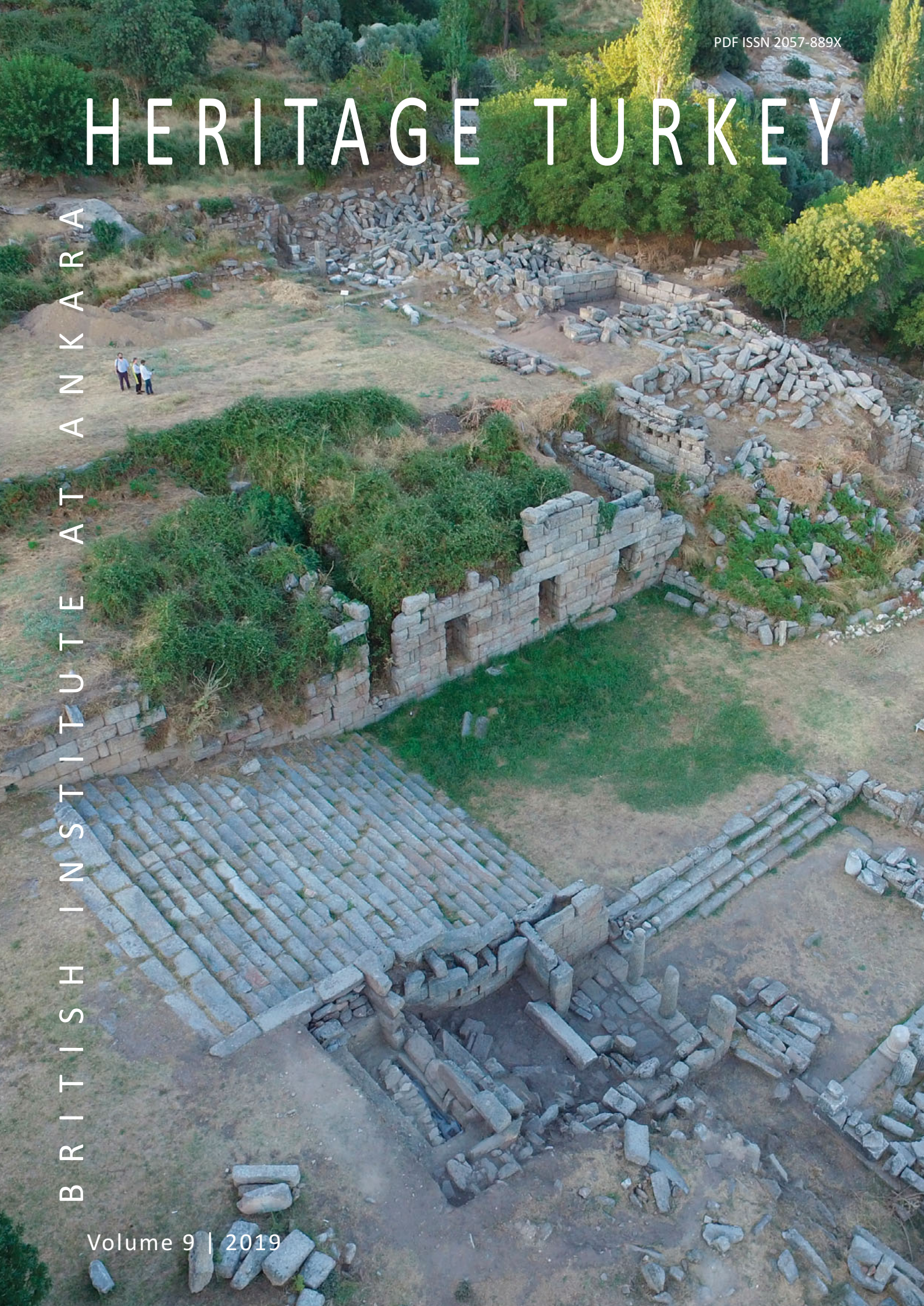


# HERITAGE TURKEY

BRITISH INSTITUTE AT ANKARA

Volume 9 | 2019





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

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

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

The BIAA is an organisation that welcomes new members. As its role in Turkey develops and extends to new disciplines, it hopes to attract the support of academics, students and others who have diverse interests in Turkey and the Black Sea region. The annual subscription (discounted for students and the unwaged) entitles members to:

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

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

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

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

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

Edited by Gina Coulthard.

PDF ISSN 2057-889X.

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

*The front cover shows an aerial view of the East Complex at Labraunda: see page 38.*

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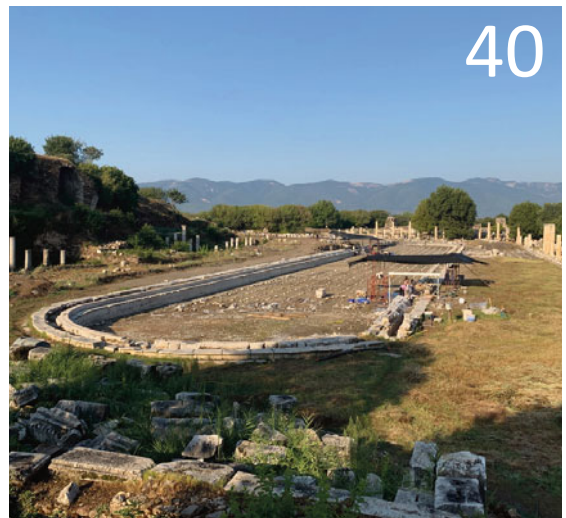
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From the Director, Lutgarde Vandeput  
Ankara, December 2019

doi:10.18866/biaa2019.01

Dear members,

It is a pleasure for me to write a letter for yet another *Heritage Turkey*. Things have moved on swiftly over the past year at the British Institute at Ankara, and I would like to focus on individual people this year. We had to say goodbye to Leonidas Karakatsanis at the end of August. Leo was the Assistant Director for four years and had been at the Institute as a Fellow beforehand, which means that he really has occupied a central role at the BIAA for quite some time. We owe him a tremendous debt of gratitude for all the work he did on upgrading the structures behind the website, improving processes at the library and so much more. Most of all though, we all miss him sorely. Leo has always been much liked and managed to merge seamlessly leadership with genuine human concern for his colleagues and staff.

Leo's successor, Daniel-Joseph MacArthur-Seal, is no stranger to the Institute either. He was the BIAA Postdoctoral Fellow in 2014 and coordinated the 'From Enemies to Allies' project from 2015 to 2017. Daniel received his PhD in history from the University of Cambridge, and, before he returned to the Institute as Assistant Director, he was Research Assistant Professor of Middle Eastern History at Hong Kong Baptist University. Upon taking up his new position, he hit the ground running and immediately focused on updating the Institute's email system. We wish Daniel every success in his new role at the BIAA!

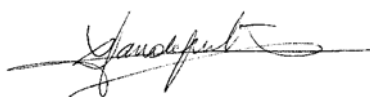
Thinking of success, I would like to place two more people 'in the spotlight'. Ian Hodder, long-term director of the BIAA-funded archaeological project at the Neolithic site of Çatalhöyük, was made a Companion of the Order of St Michael and St George (CMG) by Her Majesty the Queen at the Birthday Awards on 10 October 2019. He received the award for services to archaeology and UK/Turkey relations. An interview with Ian, reflecting on his career, is available on the Institute's website. Furthermore, the BIAA Patron, Bettany Hughes, has been awarded an OBE for services to history.

Meanwhile, at the Institute in Ankara, Nurdan Atalan Cayırmaz has now held the position of Digital Repository Manager for a year, and she has made important progress in this time. The previously digitised material actually needs more work before it can be uploaded and presented, and this means that Nurdan is now working hard to 'clean' these data alongside creating standards for the digital repository. Nurdan is also the Institute's representative in the SEADDA COST Action. This is a large-scale COST (European Cooperation in Science and Technology) project – 'Saving European Archaeology from the Digital Dark Age' – which enables repositories to work together on how to safeguard the future of digital-born archaeological data. Nurdan is co-chair of one of the working groups.

The individuals working on SARAT – the BIAA-led Cultural Protection Fund project – also deserve mention. The team members have conducted a number of workshops with local journalists, as well as a series of meetings entitled 'Archaeology in a Local Context', at which they have worked together with local NGOs and other organisations on how to increase the meaning of local heritage for present-day populations. In addition, over 8,000(!) people applied for the one-year, SARAT-developed online course in 'Safeguarding and Rescuing Archaeological Assets' – clearly an overwhelming success!

Last, but not least, in the name of the Institute, I would like to welcome Laura Patterson, the new BIAA London Manager!

This letter highlights the contributions made by individuals, but the body of this magazine is once again filled to the brim with reports on the research that has taken place under the auspices of the Institute over the past year. The articles cover a wide range of topics and disciplines and should provide some interesting reads. Enjoy!



Lutgarde Vandeput



Ian Hodder receiving his award.



# 'Living Amid the Ruins' at the British Academy Summer Showcase

Lutgarde Vandepuit & Işıl Gürsu | British Institute at Ankara

The 2019 British Academy Summer Showcase took place on 21 and 22 June, and was also open to the public on the evening of 21 June. The evening before, on 20 June, there was a private-view event for invited guests. Over 1,900 visitors, including more than 200 schoolchildren, visited the Academy during the Showcase and took part in the event, which was promoted as 'a free festival of ideas for curious minds'. The Showcase comprised 15 exhibits arranged throughout the splendid rooms of the Academy's building in Carlton House Terrace, London. Each presented research conducted by current or recent British Academy grant holders, and the exhibits were framed by a programme of pop-up talks and performances. The showcased research projects were selected from among a number of applications and the exhibits were designed to communicate cutting-edge research in the humanities and social sciences to the general public in fun and interactive ways.

One of the exhibits was staged by the British Institute at Ankara and showcased the results of the project 'Living Amid the Ruins: Archaeological Sites as Hubs of Sustainable Development for Local Communities in Southwest Turkey'. This programme was realised thanks to a grant from the British Academy's GCRF Sustainable Development Programme and ran between December 2016 and March 2018. It was one of two projects showcased by researchers linked to the British International Research Institutes (BIRI).

The concept behind the BIAA exhibit was the sharing of answers to a range of questions related to cultural heritage. What is the relationship between archaeology and the public? How can this relationship be improved to ensure the safeguarding of archaeological assets? What are the socio-economic benefits that can be generated thanks to archaeological assets for present-day local communities? How can we make archaeological data relevant to non-academic audiences? These are central among the principal questions addressed by the BIAA's research focused on cultural heritage management – not only the 'Living Amid the Ruins' project, but also the 'BIAA Cultural Heritage Management' project and equally the ongoing 'Safeguarding Archaeological Assets of Turkey' project (see page 5 in this issue). Since all these programmes are very much interwoven, elements of all three were presented at the Showcase.

The exhibit underlined and clarified the entire journey from initial archaeological survey in Pisidia (southwest Turkey) to public engagement with a variety of audiences: from local communities to heritage professionals, tourists, authorities and academics. To this effect, a short promotional video highlighted the Pisidia Heritage Trail, which has been established by the BIAA in order to link archaeological sites



Attendees arriving at the British Academy (© Alastair Fyfe).

to the landscape and present-day communities, and generate opportunities for eco-tourism. The film can be viewed at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u8i7JTwt0kw&list=PLbei-sAWFFVrq78ZpEDv-vXahucsf0JAc>.

Building on the results of this initial programme, 'Living Amid the Ruins' investigated how cultural heritage and the heritage trail could generate socio-economic benefits for local communities living by or amid these ruins, with the aim of realising increased sustainability for both the communities and the heritage. A short documentary shown at the Showcase illustrated how members of these local communities themselves envisage development focused on the presence of the heritage and, consequently, preserving it (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PykH0Dc-ytE>).

The 'Safeguarding Archaeological Assets of Turkey' project aims to raise awareness and building capacity on a larger, national scale. A crucial instrument for realising these aims is an online training programme, entitled 'Safeguarding and Rescuing Archaeological Assets', that has been developed by the BIAA. A third film brought the course – which is presented in Turkish and open to all interested individuals – to life for visitors to the Showcase. In addition to this promotional film for the course itself, two short films shot at the BIAA-funded projects being conducted at Boncuklu and Aphrodisias, both directed by UK HEI researchers, detailed how these excavations are working towards the principles taught in the training programme (Boncuklu: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q7Ve4lGR\\_eI&feature=youtu.be](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q7Ve4lGR_eI&feature=youtu.be); Aphrodisias: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SOK4Bq6Zg3M&list=PLbei-sAWFFVqiQHA-HaHDAgug2ZoC1OuU&index=9>).

This series of brief films informed the visitors to the Showcase about the fieldwork behind the Institute's heritage management research; however, the 3D virtual-reality glasses that we also made available at the event enabled them to be part of it. Thus, in order to bring the trail and, particularly, the archaeological fieldwork to life, the glasses displayed reconstructions of a number of carefully chosen monuments located at archaeological sites along the trail. The reconstructions were generated by Lithodomos VR in collaboration with the archaeologists who led the Pisidia Survey Project and incorporate the project's results. These reconstructions are normally intended for viewing by tourists visiting an archaeological site along the trail. At carefully chosen and marked spots at a given site, visitors are invited to put on the glasses and are then transported to the very same spot in antiquity, when the present-day ruins of the heritage location were part of a bustling town. Although the visitors to the Summer Showcase remained inside the British Academy's premises in London, the glasses enabled them to visualise specific spots at the sites in Turkey as they would have been in antiquity. These glasses bring to life the beauty of the landscape as well as the heritage itself, and were the absolute highlight of the exhibit for both younger and older visitors. In particular, the images illustrated the need for the protection of the landscape and the archaeological remains.

Leaflets on the various British Institute at Ankara projects were made available for those visitors who wanted further information. There was also a final visual display. This showcased the guidebook that will accompany the walking trail, titled *Pisidia Heritage Trail: An Interpretive Guidebook of Ancient Pisidia*. Although the book has yet to be finalised, the completed chapters were put together as an e-book and shared with the audience at the event.



The virtual-reality glasses in use (© Benedict Johnson).

The Showcase was a wonderful opportunity for the research team behind the various cultural heritage projects of the Institute to share their results with a large and varied public audience in the UK, and it has surely raised their visibility. The 3D glasses were an obviously overwhelming success with all visitors, across all age groups and educational backgrounds. In addition, many people engaged in conversation, asking additional questions or wanting to know more about the possibilities for visiting the highlighted areas of Turkey. As such, the Showcase offered an excellent opportunity to gauge the opinion of the general public in the UK on the presented research in a very short period of time. This was a unique experience that has brought us many new and valuable insights.



Reconstruction of ancient Arixassos (Lithodomos VR).



## CULTURAL HERITAGE, SOCIETY & ECONOMY

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

doi:10.18866/biaa2019.03

### Safeguarding the archaeological assets of Turkey

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

As reported in the previous two editions of *Heritage Turkey*, the British Institute at Ankara is the lead organisation in the ‘Safeguarding Archaeological Assets of Turkey’ (SARAT) project, which is supported by a large award from the Cultural Protection Fund. This is a collaborative project with the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, Koç University, Istanbul (ANAMED) and the International Council of Museums UK (ICOM UK).

This year, the SARAT team has been working non-stop on a variety of activities related to the different strands of the project. In April, applications opened for the online training programme in safeguarding and rescuing archaeological assets; within five days over 1,900 people had applied! This overwhelming response was unexpected and was initially a challenge for the IT team at Koç University overseeing the applications and for the SARAT team that was responsible for the selection process and administering the course. It quickly transpired that the servers and software could handle the online traffic without problems and that the SARAT team could deal with the volume of applications. Currently, Gülşah Günnata from the SARAT team is keeping a close eye on the progress of participants and is dealing with all content-related questions. Since April, four rounds of applications have taken place and a total of 8,357 people have applied to take the course. Meanwhile, approximately 5,500 have graduated or are nearing graduation. The course participants

have come from a wide range of backgrounds: university students, academics and teachers, as well as museum personnel, heritage professionals, architects and engineers, and public servants from a variety of local, regional and national authorities. They have come from all corners of Turkey and beyond: from the USA to Germany to Azerbaijan. The question that the SARAT team is asked most often when delivering a workshop or giving a lecture somewhere is, ‘When can I apply for the course?’.

Alongside organising the online course, the team has been traversing Turkey delivering workshops to different target groups. A first set of these events was the ‘Archaeology Reporting Workshops for Journalists’. News features on archaeological sites and discoveries, historical artefacts, ‘treasure hunting’, cultural heritage and environment-related issues have been drawing increasing interest from readers in recent years, and, as a result, these topics have received more attention across the media. Examination of news related to archaeological or heritage issues, however, has revealed that these stories are not always problem-free or accurate. Among the main reasons for this are the lack of specialised journalists and time pressure in newsrooms related to deadlines which may result in the publication of unchecked or insufficiently checked stories. A further reason originates from the way in which archaeology related news is often rendered sensational in order to attract more interest. Such

reporting, however, may encourage treasure hunting and smuggling, and may also cause the general public to form inaccurate conclusions about archaeology.

As a result, professionals in the media, on the one hand, and in archaeology and heritage, on the other, are drifting ever further apart, and this hampers the creation of a sound communication channel. SARAT's survey of the perception of archaeology in Turkey has revealed that the media is the main source of information on archaeology and cultural heritage for the general public. Thus the workshops, led by Gül Pulhan and Nur Banu Kocaaslan, focused on responsible journalism with the aim of promoting and safeguarding archaeological assets. A short film about them can be viewed at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jbV26Zj-xAA&list=PLbei-sAWFFVqiQHA-HaHDAgug2ZoC1OuU&index=10>. Shortly before the workshops started, Nur Banu penned an article titled 'Writing news stories on archaeology: what to pay attention to, where to start' for the *NewsLab Turkey* web site, which publishes professional capacity building content for journalists. The article was very well received and is still available online at <https://www.newslabturkey.org/arkeoloji-hakkinda-haber-yazmak-nelere-dikkat-etmeli-nereden-baslamali/>.

