

# HERITAGE TURKEY

B R I T I S H I N S T I T U T E A T A N K A R A

Volume 11 | 2021



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

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

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

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- use of the Institute's Centre for Research Excellence in Ankara, including the research library, the extensive research and archival collections, and the laboratories and hostel;
- attend all BIAA lectures, events and receptions held in the UK and Turkey, and attend and vote at the Institute's Annual General Meeting;
- discounts on BIAA monographs published by Oxbow Books and books relating to Turkey published by I.B. Tauris;
- discounts on Turkish holidays organised by travel firms closely associated with the BIAA.

Membership including subscription to *Anatolian Studies* costs £50 per year (or £25 for students/unwaged).

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

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*The front cover shows a Pisidian shield waymark along the Pisidia Heritage Trail, around Sia: see page 7.*

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Ankara, November 2021

Dear Members,

As elsewhere, Covid-19 has kept a firm grip on the BIAA over the past year. The premises in Ankara remained closed until the beginning of October 2021, but readers have returned to the library now. Most of us have been back at our desks for quite a while, although we continue to wear masks at the office. Such precautions seem to have had a positive impact on keeping the numbers of Covid-19 cases low, and I am really pleased to report that the few of us who did succumb all came off lightly. The BIAA London Manager, Laura Paterson, however, was badly affected. Thankfully, she is better now and I hope that you and those close to you are all in good health too.

Although the premises have been closed to the public, the Institute itself has been doing rather well. Two 2021–2022 BIAA Postdoctoral Fellows have been appointed. The research of Gizem Pilavci (University of Oxford) is focused on the Manases (an influential Catholic Armenian family in the service of the Ottoman court in the 18th and 19th centuries) and Bradley Jordan (also University of Oxford) works on the development of Roman provincial rule in western Anatolia during the transition from the Republic to the Principate. The start date of Brad’s fellowship had to be postponed, but he will be joining us in January 2022. Işıl Gürsü continues her work on heritage management and has completed the Turkish version of the edited volume *Public Archaeology* (BIAA Monograph 52), which is now available as an open-access publication on the BIAA’s website. The guidebook to the Pisidia Heritage Trail will be published early in 2022 (see page 7), and I suggest that all of you who love hiking keep an eye out for BIAA announcements about when it will be available. By buying a copy, you will not only be investing in the safeguarding of the wonderful archaeological sites in the Taurus mountains, but you will also be helping the BIAA. As a charity, we rely heavily on contributions from members and sponsors – and every penny counts!

The Institute has also been successful in its funding applications, not least thanks to the input of Martyn Weeds, the BIAA Senior Development Manager. Since April 2021, the BIAA has led a British Academy Knowledge Frontiers 2021 project, entitled *Water in Istanbul: Rising to the Challenge?* This 24-month project is a collaboration with UK and Turkish higher-education institutions and provides funding for a postdoctoral fellow focused on the social sciences aspect of the project. This has enabled us to employ Ender Peker, who, as a contributor to *Heritage Turkey* in recent years, will be familiar to many of you.

An application to the Cultural Protection Fund was also successful and we are now working on the Safeguarding and Rescuing Archaeological Assets (SARAA) project in partnership with BILADI, a Lebanese NGO. Gül Pulhan is once again BIAA Coordinator of the project and Özlem Başdoğan is dividing her time between SARAA and *Water in Istanbul*. Reports on both projects are included in this edition of *Heritage Turkey*.

Martyn also secured funding to continue the digitisation of the herbarium. This project is progressing really well, and the finished samples look beautiful! A professional photographer (G. Görkay) has just spent a whole week recording the prepared specimens. Ilgın Deniz Can and Barış Necdet Uğurman are continuing work on the project and have chosen a favourite specimen (see left) for us to admire!

Thinking of the herbarium brings me to the work on the digital repository, where the digital version of the herbarium will be held. The repository will serve as a digital hub for the research community to organise, manage and preserve digital data, and it is with pride that I report how Nurdan Atalan Çayirezmez and her assistant, Gonca Özger, have pushed on with preparation of the available data for the newly set-up Islandora 8 platform and that ingestion of data has started. Since the beginning of October 2021, the team has been reinforced by archivist Orhun Uğur, who is involved in data validation, policy set-up and more.



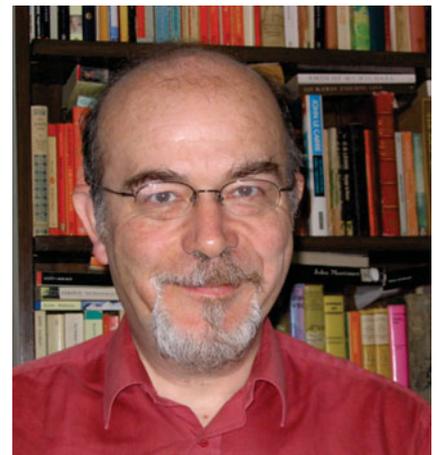
Although I've mentioned only Nurdan, Gonca and Orhun by name, I would like to take this opportunity to thank all the many interns and volunteers who have made such a difference to the work and helped enormously to take the task in hand forward.

The changes being made simultaneously to the online library catalogue will be less obvious to the public, but the move from a custom-made platform to KOHA will make the BIAA library more easily findable internationally. Both the BIAA resource manager, Burçak Delikan, and the library assistant, Nihal Uzun, have been working hard to resolve problems following the transfer of data from the previous system.

The recent and current BIAA Research Scholars, Liam Devlin (UCL/SOAS) and Burcu Şahin (University of Durham), as well as the BIAA Research Assistant, Eloise Jones (University of Durham), should not be overlooked in this context. Their contributions to a variety of ongoing projects, including the digital repository, the library, the herbarium project and website development, have been immense and should be honoured. Many thanks to you all!

I would like to take this opportunity to turn the spotlight onto the BIAA's honorary officers. Last year, the Institute's long-term Honorary Secretary, Shahina Farid, retired and was succeeded by Warren Eastwood, a biogeographer and palaeoecologist with long-standing ties to the BIAA. Shahina did a fantastic job and somehow managed to combine a demanding full-time job with this equally demanding volunteer position.

This year will see more big changes to the Institute's governing personnel. Both the Chair, Stephen Mitchell, and the Honorary Treasurer, Anthony Sheppard, are retiring. I have no doubt that I speak for all committee members and BIAA staff when I say that the contributions of Stephen and Anthony cannot be overestimated. They have seen the Institute through some very difficult and uncertain times, and have remained staunch supporters of the BIAA and its staff as new challenges have arisen and tough decisions have needed to be taken. It has been a pleasure and an honour to work with them, and I would like to thank both from the bottom of my heart for all their efforts over many years. Stephen will serve on the Council for another year, and I very much hope that he, Anthony and Shahina will not be strangers in the future!



The outgoing Officers of the BIAA (left to right): Shahina Farid, Stephen Mitchell and Anthony Sheppard.

The BIAA is lucky to have found excellent successors. Jim Crow, our incoming Chair, is Professor of Classical Archaeology and Roman and Byzantine Archaeology at the University of Edinburgh and has been associated with the Institute for many years, as both a project director and a trustee. Kamran Hashemi, who will take on the position of Honorary Treasurer, worked in investment banking in London for over 30 years and has been a long-standing supporter of educational and charitable organisations serving the community at large. Kamran has been shadowing Anthony for over a year and is fully up-to-date on all things financial related to the BIAA. We are all looking forward to working with them. If you would like to learn more about the incoming officers, please check out the BIAA's website.

Mention of the website reminds me to ask you to keep an eye out for the updated version which will be launched soon!

As always, I hope you enjoy reading about the work of the BIAA and the projects it funds in this edition of *Heritage Turkey*. Although the pandemic made it impossible for some of the planned BIAA-funded research projects to take place, the results of those that were able to go ahead are truly impressive!

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Lutgarde Vandeput'.

Lutgarde Vandeput, Director of the British Institute at Ankara

## CULTURAL HERITAGE, SOCIETY & ECONOMY

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

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### SARAA: Safeguarding and Rescuing Archaeological Assets

Lutgarde Vandepuit & Gül Pulhan | British Institute at Ankara  
Joanne Farchakh Bajjalay | BILADI

In spring 2021, the Cultural Protection Fund announced a 2021/2022 funding round that was to be restricted to previous grant holders and focused on a limited number of countries. Gül Pulhan, the coordinator of the BIAA-led Safeguarding Archaeological Assets of Turkey (SARAT) project, which had been supported by a large Cultural Protection Fund award (2017–2020), realised that a short-term project of six months' duration could enable the SARAT Online Certificate Programme, Safeguarding and Rescuing Archaeological Assets, to be made available in a language other than the original Turkish. The resulting application, in collaboration with the Lebanese NGO BILADI, for support for a project entitled Safeguarding and Rescuing Archaeological Assets (SARAA) was successful. The project started on 1 September 2021 and runs until 28 February 2022. Our partner, BILADI, has immense experience in cultural heritage safeguarding practices and in leading emergency efforts to secure historic buildings following the 2020 explosion in Beirut. To those who took the original SARAT online course in Turkish, the name of BILADI's founder and Director, Joanne Farchakh Bajjalay, will sound familiar: Joanne was one of the heritage specialists interviewed for the course, with her work with BILADI

presented as an example of best practice. The SARAA project employs a small team in Turkey, namely Gül Pulhan as BIAA Coordinator and Özlem Başdoğan as a heritage and communications specialist. Joanne coordinates a larger team in Lebanon and organises a group of Lebanese experts involved on a part-time basis.

Through its ongoing cultural protection work, BILADI has identified a significant skills gap in Lebanon. This became particularly apparent when the heritage professionals and archaeology students who responded to the 2020 explosion in Beirut lacked basic cultural heritage emergency response, triage and stabilisation skills. Thus SARAA intends to build the capacity to prepare for and respond to conflict-related emergencies of current and future heritage professionals working at archaeological sites and museums throughout Lebanon, including the UNESCO World Heritage Sites of Tyre, Baalbek and Byblos, as well as site-specific and national museums. To realise this, it is building on the success of the SARAT project by transferring and adapting its education programme to Lebanon and facilitating international knowledge exchange between Turkish and Lebanese heritage professionals. A major aim of SARAA is to make the course materials of the

SARAT Online Certificate Programme relevant to and accessible in the Lebanese context. To achieve this, the materials not only need to be translated, but also adapted. The six-month time span of the current project is not sufficient to create a fully fledged online course though.

Since the first day of operation of SARAA, translation has been ongoing. As a first step, the original Turkish-language Online Certificate Programme course material is being translated into English. The English-language version then forms the basis of the Arabic translation, but can also be used to maximise the potential for impact on the wider cultural heritage community. The translations into English and Arabic are progressing according to plan. At the end of the project three full sets of the course material will be available: the original SARAT course in Turkish and the new Lebanese-adapted course in both Arabic and English.

A day-long workshop in Beirut on 29 November 2021 brought the BILADI team, Lebanese academics and the translators together with Gül and Özlem to discuss progress on the creation of the Lebanese-specific course elements and the Arabic translation of the original SARAT course material. Gül presented an overview of the Safeguarding Archaeological Assets of Turkey project to provide the wider context of the original course. Afterwards, the Lebanese academic team presented their approaches and the case studies they are currently working on. Lively discussions about how to teach the course as part of the university curriculum followed; this will require a different timeframe and methodology from the original Online Certificate Programme. Discussions continued in a follow-up Zoom

meeting on 2 December, which focused particularly on the internal organisation of the new material and a schedule for the remaining work. The compilation of case studies for crucial archaeological and historical heritage-related emergencies and rescue operations in Lebanon is progressing well. When complete, it will provide the first documentation of this aspect of heritage management for a large audience.

The completed materials will be piloted at a ‘Training of Trainers’ course, which will take place in Beirut over a five-day period at the end of January 2022. We expect that 25–30 experienced heritage professionals from the Lebanese University, other universities in Lebanon and the General-Directorate of Antiquities in Lebanon will participate in this training programme and be equipped with the necessary skills, materials and equipment to then deliver the Safeguarding and Rescuing Archaeological Assets course to at least 100 professionals and future professionals – including local museum staff and archaeology students – beyond the project’s lifetime. It is also intended that the course will be offered as an elective for Lebanese University students, thereby further sustaining the impact of SARAA.

To enhance knowledge transfer and exchange, SARAA incorporates several outreach and knowledge-exchange activities. A virtual event, entitled ‘Comparing Notes: Cultural Protection Fund Projects in Lebanon and Turkey’, took place on 26 November 2021, during which representatives of former and current Cultural Protection Fund-funded projects in Lebanon and Turkey presented their work, its aims, challenges and results. All 13 projects accepted the invitation to present at the virtual webinar, although two had to cancel at



The SARAA team meet in Beirut in November 2021.

the last minute due to health-related issues. Nevertheless, the vast majority of former and ongoing projects presented to a group of stakeholders – including policymakers, NGOs, university departments, research institutes and others operating in the field of cultural heritage – in both Turkey and Lebanon, and beyond. The workshop clearly showed the impressive amount of work that has been accomplished already and the great potential for future collaboration between existing and former projects, as well as the generally positive responses from the local communities involved.

In parallel to the activities focusing on Lebanon, a series of telephone and online interviews was conducted with a sample of the 5,500 Turkish SARAT online course graduates (2019–2021). The aim was to collect examples of best practice in applying the knowledge and skills acquired from the course in Turkey to improve the way risks to cultural heritage are prepared for and emergencies responded to. A sample of 504 graduates was selected using a set of selection criteria, such as background, profession, motivation for taking the course, etc. A questionnaire was mailed to each of these graduates and a follow-up call secured receipt of the online questionnaire and re-established contact. Just over 300 of these 504 graduates completed and returned the questionnaire. Their answers will be assessed and a selection of best practices included in the responses will be incorporated in a short video that will be shared at seminars with heritage professionals in Lebanon.

A final meeting will be held with the Lebanese trainees at the very end of the project. The aim is to have a last evaluation of the course by gathering the reflections of the trainees and discussing how best to incorporate the course in the curriculum of the Lebanese University and, possibly, those of other institutions. In addition, one or more seminars are currently being considered, with the aim of promoting the course to faculty and students of some private higher-education institutions as well as journalists and media activists.

On the last day of the BIAA team members' visit to Lebanon (3 December 2021), the British Council's Lebanon Country Director, David Knox, and Arts and Culture Programme Manager, March Mouarkech, visited the BILADI office. At this meeting, Joanne, the head of the SARAA Lebanon academic team, Rana Dubeissy, and the BIAA team of Gül and Özlem had the chance to explain the work of SARAA and how it was progressing, as well as the future plans for the course. The British Council officers expressed their satisfaction with and support for the ongoing project.

Although SARAA has encountered a number of problems, including the postponement of events and travel due to Covid-19, for instance, the team is on track to deliver all elements of the project – so long as not too many new and unforeseen obstacles are thrown in their path in the coming months!



# The Pisidia Heritage Trail guidebook

Işıl Gürsu | British Institute at Ankara

Since its inception in 2013, the British Institute at Ankara's cultural heritage management initiative has evolved into a range of projects at various scales. One of these projects has focused on the ancient region of Pisidia. Located in the western part of the magnificent Taurus mountains, which separate the Mediterranean coastline from the Anatolian plateau, Pisidia today covers the north of Antalya, Burdur and Isparta. As I have reported in previous editions of *Heritage Turkey*, this project has resulted in the creation of the Pisidia Heritage Trail (PHT), a long-distance trekking trail that is more than 350km long and connects 12 archaeological sites. The trail has been waymarked with tailor-made marks in the form of red-painted Pisidian shields.

After a three-year hiatus due to commitments to other cultural heritage projects and the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic, at the start of next year another major element of the PHT will be completed: a dedicated guidebook describing the trail and its surroundings. The guidebook will be published by the British Institute at Ankara (BIAA) in early 2022, in both English and Turkish, and will be available for purchase through the Institute's website. Please keep following the BIAA's social media channels for further updates.

