birds and fish).

My interest in this class was stimulated by an observation I had made a few years earlier during the course of fieldwork at another BIAA-supported project, the Çaltılar Archaeological Project. Between 2008 and 2010, we undertook the intensive survey of Çaltılar Höyük, a small upland site equidistant between Fethiye and Antalya via the mountain route (published in *Anatolian Studies* 2011: see Momigliano et al.). In the course of classifying the Iron Age pottery in the dry heat of this Lycian *yayla*, I observed a group of related sherds decorated with slip and paint layers applied so thickly that it was possible to determine their application order just from feeling the sherds with my fingertips. One group had a thick white slip, with matt-black motifs and added red decoration. Another group had a red slip with black motifs and added white decoration. A third group had a distinctive thick pink slip, with black motifs. Only by feel could these differences be noted on the sherds. To the naked eye, they all looked like the same output, with the white and pink being potentially attributable to firing differences in production. Subsequent petrographic analyses established that the three groups were discrete from one another, however. In other words, their clays were each derived from different sources. This was the first indication of diverse production centres for this type of ware.

When it comes to pottery of the Iron Age, we are often dazzled by the spectacular designs on the decorated types produced by the Phrygians, Lydians and Anatolian Greeks. They are well studied, and often well dated. When examples

are found beyond their production zones, therefore, we use them to date local contexts, which are usually less well understood in terms of absolute dating. Local productions often appear to be more long-lived than the flashy imports, and less innovative in terms of motif developments. The appearance of a well-dated import therefore can offer us a temporal window, but one that is somewhat removed from its origins: how long did it take for that vessel to reach its final destination?

Nevertheless, the evidence of different production centres for SWA was too tantalising for me to let go easily. Where was this type produced, then? Would I be able to, quite literally, feel the same differences I could on the Çaltılar assemblage? To address these questions, I would need to examine SWA from a number of sites. Therefore, knowing that the BIAA has a substantial pottery collection from southern and western Anatolia, I approached the Institute for permission to study the collection.

Normally, petrography is the first analytical means of assessing where a piece of pottery was made. This is because petrography provides an understanding of the materials in the clay itself – what makes up the clay naturally and what might have been added by the potter – which can then be tied to geographic locations through comparison with clay sources. This requires a thin slice of a sherd to be taken to examine under a microscope; it is a destructive method of analysis.

I did not want to undertake destructive analyses on the BIAA's collection for various reasons. Therefore, I needed a non-destructive method of compiling comparative data. So I turned to portable X-ray fluorescence (pXRF). This technique, used to identify the chemical composition of a sample, involves firing X-rays at a sample to excite electrons in the compound's elements. The energy rates reflected by those electrons are specific to each element. This enables us to build a picture of the elements in a clay. Samples with similar elemental profiles can therefore be deemed to be of the same group. It does not tell us what makes up the clay or inclusions, however, so it cannot pinpoint the geographic origin of ceramic material. Nevertheless, it can identify material with common elemental characteristics, thereby allowing a means to establish ceramic groups to compare with visual assessments. It can then be used to show distributions of the groups between different sites, which may highlight production centres, especially if it is assumed that the predominant fabrics at a site will be locally produced. Such a pXRF study therefore can compensate for the lack of stratified contexts in a broad region, and petrographic knowledge. I needed someone who knew about pXRF.

As luck would have it, at the same time as I was mulling over my application, the BIAA appointed a postdoctoral fellow, Orlene McIlfatrick, who was a ceramic-production expert. Orlene was developing pXRF analytical expertise in collaboration with several field projects. We decided to embark upon a pXRF study of the BIAA's collection of SWA together.

The broad region known to use SWA extends roughly from the Upper Meander valley at its northernmost limit and incorporates the modern provinces of Muğla, Denizli and Burdur, with parts of Aydın, Antalya and Isparta provinces. Its western extent merges into the Aegean coastal territories of the Greeks during the first millennium BCE. In a research visit timed to coincide with the Institute's annual Christmas party, Orlene and I spent three days examining material from the 100+ sites in the BIAA's pottery collection that lie within this zone. Nearly half of these had enough SWA material suitable for inclusion in the study, from which we selected 415 sherds to assay with the pXRF machine.

Orlene then began to calibrate the machine and undertake preliminary testing to establish an appropriate number of targets to measure on the surface area of each sherd. After assessing measurement deviations and mean values, she soon commenced gathering data from the sherds. Meanwhile, I started the task of cataloguing our selection, including writing up fabric, paint and motif descriptions for each sherd and taking multiple photographs. I also combed the library shelves for published material from additional sites to compare with the BIAA's assemblage. As we entered our second working week, progressing at a rate of nearly 50 sherds per day, we appeared well on target to finish the pXRF data gathering the day before I was due to return to the UK. With a little under half the sherds to go, however, Orlene's pXRF machine decided it had had enough, and it refused to play any longer with us. Or with anyone. It simply refused to continue to chirp 'ping'.



SWA sherd from Çaltılar.

The machine had been on loan from the manufacturer, who had a programme to encourage take up of the technology by providing loan machines free of charge to convince organisations of the utility of pXRF and therefore to purchase the equipment – an approach Tom Lehrer would surely characterise as 'today's young, innocent faces will be tomorrow's clientele'. Frantic calls to the manufacturer about our loan machine's non-active state made it clear very quickly that the machine would need to be sent back to the UK for repair. With the UK beginning to close down for Christmas, however, we knew a replacement could not be obtained before the new year. Therefore, we organised the remaining material in a way that would enable Orlene to finish the job on her own when she could get hold of a replacement/repaired machine, while also leaving the pottery lab where we had been working available for others to use in the meantime. Sherds from which data had been collected were put back in their original boxes on the shelves. The sherds not yet analysed were bagged up and returned to their site boxes, which we placed on the window sill of the pottery lab for easy access for Orlene in due course.

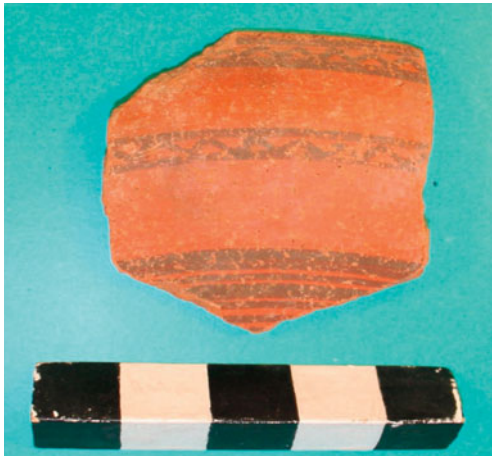
The loan machine was returned to Ankara several months later, in time for Orlene to use it on an extended project during March and April 2017. She promised to finish off my sherds on her days off from that excavation. Knowing that excavation is an all-consuming undertaking, I did not expect to hear from Orlene for the duration of that dig. Therefore, in late April, I emailed her to ask how it had all gone. In her reply to me, it was obvious that she was beside herself with dismay. The loan machine had failed early in the season in exactly the same way as it had for us in December. This time, however, she was able quickly to borrow the same model from a professional colleague who had a lull in his own contract work. However, this machine developed a fault before the end of the field season, so she was unable to complete her work for that project, not to mention mine. To make matters worse, the manufacturer had since declared it was discontinuing its free loan programme (the manufacturer ceased marketing the model after 2016 and ended its service in 2019; we had been using machines nearing the end of their working lives unknowingly all along). The only way for me to finish the project would be to hire another machine. This required additional money. The application deadline for the BIAA's 2017 Small Research Grant round was a mere three days away.