During the morning sessions of the workshops, examples of archaeological news stories were discussed and the participants collaboratively created possible alternative and improved approaches. SARAT created a small booklet for use by the journalists, containing fundamental archaeological terminology, a summary of Anatolian chronology and practical information on relevant bodies and legal procedures. The workshops took place at venues where journalists could come into contact with archaeology, such as an archaeological excavation site, an archaeopark or a museum, and included invited archaeologists who work in the area and gave presentations. These contacts sparked lively discussions and provided useful networking opportunities, especially given that the journalists felt that archaeologists and heritage professionals are often unwilling to provide opinions. The latter, however, fear being misquoted and are bound by rules set by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Overall, the workshops were very well received and requests for further training were frequently repeated. In fact, they constitute the first professional training of its kind for journalists in Turkey who report or wish to report on archaeological or heritage matters. Following the workshops, the participants were invited to write features based on the principles discussed and good examples of such features are published on the SARAT website.

A second series of workshops – 'Archaeology in a Local Context' – built on the results of SARAT's nationwide survey of the importance of archaeological heritage and peoples' perceptions and practices. These workshops took place in Burdur, Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, Kırklareli, Tunceli and Nevşehir, and were mainly organised and led by Işıl Gürsu



Journalists on a site visit at Diyarbakır.

and Özlem Başdoğan. Local NGOs, museums, relevant university departments and also police and gendarmes, regional cultural councils and other authorities were invited. Each workshop opened with an introduction to the SARAT project and a presentation and discussion of the results of the survey and their relevance and importance for the specific region. Afterwards, examples of how archaeological heritage could be used as hubs for sustainable social and economic development of local communities were presented. These inspiring case studies were chosen from Turkey and beyond. Throughout the workshops, the participants were actively involved in the presentations and this led to the evolution of ideas specific to the local heritage. The number of participants varied from about 20 to over 90 and all were given material to take away and study. This included a booklet compiled especially for these workshops by Işıl Gürsu and Ayşegül Yılmaz, a consultant on the project.

Another ongoing SARAT activity is a series of systematic interviews with 'registered antiquities collectors' in Turkey (i.e. the collecting practices of these individuals are approved and monitored by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism). Through these interviews, conducted by Gül Pulhan, the SARAT project is working towards building a critical awareness within this key group, particularly on the significance of context and the crucial importance of preserving the integrity of archaeological deposits. Collectors are made aware of the scale and nature of the illicit trade in antiquities and the scale of destruction caused by the looting of archaeological objects. The interviews also aim to establish the motivations that drive collectors and how they care for and protect their collections. They also explore inherent issues and problems, such as inheritance, deaccessioning of the collections and relations with the authorities. The collectors have been very cooperative and appreciate being part of a project designed to safeguard the archaeological assets of Turkey.



# Anthropology for archaeologists: student-led training at Ege University

Brenna Hassett | University College London

Biological anthropological research at Ege University has been a source of fascinating insight into the changing political and social world of the fourth millennium BC in the upper Tigris river region. In 2014, excavations led by Haluk Sağlamtimur at the site of Başur Höyük revealed an elaborate burial accompanied by both material wealth and retainers, and then a death pit containing the hastily interred remains of more than 50 individuals. This launched a programme of research that has the potential to enhance dramatically our ability to understand the radical death practices that accompanied the political and social changes associated with the development of the world's first 'state'-like societies. The contribution of biological anthropology to interpreting the site presented a new challenge, however, with the need to design and deliver a full programme of physical anthropological research. Human remains require specialist consideration in terms of excavation, finds processing, sample selection, preservation, recording, storage and interpretation. In order to carry out the ambitious programme of biomolecular analyses – looking at ancient DNA and stable isotopes to determine who the people buried at Başur were and how they lived – it was necessary to make sure that students and colleagues at Ege University had the correct tools at hand.

For this reason, the team devised a new programme to build anthropological skills. In summer 2019, archaeology graduate students participated in a first-of-its-kind training initiative sponsored by the British Institute at Ankara. First the students would learn more about physical anthropology and then they would share their new skills with department colleagues in a hands-on training workshop. The students spent three weeks in June 2019 learning how to preserve and store the human remains excavated at Başur Höyük without destroying any research potential. Excavation techniques and the preparation of material for analyses related to different anthropological research questions were also discussed. On 17 October 2019, peers and staff from across the department were invited to attend a workshop at which the students presented three different critical aspects of integrating physical anthropology into archaeological research.

Öznur Özmen Batihan discussed the complex spatial and three-dimensional recording and excavation techniques used on site and what each of them permits in terms of the research questions that can be asked. She also demonstrated the importance of using soft tools like bamboo sticks and brushes to avoid damaging bones, showing examples of different kinds of taphonomic damage that could be caused, and left the attendees with a solid understanding of excavation and recording best practice.

Pinar Dolmuş presented the process of research once the human remains are in the laboratory. She explained why, during finds processing of human remains, special care must be taken not to damage the delicate deposits of plaque on teeth, in case they need to be sampled for archaeobotany or phytolith studies to understand what people ate in the past. The attendees learned which parts of the body are best suited for different research samples, including, for instance, that aDNA samples are ideally taken from petrous parts of temporal bones. She also showed the microscopic finds that can come to light while cleaning in the lab.

Muhammed Dolmuş had the challenge of sharing the types of data a specialist can extract from human remains and how these can be utilised to address interpretations of the past – without being a specialist himself. He was able to share effectively with colleagues the basic shape and size differences of the human skeleton that allow physical anthropologists to identify sex and age. This was a presentation that everyone was able to participate in, and it opened up a series of interesting questions about the potential for physical anthropological research.

There was a great deal of interest in all aspects of the workshop, and we are very pleased that it was so successful – we have already begun arrangements to run a second workshop next year. Many students (and staff) stayed after the talks had finished to ask questions, and everyone reported that they had learned something new about the process of physical anthropology. The student workshop leaders clearly demonstrated in front of their supervisors and colleagues that non-specialists can integrate best practice into archaeological investigations of human remains, and we hope that this will lead to increasing opportunities for physical anthropological research in the future.



Muhammed Dolmuş speaking at the workshop.

## MIGRATION, MINORITIES & REGIONAL IDENTITIES

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

doi:10.18866/biaa2019.05

### Azeri-Turkish poetry and song in Georgia

Stefan Fa | University College London

*Sabah namazını Hələf özündə.  
Günohta namazını Qarsın düzündə.  
Axşam namazını yar Tiflisində.  
Mövlam qanad verdi uçdum da gəldim.*

Morning Prayer in the heart of Aleppo  
Midday Prayer in the plains of Kars  
Evening Prayer in beloved Tbilisi  
My Master gave me wings, I flew, and I came.

The poetry of *aşık/aşiq* bards spreads across a wide geography that cannot be confined to the borders of modern nation states. The stanza above from the *dastan* epic ‘*Aşiq Qərib*’ demonstrates the inherently translocal nature of this tradition. The protagonist, after being estranged from his lover for seven years, miraculously travels, with the help of the Prophet Khidr, from Aleppo to Kars before continuing to his lover’s home in Tbilisi – three cities situated in three different countries today. *Aşıqs*, in both their literary imaginations and in actual practice, have long traversed such a geography. Historically, these singer-poets filled the role of both entertainers and bearers of news, travelling far and wide, and often performing for different audiences in multiple languages. Even in recent history, during the period of hard political borders between Turkey, the Soviet Union and Iran, the sounds of these bards crossed frontiers on radio waves and cassette tapes.

In the summer of 2019 I was lucky to spend time carrying out fieldwork researching the contemporary status of Azeri-Turkish *aşiq* practice in the Republic of Georgia. Azeri-Turks make up the largest ethnic minority community in Georgia – roughly 8% of the overall population. Living mostly in the capital city of Tbilisi and the province of Kvemo-Kartli, also known as Borçalı, Azeris in Georgia have struggled in the period following independence from the Soviet Union, being caught between changing borders. Institutional, political and social discrimination and a lack of educational opportunity



An older generation of *aşıqs* (photo Aşiq Kamandar House Museum in Kəpənəkçi village).





*Aşiq Həvəskar Borçalı performing at the Sadaxlı El Bayramı.*

have led to large-scale labour migration to Turkey, Russia and Azerbaijan. Despite the lack of state support for the Azeri-Turkish language and cultural heritage in the country, poetry and *aşiq* art continue to thrive in the community and are often highlighted as a source of cultural pride and a marker of identity.

Since 2009 ‘*Aşiq Art*’ has been inscribed in UNESCO’s Intangible Cultural Heritage List under the Republic of Azerbaijan. Whilst several initiatives have aimed to promote this ‘national’ tradition within that republic, the art form in Georgia receives no state support and performance contexts are extremely limited. In the past, musical education was provided in Soviet-era ‘houses of culture’, but today only a handful of *aşıqs* in the country continue to teach in more informal settings. In Tbilisi, *Aşiq Nargile Mehdiyeva* is the sole teacher, with over 20 students coming to classes weekly. Nargile is currently the only female *aşiq* in the Borçalı region and has managed to establish herself as one of the leading voices in *aşiq* art, both locally and internationally. Her students, who are between the ages of eight and 35 – both male and female – travel across the city and from nearby villages to learn to play the *saz*, the long-necked lute central to *aşiq* music, and sing. The style of the lessons follows the way Nargile herself learnt almost 30 years ago: in the time-honoured process of apprenticeship known as *usta-şagird* in which the music and poetry are transmitted orally without the use of musical notation. More recently, in the Azeri-majority city of Marneuli, just south of Tbilisi, there has been an initiative supported by the Georgian branch of the Yunus Emre Institute to provide regular *saz* lessons to children living in the area.

Despite the continued popularity of *aşiq* music in Borçalı, there are increasingly fewer performance opportunities for these musicians locally. In the past, most weddings in the

region are said to have included performances by *aşıqs* who would sing and recite *dastan* epics, which would at times be spread over the three or four nights of the wedding. With the shortening of weddings and their relocation to large new purpose-built wedding halls, the intimate gatherings conducive to this performance practice have been lost. In Georgia today, summer festivals, known as *el bayramları*, are the main annual occasions at which *aşıqs* perform to large audiences. These festivals have, however, become sites in the struggle between national and minority identities. One such festival held in the pastures of Dmanisi (known by the name of Armudlu in Azeri-Turkish) was initiated by the Azeri-Turkish community ten years ago as a celebration of their culture and community, but has since been co-opted by local state officials and transformed into a ‘national’ Georgian festival. Although the majority of attendees at this year’s festival were local Azeris, the main event featured only Georgian-language poets and musicians, pushing *aşıqs* off the stage and leaving the audience extremely dissatisfied. At other village festivals, however, *aşıqs* appear as the main attraction, including at the *Sadaxlı El Bayramı*, where I counted no less than five different *aşıqs* performing as well as a group of young students.

These changing social and political contexts have led to these professional musicians having to travel once again between Georgia, Azerbaijan and Turkey to make a living, performing at festivals across these countries. Despite the decline of radio and the state-supported recording industry, which were the main means of distribution during the 20th century, new media and online platforms allow recordings of these musicians to circulate across a wide region – between Kars, Tabriz, Baku and Tbilisi. The future of this ‘local’ tradition therefore appears to be dependent on its continuing translocalism as audiences remain spread across Anatolia and the Caucasus.



*The Sadaxlı Children's Ensemble at the Sadaxlı El Bayramı.*

# The *Evvel Temmuz* festival: cooking and consuming identity

Su Hyeon Cho | British Institute at Ankara

Samandağ, which lies in the Turkish eastern Mediterranean province of Hatay, houses a great number of politically left-leaning, Kemalist, Arabic-speaking residents. Locals refer to their home by its corresponding Arabic name, Suwaydiyya. In addition to this linguistic plurality, the region is also enriched by a range of ethnicities and religious beliefs. Even though the overwhelming majority of the town's residents, estimated up to 90%, identify themselves as Arap Alevis (also Alawis or *Nusayrî*), Samandağ boasts a citizenship comprising people from an enormously broad range of backgrounds, ranging from Muslims to Christians, Arabs and Armenians, and including cultural-religious blends, such as Arab-Christians. Notably, such diversity is sometimes interpreted as a symbol of Turkey's tolerance and, conversely, at other times as grounds for suspicion.

My first visit to the region, for ethnographic fieldwork, took place in July 2014. My intention was to conduct preliminary research on the gastro-politics related to the communal dish of wheat porridge with meat known as *Hrisi* within the Arap Alevi community. Across the Anatolian region, this dish – based on a variety of recipes – is widely known as *Keşkek* and was inscribed in UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage List in 2011. Presumably, it would have been an unpleasant surprise for Armenians to learn that what they consider to be their sacred meal of *Harisa* had been recognised as a Turkish dish. In Samandağ, likewise, the Christian and Armenian communities have different traditions in terms of how this seemingly generic porridge is cooked and consumed.

Preparation of *Hrisi* is well known to be tiring. It is cooked over many painstakingly long hours and requires repetitive physical stirring and churning of the ingredients. The dish needs to be produced with patience, for a minimum of four to five hours, and sometimes cooking continues into the following day. It is customarily held that the longer the dish is cooked the tastier it becomes. Despite its popularity and adulation, no restaurant in Samandağ serves *Hrisi* on a commercial basis. Speaking of money in relation to the preparation and serving of *Hrisi* is shunned, and there is instead an emphasis on communal spirit, volunteer participation and sharing.

Every mid-July, Samandağ hosts a mammoth event for a town of just 35,000 people – the *Evvel Temmuz* festival – and this is an ideal opportunity to taste the community spirit as well as *Hrisi*. Thus the aim of my field research was to observe how the Arab Alevi identity is manifested in a culinary form and to contextualise its gastro-politics on regional and national scales. The preparation of *Hrisi* is

punctuated by a set of religious celebrations in the locals' pocket-sized, green-coloured notebooks of the Rumi calendar. *Evvel Temmuz*, referring to 'the first of July' in the Rumi calendar, falls in mid-July in the Gregorian calendar. Locals and scholars likewise consider *Evvel Temmuz* to be one of the most important holidays (*bayramlar*) of the Arab Alevi people, if not the single most important. Some argue that this religious holiday was influenced by the French mandate period or their Christian neighbours. In any case, despite these irreconcilable theories regarding the origin of the day, much like those related to the ownership of the dish itself, it is stipulated as a time for cooking and serving *Hrisi*, and the associated festival attracts Arab Alevi people from far and near.

In 2014, the swell of people at the *Evvel Temmuz* festival presented ample opportunities for participants to present a variety of political voices and spectacles – through street posters, graffiti and discussions. The normally quiet brick boulevard connecting to the *Hızır türbesi*, the sacred meeting place of the two prophets Hızır (Ar. Khidr) and Musa (Moses), soon became crowded with streams of pedestrians and vendors selling ice cream, t-shirts and handcrafted hair accessories. There was a pop-up tattoo parlour displaying Atatürk's signature and the famous sketch of his profile. Children jumped excitedly on a trampoline. Greetings to the festival, in both Turkish and (transliterated) Arabic, were posterized on the wall, with graffiti, reading 'Mother tongue first, speak to your children in Arabic' ('önce anadili, çocuğunla Arapça konuş') and 'Mum, speak to me in Arabic' ('anne, benimle Arapça konuş'), reflecting a sharp decline in the use of Arabic among younger generations and the ensuing concerns.



*Hrisi.*





The quiet boulevard leading to the *Hızır türbesi*.

The political paraphernalia at *Evvel Temmuz* were not, however, of a mere provincial sort. Along with the scribbles on the wall, I noticed a group of marching protesters who were chanting ‘Ali İsmail is immortal’ (‘Ali İsmail ölümsüzdür’). They were commemorating a university student who was beaten to death during the Gezi Park protests of 2013. The march reminded me of the anarchist movements of the Kadıköy district of Istanbul.

The narratives manifested during the festival corroborate several important premises. Primarily, the merrymaking of the *Evvel Temmuz*, the aspiration to rejuvenate language and the political activities are specific to (the history of) the Turkish state. As a growing body of scholarship suggests, the term ‘Arap Alevi’ was first coined not only to differentiate the population as ‘Arab’ or ‘Arabic-speaking’ but also to create affinity with the ‘Alevi’ population, who are said to be descended from ancient Anatolians. This argument has failed to fully convince, and locals deny that the categorisation of Alevi underpins crucial differences and a lack of similarities.

Be that as it may, it is indisputable that the resistance and demands of the community are closely related to the Turkish state. Revisiting the festival after a lapse of some years (despite frequent if intermittent visits to the region in the meantime), I spotted a noticeable state presence. Along with a growth in popularity, the festival had become more inclusive and state presence was more visible. A forum was held at the St Simon Monastery, taunting the wind turbines that surround this important Crusader archaeological site. Christians took an active role this year, introducing religious ritual and its importance at the monastery, and hosting an academic panel on the community of the Mariam Church.

Much like the previous festival I attended, musicians known for their leftist political stance and frequent invitees to Alevi festivals, like Yeni Turku, Gece Yolcuları, Cevdet Bağca and Pınar Aydınlar, graced the stage, but *Grup Yorum* was officially banned from playing. This revolutionist band, whose members are constantly being raided or on trial (with some handsome bounties on their heads), became a symbol of oppression and discontent this year. Thus there was an unprecedented significant police presence at the entrance and



Crowds at the festival.

around the political booths on the promenade. Entering the concert area with a piece of paper was forbidden, supposedly to prevent the distribution of propaganda. Some angry audience members shouted to the performers, ‘Sing *Grup Yorum*’s songs!’ (‘*Grup Yorum*’ün şarkıları söyle!’). On the second day, a few protesters on the promenade were arrested and their camp was emptied. Some locals, who recall the good old days with fond memories of excitement, frowned upon this politicisation of the festival and were worried that the festival would be banned. A political activist also expressed her anxiety, telling me that she was worried that the *Evvel Temmuz* festival would be banned like the *Munzur* festival before it. Many, furthermore, observed that the fears triggered by the state presence this year resonate with those associated with the 1980s and the military regime that banned the celebration.