The guidebook is written in an interpretive style and targets a general audience. It is concerned not only with the archaeology of the region, but also with its flora and with stories from its recent past, its current residents and their relationship with the ruins, as well as their expectations of the archaeological assets. The book includes dedicated chapters on eight archaeological sites. Each contains information about the site, its history and its surviving monuments, as well as the living heritage around the site. A route description, detailing the part of the trail around the archaeological site presented in the chapter as well as the flora along this section of the trail, follows. The route descriptions within the guidebook have been written by Ümit Işın, an archaeologist and professional tour guide. Another contributor to the book is Gökhan Deniz from Akdeniz University, who is the author of the sections on the plants of the region. Gökhan has collected, photographed and written about a selection of endemic plants as well as those that have a local use.

In order to create a visual image of how the ancient Pisidian cities looked, we have partnered with Lithomodos VR to launch the Pisidia Heritage Trail Mobile App, which contains 3D reconstructions of some selected monuments as well as accompanying explanatory texts. The app, available free of charge on Android and iOS systems, offers 360° views that show the buildings in their original landscapes. Just search 'Pisidia Heritage Trail' via Google Play or the App Store and download it to your mobile device. You can



A Pisidian shield waymark along the trail, around Sia.

then go on a journey to the ancient sites in Pisidia either through your device screen or by linking your device to the VR glasses that will come with the guidebook.

The final fieldwork linked to the PHT project was realised in October when I visited the sites mentioned in the guidebook with Lutgarde Vandeput and Ümit Işın; we were briefly joined by Melike Gül. The purpose of the trip was to proof read the draft guidebook in situ, in Pisidia, and to try all the viewpoints listed in the Pisidia Heritage Trail app. When used on site, the mobile app offers a whole new visitor experience by presenting an 80–85% accurate reconstruction of how the remaining ruins of a particular monument looked in the past. These reconstructions have been made possible thanks to the years of meticulous archaeological fieldwork in Pisidia led by Lutgarde Vandeput and Stephen Mitchell.

Thus the guidebook aims to create a sense of 'being there', in ancient Pisidia almost 2,000 years ago. Obviously, it is not possible to know for certain what the inhabitants of the region saw, heard or smelt in antiquity. Nonetheless, the 3D reconstructions of the visible remains, a text written in an interpretive style enriched with the results of botanical and ethnographic studies and a waymarked trail offering the opportunity to explore the region fully have a common goal: to establish a timeless relationship between the people of the past and those interested in the region today.

## Announcement: public archaeology volume

The edited volume *Public Archaeology: Theoretical Considerations and Current Practices*, published as a BIAA monograph in 2019, has been translated into Turkish as an open-access electronic publication. It can be downloaded from the BIAA's website: <https://doi.org/10.18866/BIAA/e-16>.

# Armenian elites and architectural placemaking in the Ottoman East

Alyson Wharton | University of Lincoln

Nearly a decade after it began, I am now in a position to bring together the research I started in 2012. At that time I was working at Mardin Artuklu University in southeastern Turkey and so was able to explore Mardin's built heritage as well as that of neighbouring cities, including Urfa, Diyarbakır and Antep. I completed this research in 2015, when, over the course of the summer, I undertook BIAA-funded travel to Kars, Van, Bitlis and Erzurum, and spent a month in the Istanbul archives. I aimed to investigate the little-explored but not insubstantial 19th-century rebuilding of cities in what is now often referred to as 'the Ottoman East' and the significant role of Armenians in this process.

As I wrote in *Heritage Turkey* in 2016, the role of Armenians in rebuilding this historically turbulent region has been a *tabula rasa* in comparison with the well-established (although continually debated) position of the Armenian Balyan family in the history of Constantinopolitan architecture. Upon moving to Mardin in 2012, I was startled by the omnipresence of historical Armenian architects, not only in that city but in neighbouring areas, too. This inheritance, long known by residents and circulated through oral histories, was celebrated in Mardin at the time. This was a particular moment when, due to changes in government as well as shifting approaches to representations of minority heritage, there was an openness and sense of optimism in the locality. A spate of initiatives included renaming a street after the Armenian architect Serkis Lole and the widespread renovation and repurposing of his buildings. These, amongst other actions, formed part of a UNESCO World Heritage Listing application, but they were also embraced by locals. Awareness of Armenian heritage and the role of Lole in Mardin was high. Yet this situation and parallel scenarios in neighbouring areas were not known to the wider public and scholarly community.

The methodology of my research focused on visiting cities in the Ottoman East, photographing 19th-century architecture and taking note of Armenian neighbourhoods that might indicate the style of buildings constructed by Armenian architects. Communal buildings could be more securely attributed to Armenian architects and would, through their stylistic and structural features, enable me to tie buildings not intended for use by the Armenian community to these individuals. Having worked for a long time on the Balyan family, I was aware that textual sources might be lacking and that this material evidence would be central to establishing their agency. Nonetheless, textual research accompanied the fieldwork, including a month spent in the Ottoman archives. When back in the UK, I made use of Armenian sources, such as the 'memory book' literature documenting Armenian life in the Ottoman East. The consular accounts of the British

National Archives, too, were very rich in terms of understanding local social dynamics. I was also fortunate to be contacted by relatives of architects who shared their family histories. This was added to the oral evidence I collected from local residents who told me stories about the architects.

The more information I pulled together, the more complex the picture became. When I wrote in 2016 of Armenian architectural monopolies throughout the region, this was from the perspective of the novelty of the material in comparison with that of the well-known Armenians of Constantinople. It was also from the viewpoint of wanting to write a cultural history of provincial Armenians in a context where political history overshadowed the pre-1915 legacy. As a result, I stressed the agency of these Armenians as providing a foil to the historiography remaining silent. I also drew attention to the fusion of 'local' and Constantinopolitan (as well as international) styles, so dispelling the assumption that these architects were 'master builders' (*kalfa*) who followed local carving traditions or the fashions of the capital, rather than showing any formal learning, creativity or external networks of their own. However, as I further researched the urban contexts and social and political situations in which these buildings were constructed, it struck me that there was a more significant story to tell.

It became clear to me that these Armenian architects were central to specific social and political transformations in their respective cities. They secured commissions and were thus able to determine the appearance of important structures, such as the Municipality and Government House in Bitlis (1897–1898), at the same time that Armenians were playing a stronger role in local government bodies. They also built lavish mansions and churches at the same time that the Armenian merchants of Bitlis were making considerable revenues from long-distance and regional trade. Barracks designed by Armenian architects were built, involving Arab families who were being used to outbalance Kurds in the locality.

Social and political relationships were accompanied by stylistic intersections between Armenian communal buildings, on the one hand, and mainstream civil and Muslim religious structures, on the other. In Bitlis, the Municipality and Government House echoed the ostentatious new style of Armenian mansions built in the same city in the 1880s. In Mardin, the grapevine motif carved into the altarpiece of Surp Hovsep Armenian Catholic Church (completed 1894) could be seen also on the lintel of the Hamidiye Barracks (1890), built with funding from the Arab Şammar *aşiret*. It also adorned the minaret of the Mardin Great Mosque, partially rebuilt in 1888–1889. In Erzurum, the various buildings of Government House (1889, 1904, 1920) were in dialogue with

the leading Armenian educational establishment of the Ottoman East, the Sanasaryan School (1881). In Diyarbakır, Surp Giragos Armenian Orthodox Church, rebuilt in 1883, had a square *kufic* panel above the altar (no longer to be seen, after renovation works) that was a reiteration of the *kufic* cubes of the Behram Pasha Mosque (1572) and Sarı Saltuk Mausoleum (1488) and was repeated on the Armenian Catholic Church (1895). Even more strikingly, the lions of the Great Mosque (1091–1092) were recreated on Surp Giragos (1883). In Antep, the style of the Surp Asdvadzadzin Cathedral (1872–1992), designed by Serkis Balyan and Serkis Kadehçyan, was echoed in the Alaüdevle Mosque (1901), which is attributed to the Armenian architects Armenak and Krikor. The Urfa Cevahir Konak (late 19th century) included the horseshoe arches of the city’s most famous building, the Halil ül-Rahman Mosque (built 1211–1212).

As I pull my research together into a book, I have been trying to frame these striking architectural occurrences within their social contexts across the region. The theme of placemaking seemed like a prescient means by which to unite them. I aim to show how this was a crucial moment in which this ‘space’ became contested – with contestations continuing today. Armenian architects played an important role in a process through which different communities ‘produced’ a space that was viewed as their own. This was not, contrary to the assumptions of the historiography that has tended to place the state at the centre of 19th-century transformations, a government intervention, but a ‘placemaking’ in which local inhabitants seem to have taken the lead spontaneously.

Placemaking strategies were particularly numerous under Abdülhamid II (1876–1909). Placemaking in these cities of the Ottoman East encompassed the building of ostentatious mansions that lined the main streets, involved the drawing of a stronger line between communities through the construction of new churches in the centre of the city and included individuals taking a leading role in the establishment of

political and civil institutions: the municipality, the government house and the new schools. Placemaking made use of architectural transference. This was often accomplished with the involvement of Armenian architects and/or other Armenian elites, and often referred to the heritage and myths of each city in its visual programme, as well as representing a strong dialogue between majority and minority architectures.

It struck me that the turning points in the Armenian voice in these respective cities often revolve around the Hamidian Massacres (1894–1896). This is perhaps unsurprising from the political perspective, which has been dominated by legacies of the events of 1894–1896 and 1915. However, it is noteworthy from the art-historical perspective, which tends to foreground changes emanating from the centre, such as the *Tanzimat* reform decrees of the mid-19th century, as impacting on architecture. It was inevitable that the massacres would alter local production. In Bitlis, they depleted the Armenian population, leading also to the decimation of the prosperity of the city and the temporary closure of its markets. Nonetheless, the massacres were followed by a concerted attempt to revive the role of Armenians in the locality, and this included an Armenian architect building the new Municipality and Government House. In Mardin, on the other hand, the massacres were averted thanks to the collaboration of Arab notables with Armenians to defend the city. This led to an efflorescence of architecture in Mardin in the late 1890s and early 1900s, contrasting with the decrease in expression of Armenian elites seen elsewhere.

Thus, architectural placemaking in the Ottoman East has much to offer in terms not only of enriching our vision of ‘provincial’ cultural history, but also of helping us to revisit better-known, dramatic events through local dynamics. For a climate in which the textual evidence is neither forthcoming nor unambiguous, material cultural heritage can shed light on the complex social and cultural interplay in these cities and the region as a whole.



A mansion designed by Lole in 1890 for the Kasparyan family in Mardin (image: Nevit Dilmen; CC BY-SA 3.0).

## A bibliography of armistice era Istanbul, 1918–1923

Daniel-Joseph MacArthur-Seal & Gizem Tongo | British Institute at Ankara

Turkey is part way through a spate of centenaries marking critical events in the history of the country, some more forgotten than others. The armistice of Mudros, signed on 30 October 1918, ended Ottoman belligerence in what had been a calamitous four-year war. On 13 November 1918 the Allied fleet entered Istanbul, while on 16 March 1920 the Allies officially occupied the city, imposing martial law and strengthening their grip on the Ottoman administration. The armistice was superseded by the Treaty of Sevres, signed by Ottoman and Allied representatives on 10 August 1920, which brought international control to the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, and divided much of the remaining Ottoman territories into zones of influence or direct control, as in the case of Greek-occupied Thrace and Izmir. The Turkey Grand National Assembly, convened in Ankara on 23 April 1920 to resist what they saw as an unjust peace, signed treaties with Russia on 16 March 1921 and France on 20 October 1921, and achieved military victories over the Greek army, halting their push into Anatolia on 13 September 1921, before launching an offensive beginning on 26 August 1922 that resulted in the entry of Turkish forces into Izmir on 9 September 1922. After months of negotiations, the Allies were compelled to sign a new peace treaty at Lausanne on 24 July 1923, followed by the departure of the last Allied forces from Istanbul on 6 October and the creation of the Republic of Turkey on 29 October.

In Turkey, understanding of these events is framed by the history of the War of Independence (1919–1923), about which a literature of staggering size and detail has accumulated. The history of Istanbul during the same period, however, has at best been seen as the sidenote ('outside the stage' as the novelist Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar described it in 1950) to this focus on Anatolia and the leadership of Mustafa Kemal or, at worst, repressed in memory, a point of collective national amnesia.

One characteristic of the historiography of Istanbul during this period has been the enormous influence exerted by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's 1927 *Speech (Nutuk)*. Constituting the main source for the history of the years between 1919 and 1927, *Nutuk* did not attempt to render Istanbul a protagonist in itself; its occupation is mentioned only in passing. After the foundation the Turkish Historical Association in 1931, Istanbul's history in the immediate aftermath of the First World War, in fact the final decades of the Ottoman Empire in general, remained a marginal issue for the Association's journal *Bellekten*, as shown by Veronika Hager. Those few historians who approached the history of Istanbul during the armistice period pointed to the 'alliance'

of some sections of the population with the occupying forces as among the key factors why the city was neglected.

While the occupation went largely neglected in the history writing of the early Republican period, a large number of literary works took inspiration from the experiences, lived or imagined, of the inhabitants of the occupied city. The subject attracted the attention of some of the most prominent writers of the early Republican era, namely Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Mithat Cemal Kuntay, Halide Edib Adıvar, Peyami Safa and Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar. In contrast to the new Turkey being constructed in Anatolia, Istanbul was portrayed as a city of decadence, collaboration and corruption. Many of the themes of these works would go on to define the research agendas of historians studying the period.

Until 1989, the inaccessibility of archival sources related to the final decade of the Ottoman Empire (1914–1922) had prevented serious scholarly research on this period in Turkey. Indeed, until the 1992 edited volume *Istanbul 1914–1923*, prepared by Stéphane Yerasimos, and most especially the 1993 book *İşgal Altında İstanbul, 1918–1923* by Nur Bilge Criss (later published in English) there had been little research done on Istanbul during the armistice period. From ideological and methodological perspectives, since Yerasimos' and Criss' landmark works, the scholarship has made a significant shift away from nationalist historical narratives. This is partly due to the growing accessibility of archival resources (either physical or digital) and partly a reflection of broader tendencies in late Ottoman history and historiography.

Much promising work has been done on the city's social history during these years, a subject of neglect in previous works focused on the confrontation between Allied imperialist and Turkish nationalist cadres. The housing situation in the overcrowded city, strained by the arrival of refugees and the requisitioning of dwellings and public buildings by the Allied forces, has been addressed by Bilge Ar and Safiye Kıranlar. Büşra Karataşer, Güldane Gündüzöz and Necati Çavdar have examined the supply of food and coal to the city, which was at times critically pressured by the after-effects of wartime blockade and the loss of access to supplies in Anatolia and southern Russia with the victories of the nationalist and Bolshevik movements. Labour organisation and industrial relations during a period of heightened strike action have been explored by Erol Ülker, who, along with Stefo Benlisoy, Paul Dumont, Hamit Erdem and others, has written on socialist and communist political movements that had a brief foothold in the city.

The significance of the armistice period to the development of visual art, drama in film and theatre, and music, both in Turkey and the wider world, is still yet to be

grasped fully, but a few works have recently pointed the way. Studies on the popularity of entertainment and other cultural venues have been published recently by Carol Woodall, Vladimir Alexandrov, Charles King and Daniel-Joseph MacArthur-Seal, while Gizem Tongo has written on the unique fine-arts scene found during these years.

Recent works have contributed more nuanced understandings of the positionality and diversity of experiences and views among Istanbul's Armenian and Greek communities, thanks to important contributions by Dimitris Kamouzis, Lerna Ekmekcioğlu and Ari Şekeryan. In addition to these long-resident communities, the population of Istanbul was supplemented during the period by the arrival of large numbers of refugees, including Armenian and Greek Christians from war-torn Anatolia and the Caucasus, Muslims from Greek-occupied Thrace and Rumelia, and, most significantly, arrivals from the southern provinces of the Russian empire as the White Army was defeated by Bolshevik forces. White-Russian refugees, particularly the women, were the subject of significant interest from public commentators at the time and have also been investigated as subjects of historical research, by the likes of Bilge Ar, Bülent Bakar and others.