I have never written a grant application so quickly, and I am extremely grateful to the late Jim Coulton for providing a reference for me within 24 hours. The BIAA very generously awarded me the amount necessary to hire another machine for ten days to undertake the work.

By this time, Orlene was moving on to other research projects, so I also needed to find a new pXRF expert. I reached out to various contacts, and eventually I became connected to Ümit Guder, a pXRF expert known for his



Bichrome body sherd from Gencer.



Black on red rim sherd from Kızıllıhisar.

metallurgical analyses, including on material I had excavated myself at Kinet Höyük in the 1990s. Our various academic commitments meant we would not be able to start for some time, though. In fact, it was not until May 2018 that Ümit, his assistant, Tolga Özak, and I met in Ankara over a weekend to commence work. Ümit and Tolga immediately set up and calibrated their machine, which was from a different manufacturer altogether. In the meantime, I had to reassemble the collection that Orlene and I had first selected eighteen months before, most of which had been returned to its original storage in the pottery storeroom, as well. I reidentified and retrieved from their site boxes all 415 sherds, which I then laid out and numbered on planks carefully stacked in one of the aisles in the pottery store. Once the material was ready, as Orlene had done, Ümit and Tolga assessed the best way to compensate for the limitations of the assemblage itself: since we still could not create any fresh breaks, and taking into account the irregularity of the extant surface geometry, which can cause measurement changes, they had to determine how many targets on each surface to measure, check deviations between measurements and calculate the mean values of the measured compositions. Very quickly, Tolga found his rhythm and was underway ...

It is now late 2020. For over the past year, Ümit and I have had lengthy email discussions about the data. As no two

sherds are the same, we have had to determine an acceptable level of variability to distinguish one cluster as a distinct group from another. We chose specific elements in the compositions and we applied principal component analysis to create 3D graphs in which we could observe the clustering of sherds from diverse sites. As a result, we have identified six different clusters.

We have also played around with the best ways of showing our clusters. 3D static graphs make the groups clear in most cases, but sometimes a different angle is necessary to illustrate a cluster more effectively. I find myself wondering now if we can use rotating imagery such that the viewer could choose to rotate the image to see the clusters from all angles. This would require the final digital repository of the images to be able to host software that supports active content, which I have yet to investigate.

Then there are the results themselves. Five main styles have been distinguished by surface paints (black on red; black on buff; brown on buff; red on buff; bichrome). Each of the six clusters was used to produce more than one of the five style groups. This suggests there were multiple producers for each style group.

In terms of distribution, some sites appear to be selective in terms of where they acquired their styles from, whereas other sites appear to be more indiscriminate. Some obtained a particular style from several producers; others chose material primarily from one producer (and perhaps was the producer). Sometimes a site accepted certain styles from one producer and other styles from another. Currently, we are experimenting with machine learning algorithms to identify likely distribution routes.

An article will see the light of day in due course. When it comes out in *Anatolian Studies* (I am an optimist), I hope that those of you who have read this far will share the sense of accomplishment that I will feel. It has been a very long journey, and you are now privy to its true course. My aim in this narrative has been to share some aspects of how the road of research is not always smooth, even if the final publication does not mention the bumps along the way.



Too many sherds at Çaltılar!

Gre Amer, Batman: a brief overview

Stuart Blaylock | Independent scholar and BIAA Honorary Fellow

Eight seasons of rescue excavation at Gre Amer, Batman, in southeastern Turkey were carried out jointly with Batman Museum, with Gül Pulhan as scientific director and myself as co-director (fieldwork in 2009–2015 and 2017, plus study seasons in 2015 and 2019). The site lies on the east bank of the Garzan river, a tributary of the Tigris, about 25km due north of Hasankeyf and approximately mid-way between the cities of Batman and Siirt. It has been partially flooded by the lake of the Ilisu Dam in 2019–2020. The name is a compound of ‘Gri’, the Kurdish word for ‘mound’ (thus the equivalent of ‘Tell’ or ‘Höyük’), and the personal name Ömer.

The site had occupation 5–6m thick at its greatest, spanning the early third to the late first millennium BC. Access to the lower levels was constrained by extensive Iron Age occupation and by deep layers of colluvial soil. Remains of five main periods of occupation were identified.

Level 5, of the early third millennium BC, was represented by stray sherds of Ninevite 5 incised decorated pottery, by standard simple and metallic wares, and by traces of buildings in a single small trench that we were able to dig down to reach this level in 2015.

Level 4 comprised Middle Bronze Age occupation and architecture (eighteenth to sixteenth century BC), with well-preserved buildings, rich in pottery and objects, which had largely been destroyed by fire. This level is characterised by ‘red-brown wash ware’ and by Khabur and Nuzi-related painted pottery. The realisation that these were made locally alongside the indigenous painted ceramics, and have a degree of cross-over with them, is one of the major results of our work at Gre Amer. The occupation of the site seems to have reached its greatest extent at this time, perhaps significantly in excess of 4ha, and never again attained a similar area.

Level 3 consisted of extensive Early Iron Age (tenth- to eighth-century) occupation spreading around the lower slopes of the site but not onto the river terrace. This level is characterised by very well-preserved stone architecture, associated with a range and quality of ceramics far in excess of the handmade grooved pottery which (rightly or wrongly) has come to be seen as typical of the Iron Age in the area. Many of the buildings were again destroyed by fire.

Level 2 survived as architecture in a small area of the site, but elsewhere there were pits and other features stratified between Levels 1 and 3 which were characterised by Neo-Assyrian (eighth- to seventh-century BC) pottery and other materials, but which were not directly associated with surviving architecture.

Level 1 consisted of extensive building plans to the north and south of the road of the mid- to late first millennium

(originating in the Persian period and with occupation continuing into the early Hellenistic); a cemetery on the southeastern slopes of the site was coeval with the earlier part of this occupation. The cemetery, of course, lay outside the dwelling area, and this had contributed to the preservation of the architecture of Levels 3 and 4 in this part of the site.