As the traditional finale, the last day of the festival was concluded with the distribution (*dağıtmak*) of *Hrisi*. Enchanted crowds flocked to the kitchen area in the vicinity of the *Hızır türbesi*, creating multiple disorderly queues. With their ambiguity of identity, both *Hrisi* and the *Evvel Temmuz* festival epitomise the complex dynamic of identities and communal memories vis-à-vis the Turkish state. My continuing ethnographical research aims to procure more stories accompanied by *Hrisi* in Hatay and to contextualise them within the wider regional and national narratives.



The disorderly queue for *Hrisi*.

# War, art and the end of the Ottoman Empire

Gizem Tongo | British Institute at Ankara



Namık İsmail, *Take Another (Al Bir Daha)*, 1917, oil on canvas, 205 × 145cm. © Ankara Museum of Painting and Sculpture.

Five years ago, when I visited Ankara as a PhD student in order to conduct research at the Military Archives (ATASE), I was surprised and somewhat dismayed by the lack of balance between the different catalogues of war-related materials. Whilst documents concerning the War of Independence were catalogued in generous volumes enriched by a detailed list of index terms, all the documents related to the First World War were integrated into a single thin volume without any additional indexing. Given that both wars spanned about four years – 1919 to 1923 and 1914 to 1918, respectively – this imbalance had to be due to the selection procedures by which the documents had been preserved. Furthermore, this apparently ambivalent attitude of Turkey towards the First World War was clearly not limited to questions of collection and cataloguing.

In fact, since its foundation in 1923, the Turkish Republic's attitude regarding the First World War has been rather problematic: the war in general has been either overlooked, as merely the background to the War of Independence that led to the foundation of the Turkish nation-state, or despised as a lost Ottoman cause. Though the

Gallipoli Campaign of 1915 was only one of the nine fronts on which the Ottomans fought during the course of the First World War, it has been singled out for commemoration and celebration, with the aim of emphasising the devotion of ordinary soldiers to the country's salvation and the emerging role of the commander Mustafa Kemal, the future founder of the Turkish Republic and leader of the Republican forces that campaigned against the occupying Greek army between 1919 and 1922. Thus Gallipoli and the War of Independence became the foundation stones of Turkish memory of the first quarter of the 20th century. Heroic and militarist narratives of these two victories were most useful in reviving the country's political culture, which had been humiliated by defeat in 1918 and later by occupation in 1919.

This retrospective construction has also been rooted in the institutional practices of Turkish art history and museology. Turkish art historians and museums alike have often seemed compelled to find alternative settings for Ottoman paintings of the First World War. Whenever I visit public museums in Turkey, I note that most First World War paintings are anachronistically labelled as representations of the War of



Independence. Consider, as one example, Namık İsmail's 1917 oil on canvas *Take Another (Al Bir Daha)*. Although the painting clearly draws on the artist's own experience of fighting on the Caucasian front during the First World War – the front was a total disaster for the Ottoman army and the artist – today the work hangs in the Ankara State Museum of Painting and Sculpture and is captioned 'Artillerymen in the War of Independence' ('Kurtuluş Savaşı'nda Topçular'). Thus, even though paintings from this period are considered among the canonical representations of war in Turkish art, they have often been misidentified as works representing the War of Independence and consequently incorporated into a triumphalist and militarist narrative.

These glitches in archival memory leave unanswered many questions about the development of the art world during the course of the Ottoman Empire's 'final wars' – the Balkan Wars, the First World War and the War of Independence (1912–1923). What changes occurred in terms of art institutions and patronage? How did their ethnic, gender and social compositions change? And how did these transformations affect the understanding and representation of war itself throughout these years of conflict?

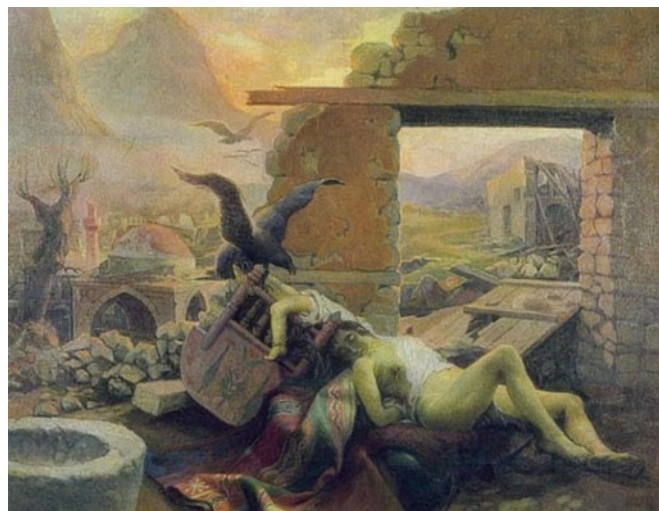
In my doctoral thesis on Ottoman painting during the First World War, I argue that, as the meaning of war changed, so did the artistic representation of ordinary soldiers and civilians in wartime. Firstly, there was a significant break between how conflict was imagined before and during the realities of the First World War. The conflict put an end to the conventions of war painting, which had until this time served either as documents of historical or contemporary military victories (such as the 19th-century battle paintings commissioned by Ottoman sultans) or as propaganda intended to evoke hate and rage against the enemy (like most images produced during the Balkan Wars). Between 1914 and 1918, ordinary soldiers and civilians, and their experience of war, came to form the real heart of the canvases. This war was not fought nobly and glamorously against a malign and brutal enemy; it was grim, deadly and destructive on both the battle and the home fronts.

The research I am currently conducting as a postdoctoral fellow at the British Institute at Ankara is revealing how the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in 1918 and the 1919 occupation of Asia Minor affected Ottoman intellectual and artistic life. Istanbul during the Armistice period (1918–1923) was a place where 'occupiers', 'the occupied' and 'wanderers' lived together in a state of social and political tension and uncertainty, but also one of intense transnational cultural encounters and possibilities. The arrival of Allied servicemen in Istanbul, with free time and economic resources, attracted large numbers of artists and intellectuals, bringing together Istanbul residents with Armenians and others returning from different parts of the empire alongside new arrivals from Europe. The city soon became a sophisticated and vibrant cultural centre, hosting

concerts, performances, films and art exhibitions organised and attended by Allied soldiers and Ottoman and foreign civilians, including Ottoman Muslims, Armenians, Greeks, Jews, Levantines, Europeans and Russians. Meanwhile, anti-militarists, left-wing intellectuals and Spartacists organised the promotion of socialist and Marxian ideas in the city. From these movements emerged an anxious and uncertain but hopeful vision of the post-1918 empire.

Yet for most Muslim Ottoman artists, the occupation and the War of Independence was a turning point. An ambivalent configuration of war, soldiering and the home front in First World War art was soon replaced by patriotic representations of heroic soldiers, civilians and military leaders during and after the War of Independence. In fact, the War of Independence – and by implication the trauma of occupation – were to become dominant themes within post-war visual culture. And the cult of the triumphant military hero, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, was a key symbol of this change in the imagination of war after 1919. These representations are another version of war that became – and remains – the dominant imagining of war in Republican Turkish art.

Over the last 14 months, I have located new material in various archives, research libraries and museums, such as the Military Archives (including the aforementioned volumes of the period), the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (Ankara) and the Republican Archives (Ankara), as well as the National Széchényi Library (Budapest) and the Centre for Asia Minor Studies (Athens). I hope that this new material, specifically a rich variety of images ranging from photographs to illustrations, cartoons, postcards, posters and easel paintings, and my forthcoming book on the cultural and art history of the late Ottoman Empire (with the working title *War, Art and the End of the Ottoman Empire*) will help to correct the balance between the First World War and the Armistice period, on the one hand, and the War of Independence, on the other, in terms of historical memory.



Avni Lifij, *The Dark Day (Karagün)*, 1923, oil on canvas, 93 × 118cm. © Ankara Museum of Painting and Sculpture.

# Crossroads of twelfth-century empires: the Byzantine, Danishmendid and Georgian landscapes of power

Maximilian Lau | Hitotsubashi University, Tokyo, and St Benet's Hall, University of Oxford

Like most history students, I spent the duration of my undergraduate and master's degrees mostly sat in libraries. It was revolutionary, therefore, when I was complaining to my supervisor one day about how I couldn't tell anything about a certain site from a text and he responded that, in that case, I should go and see the site myself. This break-out moment led to my first fieldwork in Anatolia in 2013, and, indeed, my first encounter with the British Institute at Ankara. Moreover, I've never looked back from that moment of recognising the value of seeing things with my own eyes. It has taken me through the Balkans, Iran and further, but I always return to Turkey and always relish taking out the Institute's Toyota Hilux for a spin. It is, therefore, a privilege to write this short article on my latest fieldwork and to share with the readers of *Heritage Turkey* a few of the ups and downs of these trips, particularly my latest to Turkey and Georgia.

The starting point for one of these expeditions is not dissimilar to the prompt made by that first comment from my supervisor. In short, reading about a particular place of worship, bridge or fortification, for example, leads to a huge number of questions. Does the fortification guard a settlement or a frontier? Is it on a trade route or a line of communication? What is its relationship to other sites and fortifications in the surrounding landscape? What does that landscape tell us about events that were alleged to have occurred there and the people who lived there? The surviving ruins themselves allow us to consider questions related to the construction and nature of a structure. Was it built quickly on a small budget or with monumental features that were designed to have a visual impact on those encountering it. Was it a huge, invasion-stopping fortress, a glorified watchtower or a customs barrier? Were the building materials local or imported? Are there any inscriptions or other datable remains?

Even when an archaeological report is available for a site, many of them are based on fieldwork conducted many years ago or have a different focus to my own interests. Though excellent projects such as the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* have begun to answer many of these questions, much remains to be done. My own research seeks to cross-reference textual references with the remains on the ground of structures built during the reign of the Byzantine emperor John II Komnenos (1087–1143), including those built by contemporary powers, such as the Danishmendids and the Georgians. The latter element of the project is especially important, as modern geopolitical boundaries have often constrained studies, when, really, we should look at similarities and differences across the Balkans, the Caucasus, the Baltic, Persia and the Levant.

My focus for this recent fieldwork trip was the northeastern coast of Turkey, around Trabzon, and southwestern Georgia. This region was at the nexus of expansionary campaigns conducted not only by John II but also by the great Georgian king David IV ('The Builder') and the hegemonic Turkish ruler Ghazi II Gümüştegin Danishmend, whilst the area around Trabzon was independent between 1126 and 1139 under Doux Konstantine Gabras. Thus the region saw heavy use of fortifications by all these powers, but also, intriguingly, the construction of numerous religious buildings.

I had a few specific objectives. The first was to retrace the 1139–1140 campaign route of John II against the Danishmendids in Niksar and, in particular, to identify the site of 'Kinte', where John wintered his army. Second, I hoped to identify whether or not the surviving fortifications and religious structures (both Danishmendid and Byzantine) in this region were similar to those on the western and eastern coasts of Anatolia, as studied on previous expeditions. Third, by adding the Georgian borderlands to my analysis, I intended to establish how typical any of this was in another cultural landscape. In addition to viewing the landscape itself, I also intended to visit local museums; unpublished or undervalued material culture finds can be extremely helpful in reconstructing the trade and cultural context of an area. With all this in mind, I designed a tightly scheduled itinerary, with times and distances worked out between sites so as to cover as much as possible – though I added at least two hours to each day to allow for things going wrong or the opportunity to visit an additional site.

All fieldwork has both its successes and failures. Yet even the latter can be hugely useful, if for no other reason than to bring alive my writing about a place. The search for Kinte illustrates this point well. Having driven the roads between Trabzon and Niksar, I at last understood why this city was the target of John's campaign: quite simply, it is the first settlement one comes to having crossed the mountains, and so, despite its seeming remoteness on a map, when the terrain is taken into account it is obvious why it was the focus of the emperor's campaign. Similarly, the contemporary accounts of the campaign found in the court speeches of Theodore Prodromos (who describes in great detail how the army started starving over the winter) are brought to life by the landscape – between the fertile region around Trabzon and Niksar itself there is very little good farming land. The only exception is the area around the Kelkit river, the Byzantine Lykos, which is where I hoped to find the mysterious Kinte.



This site has been the object of quite a goose chase. Ferdinand Chalandon identified it with the village of Kundu in 1912, and, subsequently, this identification has been cited by historians. Chalandon based his conclusion on a 19th-century traveller's account which mentions that Kundu had a 'Roman bridge'; the directions, however, were entirely based around how many days it took to get there with a horse and donkey-drawn caravan. Thus reconstructing the route to the bridge was a bit of a task, as, beyond the major cities, either place names have changed or the sites themselves no longer exist. Nonetheless, from a combination of the original 12th-century sources and the later accounts, I had managed to pinpoint a few possible locations for the bridge. It took most of a day to search for and locate them all, but unfortunately none had any surviving ruins and nor was there any place called Kinte or Kundu. However, a modern road bridge across the Kelkit did bear the name 'Kundu Bridge'. This was in possibly the most fertile area I had seen outside of Niksar and the coast around Trabzon, and a local man reported that there used to be ruins in the area, though not for many years and particularly since the new road had been built.

Taking all these factors together, along with the 1980s study by T.A. Sinclair (which concludes that the modern road follows the Roman one; short of constructing tunnels, the geography makes this a practical necessity), I have concluded that the bridge site is the most likely option for where the emperor spent the winter of that campaign. Though in many ways a failure, as I found no ruins to confirm this opinion, the act of searching for Kinte and making this identification will bring my writings on this campaign to life in a way that would have been impossible without this fieldwork.

This too I learned from my supervisor. The late, great, Mark Whittow was well known within the British Institute at Ankara for his survey work and he remains much missed by many; I would certainly not be doing what I do today if it were not for him. Accordingly, to every history student or enthusiast who has never thought of it before, please take what you have read and go to investigate it for yourself. Even if most of your time is spent with your head in a book, you'll never regret seeing how a site, city or landscape looks in real life, even if you don't find precisely what you're looking for.



The site of John II's winter quarters of Kinte? The view along the Kelkit river valley with the modern Kundu road bridge beyond.

# Human-environment interactions in prehistoric Anatolia

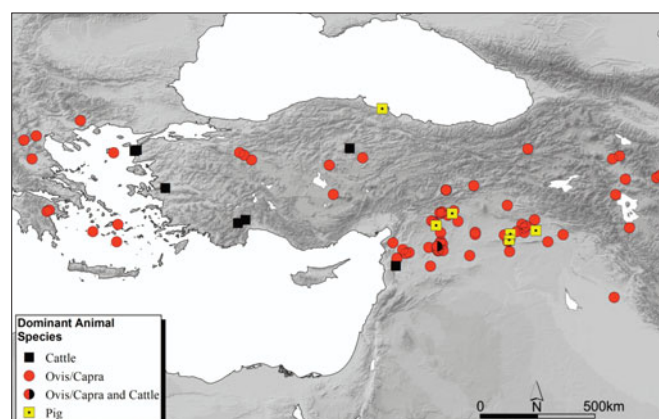
Benjamin Irvine | British Institute at Ankara

Despite a growing interest and acknowledgement of its importance, bioarchaeology as an all-encompassing, holistic approach to answering questions about the human past is still mostly overlooked. This is especially true when compared to more traditional material culture studies analysing pottery, architecture and metals etc. Nonetheless, the bioarchaeological triumvirate of archaeozoology, archaeobotany and human osteoarchaeology have a long research history within Turkey and Turkish archaeology. All three have made extremely important and valuable contributions to the dataset and knowledge pool over the last half century or more. More recently, however, the importance of multifaceted approaches utilising quantifiable data to examine larger regional, pan-regional and diachronic variations and changes has been stimulated. The development and elaboration of my doctoral research in conjunction with my post-doctoral fellowship project at the British Institute at Ankara aims to explore exactly these types of developments. Falling under the remit of several of the Institute's strategic research initiatives – 'Migration, minorities and regional identities', 'Climate change and the environment' and 'Habitat and settlement in prehistoric, historic and contemporary perspectives' – my project aims to examine human-environment interactions by studying dietary, subsistence and mobility patterns through a bioarchaeological approach, including human and faunal osteological, botanical and stable isotopic and bio/geochemical analytical methods. Simply put, by examining what people ate, how they organised their arable agriculture and livestock farming, and how they moved themselves and their animals can provide us with insights into societal dynamics. Furthermore, studying human and animal mobility can provide us with an indication of the interaction between movement and other aspects of society, such as trade and exchange, and social and political developments. There are several proposed hypotheses about the existence and aetiologies of increased interaction, trade and exchange, and pastoralism and the relationship between humans and animals in the Early Bronze Age of Anatolia, and this project aims to analyse and test them.

For example, my research is demonstrating – in part by utilising the examination of human and faunal  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values – that not all of the animals raised and kept by third-millennium BC populations were consumed in a primary manner (i.e. as meat). Furthermore, the isotope data, namely large ranges in  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  signals, suggest that there were different management strategies for domestic livestock. In other words, the large range in faunal  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  signals suggests a variety of sources for the plants consumed by animals. This

may indicate foddering of animals, grazing on crop stubble close to settlements and grazing at greater distances from the core population zone (i.e. pastoralist activities). By examining the dietary signals of the animals we may begin to obtain preliminary insights into animal and, by proxy, human mobility. The mobility of animals is also further indicated by the use of stable isotopes of sulphur ( $\delta^{34}\text{S}$ ). For example, at mid-third-millennium BC Bademağacı, north of Antalya, the  $\delta^{34}\text{S}$  signals indicate the presence of non-local animals. The next step is to expand upon these preliminary findings and hypotheses by sampling more faunal remains for  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ , as well as conducting isotopic analyses more commonly designed to track mobility patterns (i.e. those of strontium and oxygen).