There is also a burgeoning literature on the relationship between the occupation and Istanbul women. Elif Mahir Metinsoy has written on the expansion of women's roles in fashion and the intellectual discussion that accompanied this, covering also the issues of women's political activism and civic engagement in Istanbul society, while Gökçen Beyinli's focus on gendered power relations in the history of post-war Istanbul, particularly in discussions on 'moral decay' and 'corruption', has provided crucial context. Zafer Toprak has examined issues of prostitution and women's participation in social and cultural life across several recent articles and books that devote major sections to the armistice period. While most scholarship on women's experiences has tended to privilege the actions of Muslim and Turkish women, overlooking the activities of other groups, Lerna Ekmekcioğlu has offered an in-depth study of Armenian feminists and their civil-society organisations, most especially through political discussions in the feminist periodical *Hay Gin (Armenian Woman)*, published between 1919 and 1933.

Part of the reason for this growth in interest in a variety of fields is the realisation by historians of the extent of resources available. Already, a large array of archives for the late Ottoman period is available to researchers, with records from a far larger number of departments of state than are accessible for the study of early Republican Istanbul, given that the ministries of health, interior and security, among others, remain closed to researchers. In addition, extensive archives concerning the occupied city were maintained by the occupying powers. Researchers can consult the records of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs at the Centre des

Archives diplomatiques in Nantes and La Courneuve, and Corps d'occupation de Constantinople at the Service historique de la Défense in Vincennes, those of the British Foreign and War Offices at the National Archives in Kew and Italian diplomatic and military records at the Archivio Storico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri and Ufficio Storico dello Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito in Rome. Thanks to their status as Allies and interests in Ottoman lands, both Greece and the United States maintained large High Commissions in Constantinople, the records of which can be read at the Genika Archaia tou Kratous in Athens and the National Archives and Record Administration in College Park, Maryland, respectively.

This multinational diplomatic and military presence in the city also led to the generation of large numbers of private papers by servicemen and officials. Dozens of individual soldiers' accounts of Istanbul can be read at the Imperial War Museum, the King's College London Liddle Hart Centre for Military Archives and the National Army Museum, as well as at local archives in the UK. Prominent individuals have also left collections, such as British High Commissioner Admiral John de Robeck (Churchill College Archives Centre, Cambridge) and American High Commissioner Admiral Mark Bristol (Library of Congress).

With such abundance come challenges, however, namely the geographic dispersal and linguistic diversity of archival documents. Digitisation promises to overcome some of these logistical hurdles, but there remain limits. Though the Ottoman archives are digitised, they are restricted to researchers working from abroad, while digitisation of the National Archives in the UK has not yet reached relevant folders beyond cabinet-level decision-making sessions about the fate of Istanbul. French, Italian and Greek military and diplomatic records on the city are also unavailable online. Turkish publishers have made some archival materials accessible in the country through the reproduction of important collections for the period, most notably the minutes of the weekly high commissioners' meetings, transcribed and collected by Sinan Kuneralp. Given the richness of documentation available, such efforts can only represent a small fraction of materials for the study of the occupied city.

It is with this in mind that we have compiled an extensive bibliography of primary and secondary sources for the city, soon to be published in interactive form online and as an e-publication. The bibliography contains over 1,400 entries, from Turkish and international archives, to the multilingual newspapers of Istanbul in the period, to memoirs and more recent scholarly articles and monographs on the city. As interest in the armistice era increases, we hope that this resource proves useful to academics, students and the wider public and will support the more comprehensive study of this multifaceted city during a critical and complex period in its history.

## ANGLO-TURKISH RELATIONS IN THE 20TH CENTURY

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

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### Britain's Levantine empire, 1914–1923

Daniel-Joseph MacArthur-Seal | British Institute at Ankara

**M**y first book, *Britain's Levantine Empire, 1914–1923*, was published in summer 2021 by Oxford University Press. The project had begun with my 2009 MPhil thesis, which focused on the 1918–1923 British occupation of Istanbul, and then continued through my PhD research, which compared British actions in the city with those in wartime Thessaloniki and Alexandria, while still more sources from archives in Turkey were added during my postdoctoral fellowship at the BIAA in 2014–2017. Ironically it was the global pandemic, so disruptive to the lives of many researchers, that provided me with the time and space to finalise the full draft and work through the changes requested by editors and reviewers. Covid-19 has, however, prevented me from properly introducing the book at the usual conferences, lectures and book launches; therefore, I will attempt to do so here.

At the outbreak of war in 1914, Britain had little direct control in the eastern Mediterranean beyond the territories of Egypt and Cyprus, both of which remained under the nominal sovereignty of the enemy Ottoman empire. Over the next four years, this informal empire multiplied in its extent and intensity, growing to encompass an imperial archipelago of garrisoned islands, major cities, such as Thessaloniki, Batumi and Istanbul under temporary occupation, and vast tracts of the Ottoman empire's Arab provinces. But as Britain's military presence in the eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea reached its high-water mark in 1919, it simultaneously began its retreat. By 1923 British troops had

evacuated most of the places occupied in the course of the war and armistice period. A new division of the eastern Mediterranean, still visible in the political borders of the present day, was cemented by the Treaty of Lausanne. Although the post-war treaties confirmed British control of Palestine and Iraq, they dashed hopes for a far greater extension of British power and more radical remaking of the eastern Mediterranean that had appeared possible. In the aftermath of these losses, British statesmen and diplomats attempted to save face, obscuring the significance and extent of military control that Britain had established and hoped to maintain in the post-Ottoman world.

The book explores this largely forgotten off-shoot of empire, presenting a novel assessment of the expansion and contraction of British military rule in the period. It argues that the changing itineraries of British personnel produced a new form of military imperialism spanning the eastern Mediterranean and an imagined geography of the Levant as a fragmented but distinct space between Europe and the Orient. The book shows how British official policy and off-duty behaviours were formulated in accordance with these ideas, setting the stage for overextension, confrontation and retreat.

I base this argument on my readings of the testimony of British servicemen and officials who toured the region, alongside documents from state archives in Britain, France, Cyprus, Egypt and Turkey. The widespread feeling 'that the East is now soon to be the scene of historic events', as one British sailor wrote approaching the Dardanelles, and the



British sailors guard the British Embassy in Istanbul (Bibliothèque nationale de France).

novelty of their surroundings encouraged servicemen to record their experiences in letters, diaries and memoirs. My book draws on over one hundred such individuals' testimonies, most of them unused by historians so far. Common themes emerge between soldiers' narratives, allowing for the generalisation of their feelings, thoughts and experiences in the eastern Mediterranean. Their lives centred on three distinct spaces – the military camp, the transport ship and the Levantine city – each with its own characteristics, which were compared, contrasted and gave each other meaning. Histories examining soldiers' experiences in the First World War have focused on the trenches of the western front and other battlefields, neglecting their participation in these complex military geographies away from the front lines.

By shifting focus from the western front to the eastern Mediterranean the book helps challenge the myth of the First World War as one of stasis and immobility. While infantry advances in the battles of the Somme and Verdun were measured in yards, the Mediterranean saw the establishment of convoys and ferry services that brought men and material thousands of miles across largely unobstructed waterways. Military and naval histories of the First World War in the Mediterranean have tended to measure the significance of such operations by their contribution to the Allied victory over the Central Powers, neglecting their polyvalent impact on the residents of coastal towns and the thousands of soldiers, prisoners, labourers and refugees who moved between them. The mobilization of unprecedented tonnages of shipping could not help but have wider material, cultural and political impacts.

Indeed, this web of logistics was at the heart of Britain's Levantine empire. Warships and transports traversing the Mediterranean deposited people and things that then took on

local perambulations in and around the region's port cities. These new traffics intersected and interrupted established urban circulations and fed back into larger maritime circuits. In this sense, Britain's Levantine empire was constructed on two planes, dependent on the dominance of the maritime routes of the Mediterranean and the penetration of the urban network of its port-city outlets. Military transports and warships spread the sediment of Britain's Levantine empire.

In addition to the material they conveyed, ships bore new ideas of governance and social organisation to their waypoints in the Mediterranean. The transport ship occupies a central place in the narratives of soldiers. The ship offered servicemen a place to write and reflect, while officers attempted to refine an idealised form of military order in the temporary isolation offered by sea voyages. Against the routine-bound inactivity of life on board, the apparent chaos of the city, multiplied by the logistical operations of war, was all the more overwhelming.

Servicemen greeted the cities of the eastern Mediterranean with demands for their synchronisation and alignment with the disciplinary regimes formed on board ship and in the military camps to which they were dispatched. The experience of the built and human environment of the city and efforts to alter them form a major topic of research of the book. Camp commandants took on the roles of urban planners, developing an idealised model of the barracks and camp that stood in contrast to the disorder of the pre-existing city. The book provides an important revision to the history of urban planning by emphasising the importance of military inspiration in major contemporary developments in the field such as the contemporaneous urban plans for Thessaloniki and Alexandria.

It was not only these cities' streets that were altered by occupation, however, but also the life that filled them. Servicemen and their commanders created new cultural

institutions in the eastern Mediterranean city where existing opportunities for leisure and pleasure were seen as either insufficient or harmful to the health and morality of British troops. Sporting clubs and libraries comprised one end of the spectrum of off-duty entertainments, while at the other stood cabarets, bars and brothels. Although such sites drew both servicemen and local subjects, they often provoked the ire of the wider population, and the book devotes significant focus to the attempt of military authorities to police the boundaries and times of leisure time and nightlife.

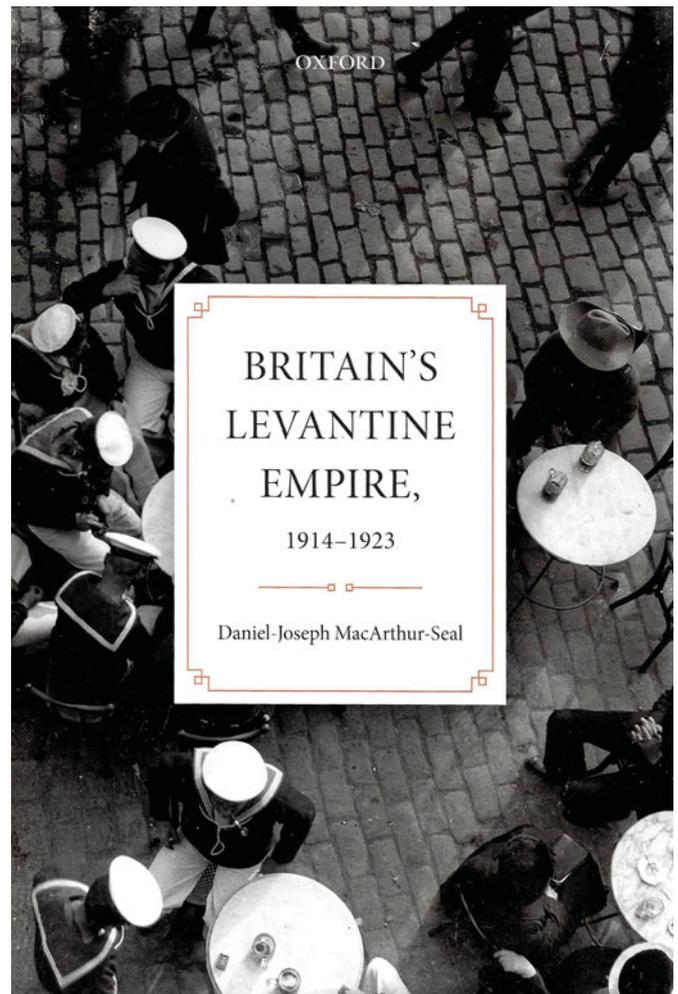
Soldiers' testimonies and the complaints of local subjects reveal how the populations of the cities under study were acutely affected by the arrival of British and Allied soldiers. Colonial subjugation in Alexandria, uneasy neutrality in Thessaloniki and defeat and occupation in Istanbul led to tensions between soldiers and civilians that frequently erupted into violence, conflicting interpretations of which were given in the reports of British and local authorities. Military commanders responded with the implementation of new legal measures, contributing to an unprecedented militarisation of the policing of urban crime and disorder. By addressing this, the book considers an understudied aspect of the lives of servicemen – their interaction with local populations – too often thought to be defined by isolation at the front.

Appreciating how soldiers were transported from their home recruitment centres to developing fronts around the eastern Mediterranean is key to understanding not only the necessary material underpinning of this new imperial edifice, but the sequential encounters that defined experience of it. The monotony of sea voyaging brought disparate cities up against each other. The ports of Thessaloniki, Alexandria and Istanbul were conflated by the men who passed between them into a single demographic and geographic constituency of empire, known by the name, among others, of the Levant. There was no consensus on the borders of the Levant and doubts as to whether it formed one contiguous space. Instead, the Levant remained above all an imagined geography, one mentally rather than territorially mapped. This Levantine geography approximated the logistical network of British military power in the Mediterranean, centred on Alexandria, Thessaloniki and, after 1918, Istanbul. It is these port cities, through which British military material and human resources coursed, that formed the conceptual keystones of the Levantine imaginary. By focusing on these sites, the book contributes to the growing number of comparative studies of the cities of the eastern Mediterranean.

British officers and their men were both fascinated and confused by the social, religious and ethnic distinctions of the cities they encountered. But despite their diversity, the physical, behavioural and cultural commonalities that spanned the shores of the Mediterranean seemed to necessitate some collective identification, and so people and not just places were referred to as Levantine. Historians have

used the term Levantine as an unproblematic, if vague and anachronistic, way to refer to long-resident western European populations in and around the Ottoman empire. The book shows the term 'Levantine' to have been as malleable and invested with as many meanings as its geographic corollary. From the perspective of British officers and officials, the characteristics of the population of the Levant invited and even necessitated British intervention and rule. The book provides a first rigorous theoretical treatment of the place of the Levant and the Levantine in early 20th-century discourse, subjects of growing academic and amateur historical interest.

Though servicemen and their commanders often wrote of such grand tracts of space as the Orient, they equally frequently drew distinctions on a micro-geographical level. In the streets of the eastern Mediterranean city, they noted a range of divisions attached to differing cultural and racial hierarchies – by employment, religion, ancestry, residence, habits and dress – that criss-crossed the same space. The Levantine city was experienced as a place where conceptualised geographical and civilisational units like Europe and the Orient were granulated and interspersed. The book's engagement with the idea of the Levantine brings into question the assumed geo-civilisational fault lines that retain a dispiriting popularity in analyses of the Mediterranean and Middle East.



# Factors affecting secular migration from Turkey to the UK

Umut Parmaksız | British Institute at Ankara

This research project proposes that amongst the new group of migrants from Turkey to the UK, there are those who have migrated due to the efforts of successive Turkish governments to deepen and extend the reach of, what I call, the islamonormative social and cultural order of Turkey. To explore this, I conducted semi-structured online interviews with migrants who self-identify as secular or laic. In this process, I adopted a social constructivist approach and did not define preemptively what being ‘secular’ or ‘laic’ means, but specifically solicited migrants who believe either of these terms describe them in some manner. Push and pull factors are the most commonly used basic framework for understanding international migration in the literature. Push factors refer to those reasons that incite or force a person to leave a country of origin, whereas pull factors refer to the reasons that draw a person to a particular destination country. I have theorised the push factors under two interrelated main headings: (1) increasing democratic deficit and (2) islamonormative pressures; both create what I refer to as a precarious life in Turkey.

## *A precarious life*

Overall, what defines this group of migrants is the increasing precariousness of life in Turkey, which in turn creates an existential insecurity. For many of these secular professionals, life in Turkey consisted of living in a bubble consisting of certain safe spaces – the workplace, the home and socialisation centres – that were located in particular neighbourhoods of their home cities. The metaphor of a ‘bubble’ is significant, as it implies that certain boundaries are maintained, which can, in turn, be transgressed by others. For many of these secular Turkish citizens, day by day this bubble was becoming more and more permissive and its borders harder to maintain.