The periods enumerated here clearly do not form an uninterrupted sequence and it remains a matter for debate whether they were truly separated by hiatuses or whether the sequence saw periods when the settlement contracted or may have been located elsewhere, in parts of the site not examined by excavation. Nevertheless, Gre Amer looks to be the site in the Garzan/Tigris area with the best stratigraphic and architectural sequence for the second and first millennia BC, supported by fourteen radiocarbon determinations to date, and the potential of more to come. The extensive excavation (about 7,000m² of the 4ha site) and the high-quality of preservation of the architecture provide us with really extensive architectural plans for Level 1 and very well-preserved buildings for Levels 3 and 4, the houses sometimes standing almost to roof height. These permit reliable conclusions about the nature of the settlement. Moreover, the architecture is accompanied by plentiful in-situ artefacts: some 540 complete vessels in total and a varied collection of supporting material, including a number of sealings from the third- and second-millennium levels.

Long-term, perhaps one of the most notable results will be the Level 1 occupation and contemporary cemetery of the Achaemenid period. Grave goods show that this is broadly contemporary with the well-known fifth-century cemetery of Deve Hüyük west of Carchemish, salvaged by Leonard



Gre Amer in October 2015, looking northwest, with the Garzan river upper left and the basalt plateau of Kıradağ on the left horizon. The trenches in the centre show the stone architecture of Levels 3 and 4, beneath the Level 1 cemetery.

Those to the rear show mainly Level 1 architecture either side of the road (photo by İhsan Çakır/Hüseyin Kaymakçı).

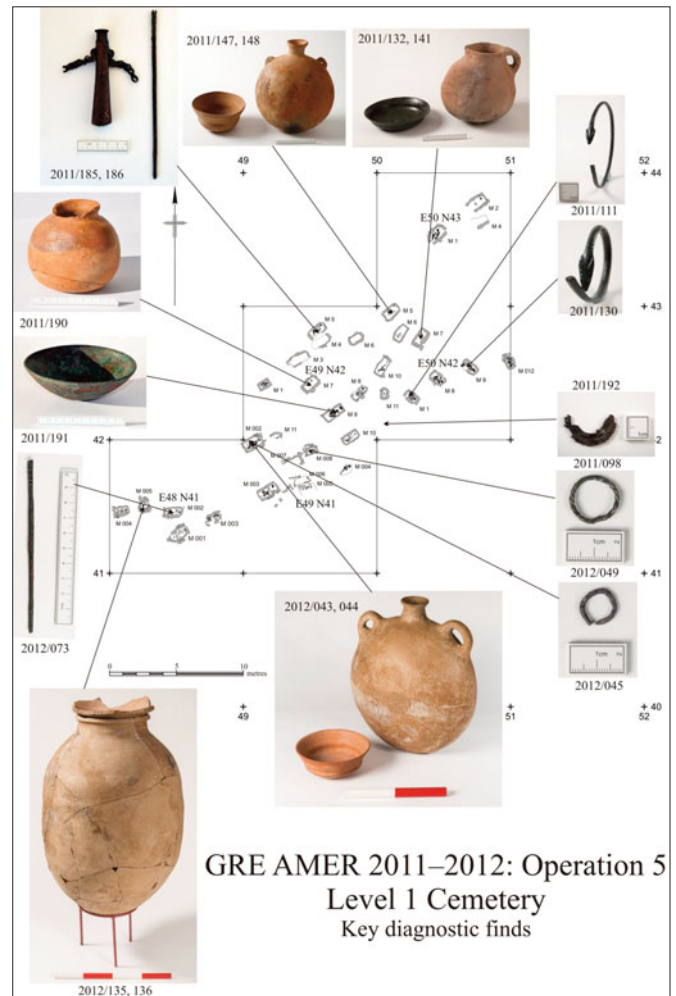
Woolley and T.E. Lawrence in 1913 and published by Roger Moorey in 1980. The association with a contemporary settlement provides the (so-far unique) opportunity to provide new analysis of this little-known (and still less-investigated) period in the Upper Tigris, as well as northern Mesopotamia more generally. There are also data on the emergence of Hellenistic ceramics out of those of the preceding period (provisionally characterised as ‘proto-Hellenistic’).

We did our best during the excavation seasons to keep up to date with the cataloguing, drawing and photography of the major finds (i.e. inventoried whole pottery and objects), but not everything can be done during busy excavation seasons, and the study of supporting sherd material is one area in which work remains to be done. Although the vast majority of this material was drawn in the field, further work is needed to identify material for publication, to draw-up and assemble digital illustrations, to write catalogue descriptions and carry out some further photography.

In the face of strong pressure to discard all non-inventoried material, with the permission of Batman Museum we were able to ship the sherd material to the British Institute at Ankara in November 2019, where it is stored temporarily against completion of publication work. In June 2020 I was awarded a research grant by the BIAA to process and prepare for publication the pottery from the later levels of the site (Neo-Assyrian and Achaemenid/early Hellenistic: Levels 1 and 2 of the sequence outlined above). At the time of writing in October 2020 this work has yet to take place, because of the disruption of this extraordinary year. It is hoped that it will be possible to carry out the work early in 2021.

Although this is only a small part of the work needed towards publication, it will represent a significant step forward in getting the work off the ground. It is intended to continue work on the remainder of the pottery from earlier levels in years to come. At the same time, the preparation of architectural plans, plates for the whole pottery and objects, and the composition of the text will proceed in parallel. All being well, we hope to have broken the back of this work by 2025 or thereabouts, although the amount of time we can devote to this (and therefore the speed and continuity of this process) will depend on other commitments and our ability to attract funding from elsewhere.

The final publication will make a significant contribution to understanding the chronology and archaeology of this little-known region of northern Mesopotamia as well as to the documentation of local archaeology and as a systematic resource for understanding the collections of Batman and (the newly opened) Hasankeyf museums. There is also a real demand for accessing and consuming the results of archaeological work in the region, as we have seen in the reception of the museum displays created to date and of a documentary film on Gre Amer (*Katman*, directed by Melek Ulagay Taylan, 2017).



Composite plan of the Level 1 Achaemenid cemetery, with key diagnostic finds (graphic by Stuart Blaylock).

The excavation was funded by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism by means of grants from the State Water Works (DSI) administered through the Mardin (2009–2011) and Batman (2011–2019) museums. We are very grateful to successive ministry representatives and the staff of both museums for their help and support.

References

- Moorey, P.R.S. 1980: *Cemeteries of the First Millennium BC at Deve Höyük, near Carchemish, Salvaged by T.E. Lawrence and C.L. Woolley in 1913*. Oxford
- Pulhan, G., Blaylock, S.R. 2016: ‘Gre Amer, Batman, on the Upper Tigris: a rescue project in the Ilisu Dam reservoir in Turkey’ in K. Kopanias and J. MacGinnis (eds), *The Archaeology of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq and Adjacent Regions*. Oxford: 333–51
- 2018: ‘Garzan vadisi’nde üç binyıl: Batman, Gre Amer Höyük kurtarma kazıları/Three thousand years in the Garzan valley: the Gre Amer Höyük salvage excavations’ in F. Baş (ed.), *Batman Müzesi: Ilisu Barajı Kurtarma Kazıları/Batman Museum: Ilisu Dam Excavations*. Batman: 111–27 and 129–62

HABITAT & SETTLEMENT IN PREHISTORIC, HISTORIC & CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES

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

doi:10.18866/biaa2020.18

The Boncuklu project 2020: Boncuklu through four objects

Douglas Baird | University of Liverpool

Obviously, it has been an odd year for the Boncuklu project. Due to COVID-19, for the first time since 2006 we did not go into the field to excavate and study. Consequently, this is not the usual annual update on excavation, study, experimental work and visitor centre development. Given the circumstances, I thought I would take the opportunity to present some of our artefact discoveries, which there typically has not been enough space to consider in previous reports in *Heritage Turkey*. So, this is my personal selection, in which I aim to present Boncuklu through four typical objects and to reflect on some of the implications of these objects for our understanding of this Neolithic community and Neolithic society more generally.