The isotopic signals in conjunction with the archaeozoological data (age of the animals and kill-off profiles, etc.) are suggesting the importance of secondary product exploitation and the development, intensification and specialisation of the secondary products revolution. It seems to be clear that at most settlements the inhabitants practised a mixed strategy of animal subsistence and management, particularly for sheep, goats and cattle. This means that some animals were raised and then slaughtered for their meat (primary consumption), whilst others were kept to older ages, implying the exploitation of their secondary products, such as milk, wool, hair and traction. Moreover, there is a clear dominance of sheep, or at least *Ovis/Capra*, in the faunal assemblages of the period. Examination of these factors, as well as other archaeological information (such as the increase in contact, trade, exchange and the presence of consumable and disposable 'objects of wealth') leads me to suggest that the importance of the wool trade, which is famously epitomised in the Ebla tablets from the second millennium BC, had already begun in the third millennium BC.



Dominant species of domestic animals at sites in Turkey and adjacent regions (mid-fourth to early second millennium BC).





Presenting my research at the 41. Uluslararası Kazı, Araştırma ve Arkeometri Sempozyumu in Diyarbakır.

Over the course of the last year my research has begun to embrace and utilise more fully holistic methodology, examining previously published isotopic (including my own data), archaeobotanical and archaeozoological data in order to examine larger scale, regional and diachronic patterns in Anatolia and adjacent regions. It has become clear that there were diachronic changes; most noticeably, in the late fourth to early second millennium BC there was a narrowing in the stable isotope values of humans, a narrowing in the range of food resources, subsistence strategies and, therefore, by inference, dietary habits. I have been tentatively referring to this as an 'Early/Middle Bronze Age package'. This 'package' is related to the intensified and specialised extensification of agriculture and livestock farming, perhaps more eloquently referred to as an 'Early to Middle Bronze Age mode of staple finance'. This, in turn, is no doubt part of the increased intensity of other aspects of Early to Middle Bronze Age population and societal dynamics (for example metallurgy, architecture and settlement organisation, interpersonal violence, secondary products and wealth/finance – trade, wool/cloth, feasting activities and consumable and disposable 'objects of wealth'). I will continue to develop and publish these ideas over the course of the coming year.

This first year of my fellowship has been incredibly productive, which is hardly surprising given the amiable conditions in which I have been working and the ethos at the Institute in Ankara. I have had three articles published in high-impact journals, with, at the time of writing, one in press, another submitted (in collaboration with Kameray Özdemir of Hacettepe University, providing an overview and research history for the first time of biogeochemical research, with a bioarchaeological focus, in Turkey) and several more at various stages of preparation. During 2019, I have presented my research at seven different conferences, in locations ranging from San Diego to Diyarbakır, and by the

time you are reading this, the British Institute at Ankara will have hosted a (very productive and successful – fingers crossed!) one-day workshop on physical anthropology in Anatolia, organised by myself in collaboration with Yılmaz Selim Erdal of Hacettepe University and the Director of the Institute, Lutgarde Vandeput. This workshop, whilst focusing primarily on physical anthropology, will bring together several experts within and around the discipline, all with their own specialities (dental and oral health, stable isotopes, DNA, osteological pathologies, etc.) to encourage and increase dialogue, co-operation and collaboration. This is one of the key facets of the methodological approach of my research. Being holistic in nature, opening dialogue between different specialists and disciplines/fields of research under the umbrella of bioarchaeology – and indeed beyond it – and encouraging interdisciplinary collaboration are all enormously important facets of this methodology, and together can provide an exceptionally powerful means to analyse intensely past human biographies and population dynamics.

So, as the first 12 months of my Institute fellowship come to an end and I now turn my attention to the final year, I can look back with satisfaction on what I have achieved and look forward with excitement to what is to come. I have no doubt that it will be busy, and at times chaotic, but I am also sure that *her şey iyi olacak!*

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**Speakers**

- Ömür Dilek Erdal Hacettepe Üniversitesi
- Melis Koryucucu Hacettepe Üniversitesi
- Handan Üstündag Anadolu Üniversitesi
- Başak Boz Trakya Üniversitesi
- Valentina D'Amico Hacettepe Üniversitesi
- Yılmaz Selim Erdal Hacettepe Üniversitesi
- F. Arzu Demirel Burdur Mehmet Akif Ersoy Üniversitesi
- İsmail Özer Ankara Üniversitesi
- Mehmet Sağır Ankara Üniversitesi
- Benjamin Irvine BIAA
- Serpil Eroğlu Hacettepe Üniversitesi
- Mehmet Somel Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi

Co-organised by Benjamin Irvine (BIAA), Yılmaz Selim Erdal (Hacettepe Üniversitesi), and Lutgarde Vandeput (BIAA) as a joint collaboration between the BIAA and husbio.L (Hacettepe Üniversitesi)

**Friday, 8 November 2019 | 09:30-17:00**

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## 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 runs until this year. This strategic research initiative aims to build on this project in order to create an active and sustainable network of scholars from Turkey, the UK and other countries that will promote diverse approaches to the study of the early Turkish Republic, especially its foreign policy, its relationship with Britain and its place in the world order. Research and funding administered under this initiative will support diversity and collaboration across different historiographic traditions (for example, diplomatic and military history, oral history and microhistory) with the aim of unearthing and accessing a full range of archival and other source material in the UK, Turkey and elsewhere. The objective is to promote the exploration of new themes significant for the understanding of bilateral relations in the past, as well as their development in the present and future.

doi:10.18866/biaa2019.10

### Turkish perceptions of the UK from 1973 to Brexit

Yaprak Gürsoy | Aston University

**M**y research funded by the British Institute at Ankara examines the historical and contemporary perceptions held by the Turkish elite and public regarding Anglo-Turkish bilateral relations from 1973 to today through archival research and interviews conducted in Turkey. It is anticipated that the results of this field research will explain the main drivers of bilateral relations, contribute to the wider discipline of international relations and have an impact on the formulation of foreign policies.

In the first year of research, from August 2018 to April 2019, the Turkish National Assembly (TBMM) archives were examined with the help of the project's research assistant, Nail Elhan. Words related to 'Britain' were mentioned in the minutes of hundreds of parliamentary sessions from 1973 to 2016. Data were collected in around 750 document pages, containing 340,000 words. In the same period, 17 interviews with former and current diplomats, politicians and business people were also conducted. High-profile interviewees included three Turkish Ambassadors to London and the former President of the Turkish Republic (2007–2014), Mr Abdullah Gül, who worked on building stronger relations with the UK during his presidency. In the second year of the project, which commenced in August 2019, archives of the *Milliyet* and *Cumhuriyet* daily newspapers from January 1973 to December 2018 will be examined and data will be collected for the purpose of discerning public perceptions of the UK in Turkey.

Analysis of the data from the TBMM archives and the interviews highlights the fact that Britain has rarely been the principal focus of Turkish parliamentary discussions or high on the Turkish political agenda. However, the frequency of references to Britain in parliamentary debates and how respondents answered interview questions reflect the Turkish elite's own understandings of 'modernity' and 'Westernness'. The data provide indications about the constructive relationship the two countries have forged since the Second World War. Despite major international events and periods that have shaped bilateral relations, such as the Cold War, the Cyprus conflict and the financial crisis of the 2000s, the Turkish elite has perceived the UK in terms of two related and generally positive patterns.

First, the UK has been seen as a 'role model' with reference to its democratic processes and level of socioeconomic development. In the TBMM, this has led to direct calls to imitate the UK with regards to political administration, pertaining especially to standards of democracy, education, judiciary and state organisation. Similarly, government officials have occasionally justified their actions in the TBMM and attempted to avert criticism by offering examples of similar policies from the UK. Although the UK is also frequently mentioned in passing and along with other Western countries in the TBMM, in order to compare practice in Turkey with that in other nations, the direct references to Britain as a 'role model' suggest a deeper respect for the UK among Turkish politicians.



The following quote, from the interview with President Abdullah Gül, exemplifies this type of positive attitude.

[Britain] is a country that, without a doubt, reflects democracy and European values very well. Moreover, it is a country that has achieved plurality. It is a country that has lived plurality without discrimination and with all the peoples in its empire on which the sun never sets ... It has deeply influenced me as a democratic country. It is a place where everyone can state their opinions freely.

The second pattern that marks Turkish elite perceptions of the UK is that of Britain as ‘a colonial power’, and, in particular, one that has had ambitions in the region and fought against the Ottoman Empire. The Gallipoli Campaign and the First World War have been mentioned occasionally by MPs in the TBMM and, during these speeches, Britain has been portrayed as a country with expansionist ambitions.

Although there seems to be a contrast between perceptions of Britain as a ‘colonial power’ and as a ‘role model’, given the Turkish historical context, this outcome is not all that surprising. This type of approach to relations with the West in general is quite common. Yet, with regards to the UK, there seem to be additional nuances. As indicated in the quote above from President Abdullah Gül, especially in the interviews, the ‘colonial power’ perception was associated with positive attitudes, as the respondents showed an appreciation for British global influence and diplomatic skills. Interviewees drew on similarities between the UK and Turkey, as two countries sharing an imperial heritage. Moreover, the ‘colonial power’ perception was linked to understandings of Britain as a ‘role model’, with an emphasis on the UK’s respect for plurality associated with its experience of different cultures and identities as a former global colonial power.

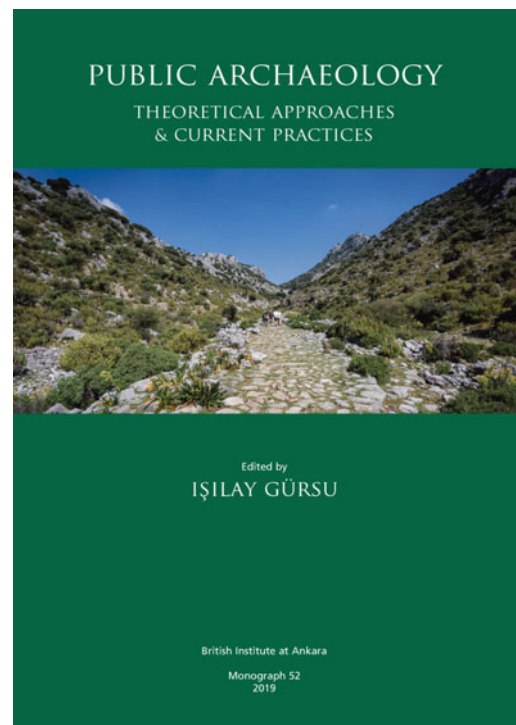
The following two interview quotes from President Abdullah Gül and a former ambassador, respectively, summarise how the perceptions of Britain as a ‘colonial power’ and Britain as a ‘role model’ are interlinked to create overall positive political attitudes toward the UK among the Turkish political elite.

Britain, as a country with a history of a large empire, has met different cultures, religions, races, and lived together with them. Therefore, it is one of the countries that has understood the world and accepted the realities of this world ... Turkey has many things in common with such a big country. Both of them have continued on from large empires. These are countries that have lived together with different cultures and religions for a long time.

Historically, Britain had always regarded the Ottoman Empire as an important actor and perceived it as such ... In the First World War, the Brits and the Turks got to

know each other very well and learned to respect each other... Britain perceived Turkey as an important actor because of its respect for Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in the First World War, Turkey’s determination and, later on, its War of Independence and successes in the Lausanne Treaty. In my opinion, the main foundation of Turkish-UK relations today is the experience of the First World War and mutual respect.

The second year of the project will investigate newspaper archives to see if these types of positive attitudes in the elite sphere toward the UK are matched among the general public. This BIAA-funded project should lead to further research comparing Turkish perceptions toward the UK in the context of Europe. In the age of Brexit, such comparisons will have important policy implications, especially if they maintain that the UK is perceived more positively than Europe due to shared historical legacies.



This British Institute at Ankara monograph explores the relationship between archaeology and contemporary society, especially as it concerns local communities living day-to-day alongside archaeological heritage. The contributors come from a range of disciplines and offer inspiring views emerging from the marriage of archaeology with a number of other fields, such as economics, social anthropology, ethnography, public policy, oral history and tourism studies, to form the discipline of ‘public archaeology’.

**Available from [www.oxbowbooks.com](http://www.oxbowbooks.com)**

# From enemies to allies: Britain and Turkey from 1914 to 1960: Britain, Turkey and NATO during the early Cold War

Stephen Mitchell | British Institute at Ankara

The research project ‘From Enemies to Allies’ is the first overseen by the British Institute at Ankara to deal with the history of the Turkish Republic.

Participants in four workshops have taken a critical look at the diplomatic and political relations between Turkey and Britain from the First World War and the Gallipoli Campaign, when the two countries were enemies, to the Cold War of the 1950s, when they were allies under the new umbrella of NATO. Historians and scholars of international relations from Britain and Turkey have been invited to examine the issues from their own national perspectives. A deeper knowledge of these historical developments provides an important perspective on the current, and indeed the future, relationship between Britain and Turkey.

The journey began in spring 2016 with a meeting in Ankara, co-hosted with USAK (the International Strategic Research Foundation), a think-tank co-founded by Özdem Sandberk, a former Turkish Ambassador to the UK, which surveyed the late Ottoman period and the First World War conflict. There have been stops on the way in 2017 at Churchill College, Cambridge, home of the Churchill Archive, dealing with the 1920s and 1930s, and in 2018 at St Antony’s College, Oxford, in collaboration with the British Association for Turkish Area Studies (BATAS), looking at the Anglo-Turkish relationship during the Second World War. The final workshop was held on 26–27 September 2019 at Koç University, Istanbul. Funding was provided by the British Institute at Ankara, the British Embassy in Ankara, the Deans of the Colleges of Administrative Sciences and Economics, and of Social Sciences and the Humanities at Koç University, and by BATAS. We are, of course, very grateful to all of them.

After greetings from the organisers and from Jennifer Anderson, Deputy Head of Mission at the British Embassy in Ankara, who attended the first day of the meeting, the stage for the Istanbul workshop was set in two introductory public lectures. Professor İltur Turan (Bilgi University) laid out the position of Turkey and Britain after 1945: ‘adjusting to post-war realities’ such as the perceived threat of aggression or occupation by the Soviet Union, the new dominance of the USA in the world order, Britain’s retreat from empire and the weakness of an exhausted Europe. Sir David Logan (British Institute at Ankara) spoke about the contribution of Europe to international security and the interdependence between NATO and European defence, in which both the UK and Turkey had parts to play. Recent political developments, including a refocusing of American security priorities away

from Europe, the negative implications of Brexit for security co-operation between Europe and the United Kingdom (the largest single contributor to European defence capability) and Turkey’s new alignment towards Russia, which calls into question its own commitment to NATO, are important reasons to pay attention to the threats to the West’s security, which are very different from those that NATO had been designed to deter at the start of the Cold War.

Turkey had been a neutral country during most of the Second World War. When it joined the alliance against Hitler’s Germany in February 1945, the country’s main diplomatic objective was to establish its place in the post-war world order by becoming a founding member of the United Nations. The British government stressed the importance of the Anglo-Turkish alliance dating back to 1939, but in practice had no plans or intention to secure Turkey against Russian intervention. Ankara was reportedly dismayed not to be included in the Brussels Pact between the UK, France, the Low Countries and Luxembourg of 1948, which was designed to strengthen the unity of western Europe against Soviet expansion. However, Turkish eyes were already fixed on the USA, and Turkish enthusiasm as well as dependence on American support had been demonstrated at the visit of the American warship USS Missouri to the Bosphorus in April 1946, which had great symbolic importance. By 1949 the Anglo-Turkish alliance was effectively a dead letter. In contrast, in 1950 the newly elected government of Adnan Menderes, by-passing parliamentary approval and opposition from the political old guard led by İsmet İnönü, sent 4,500 Turkish troops to join the United Nations forces under US leadership in the Korean War. Turkey’s request to join NATO followed this engagement and was granted, alongside Greek entry, in 1952. The complexities of these developments, and their political and military significance, were covered in lectures by Professors Ekavi Athanassopoulou (Athens) and Şuhnaz Yılmaz (Koç University). British policy was riddled with contradictions, if not outright duplicity, as the British, who took responsibility for NATO’s Mediterranean strategy, tried to reconcile the objectives of an alliance directed against Russia with their own, now faltering, objectives in the Middle East. Turkey tried not to alienate its British ally, while aligning as far as possible with the USA.

Professor Mark Webber (Birmingham) sketched the underlying presuppositions and conditions of the NATO alliance itself, and drew attention to the contradiction between its high-level political objectives, to defend civilisation, and the mundane reality of protecting its



member states. The founding treaty did not mention the USSR, but President Truman's blueprint for a Cold War military strategy (NSC 68) presupposed that the Soviet Union was hell-bent on world domination. The enlargement of NATO to include Turkey and Greece in 1952 was not a routine matter (only Finland in 1955 and Spain in 1986 became new members in the subsequent quarter century), and although Turkey was only mentioned once in the revised article 6 of the treaty document, Professor Webber suggested several aspects of Turkey's NATO membership that required analysis: linkage, trust, credibility, liminality and its place in the hegemonic transition from *pax Britannica* to *pax Americana*. A critical aspect was the opening of a new NATO southern flank across the Mediterranean. This was sceptically regarded as strategic overstretch, but the move eventually paved the way for the Eisenhower Doctrine of 1957, which created a northern tier of allied countries across the Middle East, Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Pakistan, as a forward bulwark against the USSR. Professor Dilek Barlas (Koç University) pursued the implications of these developments by providing a Turkish perspective on the Britain–Turkey–USA triangle in this period.