At this point, the Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben’s differentiation of ‘bare’ life (*zoē*) and the form and manner in which life is lived (*bios*) can be helpful to make better sense of the predicament of these secular Turkish citizens. Agamben argues that the ancient Greeks had two words for what in contemporary European languages is referred to simply as ‘life’: *bios* (the form or manner in which life is lived) and *zoē* (the biological fact of life). ‘Bare’ life refers then to a conception of life in which the sheer biological fact of life is given priority over the way a life is lived, by which Agamben means its possibilities and potentialities. Many of these secular migrants, who had an awareness of this differentiation, were concerned that their life in Turkey was becoming more and more about preserving their biological existence (*zoē*), rather than about prospering through the opportunities that their social, cultural and economic capital

provided (*bios*). This vulnerable and fragile existence creates a dilemma for many secular citizens of Turkey. The stark choice is either to resist actively and challenge the normative order or to seek resilience and adapt to the new normative order and its expectations. Many of the informants reported participating in political demonstrations against the government, including the Gezi Park protests. However, the hope and potential for change that they initially felt was gradually replaced with acceptance and despair.

For those who chose to conform and transform, the formation of new alliances with those in power frequently necessitated mimicking their practices to fit into their expectations. Some of the interviewees noted that in their workplace in Turkey they had come across people who had not been practising religiously, but this had changed with the rise to power of the Justice and Development Party (AKP). For those who do not find it easy to adapt to the new power relations, there are also moral questions. These professionals must either accept becoming instruments in, to them, morally questionable activities, and thereby preserve their livelihood but in the process reject their ethical beliefs and identity, or resist and risk losing their jobs and being ostracised. Because the Turkish economy is very centralised, it is almost impossible for these secular, highly skilled professionals to avoid or distance themselves from nepotism and crony capitalism.

Overall, increasing nepotism and islamonormative pressures have invalidated the hard-earned social and cultural capital of these secular middle-class professionals. The vision of a life in which merit, qualifications and cultural capital trump economic and social capital is replaced by the supremacy of social capital; for these individuals, whose secular way of life excludes them from the social networks of power, this meritocratic imaginary is shattered. In addition, changes made to the educational system have added to their fears regarding the reproduction of their secular way of life. Hence, the perceived threat to their way of life is not merely related to the here and now, but also extends into the future.

## *Pull factors*

So, what are the pull factors? What aspects of the UK prompt these secular migrants to want to migrate there? Because these migrants are highly educated, their migration destination options are very wide and not limited to the UK; there are, however, several factors that made the UK more attractive than other options.

*Language.* The first and the most frequently mentioned pull factor is language. English being the most extensively taught foreign language in Turkey means that these migrants

can use this cultural capital to good effect in their adaptation to a new society. Also, a perception that English is the predominant world language has given some migrants an added motivation to choose the UK.

*The Ankara Agreement.* This agreement with the UK offers as a less cumbersome route to migration.

*High-skilled job opportunities.* The UK being the home of many international companies or hosting their offices offers highly skilled professionals the opportunity to find high-paying jobs and to preserve their social status and symbolic capital. For couples who migrated as a family, the ability to find jobs that improved the careers of both adults was an important factor.

*Tolerance.* The perceived tolerance towards Turks within the UK compared with some other European countries is another significant factor. Some of the informants who had been to other European countries such as Germany, either as students or for other purposes, reported that the image of Turks in these countries is considerably worse.

*Geography.* The relative geographical proximity of the UK to Turkey is also important. For those migrants who also considered Canada or the USA as a destination or had the opportunity to emigrate to one of these countries, the proximity of Turkey to the UK was another factor that contributed to their decision to prioritise it.

None of the informants cited state support or benefits as a factor in their decision to emigrate to the UK.

#### *A less precarious life?*

The precarious state of life is seen by the respondents as much improved in the UK, especially with regard to preserving their bare life. Informants also reported a greater sense of existential security, due to a confidence in the rule of law and equal rights. For women, these differences are much more pronounced. Many women informants reported that they felt more secure and comfortable in the UK. Moreover, the autocontrol and restrictions that they had exerted over themselves in terms of adhering to more conservative codes of dressing, for example, were diminished.

However, life in the UK for those who migrated via the Ankara Agreement can be significantly more difficult and precarious, especially during the first year, compared to those migrants who moved with a sponsored high-skilled job visa. Whereas these Tier 2 visa migrants have a certain level of job and income security and can benefit from support networks provided by the companies that hire them, Ankara Agreement migrants have to generate their own income and deal with bureaucracy largely on their own. These difficulties are most acute during the initial stages of settling in the UK, when they have to set up a business and, at the end of the year, make an application to extend their visas by demonstrating that they are able to run a successful business. At this point, social capital and solidarity amongst immigrants in the UK can be key to their future.

Many of the informants reported that when they first arrived in the UK they shared accommodation with friends who had migrated before them until they could take care of the bureaucratic paperwork. Some had a hard time finding accommodation, even though they had the funds, because they were asked to provide a credit score. Thus this collaboration between migrants is essential for many in the initial stages, not only in finding a place to live, but also in generating income. As a result, migrants can end up working in jobs that they are overqualified for, merely to support themselves financially and preserve their Ankara Agreement status.

Another aspect that adds to the precarious status of the Ankara Agreement migrants is the regulation surrounding the agreement itself. One of the informants described his experience of dealing with the Home Office as ‘going through a tunnel as it is collapsing’: a metaphor that vividly captures the fragile and precarious life of these migrants. While most of the informants did not report being or feeling discriminated against, some did report instances of discrimination or negative treatment. However they generally did not associate these with them being Turkish but rather with them being immigrants. Some of these instances stemmed from institutional arrangements, whereas others took place during everyday interactions in the form of micro-aggressions.

In addition to these aggressive interactions, there are other instances when Turks have been subjected to the stereotyping of Middle Eastern people. For these secular migrants, Islamophobic attitudes and their nonconformity to stereotypes about Muslims can work in their favour. However, the migrants who identify as Muslim or feel a responsibility towards Muslim identity felt they needed to challenge certain expectations and images of Muslims in the UK. Their secular identity, in this respect, can become a distinguishing factor that separates them from the imaginary monolithic Muslim community, which they feel they need to emphasise. Their concern is the homogenous representation of being Muslim and the lack of recognition of the heterogeneity of the Muslim community. For these secular Turkish citizens, most of whom have grown up in Muslim households that were either non-practising or had liberal interpretations of religious rules, the expectation, either well intentioned or not, that a Muslim ought to live according to the letter of the religion is a misrepresentation and a misrecognition, and, incidentally, something that they also witnessed in Turkey from conservative Muslims.

Such expectations of how a ‘good Muslim’ ought to live are reported to come also from other Muslims in the UK. The relations of these secular migrants with the British Pakistani and British Bangladeshi communities, two of the largest Muslim groups in the UK, can be complicated. The Turkish migrants can be subjected to assumptions about their Muslim identity and a sense of camaraderie that they do not immediately identify with.

## CLIMATE CHANGE & THE ENVIRONMENT

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

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### Water in Istanbul: Rising to the Challenge?

Martin Crapper | Northumbria University

Jim Crow | University of Edinburgh

Çiğdem Özkan Aygün | Istanbul Technical University

Ender Peker, Lutgarde Vandeput & Martyn Weeds | British Institute at Ankara

**W**ater in Istanbul: Rising to the Challenge? is a new 24-month project led by the Institute's Director, Lutgarde Vandeput, and funded by the British Academy's Knowledge Frontiers 2021: International Interdisciplinary Research Scheme, the Scientific Research Projects Department of Istanbul Technical University (no. 43072), a BIAA research grant and the SFC GCRF Fund of the University of Edinburgh. It brings together archaeologists, engineers, social scientists and historians to investigate water management infrastructure in Istanbul. From its establishment in 330 CE, Constantinople, later Istanbul, 'thirsted for water', and the ancient world's longest water-supply line was required to meet the increasing demands of this growing city. However, the problem was not easily resolved long-term, and later centuries saw a continuing challenge to supply adequate water, a challenge that became particularly significant at key moments of change and transformation. This project focuses on two such periods: the transition from Byzantine to Ottoman rule following the conquest of 1453 and the recent period of rapid population explosion beginning in the early 1980s.

Critical environmental, political or economic events can challenge the sustainability of complex infrastructure systems. Radical regime change, as in 1453, prompts questions regarding the pre-existing water-related infrastructure systems: whether they continued to function and how they were modified and/or replaced. The later transition from imperial/political city to simply a major

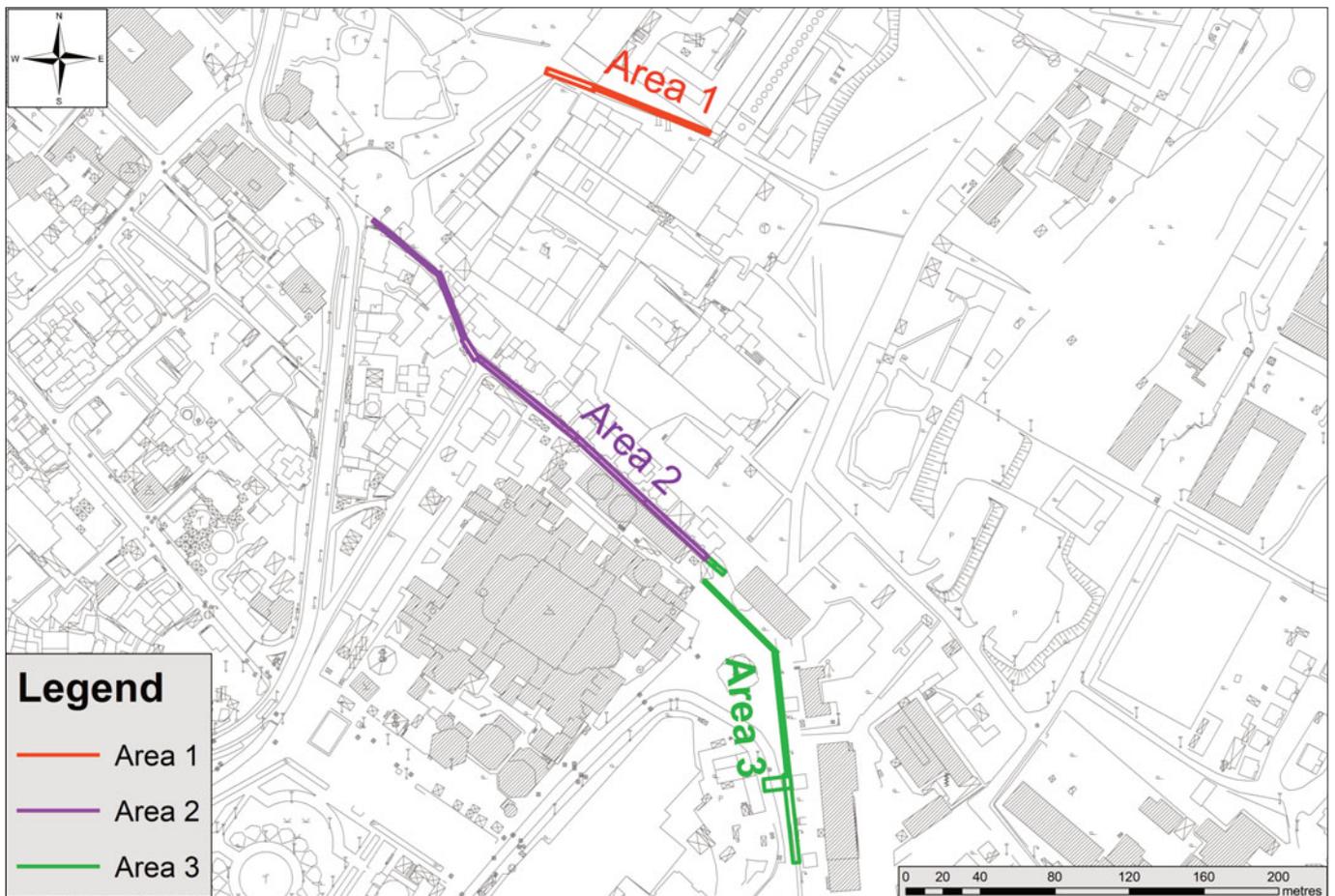
economic centre at the beginning of the Republican era resulted in urban decline, which had consequences for the water-management infrastructure. The real challenge, though, has arisen from the early 1980s onwards, as the population of Istanbul began rising rapidly from about 2.7 million in the 1970s to over 16 million today. The infrastructure could not keep up with demand, and this is a challenge that has not been overcome to date.

The Water in Istanbul project is examining how the city's water-distribution systems have changed at these pivotal moments, not only from technological and functional perspectives, but also by investigating how the management and organisational infrastructures have adapted and responded. While the contemporary water-management problems facing Istanbul are far from unique, the fact that the city has a documented history, covering more than 1,700 years, of attempts made to address the challenge of adequate water supply makes it an ideal case study.

Interdisciplinary collaboration between archaeologists, historians and engineers allows the application of present-day hydraulic engineering modelling methods to data from the early Ottoman period to generate new knowledge and understanding of how the past system functioned and was managed. In parallel, engineers and social scientists are working with water-management experts and other local stakeholders to understand better the current needs and explore how past practices can inform solutions to contemporary water-related challenges.

A major objective of the project is to develop a better understanding of the Ottoman water-management system in the Topkapı area, where functional changes necessitated large infrastructural remodelling in the Ottoman period and particular problems arose due to the relative elevation of the new palace. To this end, a programme of targeted archaeological fieldwork and historical research, as well as collation of existing material, is being undertaken to provide data for extensive mapping of the water-management system in the Topkapı area and for investigation of its functionality, using hydraulic modelling. In the first fieldwork phase – conducted in summer 2021 – a ground-penetrating radar (GPR) survey was carried out to investigate water-management-related remains, including supply lines providing freshwater to the Topkapı area. Based on previous research by Hülya Tezcan and the archaeological survey results of Çiğdem Özkan Aygün, several areas were identified for investigation with GPR: Osman Hamdi Bey Yokuşu (Area 1), Soğuk Çeşme Sokak (Area 2) and İshak Paşa Caddesi (Area 3) (see plan, below). The fieldwork yielded 11 channels and a further possible channel, between 1m and 2m wide and 1–1.5m high at depths of between 1.5m and 5m, along with a subterranean structure. This structure may be identified with a cistern referenced in an Ottoman document written immediately after the great earthquake of 1509.

A second project objective focuses on modern Istanbul and the challenges of ensuring sustainable water provision. To this end, a participatory knowledge-generation process with local stakeholder groups to map specific challenges has been instigated. An initial stakeholder engagement workshop focusing on water storage and rainwater harvesting was held at the Netherlands Consulate-General in Istanbul on 4 October 2021. The morning session comprised presentations of the Water in Istanbul: Rising to the Challenge? project, other water-related initiatives of the BIAA, the results of research on water management in Istanbul by Dr Özkan, the water-management project in the garden of the Netherlands Consulate-General and initiatives on water management conducted by the Netherlands Institute in Turkey (NIT). In the afternoon, two parallel focus groups were organised with representatives from the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, the Istanbul Water and Sewerage Administration, the Fatih Municipality, the Netherlands Institute in Turkey, the Istanbul Policy Center, Istanbul Technical University and Royal Haskoning DHV to discuss the challenges of implementing rainwater-collection systems in buildings and urban open spaces, and to co-define needs. Preliminary results suggest that the challenges can be clustered under seven headings: (1) infrastructure, (2) finance, (3) installation of systems, (4) operation of systems, (5) planning and development, (6) legislation and governance and (7) society.





GPR survey work at İshak Paşa Caddesi, east of Hagia Sophia (photograph by Engin Aygün).