Beads

Boncuklu means 'beady place', so it seems appropriate to start with beads. These are common finds at many Neolithic sites, but Boncuklu certainly deserves the name given the large number we have found, running into the many hundreds. They are made of a range of materials: stone, shell, bone and clay.

One of the most common materials is shell, and *Nassarius gibosulus* is one of the most common species found at Boncuklu, along with dentalium. These are sea shells, and almost certainly came from the eastern Mediterranean. Whilst we cannot rule out occasional trips to the coast to acquire such materials, this seems unlikely to account for the quantities – they are well distributed through all phases of occupation and so were regularly procured – considering the distance and intervening mountains. The most obvious route would have been through the Taurus via

the Göksu valley, although other routes were clearly also possible. If much of this material did come up the Göksu route, then it travelled ca 220km over passes at ca 1,800m to reach Boncuklu. It seems most likely that the bulk of these marine shells, of all types, passed through intermediate communities between the coast and the Konya plain and also across the plain. We do not currently know of communities of the same date as Boncuklu in the Taurus mountains and its passes or at the coast (some of the early Holocene coast is now submerged) but the movement of these shells attests to such communities indirectly. Their lack of visibility could relate to insufficient survey using the most suitable methods, but also the potential mobility of such communities, which perhaps left archaeologically ephemeral settlements. These communities, then, were part of extensive networks linking coast and plain, incorporating contemporary communities such as Pınarbaşı as well. Central Anatolia was certainly not isolated by the Taurus in the period 8500–7500 cal. BC.

These are one of the more common Palaeolithic to Epipalaeolithic shell beads and suggest persistence of Palaeolithic and Epipalaeolithic traditions at Boncuklu, showing local traditions of interaction over the long term. Marine-shell bead Small Find 4392 illustrates a number of features common with these types. A piercing for stringing or attaching the bead has been created by cutting and/or grinding away the humped dorsal surface of the shell, creating a quite large hole (some examples have more classic smaller piercings). This creates an annular flatter bead, which was probably very easy either to string or to attach to clothing. These beads are naturally light coloured, but as the



Marine-shell bead (Small Find 4392).

photograph above indicates, on this example traces of red ochre can be seen over the whole surface. We see this on other beads too, and so it is clear that some of these *Nassarius* shells and also the dentalia were coloured red. In addition, ochre was sometimes used to fill the hole in the shells, giving further variety. This created ornaments of two colours that could be put together to create a variety of multicoloured patterns, especially when combined with beads of other shell types and other materials.

These beads are found all over the site in caches in external areas, presumably stored for future use, and in midden contexts, where they had been either lost or dumped after being caught up in domestic debris cleaned out of the houses. This shows that their regular use in social contexts was widespread and not uncommon. In particular, we have found large numbers in some burials, where they were components of ornamentations and clothing accompanying the dead. This evidence reveals that the marine-shell beads, including *Nassarius* specifically, were worn on necklaces, belts and bracelets, as lone pendants and also in numbers on the head, likely attached to the hair or as part of headgear. They have also been found on various parts of the body, where they seem likely to have been sown onto clothing. Whilst these are components of the clothing of the dead, and so not necessarily indicative of the clothing of the living, their frequency in the occupation deposits suggests they were worn by the living too.

A striking feature of these sets of marine-shell and indeed other ornaments is the great variety of arrangements that we have found. There is little evidence of very standardised or repeated sets of ornamentation; thus individuals would have stood out in terms of the body ornamentation they displayed. There seems a real focus here on individual identity at death, and very probably in life, too. Such individual identity seems a stronger reason for this variety than features related to age or gender. It also echoes features of other aspects of the artefact repertoire, especially those with strong symbolic content.

Despite the high number of shell beads, the most frequent category is those made of a range of stones, notably small disc beads of grey, red and white limestone that are common at contemporary sites such as Pınarbaşı. Alongside these

fairly similar small beads (that surely made up the bulk of a number of ornaments) are larger and more striking individual beads, many made of green or red fine-grained stones, such as Small Find 4301. A range of shapes characterises these bigger beads; lozenge-, oval- and barrel-shaped examples are the most frequent. Small Find 4301 is a flattened lozenge-ovoid, ca 2cm long. As with other examples of this type, it has a piercing through its length, and this was more complex to achieve and required more skill than the piercings of the limestone disc beads. Whilst at Pınarbaşı disc beads are frequent finds and these larger beads are much less common, at Boncuklu the latter have a significant presence.

The green stone may have come from the hills to the north or the southern edge of the Konya plain, and such pebbles would have been washed down in the main channel of the Çarşamba river, judging by materials in the riverbed today. It is likely that the plain's inhabitants would have had to go some distance upstream to find suitably large pebbles to abrade and polish down to distinctive shapes. It is plausible that the inhabitants of Boncuklu may well have travelled to the sources of these stones to the north or south, and that such trips might have been combined with hunting expeditions to the hill areas. On such trips, wild cattle, the occasional deer and onager encountered en route may have been hunted and some suitable pebbles picked up. These journeys to the hills could also have been used to bring back terebinth, almonds and hackberries in late summer and early autumn.

Equally, some of the stones or finished beads may have been exchanged within the network of communities that is very apparent from the circulation of marine shell. Given that, compared to Pınarbaşı, these larger beads are common and elaborate at Boncuklu, it may well have been the case that different communities participated to different degrees in different parts of these networks.

The burial evidence suggests that the large beads, whilst sometimes being components of clothing or strung with other beads, may quite often have been worn singly like pendants. This was perhaps another distinctive identity marker of individuals, but it may also have marked out the Boncuklu group from its contemporaries.



Stone bead (Small Find 4301).



Bone anthropomorphic figurine (Small Find 3231).

Figurines

Figurines at Boncuklu are made from low-fired clay (most frequently), bone and stone. They include anthropomorphic and zoomorphic forms, also possibly hybrid forms and ambivalent figures.

