

# HERITAGE TURKEY

BRITISH INSTITUTE AT ANKARA

Volume 7 | 2017





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

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

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

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To join the Institute, or for further information about its work, please contact us at [biaa@britac.ac.uk](mailto:biaa@britac.ac.uk) | [www.biaa.ac.uk](http://www.biaa.ac.uk)

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*The front cover shows Ariassos on the Pisidia Heritage Trail (© Ekin Kazan): see page 12.*

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From the Director, Lutgarde Vandeput  
Ankara, November 2017  
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Dear Members,

The past year has seen important ups and equally significant downs. The Institute secured a major success in attracting external funding for its activities concentrating on cultural heritage management. We were awarded a British Academy Sustainable Development Programme award for the project 'Living amid the ruins: archaeological sites as hubs of sustainable development for local communities in southwest Turkey' (LAR). The grant was awarded in December 2016 and actual work started in 2017. In the spring, the Institute was granted a large grant from the Cultural Protection Fund for the project 'Safeguarding archaeological assets of Turkey' (SARAT). Unlike that for LAR, this award takes the form of a three-year grant that will continue till March 2020. Both projects are in full swing at the moment and reports on both are included in the following pages.

The wide disciplinary focus of the BIAA is reflected in the interests of the postdoctoral research fellows who have joined us here in Ankara over the past year. Ender Peker has been working on sustainable cities. Specifically, he has been exploring the challenges of climate responsive urban development in the context of the Black Sea. He will move on to an academic position at the Middle East Technical University, Ankara, during the present academic year. John McManus, a social anthropologist, is now embarking on the second year of his fellowship during which he will focus on his project 'Shared goals: sport and integration amongst refugees in Turkey'. Both Ender and John report on their research in this edition of *Heritage Turkey*. Finally, Peter Cherry started his 24-month fellowship in September 2017. He holds a PhD in comparative literature and his research whilst at the BIAA will be concerned with Turkey in British literary and travel narratives (1914–1945).

The Institute's archives have been buzzing with activity throughout 2017, with much work achieved on the digitisation of the photographic collection. Meanwhile, a totally renewed front-end search function for all the BIAA's collections went live over the summer after many months of hard work undertaken by the Assistant Director, Leo Karakatsanis, and the Institute's IT Manager, Hakan Çakmak. I recommend you try the new search facility, and I am confident you too will enjoy the ease with which you can now explore the BIAA's extensive research collections.

This year, Claire McCafferty, the London Manager since 2009, decided to return to Australia with her husband Albert. Claire left the Institute at the end of April, but not without the necessary celebrations, as you can see in this photo. She is now settled in Queensland and started a new job in July. Luckily, technology makes it easy to keep in touch and I am glad to report that they have settled in to their new lives and are happy with their decision to move. We wish Claire good luck and success, but we do miss her!

Simon Bell has now taken on the post of London Manager. Simon worked at the British Library before he came to the Institute and has had to hit the ground running. He and Claire worked through the multi-stranded role in April and Simon has been manning the office since then; an office that he has already had to move within the British Academy's premises! All London-based BIRI (British International Research Institutes) staff now share an open-plan office in the cellars of the Academy. The new office is certainly an improvement on the 'pigeon-hole' that we previously occupied.

On a sad note, over the past year or so we have had to say goodbye to two important Institute figures. Shortly after last year's *Heritage Turkey* went to press, Anthony Bryer, generally known and addressed as 'Bryer', passed away. On 31 March 2017, the Institute co-organised a memorial event in Istanbul with the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, Koç University, entitled 'From Trebizond to Limni: remembering the trails and traces of Bryer'. The event brought several distinguished speakers to Istanbul, highlighting different aspects of Bryer's life. Whereas Bryer's main legacy undoubtedly lies in the fact that he is one of the scholars – if not *the* scholar – who elevated Byzantine studies to the status of a recognised and flourishing academic field in the UK, he was also a long-term trustee of the Institute. Bryer's academic career focused on Byzantium and especially the Pontus and Trebizond, where he knew every monument and published many of them. Late in his career, he joined Jim Crow and Stephen Hill in their BIAA-sponsored fieldwork in Thrace and Çiflik (Sinop).





His contributions to the Institute were initially mainly concentrated on active committee and council membership. He had his most direct impact, however, as Editor of the Institute's journal, *Anatolian Studies*, a post he held from 2001 to 2008. He took the role seriously, much to the benefit of the quality of the publication. From 2003 to 2008, Bryer was also President of the Institute and, as such, I had the great pleasure of meeting him. I also exchanged emails with him; these were always eccentric, at times hilarious and very often bewildering for a non-native speaker! He will be sorely missed for his humour and generosity, as much as for his academic output.

Our second loss took place on 19 March 2017, when David H. French passed away. He was the Institute's Director from 1968 to 1994 and one of its most defining figures in its almost 70 years of existence. On 30 September, we organised a memorial event for him, which took the form of a colloquium and highlighted David and his achievements. The colloquium, entitled 'In memory of David French: a life in Anatolian archeology', took place at the Erimtan Museum in Ankara. We asked friends and colleagues to contribute to the event by sending us memories and/or photographs recalling David, an appeal that resulted in a good response. For those of you who are interested, a booklet is available for download from the BIAA website. To ensure that David's memory lives on, the Institute's library has been renamed The BIAA David H. French Library and a plaque bearing this new name was unveiled by David's friend and colleague Ender Varinlioğlu at a reception on the evening of 30 September.

Throughout his time in Turkey, David led a variety of research and rescue excavations and was instrumental in developing excavation and find-treatment methodologies. For instance, Aşvan Kale, the project assigned to the BIAA within the Keban dam rescue archaeology programme, was of fundamental importance for the introduction of environmental sciences to excavations in Turkey. For the first time, flotation to retrieve seeds as well as other plant and animal remains was used on a large scale. David's field research in the 1950s and 1960s was ground-breaking in establishing standardised methodologies for survey and pottery classification. However, he was not active in the field in just Turkey; he also worked in Greece and completed a monograph on his work in Mycenae during the final years of his life.

In the early 1970s, David embarked on a new long-term project that was totally different from his previous interests: the study of the Roman milestones of present-day Turkey. Through his solitary surveys across the whole of Turkey, mostly accompanied by just a government representative, he brought the number of known milestones from about 450 up to over 1,200. Between 2012 and 2016, David managed to publish all the recorded milestones; these publications can be downloaded, free-of-charge, from the BIAA website. The final volume he completed, a few months before he passed away, is the first on the ancient roads themselves.

David thus leaves permanent legacies for the archaeology and epigraphy of Turkey, but another of his main achievements is certainly the changes he brought about at the Institute. As Director, he transformed the Institute from a place that offered 'accommodation for fieldwork researchers with a library attached' into a fully-fledged research centre. In particular, he built up the library with incredible care and patience over the years – we are still using his classification system – and established the reference collections. The environmental archaeology methodologies he introduced in the field required the creation of faunal and floral reference collections at the BIAA. The Institute's collection of ceramic sherds, recovered from across Turkey before 1973, is unique and was largely built up from David's surveys in the earlier years of his career.

We miss him and the regular visits he and Pam made to Ankara. Whereas Bryer's contribution to the BIAA mainly focused on the UK side of things, David's was firmly rooted in Turkey. Both were defining figures in their own, different ways and have left legacies of lasting importance to the Institute and to their respective fields of research.

Finally, 2017 witnessed the last excavation season at Çatalhöyük under the directorship of Ian Hodder. Ian has completed 25 seasons at the head of a large, interdisciplinary, international team that has added immensely to our knowledge of the Neolithic and ensured that Çatalhöyük is a principal reference site for all working on the period.

This last '2017' entry has brought my introductory letter to the actual projects and achievements on which this edition of *Heritage Turkey* reports. I hope that it will once again bring to life for you the variety and richness of BIAA-supported research. Enjoy!

Lutgarde Vandepuit



During my third and (for the foreseeable future) final year at the British Institute at Ankara, the thrills and chills of Turkish politics continued apace. In the run up to 16 April, the country was swamped with campaigning for the referendum to change Turkey's parliamentary system to a presidential one. Posters the size of basketball courts proclaiming 'Our decision is yes' were draped from buildings along major roads in Ankara and Istanbul, where they even hung from the Theodosian city walls. Comparatively dwarfed 'No for my future' banners fluttered in opposition-dominated urban districts, while bridges, lamp posts and roadside barriers were fought over with graffiti and stickers proclaiming 'yes' and 'no', words that became so politicised that 'No to cigarettes' pamphlets were withdrawn from health centres in some parts of the country. On the night of the election, I watched together with colleagues as a substantial initial lead for the Yes camp on the basis of votes from eastern Anatolia was whittled down to 2% as votes from the western cities came in. Although the aims of the governing party and its leader were fulfilled, No's victory in Istanbul and Ankara, and the closeness of the result have left the outcome of the next election, due in 2019, less certain than it may have appeared otherwise.

Turkey's diplomatic relations suffered during the campaign, as government ministers' attempts at rallies among the Turkish diaspora in the Netherlands and Germany led to scenes of confrontation, while harsh criticism of the fairness of the vote from the Council of Europe produced anger in Ankara. The arrest and detention of foreign journalists and civil-society activists, joining many Turkish colleagues behind bars, deepened Turkey's diplomatic crisis, which engulfed US relations after the arrest of local members of its embassy staff following long-running tensions over the US' choice of partners in Syria and continued failure to extradite Fethullah Gülen. Britain somehow avoided any major public dispute with Turkey, a distinct possibility during an intense period of negotiations over Cyprus, instead signing deals to sell fighter jets to the country, even while Turkey took the momentous step to procure its anti-aircraft weapons system from Russia.

Such contemporary shifts in the diplomatic landscape are a pertinent reminder of the importance of the 'Turkey and Britain 1914–1952: from enemies to allies' research project that I have been responsible for implementing. Begun in October 2015, the project aimed to promote new research on the history of UK-Turkish relations in the period 1914–1952, while bringing journalists, diplomats and other stakeholders into a multidisciplinary debate on their historical legacy. Our first workshop, focusing on British-Ottoman imperial rivalry and conflict in the run up to and during the First World War,

was successfully held in Ankara in April 2016. Junior and senior colleagues produced new insights into the conflict that made modern Turkey and the Middle East, working across Turkish, British and international sources in a refreshing departure from the mono-national focused research that has characterised past publications on the topic.

Our second workshop, which took place from 31 March to 1 April 2017, was focused on the interwar period, which witnessed the division of the defeated Ottoman Empire by Britain and its allies, the emergence of the Turkish National Movement under Mustafa Kemal and the instigation of a new relationship between the Turkish Republic and Britain that shifted from suspicion to friendship in the later 1930s. The workshop took place in Cambridge in Churchill College's Jock Colville Hall, named after Winston Churchill's principal private secretary during his time as prime minister. Churchill himself loomed large throughout the workshop; he was both architect of Britain's major clash with the Ottoman Empire during the First World War (with a Gallipoli Campaign memorial plaque mounted in the hall serving as an ever-present reminder of this) and a key advocate of a revised Turkish policy during his time as Secretary of State for War and, later, the Colonies. Researchers had the chance to visit the Churchill Archive Centre in the same building, containing important personal records from the period kept by Churchill and his contemporaries.

As intended, the historically focused workshop was nevertheless highly interdisciplinary, with 18 presenters from the fields of history, comparative literature, international relations, anthropology, archaeology and political science engaging a broader audience of doctoral students, academics and diplomatic staff. Complementary to this, a further objective of the project was to analyse UK-Turkey relations in their broadest possible sense. Papers on intelligence gathering and high diplomacy over such contentious issues as the rightful ownership of the former Ottoman province of Mosul and the international regime governing the Bosphorus and Dardanelles straits complemented work on the interactions of British and Turkish literary figures, archaeologists and historians. Listening to these diverse papers, I was again convinced that the history of the early Republic, for all its specificity and uniqueness, deserves to be read as part of an entangled story in which developments in Turkey were linked with contemporary events in Britain, Europe, the Middle East and the wider world.

The British-led occupation of Istanbul and its machinations for the rest of the remnant Ottoman Empire during the period 1918–1923 brought Turkey and Britain face to face and set the tone of UK-Turkey relations in the coming decades. Largely forgotten in Britain as other imperial crises stole the attention of the public and policy makers, the occupation is well known in Turkey, where school and university courses give particular attention to the War of Independence period, and continues to shape Turkish suspicions of British and Western intentions in





Scottish soldiers march past the Dolmabahçe mosque, Istanbul.

capitulations, had been requested by European ambassadors for their subjects during the 15th and 16th centuries, and were, for the most part, willingly granted by Ottoman sultans. By the late 19th century, the legal exemptions from taxation and trial by local courts that benefitted British and other foreign subjects had become a clear obstacle to the centralisation and expansion of the Ottoman state, provoking major discontent on the part of the Ottoman public. Britain was reluctant to relinquish such privileges, which could be extended to local merchants in exchange for influence and eased their economic penetration of the region. The crisis of the summer of 1914 presented a moment of opportunity for the Ottoman government, which unilaterally declared the end of the capitulations from 1 October onwards, breaking obligations entered into in the 19th century that had transformed privileges granted by the sultan into bilateral treaty clauses that could not, in the British view, be abandoned without mutual agreement. The diplomatic dispute between the two countries was subsumed by the declaration of war on 5 November 1914. At the termination of the conflict, Britain used its dominant position in the Ottoman capital to restore its subjects' legal privileges, while working with its allies to create new legal institutions for the governance of the multi-ethnic and multinational city. Promises of reform, however, were belied by the establishment of an arbitrary and contested system of martial law for the governance of the city, which saw British officers fine and imprison Ottoman subjects with little legal process. The Turkish National Movement's victory in Anatolia dealt a final blow to the pluralist legal system that had governed the Ottoman Empire, including the legal privileges of selected foreigners. The failures of the Turkish justice system, long used by British ambassadors as an excuse for the prolongation of the capitulations, remain at the centre of disputes between Turkey and its western partners, as the cases of imprisoned German journalist Deniz Yücel and American pastor Andrew Brunson highlight.

My paper and others selected from the first and second 'Enemies to allies' workshops have now been submitted to the journal *Middle Eastern Studies*, which we hope will publish a special issue on the history of UK-Turkey relations based on the work of the project to date. Two future workshops, on the Second World War and early Cold War, are also planned, but have been postponed while the project's committee continues its search for funding. The crucial years of the 1940s and 1950s are particularly deserving of further study, witnessing Turkey's decisive if not irrevocable entry into the orbit of the Western bloc with its admission to the NATO and CENTO alliances and the move to multi-party democracy.

Events of the last few years, which have weighed heavily on the minds of everyone at the Institute, show just how crucial it is to understand the foundations and challenges of Turkey's partnership with Britain and the wider Western world.

the region. The topic was well represented at the workshop, with Hakan Özoğlu assessing British plans for the autonomous future of the Ottoman capital, Michael Llewelyn-Smith examining Britain's wavering support for the Greek occupation of Izmir and its surroundings, Alp Yenen looking at British intelligence gathering on Nationalist-controlled Anatolia, Alaadin Paksoy analysing Turkish press reporting on the Treaty of Sevres of 1920, which set out the division of the Ottoman Empire, and Richard Toye detailing Britain's imperial response to the confrontation with Turkish National Forces at Çanakkale in 1922.

My own paper also focused on this period, looking at Britain's role in maintaining and creating multiple legal systems within the Ottoman Empire and its failed attempt at their preservation during the negotiation of the Treaty of Lausanne which conferred recognition on the new Turkish Republic in 1923. Legal privileges, known as the



Special page of the newspaper *Tasfir-i evkar* proclaiming the news that the capitulations would be abolished.

## Upon the encounter of ‘politics’ and ‘culture’: rethinking the history of the Left in Turkey, Greece and Cyprus

Leonidas Karakatsanis | British Institute at Ankara

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When the concepts of ‘politics’ and ‘culture’ meet, their encounter usually takes three different – albeit intertwining – disciplinary paths. Following the first path, the most established one, we find ourselves within the fields of anthropology, sociology, cultural studies and political philosophy. Here, the main focus is on the role that different tropes of human life (such as ethnicity, race, religion, but also elements of gender or sexual orientation) play in societal relations (Rockhill and Gâomez-Muller 2011: 1). From the perspective of these fields of enquiry, the encounter between culture and politics is sought across the ‘private’ and the ‘public’: from the mundane and the non-strictly-political conduct of everyday practices (such as performing one’s belief or fulfilling one’s desire), to their entanglement with wider public morals and values, which, in turn, create boundaries between outsiders and insiders. The heated debates about ‘multiculturalism’, for instance, take place here. The same goes for the – sometimes complex – intellectual battles on whether one can speak of *a culture* (national or even regional) or fragmented and multi-vocal *cultures*. We could codify this first relation between politics and culture as **cultural politics**.