At the end of the workshop, participants agreed on the need to establish a new office under the Istanbul Water and Sewerage Administration that would be solely responsible for water storage and rainwater harvesting. Participants also discussed the possibility of revitalising some historic systems and integrating them into the modern city infrastructure. Due to the risk of damage and inadequate storage capacities, a more conservation-oriented approach was adopted. It was agreed that the revitalisation of one or two pilot cisterns could be used as an awareness-raising strategy, supported by public engagement activities.

In the next phase of the project, archaeological fieldwork in the Topkapı area will continue, with the aim of obtaining detailed information relevant to hydraulics. Modelling on the basis of the combined data from archaeological and historical research will enable engineers to determine how the systems functioned, while hydraulic modelling will make reconstruction of the capacity of the infrastructure possible. The combined results will be of importance to further understanding of the functioning of the city in the Ottoman period as well as to appreciate important differences between the older Byzantine infrastructure and the adaptations made by the Ottomans.

Additional stakeholder workshops will be organised throughout 2022, involving not only local participants but also representatives from regional and national authorities to extend and enrich understanding of contemporary challenges. The results of work on historical infrastructure and past water-management practices will be presented to inform discussions of how the identified challenges could be overcome. The results of these stakeholder workshops will be cross-referenced with the work of engineers on the functionalities and limitations of the current infrastructure to create responsive solutions.

Also in this phase, GIS models of the Topkapı area will be built, showing the water network during the periods of interest (late Byzantine to Ottoman and modern), so that they can be compared and overlaid. Results from the study of published archaeological material, earlier fieldwork and research in Ottoman archives will be incorporated in the GIS model with the aim of extending out from the Topkapı area in an attempt to cover the main water lines of the wider city, covering supply, storage and drainage routes.

The GIS models will be linked to hydraulic modelling software, and modelling of the hydraulic operation of the network under various scenarios will be carried out. This will include rainwater-runoff modelling as well as supplies from aqueducts and springs. Where relevant, storage and drainage of water will also be covered, and consideration will be given to the role of groundwater in supplying springs, wells and cisterns identified within the model area.

The combined results of the different disciplines on past and present water-management practices and challenges may provide inspiration for management solutions for the present and the future.



Delegates attend the Water Storage and Rainwater Harvesting Workshop in October 2021 (photograph by Ender Peker).



Tuzla Gölü (photograph by Çetin Şenkul).

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## Water management and resilience-building on the Konya plain

Lutgarde Vandeput | British Institute at Ankara

John Wainwright | Durham University

Jessie Woodbridge | University of Plymouth

The British Institute at Ankara (BIAA) is currently involved in two projects focused on water resources, water management and climate change on the Konya plain. Both build on the long tradition of BIAA-funded and facilitated research in this region and are linked to previous and ongoing research programmes on the Konya plain.

The first new project, *Fragile Landscapes: Past, Present and Future of Sustainable Water Management on the Konya Plain, Turkey*, is funded by the British Academy's Humanities and Social Sciences Tackling Global Challenges scheme. It is led by John Wainwright (Durham University) and is a collaboration between researchers based in Turkey, the USA and the UK: İlker Yiğit (Burdur Mehmet Akif Ersoy University), Meltem Uçar (Mersin University), Anlı Atäv and Sila Özkavaf (Middle East Technical University), Olgu Yurttaş (Ankara University), Faruk Ocakoğlu (Eskişehir Osmangazi University), Lutgarde Vandeput and Ender Peker (BIAA), Michele Massa (University of Chicago), Dan Lawrence (Durham University), Davide Motta (Northumbria University) and Gianna Ayala (University of Sheffield). The interdisciplinary project includes elements of archaeology, history, anthropology, geography and hydrology.

The second project, *Kuruyan Kara (dryland): Water Security in the Agricultural Landscapes of Turkey: Towards Improving the Resilience of Communities and Socio-Ecological Systems*, is funded by the internal Global Challenges Research Fund at the University of Plymouth. The project is led by Jessie Woodbridge (University of Plymouth) and is a collaboration with Lutgarde Vandeput (BIAA), Mehmet Şeremet (Van Yüzüncü Yıl University),

Çetin Şenkul (Anatolia Quaternary Research Centre at Süleyman Demirel University, Isparta), Claire Kelly (University of Plymouth) and Warren Eastwood (University of Birmingham). It brings together specialists in anthropology as well as human and physical geography.

Many of the areas of the central Konya basin have rainfall of less than 250mm a year, so management of water resources is critical, especially in periods of drought like that currently being suffered in the region. Such droughts are likely to become more frequent according to projected climate changes, which are predicted to result in increased drought, with semi-arid regions, such as the Konya plain, at high risk. Challenges surrounding water availability are intensifying, with consequences for crop productivity, and effective water use will become increasingly important over the coming decades. Although both projects are based on the Konya plain, they focus on different areas. *Fragile Landscapes* is focused mainly on the Çarşamba river basin area and other catchments feeding the western side of the basin, together with the outflow areas east and southeast of Konya, whilst the *Kuruyan Kara* project concentrates on three lakes – Gölpinar-Kayı, Akgöl-Adabağ and Tuzla – located to the northeast of Konya, near Aksaray and Kayseri.

*Fragile Landscapes* aims to look at the use of water resources in the Konya basin, as a means of understanding the sustainability and resilience of settlements in dryland areas in Turkey, by investigating water use in three different time frames. For the period from the 16th to the 20th century CE, information from Ottoman taxation records is used to reconstruct past land use and thus estimate water requirements.

The record of 1584 provides a complete snapshot of the number of taxpayers and the balance of the different types of crops grown and animal husbandry used. The data from the 1584 records are supplemented with samples from the 1513 and 1841 records to estimate changing patterns through time. Court documents are used to reconstruct management regulations and structures. The picture that is starting to emerge is one of an integrated system, with devolved responsibilities for managing resources at village and individual levels. Satellite and other imagery are used to map past water-management features and to attempt to discover the locations of subsequently abandoned villages and water-harvesting features, supplementing and complementing the information from the Ottoman taxation records.

For the period from the 20th century to the present day, government records of land use are combined with an ethnographic approach to understand how and why water has been and continues to be used. Although infrastructural changes did occur throughout the Ottoman period in the Konya basin, they accelerated rapidly with major schemes initiated in 1912 and then from the 1960s onwards. New crop types have emerged and there has been an increasing shift towards irrigated agriculture. Interviews with local farmers and village leaders (*mukhtars*) have provided first-hand reflections on the nature of these changes and how they are driven by local, national and international conditions (see pages 22–23).

In order to look to the future, up to 2100, the team is using climate and socio-economic projections together with environmental data to predict how water use will change river flows and groundwater levels. To ensure confidence in these predictions, the hydrological model will be tested against estimates for the Ottoman period and the available measurements for the later 20th century.

Bringing together these different lines of evidence, the aim is to consider how past experience can be used to support a sustainable future use of water in the region.

The Kuruyan Kara project is exploring environmental change over multi-centennial timescales in order to capture socio-ecological system behaviour and so provide valuable information for maintaining environmental stability and building resilience to future challenges. The project focuses specifically on socio-ecological and community resilience to water-resource challenges, and the current pilot capacity-building project based in the Konya basin combines natural- and social-science methods.

In 2020 and 2021, project collaborators Çetin Şenkul and Mehmet Şeremet, along with their team members, undertook physical- and social-science fieldwork in the Konya basin.

Çetin's team has taken cores from lakes where sediment archives can be used to generate palaeo-environmental datasets. This work has taken place at three lakes within the region most at risk of drought (Gülpınar-Kayı, Akgöl-Adabağ, Tuzla). Analytical techniques employed on the collected samples include analyses of fossil diatoms (water quality/

quantity/climate indicators) and fossil pollen, to reconstruct landscape change over recent centuries, along with X-ray fluorescence (XRF) core scanning of lake sediments, which can be used to study changes in past environmental and climatic processes over a range of timescales by assessing the ratios of different elements. Sediments are being dated using radioisotopes. The results are then combined with meteorological and modern landscape data, remote-sensed imagery and aerial photos. The combined results are used to answer questions about how past land-use and water availability/quality have affected modern systems and what environmental or land-use conditions preceded the current desiccation and salinisation of the lakes.

Meanwhile, Mehmet and his team have identified community members and/or leaders (*mukhtars*) to join focus groups and engage in semi-structured interviews within villages and towns near the natural-science data collection locations (Gülağaç, Adabağ, Palas). The main areas of focus have revolved around the roles that cultural perceptions and local knowledge of catchments have played in water-resource use, the barriers to effective water-resource management and the scientific information that would support stakeholders to build sustainable water-management systems.

Both projects tackle the issue of dwindling water resources in the semi-arid region of the Konya plain and explore how human-induced factors are and have been involved in related processes. Their aim is to explore how, in view of predicted climate change and increasing aridity, local communities can build resilience to be (better) equipped for future challenges. They look at past environmental archives and practices to inform the present and the future. The projects each use their own set of methods and different disciplines are involved, but complementary results may be expected, mutually increasing their respective impacts. Although both projects have been severely impacted by the pandemic, it is hoped they will be able to share their results with the local communities, as well as using them to develop policy briefings that can be employed to support sustainable water use in dryland regions throughout the world.



Dryland agriculture (photograph by Mehmet Şeremet).



Hotamiş wetland, where the construction of a reservoir to store water from the Göksu catchment is planned.

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## Searching for pathways of sustainable water management on the Konya plain

Ender Peker | British Institute at Ankara

Anlı Ataöv | Middle East Technical University

Sıla Özkavaf | Izmir Institute of Technology & Middle East Technical University

Michele Massa | University of Chicago

Davide Motta | Northumbria University

**W**ater scarcity is one of the most significant environmental and humanitarian threats of this century and is also recognised as a major source of conflict, particularly in drylands. Water scarcity is certainly connected with climate change at the global scale, but it is also an outcome of water-resource mismanagement and overexploitation at regional and/or local levels. Advancing sustainable approaches to water management features prominently among the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), either directly (SDG 6) or indirectly (SDGs 8, 11 and 12).

The Konya-Karaman plain is one of the largest agricultural basins in Turkey but is also among its driest areas. Currently the annual rainfall is 240–340mm/year, projected to decrease by 2050 to about 200mm/year, below the lowest limit for non-irrigated agriculture. In recent decades, the widespread use of

wild flooding for irrigation, combined with the cultivation of crops requiring large amounts of water, particularly corn and sugar beet, have caused pressure in meeting the increased water demand for agriculture. This has consequently led to different government-funded responses, adopted in the recent past, such as the expansion of the irrigation systems and the ongoing construction of a large artificial lake (Hotamiş Dam) in the eastern section of the Konya plain, to collect water from another catchment (Göksu) which is located some 160km away. In addition to these attempts, local producers also predominantly use water-well drilling methods, which have led to an excessive number of legal and illegal deep wells extracting groundwater from the plain. This has caused a rapid depletion of the groundwater reserves, in turn leading to marshland drying, the rapid increase of sinkhole formation and desertification.

Thus, the goal of this pilot study is to understand, through a socio-spatial research approach, the current water-management practices in the Konya plain, from the perspective of local residents and communities, agricultural cooperatives and policymakers. This is part of a larger, interdisciplinary effort, which aims to catalyse behavioural change in water usage and support adaptation policies at local and regional levels, currently being made by the British International Research Institutes' (BIRI) Water Management Initiative (WMI). This is an interdisciplinary research network that brings together the BIRI and a diverse group of scholars (geographers, urban planners, social anthropologists, hydraulic engineers, climatologists, archaeologists and historians).

The methodological framework adopted in this pilot study aims to gather local tacit knowledge on agricultural production, water availability, water usage, attitudes toward water use and awareness of water-scarcity challenges. To this end, agro-economists from Selçuk University were interviewed in two Zoom meetings. One was conducted as an in-depth interview and the other as a group interview. In-depth telephone interviews were also conducted in June and September 2021 with the *mukhtars* (village headmen) of two villages on the Konya plain: Türkmen-Karahüyük (located in the Çarşamba river delta, with 727 inhabitants, mainly growing corn, sugar beet and sunflower) and İsmil (in the drier steppe, with 5,828 inhabitants, mainly growing corn). Additionally, fieldwork was carried out in July 2021 which involved meeting with a total of 11 producers who undertake large-scale industrial farming, and among them were six *mukhtars* from the villages of Türkmen-Karahüyük, Karkın, Adakale, Taşağıl, Süngül and Büyükbaşlama. This was followed by a site observation tour in the production fields, guided by the *mukhtars*. Interviews with farmers' associations and cooperatives, and with local and central authorities dealing with water management are planned. The completed interviews and focus groups produced a range of very valuable descriptive and numerical data, based on village farming experiences. The most significant and somewhat eye-opening findings are presented below.

The farmers have confirmed that they have been experiencing first-hand evidence of water scarcity, in the form of increased droughts, less water in the irrigation canals and groundwater table reduction (in the order of metres and with varying magnitude from place to place). They have already adapted their irrigation practices to improve irrigation efficiency and reduce water waste, moving away from wild flooding and opting for the more efficient sprinkler- and drip-based techniques.

They perceive that corn production is not sustainable with the current water resources, but they are not aware that the approach of transferring water from where it is available to where it is limited is not a sustainable solution. Thus, they demand this water transfer, because they see it as the only way out without having to quit their current crop choice.

They are unwilling to change the current crop types, specifically to ditch corn to return to historically grown crops such as wheat and barley, due to the high economic return of corn production. Corn production currently has about twice the economic return of that of wheat, and farmers are reluctant to sacrifice any associated life-quality gains.

There are global actors on the plain, namely Monsanto and Bayer, that are actively pushing for corn production, providing opportunities for conformity in the use of fertilizers and pesticides (without which corn would not grow on the plain). This appears to be an additional factor contributing to the current water-scarcity challenge in the region. However, some producers mentioned that, if the government's valuation of wheat and barley had a higher unit price than at present, they would have opted to grow those crops instead of corn.

In a shift from the past, for instance the Ottoman period when the economic model was self-sustained and products were consumed locally, today's farmers do not eat what they grow industrially (which is destined for export). They do, though, eat what they grow in their back gardens. Interestingly, here, they often apply organic agriculture approaches, including the use of natural fertilizers and no pesticides.

Finally, the producers see the role of researchers being to provide a practically unachievable solution, such as transferring water from other regions, that would allow for the maintenance of the current industrial agricultural production model by ensuring that water resources are available to support it.

This pilot study is contributing data for computation and validation of quantitative and comparative water-budget analyses for the 16th century CE, today and end of this century for the Konya plain, within the context of the ongoing British Academy-funded Fragile Landscapes project (see pages 20–21). Most importantly it has revealed that any attempts to implement change in behaviour and policy regarding water management in the region will have to take into account economic factors and the life-quality expectations of farmers.



Ender Peker and Anlı Ataöv meet with local farmers in Çumra in July 2021.

## LEGACY DATA: USING THE PAST FOR THE FUTURE

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

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### The British Institute at Ankara's digital repository

Nurdan Atalan Çayırmez, Gonca Özger, Burçak Delikan and Eloise Jones | British Institute at Ankara

Galleries, libraries, archives and museums are cultural-memory institutions that store, preserve and share information and knowledge as cultural heritage. One such institution is the BIAA, and the Institute's Digital Repository Office and Library team has been working hard over the past 12 months to make the BIAA's collections open access whilst adhering to FAIR (findable, accessible, interoperable and reusable) principles, which are important elements of open-access archives.

Organising and barcoding the physical archives are key to the preparation of the material for digitisation. The old folders used to store the BIAA's photographic collection have been replaced by special acid-free plastic files and guidelines for the conservation process have been prepared for interns. Meanwhile, the Resource Manager, Assistant Librarian and interns have continued work on barcoding and organising the physical drawings of archaeological objects and trench and ground plans for the digitisation process.