One distinctive category of apparently anthropomorphic figurines is made from the phalanges of equids, almost certainly onager that were hunted by the community on the steppe, probably to the north of the site. These utilise the natural shape of the bone, which was typically ground, polished and incised to enhance its natural shape in an eye-catching way. Small Find 3231 is ca 7cm long, the typical size of these objects. One end of the bone is the lower part of a seated figure, with stumpy legs and rounded buttocks shown; the surface of the narrower end has been flattened, and suggests a schematic head/face area. The incisions, singly or in multiples (as in this case), across the narrow part of the shaft of the bone seem to represent a human-like waist. These items are carefully if not elaborately worked.

Such artefacts have been found in several areas of the site, and a number have turned up in caches. This suggests that they were produced and possibly utilised together in groups, and, bearing in mind that some animal bones have been found within deliberate ritual depositions, that the figurines were possibly deliberately deposited, too. The caches we have found may well, however, be related to the bone workers, since not all the items seem to be equally finished. More will be reported on this in due course.

An additional point of interest is that highly similar figurines have been found at broadly contemporary Euphrates sites. Thus these figurines attest to long-distance contacts and the spread of symbolic expression and inter-related technologies through the networks within which obsidian and sea shells circulated.

Grooved stones

No account of the Boncuklu artefacts would be complete without considering the grooved stones that are such a common and typical feature of the site.

Small Find 3113 is an elongated rectangular stone object. It is ca 6cm long, with a square cross section and a polished groove along its length on one edge, apparently the upper surface. These objects are typically made of fine-grained and hard igneous stones that are found mainly on the edge of the Konya basin, typically at the edge of the volcanic massive of Karadağ, ca 35km southeast of Boncuklu, or on the hills to the west of Konya, ca 40km from the site. Procurement trips to source such stones directly are highly plausible, although some could have been acquired from the community at Pınarbaşı, at least during the early phases of occupation at Boncuklu. Such hard stone would have required a significant degree of flaking, grinding and polishing to achieve its final form.

Within the groove there are two much thinner lines cut into the polished surface. There is no obvious sign of decoration on this object, and so it seems to be a classic undecorated example of the Boncuklu grooved stones that seem to have performed multiple functions. The main wide, long and deep groove is always heavily polished. The size of the groove and high degree of polish would have made them very suitable as 'shaft straighteners'. Ethnographically, such igneous shaft straighteners were heated and used to straighten reed shafts in particular. Reeds were abundant nearby and used extensively at the site, as demonstrated by large quantities of reed phytoliths. Given the amount of hunting attested at the site, the straightening of reed shafts for projectiles seems highly likely as one function of these artefacts. They could equally have been used for polishing bone points, although sandstone abraders were used for this. The very fine, thin grooves may have been used for working sinews or fine threads. We should see these as portable multifunctional tools that were carried by people as they foraged in the landscape around Boncuklu. They differ considerably in size and shape, and some are decorated. Whilst clearly utilitarian objects, they also seem to be closely tied up in the expression of individual identities.



Grooved stone (Small Find 3113).

The Konya Regional Archaeological Survey Project in 2020

Christoph Bachhuber & Michele Massa | University of Oxford & University of Chicago

Like many projects scheduled to take place in Turkey in 2020, the Konya Regional Archaeological Survey Project (KRASP) was unable to fulfil several of its research aims because of COVID-19 travel restrictions, although fieldwork continued on a reduced scale. The most disappointing impact of the pandemic was the postponement of the Türkmen-Karahöyük Intensive Survey Project (TISP). The 2020 season would have included geophysical survey of the lower town and upper mound at this urban-sized settlement where TISP discovered a Hieroglyphic Luwian inscribed stele of the Great King Hartapu in 2019. We are hopeful that this sub-project will go ahead in 2021.

With a reduced team, we focused instead on filling in some gaps in the data of our extensive survey of the Konya and Karaman plains with an emphasis on the Neolithic to Early Chalcolithic and Late Bronze Age to Iron Age periods. We completed unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV) surveys at several key sites, but decided to treat summer 2020 largely as a study season. The latter included a re-evaluation of the diagnostic pottery, lithics and small finds, and a collaboration with Hasan Bahar at Selçuk University to analyse materials that he had collected in his surveys in the Konya region in the 1990s to 2000s. Our work in 2020 has led to a refinement of our understanding of the earliest farming settlements in the Konya region, of the territorial dimensions of Bronze and Iron Age settlement and land-use, and of small-scale farming settlement during the Late Bronze and Iron Ages, as summarised below.

Early agrarian societies

Following a detailed analysis of Pottery Neolithic sherds recovered from sites in the course of the Lower Çarşamba (Alkaran Höyük and Kısıkyayla Höyük) and the Çarşamba delta (Karhane Höyük, Karaca Höyük and Ürümdü Höyük), we suggest that Çatalhöyük was not the only substantial settlement on the Çarşamba delta during the seventh millennium BC, as has long been suggested (e.g. Baird 2006). While high-visibility settlements like Çatalhöyük and Boncuklu are no doubt the exceptions, our preliminary assessment points to the existence of at least a few Pottery Neolithic sites that have been elusive up to now. The low visibility of such sites can be attributed to post-depositional processes, including the capping of earlier Neolithic and Chalcolithic settlements by large Bronze Age and Iron Age deposits, and alluvial accretion of up to 5m on the delta (Ayala et al. 2017), which may have masked low-lying settlements, particularly those of the early Holocene (cf. Boyer et al. 2006). Consequently, Neolithic and Chalcolithic materials are visible on the site surface only if there are no

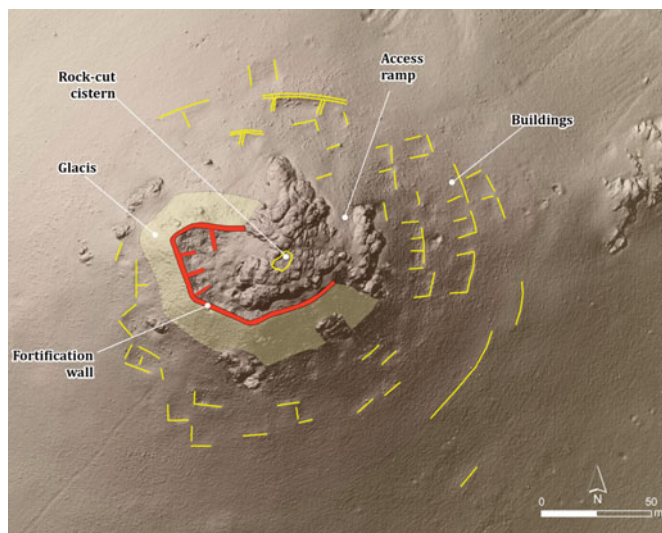
overlying later periods of settlement or if the earlier deposits have been exposed by natural (e.g. water erosion) or human (e.g. looting, road construction) activity. Also, chipped-stone typology in the Konya region is not refined enough to distinguish clearly between Late Aceramic and Pottery Neolithic tools. Lastly, these earliest ceramics are mostly poorly fired and tend to crumble.