However, when *politics* takes the conceptual lead in the encounter with culture, we are usually drawn to a different trajectory, broadly coined, since the late 1950s, as **political culture** (Gabriel Almond’s article ‘Comparative political systems’ published in 1956 in the *Journal of Politics* is considered the birthplace of the term in contemporary political science: Welch 1993: 3–4). The disciplinary fields of political science and comparative politics drive us along this path. Here, ‘culture’ refers mainly to the recurrent political behaviour of specific groups or within specific national or regional boundaries. According to this approach, political culture ‘has to do with fundamental core beliefs ... [one’s] basic attitude towards democracy, authoritarianism or freedom’ (Wiarda 2014: 2). The concept of ‘political culture’ is helpful to identify patterns in a state’s history regarding the separation of powers and the safeguarding – or not – of fair elections; to distinguish different types of relations between organised interests and those in power; or, finally, to examine the ways in which citizens use their votes (for instance, as a result of ideological affiliations or in expectation of being rewarded for it). The persistence of certain types of behaviour moulds a political ‘heritage’, and so, political scientists argue, political cultures can take generations to change.

Finally, the third path of the encounter between politics and culture leads us into the world of art – in its most expanded notion. In other words, art here is understood both

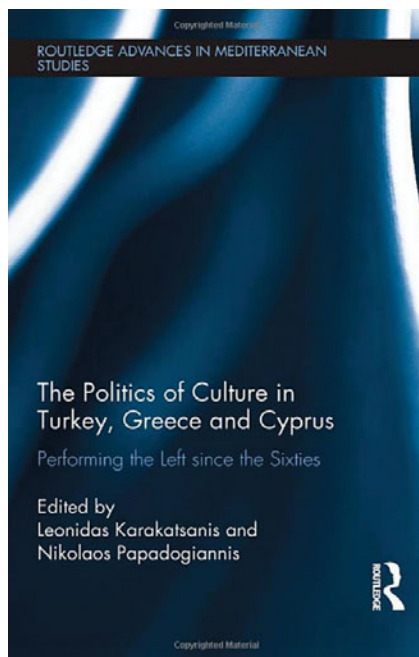
in its material and immaterial forms, as an expression, activity and production, as well as a result: from the ‘sublime’ and the ‘monumental’ or ‘high’, to the ‘local’ or ‘popular’ imprints of human culture. Under this approach, the encounter of culture with politics turns attention to the way in which politics act upon culture, i.e. the way in which the state and its apparatuses regulate, control, restrict or promote cultural production and cultural heritage within a given polity. This debate is examined extensively in heritage studies and other relevant disciplinary fields (museum studies, art management), as well as cultural studies, as part of what is coined **cultural policy** (Paquette 2012: 2). Work undertaken here expands the focus to examine decisions taken on what to preserve or destroy, the choices made to expose or hide, and the strategies adopted on what – and how – to remember (or, for that matter, what to forget) as part of a ‘common’ past (see, for instance, Peter et al. 2013).

But, what about when all these different trajectories of the encounters between politics and culture align and take place simultaneously? What happens when one’s political identity is expressed not only through voting patterns or not only through the kind of relation one builds with a political party or the state, but also by different types of remembering and commemorating the past, and different ways of performing one’s everyday life. What happens when the political aspect of cultural production is related not only with the regulative force of the state, and the direction of action is reversed? That is, when the material and intangible cultural products themselves acquire a political agency: from songs sung, recorded and circulated in a minority language, to sculptures used to promote a way of remembering that contrasts with the dominant narratives of the nation-state. What happens when race, ethnicity, gender and sexuality themselves become relevant to political belongings and intermingle with party political identifications?

In our recently published edited volume, *The Politics of Culture in Turkey, Greece and Cyprus: Performing the Left since the Sixties* (Karakatsanis, Papadogiannis 2017), my co-editor, Nikolaos Papadogiannis, and I explore the encounters between politics and culture across these three different fields of enquiry with reference to the history of the Left in Turkey, Greece and Cyprus. Some questions are probably already looming here. Why adopt a specific focus on the Left instead of looking at all political parties involved in the politics of culture? Is there something unique about the relation of the Left with ‘culture’ in all its different forms noted above? And, if so, why then focus exclusively on Turkey, Greece and Cyprus as specific objects of study?

These are all valid questions that the book and its 12 chapters try to answer. The starting point of these answers is that Turkey, Greece and Cyprus represent the only non-communist states in southeastern Europe that found themselves part of the North Atlantic Treaty and the ‘Western’ sphere of influence at the end of the Second World





War. This was in contrast to many neighbouring countries in the Balkans which became part of the Soviet sphere of control. At the same time, all three locations saw the growth of significant and massive left-wing and/or communist political movements and parties, before, during and/or after 1945. The Cold War that followed had, of course, a significant effect on what it meant to be a 'left-winger' in these three geographies: illegality, persecution and prosecution – if not exile and death – became the norm, albeit in different periods and at different levels of intensity in each of these settings. Consequently, the experience of living under the suffocating oppression of an all-empowered right-wing state (and, on many occasions, of deep-state structures) constituted a *common experience*, lived by thousands of left-wingers in Greece, Turkey and Cyprus.

Cultural production and art – taking the forms of reels of film, of poems written in custody or music recorded and circulated illegally via tapes – became for those left-wingers a primary means of political expression in times when straightforward political action was difficult, if not impossible. And indeed, this created a unique bond between the Left and culture as art form. As the years passed and less confrontational politics evolved (including, in most cases, the legalisation of left-wing and communist parties), the memory of these experiences of pain and loss became a significant part of left-wing cultures. The very act of remembering and commemorating this past constituted a continuous *performance* of what the Left was

and still is in these three places. This was a performance through which *despair* and *hope* cohabitated – and still cohabit – the same spaces; despair and hope became co-constitutive of each other in creating the political 'culture' or 'cultures' of the Left.

The book consists of four parts, each examining a different theme in this relation between left-wing cultures and politics. The first part focuses on memory as culture and its role in shaping left-wing identities. This section takes into account the significance of issues pertinent to gender, nationhood and ethnicity in the moulding of such cultures of memory. The second part examines the production and regulation of art as a political form (from Kurdish music and revolutionary cinema in Turkey, to curatorial practices in Cyprus). The third explores the way in which the Greek, Turkish and Cypriot Left participated in the tensions – or even transitions – between tradition and modernity in each setting. The fourth part focuses on the spatial aspect of culture (such as Greek university campus life and the position of the Left in it and the local cultures of the *Gecekondu* shanty neighbourhoods of Istanbul in the 1970s). The book aspires to expand the examination of political cultures beyond the narrow realms of political behaviourism and offer a set of concepts that facilitates communication across the different fields engaging with 'culture' and 'politics'.

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Detail from the exhibition 'The museum of shame', organised by the Federation of the Revolutionary Generation of '78 and presented every September in Ankara on the occasion of the anniversary of the 12 September 1980 coup. Its purpose is to commemorate and honour the 'lost comrades' assassinated or disappeared during the turbulent 1970s, 1980s and 1990s (photo L. Karakatsanis).

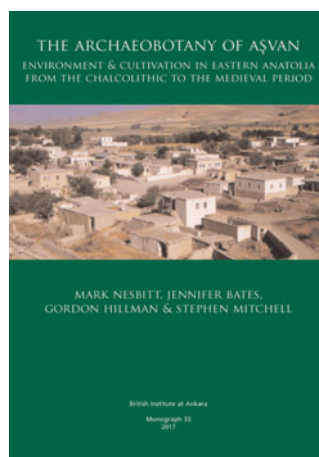
## BIAA Publications

Tamar Hodos | University of Bristol & BIAA Monographs Editor  
doi:10.18866/biaa2017.04

The BIAA has seen the publication of two very exciting monographs this year. Together, they represent the present disciplinary and temporal scope of the Institute's research activities. We were founded as a centre for archaeology, and we continue to be actively involved in fieldwork around Turkey. In recent years, we have extended our remit to other related disciplines, including anthropology and cultural heritage management as well as scholarship on contemporary Turkey. Our two recently published volumes encapsulate these developments. The first, *The Archaeobotany of Aşvan*, is the publication of the long-awaited archaeobotanical studies from the Institute's work in the late 1960s and early 1970s in and around the site of Aşvan, in eastern Turkey. The second, *Bordered Places/Bounded Times*, is the fruit of a 2013 interdisciplinary workshop on borders and boundaries that brought together archaeologists, anthropologists, historians and social scientists in discussion.

*The Archaeobotany of Aşvan* is the final publication of the ancient botanical evidence recovered from four sites near the village of Aşvan, in Elazığ province. Aşvan itself lies on the Murat river, a tributary of the Euphrates. The BIAA conducted rescue excavations here between 1968 and 1973 in advance of the construction of the Keban dam. The chronological coverage of settlements explored by the project extends from the Chalcolithic period through to the Late Bronze Age, with additional evidence from the first century BC to the 14th century AD. The project was exceptionally innovative for its era, for it was one of the first to use large-scale flotation and wet-sieving to recover seeds, charcoal and animal bone in order to address questions of environmental history, especially of land usage and agricultural exploitation. In addition, ethnographic models were applied to assist in interpreting the archaeological evidence by correlating contemporary, yet traditional, agrarian practices with the archaeologically visible material remains. The results of these careful data collections, analyses and interpretations are presented in the volume. The book also includes the reprint of three articles by Gordon Hillman from *Anatolian Studies* that assess the region's agricultural resources and productivity in the past, alongside contemporary ethnographic evidence of agricultural practices. Thus, we have integrated archaeobotanical evidence with social and cultural interpretations of agricultural activities in eastern Anatolia within a single volume to provide an integrated understanding of Anatolian agricultural practices from antiquity to the recent past.

*Bordered Places/Bounded Times* presents a different spectrum of interdisciplinarity, but one no less fundamental to scholarship. The book shares the aim of the original workshop: to share approaches to the study of borders,



boundaries and frontiers between the disciplines of archaeology, social anthropology, geography, political science and history. Using Turkey's rich material evidence as its focal point for analysis and consideration, the volume introduces deep history to the study of boundaries and borders, which hitherto for Turkish studies has rested largely within the scholarly domain of the contemporary world. More specifically, the volume facilitates a direct dialogue between archaeological disciplines and the social and political sciences by promoting theory and practice in tandem. Case studies thus extend from the Epipalaeolithic to the modern era. Although the volume takes a chronological approach in its presentation, similarities and differences between fields engaged in border/boundary scholarship are highlighted through the themes that underpin many of the contributions, such as the lived effects of borders and the role of real and perceived borders in shaping relations across such boundaries. Differences in terminology within and between disciplines are evident throughout, and the volume uses these to highlight cross-fertilisation between disciplines and theoretical frameworks. As a result, the volume is one of the first to integrate archaeology into explicit interdisciplinary approaches to borders; it thus serves as a forum that innovatively unites material, social, political and historical disciplines concerned with borders and their impacts on human society.

This year we also celebrated the launch of our back catalogue of monographs in digital format via JSTOR. This is a truly exciting development, as it will enable the next generation of scholars to become aware of the rich breadth of scholarship covered by our past work. This has gone hand-in-hand with the introduction of digital publication of the two monographs discussed above, also hosted by JSTOR, such that our monograph publications are now published in both hard-copy and e-book formats.

Finally, we continue with our publication collaboration with I.B. Tauris to produce two series dedicated to Ottoman Turkey and Contemporary Turkey respectively. This year saw the publication of *Turkey's Cold War: Foreign Policy and Western Alignment in the Modern Republic* by Şaban Çalış. Additional works are due to be published shortly.



## 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, business organisations, museums and local communities. How cultural heritage is produced, interpreted and understood can have profound impacts on social and economic activity and decision-making. It influences the formation of social values and ideas as well as notions of common identity and history, and also affects economic and infrastructure management. Cultural heritage management has only recently become an issue in Turkey, but is now developing rapidly. In this process, new issues and problems have emerged, for which solutions have to be found within Turkey, but also on a much wider scale. This strategic research initiative sets out to examine the inter-relationships in the field of cultural heritage in the Turkish context.

### Protection of cultural heritage in emergency situations

Lutgarde Vandeput | British Institute at Ankara

doi:10.18866/biaa2017.05

This year, the British Institute at Ankara, the American Research Institute in Turkey – Ankara (ARIT) and the US Embassy in Ankara collaborated on a workshop entitled ‘Acil durumlarda kültür varlıklarının korunması/Protection of cultural heritage in emergency situations’. The event took place at the Erimtan Museum in Ankara on 15–16 June 2017. The workshop addressed strategies for protecting museums and heritage sites in disaster situations. It aimed to bring together international experts with specialists from the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, and Turkish museums, institutes and universities. As such, the Ministry, particularly the Department for Combatting Illicit Trafficking of Cultural Property in the General Directorate for Cultural Heritage and Museums, was consulted during the preparation of the workshop and Melik Ayaz, Deputy Director General of the General Directorate for Cultural Heritage and Museums of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism gave the opening speech at the event. The workshop addressed a wide range of situations that can damage and even obliterate cultural and historical heritage. The increased human-induced threats as well as potential natural hazards were primary points of focus, with several examples from different parts of the world. The primary aim of the workshop was to raise awareness of the problems that museums may face in emergency situations as well as to offer potential solutions.

Two of the lectures concentrated on the importance of heritage-related education for the military. In the first lecture, Peter Stone, UNESCO Chair in Cultural Property Protection

and Peace at Newcastle University, related his own experiences as a government consultant during the invasion of Iraq in 2003 and put the present-day efforts of organisations like Blue Shield in historical perspective. The Blue Shield organisation was created with the aim of raising the profile of cultural-property protection during armed conflict, an issue that had lost the attention of the military and the heritage community since the Second World War. Peter noted that this changed only after the disastrous experiences of recent wars, such as that in Iraq. The lecture illustrated the importance of collaboration between military forces and the heritage community, and the need for organisations like Blue Shield, through which significant progress has been made in recent years.

Brian Rose of the University of Pennsylvania took up the same theme with his lecture entitled ‘Cultural heritage protection training for soldiers’. The talk focused on the Archaeological Institute of America’s programme to provide cultural-heritage protection training to US soldiers active in conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq. The programme trains the soldiers to recognise cultural heritage in its many aspects through a varied approach, ranging from visits to the University of Pennsylvania’s Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, where material culture of the region is on display, to lectures on the appearance of archaeological sites in Afghanistan and Iraq. Brian also discussed archaeological site visits and on-site training of the military undertaken by himself and his team of experts as part of the programme.

Moving on from a focus on military conflicts, representatives of ICCROM and ICOM, two world-wide organisations focused on heritage management and museums, discussed policies and options. Aparna Tandon

highlighted the work and policies of ICCROM (International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property). She is based at the ICCROM headquarters in Rome, where she coordinates ICCROM'S disaster risk-management programme and leads its flagship training on first aid to cultural heritage in times of crisis. Her lecture reflected ICCROM's experiences gathered during the course of ten years of emergency responses – to both natural disasters and armed conflicts – and on-site training. Aparna pleaded the case for the integration of first aid for cultural heritage within overall emergency response and humanitarian programmes.

As Director of Programmes and Partnerships of the International Council of Museums (ICOM), France Desmarais offered a picture of the current state of the fight against the destruction of cultural heritage. She works on emergency preparedness and responses for museums as well as the development of training programmes for museum professionals, ICOM's ethical standards and the international fight against the illicit traffic in cultural goods. In her lecture, she asked what the heritage community and civil society can do to prevent the destruction of heritage by looting and armed conflicts. ICOM collaborates with Blue Shield and founded the first Disaster Relief Task Force for museums, to protect museums and their collections. Important assets in the fight against the illicit trade of cultural heritage are the Red Lists of Cultural Objects at Risk. In addition, ICOM has founded an International Observatory on Illicit Traffic in Cultural Goods.

The focus then shifted to particular case studies of museums and two lectures documented the devastation caused by the armed conflicts in Iraq and Syria. The title of Lamia Al-Gailani Werr's lecture says it all: 'Four wars and the museums in Iraq'. Lamia is based in London, but is originally from Iraq and actually worked in the Baghdad Museum. She returned to Baghdad as a consultant for the Iraqi Ministry of Culture after the looting of 2003–2004. Her lecture showed the total and deliberate destruction of a once magnificent museum as well as the randomness with which the destruction and looting took place. Lamia demonstrated to the audience how even protective vaults proved ultimately to offer no real protection. Sadly, many of the artefacts stolen have not surfaced in the known art markets.

Shaker Al Shbib provided an overview of the equally disastrous situation in Syria with his lecture 'Emergency measures taken to protect museums in Syria during the conflict: Aleppo, Idlib and Maarat Al-Nu'man museums'. As a Syrian archaeologist, he worked for the Syrian Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums until 2011. Since January 2014 he has been working with the Safeguarding the Heritage of Syria and Iraq Project on emergency conservation measures at key Syrian heritage sites at risk. Shaker showed the audience how, since 2011, many of the museums of Syria have been affected by the war through destruction, theft and/or vandalism. He also related how, as a

result, the efforts to protect and save these museums have recently intensified and emphasised the need for museums to be prepared for emergencies through, for example, the development of emergency plans and the education of staff. Finally, ways to protect and secure endangered museums were discussed.