The Institute's library catalogue ([www.biaatr.org/library](http://www.biaatr.org/library)) is being transformed in accordance with the new open-source library catalogue system (KOHA) and will be accessible via <http://library.biaa.ac.uk/>. MARC 21 standards are being used for cataloguing books, journals, pamphlets, audio-visual material and e-publications. The Resource Manager and Assistant Librarian are currently verifying the data in KOHA.

Meanwhile, the setup and configuration of the Institute's digital repository system is continuing. The system is in the test stage now and will be open to the public in 2022. The digital repository will use an open-source system, Islandora

8, on Amazon Web Services. Records have been prepared using Qualified Dublin Core metadata schema, and controlled vocabularies have been created for the use of standard terminology and linking data (people, geolocations, subjects, flora and fauna, etc). Authorities such as LOC, FAST, VIAF, GBIF, POWO, IPNI, Wikidata, Getty TGN and Pleiades have been selected as appropriate datasets. The creation of geolocational information requires additional effort and alignment with other authority sources. Issues related to linking data for archaeological settlements in Turkey have been discussed at the online 'Linked Pasts 6' conference held at the University of London and British Library on 2–16 December 2020.

Cataloguing and verifying collections data is a time-consuming process, but adding new subject headings will increase the accuracy and availability of search results. Liam Devlin (Research Scholar 2020–2021), Eloise Jones (Research Assistant 2021) and Burcu Akşahin (Research Scholar 2021–2022) have worked on projects, events and photographic collection data to help create vocabularies. The BIAA is also supporting a number of interns (Aslı Batırbaygil, Ezgi Özdemir, Saliha Yıldız and Nabila Nabila) and volunteers (Muhammed Ali Akman, Gamze Kaya, İlayda Dumlupınar, Vildan Toprak and Deniz Çit) from information and records management and other academic departments. These interns and volunteers have continued to work on the BIAA collections both remotely and in-person. Digital Archivist Orhun Uğur took up his post on 1 October 2021 and is currently preparing and verifying data for the new system.



Burçak Delikan and Nihal Uzun barcoding a long squeeze drawing (squeeze maker: Richard Harper; © British Institute at Ankara-PH15303).

The Institute's botanical reference collection incorporates a herbarium (Index Herbariorum code BIA) created in 1970 to support archaeobotanical research. At the beginning of 2021, the herbarium digitisation project started with the support of the Charlotte Bonham-Carter Charitable Trust, the Seven Pillars of Wisdom Trust, the Stevenson Family Trust and the Imagining Futures Project (University of Exeter). The Digitalising Turkey's Botanical Heritage project aims to preserve the herbarium specimens physically and to establish a virtual herbarium containing images of and information about all the specimens in the BIAA's historical herbarium. To achieve this, botanists (Ilgın Deniz Can and Barış Necdet Uğurman), interns and volunteers are mounting specimens, cleaning old mounted sheets and labelling (creating labels from handwritten notes) and barcoding the specimens to prepare them for our photographer, Gücügür Görkay. Consultants Necmi Aksoy (Düzce University) and Mark Nesbitt (Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew) are providing advice and helping with the project. Naomi Miller and Sue Colledge have also been helping the BIAA team to understand the Gordion Project specimens and Gordon Hillman's specimens.

To increase awareness of the importance of digital archives in archaeology and of sharing best practices and technical knowledge, SEADDA (a community of archaeologists and digital specialists working together to secure the future of archaeological data across Europe and beyond) conducted a training activity with the Digital Preservation Coalition at which the Digital Repository Manager gave a presentation on the BIAA's experience.

SEADDA also prepared a special issue of *Internet Archaeology*, to which Nurdan Atalan Çayirezmez, in collaboration with Piraye Hacıgüzeller and Tuna Kalaycı, contributed a piece titled 'Archaeological digital archiving in Turkey' (<https://doi.org/10.11141/ia.58.20>).

Collaboration and partnership are important when sharing knowledge, and so the British International Research Institutes (BIRI) are working together to create linked open datasets that use the same terminology, and so allow the saving of time and effort when creating linked data. The BIRI Digitisation Initiative started with a virtual meeting at which the BIAA, British School at Athens, British School at Rome and Society for Libyan Studies made presentations. The aim was to share possibilities, options and obstacles, but, above all, the meeting marked the beginning of closer collaboration on this important topic. The BIRI institutions also explained the approaches, progress and challenges they face at the 'Discovering Collections, Discovering Communities' conference (DCDC21) on 28 June 2021 (<https://dcdconference.com/>).

Finally, we would like to thank all the staff, consultants, scholars, interns and volunteers who have contributed to the work on the digital repository over the past 12 months.



Barış Necdet Uğurman working on the herbarium data (© British Institute at Ankara-PH15304) and Gücügür Görkay taking a photograph of a herbarium specimen (© British Institute at Ankara-PH15302).

# BiolsoANE: an open-access repository of bioarchaeological isotopic analysis in the greater ancient Near East

Benjamin Irvine | Koç University Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations & British Institute at Ankara  
Bike Yazıcioğlu-Santamaria | Simon Fraser University

The isotopic analysis of bioarchaeological remains has gained pace over the last few decades in the archaeology of the greater ancient Near East (GNE). Initially recognised for their utility in investigations of mobility, subsistence and diet, isotopic methods are now employed to address increasingly diverse research questions. Not only have research topics diversified, but so have methodologies. Advances in instrumental analysis, the use of multiple isotopic analyses, the application of new isotopes in archaeological research and the combination of isotopic analyses with ZooMS, aDNA and proteomics are revolutionising what can be learnt about past human societies from bioarchaeological remains. Today, embracing a holistic understanding of human ecology and pushing forward the frontier of interdisciplinary research, the isotopic analysis of bioarchaeological remains has not only become an indispensable method for the research agendas of excavations and regional projects, but it has also transformed into a research field in and of itself. In recent times there has also been an increasing trend to explore ‘big pictures’, resulting in large-scale pan-regional and diachronic examinations of dietary habits, subsistence strategies, palaeoeconomies and animal and human mobility.

However, biases exist in terms of the intensity of research and the questions being addressed, and there is a need to connect researchers across the different subregions of the GNE. In this rapidly developing field, data-reporting standards of legacy data need to be addressed and current research protocols and data reporting need to be standardised at large. Therefore, there is a need to compile the data that have already been produced and published to enable observation of research trends and continued assessment and improvement of methodologies. With these objectives in mind and following several meetings of the Archaeological Isotopes Working Group (AIWG) at American Society of Overseas Research (ASOR) conferences, it was established that the creation of a centralised database of isotopic data and research from the region would be a good way to approach these objectives. A research grant from the British Institute at Ankara (BIAA), awarded in 2020, and subsequent and continuing support from the BIAA has enabled us to work towards making this need a reality.

Thus, here, we would like to announce the final outcome of this project: a website with an open-access bibliography and integrated database of published bioarchaeological

isotope data for the GNE – BioIsoANE: A Repository of Bioarchaeological Isotopic Analysis in the Greater Ancient Near East. The website, database and bibliography will provide a focal point for researchers from multiple disciplines, within and beyond archaeology, to examine, collate, compare and contrast data, and allow them to perform their own meta-data studies. The website will serve as a collaborative platform to move the field forward and increase the robustness of isotopic analyses and data reporting, as well as the reliability and traceability of data. This dynamic collaborative research platform will be hosted on the BIAA server and will provide an affiliated contribution to the Institute’s digital repository. The BioIsoANE website project is an international and collaborative endeavour, co-directed by the authors of this article, including a user-interface designer (Emrah Çiftçi, BAREK, Ankara) and two web application developers (Cem Çetintaş and İlker Ergün, Ankara), and supported by the members of the AIWG and BioIsoANE’s current advisory committee: Michael Richards, Lynn Welton (Durham University), Scott Branting (University of Central Florida) and Dominique Langis-Barsetti (University of Toronto).



The region covered by the BioIsoANE project and databases.

The BioIsoANE database will include all isotopic data from bioarchaeological remains (human, animal, plant, organic residues) recovered from sites dating to all archaeological periods of the greater ancient Near East – from the Balkans to the south Caucasus, and from northern Sudan to the Persian Gulf and Iran. A relational database for storing published isotope data in the most efficient way and in compliance with best practices in data reporting has been designed and developed. For this we observed a number of principles: meta-data compatibility with existing open-access database projects in related fields; maximising the contextual information provided for samples from which quantitative data are driven; user-friendly organisation of data and flexible search functions to increase utility for various research objectives; and, finally, scientific rigour in reporting data quality measures and maintaining flexibility to accommodate for further development of data fields as analytical methods continue to advance. It will be possible to view a summary of the data for each site via an interactive map, where sorting and visualising by categories such as period, region, country, isotope and sample type will be possible. The isotope data repository database is linked to the bibliographic database to ensure context and traceability of the data. This bibliographic database will be searchable through common search fields (for example, author, date, title, journal), as well as customised search fields developed by us for users from multiple related disciplines (for example, region, country, site, site type, chronological and cultural period, sampled population type, sampled tissue type, reported isotopes, research theme); it will also have content fields for storing the keywords and abstracts of publications included in the database. So far, data for these fields from nearly 300 published articles have been collated following a systematic browsing of journals in related fields, conference proceedings, edited volumes, etc. The coding for the digital development of the databases and web pages, whilst currently ongoing, is nearing completion, after which and following data entry, the website, its interactive map and databases will become publicly accessible.

In the process of data compilation, we have recognised certain patterns in the published literature regarding how data-reporting standards and research methodologies and agendas have evolved, and a currently vibrant field is the ‘meta-analysis’ of biological and bioarchaeological data including ancient genomic and isotopic datasets. Analyses utilising these quantitative datasets derived from cultural contexts of the ancient past have demonstrated that it has become ever more pertinent for archaeologists and bioarchaeologists who have hands-on experience with the actual research materials and methods of the field and in the laboratory, like ourselves, to be involved in the well-contextualised presentation of these datasets. We are currently working on the manuscript of a more detailed scholarly article, in which we will present an overview of the research trends in bioarchaeological isotopic

analyses in the GNE and elaborate on the utility of the isotopic method and its broad-scale use in the interpretation of human-environment relations, land-use and subsistence, structural inequalities and dietary preferences, and human mobility. Furthermore, it will be stressed in particular how the BioIsoANE website and database can prove to be invaluable research and teaching tools in the performance of such studies. We have also presented our work and the BioIsoANE project and its online components at two conferences: the Association for Environmental Archaeology (AEA) Spring Conference, which was held as a virtual meeting on 24 April 2021; and the ASOR 2021 meeting held virtually on 9–12 December 2021.

This project is intended to have a long-term use in and benefit to the fields of archaeology, bioarchaeology, ecology and climate studies and the isotopic research communities, providing an open-access digital repository of current and legacy data and a format for developing and enhancing isotope research in the region for many years to come. Therefore, following its public online launch and publication, the website will continue to be edited, developed, updated and managed by us. This will include primarily updating the isotope database and bibliography as more data become available and more research is conducted and published. Part of the website will also contain information to promote best practices in all stages of research, from sample selection to data reporting. This component of the website is of crucial importance for its role as an educational online platform. Longer-term aims include the addition of a forum/message board to provide a focal point for communication and discussion between researchers, which will hopefully help to develop collaborative research relationships and opportunities as well as enabling methodological and theoretical issues to be kept up-to-date, ensuring that the field continues to develop to a high international standard. At some point in the future, when it (hopefully) becomes possible, we would like to hold a thematic in-person workshop/small symposium at the BIAA in Ankara to develop and expand upon the already strong foundation of international collaboration with regards to isotopic and bioarchaeological research in the region.

We hope, and anticipate, that BioIsoANE will become a vibrant collaborative platform for researchers who specialise in or want to learn more about isotopic analyses, as well as project directors who are seeking to incorporate isotopic analyses into their own research agendas. We look forward to announcing its public launch and welcoming you online in the near future!



**BioIsoANE**

A Repository of Bioarchaeological Isotopic Analysis  
in the Greater Ancient Near East

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

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

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### 25 years of work at Çatalhöyük: a summary

Ian Hodder | Stanford University

The final round of publications is in the works. The Çatalhöyük Research Project that I directed from 1993 ended in 2018 and we are now seeing the final volume, number 15 in the project series, through the British Institute at Ankara's publication process. There will be other volumes produced by ancillary projects, dealing particularly with the late Neolithic, Chalcolithic and post-Neolithic material as well as with an ambitious dating programme, but this is a good moment to take stock of the results obtained by the main project that worked on the Neolithic East Mound for 25 years. What have been the main conclusions and achievements?

Çatalhöyük was first excavated by James Mellaart in the 1960s and he was very adept at publicising the site. The amazing art paintings and relief sculptures that he found in the houses quickly achieved global renown. The site had been inhabited from 7100 until 6000 cal. BC and consisted of hundreds of houses densely packed together so that there were

few streets and people moved about on the flat roofs, going into the houses down ladders. The inhabitants of the houses buried their dead beneath platforms on the floors of the houses and they also installed bull heads and horns, reliefs of bears and leopards on benches, platforms and walls in the houses. They frequently painted the walls, especially those near the burial platforms. These paintings are mostly geometric designs but Mellaart found some extraordinary narrative scenes of people hunting, teasing and baiting wild animals.

Some of the main results of the 25-year project concern the role of Çatalhöyük as a heritage site. When we arrived in 1993 it was in a sorry state. There had been much erosion of important archaeological layers in the trenches left by Mellaart and there were very few visitors. Our main task was to build infrastructure so that the site could take its rightful place as a globally important heritage destination. So we constructed a dig house with laboratories and



The dig house at Çatalhöyük (photograph by Jason Quinlan).



Excavations under way beneath the shelter in the South Area (photograph by Jason Quinlan).

accommodation, a visitor centre and shelters over the two main excavation areas. We also reconstructed some Neolithic houses, started outreach and educational programmes and created a web presence (<https://www.catalhoyuk.com/>). As a result of all this work, the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism was able to nominate the site for UNESCO World Heritage status – and this was achieved in 2012. The site continues to be visited and new excavations have started under the direction of Ali Umit Türkcan.

But what of the main research results? Our methods were reflexive and increasingly digital. Up to 160 people worked each year in over 30 specialisms ranging from the study of bile acids to the 3D reconstruction of the living spaces and open areas between them. Work was slow and forensic, and it remains the case that even including Mellaart's faster style of digging we have still excavated only about 5% of the large 13.5ha and 21m high East Mound. We have done as much surface probing as we can, but it remains difficult to assess whether the excavated portions of the site are representative of the whole. This issue is most relevant to the key question about the site: how was it organised? How and why did so many people congregate together and how was social order created? We had initially estimated that 3,500–8,000 people lived there at the time of highest density, but advances in dating allied with the use of Bayesian statistics have shown that many of the buildings we assumed were contemporary were in fact not. One result of our work has been to date

buildings to within 25-year time slices – this is remarkable for a 9,000-year-old site. The fact that at any one time many buildings were not inhabited has allowed us to lower the population estimates to between 1,000 and 3,000 people. So this lessens the problem – there were fewer people to organise than we had thought.

It has often been assumed that even this smaller population size would have required some centralised organisation, but it is clear that the society was egalitarian – or rather that it had mechanisms to dampen social hierarchies when households tried to aggrandise. Individual houses that Mellaart called 'shrines' and that we have called 'history houses' were not able to amass resources in such a way that they dominated the society as a whole. Society was also fairly equal in terms of gender relations. It seems that elders of both genders played a stabilising role. But the most distinctive aspect of the social organisation was a series of very complex overlapping associations – some based on ancestry and kinship and others based on cross-cutting sodalities such as hunting or medicine societies, with their specific rituals. Many of these networks seem strange to us. For example, it seems that people were buried preferentially in certain houses (the 'history houses') and that these same people ate together during life (the latter information has been obtained from isotope studies of the human bones by Jessica Pearson). And yet these co-burying groups were not from the same biological family. Work on genetic proxies



Platform in the northeast corner of Building 77, beneath which were found many burials. This building is categorised as a 'history house' because of its elaboration and large number of burials (photograph by Jason Quinlan).

such as tooth shape and on ancient DNA (the latter by a team based at the Middle East Technical University, Ankara, led by Mehmet Somel) has shown that those buried together were often not close biological kin. It is possible that children from one house group were fostered or adopted out into other house groups, and that individuals thus had both biological parents and the parents with whom they grew up. The complex fabric of cross-cutting relations created a tightly knit community that was a safety net in times of hardship, but it also produced a rich, diverse and complex ritual world. Whether or not large specialised ceremonial structures are found in unexcavated parts of the site, it is clear that the house and the house group were important foci of domestic and ritual life. The domestic building itself was animated and enlivened by the ancestors beneath the floors and by the bulls, leopards and bears installed on the walls.