The late seventh to early sixth millennium is a dynamic period, as noted already by Douglas Baird's observations on the appearance of numerous small (1–2ha), normally single-phased sites such as Mahsen Höyük, Musluk Höyük and Taştömek I. While Baird (2006) has interpreted this trend as a dispersal from the original Çatalhöyük East settlement, it is worth considering whether the trend represents a demographic expansion of farming communities, alongside Çatalhöyük West which continued to be a large site. Our work at Alkaran Höyük and Kısıkyayla Höyük – both dateable to the Late Pottery Neolithic – also raises the possibility that these are the earliest sedentary settlements in the region to be located beyond the fertile Çarşamba delta.

Territoriality in the Bronze and Iron Ages

Our reassessment of pottery collected from hilltop sites and the completion of UAV surveys at large fortified hilltops, including Seçme Kalesi, Cicek Kalesi and Kana Kalesi, is confirming our understanding of territorial dynamics on the Konya plain during the Bronze and Iron Ages, beginning already in the third millennium BC. One of the most interesting sites is Cicek Kalesi in the foothills of the western Taurus mountains. It is perched above a mountain pass that today defines a stretch of the Konya–Alanya road. We have recorded an uninterrupted sequence between the Early Bronze Age I–II and the Hellenistic period (ca 3000–100 BC). During this time, settlement of the site shifted from the lower terrace during the Early Bronze Age to the main mound beginning in the Middle Bronze Age. On the Early Bronze Age terrace we have recorded unambiguous remnants of dry-wall construction.

Kana Kalesi is located on the opposite side of the Konya plain, along the İsmil–Aksaray road. Like Cicek Kalesi, it was occupied for a very long time from the late Early Bronze Age (EB III), through the second millennium BC to the Late Iron Age and Hellenistic period. The buildings visible just under the surface in the 3D surface model on the next page appear to be associated with the fort, as shown by the ceramic scatters. Pottery from a small settlement on the lower slopes is also contemporary with the fort, suggesting perhaps that the site was a relatively large garrison during the Middle to Late Bronze Age and the Late Iron Age. Kana Kalesi is the largest



3D surface model of the fortified hilltop at Kana Kalesi, highlighting architectural features.

hilltop fort in the KRASP study area dateable to the second millennium BC, and was likely a strategic node in the defensive network during the Hittite period.

Lastly, the largest fortified hilltop in the study area is located at Seçme Kalesi, on a pass that connects the Konya plain with the Lakes District further west. The site abuts a cliff face, is built up with a dry-stone wall that encircles an area of 300m × 130m and includes a lower settlement (ca 4–5ha), making it a possible garrison. The fort appears to have been built initially in the mid-second millennium BC, but pottery distributions and architectural features suggest it reached its largest extent during the eighth to sixth century BC. Architecturally, the fort compares well with Yaraşlı-Çevre Kalesi (Özgüner, Summers 2017), which has been reliably dated to the seventh to sixth century BC.

Our understanding of Bronze Age and Iron Age defensive networks in the Konya region suggests that territorial control was reinforced at pinch points in the landscape (mostly on mountain passes), in contrast to the more solid lines of fortifications of Roman *limes*.

The state and imperial context of farming

One of the primary aims of KRASP includes understanding how early urban and state societies in this region impacted ecologies, particularly through intensification of water management and agricultural practices. Based on the results of previous fieldwork seasons, we observe a dramatic northern expansion of settlement from the Çarşamba delta into arid steppe landscapes during the Late Iron Age (see map to right). The small size (1–5ha) of these sites and the scarcity of fine wares suggest that they formed a network of farming settlements. Provisionally, their Late Iron Age date points to an imperial (Achaemenid) context, which likely included unprecedented efforts to irrigate this steppe region of the Konya plain.

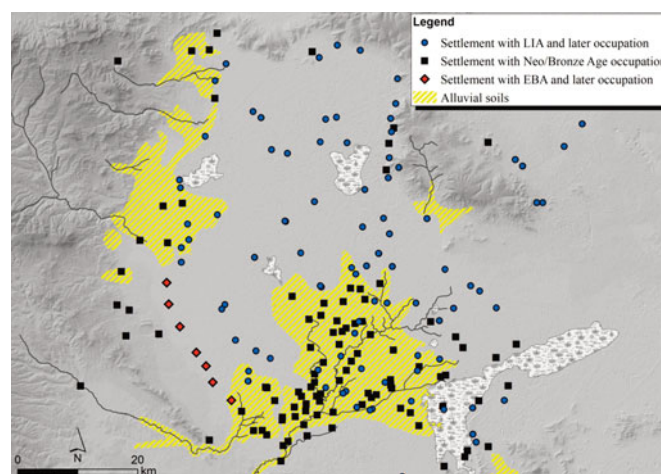
During the 2019 and 2020 seasons, surveys around the major regional centre of Türkmen-Karahöyük on the Çarşamba delta identified similar-sized, low-lying mounds with occupation phases that are limited to the Late Bronze and/or Iron Age. These difficult-to-detect settlements in the alluvium will be a priority of the 2021 field season, but we raise here the possibility that a farming hinterland of food producers had emerged already in the mid- to late second millennium BC to feed urban populations (i.e. at Türkmen-Karahöyük).

Future plans

Adhering to Ministry regulations, 2021 will see the last field season of KRASP. We will dedicate our time to a large-scale geophysical survey at Türkmen-Karahöyük, to completing intensive ceramic collection at the same site and to filling in the remaining gaps in the extensive regional survey.

References

- Ayala, G., Wainwright, J., Walker Hodara, R., Lloyd, J.M., Leng, M.J., Doherty, C. 2017: 'Palaeoenvironmental reconstruction of the alluvial landscape of Neolithic Çatalhöyük, central southern Turkey: the implications for early agriculture and responses to environmental change' *Journal of Archaeological Science* 87: 30–43
- Baird, D. 2006: 'The history of settlement and social landscapes in the Early Holocene in the Çatalhöyük area' in I. Hodder (ed), *Çatalhöyük Perspectives*. Cambridge: 55–74
- Boyer, P., Roberts, N., Baird, D. 2006: 'Holocene environment and settlement on the Çarşamba alluvial fan, south-central Turkey: integrating geoarchaeology and archaeological field survey' *Geoarchaeology* 21.7: 675–98
- Özgüner, N.P., Summers, G.D. 2017: 'The Çevre Kale fortress and the outer enclosure on the Karacadağ at Yaraşlı' *Anatolia Antiqua* 25: 1–16



The northern expansion of settlement into arid steppe landscapes beginning in the Late Iron Age.

Archaeological research at Aphrodisias in 2020

R.R.R. Smith | University of Oxford

Although the corona virus reduced our campaign, we got much useful work done at Aphrodisias this summer. For a month in June to July, our team focused on study in the depots, research for publication and conservation. The ancient monuments were carefully checked; all vegetation was cut and cleared from the site; new information panels were set up; and material for publication projects was documented in the depots. The focus of depot work was on finds from the Tetrapylon Street, South Agora and House of Kybele.