Although museums in Turkey do not face the immediate threat of armed conflict, the lecture by Önder İpek, Director of the Archaeology and Ethnography Museum at Çorum – 'Emergency action plans and education programmes for the protection of cultural heritage at Çorum Museums (Çorum – Alacahöyük – Boğazköy)' – offered a wonderful overview of the programmes in preparation to counter emergency situations at the cultural facilities under his directorship in the Çorum province. The museums here house objects unearthed during numerous excavations over the course of more than a hundred years and the archaeological sites include the UNESCO World Heritage Site of Boğazköy/Hattusa, the capital of the Hittites. The plans take into account the threats of fire, earthquake, sabotage and human conflict, and are supported by other public services and central authorities. As such, lasting and effective precautions, in particular to protect objects held in depot and display contexts, are being introduced. In addition, the museum has set up programmes designed to bring the general public to the museums and educate them about the importance of museums and the heritage they protect.

Last but not least, Zeynep Boz from the Ministry's Department for Combatting Illicit Trafficking of Cultural Property considered 'Recent developments and discussions on prevention of illicit trafficking of cultural property'. Zeynep is currently working on the implementation of the 1970 UNESCO Convention in addition to organising training and awareness-raising programmes. This work contributes to the planning of Turkey's policies on the prevention of illicit trafficking at an international level as well as restitution cases. Zeynep's lecture brought the focus back to the problem of illicit trafficking and looting. She focused on the fact that cultural property and its protection are high-profile topics today, more so than ever before, and are on the agendas of international policy-making bodies. Nevertheless, it should not be forgotten, she stressed, that the socio-political situation at a given place is perhaps as important a 'reason' for looting and illicit trafficking as armed conflict. The present-day world is volatile in terms of its socio-political and economic development, and this translates to increased looting and trafficking. The lecture offered a *status quaestionis* of existing tools used against looting/trafficking in Turkey and in an international context, and examined their appropriateness and effectiveness.

The workshop closed with a panel discussion, during which all speakers discussed options for the future with the audience, with particularly strong participation from museum directors and staff.



## Safeguarding the archaeological assets of Turkey

Lutgarde Vandeput | British Institute at Ankara

doi:10.18866/biaa2017.06

In spring 2017, the British Institute at Ankara was granted a Large Award by the Cultural Protection Fund (CPF). This fund is administered and managed by the British Council (<https://www.britishcouncil.org/arts/culture-development/cultural-protection-fund>), in partnership with the British government's Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport. The Institute will lead a three-year project – 'Safeguarding archaeological assets of Turkey (SARAT)' – in partnership with the International Council of Museums UK, Koç University Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations and Anadolu Kültür (<https://www.britishcouncil.org/arts/culture-development/cultural-protection-fund/projects/safeguarding-archaeological-assets>). SARAT aims to build capacity and raise awareness concerning the safeguarding of archaeological assets in Turkey via case studies in the southeastern provinces, Antalya and Istanbul.

Southeastern Turkey is rich in cultural heritage, ranging in date from prehistoric times through to the present day. The area possesses archaeological remains that represent pivotal stages in human history: from the earliest centres of the Neolithic period (for example Göbeklitepe) through to well-preserved cities of the Roman imperial period (such as Zeugma) and unique Muslim and Christian monuments (including those of Diyarbakır). Southeastern Anatolia is an internationally significant region, which is well represented on the UNESCO World Heritage List and has a number of newly opened venues which house unique and priceless regional archaeological collections.

Istanbul and Antalya each host museums with stunning collections offering overviews of the development of these regions from the earliest periods of human activity up to recent times. Istanbul, itself a UNESCO World Heritage Site, hosts unique remains, ranging from the Alexander Sarcophagus to significant archaeological sites like the early harbour at Yenikapı, for instance. The archaeological museum at Antalya displays stunning statues from the ancient city of Perge as well as Palaeolithic artefacts from the Karain cave. Both cities are major Turkish touristic hubs, and potential emergencies at the museums themselves or the archaeological sites under their auspices might take a variety of forms. It is, therefore, important to prepare these museums and their personnel to deal with emergency situations and to protect them against the threats that affect the whole region. The SARAT project thus consists of three components, each focused on a different aspect of safeguarding archaeological heritage and working with different target groups.

(1) Emergency training for protecting archaeological assets. A first aim of the project is to provide customised training in both risk management and rescue. This five-day

intensive training programme will address the specific needs of eight regional museums in safeguarding archaeological heritage. Training will be based on state-of-the-art international courses, that will be adapted to the particular circumstances of these Turkish museums. These courses will cover essential methodologies of risk and damage assessment in response to a variety of emergencies and will involve discussion of a range of preventive measures that will, in the event of an emergency, simplify damage assessment. This training will result in tangible outcomes for safeguarding local archaeological assets through a practical, hands-on approach. The courses will take place in the museums themselves, but will not involve handling or disturbing in any way the collections held in depots or on display. In addition, emergency training at archaeological sites will form part of the training package.

(2) Secondly, a nationwide survey to map public perceptions of heritage and the value it holds will be undertaken. The questionnaire for the public survey will be prepared following the receipt of feedback from stakeholder meetings which will be held in a number of cities and will be implemented by a polling firm. The results will be evaluated by SARAT team members, in collaboration with an experienced social scientist. This survey will be a first in the country and will fill a major knowledge gap in Turkey to benefit policy makers, academics and heritage professionals.

The region- and province-specific results of this nationwide public survey will inform the development of workshops for heritage professionals and local authorities. The workshops will focus on using heritage assets to build economic and social capacity within communities and will also contribute to increased protection and appreciation of archaeological assets in Turkey. Indeed, the regionally specific data will provide guidance on how best to improve cultural tourism while helping to determine the causes of heritage loss.

(3) Finally, activities to raise awareness about the looting of antiquities and the damage it causes to archaeological heritage will take place, targeting two specific groups: journalists and other members of the media who shape public views and the registered (by the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism) antiquities collectors who might find themselves at the receiving end of the illicit market. Through a series of workshops, seminars and interviews, SARAT plans to discuss these issues and work towards building a critical awareness of cultural heritage and the long-term impact of looting and the illicit trade in antiquities amongst these key groups. SARAT will also establish an 'ask-an-expert' online tool in order to improve the quality and accuracy of archaeology-related media reporting.

The results of these programmes will be put into the service of local communities and cultural workers by contributing to the development of better policies and solutions for safeguarding the archaeological assets of Turkey.

## Living amid the ruins

Işıl Gürsu | British Institute at Ankara

doi:10.18866/biaa2017.07

In December 2016, the British Institute at Ankara launched a new project within its cultural heritage management strategic research initiative, titled ‘Living amid the ruins:

archaeological sites as hubs of sustainable development for local communities in southwest Turkey’ (LAR). The programme is supported by a grant from the British Academy’s Sustainable Development Programme and will run until March 2018. The project concentrates specifically on the ancient region of Pisidia, where the BIAA has a long-held interest (see the following article) and has three aims:

- (1) to investigate the relationships that people living close to archaeological sites have with these places;
- (2) to build capacity by creating social and economic benefits and sustainable growth for – and in dialogue with – local rural communities;
- (3) to intensify the relationship between archaeological sites and the local communities in their vicinity, in order to secure a better future for the cultural heritage itself.

LAR aims to achieve these aims by utilising the newly established long-distance trekking route, the Pisidia Heritage Trail. This 350km-long trail connects a series of archaeological sites that were investigated by archaeologists affiliated with the BIAA – Stephen Mitchell and Lutgarde Vandeput – over the course of almost 30 years (for more information on the trail, see last year’s *Heritage Turkey*; a short video of the trail is available on the BIAA’s YouTube channel: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u8i7JTwt0kw>).

Pisidia is not only rich in terms of archaeological assets; it is also home to beautiful mountain villages where elements of traditional lifestyles have been preserved. However, younger generations are now leaving their villages in search of a better standard of living and, as a result, the population of the region is both decreasing and ageing. Thus, the primary motivation to create the trail was to contribute to the generation of economic benefits for those communities which live in close proximity of these archaeological sites. It is hoped that these benefits will lead to better protection of the sites as well as prompting a reversal of the recent trend to migrate from the villages.

### *Research scope*

During the fieldwork for the construction of the Pisidia Heritage Trail, we spent significant amounts of time in the villages of the region and had the chance to talk at length with people from these settlements. As a consequence of these encounters, two lines of enquiry emerged: to understand the local communities’ approaches to archaeological sites and to map their expectations, if any, from this resource. More insight led to more questions, especially in relation to the assessment of what could be

valuable for these communities versus our own perspectives. Specifically, the definition of social and economic benefits clearly needed more consideration through a series of questions. Which benefits matter most to the local communities? Do economic benefits always outweigh other benefits? Is it possible to define local communities as homogeneous groups?

Thanks to the British Academy funding, it has been possible to appoint a LAR postdoctoral researcher to conduct anthropological and ethnographic fieldwork in order to shed light on the questions posed above. Designed as a multi-sited ethnographic research programme, LAR focuses on the relationships that the local communities of seven villages along the trail have built with the archaeological sites that they live close to: Akkoç (ancient Ariassos), Kovanlık (Döşemeboğazi), Karaot (Sia/Taşdandam), Kocaaliler (Melli), Haspınar, Kozan (Pednelissos) and Altınkaya (Selge).

Following a formal application, ethical permission to conduct research with these local communities was granted by Istanbul University, and anthropological fieldwork started at the beginning of June 2017; at the time of writing this article – November 2017 – it is coming to an end. Three different questionnaires were prepared and employed for the purposes of this research. The first is a standard form that is applied to every respondent (all over 18 years of age). It is structured around nine themes: household demographics; settlement; migration history; economy; agriculture; animal husbandry; forestry; spatial imagination, memory and experiences; and, lastly, ancient ruins, ecology and sustainable development. The second was prepared in order to facilitate the recording of oral history and with the aims of compiling an intangible cultural heritage inventory as well as understanding how the settlements have changed over time. The target group for this form of interview is the elderly residents of the villages. The last questionnaire was prepared as a focus-group form to be applied to young people who had migrated from the villages. It aims to understand what motivated them to migrate and also what conditions are necessary for them to return to their villages. All the data accumulated through these questionnaires are entered into a Statistical Package for the Social Sciences in order to be analysed.

### *Putting research into practice*

The aims of LAR extend to the use of the data that has been accumulated in the course of the anthropological fieldwork. After identifying which benefits matter most to which communities, we will design ways to meet these expectations within our capacity. In this regard, two cases are particularly worth mentioning. The first is the community that lives – literally – amid the ruins of ancient Selge. Since the village is located in an archaeological conservation area as well as a national-park zone, the residents of Selge have only very restricted use of the land. This means that they can not build





The ancient theatre at Selge (photo Ekin Kazan).

any additions to their houses, including something as basic as a toilet. As a consequence, the village itself has become a zone of struggle where resistance against the implementation of land-use rules and regulations is a daily activity. Under these circumstances, the occasional tour bus that arrives at the site represents a source of indispensable income. Many village women surround the tourists and try to sell them souvenirs by employing their best selling techniques. They wait for customers in front of the monumental theatre throughout the day, even when there is no sign of tourists. In Selge, there is both a need and a demand from the local community to expand the economic benefits generated from the archaeological heritage. The local conflicts and the limited options for the use of land impose serious obstacles to the range of solutions that can be proposed. Nonetheless, changing the variety of products for sale – which currently ranges from handmade wooden spoons to cheap plastic souvenirs bought from the market – and the sellers' general approach have been identified as priorities.

For the purpose of crafting possible strategies to help communities like that at Selge to set up their own businesses, we invited Paul Burtenshaw from the Sustainable Preservation Initiative to be a consultant on this project. Paul visited the Institute at the beginning of October and ran a three-day workshop. We are planning to put the ideas generated via this workshop into practice in Selge, and will be applying for funding for this purpose.

To our surprise, our fieldwork demonstrated that in some cases economic benefits are not what villagers expect to get out of the archaeological heritage that lies in their backyards. Karaot, adjacent to the ancient site of Sia, is located in the middle of a dense forest with an almost fairytale-like atmosphere. The interviews with the residents of Karaot have indicated a desire to learn more about the site. They identified their lack of knowledge about the remains as a source of shame. Once we realised that an interest to know more about the site existed, we organised a community day with the archaeologist Stephen Mitchell. During this event we toured the site with the villagers, who asked many questions. Such activities fulfil the third aim of LAR: to

intensify the relationship between archaeological sites and the local communities, in order to secure a better future for the cultural heritage itself. In this particular case, the benefit that the villagers expect from living in close proximity to an archaeological site is to use their site – Sia – as a signifier for their village; they want to be recognised as the village located close to this important archaeological site. Having varied sources of income, the idea of gaining some sort of economic benefit from the site is neither needed nor desired.

#### *Expected impact*

Many experts from different backgrounds are working with the project's principal investigator, Lutgarde Vandeput, and co-investigator, Işıl Gürsu, on this programme, including Nadide Karkiner (postdoctoral researcher, sociologist), Güldem Baykal Büyüksaraç (social anthropologist), Ümit Işın (tourism expert and archaeologist), Gökhan Deniz (botanist), Melike Gül (Director of Antalya Regional Conservation Council) and Paul Burtenshaw (expert in economic development through archaeology). A first workshop bringing together many of these experts, as well as other researchers with similar interests, was organised as part of the LAR project on 5 October 2017. This event, titled 'Archaeology, society and sustainable development', saw a full house at the Institute, where it was hosted. It is hoped it will be the first step towards the production of an edited volume or series of articles.

Besides such academic impacts, the results of LAR's anthropological work is expected to feed into the creation of a new model in which archaeological heritage can be used as a sustainable development tool for rural areas of Turkey. Once the fieldwork elements of the project are completed, we will be able to integrate the results into the on-going Pisidia Heritage Trail project. This will offer the opportunity to see the impact of this academic research on real communities.



Community day at Sia (photo Işıl Gürsu).

## Cultural heritage management in southwestern Asia Minor: on track!

Lutgarde Vandeput | British Institute at Ankara

doi:10.18866/biaa2017.08

Since the beginning of 2013, the British Institute at Ankara has invested in a large-scale heritage management project which has received mosaic-funding from a wide range of private donors, charities and funds; the Headley Trust, in particular, has been a notable sponsor. The project has been developed and managed by Işıl Gürsu, the Institute's cultural heritage management postdoctoral fellow, who has done – and continues to do – a fabulous job. As already reported in previous editions of *Heritage Turkey*, the project has concentrated, on the one hand, on the well-known and well-visited ancient city of Aspendos in the Pamphylian plain and, on the other, on the region of Pisidia, with its many ancient cities tucked away on the high slopes of the Taurus mountains.

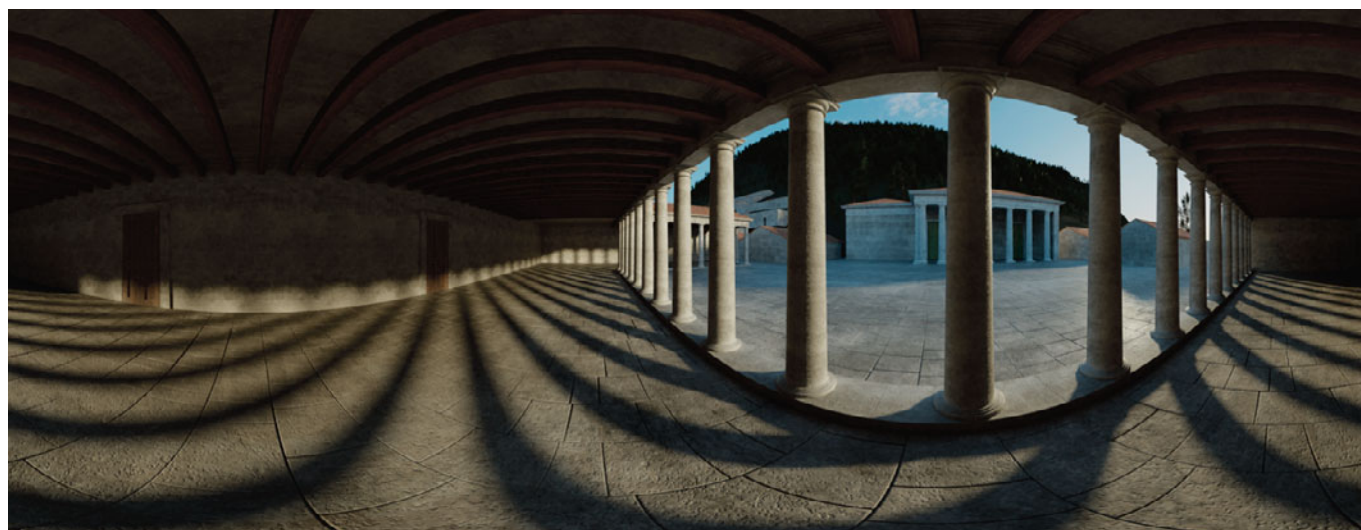
In autumn 2016 and spring 2017, the project team mapped out walking and cycling tracks around the archaeological site of Aspendos. These are part of the second phase of the landscaping project and fit within the principles of eco-tourism. The routes allow natural assets to be highlighted, such as the beautiful Eurymedon river (Köprülü çay). Present-day villages, with their old, picturesque stone houses built on and including ancient elements, are also included on the routes, thus offering opportunities for local communities to benefit from visitors using the paths. Last but not least, the Aspendos aqueduct, ancient stone quarries and other archaeological remains, such as monumental tombs and the architectural remains of ancient farmsteads feature along the tracks. The Aspendos excavation project has now taken on the responsibility of the tracks and will work with the Antalya Regional Council for Conservation of Cultural Assets (Koruma Kurulu) to implement improvements.