The more we found out about the social structure of Çatalhöyük, the more complex it became. And indeed this has been a pattern throughout our work. For example, early on the palaeo-environmentalists at the site argued that the area around the site had been so severely flooded that agricultural fields would have been located far from the settlement. Further coring of the sediments around the site produced a different and more complex picture of interlaced branching channels with a mosaic of different environments that included drier land for agricultural fields near the settlement (work conducted by Gianna Ayala and John Wainwright). Overall, the subsistence economy was based on a diversity of resources, from cereals to a range of wild plants, and from domestic sheep to an array of wild animals. Cattle were gradually domesticated over the life of the settlement, but they always remained small in number in comparison to the heavy focus on sheep herding. The sheep were kept in pens on site but they were also herded across the Konya plain. However, they were rarely taken up into the

surrounding higher land. The focus on sheep resources is also seen in the evidence from the houses of intensive processing of sheep bones, fats, grease and meat, as seen in pottery residues and use-wear on obsidian tools. Milk was also processed in pots from at least the mid-levels.

Another example of the transformation of hypotheses as the team changed and as more data were collected is provided by our understanding of the burial process. Mellaart, digging with little money and time and in a different era of archaeological methods, excavated very quickly and was unable to tease apart the complex relations between the burials beneath house floors and the multiple layers of flooring. He thus thought he saw a jumble of human bones beneath the floors which he assumed must be the result of secondary deposition after the bodies had been left out for vultures, as apparently depicted in some of the wall art. This excarnation hypothesis was abandoned by the team in the 1990s as it became clear that the jumble of bodies was the result of repeated cutting down from the plaster floors, which were then renewed. It was argued that, in fact, because of the articulation of body parts, that the bodies had been placed in the graves fully fleshed.

A new bioarchaeology team led by Clark Larsen from the 2000s onwards, with Chris Knüsel joining in 2012, challenged this interpretation. Careful consideration of the state of the bodies in the graves and in particular their very tight flexion and the evidence of wrapping has suggested the presence of delayed burial (work in particular conducted by Scott Haddow). In other words, the bodies were indeed treated in some way, such as by drying or smoking, before burial. There has even been some return to Mellaart's vulture hypothesis: new work on the behaviour of vultures has suggested to Marin Pilloud and Clark Larsen that the skeletal evidence from Çatalhöyük could have involved some excarnation.

The notion of delayed burial is further supported by work on the burning of burials. The bodies buried beneath the floors of houses were sometimes baked or scorched by fires that were set above them in abandoned houses. We have often noticed that this burning or baking through the floors of the houses led to the preservation of brain tissue and other organic components (stomach, skin, cloth, wooden bowls, etc). We initially thought this meant closure of the house soon after burial (resulting in the preservation of organic material), but the recognition of delayed burial undermines this suggestion. It turns out that there was no or minimal flesh on the bones at the time of the house burns, suggesting again a prolonged interval between death and the fires. Cassie Skipper and other members of the human remains team obtained this evidence by recording variations in bone colour as an indicator of burning conditions. However, the preservation of organic components (such as wooden bowls) in some buildings does indicate more immediate closure and burning after artefacts had been placed in graves. There was some variability of practice.

Mellaart tended to emphasise the society at Çatalhöyük as relatively stable, and commentators often talk of the site as a whole. One very clear conclusion from the last 25 years of research is that the site was in a continual state of flux. Each period of occupation shows innovation and transformation. We have divided the long period of occupation into Early, Middle, Late and Final. In many ways, the Middle period is what many understand as ‘Classic’ Çatalhöyük, with its focus on bucrania and other installations (such as leopard and bear reliefs) in houses and large numbers of burials beneath floors. However, the Late period is also distinctive as this is the time of the narrative wall paintings involving the teasing and baiting of wild animals. In many ways, the shift from Middle to Late around 6500 cal. BC is the most significant era. The Middle period sees the highest density and extent of occupation on the East Mound. There are also more installations and more burials in houses. Skeletal evidence suggests this is the time of highest fertility but also the time of greatest stress. These stresses seem relieved in the Late period as indicated by population decline and there is human skeletal evidence of greater mobility. Animal isotope data can be interpreted as either indicating greater mobility of herds or increased dryness in the landscape, the latter confirmed by a number of proxies. Houses seem increasingly large and independent with greater storage capacity. This process continues as changes again occur in the Final phase.

Another way of describing this overall change between the earlier and later levels is a shift from a focus on community and ancestors (as described above) towards a greater symbolic emphasis on production and commensalism, as well as greater economic and social fragmentation and dispersal. The impressive sculptures and figurines of women occur mainly in these later phases. The shift from houses as ancestral nodes to houses as centres of production is seen most elegantly in the changing location of paintings in houses, as demonstrated by Gesualdo Busacca. In the Middle phases wall paintings concentrate around burial platforms; in the Late phase they concentrate around areas with hearths and ovens.

So the more we have worked at Çatalhöyük, the more difficult it has been to answer our questions. The more we know the more we realise that there was much spatio-temporal diversity, much nuance and variability. That old adage that ‘the more we know the less we know’ seems apt. Indeed, perhaps the main value of detailed long-term excavation at sites like Çatalhöyük is to show that simple answers are difficult to give to questions about site size, social organisation, population density, economy, social and ritual structures, and so on. The work at Çatalhöyük demonstrates that any answers to such questions need to be equivocal – it all depends on time and place, and thus on being able to analyse large amounts of data. Brief encounters with these complex sites are bound to lead to misleading conclusions. For example, researchers often assume that social hierarchy can be seen in the size of houses.

The large amounts of data available at Çatalhöyük show that house size is not an indicator of status. There has been much debate about the role of ancestors, but at least at Çatalhöyük these were often not biological kin. There are numerous examples that upset our assumptions. The ‘curious case of Çatalhöyük’ (<https://curiouscaseofcatalhoyuk.ku.edu.tr/>) provides a cautionary tale.

#### *Bibliographic note*

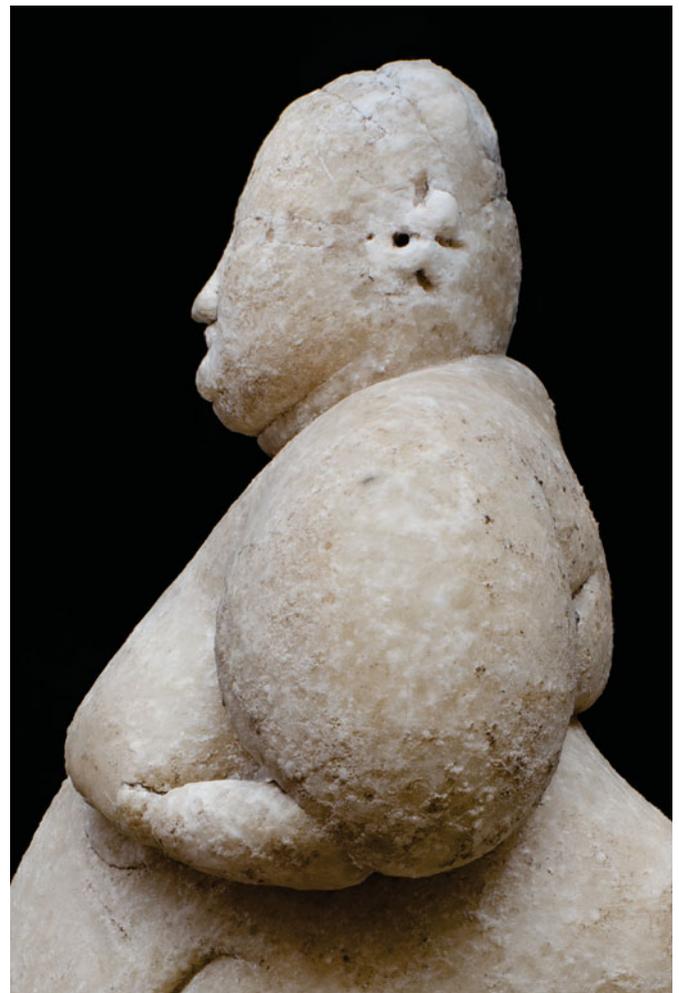
The research summarised above is published in the following four volumes:

Hodder, I. (ed.) 2021: *Peopling the Landscape of Çatalhöyük: Reports from the 2009–2017 Seasons*. London, BIAA

Hodder, I. (ed.) 2021: *The Matter of Çatalhöyük: Reports from the 2009–2017 Seasons*. London, BIAA

Hodder, I., Tsoraki, C. (eds) 2021: *Communities at Work: The Making of Çatalhöyük*. London, BIAA

Hodder, I. (ed.) 2022: *Çatalhöyük Excavations: The 2009–2017 Seasons*. London, BIAA



Figurine, probably of a woman, found in the upper layers of occupation by a team led by Arek Marciniak (photograph by Jason Quinlan).

## Boncuklu 2021

Douglas Baird | University of Liverpool

Andrew Fairbairn | University of Queensland

Gökhan Mustafaoğlu | Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli University

Researchers have long debated how sedentary life and farming began and spread, as well as their consequences. Research into these issues on the Anatolian plateau has happened only relatively recently. Sedentary behaviours are typically understood to be represented by settlements occupied year-round as opposed to more seasonal relocations of residence, typical of many but not all forager communities. Recently, emphasis in studies of early sedentism has been placed on the significance of residential locales to communities over the long-term, permitting a more flexible view of sedentary behaviours, which is advocated here. Excavations at the site of Boncuklu have revealed exciting new insights into the emergence of sedentary and farming communities in central Anatolia, the transformations and diversity in the communities involved, the spread of farming westwards from the fertile crescent and the origins of the UNESCO World Heritage site of Çatalhöyük, located only 9.5km to the south. The picture that has emerged belies a simple and dramatic Neolithic revolution; the societies that developed were complex and not communities that can be considered simply as ‘farming’ or ‘hunter-gatherer’.

The 2021 season was challenging in the context of the pandemic. Nevertheless through the adoption of stringent and effective measures to reduce the risk of exposure to Covid-19, we had a successful season and would like to thank the team and visitors for adopting the necessary measures.

Area M west contains the earliest occupation on the site, and here we excavated deposits just overlying natural marl. This early occupation has a distinctive set of characteristics not common in later phases. Notably there are many thin compacted occupation lenses with calcreted surfaces. It may be that these represent deposits that were occasionally water-logged, perhaps on a seasonal basis. Features are notably smaller than those of later phases. Structures seem to be of light construction, set into cuts with very thin phytolith and plaster surfaces with many stakeholes and occasional scatterings of red ochre. There are small hearths in external areas, alongside oval settings possibly for baskets. Artefacts, especially chipped stone, animal bone and archaeobotanical material, are less dense. This characteristic may suggest more seasonal occupation than in later levels, and the finds suggest these phases may predate anything previously excavated on the site. It may be that we will be able to trace the in-situ development of more sedentary behaviours and the appearance of cultivation through this sequence.

In Area M east we expanded our understanding of buildings on the site. The earliest phases in this area relate to two buildings: 24 and 26. We traced only the southern edge and southeastern corner of Building 26. We excavated external surfaces and midden surfaces built up against the southeastern wall and along the southern exterior face, for the first time documenting exterior activity directly associated with a specific building. These surfaces indicate that, unlike other structures we have excavated, the walls of this building were largely freestanding. At the southeastern end of the building we found that a mudbrick structure had been added to the exterior of the wall, with an aurochs bucranium set into it. This is further evidence of ritual installations on the exterior of buildings at Boncuklu, a phenomenon that is not well documented generally in the Neolithic. The bucranium was juxtaposed with an elaborately constructed hearth outside the building, in what appears to be a deliberate conjunction of these features.

Building 24 to the south of Building 26 had been identified in earlier seasons and we have previously excavated the northwestern end of the building. We have now been able to expose much more of this building, identifying several phases of hearths in the ‘dirty’ kitchen area at the northwest of the building. The main ‘clean’ floor seems have had a raised clay feature built over it and the latest floor was covered by burnt roofing material. A burial, rich in grave goods, in this area may be related to Building 24 and this requires further investigation next season.

In Area P we continued excavation of the ‘dirty’ kitchen area of Building 21, documenting an unusual small storage pit (not a common feature in Boncuklu buildings). Adjacent to it some worked red ochre and obsidian had been incorporated into the floor in a deliberate act (also unusual in such areas). We were also able to document multiple remodelling events for the hearths in this area, showing the intensive use of these kitchen areas. Next to the hearth we confirmed the presence of a bench on the northern side of the ‘dirty’ area, which had also undergone several phases of remodelling.

To the north of Building 21 we were able to document a series of external clay surfaces with small brick features, which appear to be external work areas. Over these surfaces were several turtle and tortoise carapaces (the first time we have documented freshwater turtle at the site), some of which were stacked and one of which contained a range of material including ochre and a fragment of incised stone, confirming the regular use of such carapaces as containers.



Tortoise/turtle shells on exterior surfaces.

Questions regarding social hierarchy and egalitarian behaviours are often posed in regard to small-scale communities like Boncuklu which nevertheless show a degree of social complexity. At Boncuklu there is variability in grave goods between houses and also between house and external burials. Much of this may be a reflection of personal, house and group identities, and therefore part of a fluid context of display and status. More recent evidence has been thrown up by excavation in 2021 of a structure, Building 22, in the northeastern corner of Area P that is larger than and does not share all the regular features of the other houses. The building had two hearths and we found skull fragments adjacent to walls, along with unusual artefacts. This big house does not seem to be a ‘corporate building’ in the sense of some of the non-domestic structures at sites like Aşıklı, Çayönü, Nevalı Çori, Jerf el Ahmar and Göbekli. Perhaps this is evidence of emergent differentiation in a context of very fluid social dynamics. However, only further exploration will tell us more about the nature of this structure, since we have exposed only half of it to date.

Cut into Building 22 was a larger pit, which itself had a series of floors and hearths, and was filled with burnt roofing material. This may well be a late feature within the Neolithic sequence and can be interpreted as a structure set within a pit. Our Neolithic residential structures are mostly set within pits, although not as deep as this one, which also lacks the wall-plaster linings of the residential buildings and has plaster floors unlike those in other structures. This is further indication that there was a range of structure types used or occupied in ways different from the standard domestic houses.

Gökhan Mustafaoğlu continued experimental work on our Neolithic replica buildings, which also contribute to our visitors’ understanding of Neolithic houses and open spaces.

Fire experiments were conducted to assess the performance of a range of different types of fuel as part of a Masters project. Fuels included reeds (both their roots and stems, both dried and fresh), dung and woods from species documented in the site records, such as oak, willow, terebinth and juniper. Their variable performances in different sorts of hearths, inside buildings and in exterior areas, were observed. In addition, differences in smoke density and temperatures caused by

different woods were measured. We were also able to experiment with different ventilation systems in the replica mudbrick houses. Thus, mudbricks were removed from the upper walls, and holes were created in the areas between the roof and the wall to reduce smoke retention inside the buildings. The effects on smoke, airflow and temperature of these possible ventilation systems were monitored and experienced.

The other component of experimental work related to the maintenance and refurbishment of the mudbrick buildings. White plaster was applied to the floors and different techniques for drying and polishing them were gauged. In addition, cracks in the roofs and exterior walls of the experimental houses were repaired. The interaction of the mud used in the repair process with the structural elements was documented.