The contributions on the second day showed that perceptions of the Anglo-Turkish relationship at the highest political level were often dislocated from the details of strategic and military planning for the Cold War. Professor Zafer Toprak (Boğaziçi University) traced the political programmes of Prime Minister Menderes and President Celal Bayar during the Democratic Party's decade in power. There was modest economic growth in Turkey during the early 1950s, while the education system evolved under US influence, including the first appearance of the social sciences in the universities. Turkey's contribution in the

Korean War was rewarded by the invitation to President Bayar to undertake an unprecedented 55-day state visit across the USA in 1954, including a ticker-tape reception in New York for 'the man of the bulwark'. Turkey, with its stable government and democratic institutions, was the USA's principal regional ally within the Baghdad Pact of 1955 (later CENTO). Britain's view of Turkey, meanwhile, was still shaped by anachronistic misconceptions.

Dr Warren Dockter (Aberystwyth) argued that Churchill in and after the Second World War still conceived the country as a re-embodiment of the Ottoman Empire, a notion also shared by Clement Atlee, the post-war Labour Prime Minister. Churchill pushed for Turkey to become a member of the Council of Europe in 1949 and envisaged a Turkey-Europe fulcrum as a key element in the UK's Middle East strategy. This, in turn, was constructed on unrealistic illusions and the growing mismatch between the UK's hegemonism and its dwindling capacity to deliver real regional security. Dr John Kent (London School of Economics) provided an analysis based on archival documentation of British military plans for an outer ring defence against the Soviet Union, embracing Upper Mesopotamia, and an inner ring, which appeared to protect Palestine (now Jordan and Israel). This embodied in military terms the strategy of containing the Soviet threat to the Middle East, which led via the Baghdad Pact to the creation of the CENTO and the Northern Tier alliance. Britain had only limited ability to deter a Russian threat with nuclear weapons, delivered by Canberra bombers from the Akrotiri base in Cyprus. Eisenhower's new Secretary of State from 1953, John Foster Dulles, drew the blunt conclusion that the strategy was built on sand, and the inner ring did little more than protect British bases in Egypt.



Participants at the fourth 'From Enemies to Allies' workshop.



Dr Nagihan Haliloğlu (Üsküdar University) with Jennifer Anderson and Sir David Logan.

From the mid-1950s bilateral Turkish-British relations were increasingly dominated by the problem of Cyprus. Turkey's attitude to the status of the island changed fundamentally from support of British colonial rule in 1954, through a positive acceptance of division between the Greek and Turkish communities (*taksim*) in 1957, to endorsement of the island's independence according to the London-Zurich agreements of 1959. Dr Barış Gülmez (Ege University) posed the question whether the reasons for changing Turkish attitudes lay in the interregional dynamics of foreign policy or in internal factors of Turkish domestic politics. In the mid-1950s Turkish-Greek relations became increasingly strained, not least when the Greek population of Istanbul was largely expelled by the pogrom of September 1955, and after 1957 there was widespread public support in Turkey for the policy of dividing the island into self-governing ethnic communities. Turkey was anxious that NATO countries in Europe, including Germany, France and Italy, would favour the policy of uniting Cyprus with Greece (*enosis*), as the Greeks themselves were aligned with the Middle Eastern Arab states. Menderes accordingly shifted the Turkish stance to accept the creation of Cyprus as a divided sovereign state, but signed the agreement to this effect, without consultation of the Turkish parliament, from his hospital bed after the Gatwick air crash on 19 February 1959, when many of the Turkish delegation and air crew were killed. Robert Holland (King's College London) offered a detailed appraisal of British policy during the later 1950s, based in part on a strategy of 'divide and rule' that could be traced back to the origins of the colony in 1878, which clung to the optimistic objective of securing 'the peace and harmony of good Greeks and good Turks'.

Professor Behçet Yeşilbursa (Uludağ University) ended the main programme with a review of British government reactions to the military coup of 27 May 1960, based on astute reports provided by the ambassador Sir Bernard Burrows (later to join the Council of the British Institute at Ankara). Britain observed a studied neutrality in relation to the turbulent internal political process (although reportedly Burrows at a personal level found Menderes a more sympathetic figure than İnönü), but was alert to Turkish shifts and manoeuvres in foreign policy, especially with regards to Cyprus, the issue which now dominated the relationship between the two countries.

Professor William Hale tied up the workshop by offering beguiling cameos of events on the Turko-British stage: the Russian attaché Vladimir Volkov who in 1945 reported to the British Consulate in Istanbul that he knew the names of three British spies working undercover for the Russian KGB (by implication Philby, Burgess and Maclean) and Kim Philby's precipitate flight to Turkey, which resulted in the Russians apprehending their own traitor but also Philby's survival as a mole in the system until 1961; and the delightful anecdote, reported in the *Daily Mail*, that, when Menderes staggered from the wrecked plane at Gatwick, he was taken by Mrs Barrett to the family's nearby farmhouse and revived with a shot of 1868 Brandy before being taken into hospital for a health check.

The workshop in Istanbul was memorable for an earth tremor recorded at 5.9 Richter, which caused only a brief pause in Professor Athanassopoulou's presentation, a magnificent dinner at a waterside restaurant and splendid organisation in two great meeting rooms provided by Koç University. A publication is in preparation as a special number of *Middle Eastern Studies*.



Dr Daniel-Joseph MacArthur-Seal (BIAA Assistant Director) and Professor Stephen Mitchell (BIAA Chair).



## 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 for exploring and understanding climate development and the history of global environmental change within the context of contemporary international relations. Lake sediments, tree-rings, speleothems and peat deposits represent valuable natural 'archives' of environmental change that have been under-explored in both Turkey and the wider Black Sea region. This programme of research into the vegetation and climate history of the region focuses on changes in vegetation, water resources, landscape stability and hazards in Turkey, the Black Sea area and much of the wider Middle East over time. It also provides a key context of interaction concerning human use of the landscape from prehistory to the present day.

doi:10.18866/biaa2019.12

### Retrofitting existing housing stock to achieve CO<sub>2</sub> reduction targets

Bilge Serin | University of Glasgow  
With Ender Peker

Climate change has become a major global challenge as it reaches unprecedented levels. This has led to the declaration by major cities and countries around the globe of a climate emergency, and reducing carbon emissions remains the main means by which to tackle this situation. Various ways to achieve such a reduction have long been debated; these range from alterations in the behaviour of individuals, such as taking fewer flights, to more structural changes, such as the carbon-neutrality targets set by many cities. Despite these efforts and increasing public awareness of the need to reduce emissions, the built environment remains a key producer of carbon emissions, and it is perhaps one of the hardest elements to restructure in the short term due to its long-term use and fixed status.

The fifth assessment report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) reveals that buildings account for 32% of total global final energy use. Data reveal that 34% of global end-use energy consumption in residential buildings and 40% in commercial buildings are related to interior heating and cooling. Therefore, the IPCC recommends building retrofitting as a key priority in climate-change mitigation. Carbon emissions released by the existing building stock stand as a major barrier to climate-change mitigation in both developed and developing countries, particularly in terms of the need simultaneously to provide better living environments for inhabitants. This challenge becomes even more taxing with regard to older and historic buildings, as these are even harder to adapt due to limitations set by their age, structure and/or heritage status. The difficulties further expand as a consequence of

socioeconomic, geographic and climatic conditions, such as health issues due to damp homes, fuel poverty as a consequence of high energy and maintenance costs, and a higher carbon footprint due to relatively high energy consumption.

Reflecting upon these challenges, our research explores the problems experienced in existing housing stocks in Scotland and Turkey in terms of retrofitting for carbon-emission reduction. The project aims to identify and explore the problems and requirements of these two countries, while also determining the sub-actions of retrofitting requirements. We are considering alternative solutions and actions by creating reciprocal learning platforms for both locations. We are also comparing and contrasting common and differing problems related to retrofitting the existing housing stock in these contexts and their related policy solutions. These matters are being assessed through two case studies: one focused on the city of Glasgow and the other on the Kadikoy municipality of Istanbul. These locations offer a sound comparative basis in terms of their scale and the climate-change adaptation policies being adopted in each city.

Thus, expert workshops have been held in Istanbul and Glasgow in October and November 2019, respectively. The former was hosted by the Istanbul Policy Centre at Sabanci University and the latter workshop was hosted by the UK Collaborative Centre for Housing Evidence at the University of Glasgow. Experts from academia, the public service, civil society and architecture practices working on retrofit issues were invited to participate in these meetings. The workshops were half-day events, and included brainstorming



discussions of problems associated with retrofitting the existing housing stock for carbon-emission reduction, of solutions to these problems and of policy recommendations, as well as a networking lunch. The networking element of these workshops is of great value in terms of the participatory methodology employed by the research project, which aims to facilitate engagement and collaboration beyond academia.

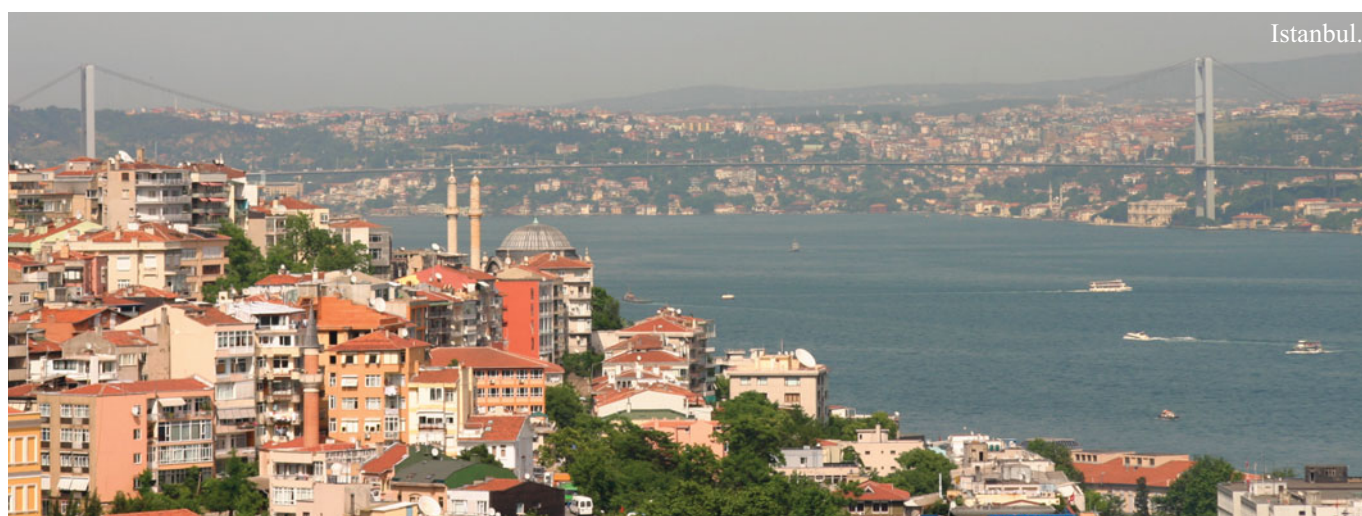
The initial outcomes of the workshops demonstrate that there are both common and differing problems in the two contexts. Measuring energy consumption correctly and in a timely manner was identified as a key challenge in both locations. In the Turkish case, energy consumption data collection has been identified as a principal problem, due to conflicting spatial databases. In the Scottish case, on the other hand, data-related problems are more about real-time access to previously collected energy consumption data. Planning-related problems emerged as another common issue for both locations. Planning is considered to be a key area in which

solutions to retrofitting challenges can be produced. However, the top-down approach adopted in Turkey and the piecemeal approach identified in Scotland hinder this potential.

Tenure structure and property ownership patterns were identified as divergent issues. In Scotland, various tenures within the same district and buildings limit the intervention options for retrofitting housing for carbon-emission reduction. In Turkey, variegated tenure was not identified as a key issue, although private property ownership patterns remain a challenge in terms of the remit of local authorities to enforce retrofitting. Funding was identified as another divergent issue. This is a major challenge in Scotland, but not in Turkey. However, for Turkey, problems associated with the existing legal and regulatory frameworks were identified, and it was concluded that restructuring of these is required in order to develop a more effective retrofitting policy.

Common solutions also emerged from the discussions at the expert workshops. One that was particularly highlighted is that incentives are required in order to promote retrofitting in both locations. These incentives vary depending on the context and policies, and may include monetary incentives such as tax incentives or zero-interest credit provision for retrofitting costs. The need for better planning systems that enable local authorities to implement more comprehensive retrofitting policies emerged as another common solution from the two contexts. Therefore, a holistic planning approach is recommended as a solution to the organisational problems related to retrofitting the existing housing stock.

With the generous support of the British Institute at Ankara, this research project is revealing that the two locations in Scotland and Turkey share common difficulties but also face different challenges in terms of retrofitting existing housing stocks. This research offers us the opportunity to rethink retrofitting actions, with input from both developing- and developed-country perspectives. In addition, the project is also revealing potential future sub-research areas that could be explored through the involvement of different actors from both countries.





# Living with the ‘Big River’: human-environment interactions along the Büyük Menderes (Big Meander) river, southwestern Turkey

Warren Eastwood | University of Birmingham

With Çetin Şenkul, Şule Gürboğa, Mustafa Doğan & Yunus Bozkurt

A long-standing debate in the field of historical geomorphology concerns the relative importance of natural drivers of erosion, such as climate change, *versus* human-induced land-cover change (for example Grove, Rackham 2001). Some of the most widely studied field evidence for past changes in soil erosion and sediment flux comes from downstream records of sedimentation and down-cutting in Mediterranean river valleys (for example Vita-Finzi 1969). Dating and sedimentological analyses have enabled regional alluvial chronologies to be reconstructed, which has led to the recognition that significant geomorphological changes have occurred during historical times. Claudio Vita-Finzi (1969) researched increased sedimentation found in many Mediterranean valleys, called it the ‘Younger Fill’ and further suggested that it had formed synchronously. However, we now know that it formed diachronously according to local landscape change trajectories. While the widespread nature of historical slope destabilisation and soil loss in arid regions has long been understood, there remains considerable uncertainty as to the underlying causes. Vita-Finzi, for example, attributed his ‘Younger Fill’ primarily to historic variations in climate such as the Medieval Climate Anomaly, although other possibilities, such as human impact on forests and post-classical collapse and abandonment and subsequent lack of maintenance of agricultural terrace systems, could equally be applicable. In practice, alluvial records do not easily permit the kind of controlled field experimental conditions needed to establish clear causal relations. However, when reconstructed alluvial chronologies are analysed alongside continuously accumulating lake sediment data, greater chronological precision and accuracy can be achieved, and the analysis of lake sediment data offers unrivalled potential to test hypotheses concerning causal mechanisms using a multi-proxy approach (Roberts et al. 2018).

Of the four main rivers that drain western Anatolia, it is the eponymous Büyük Menderes (Big Meander, typically referred to as the ‘Meander’) that drains most of southwestern Turkey. Over the last ~6,000 years or so, the Meander has advanced its delta, silting up a marine embayment that once reached inland for ~50km. The principal port city, Miletos, was in classical times located on the Latmian gulf; Bafa is now a landlocked residual lake and Miletos is over 10km from the Aegean Sea. Other important classical cities and coastal ports also became landlocked, including Myous, Priene and Herakleia, and this significantly

impacted regional trade and migration (Brückner et al. 2017). Various causes of increased sedimentation and delta advancement have been suggested, including natural erosion, sea-level change, tectonic activity and increased riverine sediment load. Helmut Brückner and colleagues (2017) hypothesise that change in catchment vegetation cover as a result of human activity is the main factor accountable for enhanced erosion rates and increased sediment flux. However, there is a lack of data with which to test empirically the competing roles of natural (climate) change and human agency. This is mainly because research undertaken to date has either focused on a narrow strip of the coastal zone associated with the great classical port cities (such as Miletos and Ephesos) or on individual archaeological research sites located in the continental interior (Aphrodisias for example). Thus, previous research has largely separated the floodplain from its upland catchments, and this represents an important research gap. Apart from its historical and prehistorical importance to civilisation, the Meander catchment is an ideal study region. The catchment extends into the montane, interior region of southwestern Turkey and contains a larger number of lakes than other river catchments in the region, allowing us to undertake multiproxy analyses on retrieved lake sediment cores. As reflected in its name, the river’s floodplain is especially characterised by meander belts and numerous meander cut-off/oxbow lakes. These oxbow lakes offer unrivalled potential to apply innovative techniques to reconstruct high-resolution flood frequency and magnitude sequences directly from lake sediments. Although originally devised for temperate UK water bodies, we will test the feasibility of using these techniques on sediment sequences retrieved from the semi-arid environments of the Meander. Detailed geoarchaeological research on the coastal classical cities (such as Miletos), in addition to extensive archaeological and historical research on key classical cities located along the course of the Meander (Aphrodisias, Tripolis, Hierapolis), requires an interdisciplinary, regional, landscape approach to investigate human-environmental interactions over space and time. Our project adopts a novel ‘catchment-to-coast’ (source-to-sink) approach to reconstruct past natural and human-induced environmental and landscape changes that have led to increased erosion rates along the course of the Meander. We will investigate the extent to which upland catchment processes via human agency (deforestation, burning, agriculture, grazing) may

have caused vegetation change, increased run-off and mobilisation of catchment soils. We will also investigate the extent to which regional climate change (to drier climatic conditions, for example) may have caused decreased vegetation density and increased run-off and mobilisation of catchment soils. In order to test these hypotheses, we will reconstruct the pre-civilisation natural environment of the Meander catchment in order to establish baseline conditions and chart the *longue durée* of human occupance and landscape change.