The Tetrapylon Street runs north to south from the Tetrapylon to the Theatre, and its excavation, begun in 2008, is designed to investigate a key urban artery and to bring new information about late antique, Byzantine, Seljuk and Ottoman Aphrodisias. The completion of the excavation in 2020 was delayed due to the pandemic. Important publication work, however, was carried out on the finds. All objects for a planned collaborative monograph were drawn, photographed and documented in detail. They present a remarkable historical profile from Roman to Ottoman times.

The South Agora/Place of Palms was the city's second public square, measuring 215m × 70m. Recent excavation in 2012 to 2017, funded by Mica and Ahmet Ertegun, has shown that it was an urban park with a long water-basin (170m × 30m) surrounded by palm trees. The complex was 'the place of palms' mentioned in a sixth-century poem inscribed on its East Gate. Current work is focused on the restoration of the marble perimeter of the pool and on publishing a monograph that describes its excavation and history. In 2020, the study of finds for publication was completed, and the whole complex was cleared of vegetation and plants. The restoration work, generously sponsored by Mr Ömer Koç and the Geyre Vakfı, will resume in 2021.

The East Gate (or 'Agora Gate') of the urban park was a colossal two-storeyed columnar façade. In 2020, new research on its inscribed dedication suggested the monument belonged not in the mid-second century AD as previously thought, but in the late first century AD. The carved ornament was photographed and studied; its character is consistent with this revised chronology.

A new project was begun at the Civil Basilica in 2018 to restore parts of its façade and display Diocletian's Edict of Maximum Prices, which was inscribed on the façade's marble panelling in AD 301. The building was cleared of plant growth, earlier conservation work controlled and the geotextile covering renewed where necessary. Anastylis will resume in 2021.



Aphrodisias, North Agora: clearing of vegetation (2020).

The House of Kybele, an impressive late antique mansion, was excavated by Kenan Erim between the 1960s and 1980s at the northeastern city wall in conjunction with a modern village water channel from which the main parts of the Zoilos Frieze had come in the 1950s. Formerly called the Water Channel House, the complex has been renamed the House of Kybele after a striking late antique cult figure of the goddess that was found in it. A new project aims to study, conserve and publish the house and its finds. The area was cleared and the standing remains mapped in a new state plan in 2019. In 2020 the locations of all the finds excavated in the house were determined and the house itself was cleared of plant growth. Objects to be included in the publication were identified and documented.

Coin finds from 2019 were studied, and the main catalogue of excavation coins, from 1997 to 2019, is now complete. Particular attention was paid to the Roman, Byzantine and Islamic coins from the Tetrapylon Street for its planned collaborative publication.

Study of excavated pottery was focused on Byzantine and Islamic material. The finds from 2019 were sorted and arranged in groups of medieval pottery from the Tetrapylon Street, Basilica and South Agora. A particular focus was the material found in the Tetrapylon Street from 2008 to 2019, in preparation for its publication. A reliable stratigraphic chronology of the street's main occupation phases was constructed, and, as a consequence, an interesting new historical narrative of post-antique Aphrodisias is emerging.

It is striking above all that there are significant finds belonging to the period of the Byzantine 'Dark Age' (seventh to ninth century). Ceramics of this period are not always present at Anatolian sites and their assessment can be difficult.

A repertoire of kitchen and storage shapes could be identified, most suitable for daily use and fired in a strong dark-red colour.

Work on inscriptions focused on our planned corpus of the inscriptions of Aphrodisias being prepared by Angelos Chaniotis. Of the ca 900 inscriptions found at the site between 1961 and 1994, ca 600 have already been published by Joyce Reynolds and Charlotte Roueché. Their locations in the excavation-house depots, in the museum depots and on the site were checked. About 150 inscriptions in the museum depots were identified and photographed, and their transcriptions checked. Two new inscriptions from the surrounding area were brought in to the museum and recorded: (1) a late Hellenistic funerary stele from Ataköy for a woman named Artemis, daughter of Eupolemos, and (2) the lower part of a base of the Roman period, also with a funerary text, from Antioch-on-the-Meander.

The publication programme remains a high priority. Editing of the next site monograph is well advanced: A. Wilson and B. Russell (eds), *The Place of Palms: An Urban Park at Aphrodisias* (Aphrodisias 12). The manuscript for a new monograph by M. Crawford – *Diocletian's Edict of Maximum Prices* (Aphrodisias 13) – was completed, and photographs and drawings were prepared for a new reconstruction of the Edict inscribed on the Basilica façade to be included in the volume.

A new museum project to cover the existing courtyard of the Aphrodisias Museum, sponsored by Lucien Arkas, was begun in 2019, and in 2020 detailed planning continued with the project architects, ARTI-3 of Izmir. A delicately decorated Roman fountain basin (see photo below), brought from Karacasu, was restored and set up on a custom-made modern base in the garden of the Aphrodisias Museum. A relief from the Aphrodisias Sebasteion, *Claudius with Land and Sea Figures*, was requested on loan for an exhibition in Istanbul. It was dismantled from its museum installation and crated for transport. A large photograph was mounted in its place in the sequence of reliefs in the Sevgi Gönül Hall.



Aphrodisias: large decorated Roman fountain basin, restored and mounted in the museum garden (2020).



Aphrodisias: Temple of Aphrodite converted into a church, after cleaning (2020).

The Aphrodisias team lost a most valued member this year, Jim Coulton, who died in Edinburgh in August 2020. Jim was an inspiring archaeologist and historian of ancient architecture. He worked at Oinoanda and Balboura, where he led a six-year survey published in two pioneering volumes, *The Balboura Survey* (2012). At Aphrodisias Jim was working on the Temple of Aphrodite and its conversion into a Christian church. He had found out the precise original position of every block that was redeployed from the temple to make the church. He left a complete manuscript for a monograph on the subject. Jim was a person of unfailing generosity and unusual modesty. He will be much missed at Aphrodisias.

Acknowledgements

The Aphrodisias Excavations are sponsored by New York University and Oxford University, with invaluable support from the following groups of friends: the Geyre Vakfı in Istanbul (President, Ömer M. Koç), the Friends of Aphrodisias Trust in London (President, Patricia Daunt) and the Aphrodisias Sevenler Derneği in Izmir (President, Çiğdem Alas). In addition to the British Institute at Ankara, other key individuals and foundations supporting the project are Lucien Arkas, Ömer Koç, Murat Ülker, the 1984 Foundation, the Kress Foundation, the Malcolm H. Wiener Foundation, the Headley Trust, Tupraş, pladis, the Leon Levy Foundation, the Augustus Foundation, Oxford University's Craven Fund and Lincoln College, Oxford. We express deep gratitude to these generous supporters, to the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, to the Aphrodisias Museum and its Director, Tenzile Uysal, and to our government representative in 2020, Mustafa Metin from the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara.