Most energy and attention, however, has been spent finalising the trekking route through the Pisidian Taurus mountains. Most of the track, linking nine individual routes,

amounting to a total length of ca 350km and connecting 12 archaeological sites, had already been established over the course of the last few years (see, also, previous article), but a few missing 'links' were required, and these were created through short, intensive visits during 2017. All the GPS points of different values (archaeological sites, campsites, accommodation, viewpoints, water sources, etc.) were carefully controlled and readied to upload to the application that will be available once the route 'goes live'. The app and the accompanying guidebook should allow visitors to the trail to navigate their way without problems; we deliberately opted for minimal interference on the ground.

In addition, Işıl took several people connected to the BIAA to walk some of the most spectacular stretches of the heritage route (see cover photo). They also starred in a promotional film for the trail shot by a professional film crew! The film is available at the BIAA YouTube channel: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u8i7JTwt0kw>. Further Pisidia Heritage Trail content is available on the YouTube channel. Several videos feature Stephen Mitchell and me talking about the archaeological sites and placing the remains in context. You can find these videos, which bring the stones to life, on the web by searching for 'Pisidia Heritage Trail'.

Much other work aimed at bringing the stones to life is under way. Specifically, content is being created for the 3D virtual-reality application noted above. Based on the detailed knowledge of the archaeological sites accumulated through many years of survey conducted in the region, mostly under the auspices of the BIAA, real-time 3D images and videos are being created by Simon Young and his team at Lithodomos VR (<https://lithodomosvr.com/>). The app will be available for downloading and the guidebook will contain special glasses to be used in conjunction with smartphones. At specific spots on several archaeological sites along the trail, these glasses will allow visitors to enjoy the same views as those seen by our ancient ancestors. As a taster, the image below brings to life the agora of Pednelissos, provided you have your glasses on!





## MIGRATION, MINORITIES & REGIONAL IDENTITIES

Turkey and the Black Sea region are located between various geographical areas such as the Caucasus, Central Asia, the Middle East and Europe. Their location perforce constitutes them as a physical bridge and traditionally pitted them at the crossroads between different historical forces and empires. This was as much a feature in prehistoric as in historical and contemporary times when trans-boundary migration remains an important domestic and international concern. The interplay between these diverse historical forces and migratory patterns has been a significant factor in shaping the region's domestic and social make-up over time. It has played an important role in forming cultural identities at individual, regional, national and supra-national levels. Simultaneously, in relation to migrant communities, these processes have also influenced the neighbouring areas around Turkey and the Black Sea region. This strategic research initiative aims to promote research interests across different academic disciplines that relate to the themes of migration in Turkey and the Black Sea region.

### Forgotten borderlands: Guria and Adjara survey project

E.E. Intagliata | University of Edinburgh

D. Naskidashvili | Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

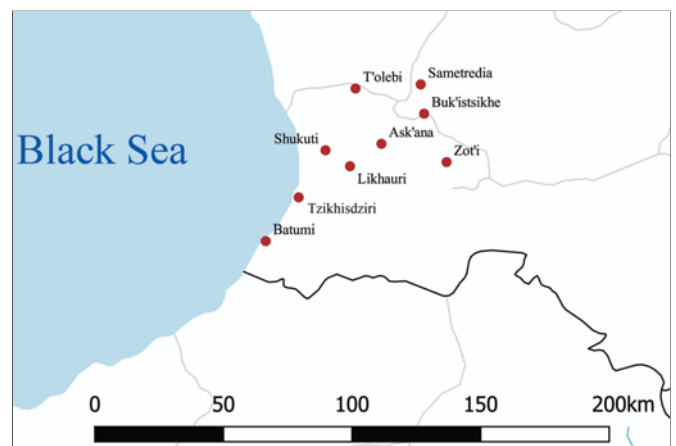
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Ancient Lazica, modern-day western Georgia, enjoys a strategic location that made it a much sought-after borderland in the sixth century, controlling mountain passes through the Caucasus and direct access to the Black Sea coast. The region, a Byzantine vassal state after AD 522, was torn by a protracted war between the Byzantines and the Persians from AD 541. This was a war of position, dominated by the necessity, on the one hand, to secure fortified locations and, on the other, to maintain positive diplomatic relations with the local Lazi. The war ended in AD 562, when the Persians recognised Lazica as a Byzantine protectorate. Numerous forts are reported by written sources, including Procopius and Agathias, to have been restored or constructed anew by Justinian on this occasion.

The scope of this survey project is to contribute to the understanding of the frontier defensive system of Lazica by examining the standing remains of nine forts situated in the provinces of Guria and Adjara. The existence of this cluster of sites suggests that the control of the routes to eastern Pontus from Lazica might have been considered of crucial strategic importance. Without such protection, cities along the relatively accessible coastal route of the southern Black Sea, such as Trapezus (modern Trabzon), would have been left exposed to attacks from Lazica. This year, the fieldwork consisted of the documentation of standing structures, the collection of brick and mortar samples, drone photography and the planning of sites or isolated structures. Most of the work focused on Tzikhisdziri, a site situated close to the village of Kobuleti and some 17.5km to the north of Batumi as the crow flies.

Tzikhisdziri has been the subject of excavations and is considered by many the most likely candidate for Procopius' Petra. It is sited on two hills, one of which, the citadel, displays imposing fortification remains. The citadel includes a church, a bath complex, a warehouse and cisterns. The remains on the second, smaller hill to the south have been almost completely obliterated by the construction of a modern restaurant, now abandoned. The two hills are connected by a double wall that protects the access to the sea at ground level. The surroundings of the site have been affected by modern construction works, including the building of a sea wall, a railway and a road.

This year, the structural study of the fortification works at Tzikhisdziri focused on three features of the enceinte, namely the northern gate and two wall sections. The remaining parts of the fortification circuit have been the subject of heavy restorations in recent times that have considerably altered their structure. The examination of the gate has revealed a complex palimpsest of building techniques, and it was built in at least five different stages





3D rendering of the site of Tzikhisdziri. 1 = gate; 2 = walls linking the two hills; 3 = wall from later phase.

(no. 1 on the figure above). These include the addition of a second fortification wall and the construction of a vantage court possibly flanked by two rectangular towers, which are now faintly visible on the ground. The section linking the two hills consists of two walls, one of which has a wall-walk supported by brick arches, constructed with a homogeneous building technique (no. 2). The third wall examined appears to be the product of a later phase of the site and includes reused bricks and blocks of mortar spoliated from pre-existing buildings (no. 3). Mortar and brick samples have been collected for thin-section, XRD and chemical analyses from these wall sections and other structures at the site, including the narthex of the church, the bath complex and a cistern. They will be processed in 2018 to shed more light on the relative chronology and construction techniques of Tzikhisdziri.

A similar methodology has been applied to a selection of other sites, including T'olebi and Ask'ana, where the standing structures have been documented; unfortunately pottery surface collection could not be conducted due to high vegetation cover. Although the autoptic analysis of the building techniques confirms the construction of these sites in different phases, without pottery studies or scientific analyses, a late antique dating can not be pinpointed at this early stage of the project.

The sites of Vashnari and Moedani, situated 16km to the southwest of Lanchkhuti and 4.5km to the northeast of Ozurgeti respectively, do not have any standing fortification remains, but they have been selected as case studies for this project due to their archaeological potential. At Vashnari, the standing wall of the apse of the church, which shows a characteristic building technique of bands of bricks alternated with stone courses, has been documented, and its bricks and mortar have been sampled. At Moedani, where a pottery surface collection was conducted, our attention was attracted by a brick stamp bearing the letters LEG and now on display at the Archaeological Museum of Lanchkhuti. The numerous brick types identified at Moedani in the course of our survey, one of which is strikingly similar to a fourth- to fifth-century type with finger impressions found at Shukhuti,

might suggest a long occupational history of the site. Data gathered during our fieldwork have been complemented by those from the showcases and depots of the archaeological museums of Lanchkhuti and Ozurgeti.

As far as wider, regionally focused studies are concerned, all data have been collated into a Geographical Information System (GIS) platform for easy consultation and several computer-generated analyses (viewshed analyses and least-cost path analyses) have been carried out in order to understand better the relations between the sites visited. The acquisition of CORONA satellite images has proved particularly useful in identifying changes in the settings of these sites. Tzikhisdziri, for example, appears to have been slightly affected by coastal erosion since 1968, the year when the CORONA picture was taken.

The survey, which aims to continue next year, has revealed the archaeological potential of the provinces of Guria and Adjara to shed more light on the frontier defensive system of ancient Lazica and late antique military architecture. The lacunose state of the archaeological record for several of these sites is objectively an important, but not insurmountable, obstacle to our understanding of much wider research questions, namely how the frontier tactics in Lazica compare to those of other borderlands in which a Justinianic intervention is better known.



Drone photograph of the remains of T'olebi.

#### *Acknowledgements*

Many colleagues and friends have contributed with their help and ideas to the success of the survey this year, including A. Kakhidze and his team, who kindly hosted us at the archaeological base of Pichvnari, and V. Licheli, N. Inaishvili, M. Mzhavanadze, L. Aslamishvili, Gela Sadradze and the personnel of the Lanchkhuti, Chochatauri, Ozurgeti, Kobuleti and Batumi archaeological museums. The Georgian-Polish and Georgian-British archaeological teams at, respectively, Gonio/Apsaros and Nokalakevi/Archaeopolis welcomed us with open arms during our visits to these sites. The Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport of Adjara kindly allowed us to export mortar and charcoal samples from Georgia. Our field assistants this year were Shio Simsive and Marta Ravizza. To all of them goes our deepest gratitude.



## Ottoman archaeology in Bulgaria: current research and future prospects

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Previous issues of *Heritage Turkey* (2015 and 2016) have reported on the BIAA-funded initiative to investigate Bulgaria's Ottoman heritage. The recent third season of fieldwork, research and other activities, which took place in 2017, has enabled significant connections to be made with Bulgarian archaeologists and Ottoman historians, and saw continuing documentation of the Ottoman remains throughout the country. The activities of this current phase of the project can be divided into three parts: (1) a workshop on Ottoman archaeology held at the University of Sofia as part of the International Conference on Ottoman Social and Economic History (ICOSEH); (2) continuing documentation of and research into Ottoman cities in Bulgaria; and (3) preparations for the archaeological excavation of an Ottoman site in the country.

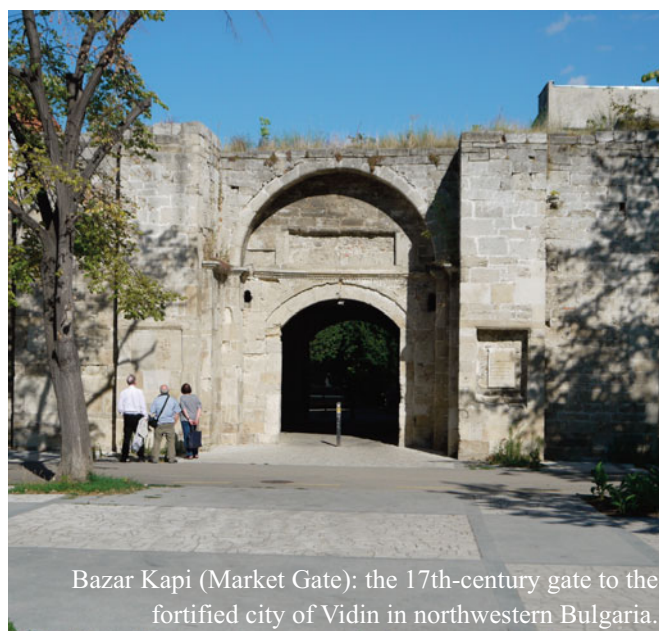
The July workshop for specialists in Ottoman archaeology was well attended both by archaeologists and Ottoman historians. The majority of the papers presented were focused on some aspect of the material culture of the Balkans, with contributions on Romania, Serbia, Greece, Bulgaria and Austria. Subjects discussed included inscriptions, settlement types, pottery and ceramic petrography as well as architecture and identity. We were fortunate to be able to include a paper by Machiel Kiel, the pioneering specialist of Ottoman material culture of the Balkans. In addition to attending the presentation of papers, participants in the archaeology workshop made a number of field trips to Ottoman sites, including a visit to Berkovitsa, which was until recently a prominent ceramic production centre. As a result of the workshop, the ICOSEH committee decided to incorporate archaeology as part of its activities, with another workshop scheduled for the next meeting in 2020. ICOSEH has also agreed to support the publication of the proceedings of the workshop, which will be augmented by additional papers covering Macedonia and Albania.

During this past year we have been able to visit a number of important and interesting urban sites, including the iron production centre of Samokov, the village of Uzundzhovo which contains the remains of an unsuccessful Ottoman new-town and the fortress city of Vidin on the Danube. The town of Samokov (the Slavic term for the 'giant hammer' used in iron production) is located 25km south of Sofia at an altitude of 950m in the Rila mountains. Despite some references to possible earlier settlement, it appears to have been a new-town founded by the Ottomans in the 15th century specifically to provide iron both for their weapons and other purposes. Uzundzhovo ('long field') is located on the main east-west road (Via Ignatia) 5km north of the city centre of the older settlement of Haskovo. The large mosque and

caravanserai in the village were built to form the nucleus of a new urban settlement located next to the site of a roadside market which had developed under the Ottomans. However, the lack of an adequate water supply meant that the settlement never developed beyond the size of a small village, leaving Haskovo as the main settlement in the area. Apart from its large size, the mosque is notable because it contains a graffito by the famous Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi. Investigation of the standing remains of Vidin indicates that, although there was an important Roman and medieval settlement on the site, the majority of the urban fortifications, most of the fortress walls and many of the buildings in the old city were built by the Ottomans in the 16th and 17th centuries. The town walls are particularly important as a rare example of 17th-century Ottoman fortification, indicating increased adaptation to the use of firearms.

During the course of the fieldwork and workshop we were able to continue discussions on the prospect of initiating the excavation of an Ottoman site. The proposed excavation will be founded on a partnership between the University of Sofia 'St Kliment Ohridski' and the Balkan Heritage Foundation. The aim of the excavation will be, firstly, to investigate the origins of Ottoman towns in Bulgaria, paying particular attention to the relationship with pre-existing medieval and Byzantine urban centres. Secondly, the excavation aims to provide Bulgarian participants with a more positive and inclusive view of the Ottoman past, one that can be seen as indigenous rather than alien. Further visits will be made to Bulgaria over the coming months to make a final site selection and also to make preparations for the commencement of excavations.

For interested readers, the results of the first phase of the project have recently been published in volume 4 of the *Journal of Islamic Archaeology*.



Bazar Kapi (Market Gate): the 17th-century gate to the fortified city of Vidin in northwestern Bulgaria.



## Football in Turkey

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In the run-up to the April 2017 referendum in Turkey, a vote on whether to change from a parliamentary to a presidential system of government, President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan described the opposition with a particular footballing metaphor: ‘All the matches that they go out to play they lose’, he said. ‘They’ve lost seven before ... Hopefully this time they’ll take the message’. In the event, ‘Yes’ came to win with 51.4% of the vote, in a victory that was clouded by disputes over the ballots. The response of the head of the Republican People’s Party, Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, to a last-minute alteration to the regulations about ballot counting by the Supreme Election Board was also cast in footballing terms: ‘you cannot change the rules of a match while the match is being played’. And Erdoğan’s response to the narrowness of the victory? ‘It doesn’t matter if you win 1–0 or 5–0, a win’s a win.’

Anyone who spends even the shortest period of time in Turkey quickly comes to realise the importance of football. Even those with no interest in the game cannot escape its influence – from the traffic grinding to a halt in Istanbul on match days, to the hours of television given over to grizzled ex-professionals talking about Galatasaray’s title chances. Football is everywhere in Turkey, bound up in all manner of social, political and economic practices. Given its ubiquity, it is all the more surprising that it has been a relatively neglected area of research in the social sciences.