The Meander flows through a series of cascading basins that act as intermediate, temporary sinks (for example Karakuyu, Çivril, Denizli), so our fieldwork to date has concentrated on coring lakes in close proximity to these basins and archaeological sites. Retrieved sediment cores will be subjected to a range of multi-proxy techniques (pollen, charcoal and coprophilous fungal analyses) to obtain data on vegetation change and local/regional burning, and to assess the magnitude of grazing and potential impacts on forest cover. Hydroclimate change will be reconstructed using stable isotope analysis of authigenic carbonates from large and small lakes. Enhanced hydro-geomorphic instability and palaeo-flood analyses will be conducted using core magnetic susceptibility, Itrax X-ray fluorescence (µXRF) core scanning and other geochemical techniques. Chronological control will be achieved using radiocarbon-

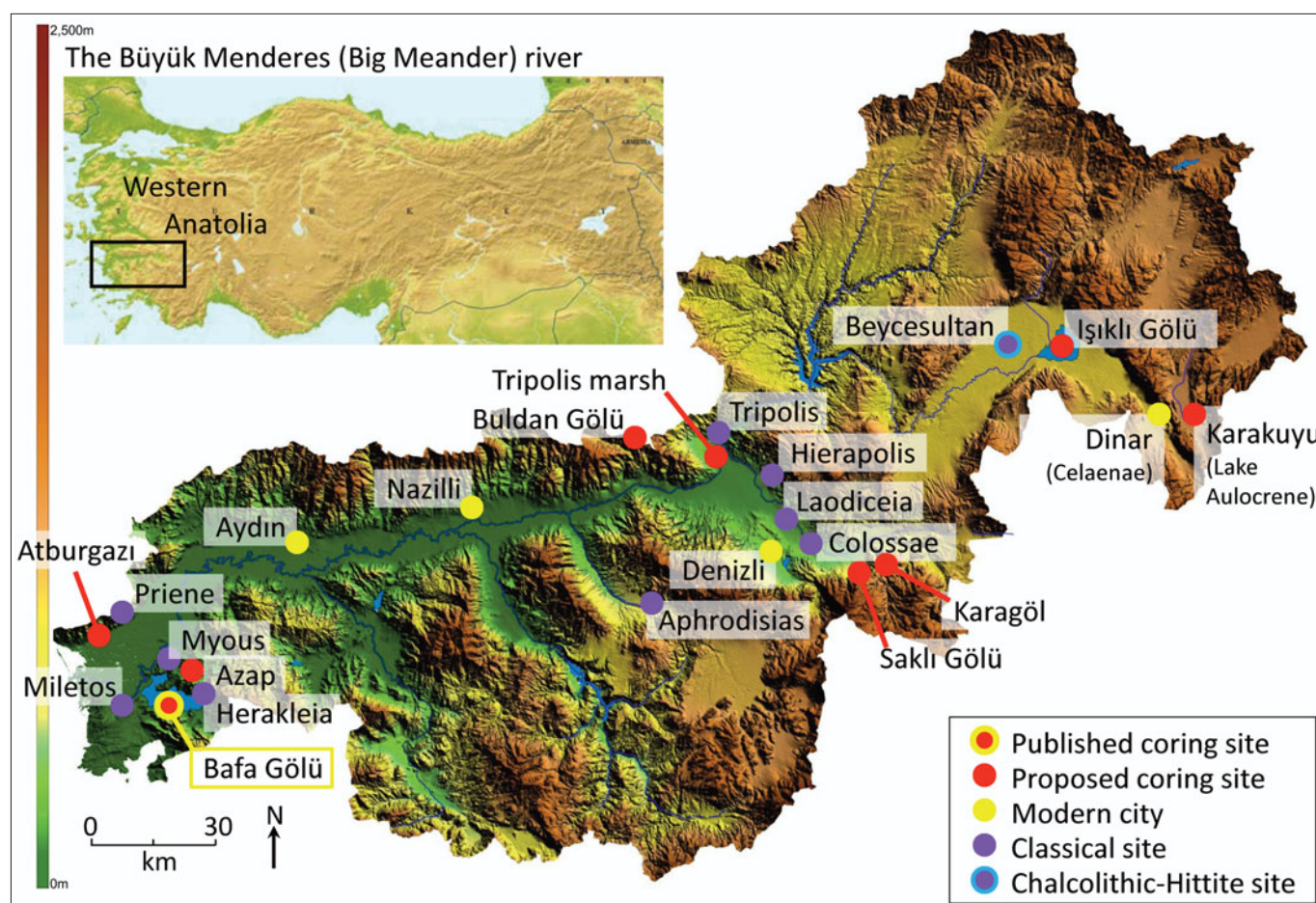
age dating on retrieved sediment sequences in addition to tephrochronological techniques (analysis of volcanic ash layers preserved in sediment cores). Volcanic ash discovered in sediment cores most probably derives from the mid-second millennium BC ‘Minoan’ eruption of Santorini (Thera), but further work is needed to substantiate this.

### Acknowledgements

We thank Ahmet Köse, Osman Aslanturk, Sefa Atalay, Mert Tufan and Ali Şenkul for assistance during fieldwork coring.

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## LEGACY DATA: USING THE PAST FOR THE FUTURE

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

doi:10.18866/biaa2019.14

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

Lutgarde Vandepuit & Nurdan Atalan Cayırezmez | British Institute at Ankara

Since 2017, the British Institute at Ankara has been working towards the establishment of a regional digital repository. The project really took off when the Institute hired a Digital Repository Manager, Nurdan Atalan Çayırezmez, about a year ago. The main aims of this initiative are to collect, store, manage and maintain the records of the BIAA collections and to build a digital repository for long-term preservation of digital data. The digital repository will store and preserve data related to the Institute's collections as well as material generated by other projects, which will pay for the service.

During her first year at the Institute, Nurdan has assessed the BIAA collections and archives, both physical and digitised. Although the BIAA had invested heavily in digitisation before the arrival of specialised staff, Nurdan's detailed examination revealed that further work needs to be done before a digital repository can be set up, for both internal and external reasons. Internally, the Institute's digital repository office has focused specifically on 'cleaning' and 'standardising' the data that have been digitised over the past 15 years by a number of people, who all worked in slightly different ways. FAIR (findable, accessible, interoperable and reusable) principles are key elements of a digital repository, and currently Nurdan and a number of volunteers and interns are checking the digitised material, especially the related metadata and excel files, and updating them according to Dublin Core headings (the Dublin Core Metadata Initiative is an open-source movement that aims to standardise data about digital objects). Meanwhile, a consultation process is taking place regarding software options to ensure OAI-PMH

standards (Open Archives Initiative Protocol for Metadata Harvesting: <https://www.openarchives.org/pmh/>).

Unfortunately, standards for digital cultural heritage and cultural memory in Turkey, such as standardised archaeological site names and terminology, are lacking. This is a major external hurdle that needs to be tackled before the Institute's digital repository can become fully operational. Work on a standardised terminology has started and will continue next year.

To provide Nurdan with the necessary context for her work and to make sure that the BIAA digital repository will comply with international standards, she took a customised intensive training course at the Archaeological Data Service at the University of York. This focused on digital repository software and hardware, costing solutions and archiving, standards and guidelines, and management and accreditation. Her visit to the UK also gave Nurdan the opportunity to visit Historic England, the Society of Antiquaries and the British Library, together with the Institute's Honorary Secretary, Shahina Farid. During these visits, policies regarding the digitisation and collection of metadata for archives were discussed in detail.

A further element of this initiative is the BIAA's involvement in the SEADDA project ('Saving European Archaeology from the Digital Dark Age'). SEADDA is an EU COST Action (CA18128; <https://www.seadda.eu/>) that will run from March 2019 to March 2023. The project is primarily concerned with preventing digital data from becoming obsolete and tackling the lack of standards in the world of digitisation. Nurdan is vice-chair of Working Group 3: Preservation and Dissemination Best Practice.



Nurdan at work with the interns and her assistant, Sergio Russo.

As a first step towards internationally agreed standards, guidelines and terms and conditions regarding use of the physical and digital BIAA collections have been prepared alongside policy documents for the repository (including data types, data formats, copyrights, etc.). Nurdan, in collaboration with the Institute's Resource Manager, Burçak Delikan, has also thoroughly checked the data regarding the BIAA's seed reference collection and the herbarium. Furthermore, Nurdan has established links with other herbaria in Ankara and elsewhere in Turkey, and has presented the Institute's herbarium at a workshop in Düzce. It turns out that several of the Ankara herbaria hold specimens received from Mark Nesbitt and other researchers who have worked on the BIAA herbarium. Within the context of developing collaborations with other herbaria, Nurdan's visits to the Botany Department of University College London, which houses the 'sister collection' to the BIAA's seed collection, and the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, where Mark Nesbitt currently works, provided more information about the background to and the collecting policies of the Institute's herbarium and seed collection. It is intended to collaborate further with both these UK institutions as well as with relevant herbaria in Turkey.

The BIAA's physical archives have also grown over the course of this past year. A total of 26 boxes of working notes, correspondence, archives and books, as well as a (large) number of maps, slides and negatives have arrived in Ankara. Preliminary archiving has been conducted and records have been created in Excel files to ensure that this newly arrived material is documented sufficiently ahead of digitisation. The books (ten boxes) have already been catalogued and are now accessible in the BIAA David French Library.

In terms of outreach activities, Nurdan and Burçak presented the botanical collections at a workshop entitled 'National Botanical Gardens, Arboretums, Herbariums and Botanical Museums', which took place in Düzce in April. This meeting resulted in the first tentative discussions of potential collaboration between the BIAA and the herbaria at Ankara University, Gazi University in Ankara and Düzce University. These talks continued when the directors of these institutions visited the Institute. Nurdan also presented a talk entitled 'Biocultural collections and digital cultural heritage: British Institute at Ankara (BIAA) collections' at the 'Seed Science and Archaeobotanical Research in Anatolia' conference, which took place at Ege University in Izmir.

Simultaneously, relations between the BIAA and several university departments of information and records management in Ankara have been developing. Not only have students from Hacettepe University visited the BIAA, they have also been offered the opportunity to do an internship at the Institute. We are delighted to report that several have already taken up intern positions. In addition, Nurdan has lectured on digital cultural heritage and archaeology at several universities and also presented a paper entitled 'Digital cultural heritage and photography collections: BIAA photographic collection' at E-Beyas 2019, an annual information management symposium. Last, but not least, she also gave a lecture on this topic at Ankara University when a group of students of library information from UCL Qatar were in Ankara, and it was a pleasure to welcome these students on a visit to the Institute.

So, all in all, it has been an extremely productive year. Awareness and knowledge about the Institute's digital and physical collections are clearly spreading!



Nurdan with Mark Nesbitt.



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

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

doi:10.18866/biaa2019.15

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

Douglas Baird | University of Liverpool

With Andrew Fairbairn & Gökhan Mustafaoglu

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

#### Fieldwork

In 2019 we started the season with a number of aims. In Area M west we planned to excavate to natural deposits in order to produce a complete sequence through the site and document the nature of the earliest occupation. In Area M east we intended to investigate the use of the open areas in this part of the settlement, including the previously identified human toilet area (reported on in *Heritage Turkey* 2018) and Building 26. In Area R we hoped to investigate the use of the open space in this portion of the site and the nature of a distinctive early structure; and, finally, in Area L we aimed to explore the nature of activities on the eastern edge of the site and the latest phases of Neolithic activity on the site, including whether they mark a transition to more substantial mixed farming.

In Area M west we reached apparently natural deposits in some parts of the trench, and so documented the earliest occupation in this area of the site. This early occupation has a

distinctive set of features that are not common in later phases. We recorded midden deposits accumulated in an open area. These are relatively compact, unlike later midden deposits in Area M, and revealed few artefacts but larger quantities of animal bone; this suggests very distinctive patterns of use in the area. Within these deposits we found a number of small oval features, apparently settings for baskets or possibly other artefacts. There were also some small channels lined with phytoliths and two instances of small oval clay platforms that had been repeatedly built up with layers of clay; these were apparently some form of work installation. There were also small external hearths in the same area and a large pit with some coprolites at its base. The work undertaken in this area also offered the opportunity for Aroa Garcia-Suarez to undertake micromorphological sampling of the external hearths.

In the lowest parts of the deposit we noted a series of naturally formed concretion deposits which may overlie an earlier occupation. This perhaps hints that some of the earliest occupation was of an intermittent nature; we intend to investigate this possibility further in 2020.

In Area M east we also achieved our main aims. In particular, we have added important knowledge to our understanding of structures on the site. The earliest phase in this area relates to a building, Building 26. We traced only the southern edge and southeastern corner of this structure. We exposed the latest floors in the building running against the inner face of the southern wall. They were covered by



Wall of Building 26.

an in-situ dense burnt layer consisting of several layers of reed material. This layer was moderately thick and did not show the weave typical of matting, as we have documented it elsewhere on the site. It might have been roofing material, but there was no evidence of burnt beams overlying it. Thus it may well have been that, on occasion, layers of reed were laid as floor coverings, something we have not observed previously. We also traced the exterior face of this building wall. We excavated 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. We could also see that the exterior face of the building was covered with a fine white plaster, with a finish matching that in the interior. This indicates that, unlike other structures we have excavated, the walls of this building were largely free standing. It also means that a boar jaw placed in a niche in this wall must have faced the exterior, unlike previously documented animal-bone installations, which faced the interior of the structure. Perhaps this was seen as a ritual means by which to protect buildings against threats from the outside.

To the south, and post-dating Building 26, was a series of surfaces with hearths and small pits. There was also a burial cut into this area.

Finally in this part of the site, we excavated more of the human toilet area in the southeastern corner of Area M east. As a consequence, we have increased the sample of coprolites and further documented the complex sequencing

in the midden. This comprises alternating layers of coprolites and phytoliths, which suggests relatively long-term use of this public toilet area.

In Area R, we better documented what we now understand to be a very large Neolithic pit or depression used for the dumping of much refuse, especially large animal processing by-products, but also material from particular food-consumption events, such as concentrations of bird bones. The centre of the depression saw the use of fire, potentially related to food-consumption activities. Within the depression much structural debris had accumulated, presumably from surrounding areas. These deposits overlay a sub-rectangular feature with very thick clay floors (several centimetres thick); this was presumably a large oven or basin for processing liquids. We have not documented an oven or basin on this scale previously, so it certainly hints at a previously unimagined scale of processing activity in open areas.

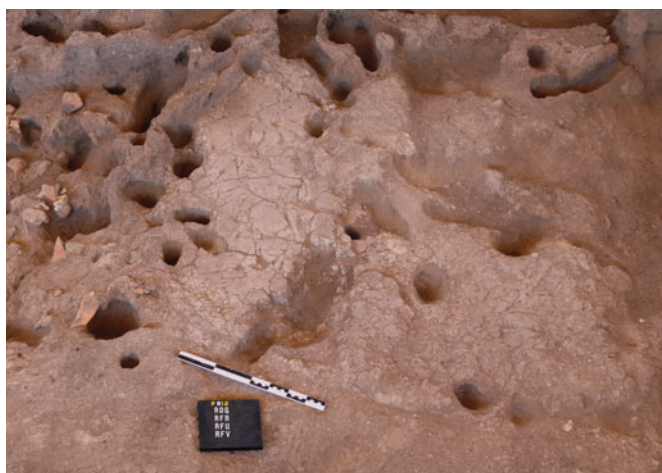
In Area P we exposed the western half of Building 22, which stood four courses high in a number of places. This offers the opportunity to investigate an unusually well-preserved building.

In Area L we were able to excavate to the natural marl. The resulting sequence from the study of the artefacts and ecofacts will provide important insights into the later phases of Neolithic occupation at the site. Excavation here has also helped us to document peripheral site activities. Particularly notable is a large pit that had been cut into the marl; this was probably a marl extraction pit, with marl being procured for the manufacture of building floors, features and wall faces. We also excavated more of an extensive plaster-faced lining and cut that was probably part of a very large pit or possibly plastered ditch at the edge of the site. Thus we now understand more about the later Neolithic phases and use of the site edge. Further investigation of the animal bone and plant remains will allow us to investigate changes in economic activities at the end of the occupation of the site.



Burnt reeds on the floor of Building 26.





Large sub-rectangular oven or basin in Area R.

### Experimental studies and public engagement

Gökhan Mustafaoğlu continued experimental work on our Neolithic replica buildings, which also contribute to our visitors' understanding of the nature of Neolithic houses and open spaces. In 2018 we reconstructed the largest building we know of from the Neolithic site. Since it took us much of the 2018 season to put up the structure, the interior still required finishing in keeping with our Neolithic houses. It took six people the best part of two weeks to complete the floor and wall plastering.

We conducted some more fire experiments in the buildings, especially in the reconstructed 'light structure'. These confirmed that the light structure functioned particularly well in this regard, with its extra ventilation, and that such structures would have been very suitable as food-processing and kitchen buildings. Inspired by the improved functionality of such ventilation arrangements, we experimented with improving ventilation in the standard house structures by removing a small number of bricks from the tops of the walls of one of our replica buildings. This significantly improved the ventilation of the building when the hearth was being used. We have no direct material evidence of such an arrangement, but it certainly seems a plausible option.

We also repaired the roofs of the buildings, which had suffered significant wear over a winter that saw much rain and snow. This confirmed the importance of regular maintenance of roofs and floors in the Neolithic period.

In terms of visitor facilities, we installed an interactive installation on ancient food, designed by Jessica Pearson as part of her AHRC project, in our visitor centre, complete with replica food. We also installed several new panels explaining our scientific work on population mobility and human health and diet. These include specially commissioned paintings designed by Jessica.

As part of our development of a Neolithic garden, we created a pond with wetland plants that are documented in our archaeobotanical record, in order to illustrate the nature of the Neolithic wetland environment to visitors. It was

quickly visited by red dragonflies and frogs, which suggests something of the nature of the habitat in the Neolithic. We further developed the area of the garden by planting more of the tree species that were present in the Neolithic environment, mainly on the hills surrounding the plain, and exploited by Neolithic communities. We created two new fields, where we planted Neolithic-type crops in order to illustrate to visitors the nature of Neolithic farming. To do so we had to source traditional varieties of wheat and peas that are not much used today.

We also hosted a press day, which was attended by about 30 journalists from major media outlets in Turkey, that coincided with the visit of the mayor of Karatay, our local municipality. As a result, the site received wide media coverage over the course of the following days, and the mayors of Karatay and Konya committed their support to further development of visitor facilities.