The acropolis of Pergamon in the winter of 1302–1303: the evidence of coins

Julian Baker | University of Oxford

Throughout its thousand-year history, the core territories of the Byzantine Empire were always clustered around the Aegean, yet the periods in which the empire fully controlled all four flanks of this sea were rather rare. From the seventh century onwards, a major threat came from the south, from the successive Umayyad and Abbasid caliphates. The Byzantines finally retook the island of Crete from the Arabs in AD 961. However, just a century later, following the Battle of Manzikert (1071), the imperial territories in Anatolia all but collapsed and the Seljuqs of Rum managed to penetrate all the way to the Aegean. From this period onwards the Anatolian coastline of the Aegean, that is to say the area from the Dardanelles in the north to the Dorian (Datça) peninsula in the south, was of great strategic importance. Depending on which side you were coming from, control over it provided a springboard either to the island world of the Aegean in the west or into the Anatolian territories towards the east.

The Byzantines made inroads into Anatolia in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and re-established effective imperial control. During the early reign of the emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1328) Byzantium held a large section of Anatolia, but this situation soon unravelled, thanks to a number of interconnected developments. In the area which is now Albania, northern Greece and North Macedonia, the empire faced challenges from the Angevin kingdom of Sicily and its allies in southern Greece, which required the Byzantine emperors to redirect their resources to the west. In the east, meanwhile, the Mongols had dealt the Abbasid caliphate a mortal blow, forcing major displacements of peoples from the Near East westwards. As a result, Anatolia gradually transitioned from Seljuq and Byzantine rule to control by a number of Turkish beyliks, which took their names from their leading dynasties.

In my area of interest – the western Anatolian coastline – the first decade of the fourteenth century was the most decisive in terms of political formation processes. Around 1300, Kalem bey, father of Karesi bey, and Osman bey directly threatened the Byzantine possessions to the south of the Sea of Marmara. Meanwhile, further south, the respective leaders of the Menteşeoğulları and the Aydınoğulları at the time, Mesud and Mehmed, and the latter's enigmatic ally, Sasa bey, established their influence all the way to the Aegean Sea. Following the Byzantine collapse, some of the islands came to be integrated into the Latin Christian military and commercial area of influence between 1300 and 1310, for instance Chios under the Genoese Zaccaria family and Rhodes under the Knights of St John.

My current research rests on a number of considerations. Intense periods of change have an inherent interest, and the cities of late Byzantine western Anatolia, according to textual and recent archaeological information, were places of great sophistication and dynamism, culturally and economically. This importance was retained, and even augmented, under later Turkish rule. As a numismatist I am particularly interested in the increase in monetary data for the period around 1300–1310. New mints became operational, such as those at Chios, Ayasuluk and Rhodes. Their coinages reveal political allegiances and economic orientations. Important mutations took place at the main Byzantine mint in Constantinople, in line with developments in Anatolia and especially the need to make substantial emergency payments. Foreign denominations, for example from southern Italy, flooded into the area, reflecting movements of populations and goods.

Two particularly significant military operations had large coinage components. In 1301 the emperor Andronikos II spent much of his budget on the employment of Alan mercenaries, whom he sent out with his son and co-emperor Michael IX Palaiologos. In the spring and summer of the following year Michael proceeded towards Magnesia ad Sipylum (Manisa), where he was encircled by the Turks and subsequently abandoned by most of his Byzantine troops and the Alan mercenaries. Michael scrambled northwards to Pergamon, where he spent the winter of 1302/1303, then made his way back to the imperial capital via Biga and Karabiga (Pegai). Around this time, another group of mercenaries, the Grand Catalan Company, arrived in Constantinople. Also employed by Andronikos, the Catalans launched an initially more successful Anatolian campaign, securing amongst other locations Magnesia, Ephesos and Anaia for the empire in 1303–1304. However, for political and strategic reasons, the Catalans had to move on to the Balkans, whereupon this entire area rapidly fell to the nascent beyliks. Recently, Lale Pancar (the numismatic curator at the museum in Selçuk) and I have concluded that part of a silver coin hoard from the Church of St John in Ayasuluk, Ephesos, originated precisely in relation to the Catalan presence in the area during 1304. Looking at the situation a year or so earlier, my assessments of the literature and museum collections have revealed that an even more significant and concentrated body of numismatic sources might pertain to Pergamon in the winter of 1302–1303.

I have been able to establish that two important hoards of late Byzantine gold coins were found on the acropolis of Pergamon in the first half of the twentieth century. These



The acropolis of Pergamon (Adam Jones; CC BY-SA 2.0).

will be presented in a forthcoming joint publication with Martin Hirsch of the Staatliche Münzsammlung in Munich. The two coin hoards were both composed of so-called gold hyperpyra of the Constantinople mint, depicting either Andronikos II alone (1282–1294) or with his son Michael IX (from 1294). On the front of the most recent issues the Virgin is depicted, enclosed in the city walls of Constantinople, and on the back Christ is represented blessing the two emperors.

Scholars have postulated that issues such as these, which depict the walls with six towers, date to 1303 or earlier, after which the Byzantine gold currency was once more debased ready for the employment of the Catalans in the first half of 1303. This interpretation is now vindicated by the new information from Pergamon: the concentrated nature of the finds and their location (the fortified acropolis rather than any other part of the city) suggest that the unusual presence just half a year earlier of a Byzantine military contingent provides the context for these numismatic discoveries.



Gold hyperpyron, Andronikos II with Michael IX Palaiologos, from the acropolis of Pergamon.

In fact, in this as in many similar contexts, the historical, archaeological, topographical and monetary data bounce off one another. In combination, they reveal in our case imperial policy making, the shape of the Byzantine currency and its deployment, and the course of military events.

Julian Baker is curator for medieval and modern coins at the Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. He is the author of numerous studies on the coinages of the medieval Aegean area, including the recent *Coinage and Money in Medieval Greece 1200–1430* (Leiden 2020). His work at museums in Izmir, Ephesos, Anaia and Bergama has been supported by the British Institute at Ankara with two grants in 2018 and 2020.

References and further reading

- Baker, J., Hirsch, M. forthcoming: 'Der Burgberg zu Pergamon im Winter 1302–1303 anhand numismatischer Quellen' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
- Baker, J., Pancar, L. forthcoming: 'A coin hoard from Ayasuluk and the arrival of silver gigliati from Mediterranean Europe in early 14th-century western Anatolia' *Anatolian Studies*
- Gelzer, H. 1903: *Pergamon unter den Byzantinern und Osmanen*. Berlin
- Klinkott, M. 2001: *Die Stadtmauern 1: die byzantinischen Befestigungsanlagen von Pergamon mit ihrer Wehr- und Baugeschichte*. Berlin and New York
- Laiou, A.E., Morrisson, C. 2011: *Le monde byzantin 3: l'empire grec et ses voisins XIIIe–XVe siècle*. Paris
- Rheidt, K. 2002: 'The urban economy of Pergamon' in A.E. Laiou (ed.), *The Economic History of Byzantium 2*. Washington DC: 623–29