As part of our development of a Neolithic garden, we improved our pond, which contains wetland plants that are documented in the site’s archaeobotanical record to illustrate the nature of the Neolithic wetland environment to visitors. Frogs have multiplied within the pond over the pandemic period and the wetland plants have flourished, but, wanting to reduce algal bloom, we installed a solar pump to ensure a supply of oxygenated water. Meanwhile, our ‘Neolithic’ fields with traditional strains of emmer, einkorn and peas continue to flourish and help illustrate to visitors the nature of Neolithic farming. Remarkably, given the pandemic context, visitors came in some numbers to the site. TRT (Turkey’s public broadcaster) also came to film for a documentary, broadcast in October 2021.

#### *Acknowledgements*

2021 excavation season sponsors and funders: British Institute at Ankara; University of Liverpool; Institute of Field Research. We would also like to thank the Directorate General for its continued support, the Director of Konya Museums, Ömer Faruk Türkan, for his constant help and our Ministry representative this year, Saadet Özkadif, for her kind guidance. Sponsorship, raised by BIAA fundraising, for the reconstructed buildings, gardens and visitor facilities: Stevenson Family Charitable Trust, Aurelius Charitable Trust, Robert Kiln Charitable Trust, Charlotte Bonham-Carter Charitable Trust, Society of Dilettanti and several individual donors.



Reconstructed Neolithic wetland pond.

# The Konya Regional Archaeological Survey Project 2021: the prehistoric past, the archaeological present and looking to the future

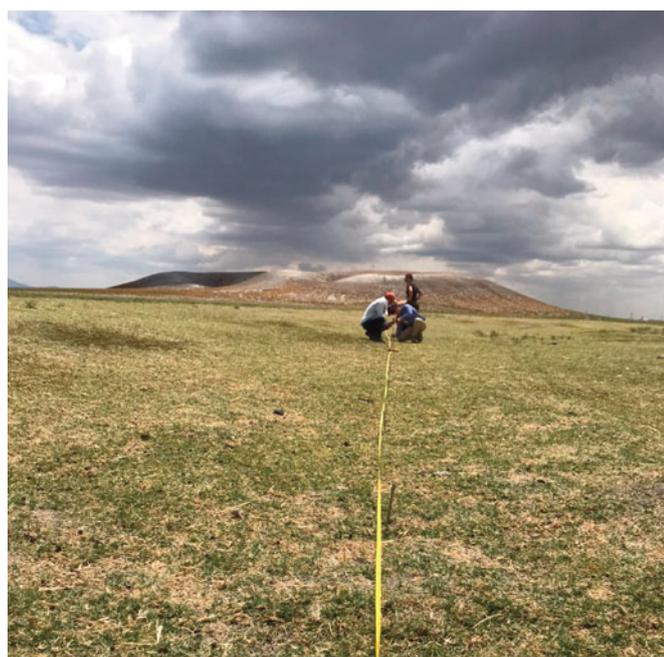
Christoph Bachhuber | University of Oxford

Michele Massa | University of Chicago

Despite Covid-19 travel restrictions preventing several international researchers of the Konya Regional Archaeological Survey Project (KRASP) from travelling to Turkey, we were able to conduct our fifth season of fieldwork on a reduced scale. The priorities for the 2021 field season included initiating geophysical survey at the urban-sized settlement called Türkmen-Karahöyük, where in 2019 the Türkmen-Karahöyük Intensive Survey Project discovered a Hieroglyphic Luwian inscribed stele of the Iron Age King Hartapu, beginning informal interviews with local stakeholders in the archaeological landscapes of the study area and completing the regional (extensive) survey.

## *Türkmen-Karahöyük Intensive Survey Project*

The Türkmen-Karahöyük Intensive Survey Project (TISP), a sub-project led by James Osborne and funded by the Oriental Institute (University of Chicago), initiated its first season of geophysical survey using magnetometry. For the first time, TISP was able to visualise the urban layout of the site during its last, large-scale phase of settlement in the Hellenistic period. TISP also continued the intensive survey that was begun in 2019. The most remarkable find from the 2021 survey was a stele inscribed with a single Hieroglyphic Luwian sign.



Geophysical work at Türkmen-Karahöyük.

## *Contemporary Pasts of Archaeological Landscapes*

In 2021 fieldwork was also initiated for the Contemporary Pasts of Archaeological Landscapes (CPAL) sub-project, led by heritage researcher Hakan Tarhan and anthropologist Erol Sağlam. CPAL is addressing the interface between the material remains of the ancient past and settlement, land-use and dwelling in the Konya region today. Currently, the priority for CPAL is the farming village of Türkmen-Karahöyük that was settled around the upper mound of the site in the early 20th century. CPAL is engaging with one of the greatest challenges facing field archaeology today. This involves attempts to reconcile two divergent ethics: one towards the preservation of the material remains of the archaeological past and the other concerned with the self-determination of local communities to use the material remains of the past in ways that benefit them.

CPAL researchers conducted informal interviews and conversations with members of the local community in an effort to understand two aspects of the archaeology and archaeological heritage of Türkmen-Karahöyük. On the one hand, the interviewees were asked to describe the presence of the archaeological landscape in their day-to-day lives and in their memories and personal histories. On the other hand, CPAL began evaluating attitudes towards a possible long-term and large-scale archaeological project at Türkmen-Karahöyük and the expectations of the village community regarding such a project.

While these conversations have only just begun, CPAL has been able to determine genuine interest in the archaeology and ancient past of Türkmen-Karahöyük and its surroundings, beyond simply the financial gain that could be gained from unsanctioned digging. Most of the interviewees were candid about their involvement in these activities at Türkmen-Karahöyük and neighbouring sites. Yet, many of their finds have not been circulated into (illicit) antiquities markets. After learning that several households in the village kept ancient architectural and statuary fragments, for example as ornaments in gardens and courtyards, the government representative, İsmail Sarıpınar, consulted with the mayor, Mehmet Çelik, to encourage village households to volunteer their found objects for a public display in the village square. Happily, many households volunteered, and the event generated genuine excitement in the village. This coming together supports CPAL's preliminary assessment of the positive attributes of archaeological heritage in the

Türkmen-Karahöyük village and the community's favourable views on the future of archaeological fieldwork at the site. In the short term, CPAL is considering how we might collaborate with the village to turn this group of objects into a permanent display in the village square, foregrounding local and personal histories alongside their ancient contextualisation.

#### *Concluding KRASP's extensive survey*

Of course, we would have loved to have ended the final season of KRASP's extensive survey with our full team in action, not least to celebrate the many achievements of our survey since the first season of fieldwork in 2017. Nevertheless, with a reduced team we were still able to fill in some crucial gaps in our understanding of regional settlement patterns in the KRASP study area. From Türkmen-Karahöyük, we set out to record small, flat 'satellite sites' in the vicinity of the urban centre. Some of these sites are invisible from the ground, but became apparent to us through recently available HEXAGON satellite imagery taken from spy missions in 1971. The historical satellite imagery shows the landscapes of the Konya plain before they were extensively transformed by mechanised agriculture (see figure below). Also, working with contemporary satellite imagery (Sentinel-2 and DESIS), we collaborated with Daniele Cerra (German Aerospace Centre) who used an algorithm to semi-automatically detect anthrosoils (e.g. nitrate-rich soils deposited by humans) on the Konya plain. Based on these satellite-derived data, we were able to visit

sites located in the vicinity of Türkmen-Karahöyük that we would not have been aware of otherwise.

We determined that the flat morphology of each of these sites was due to their relatively short periods of settlement (no more than 300–500 years). The dating of these sites is compelling, and restricted to two periods. The earlier is dated to the Early Chalcolithic (ca 6000–5500 BC), when sites such as Alanlı Höyük, Mahsen Höyük, Taştömek and Çataltepe Höyük were in all likelihood not satellites of Türkmen-Karahöyük, but rather part of a constellation of small farming settlements across the Çarşamba alluvium and also part of a gradual dispersal away from the apparent Neolithic centre of the Konya plain at Çatalhöyük. The later periodisation of these sites is Late Bronze Age and Iron Age (ca 1400–700 BCE), when Türkmen-Karahöyük emerged as the largest urban centre on the Konya plain. In all likelihood, Kocabel Höyük, Gökhöyük, Kepir Höyük I–II, Eski Küllük and Halaç Höyük are satellites of Late Bronze Age and Iron Age Türkmen-Karahöyük, or, more precisely, farming settlements in the urban hinterland that fed a population living in a large, 130ha, city.

In 2022 the priority will be for TISP to expand and complete its geophysical survey of Türkmen-Karahöyük and for KRASP to finalise its databases and analyses for a monograph-length publication. We sincerely hope that the culmination of KRASP is the end of just the first chapter of our research into the archaeology and archaeological heritage of the Konya plain.



Satellite images of the large Early Bronze Age settlement at Samih Höyük. The image on the left (a) was taken by the HEXAGON spy-satellite mission in 1971. On the right (b), a 2021 Google Earth image shows the subsequent levelling of large parts of the mound for agriculture.

## Archaeological research at Aphrodisias in 2021

R.R.R. Smith | University of Oxford

In spite of Covid-19, we had an outstanding nine-week season with a lot of exciting results that were achieved by a dedicated team of the vaccinated. The terrible fires that raged across Turkey came close. For several nights we saw the hills above nearby Karacasu glowing red with the forest blaze, but the fire did not come down onto the valley floor where Aphrodisias sits. We were lucky.

Our headline achievements were in the Basilica and Street, and lots of other good things were done for the Sebasteion, the Place of Palms and our marble sarcophagi. There were important new finds – most dramatic, a new late antique philosopher bust.

*Basilica.* In the Civil Basilica, we completed the excavation of the splendid mosaics in the side aisles (dated in the AD 350s by the governor who paid for them) and a team of student architects documented them in detailed and hand-coloured large-scale drawings. Both photos and drawings are needed to understand how the patterns and motifs work. We also mounted the first set of display panels with the text of the Edict of Maximum Prices of the emperor Diocletian (AD 301) – in Latin, Turkish and English. The edict is an extraordinary list, originally inscribed on the façade of the Basilica, of 1,400 goods and services available in the empire – from chariots, lions and slaves to footwear and the salaries of bath-attendants – all in a forlorn attempt to curb rampant inflation. The new panels are aligned on the side walls of the Basilica and constitute a unique display of this fascinating document.

*Street.* In the Tetrastylon Street, we worked especially on the period around AD 600 and the subsequent life of our highly unusual Dark Age Complex. The colonnades of the late Roman street were built in the sixth century AD, and we learned this year from its masons' marks that the street

paving was a one-shot project of the same time. No less than 540 masons' marks were recorded by our epigraphists inscribed on the street's large blue-grey marble pavers. The street buildings were destroyed in a huge earthquake of about AD 620, after which the Dark Age Complex grew up on top of the collapsed debris, during the seventh and eighth centuries (these were the *really* dark centuries). The structure is a remarkable three-unit complex of some ambition among more vernacular housing.

There were lots of finds from our exciting Dark Age Complex: an inscribed votive altar, fragments of wall mosaic, a lead seal of a church notary, a pilaster capital with the figure of a peasant pulling a thorn from his foot and a magnificent over-life-size portrait bust found reused under a seventh-century wall. It represents a long-haired bearded philosopher who wears the rolled headband of a priest. The bust was made around AD 400 and so was in use for a comparatively short time before it was recycled into the wall foundation. It is a high-grade piece of work and a classic Aphrodisian survival.

Interesting fragments of marble statuary also came from the investigation of the street drain where it passes in front of the Sebasteion Propylon. These pieces had been used as building rubble in the drain walls when the level of the street had been raised in the sixth century, and they include a female head that probably came from one of the Julio-Claudian reliefs of the peoples of empire that stood in the Sebasteion's North Building.

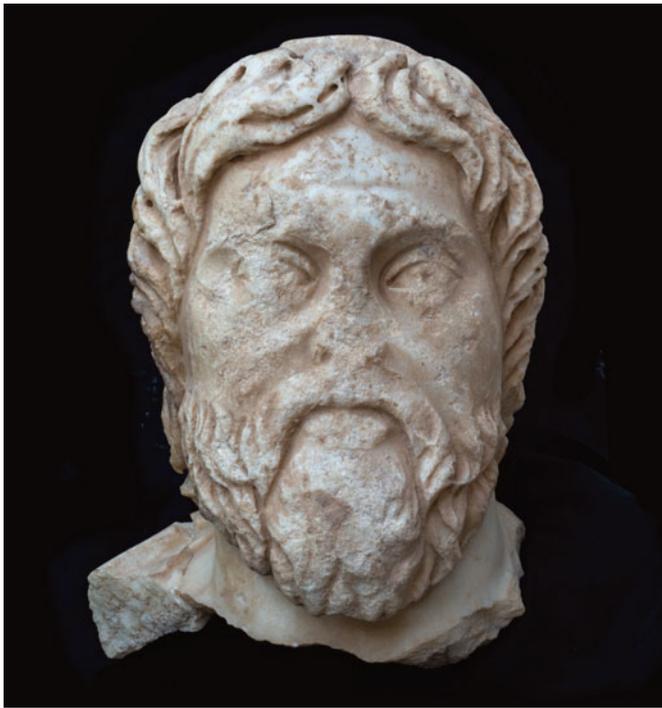
*Other fieldwork.* We also made strong progress on the conservation of the 170m-long pool in the Place of Palms. The repair of its southern inner wall was completed, and the battered head of a woodland satyr was found reused in its interior. A new project was begun on the Sebasteion Temple



Basilica, with Urban Park/Place of Palms behind.



Basilica, mosaic floor (AD 350s) conservation.



Philosopher bust, ca AD 400.

to assess how much of its elegant Corinthian columnar façade might be restored. A large new section of one of its columns was excavated nearby, and the positioning of all its surviving columns and architrave and frieze blocks was researched. A new project on the House of Kybele and its City Wall neighbourhood began with detailed depot work on all its old finds, including several boxes of perfectly documented bronze vessels recovered in the 1960s that can be reconnected with their find contexts with precision. There was also much work on the study and documentation of coins, inscriptions and ceramics (especially our vital new ceramic chronology of the ‘dark’ seventh to ninth century).

*Monographs.* Publication remains a sacred duty, and much work was carried out on the next volumes in our site series. Well on their way towards the press are three monographs, on Diocletian’s Price Edict, on the Place of Palms and on Middle Byzantine Aphrodisias. They will be *Aphrodisias* volumes 12–14.

*New sarcophagi.* Three inscribed marble sarcophagi, found together by the museum in late 2020 about 2km to the east of the site, were recorded and entered in our sarcophagus database (currently it contains about 850 items). The new pieces represent a typical cross section of such Aphrodisian products: (1) a fragmentary garland sarcophagus of around AD 200 that belonged to a woman with the unusual name of Antonia Agapomene; (2) a plain sarcophagus with a long, erased text of the later second century with a secondary inscription of the mid- to later third century of its new owners, M. Aurelius Apollonios and his wife Aurelia Zenonis; and (3) an arcaded sarcophagus of the early third century, later reinscribed for new owners called Heortasios

and Diadoumenos, in the later third or fourth century when the unusual name Heortasios is first attested. The repeated reuse of these handsome marble chests went on apace from the mid-third century into the Byzantine period.

We also made a display of recently discovered marble sarcophagi in a new annexe to our Sarcophagus Park next to the museum – in which the new examples recorded this year have pride of place.

*Museum.* We are planning two major new galleries to be constructed inside the empty courtyard of the Aphrodisias Museum, and the moving of the mythological reliefs and marble statues that will be displayed in them, from their depots to our Blue Depot/Conservation Workshop, was a major undertaking. We need these sculptures to be ready for their careful restoration and mounting by Cliveden Conservation, starting next spring, following the methods and procedures set in place by Trevor Proudfoot, our much-missed stone conservator and long-time Aphrodisias participant.

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Display of sarcophagi.