As an anthropologist, my methods involve spending as much time as possible with those I seek to learn more about: the fans. I have spent close to a decade of my academic career conducting ethnographic fieldwork on Turkish football, in ever expanding circles. I began with my Master’s research, which centred on the Beşiktaş fan group, Çarşı, known for its leftist-anarchist politics and exposed how it had been affected by the increasing commodification and wealth of Turkish football. I found that the group walks an uneasy tightrope – criticising certain aspects of commercialisation and free-market capitalism whilst also harnessing those same forces to grow the group and build its stature. My PhD centred on the Turkish-speaking diaspora in Europe. I explored the ways in which football enables people of Turkish descent to express a connection to a heritage (real or imagined), free from the baggage of religious or political ideas. I focused in particular on the technologies – from internet forums to cheap flights – that have enabled this sub-culture of diaspora fan clubs to grow in recent years.

Most recently, I have spent the last two years researching and writing a book on football in Turkey more broadly. While maintaining a strong interest in the fans, I have also expanded my focus to explore questions of history, culture and politics. I have criss-crossed the country, speaking to and

witnessing people involved in football – from the vice-president of Fenerbahçe to the many thousands of people toiling away on parks and pitches across the country. The process has been invigorating, challenging and eye-opening. The following observations are some of the most striking that I have come away with.

### *History*

Football arrived in Turkey at the end of the Ottoman period. Its three biggest clubs today – Beşiktaş, Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray, all Istanbul-based – were founded at the turn of the 20th century, and came of age during a critical time in the formation of the nation. Turkish historians have frequently sucked football into a nationalist historiography, whereby the games become proxy-nationalist battles of Turks against foreigners (English, French) or non-Muslim minorities (Greek Orthodox, Jewish, Armenian). This narrative culminates in Fenerbahçe beating an occupation team of English soldiers 2–1 in June 1923 for the Harington Cup, which, as the Fenerbahçe Museum states, was ‘a match of Turk’s [sic] pride’.

Whilst a nationalist dynamic is an unescapable facet of the late Ottoman and early Republican period, football was more cosmopolitan and fluid than the dominant narratives allow. And, until the 1930s, the game remained an elite sport – its ‘Turkish’ players often sharing the same ideals of amateurism, gentlemanliness and physical and mental development as the ‘foreigners’ who first brought and played the game. Many people in Turkey can tell you that Galatasaray were the first champions of the Turkish league. Fewer can name their starting 11: Ahmet Robinson, Milo Bakiz, Hasan, Horace Armitage, Fuad Husnu, Idris, Kiril Steryo, Celal Ibrahim, Highton, Emin Bülent, Bekir; the side was a mix of Turks, Greeks, Armenians and other foreigners.

### *Politics*

Football in Turkey is undoubtedly political. The most clear way that this link is drawn is through the participation of football fans in the Gezi Park demonstrations of 2013. Sparked by the proposed demolition of Gezi Park in central Istanbul but quickly mushrooming into broad anti-government demonstrations, the protests saw fans of the Big Three Istanbul teams – Beşiktaş, Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe – put aside their enmity to protest together.

But the politicisation of the game goes well beyond this. Football in Turkey has undergone rapid and profound commercialisation over the past two decades. The legal framework governing stadium management and policing has been overhauled, ostensibly to improve safety but also as part of a project to change the profile of those attending live games and to make the enterprise more profitable. Football is intimately part of the business model that has powered the economy under the governance of the Justice and Development Party (AKP). Over the past nine years, Turkey

has built the most new stadiums of any country in the world, save the USA. It is, in part, a dimension of the restless transformation of Turkish cities. But there are also questions about the awarding of contracts, the sale of land, of corruption and cronyism. On top of all this, football has also been dragged into the battle between the government and the Gülen movement, whose followers in the judiciary and police were accused of targeting Fenerbahçe in a 2011 match-fixing scandal.

### *Masculinity*

Playing and watching football in Turkey – as in most countries – is seen predominately as a male pastime. This perception obscures the active involvement of women, both as supporters and players. Nevertheless, it is indisputable that football in Turkey is a male-centric domain. Indeed, football is frequently seen as bolstering the macho image of the ‘typical Turkish male’. On the terraces, there is an image of the rowdy, boisterous fan, prone to violence. I can confirm there is some truth to the stereotype – fights frequently break out between rival sets of fans, between fans and the police, and even between fans of the same side. On the pitch, many of Turkish football’s role models do not exactly dispel the image. Fatih Terim, Turkey’s most famous coach, had to resign as the national team manager in July 2017 for getting into a brawl with a restaurant owner who he accused of insulting his family; Arda Turan – Turkey’s most famous player, an attacking midfielder at Barcelona – attacked a journalist during a flight with the national team. The attitudes and actions of players and fans alike in Turkey reveal a strong paternalistic, patriarchal streak, combined with a willingness to take the law into their own hands. But there are exceptions. Take, for instance, Halil İbrahim Dinçdağ, a referee from Trabzon who came out as gay in 2009, and has since become a spokesperson for LGBT rights and a more inclusive footballing atmosphere. There are many men and women working in women’s football trying to break the cultural perception that football is a man’s sport and should be played and watched by men.

### *Turkey and the world*

Finally, football is a valuable lens for examining Turkey’s relations with the outside world. The foreign policy of President Erdoğan’s AKP is frequently described as ‘neo-Ottoman’ – pivoting away from Europe and the West, and towards the Middle East. Analyses that the West is ‘losing’ Turkey seem reinforced by a moribund EU accession process and the deterioration in relations with the US. But switch to the football pitch and we see that Turkey has been a member of UEFA – the official body that organises the game in Europe – since the 1950s. Hundreds of European players play in Turkey. Football is arguably the one area of cultural activity that has been unambiguously connected to Europe – and will be for the foreseeable future. Perhaps the most important tie between Turkey and Europe is the Turkish diaspora that continues to bind the two regions together. Here too, football offers an illustration. Many of the seemingly ‘Turkish’ players in the Süper Lig starting line-ups were born and raised in Europe. Take, for instance, the Beşiktaş side that won the league in 2016. On the surface, the side was a balance of Turkish and overseas stars. Foreigners like Ricardo Quaresma (Portuguese), Atiba Hutchinson (Canadian) and Mario Gomez (German) took their place in a starting 11 containing Turkish players such as Olcay Şahan, Gökhan Tore, Cenk Tosun and Oğuzhan Özyakup. Except, none of those ‘local’ players was born in Turkey. In total, of 11 ‘Turks’ in the squad, only five were born in Turkey.

In the book, I endeavour to show that football in Turkey is too large and diverse a game to be neatly assigned to just one narrative of the nation’s development or place in the world. For every example that presents the game as a divisive force, there is another that shows it to be a unifying factor. For each eruption of chauvinistic masculine behaviour or racist nationalism, there is another example of cooperation and friendship between people from different backgrounds. It is football’s multifaceted nature and wide-ranging appeal that make it such an endlessly rich source of analysis. Even those who think they hate football may be surprised by how much they can learn from Turkey’s favourite game.

John McManus’ book,  
*Welcome to Hell? In Search of the Real Turkish Football*,  
is published by Orion Books in April 2018





## CLIMATE CHANGES & THE ENVIRONMENT

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

### **Pleistocene environments of the Gediz valley: stable isotope signatures from travertines**

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With T. Demir, T. Veldkamp, S. Aytaç and R. Scaife

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Over the past 16 years, with the support of the British Institute at Ankara, we have established a reliable stratigraphy/chronology for the Gediz river terrace sequence (Gediz Valley Formation) that has yielded valuable insight into Pleistocene environmental changes (see, for example, Veldkamp et al. 2015; Maddy et al. 2017) and provided some context for early hominin dispersal in western Asia (Maddy

et al. 2015). However, fluvial archives are not the only source of palaeoenvironmental data in the Gediz valley. Extensive outcrops of travertine appear at varying altitudes above the current river, each marking a former position of emergent sub-surface water. Within the Gediz valley north of Kula, there are extensive exposures of fissure travertines, mounds and cascades. Their altitudinal positions relate to former springs that emerged along fault lines exhumed at progressively lower altitudes as the river incised in response to regional uplift during the Quaternary. This close connection with river-valley incision allows the stratigraphy of the fluvial sequence to provide stratigraphical control on travertine deposition.



Travertine deposits beneath lavas on the İbrahimpaşa plateau. Inset shows drilling at the location marked by the white dot on the aerial photograph (the backdrop orthophoto was produced as part of our UAV-based aerial mapping programme).



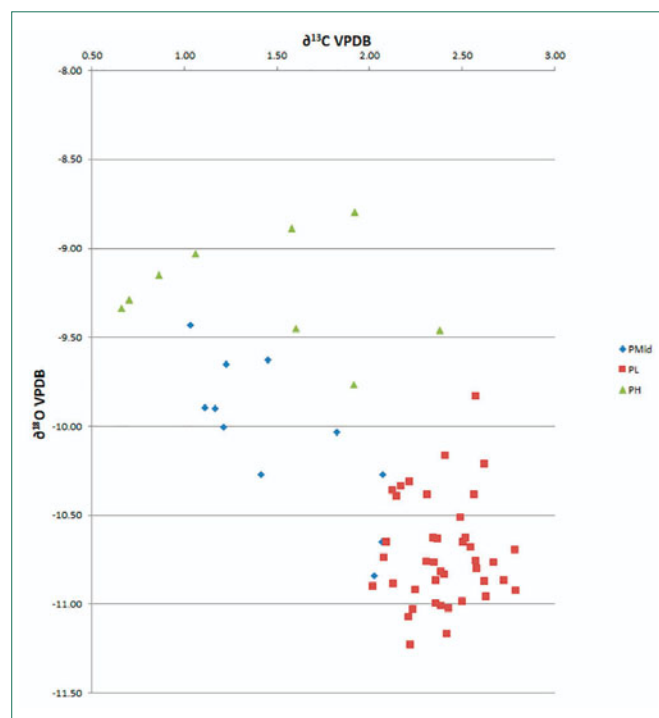
The aim of our latest BIAA-funded project is to decipher palaeoenvironmental signatures from the stable isotope chemistry of the Gediz valley travertines. Our objectives include the establishment of the distribution, morphology and internal structure of travertine deposits. This will involve detailed survey/mapping of travertine outcrops (using UAV-based methods) together with detailed description of the sedimentary architecture. We also aim to establish the sequence of stable isotope changes during travertine precipitation (in association with Ian Boomer of the University of Birmingham). Stable isotope changes could reflect meteoric water changes (cold-water travertines) or more deep-routed source changes (hot water). Either way, the results will provide significant palaeoenvironmental proxy data and insight into travertine formation. Furthermore, we intend to place travertine formation within a reliable chronological framework via correlation with our existing geochronological control on the Gediz terrace sequence.

During this, our first field season, we rapidly surveyed and sampled travertine deposits across the whole field area. An initial batch of 105 samples (including samples from the underlying Miocene carbonates) were drilled and brought back to the UK. These samples are now with Dr Boomer, awaiting measurement. These data should allow us to focus on a limited number of localities for more detailed sampling and analysis next year. These specific targets will be mapped at high resolution (using aerial survey and possibly LiDAR survey) and sampled for additional isotope analyses aimed at extracting the most informative environmental proxy signals.

We are optimistic that the data will be informative as we have previously investigated one such travertine mound close to Palankaya, but we did not develop that single-site study further. Only our recent fieldwork has revealed the true extent of travertine deposition in our field area, reigniting our interest. The figure above-right shows the range of values measured from the Palankaya mound. The  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values indicate that this travertine is thermogenic; that is, it was deposited by a hot-water spring (Pentecost 2005). This is not unexpected given the likely timing of this deposition shortly after a phase of early Pleistocene volcanism.

However, there are systematic shifts in stable isotope content up through the profile with both  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  values becoming progressively lighter. These shifts reflect either changing water temperature or changing source waters. This could reflect either progressive increases in the input of meteoric (rain) isotopically lighter water after volcanism ceased or, more likely, changing environments, for example from flowing water directly from the vent to standing water in pools behind travertine curtains on the mound itself as it grows progressively higher.

As we gain greater insight into these processes as the new data arrives, we hope to make more meaningful



Stable isotope record from Palankaya. PL = samples from lower section; PMid = samples from middle section; PH = samples from highest section.

interpretations. We also remain confident that some sampled outcrops represent meteoric sources, thus potentially recording changing atmospheric precipitation and temperature during the period of time represented by their deposition.

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## Woodland use and agricultural economies in Anatolia

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The main aim of my current research project is to provide – through the collection of new data – comparative perspectives on the nature and development of late Neolithic/early Chalcolithic woodland use and agricultural practices in Mediterranean Anatolia. The British Institute at Ankara study grant awarded to support this work has enabled the preliminary analysis of charred plant remains from the late Neolithic/Chalcolithic site of Aktopraklık (Bursa) in the southern Marmara region, excavated by Necmi Karul of Istanbul University, and the Holocene deposits excavated at the Karain and Suluin caves by Harun Taşkıran of Ankara University. During the summer 2017 field season I spent time at both sites selecting archaeobotanical samples for analysis and overseeing the processing of flotation samples.

Both the Marmara region and the southern Mediterranean coast of Anatolia figure prominently in current debates concerning the spread of agriculture across the Mediterranean regions of Anatolia (for example Horejs et al. 2015; Hofmanová et al. 2016). This work aims to characterise crop choice and cultivation practices, and the use and management of wild-plant resources; it will also provide comparative data against which botanical assemblages from Neolithic sites in central Anatolia can be assessed (Fairbairn et al. 2007; Bogaard et al. 2017). Such evaluations will help trace the specific pathways (for example population movement, selective adoption and/or ‘acculturation’) through which agricultural economies spread into the Mediterranean biomes of Anatolia. Studying the nature of wild-plant use (especially wild-fruit and nut collection and woodland management practices) will also enable relevant questions of continuity of occupation and familiarity with the local landscapes to be addressed. Initially, analysis will focus on reconstructing the changing nature and use of oak and almond woodlands through time. Previously published preliminary anthracological analyses of material from Aktopraklık have indicated the presence of deciduous and evergreen oaks (Schroedter, Nelle 2015). Detailed analyses of archaeobotanical remains from late Palaeolithic horizons at Öküzini and Karain have also shown that both almonds and oaks were managed by the inhabitants of these sites (Martinoli 2004). The present project will undertake a detailed wood anatomical study of oak and almond charcoals which will be integrated with the analysis of the charred seed and nutshell remains from Aktopraklık, Karain and Suluin.

My doctoral research (completed in 2015), on anthracological remains from prehistoric habitation sites on the Konya plain of central Anatolia dated between ca 16000 and 6500 cal. BP, sought to reconstruct long-term shifts in woodland ecology and use (Kabukcu 2017a; 2017b). This research provided the first body of empirical evidence

demonstrating Neolithic woodland management practices akin to coppicing. Furthermore, the characterisation of almond wood anatomy demonstrated that wild almond growth conditions improved considerably during the early Holocene, likely resulting from management practices. Building on these results, my current project will transfer the analytical methods applied to central Anatolian assemblages to Mediterranean Anatolian sites, thus providing for the first time the opportunity to obtain a more holistic understanding of people-plant interactions during this important period for the spread of agricultural economies from Anatolia into Europe.

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## Bringing together stakeholders to identify major urban problems in Rize

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*We are about to launch a new project entitled ‘RIZE 2053: What kind of city do we want to live in?’. We know that 37 years, from 2016 to 2053, is quite a long time interval for urban planning. However, we want to introduce a new understanding to urban development and our desire is to create a change in the ongoing practices by letting all stakeholders construct this long-term process from the initial stage to the end. It took me quite a long time to write this project proposal, mostly due to my lack of knowledge in this field. I am also struggling to convince most of the internal staff to collaborate on this project. I would be grateful if we can integrate your research into our project and benefit from your experiences in this field (Coordinator of the RIZE 2053 Project, the Municipality of Rize).*

This is an extract from a conversation I had with an architect when I was conducting a set of in-depth interviews with municipal actors, with the aim of exploring the socio-political challenges of climate-responsive urban development in the city of Rize. The intersection of my research and the municipality’s intention of developing a ‘2053 urban development vision’ for the city led to the organisation of a participatory analysis workshop, which, in turn, has triggered the start of a new participatory planning process in the municipality.

Since the beginning of the 1990s, Turkey has been oriented towards sustainable development, conservation and environmental protection through participation and collaboration via many agreements and international reports.

Examples include the report of the World Commission on Environment and Development, *Our Common Future*, which linked cities to sustainability for the first time (WCED 1987), the European Union’s Green Paper on the urban environment (Commission of the European Communities 1990) and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development’s *Environmental Policies for Cities in the 1990s* (OECD Urban Affairs Group 1990). All fields of the Turkish national system have certainly taken their share from these notions affecting the global discourse. Planning policies have quickly embraced the notion of sustainability through participation; however, only a few authorities have adopted it in practice.

The current urban development system in Turkey represents a mechanical process mostly based on technical determinism (i.e. planning based on zoning) that underestimates the significance of the variations in different localities across the country (i.e. climatic factors, local values and socio-ecological concerns). Only a few municipalities, such as that of Rize in the Black Sea region, clearly intend to break this conventional planning approach by seeking alternative approaches that could generate truly sustainable urban living settings. However, although there is the intention at the municipal level, a lack of human resources and also a lack of knowledge in terms of the methods and techniques required to achieve this change stand as major challenges in the current climate.