Visitor numbers have risen from approximately 500 in 2018 to over 1,200 in 2019. The publication of an article featuring Boncuklu in the Turkish and American *National Geographic* magazines (with a circulation of 65 million) may have helped this process.

### Acknowledgements

The 2019 excavation season was sponsored and funded by the British Institute at Ankara, the University of Liverpool, the University of Queensland and the Institute of Field Research. We would also like to thank the Directorate-General for its continued support and the Director of Konya Museums, Omer Faruk bey, for his constant help, and we acknowledge the kind guidance of our Ministry representative this year, Nur Soyer.

Sponsorship from a range of sources, secured by BIAA fundraising activities, has supported the reconstructed buildings, the gardens and the visitor facilities. We are grateful to the Stevenson Family Charitable Trust, the Aurelius Charitable Trust, the Robert Kiln Charitable Trust, the Charlotte Bonham-Carter Charitable Trust, the Society of Dilettanti and several individual donors.



Reconstructed Neolithic wetland pond.

# The cultural and ecological context of early plant domestication

Eleni Asouti & Ceren Kabukcu | University of Liverpool

**S**outheast Anatolia contains some of the earliest and best-known sites associated with the beginning of cultivation and herding in southwest Asia. Since the first excavations at Çayönü Tepesi in 1964 by the Joint Istanbul-Chicago Prehistoric Project, led by Halet Çambel and Robert Braidwood, several excavations and field surveys have revealed an impressive array of aceramic Neolithic sites (Hallan Çemi, Körtik, Gusir, Göbekli Tepe, Nevalı Çori, Cafer Höyük, etc.) spanning a period of ~1,500 years from the mid-tenth to the late ninth millennium cal. BC. However, nearly six decades of intensive fieldwork and spectacular archaeological discoveries notwithstanding, still little is known about the origin of Neolithic plant management practices and the process of early crop domestication in this region.

The earliest aceramic Neolithic sites located in the Tigris basin (Gusir, Çayönü/Round Plan sub-phase, Hallan Çemi, Körtik, Demirköy, Hasankeyf) have produced limited evidence for the exploitation of wild-type cereals and pulses, despite the fact that this region occupies a central position in the primary zone of the distribution of southwest Asian crop progenitor species. In the Euphrates basin, the limited sampling conducted to date at Göbekli has also produced minimal quantities of plant remains. Although cereals and pulses are better represented in late ninth-millennium cal. BC phases sampled at Çayönü, Nevalı Çori and Cafer Höyük, the evidence for early crop domestication from these sites remains inconclusive. Of all the aforementioned sites, few (Hallan Çemi, Gusir, Demirköy, Körtik) have been sampled by machine-assisted water flotation. The absence of large-scale, intensive flotation sampling is acutely felt in large and architecturally more complex sites such as Göbekli, Çayönü and Nevalı Çori, where archaeologists have unearthed some of the most spectacular examples of the symbolic and ritual behaviours (reflected in monumental communal architecture and material culture) associated with the transition from foraging to farming in southwest Asia.

The key objective of our research project, the pilot phase of which is funded by a grant from the British Institute at Ankara, is to address this important gap in research on the region's agricultural origins through the intensive, large-scale sampling and analysis of archaeobotanical remains from aceramic Neolithic Karahan Tepe. A new programme of excavation started at the site, which is located in the Şanlıurfa province, in September 2019, under the direction of Necmi Karul of the Department of Prehistory at Istanbul University.



General overview of the 2019 Karahan Tepe excavations.

Recent field surveys have established the extent of the visible prehistoric remains on the eastern terrace of the site at 32.5ha. They comprise the upper parts of >250 in-situ, T-shaped pillars protruding from the topsoil and the remnants of prehistoric walls and rock-cut features, alongside abundant knapped- and ground-stone scatters. Surface finds (especially the morphology and size of the visible pillars and lithic technology) place Karahan in the same chronological horizon as Göbekli II and Nevalı Çori. During the 2019 field season, excavation work revealed several structures cut directly into the bedrock, in addition to evidence for the careful infilling of these structures. In this first season, we established an on-site, three-tank, machine-assisted, water-recycling flotation system with which we processed >700 litres of excavated sediment. Our plan in forthcoming seasons is to apply intensive flotation sampling at Karahan, targeting ~50% of all excavated deposits and 100% of select deposits (hearths, floors, dumps, middens) in order to retrieve representative archaeobotanical samples.



The three-tank, water-recycling flotation system.



# The KRASP 2019 field season and the discovery of an Iron Age capital at Türkmen-Karahöyük

Christoph Bachhuber | University of Oxford  
With Michele Massa & James Osborne

The Konya Regional Archaeological Survey Project (KRASP) was initiated in 2016 with support from the British Institute at Ankara and completed its third season of fieldwork in 2019. The results of this year's season have contributed to our understanding of the transition from the Neolithic to the Chalcolithic on the Konya plain, have added yet more evidence for a period of profound region-wide instability during the Early Bronze Age and have given us high-resolution aerial images of a number of features, including fortified hilltops and large settlement-mound formations. The most spectacular results, however, follow the first season of an intensive survey at the mega-site of Türkmen-Karahöyük in the eastern region of the plain.

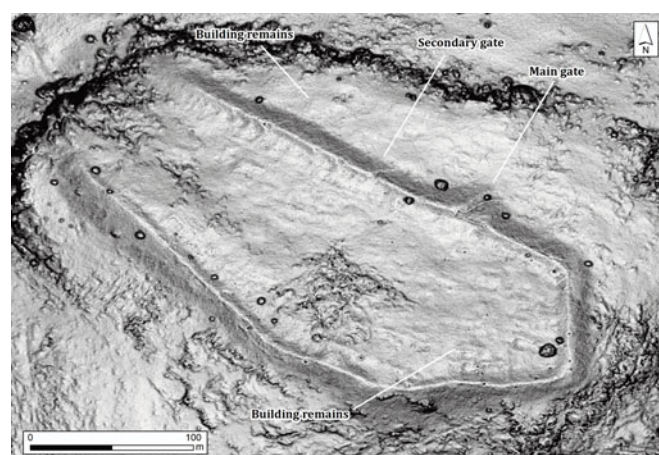
Following earlier preliminary reports of Late Neolithic sites discovered by Hasan Bahar on the Yenisu plain south of the Çarşamba alluvial fan, KRASP revisited two of these in 2019 at Alkaran Höyük and Kısıkyayla Höyük. We confirmed that they are contemporary with the latest phases of Çatalhöyük East. One of the principal research questions for KRASP is the relationship between Çatalhöyük and other Neolithic and Early Chalcolithic sites in the region. Earlier surveys have recorded sporadic pottery and chipped-stone finds from several mounded sites in the Çarşamba delta. These finds raise the possibility that Çatalhöyük East was not an isolated farming settlement on the Konya plain during its apogee (seventh millennium BC). Yet after three seasons of fieldwork KRASP has not yet identified a settlement beyond the delta that is earlier than the very end of the seventh millennium BC (the Late Neolithic periodisation of Alkaran Höyük and Kısıkyayla Höyük). The unprecedented settlement on the Yenisu plain informs a primary stage of dispersal away from Çatalhöyük, which Douglas Baird, Arkadiusz Marciniak and Ian Hodder, among others, have already suggested began in this transitional period between the Neolithic and Chalcolithic.

In each field season KRASP has collected more evidence for a region-wide horizon of settlement destructions in the latter Early Bronze Age (roughly 2500–2300 BC), which James Mellaart first recognised over 60 years ago. We recorded two such sites in 2019, at Batum Höyük and Yavşan Höyük. To what extent the destructions across the Konya plain were contemporary is another major research question for KRASP, and exploration of this issue will move us closer to an explanation for so much evidence of conflict. For example, our understanding of the 'horizon' will differ if the settlements were destroyed within a short period of time (<10

years) rather than over a long period (>200 years). KRASP has collected radiocarbon samples from a number of these sites in an attempt to achieve greater chronological resolution.

Many of the survey methodologies that KRASP is developing are improving our understanding of the landscapes of early cities and states during the Bronze and Iron Ages. For example, in 2019 we flew an unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV, or drone) over several large settlements and hilltop fortifications in order to create high-resolution digital surface models of surface features like architecture (for example the walls that enclose hilltop forts) and settlement-mound formations. Regarding fortified hilltops, we are now able to reconstruct networks of such sites in the upland landscapes that surround the Konya plain. We believe that the fortification networks relate to the formation of early state territories in this region.

Drone survey is also proving effective in identifying and mapping off-site activities and modifications to the landscape, including channels, canals and quarrying pits. We are combining these aerial approaches with other ground-based methodologies, such as identifying and defining the extent of lower settlements/towns of some of the largest mounds on the Konya plain through intensive survey. Through these varied data, KRASP is arriving at a composite image of Bronze Age and Iron Age settlement on the Konya plain. For example, we can now observe with confidence that, together, the Konya and Karaman plains formed one of the most densely settled landscapes in Anatolia during the third to first millennium BC (roughly the Early Bronze Age through to the Iron Age).



A digital surface model showing the multi-period fortified hilltop at Seçme Kalesi, including the Middle Iron Age fortification walls.

Furthermore, following discoveries made at Türkmen-Karahöyük in the 2019 field season KRASP has a much better understanding of early state polities in this region. Türkmen-Karahöyük has been prioritised since we first visited the site in 2017. Rising about 35m above the plain and at about 700m × 500m in size, the settlement mound dwarfs the village immediately to the south that shares its name. The site is enormous by any measure, yet it has attracted almost no archaeological interest in over 70 years of surveys and related historical geographic assessments of this region. Site visits made by KRASP in 2017 and 2018 demonstrated the existence of a Late Bronze Age and Iron Age lower town. In 2019 we invited our colleague James Osborne (University of Chicago) to lead an intensive survey of the upper mound and lower town. The discoveries made in 2019 by the Türkmen-Karahöyük Intensive Survey Project (TISP), operating under the aegis of KRASP but independently funded by the Oriental Institute (University of Chicago), have now confirmed our suspicions about the importance of this site. In short, the results of the intensive survey were nothing short of remarkable.

TISP has confirmed that the site was apparently continuously inhabited from the Late Chalcolithic to the Hellenistic period, which accounts to some extent for its size. In the transition from the Middle Bronze Age to the Late Bronze Age the site grew from a respectable 30ha settlement to a 125+ha city with an upper walled citadel and lower town, making it one of the largest Bronze Age or Iron Age settlements in central and western Anatolia. By way of comparison, the Hittite capital and mountain city of Boğazköy-Hattuša is 180ha. Türkmen-Karahöyük continued to be a 125+ha centre during the Early and Middle Iron Ages, before beginning to retract back towards the upper mound in the Late Iron Age.

The most important discovery during TISP's 2019 field season was made in the context of the Iron Age settlement. Local dredging operations in an irrigation canal about 600m

east of the upper mound revealed an inscribed block.

According to the account of a local farmer, he discovered the inscription in the spoil heap of canal fill while quarrying the fill for mudbrick manufacture. The same farmer (who has asked to remain anonymous) alerted TISP to the stele while surveying was being conducted nearby.

The block (95cm × 45cm) is inscribed in Hieroglyphic Luwian. The inscription (hereafter TÜRKMEN-KARAHÖYÜK 1 = TKH 1 following the Luwian inscription labelling conventions devised by David Hawkins) was composed by 'Great King Hartapu', long known from the nearby Kızıldağ and Karadağ complexes. A translation and analysis of the text by Petra Goedegebuure and Theo van den Hout (University of Chicago) is in preparation.

The discovery of TKH 1 in the context of such a large Iron Age centre is revolutionising our understanding of the archaeology and early history of central Anatolia. First, it provides a context for the nearby Hieroglyphic Luwian-inscribed monuments at Kızıldağ and Karadağ, located in the volcanic massifs just south of Türkmen-Karahöyük, which were also commissioned by Great King Hartapu. We suggest these may represent hilltop sanctuaries of the Iron Age capital, in much the same way that Yazılıkaya was the sanctuary of the Hittite capital at Boğazköy-Hattuša. The TKH 1 inscription will also loom large in historical and geographical assessments of an enigmatic territory that the Assyrians called Tabal, located at the western frontier of the Assyrian empire and beyond effective imperial control.

In 2020 the priority for KRASP will continue to be the investigation of urban and early state landscapes of the Konya plain. In addition to more drone and intensive surveys at Türkmen-Karahöyük and other large Bronze Age and Iron Age sites, we will begin a programme of geophysical survey with the aim of visualising the sub-surface architectural layout of these settlements. We expect to be able to map lower towns, city walls and gates, and other sub-surface monumental features.



The moment of discovery of the TKH 1 inscription: James Osborne in the canal with the inscribed block (photo Suay Erkuşöz).



# On the trail of early iron metallurgy in the Caucasus mountains

Nathaniel Erb-Satullo | University of Oxford

The origins of iron metallurgy and the sources of late second- and early first-millennium BC metallurgical innovation are topics of major discussion in the archaeology of the ancient Near East. Current evidence, deriving from texts and a small number of objects, suggests that the extraction of iron metal from ores began on a small scale in Anatolia in the early second millennium BC, but direct evidence for Bronze Age and Early Iron Age iron production sites is almost entirely lacking in this area. Just a few sites have documented evidence of iron smithing (i.e. the shaping of raw iron), and none has produced clear evidence for iron smelting (i.e. the production of raw metal from ores). Compounding the challenges for understanding early iron innovation is the fact that Late Bronze Age copper and bronze production sites are similarly underexplored. Consequently, scholars have a poor understanding of the organisation of metallurgical economies and the various factors driving metallurgical innovation in Anatolia and the adjacent region of the Caucasus.

With the support of a study grant from the British Institute at Ankara, I travelled to Georgia and Armenia to study and sample objects from metallurgical sites dating to the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages. Research in Georgia focused on two sites – Kvemo Bolnisi and Mtsvane Gora. The former was excavated in the Soviet period and published as an Early Iron Age iron smelting site (Gzelishvili 1964), while the latter was excavated by myself and colleagues from the Georgian National Museum in 2015 and 2017, when traces of iron and copper-alloy metallurgy were discovered. While it has not yet been possible to locate the materials from the original 1950s excavations of Kvemo Bolnisi, a visit to the site identified pieces of slag present in the same area as the workshop described in the original publication of the site. Although a full understanding of the metallurgical processes that took place at the site must await more intensive laboratory analysis of the slag samples collected, the presence of significant copper ore mineralisation at the site casts into doubt earlier claims of iron smelting. The 2015 and 2017 excavations at Mtsvane Gora yielded traces of iron and copper metallurgy, roughly dating to the eighth to the sixth century BC, and Institute support has facilitated further study of artefacts recovered during these excavations and provided the opportunity to discuss and write up the results of the ongoing programme of scientific analysis.

Research in Armenia, undertaken in collaboration with colleagues at the Geological Institute of the National Academy of Sciences, the Agency for Cultural Heritage and the Preservation of Monuments, and the Metsamor Museum,

has focused on the ancient metallurgical centre at the site of Metsamor. The site has a long history of research, which began in earnest in the 1960s, when geologists and archaeologists uncovered a fortified site with furnaces, slags and other traces of metal production (Mkrtychyan et al. 1967; Khanzadyan et al. 1973). A news article about the site, published in the *New York Times* (31 October 1971), hailing it as the ‘Pittsburgh of the ancient world’, attracted the interest of the American archaeometallurgist Robert Maddin, who went on to write extensively about iron metallurgy in Anatolia and the wider Near East. However, Maddin’s visit to the site did not develop into more sustained collaboration, and little further analytical research was undertaken.

The aims of the renewed collaborative research programme are to identify the types of metals produced (for example copper, iron, tin) and the stage of production (smelting, smithing, casting, etc.), and to reassess the context and chronology of production remains. Supported by my Institute grant, I was able to photograph metallurgical slags and other production debris from the site, take samples for analysis and examine the ceramics from the corresponding contexts. A wide variety of production debris was identified at the site, including crucibles, casting moulds, ladles, tuyères and a range of different types of slag. Preliminary research suggests that much of the metallurgical debris dates to the Early Iron Age (ca 12th to ninth century BC), but broad similarities in ceramic styles in the period ca 1500–500 BC complicate precise dating. Subsequent laboratory analysis of metallurgical samples will determine the types and stages of metal production that took place at the site.

The research programme initiated with the BIAA study grant will illuminate the regional landscape of iron- and copper-based metallurgy during the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages. It is only through the (re)analysis of workshop sites that an accurate picture of metal economies will emerge, enabling archaeologists to build robust models of metallurgical innovation.

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# Survey, sense and sensibilities: reflections on old and new spatial archaeologies on the Project Panormos Survey

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Archaeologists depend on understanding the spatial relationships of artefacts, monuments and organic remains to create temporal narratives of the past. For excavation, the most important spatial relationships are ‘vertical’: soil strata provide clues to the relative temporal sequence of archaeological deposits and their contents. For surface survey, archaeologists focus instead on ‘horizontal’ data to create two-dimensional distribution maps of finds and features whose temporal positions must be established not from space but from similarity to objects whose dates are already known. Surface survey has thus often been viewed as inferior in the hierarchy of archaeological methods.