In the Rize case, following the aim of bringing stakeholders together to construct a ‘city vision’ for 2053, representatives of the municipality invited me to embed my research in their planning agenda so as to implement the recommendations derived from my research findings. In collaboration with the municipality staff and senior academic advisors, a long-term participatory process design was proposed to the municipality. The process is composed of six major steps: (1) understand the existing problem areas and



Rize is a coastal town built on a narrow strip of flat land between the mountains and the Black Sea.



the potential solutions; (2) conduct scientific research and data collection on the identified problem areas; (3) define the 'city vision' for 2053; (4) determine strategies to achieve the identified vision; (5) define projects and action steps; and (6) confirm the commitment of actors to take action.

The first step of this participatory planning process was co-organised by the British Institute at Ankara and the Rize municipality, with generous funding from the BIAA. In order to understand the existing problems in the city, a participatory workshop, that brought together all stakeholders onto a shared platform, was organised. The workshop was hosted by the Rize Commodity Exchange Office on 13 May 2017.

Ten parallel focus groups were conducted involving 108 participants representing different stakeholder groups, such as local authorities (for example district municipalities, special provincial administrations), central authorities (for example the Ministry of Urbanisation), local technical staff (i.e. planners, architects and engineers), academics, non-governmental organisations, political parties and members of the county council and professional organisations.

The workshop aimed first to explore the local values that differentiate Rize from other cities at both the regional and national scales (i.e. climate, geography) and then to understand the problems prompted by these specific circumstances. It was concluded that the major unique values that differentiate Rize from other cities are its geomorphologic structure, topography and local climatic conditions. Rize has developed on a narrow strip of flat land between the mountains and the Black Sea. The limited availability of land and its sloping nature towards the skirts of the mountains are significant challenges in terms of urban development. In addition, Rize has a wet and humid climate that leads to climate-related challenges for the city.

The second stage of the workshop was designed to elaborate these problems, not only in terms of the physical development of the city but also from socio-cultural and economic perspectives. Focus-group studies revealed that the most commonly mentioned problematic areas are clustered around three major themes. The first relates to urbanisation issues such as vertical housing types (i.e. high-rise apartment blocks) which don't respond to the local/traditional urban fabric, devastate green spaces and natural areas, and prompt climate-driven problems caused by inappropriate urban development. The second problem area defined by participants focuses on more human-related issues such as individualism among citizens, a lack of collaborative working skills, limited education and a lack of qualified service workers for different sectors such as tourism and industry. The last problem area was identified as tea-plant production in Rize. Tea-plant production presents a number of challenges for the city, such as a continuous reduction in its economic benefit due to the division of land between inheritors, a dissociation of people from tea production and soil failure.



No doubt, these three major problem areas are defined with reference to the participants' professional knowledge and individual experiences. Although this locally generated knowledge carries a great deal of significance, it is essential to harmonise these findings with scientific research and analyses concentrating on the identified problem areas. Therefore, the second stage of the proposed participatory process will continue with scientific and statistical research on three main issues, namely: (1) urbanisation; (2) human-related issues; and (3) tea production.

Success in these types of participatory decision-making processes, as A. Ataov concludes (2007), depends on three major factors: (1) the presence of an institutional structure that allows participation; (2) an active citizenship; and (3) management of the participatory planning process in line with democratic principles. The first two factors emerge and continuously evolve naturally in historical processes. However, the third factor requires a level of awareness and knowledge of participatory methods and techniques.

The willingness of the municipality to collaborate with the BIAA and to accept support in order to produce knowledge in a collective way, clearly confirm its desire to change the current robust planning system that has been implemented for many years in the city. To ensure that the project outcomes will be translated truly into the next planning phases, the municipal team plans to conduct a series of feedback meetings in which the shared knowledge will be re-evaluated and reformulated before taking action.

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## HABITAT AND SETTLEMENT

### IN PREHISTORIC, HISTORIC AND CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES

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

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

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With Andrew Fairbairn and Gökhan Mustafaoglu

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

In 2017 work on site took place in Area P, Area M and a new sector, Area R. In Area P we are investigating a structure, Building 21, with the intention of learning more about the domestic activities undertaken in Boncuklu houses and the deployment of ritual and symbolism within them. In Area M we are investigating open areas between buildings as well as a sequence of buildings that does not appear to be composed of standard domestic houses. We also aim to dig a sounding here, down to natural and through what is likely to be the full sequence of the site. In Area R we are investigating a distinctive anomaly revealed during earlier geophysical survey, carried out in 2015 by Kelsey Lowe and Aaron Fogel; magnetometry suggests there may be a larger than normal building here. In addition to excavation work and sample processing, we continued to experiment with use of the tablet-based recording system for direct data collection on site developed by Field Acquired Information Management Systems (FAIMS). We also continued to develop the experimental archaeology programme and the visitor centre, including hosting a community open day. This report will, however, focus on the household archaeology.

This year we worked on two buildings that seem to be variants of the typical Boncuklu residential structures: Building 21 in Area P and Building 24 in Area M. All buildings showed evidence of ritual practice and symbolic elaboration.

The excavation of Building 21 has allowed us to investigate the use of the kitchen areas of the Boncuklu buildings, which we refer to as 'dirty' areas. These kitchen spaces saw repeated patching of floors with much greater frequency than elsewhere on the main, 'clean' floor areas. For example, this year we excavated eight patches in sequence in just the southwestern part of this kitchen space. Some of these ran up to a narrow linear depression separating the hearth area from the rest of the dirty area, forming an early boundary to the hearth area. This linear u-profile cut was then packed with plaster into which had been set a series of stakes, indicated by 20 stakeholes in a double line. The linear gully and its plaster fill further evidence the use of regular wooden structures around the main hearths of these buildings.

In addition, we were able to explore further the ritual practices observed in these buildings. In the southwestern corner of the building, cut from the earliest floor of the clean area reached to date, was a burial cut, Grave 54. We have exposed an articulated adult burial and an accompanying child burial in this grave. The child was buried on the southern side of the cut, slightly overlying the adult (that is, it had been placed after the adult). We have also discovered parts of a second adult individual directly underlying the first, including at least parts of two legs. Further work will be needed next year to confirm whether more of this third individual remains in the grave. The use of multiple, more or less synchronous, burials is now established as a common feature, both inside houses and externally, at Boncuklu and clearly emphasises how the close personal relationships of the Boncuklu inhabitants were expressed in mortuary practices.





Building 21.

We found further evidence relating to cache pits and ritual deposits in postholes and pits around the edge of the floors of Building 21. This year we found an emptied cache pit, cut by a burial for a perinatal individual. An animal figurine was excavated from a late posthole in 2015 which dates to the end of the use-life of the structure. Conservation of this figurine this year has allowed us to see that this is not a simple zoomorphic form, but has elements of human anatomy as well. This is presumably some sort of ‘mythical’ creature or a symbolic representation of a spirit animal, and thus provides intriguing insight into Neolithic beliefs.

In Area M we are excavating the western edge of a probable residential structure (Building 24) in the western deep sounding. This building had a hearth, remodelled twice, with a line of stakeholes along its western edge, as seen in other buildings. Nevertheless, some of the earliest floors we have reached in these ‘dirty’ areas, or adjacent to them, show extensive areas of red paint. This was notably the case in one feature which had a thick marl plaster plug. The first two to three floors overlying it and the floor preceding it were painted both orange and red. It is exceptional to find red painted areas within a northwestern, ‘dirty’ kitchen area; indeed, this feature may have been at the edge of the dirty floor area. Given the repetitive nature of red painting in this area, it seems that the usual categorisations of space as appropriate for symbolic practices could be modified in a systematic way, in particular circumstances. The excavation of the plaster plug this year revealed the presence of disarticulated human bone within it, extending the range of mortuary practices seen at the site and within its buildings.

In the northern part of Area M we have been excavating structures with particularly silty, coarse, plaster floors that must have been roofed, but seem to have had flimsier walls and non-standard sets of fixtures within them. The earliest such building in this area has been labelled Space (rather than ‘Building’) 22 because only floors, and not walls, were found defining its perimeter; the walls were probably removed in the course of later activity in this area. Excavation of these structures has revealed a notable density of pits and floors

with dense layers of phytoliths (silicified plant cells), showing they were covered with reeds. The northwestern part of Space 22 seems to have had a series of burnt floors, relating to repeated burning events in this part of the structure, cut through by a small pit. In total, we have excavated at least 16 successive surfaces in the eastern part of Space 22 and there were 18 contemporary burnt floors in the northwestern sector.

These features all suggest that large wooden posts, frequent fire installations and small storage pits were regular features of these buildings, which were probably kitchen and/or work buildings. It is interesting to consider whether such buildings served several households or only one.

In the new excavation sector, Area R, several Early Bronze Age and Byzantine or later pits were noted. The latest Neolithic archaeology consists of a series of midden deposits with dense concentrations of large animal bones filling a depression in a mass of structural debris overlying plaster floors. These confirm the presence of a building or buildings in this area, as indicated by the previous magnetometry survey. At the moment, it is unclear whether the evidence represents one large building or a series of superimposed smaller buildings, slightly overlapping each other in a sequence, as seen elsewhere on the site. If it represents a larger building, this could be a grander version of our standard domestic habitation structures or, alternatively, it might be some form of public or communal building, as seen at other early Neolithic sites. We will continue to investigate these possibilities – which have exciting implications for our understanding of Neolithic society – in future seasons.

As noted above, 2017 also saw continued development of the public engagement and heritage programme at Boncuklu. Throughout the season a steady stream of visitors came to the site, including local community members and both Turkish and foreign tourists, many of whom were combining a visit to Boncuklu with one to Çatalhöyük; this, of course, is especially appropriate given the continuities between the two sites and the importance of Boncuklu for understanding the archaeology of Çatalhöyük. Continued development of the experimental area and houses has added further to the visitor experience. We ran a formal open day in September which saw over 50 people from our local village of Hayroğlu and surrounding areas come to the site and take part in a range of activities. Finally, funding from the University of Liverpool covered the cost of printing a large batch of interpretative children’s booklets in Turkish and English for distribution to visitors and local families.

#### *Acknowledgements*

We thank our 2017 sponsors and funders: British Institute at Ankara; University of Liverpool; University of Queensland; Wainwright Fund, Oxford; Institute of Field Research. We would also like to thank the Directorate General, the Director of Konya Museums, Yusuf Benli, and our Ministry representative, Ertan Yılmaz, for constant support.

## Ending 25 years of fieldwork at Çatalhöyük

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This year, our last excavating at Çatalhöyük, the main aim was to reach the base of the mound in the South Area. We had reached the base in 1999 but found only extensive areas of midden. So we had still, after 25 years of work, not seen the earliest buildings at the site, those contemporary with the early midden. In order to find them, I thought we should excavate closer to the centre of the mound and we had a chance to do that below Building 17 (an early building in James Mellaart's Shrine 10 sequence) and below Building 43 next to it. So excavations began at the start of May and continued to 1 July (followed by two months of post-excavation work).

The results were interesting but somewhat disappointing. Beneath Building 17 we did not find an earlier building, but graves dug into the top of penning deposits and midden. The different buildings in the Shrine 10 sequence always had a lot of burials; this column of buildings is made up of what we can call 'history houses' – long-lived houses with many rebuilds and burials. So it is fascinating that an area of midden was used for burial before the Shrine 10 sequence was started.

Building 17 had been built directly on the penning and midden, and these same deposits went under the walls and beneath adjacent Building 162, above which we had excavated Buildings 161 and 160, all beneath Building 43. So this sequence of buildings (162-161-160-43) was again built on midden. Buildings 162 and 17 are the earliest buildings we have excavated, and it is of great interest that they seem to be the 'wrong' way round. In most dwellings at the site, the oven and hearth with associated 'dirty' floors are to the south with burial platforms to the north. In Building 162 and Building 17 ovens were found to the north and the 'clean' floors to the south. This latter arrangement is also what is found at the earlier site of Boncuklu (see pages 25–26).

Interesting as all this is, it was clear that we still had not found the earliest houses at the site; we had again just found metres of midden and dump at the base of the mound. All this suggests that the earliest buildings in the South Area might be in quite a small area or dispersed. We halted the excavations of the early midden as we had dug the same midden extensively in 1999. This change of plan allowed us to concentrate on excavations in the North Area that proved very productive. Interestingly, we found a similar pattern to that in Building 17 in the excavation of the deposits below Building 77. The building (Building 132) prior to Building 77 had collapsed and been abandoned with some midden deposition within its decaying walls. The area was used as a cemetery before Building 77 was built, and the burial area in Building 77 was placed exactly over the earlier cemetery. So once again it seems that an important house was built over earlier graves. It is almost as if the primary purpose of the house is for the dead rather than for the living!



In the foreground, the midden deposits below Building 17 and Building 162 are being excavated.

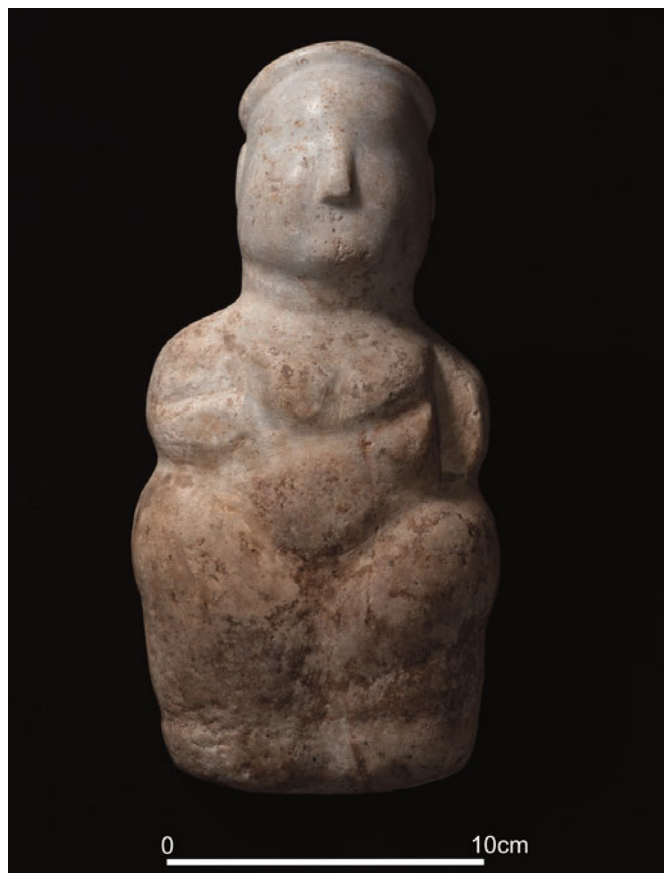
Below Building 77 we excavated Building 132 which was very large and solid but which had suffered from extensive wall collapse. As is often the case in these early buildings (also seen in Buildings 17 and 162), the platform and floor segments are less well-defined than in later buildings. Building 132 was no exception, and several burials were discovered and an extensive 'dirty' area near the hearths and ovens (this time the 'right' way round). Beneath Building 132 we came across an open area made of a smooth clay surface over layers of midden. There was evidence of informal structures in these open areas, and much the same was found in a neighbouring set of middens (beneath Space 85). In the latter case, many firespots and a small structure or windbreak indicated extensive use, even though many of the midden layers were quite fresh and must have been quickly covered. Indeed, the overall cycle of use of open spaces seems to have involved throwing out small lenses of refuse including organic material and then covering this with ash and clay to create work surfaces. The term 'open space' may in the end be more appropriate than 'midden', although these open spaces were less frequently used than is implied by Mellaart's term 'courtyard'.

Immediately to the north of Building 77, we excavated the very large and extensively burned Building 131. This had a number of extremely well-preserved burials including wooden bowls, brain tissue and other organic remains, which were preserved by being baked beneath the floor as the building burned. In one of the burials we discovered an obsidian mirror with white plaster backing. These finds are very rare. It is thus fascinating that the building directly above Building 131 also had mirrors placed in burials, and in exactly the same location within the house. This is a clear example of memory- or history-making, of which there are many examples at Çatalhöyük. Perhaps related was a very large and exceptional cache of unused obsidian points, dug into the burned fill of the western side room.



Beneath Building 131 we started the excavation of Building 139 with the aim of placing it on display after the end of the project. We got down to the floor of the building and found at the base of the fill several plaster features that have the shape of bucrania, in one case with traces of painting. Evidence of painting proves to be much more widespread than we had earlier thought, and in 2017 we also found evidence for geometric designs on the walls of Building 17.

Given the change in strategy in the South Area we were also able to return to the excavation of Building 52 in the North Area. We have excavated this long sequence of building activities over many years and it was important to finish the excavation of the building, understand its sequence of builds and rebuilds, and briefly explore the two buildings beneath it.



Stone figurine found in a late building in the TPC Area.

The later levels of the site were again excavated in the TPC Area by a team led by Arek Marciniak. Links were made between these late levels and the top of the sequence in the South Area so that we now have a stratigraphic sequence from the bottom to the top of the mound in the South Area. Once linked with the new dating programme, being spearheaded by Alex Bayliss, we will soon have unprecedented chronological control of the overall sequence. A number of buildings were excavated by the Polish team, and in one there was a remarkable deposit of special objects including a large stone figurine (see photo above).



Reconstructed painting and bull horns in Building 80.

This is the fourth stone figurine found in this building and the collection also illustrates the point that these well-formed representations of females are largely confined to the later levels of occupation at the site.

An important addition to the visitor facilities at the site has been the construction and furnishing of four new experimental houses, one based on the 'Vulture Shrine', another on the 'Hunting Shrine', one on Building 77 and a composite building showing bucrania, horned bench, pairs of leopard reliefs and a bear relief (see photo above).

It was in many ways a tough season at Çatalhöyük, with all the extra work of packing up at the end of 25 years, all the goodbyes and memories, and all the pressure of getting work finished at the end of a long season. I am deeply grateful to the team who have come together as a summer 'family' every year and produced such wonderful work. In particular, this year I wish to thank Bilge Küçükdoğan and Levent Özer for their management and commitment, and Marek Baranski, Burcu Tung, James Taylor and Arek Klimowicz for their on-site and project direction. Enver Akgün acted as a stimulating *temsilci*, and I am as ever grateful to our main funders and sponsors including the John Templeton Foundation, Yapı Kredi, Boeing, Koçtaş and Shell. I am particularly grateful to the staff of the British Institute at Ankara for their long-term support of our work.



The last excavation team at Çatalhöyük.



## Radical burial practice in the Uruk collapse

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The archaeological site of Başur Höyük sits aside the Başur river, a tributary of the Tigris, forming a large tell on the river bank containing the remains of 7,000 years of human activity. An international team led by Haluk Sağlamtimur of Ege University has been excavating at the site in advance of the construction of the Ilisu dam; this has been a vast effort that has revealed traces of occupation from the Ubaid period to the medieval in terms of the pottery, stone tools and other cultural materials recovered. Başur hovers on the northern edges of the Mesopotamian sphere of influence, the heartland of the world's first cities, states and empires; systematic excavation has demonstrated that this corner of the Tigris region had longstanding ties to the 'Cradle of Civilization' identified further south. In the fourth millennium BC, Başur was clearly in contact with the southern Mesopotamian culture that appears throughout the wider region. The pottery and material culture of the pre-eminent Mesopotamian city of the time – Uruk – appears at Başur, including the ubiquitous 'bevel-rimmed bowls' that are the calling card of the southern city. Like many sites, Başur experienced a decline at the end of the fourth millennium. However, it is what came next at Başur that makes the site so interesting, and the finds from the 2014–2015 seasons have been the focus of very exciting recent research.



The site of Başur Höyük.

In 2014, a series of impressive stone tombs was identified, cut into the earlier Uruk fortifications. These were identified as Early Bronze Age, from the tumultuous period after the collapse of Uruk influence. A wealth of bronze, ceramic and bead offerings was found in the tombs. In 2015, however, an even more interesting discovery was excavated: a large mass-burial pit containing the remains of around 50 individuals. The physical anthropology team is now working to put together the story of these startling graves found at Başur Höyük. Laboratory analysis has begun at Ege University in order to identify the dead by using clues from bones and teeth to determine who was buried there – men, women and/or children – and forensic techniques to look for subtle signs of trauma or disease in the skeletons uncovered. Modern photogrammetric 3D methods are also being used to reconstruct the mass grave, in order to calculate how many individuals were buried there and how they were interred. The mystery of how nearly 50 people came to be buried together some 5,000 years ago on the banks of the Başur river is slowly being uncovered by the utilisation of a combination of forensic, archaeological and advanced digital-recording techniques.



The mass grave at Başur Höyük.

## The first field season of the Konya Regional Archaeological Survey Project

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The Konya Regional Archaeological Survey Project (KRASP), initiated in 2016, is a six-year joint project of the universities of Oxford and Bilecik, focused on the Çumra and Karatay districts (Konya). Our study area encompasses the BIAA-sponsored excavations at Pınarbaşı, Boncuklu and Çatalhöyük. The British Institute at Ankara has also supported the first two phases of KRASP. The first included a study of legacy survey materials collected by James Mellaart, David French and Ian Todd, among others. Phase 2 of KRASP – fieldwork – was initiated in summer 2017, on the eastern margin of our study area.

We have set out to achieve a number of goals with these legacy and fieldwork elements. Many of them align with *longue durée* approaches to archaeological landscapes, including the production of a diachronic outline of human-environment interactions in different ecological niches and a related (diachronic) assessment of the formation of archaeological landscapes. KRASP is also interested in how and why, and with what consequences, networks of communication formed within and beyond the landscapes of the Konya plain. This might, for example, have been mediated by networks of production and exchange, mobility related to (pastoral) transhumance or political consolidation, or a combination of these. The last aim of KRASP is different from the others because it is concerned with the ‘archaeological present’. This is, similarly, a study of landscapes, but develops ethnographic methodologies to understand how people living in the KRASP study area today relate to the archaeological landscapes they inhabit.

The Konya plain has attracted numerous regional surveys over the past 60+ years, including those of Douglas Baird, Sachihiro Omura, Hasan Bahar, Semih Güneri, David French, Ian Todd and James Mellaart. Invariably, previous research has focused on the cultivated areas of the Çarşamba river delta and has prioritised high-visibility settlement mound sites. KRASP’s fieldwork area straddles this well-trodden landscape and includes the higher elevation and more arid zones of the steppe and highlands – or ‘the margin’. Our fieldwork is focused on a ca 2,000km<sup>2</sup> region that extends east, southeast and northeast of the Çarşamba alluvial fan, encompassing the eastern edge of the cultivated zone, the arch of the Bozdağlar mountains and the steppe zone that separates the two.

There are several reasons why the margin appeals to us. First, by defining discrete ecological niches we can begin to address environmentally mediated human activity and the relationship between the margin and other ecozones in different periods. Palaeoenvironmental reconstructions are

requisite for this aspect of KRASP. More broadly, by recording non-mounded settlement sites, fortified hilltops, religious buildings, quarries, rock monuments, cave shelters, temporary/pastoral encampments and mortuary monuments, KRASP is examining both historically contingent settlement in the margin and the economic, political and ideological motivations to interact with these landscapes. The margin also offers a window onto some of the earliest human activity on the Konya plain, evidence for which has been deeply buried under the alluvium.

KRASP was initiated in 2016 with detailed analyses of legacy materials collected by BIAA-based surveys, as well as an assessment of all relevant (published) research on the Konya plain. The BIAA legacy material comprises mostly prehistoric pottery dating from the Neolithic through to the Iron Age. Study of this corpus, including typological/chronological, geo-chemical (p-XRF) and spatial analyses, forms an essential component of KRASP’s holistic study. Work on the legacy material has been essential both in creating the chronological framework for KRASP and also for defining the spatial extent of our regional analysis. We are developing a multi-scalar analytical strategy in a study that encompasses the whole of the Konya plain. The legacy material is helping to define the largest geographical scale of our project, within which the data and results from our more focused fieldwork in the eastern margin can be ‘nested’. Within this framework we have created a digital database and a Geographical Information System (GIS) platform to collect and locate data from all known archaeological sites on the Konya plain.

The two largest and most consequential research outcomes from the first phase of KRASP are (1) the visualisation and analysis of settlement patterns and networks of production and exchange from the Neolithic to the Iron Age and (2) an understanding of how the archaeological landscape of the Konya plain has evolved from the initiation of the BIAA-based surveys (the 1950s) to the present, in particular as a consequence of recent human impacts on archaeological landscapes. This work is ongoing, and is being integrated with the results of the fieldwork.

Many of our fieldwork methodologies were pioneered in the surveys led by Douglas Baird in a region adjacent to the west of the KRASP fieldwork area. Our site detection strategies include analyses of satellite imagery, topographic maps and 5m-resolution digital elevation models, and extensive (car-based) and intensive (pedestrian) on-the-ground survey methods. We also rely on local knowledge to identify archaeological sites that are otherwise invisible to the techniques above. In addition to surveying the landscape, we are recording monuments, inscriptions and standing architecture with highlight-reflectance transformation imaging and 3D scanning, and through the creation of digital plans with D-GPS. These surveying and recording methodologies will continue to be used in future field seasons.





An Iron Age watchtower near the village of Adakale.

In the course of our three-week field season we recorded 57 archaeological sites; just over half are new discoveries. In addition to mounded settlements in the alluvium, we investigated a wide range of site types in the margin, including flat settlements, mortuary monuments (mostly tumuli and rock-cut tombs), an inscribed rock monument, fortified hilltops, quarries, rock shelters, concentrations of Roman/Byzantine spolia and pottery scatters. Although detailed material studies are ongoing, we are ready to make a few general observations.

Some of the most interesting results come from the interface between the cultivated area and the uplands. For example, we discovered several multi-period sites (mounds, rock shelters and slope sites) that yielded evidence for early Holocene activity, as well as later Bronze Age, Iron Age and medieval. Whether or not evidence from these later periods represents traces of mobile pastoral groups remains to be seen, but we are intrigued by the late medieval/early modern animal pens that were sometimes associated with them. The uplands also revealed a string of fortified hilltops, ranging from small watchtowers to large garrisons with extensive lower settlements. Whilst the latest phases of the fortifications are in most cases Iron Age or Hellenistic, many of them yielded evidence for Middle and/or Late Bronze Age occupation. Their location along an upland rim, flanking routes of communication into and out of the eastern Konya plain, appears linked to the territorial dynamics of early state polities. During the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the uplands were a focus for highly visible funerary monuments, including tumuli on ridges as well as rock-cut graves on mountain slopes. Medieval and pre-modern activities on the margin include the construction of small hilltop chapels, large terrace-agriculture systems and numerous stone-lined animal pens.

We have also investigated the reuse or spoliation of Roman and late antique monuments, aligning with our study of the 'archaeological present' of the Konya plain. We recorded a wide range of spoliation, ranging from the prosaic use of architectural elements in construction projects or sarcophagi as water troughs, to more ideologically significant

appropriations, in cemetery contexts in particular. Different architectural and sculptural elements from at least one late antique church are used as gravestones in the cemetery at İsmil. From the cemetery at Adakale, an inscribed late antique sarcophagus lid is used as part of a *musallah taşı* (the table used to display the deceased before interment).

KRASP has been systematically recording the impact of modern human activity on archaeological sites on the Konya plain via satellite imagery, assessments of earlier publications and our own fieldwork. Approximately 90% of the sites that we recorded in 2017 had been impacted by looting, agriculture, roadwork, irrigation and/or construction. Approximately 40 of these had been looted, with impacts ranging from single robber pits to massive trenches dug with mechanised excavators. We are committed to understanding this activity as part of the complex archaeological palimpsest of the area, and are particularly interested in the economy and ideology of looting, and how looting, evidently, forms part of the everyday fabric of these farming communities.

In 2018 we plan to develop both our palaeoenvironmental and ethnographic sub-projects. Building on the palaeo-environmental methodologies and data of previous work on the Konya plain, we plan to initiate a programme of geological coring and palynology and isotope analyses. Additional palaeoenvironmental work is needed to fill large gaps in our understanding of this region, particularly of the later (mid to late Holocene) sequence. We aim to create a high-resolution chronological framework of changes in the climate, hydrology and vegetation cover on the Konya plain, and to relate these results to the broadest settlement patterns in the region. We also plan to begin a formal ethnographic study in 2018. Ultimately, we hope to understand how the people who inhabit this landscape relate to archaeology and could potentially benefit from it in a non-destructive way. Lastly, we plan to record oral histories on traditional agricultural and pastoral industries, production technologies and social memories of archaeological landscapes, and relate these qualitative data to our broadest understanding of the archaeology of the Konya plain.



A sarcophagus spoliated from a grave and reused as a water trough in a garden in Adakale.

## Panormos 2017: intensive survey on the Milesian peninsula

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The western coast of Turkey has been subject to relatively little intensive archaeological investigation compared to similar landscapes on the other side of the Aegean and certain Greek islands (with the notable exception of surveys around Urla on the Çeşme peninsula: for example Ersoy, Koparal 2008). One explanation for this is the different national traditions which dominate the western and eastern Aegean spheres, despite the similarity of the topography, climate and cultural history on each side. Examples set by the holistic approach of the University of Minnesota Messenia Expedition and Southern Argolid Project have promoted landscape survey in Greece. In Turkey, where scholarship is still sometimes dominated by the classical schools, especially along the Aegean coast, survey remains sometimes regarded as a secondary, less prestigious activity compared to excavation. Fortunately, attitudes and methods are changing. With a pilot started in 2015, the Project Panormos survey is the first to apply intensive pedestrian survey methods to the western Milesian landscape.

The background to this project lies in rescue excavations undertaken between 2012 and 2014 in a collaboration between the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (DAI) Istanbul and the local Milet Museum near modern Mavişehir (Didim/Aydın), which revealed a densely occupied necropolis dating to the seventh century BC. As a so-far unique example of southern Ionian burial practices for the Archaic Greek era, the finds and distribution of burials from the necropolis raised many questions about the occupants' relationship with the local area and the wider Mediterranean world. Were these local residents or visitors to the international oracular Sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma? Where was the settlement associated with the harbour town of Panormos, known to be the port of entry for Didyma? How big was the necropolis and how did the Panormos region relate to the wider Milesian landscape? Although Hans Lohmann and a team from the Miletos Excavation Project created an archaeological map of the peninsula in the 1990s (for example Lohmann 1999), the area around Mavişehir was not explored in detail as part of this work. Additionally, the extensive strategy of that survey, while forming an essential starting point for the recognition of finds from periods of occupation, did not provide any quantitative idea of the density of occupation at different times over the last 5,000–6,000 years, nor did it reveal apparently unoccupied areas or those where the landscape may be masking remains due to geomorphological change. For this reason, it was decided to pilot an intensive survey around the Panormos necropolis in 2015, again under the aegis of the DAI and the Milet Museum.

Intensive fieldwalking is now a well-established method for landscape research, especially in the Aegean. The basic principle is to divide up the study area into discrete areas or 'tracts', which are then walked by small teams of archaeologists (normally of around five to six people), spaced regularly (for example 10–15m) apart. All archaeological finds visible on the surface are counted or recorded and some finds may be collected and examined in more detail. Tracts can be defined in any number of ways (for example a single field can be one tract), but the Project Panormos survey tracts were predefined using a GPS-based grid for speed, and all data were collected digitally so that they could be released relatively quickly as part of the project's 'open science' pilot (Strupler, Wilkinson 2017).

Gleaning archaeologically significant results from fields and backyards was challenging in a region that has suffered from extensive building development due to modern Didim's popularity as a tourist destination and place to buy holiday homes for Turkish citizens and foreigners alike. Nonetheless, the final distribution map of finds from 2015 confirms the potential of the methodology, even in this relatively highly populated region. The area covered in 2015 revealed finds from the Bronze Age to the Ottoman era, but with very high numbers of Archaic and Roman ceramics, including an extremely high-density cluster dating to the Archaic period along the road between Panormos and ancient Didyma; also of note was a series of small farmsteads, which are apparently Roman in date.

The ubiquity of Archaic and Roman finds is striking when compared to the low count of prehistoric finds. This is despite the fact that only 2.5km to the northwest of the necropolis lies the Bronze Age harbour settlement of Tavşan Adası, which was excavated between 2006 and 2014 by a German team led by F. Bertemes from Halle University, as part of the Didyma Excavation Project. Given that Tavşan Adası seems to be the site of the Bronze Age predecessor to the later port of Panormos, the relationship between the two areas is apparently critical to understanding the changing configuration of the landscape. Moreover, little is known about the hinterland of Tavşan Adası. Geological studies have shown that this island would have been a small peninsula connected to the mainland during the Bronze Age. Tavşan Adası itself seems to have been strongly connected to the 'Minoan' world during the early second millennium BC (the late Middle Bronze Age?), with pottery styles, architecture and occasional seal evidence all echoing remains found on Crete, as is the case at nearby or similar coastal sites such as Iasos (Momigliano et al. 2012) and Miletos itself (Raymond 2009). Considerable academic discourse has been devoted to the significance and 'depth' of this Minoan *koiné*. Do these sites represent imposed Cretan colonies of some kind? To what extent were 'local' populations involved in a process of adoption of or contribution to a wider southern Aegean 'minoanisation'? Only by examining the





View over the Panormos harbour area: a mixed urban-agricultural-marginal landscape, typical of those walked during the survey (photo Toby Wilkinson, Project Panormos).

wider landscape, especially the extent and nature of contemporary occupation over the rest of the peninsula, as has been done in places such as Kythera (Broodbank, Kiriatzi 2007), can we hope to delineate the superficiality or depth of Minoan-ness along the Anatolian coast.