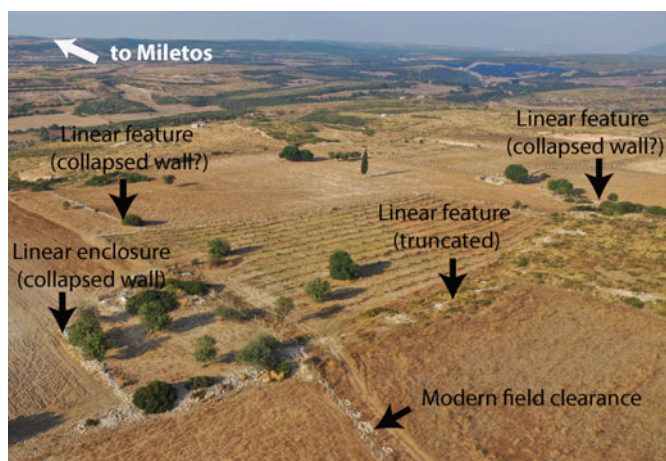
Paradoxically it is seen as both a necessary prospection practice for ‘new’ archaeologists in search of an excavation and yet dependent on pre-existing excavation data if its results are to be chronologically meaningful. Surface survey has a long tradition in Turkey, but the bureaucratic relationship between excavation and survey in the permit system remains asymmetrical: excavation permits can include survey, but not vice versa, and this restricts the possibilities of more flexible or hybrid methods such as sample test-trenches and survey-oriented geomorphological coring. The vast majority of survey projects in Turkey continue to focus on extensive methodologies in which site prospection (i.e. identifying ‘new’ or rather previously unpublished ‘sites’) is the priority. While these generate important information, prospection is only one potential application of survey, and increasingly it is being realised that a variety of spatial and scientific methods should be brought together to realise survey’s full potential. Landscape survey can tell us about agricultural economic regimes, degrees of settlement aggregation and dispersal, and human-nature interactions over much wider areas than the scale of a single site. Moreover, considerable discussion in the survey literature has questioned the usefulness of the concept of archaeological ‘sites’ itself (still endemic in modernist and geometrically defined heritage inventories), which artificially places boundaries on our imagination of ancient human activities around discrete points, when in fact human lives have always been played out across larger spaces, at both places and in-between places.

The Project Panormos Survey was begun in 2015, and grew out of a three-year excavation of a necropolis at ancient Panormos, dating to between ca 700–500 BC and located near modern Mavişehir, Didim, which lies on the ancient Milesian peninsula. In contrast to the traditional pattern, the primary aim of the survey has never been prospection or the planning of new excavations, but rather horizontal contextualisation

and consolidation of pre-existing knowledge to create a new understanding of how the wider human and natural landscapes of this important region on the eastern side of the Aegean changed through time. From the outset, intensive fieldwalking methods, modelled on tried-and-tested visual-sense strategies used in Greece, have formed a central pillar of investigation. Systematic fieldwalking involves teams of trained archaeologists or students walking spatially bounded ‘tracts’ in straight lines, counting and/or collecting visible archaeological remains from the surface as they walk. The resulting map of finds provides a detailed insight into the density of human occupation of an area; and where finds can be dated (whether macroscopically by shape, microscopically by material or by using relevant archaeometric techniques), a story of fluctuating intensity of occupation over the *longue durée* can be told in map form. Project Panormos relies on pre-defined spatial grids, GPS devices and data aggregation servers to define tracts and collect data rapidly, and to facilitate rapid ‘open data’ release (Strupler, Wilkinson 2017). In 2019, fieldwalking was directed at a ridge running inland from the harbour of Panormos where finds from the Early Bronze Age were found in 2018. Here, further finds from the Early Bronze I period, including broken obsidian sickles, large pithos fragments and polished stone axe-heads, demonstrate a widely dispersed, low-intensity usage of this area of the peninsula during the early third millennium BC that was entirely unknown until now and would have been difficult to demonstrate without intensive methods. This same area appears relatively unoccupied until the third century BC, from when we have the first finds of Hellenistic date found during intensive fieldwalking. These are perhaps associated with an expansion of agriculture, as documented by the scattered stone banks that are visible on aerial photographs and satellite imagery as linear features across a large swathe of the peninsula, some of which are visible in the area walked in 2019 (Wilkinson, Slawisch 2020). The *lack* of evidence from certain periods is naturally as interesting as evidence of positive presence. This is another strength of the intensive approach: the identification of ‘empty’ tracts as well as ‘full’ ones, which consequently opens new questions.

While remote sensing in the form of aerial photography has been an essential tool for archaeologists for over a century, it is only very recently that model aircraft technology has progressed to a point where it is feasible and economical for every project to own and use its own drone or UAV (unmanned aerial vehicle). In 2019, Project Panormos secured permission for drone photography for the first time.





Drone-based aerial photograph of ancient field systems of uncertain date (photo Toby Wilkinson).

As accessibility to the technology has increased, so sensitivities about safety, privacy and security have risen worldwide. Turkey is no exception, with new regulations and permission systems now in place. There are two primary uses for drones in archaeology at present. One is simply the generation of spectacular images of monuments and landscapes which aid viewers' imagination of the past. For Project Panormos, oblique-angle drone photographs of the entrance to the Panormos harbour enable us to illustrate dramatically the likely change to the sea-line. The other is the application of photogrammetry, today usually achieved through SfM (structure-from-motion) methods. These combine multiple overlapping photographs to generate: (1) orthophotos (flat aerial imagery) of very high resolution; (2) DEMs (digital elevation models) that allow easy digital mapping of topography; and/or (3) three-dimensional digital models of large monuments, which allow faster measurement and exploration of structures compared to the laborious methods used in the past. For survey globally, the ability to generate royalty free orthophotos and DEMs for scientific research is set to become an essential tool both for visualising results and for understanding taphonomy, i.e. processes of landscape change such as erosion and alluviation that can have selective effects on what remains are ultimately found on the ground. For example, on Project Panormos we are starting to use the DEMs derived from the 2019 drone flight to understand the taphonomy around the Early Bronze Age remains mentioned above. Moreover, 'machine learning' techniques offer the possibility of semi-automated prospection and find counting as a regular part of intensive survey in the not too distant future (Orengo, Garcia-Molsosa 2019). For Turkey to lead the way in this kind of archaeology, however, it is essential that the regulatory burden is commensurate with the risks – real but often exaggerated by the global media – that UAV flights pose.

Spatial archaeology and landscape survey requires reflection on both our immediate senses and on our wider

sensibilities of human-landscape relations. The Project Panormos Survey is part of a healthy renewal of interest in holistic landscape study in Turkey, of which the British Institute at Ankara is a major supporter. Nonetheless, in the minds of many members of the general public, archaeology still equals excavation. It is time this picture was changed so that systematic survey becomes recognised as equally important in understanding the past and the barriers to sharing insights and results from excavation and surface survey are removed.

### Acknowledgements

Funding for work in 2019 was provided by the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research at Cambridge, the British Institute at Ankara, the Gerald Averay Wainwright Fund, Oxford, and the Institute for Aegean Prehistory – we are very grateful to all for their support. We are also grateful to Yusuf Çorbaçioğlu, our *temsilci* in 2019, and to the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Finally, we wish to thank the students who walked enthusiastically through thick vegetation that was sometimes higher than their heads.

More information about this survey project is available at: <http://www.projectpanormos.com/>



Drone-based aerial photograph showing reconstruction of the ancient harbour of Panormos (photo Toby Wilkinson).

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## Labraunda East Stoa Project 2019

Naomi Carless Unwin | University of Warwick  
With Jesper Blid & Baptiste Vergnaud

The East Stoa Project at the sanctuary of Labraunda in southwestern Turkey aims to improve our knowledge of the chronology and function of the sanctuary.

Labraunda was architecturally monumentalised in the fourth century BC under the patronage of the local Karian dynasts, the Hekatomnids. This involved the construction of a series of terraces on the mountainside and a number of significant new monumental buildings, transforming the layout of the sanctuary. The *andrones* (dining halls), the temple and the monumental gateway can all be dated by inscriptions across their architraves that record their dedication, either by Maussollos or his brother Idrieus. No epigraphic dedication has been found for the East Stoa; however, on architectural grounds, the structure has long been thought to be another aspect of the Hekatomnid construction programme at Labraunda. The East Stoa Project seeks to test this hypothesis, through both the partial excavation of the stoa and the completion of a full architectural study of the building and the terrace on which it stands.

The focus of the three-week 2019 campaign was the excavation of Room 4 of the East Stoa. The intention was to dig down to the foundations of the building in order to establish a full occupational stratigraphy for the room, and with the hope of finding material that definitively established its date of construction. Exploration of the stoa is made difficult by the fact that the walls of the rooms have collapsed; the 2018 campaign had focused on clearing the vast majority of blocks from inside the room. The clearance of Room 4 continued in the 2019 season, with the removal of the remaining building blocks; a total of 120 have been moved out of the room. Significant rubble layers were encountered underneath, suggesting that the stoa had been used as a dump after the walls had collapsed. The size of the room (6.3m × 6.3m) and the density of the ground made progress difficult; in order to progress more quickly, it was decided to reduce the excavation area in the third week to the southeastern portion of the space. As the excavation progressed, we uncovered a protruding course that can be interpreted as the *euthynteria*, the last course of the foundations. It is estimated that the original floor level, which might have been made from wood, stood one course above this protruding course, meaning that there would have been a step down into the room from the threshold of ca 30cm.

The excavation area was subsequently reduced again to focus on an east-west trench running 1.5m from the southern wall. The earth became sandier with fewer material intrusions as the excavation went deeper. Different imported fill layers could be identified, which were perhaps intended



View of the excavations in Room 4, facing east.

to strengthen the foundations, though they were apparently not related to the original construction; the material from the lowest context reached during the campaign was mixed, with a date late in the Hellenistic period. We were unable to excavate this context fully in the available time; we will return to this in the next campaign. A drain was discovered in the southeastern corner of the room, the depth of which indicates that the base of the foundations is still over 2m down. The distance from the estimated floor level to this drain also measures ca 2m; the foundations of the stoa are thus of a greater depth than initially anticipated, over 4m below the threshold. The investigation of Room 4 will continue in the 2020 campaign, when the remaining space will be stepped down to reach the level of the foundations in the eastern part of the room.

The East Stoa (45m × 14.5m) was an ambitious building project at Labraunda, one of the largest at the site. A key aspect of the research programme aims to establish when it was built within the wider sequence of Hekatomnid construction. The architectural study of the building has revealed that it was structurally linked with the so-called 'palace', an elongated building to the west of the stoa, which was accessed from the level below, facing the South Propylon. The East Stoa and the terrace on which it stands were thus conceived and constructed at the same time; they were part of a conceptual whole that involved large-scale construction over two storeys (at least in part), which was completed before the terrace was filled in to create the open space in front of the stoa.

The stoa, 'palace' and terrace are referred to collectively as the East Complex in the project. A number of technical aspects of the building work, including dowel holes and



door and window details, are shared with other Hekatomnid structures at the site, notably Andron A and the Oikoi. This supports a date for the East Complex in the fourth century BC, though where it fits into the chronology of Labraunda remains to be ascertained precisely. It appears that the East Stoa was constructed at a later date than the monumental staircase that links the area in front of the ‘palace’ with the next terrace; the ‘palace’ was also not linked to the so-called ‘bastion’, which stands at the southwestern corner of the terrace, with the monumental staircase built flush against it. It is thus possible to identify different phases of construction at the sanctuary. The East Complex, however, appears to conform to the architectural design of other Hekatomnid constructions and may still have been part of their original scheme for Labraunda, even if it was undertaken at a later date.

A related question is the function of the East Complex within the sanctuary. The design of the stoa, with six square rooms and off-centre doors, encourages the idea that the building was used for ritual dining. Unfortunately, the excavation of Room 4 has not yet uncovered any material related to the original occupation of the building. It is hoped

that light will be shed on this question by studying the East Complex within the context of the sanctuary as a whole, considering mobility around the site, the activities that took place and any chronological differentiation between its construction in the fourth century BC and the late Roman Imperial period, when the stoa apparently started to be used as a dump. In particular, the issue of how visitors to Labraunda were meant to advance from the entrance of the sanctuary to the temple on the upper terrace remains unknown; after climbing the monumental staircase, they appear to have been directed north, past the ‘bastion’, yet their subsequent itinerary eludes us. By considering the sanctuary-wide dynamics, we can hopefully restore the place of the East Complex within the ritual landscape of Labraunda.

Next year, the immediate focus of the project will be to excavate Room 4 down to the level of the foundations, which will hopefully provide valuable evidence about the date of construction. Further exploration will also take place on the terrace, both in front of the building and at the western end of the space, towards the ‘bastion’, in order to establish its chronology and function.



Aerial view of the East Complex, facing northeast, with the monumental staircase in the foreground.



# Archaeological Research at Aphrodisias in 2019

R.R.R. Smith | University of Oxford

Aphrodisias illuminates for us the life of eastern Roman cities into the post-classical world, brightly and in great variety. The current research project focuses on the character and history of the site from Roman into late antique, Byzantine and Ottoman times. In 2019 we had an excellent season, with two months of excavation and research in July and August, and four months of conservation and restoration from June to early October. We had a great team from New York, Oxford and several Turkish universities, and pursued major work in the Civil Basilica, Tetrapylon Street and South Agora.

Our new project to excavate fully, conserve and present the façade of the early Imperial Civil Basilica, begun in 2018, achieved major results. The tiled marble floor of the vestibule was restored. The fragmentary mosaic floors of the long side aisles were excavated, lovingly conserved and closely documented. The eastern side of the building was excavated to allow the eventual positioning of panels carrying the famous Aphrodisias version of Diocletian's Prices Edict, which was inscribed on the façade of the building in AD 301. The massive columnar architecture of the building's façade was conserved in our marble workshop-depot, and four colossal columns were set up in position towards the end of the season. They are already a striking new landmark on the site.

Work on the South Agora and its magnificent 170m pool focused on publication and conservation. Two teams of marble conservators worked in opposite directions around the delicate marble pool surround, lifting, repairing and resetting broken and damaged elements. Study, documentation and writing-up of the pool excavation and its extraordinary body of archaeological material – wooden, ceramic, metal and marble artefacts – were brought to successful conclusions.



The South Agora.



The Tetrapylon Street.

Major excavation focused on the late antique Tetrapylon Street, at both its northern and southern ends. At the south, the long access ramp from the street to the tunnel into the South Agora was excavated to reveal a complicated series of drains, water pipes and discrete phases of the ramp's life, from the second to the seventh century. The adjacent Cryptoporticus House, on the eastern side of the Tetrapylon Street, was drawn carefully in plan and section in both its upper and lower levels.

At the northern end of the Tetrapylon Street, the remaining part of the old Geyre road and adjoining street wall were removed, and soundings were made on both sides of the street paving to look for datable material. Pottery showed the surviving marble street paving to be later than expected – a final (it turned out) sixth-century restoration of the road surface. Even more surprising, both associated ceramics and its almost complete lack of foundations below the early Imperial street level showed that the tall Niche Monument cannot be of the mid-first century AD, as formerly thought, but is also most likely of the sixth century AD. The early Imperial statue base that belongs in its central niche was probably redeployed here from elsewhere.

To the north of the Niche Monument, new excavation revealed a remarkable structure, of the especially 'dark' eighth and ninth centuries, adjoining it and built over part of the street. We are calling it the Dark Age Complex. It consists of a series of small domestic units built out over the street on top of the seventh-century street collapse which remained in use all through the Byzantine period.

On the eastern side of the street, a highly decorated marble doorway of the second to third century through the back of the street colonnade was uncovered. The doorway is fronted by a black-and-white diamond-patterned marble floor



in the colonnade and two bases posted symmetrically to either side of the street columns. This was a grand, carefully maintained entrance into an imposing residence behind and above the street. The abundant window glass and wall mosaic found fallen from the upper storey attest to its opulence.

The Kybele House, one of the most impressive mansions of the late antique city, excavated in the 1960s and 1980s near the northeastern city wall, was completely cleared, cleaned and drawn in a new state plan – in readiness for an exciting new project.

Much other study and publication work was undertaken – on coins, ceramics and environmental remains of the Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman periods, on late antique statuary, on inscriptions and graffiti of all kinds and on such major buildings as the Bouleuterion, Sebasteion, Stadium and the Ottoman bath-house on Pekmez Hill. Major new joins were made during the study of the giant figured consoles from the Hadrianic Baths. New pieces were added to the colossal fragmentary statue found in the drain in front of the Sebasteion Propylon in 2018. Two new sarcophagi appeared from the southeastern necropolis and major plans were developed for a new covered display space in the courtyard of the Aphrodisias Museum. Construction begins in 2020.

### **Trevor Proudfoot**

Our season ended with the very sad news that Trevor Proudfoot passed away in early September. Trevor was our chief marble sculpture conservator and he worked at Aphrodisias every season from 1989 to 2018. He designed and carried out all the major sculpture restorations at the site, many of them characteristically bold and innovative: the shield portraits, the Zoilos Frieze, the Young Togatus, the Seasons Sarcophagus, the Blue Horse and no less than 65 life-size marble reliefs from the Sebasteion. All these



Console.



Trevor Proudfoot.

extraordinary pieces and many others that Trevor restored are on display in the Aphrodisias Museum. Trevor worked tirelessly on site conservation as well as high-specification sculpture. He devised the lime-mortar wall-capping programme that continues with his methods to this day. He led the recent major programme of restoration and conservation in the Hadrianic Baths, and in the South Agora in 2018 he made a complete survey of the damaged marble perimeter of the pool and devised the strategy for its conservation. He was a towering figure who did great things for Aphrodisias. He will be much missed by the Aphrodisias team.

### **Acknowledgements**

The Aphrodisias Excavations are sponsored by New York University and the University of Oxford, with further invaluable support from foundations, individuals and the following groups of friends: the Geyre Vakfı in Istanbul (President, Ömer M. Koç), the Friends of Aphrodisias Trust in London (President, Patricia Daunt) and the Aphrodisias Sevenler Derneği in Izmir (President, Çiğdem Alas). The main individuals and foundations sponsoring the project in 2019 were Lucien Arkas, Ömer Koç, Murat Ülker, the 1984 Foundation, the Kress Foundation, the Malcolm H. Wiener Foundation, the Headley Trust, the British Institute at Ankara, Tupraş, pladis, the Leon Levy Foundation, the Augustus Foundation and Lincoln College, Oxford. We express deep gratitude to these generous supporters, to the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, to the Aphrodisias Museum and its Director, Baran Aydın, and to our government representatives in 2019, Melek Yıldıztüran and Mehmet Sevim, both from the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara.