The primary aim of the 2017 season was thus to examine the little understood prehistoric occupation of this part of the peninsula, with intensive fieldwalking focused on the immediate hinterland to the east of Tavşan Adası and the area down to that walked in 2015. What a difference a couple of kilometres make! To our excitement, pre-first-millennium finds were much more numerous. There were small clusters of Minoan-style conical cup fragments in the hinterland area, suggesting that occupation of the landscape during this era was more widespread than hitherto realised. In a marginal area covered by macquis-type vegetation, a number of small obsidian-blade scatters were also encountered. Though they have not yet been examined in detail for date or origin, initial impressions suggest they relate to the similar Early Bronze Age finds from Tavşan Adası itself. Along with very sporadic obsidian finds documented in the 1970s by H. Gebel (1984; the exact find locations have unfortunately been lost), a picture of more intensive prehistoric occupation, perhaps obscured by subsequent geomorphological change and agricultural exploitation, is beginning to emerge. Unexpectedly, an apparently in situ whole Early Bronze Age (EBA) vessel was also identified from a hillside in the southern part of the 2017 survey area. The distribution of other EBA finds from the same area suggests that there may have been an EBA settlement or necropolis in this area. Finally, negative evidence from the intensive strategy has offered some important insights about landscape dynamics: the valley bottoms of two small streams flowing into the Panormos harbour were almost completely devoid of surface

archaeological finds. This suggests that these areas have experienced a considerable degree of alluviation or colluviation, and that soil in this area could be obscuring earlier land surfaces. Parts of these valleys may even have filled former small enclaves of the sea, which could have been used as harbour areas. The work highlights the need for geomorphological work to understand the changing topography of the peninsula.

Besides the daily enjoyment of fieldwalking (meeting interested and generous locals, climbing to see the magnificent views of the Grion, Akron and Mykale mountains, as well as the nearby Greek islands, or running quickly away from the less-welcoming canine population), walking day-by-day over a small area and seeing the extent of building construction across the whole peninsula reminded us of the urgency of survey work in the context of such rapid tourist development.

Funding for the work in 2017 was provided by the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research at Cambridge, the British Institute at Ankara and the Gerald Averay Wainwright Fund, Oxford; we are very grateful for their support. We are also very grateful to the DAI Istanbul and to Helga Bumke and Aylin Tanrıöver of the Didyma Excavation Project for the use of the project's house as a base, to Fatma Sipahioğlu, our *temsilci* for 2017, the Turkish Ministry of Culture and the students who joined the team and contributed so energetically to the work.

More information about the project is available on the project website: <http://www.projectpanormos.com/>

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## **Sinop Kale Excavations 2017: Hellenistic fortifications and handmade pottery**

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In the summer of 2017 the third season of the Sinop Kale Excavations Project took place, with continued excavations in the heart of ancient Sinope, on the Black Sea coast of Turkey. Fieldwork also included a programme of environmental sampling, analysis of the handmade pottery and survey of our study area. This project, directed by Owen Doonan (California State University Northridge), builds on more than a decade of survey and environmental research conducted by the Sinop Regional Archaeological Project. Its aim is to investigate the nature of pre-Greek settlement as well as the early Greek settlement and its later development.

The University of Sheffield contingent is supported by funding from the British Institute at Ankara. In 2017 it included Jane Rempel and Sue Sherratt from the Department of Archaeology, as well as colleague Colin Merrony and recent graduate Nick Groat, who worked alongside an international team including Associate Director Alexander Bauer (Queens University New York), Assistant Director Emine Sökmen (Hitit University), Field Director Andrew Goldman (Gonzaga University) and staff and students from both American and Turkish universities. Project funding, in addition to that provided by the BIAA, comes from the National Geographic Society, the National Endowment for the Humanities, CSU Northridge, Queens College and Gonzaga University. An overview of the results of the 2015 and 2016 seasons can be found in Doonan et al. 2017.

The 2017 field season included continued excavation in the northwestern area of the Sinop Kale in order to clarify and resolve the stratigraphic sequence, which provides evidence for a series of occupation events from at least the Iron Age through to the late Hellenistic period, as well as at the Byzantine curtain wall that was constructed along the western face of the main Kale fortifications. In addition, specialist recording and studies of the environmental, faunal and ceramic materials from all three seasons of excavation were undertaken. In particular, the Sheffield team continued the studies of the Hellenistic fortification wall and the handmade pottery assemblages that were begun in 2016 (see last year's *Heritage Turkey*).

The Hellenistic fortifications are the earliest part of the monumental stone walls that form the Sinop Kale, or fortress, and represent the best-surviving fortifications in northern Asia Minor and the Black Sea region from this period (Crow 2014: 38–39). This early wall was fundamental in defining the urban space of the ancient Greek settlement of Sinope and linking the community to broader Black Sea and Anatolian networks of emerging polities. Nonetheless, this wall is understudied and its relationship to specific historical events and the ancient topography of the city are unclear.

Strabo, around the beginning of the common era, called ancient Sinope 'the beautifully walled city' (12.3.11). The Hellenistic wall that he describes ran as a curtain wall northwest to southeast across the neck of the Boztepe peninsula: over 300m of stone masonry with up to six towers. This line of wall still survives today, albeit with later Roman, Byzantine, Seljuk and Ottoman additions which make up the Sinop Kale.

The Hellenistic section of the Kale's fortifications is not only the best-preserved example in the region from this period but it also represents a key avenue for understanding the topography and political relationships of Sinope during the Hellenistic period. Two key areas of understanding about the fortifications of ancient Sinope are lacking, however: (1) the chronology of its earliest fortifications, which informs Sinope's role in, and relationship to, Black Sea and Anatolian networks in the politically volatile Hellenistic period and (2) the ways in which the original stone-built walls both defended and framed the early settlement of Sinope, which lies at the very heart of the definition of urban space in the early settlement.

Although the earliest section of Sinop Kale broadly conforms to expectations of ancient Greek fortifications from the Hellenistic period, with its isodomic masonry and square towers, the earliest surviving wall has been traditionally associated with the period when Sinope was capital of the Pontic Kingdom (a state that emerged in Anatolia in the wake of the conquests of Alexander the Great), and specifically with the reigns of one of two kings: Pharnakes I (second century BC) or Mithridates VI (first century BC) (Bryer, Winfield 1985: 70, 76–77; Doonan 2004, 76; Crow 2014: 39).

During the 2017 field season, Jane Rempel conducted a preliminary study of the excavated material from the foundation trench of this wall, with a focus on diagnostic imported pottery. This study suggests that the foundation trench contained no material later than the third century BC and the wall is likely to have been constructed earlier than had previously been assumed. In this case, the formidable statement made by the fortification wall was part of the definition of Sinope and those who controlled it during an earlier, formative period of the Pontic Kingdom when Sinope maintained its independence. This early fortification wall may well be better understood in the context of the broader investment in larger-scale stone fortifications that can be seen in other Greek cities on the western and northern coasts of the Black Sea in the late fourth and third centuries BC.

Further study of the material from the foundation trench, as well as a detailed study of the stratigraphic sequence and architectural morphology of the wall, will be needed in order to verify and nuance these conclusions. A valuable first step towards the latter was also accomplished in 2017, with a topographic survey of the study area of the Sinop Kale Excavations Project – including the section of the Hellenistic wall within it – conducted by Colin Merrony.



The study area of the Sinop Kale Excavations Project, with the line of the Hellenistic fortification wall (photo J. Rempel).

Also this year, Sue Sherratt continued her study of the handmade pottery assemblages excavated in Operations 1 and 4 in the 2015 and 2016 seasons. Her study has centred around the material from Locus 29 (2015) and Loci 29 and 23 (2016): material associated with a long (terrace?) wall constructed of flattish stones (see last year's *Heritage Turkey* for more extensive description of this locus). The pottery from these loci includes a large amount of handmade pottery of varied appearance and with various types of decoration. Although much of this pottery bears a resemblance to Bronze and Early Iron Age material, Sherratt's study has documented the presence of wheelmade sherds in the assemblages of all these loci, suggesting that at least some of the handmade pottery is contemporary with the Greek settlement at Sinope in the first millennium BC. This suggestion is reinforced by study of other pottery assemblages from the site, including clearly Hellenistic contexts, which also document significant amounts of handmade pottery along with wheelmade table wares, storage vessels and imported fine wares.

Understanding the production, typology and chronology of the handmade pottery at Sinop is of particular importance. Prehistoric ceramic chronologies of this part of the Black Sea coast are poorly understood and handmade pottery traditions from the first millennium BC even less so. The apparent continuity of handmade production at Sinope should not be surprising, though. The continued production and use of handmade pottery at ancient Greek settlements is well documented in other parts of the Black Sea region. At sites, such as Berezan and Olbia, on the northern coast of the Black Sea, handmade pottery co-exists with imported Greek pottery from the late seventh century down to the fifth century and later (Solovyov 1999; Gavriljuk 2010).

Sherratt's study has enabled significant steps to be taken towards understanding the handmade pottery excavated by the Sinop Kale Excavations Project. Specific features of the fabrics – tempering, surface finishes and decorations, as well as firing – have been identified, although the very fragmentary nature of the sherd material makes these difficult

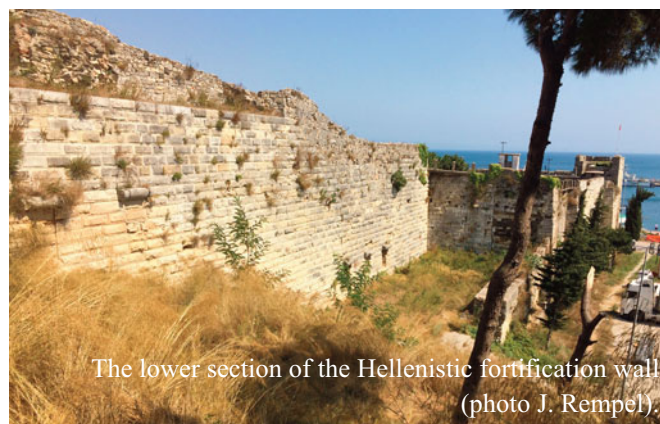
to correlate with specific shapes. Nonetheless, handmade shapes are dominated by rounded and occasionally carinated bowls or cups and jars of various sorts, some of which are probably kitchen items. Rims tend to be rounded or pointed and sometimes slightly squared; bases can be flat or raised, handles vertical or horizontal. Decorations include applied or pulled-up ridges with finger-impressions or diagonal slashing, knobs or lugs, neatly impressed holes and incised lines.

Further analysis of the handmade pottery from the site in relation to Sherratt's emerging typology will help to refine the sequence. In addition, the results of the ongoing portable x-ray fluorescence analysis combined with microscopic studies of technological processes, carried out by other members of the Sinop Kale Excavations team, should help to establish groups of wares based on different clay sources and give some idea of the variety and possibly varied sources of this pottery.

For further information, please visit the project homepage at <https://www.sinopexcavations.org/>

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The lower section of the Hellenistic fortification wall (photo J. Rempel).



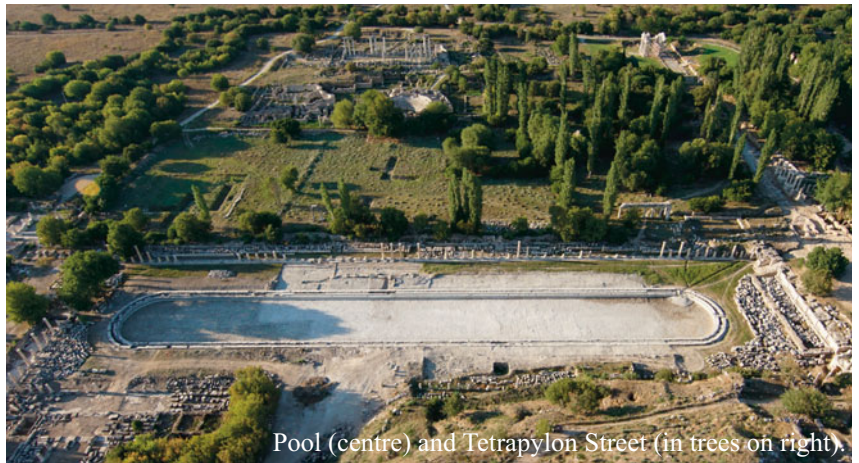
## Aphrodisias in 2017

R.R.R. Smith | Oxford University

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Aphrodisias continues to favour its investigators with remarkable archaeology: the two-month season in July and August 2017 saw rich finds and important results. Our team worked on a variety of monuments and projects – Stadium, Sebasteion, Temple of Aphrodite, Bronze Age material from the Theater Hill and restoration in the Basilica. The main focus however was on excavation in the Tetrapylon Street and the South Agora.

The excavation of the Tetrapylon Street is designed to investigate a key urban artery and bring new information about Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman Aphrodisias. Work in 2017 was concentrated to the south of the Sebasteion's Propylon, supervised by Ine Jacobs and funded by the Headley Trust, the Malcolm Hewitt Wiener Foundation and the British Institute at Ankara. The specific aim in 2017 was to investigate further the post-Byzantine bath building discovered in 2016.



Pool (centre) and Tetrapylon Street (in trees on right).



Seljuk bathhouse (foreground), Tetrapylon Street and Propylon to the Sebasteion (behind and left).

As exposed this year, the bathhouse consists of four rooms and a *praefurnium* on its eastern side: Room 1 is a water chamber or built water tank; Room 2 is a large hot room with a hypocaust floor; Room 3 is a smaller chamber to the southwest, possibly a tepid room; and to its east, Room 4, with benches on its western and northern walls (added later), was possibly a changing room (*apodyterium*). Room 1 has a circular opening in the middle of its floor, once closed probably by a metal plate, and was heated from below by the *praefurnium*. The hypocaust floor in Room 2, excavated this year, turned out to be of rather haphazard construction, supported by irregularly disposed *pili*. The bathhouse was probably first constructed, not in the mid Byzantine period (as supposed in 2016), but in the Seljuk period. It was adjusted and enlarged through Ottoman times. Finds in 2017 include remarkable fragments of moulded plaster decoration from the hot chamber, Room 2.

The South Agora at Aphrodisias is dominated by its pool (see photo above), partly excavated in the 1980s. Test trenches in 2012 revealed planting trenches for palm trees, and a five-year project – The Mica and Ahmet Ertegun South Agora Pool Project – was completed this year, 2017. The excavation of the pool was supervised by Allison Kidd, Ben Russell and Andrew Wilson, and generously funded by Mica Ertegun.

The excavation of the pool was completed as planned in August and brought a sharp light to bear on ancient and medieval life in the centre of the site. The complex known as the South Agora was a sumptuous public park laid out in the Tiberian period (AD 14–37) with a 170m-long ornamental pool at its centre surrounded by palm trees and marble colonnades. The pool was completely renovated in ca AD 500 and was kept functioning into the early seventh century. It was then gradually filled in on both sides, with successive layers of rubble and debris from the surrounding buildings.

Dense and important finds came from the lowest of these layers, close to the pool floor. The range is impressive: pottery, lamps, roof tiles, wooden planks, marble architecture, statuary, inscriptions, bronze coins, reliquary crosses, lead tablets, gold-glass ornaments and a variety of iron weapons.

Among several high-quality finds of marble portrait statuary – an Aphrodisian speciality – two pieces are of special importance. A remarkably preserved bearded male portrait head (right), probably of a provincial





governor, has the hairstyle and technique of the Theodosian period (ca AD 400). It also bears a tiny covert Christian three-letter inscription added by the sculptor on its neck under or 'behind' the long beard: XMG. This is an abbreviation of the Greek for 'Christ was born to Mary' and marks emphatically the faith of the person writing it.

The second find (right) is a masterpiece from the very end of ancient statue production. It has a stubble beard, bald skull and a Constantinopolitan 'mop' hairstyle of the early sixth century AD. The portrait combines personal truthfulness in its unflinching baldness with the best contemporary fashion in its deeply drilled crown of curls. Even the very last statues at Aphrodisias remained undiminished in technique and effect.

A horse's tail of blue-grey marble excavated on the south side of the pool was an unexpected discovery. It was found to join break to break to the rear of the blue-grey marble horse and group of Troilos and Achilles excavated earlier in the Basilica and now mounted in the Aphrodisias Museum. The tail was carved in one piece with the body of the horse – a bravura sculptural performance in a huge block of difficult local marble.

The 2017 campaign at Aphrodisias produced an abundance of exciting finds on the street and in the pool, and their excavation and thorough documentation were due to the extraordinary hard work of our student team and local



workforce. Our government representative was Tarık Güçlütürk from the Istanbul Archaeological Museum. Aphrodisias was formally inscribed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site at the 41st Session of the World Heritage Committee held in Krakow, Poland, on 10 July 2017.

## FINDING THE PAST IN THE FUTURE

### LEAVING A LEGACY TO THE BRITISH INSTITUTE AT ANKARA

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Professor Stephen Mitchell  
Chairman

