

HERITAGE TURKEY

BRITISH INSTITUTE AT ANKARA

Volume 6 | 2016



The British Institute at Ankara (BIAA) supports, enables and encourages research in Turkey and the Black Sea region in a wide range of fields including archaeology, ancient and modern history, heritage management, social sciences and contemporary issues in public policy and political sciences. Founded in 1948, the BIAA was incorporated in the 1956 cultural agreement between the Republic of Turkey and the United Kingdom. As one of the British Academy's overseas institutes, the BIAA facilitates the work of UK academics working in Turkey and promotes collaborations with scholars based in Turkey and the Black Sea region. It has offices in Ankara and London, and a dedicated staff of experts from diverse disciplinary backgrounds.

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

The Institute uses its financial, practical and administrative resources to conduct high-quality research. The overall focus of the research sponsored by the BIAA is on history, society and culture from prehistory to the present day, with particular attention to the ideas of Turkey as a crossroads, Turkey's interactions with the Black Sea region and its other neighbours, and Turkey as a distinctive creative and cultural hub in global and neighbourhood perspectives. The BIAA supports a number of projects grouped within its Strategic Research Initiatives, which reflect current research concerns in the international and the UK academic communities. These include: Migration, minorities and regional identities; Religion and politics in historical perspective; Habitat and settlement in prehistoric, historical and environmental perspective; Cultural heritage, society and economy in Turkey. Reports on research conducted within these particular Strategic Research Initiatives during 2016 are presented in the following pages.

The Institute also offers a range of grants, scholarships and fellowships to support undergraduate to post-doctoral research.

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

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

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The front cover shows the Tetrapylon Street at Aphrodisias

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From the Director, Lutgarde Vandeput

Ankara, November 2016

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Dear members,

Reading through the past ten years of my ‘letters from the Director’ in the Institute’s magazine, I realise that these have brought a lot of ups and downs to your attention and mentioned quite a few smaller and larger issues that the BIAA has struggled with. Unfortunately, I am afraid that 2016 stands out as a year in which problems have taken on larger dimensions; it has been a year in which the Institute has been caught up in the large-scale turmoil reigning throughout Turkey and the wider region. Ankara has experienced several terrorist attacks and the authorities have thwarted many more. In July, the BIAA lived through the failed coup attempt and is now experiencing the consequences of this action on a wide swathe of the Turkish population. Needless to say, such events have had and are still having an impact on everybody at the Institute’s premises here in Ankara. Perhaps the strangest feeling is that people in Turkey continue their daily lives as if nothing much has changed. However, this image of ‘normality’ is shattered as soon as one switches on a news report on the radio or television or opens a newspaper.

The BIAA, along with the other overseas schools and institutes sponsored by the British Academy, has also had a difficult year for other reasons: the funding situation and the terms and conditions linked to the grant for the current financial year (2016–2017) and the next three years remained unclear for a very long time. As I write, we still do not have a signed-off agreement on our grant with the British Academy. Some things are certain, however: spending will be tied to extremely strict rules and we will spend a lot of time reporting to the British Academy. The grant has also been reduced in comparison to last financial year. Combined with challenging currency exchange rates, this amounts to reduction in real terms of ca 15% compared to our grant for 2015–2016.

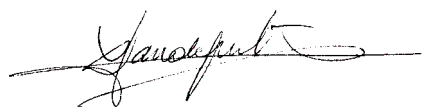
Despite these circumstances, the Institute has been very active over the past year. Several events, such as lectures, panels and workshops, have taken place in Ankara and London. You can browse through these on the totally updated BIAA website. This huge job was realised thanks to the Assistant Director, Leonidas Karakatsanis, with the help of the 2016 Research Scholar, William Lewis. Two BIAA Postdoctoral Fellows have been appointed for 2016–2017, and they started their research in September. Ender Peker holds a PhD from the University of Reading and is working on climate-responsive urban living environments. While at the Institute, he will focus his research on the city of Rize on the Black Sea coast. John McManus holds a PhD in social and cultural anthropology from the University of Oxford and is working on football as an identity-building element of Turkish popular culture, both in Turkey and beyond, as well as on the role of sport in the integration of Syrian refugees.

Thanks to a new grant from the Headley Trust, Işıl Gürsu is continuing her research as part of the BIAA cultural heritage management and public archaeology projects in Aspendos and Pisidia. Daniel-Joseph McArthur-Seal, as the Postdoctoral Fellow of the BIAA programme ‘Turkey and Britain 1914–1952: From Enemies to Allies’, is currently organising the project’s second workshop. A report on the first one features in this edition of *Heritage Turkey*.

The previous two paragraphs have drawn attention to a few members of the community based here at the Institute in Ankara. You can see most of us in the photo below, taken at a small lunch party, organised by Gülgün and Leo, to celebrate the 10th anniversary of my directorship. The party was lovely!

But the BIAA is all about research, of course, and I hope that reading about the projects that have taken place in 2016 in the following pages will show you that the Institute is very much alive and active across a wide variety of disciplines!

With best wishes from Ankara,



Lutgarde Vandeput



Past and future: remembering the BIAA's history in 2016

William Lewis | BIAA & Cardiff University

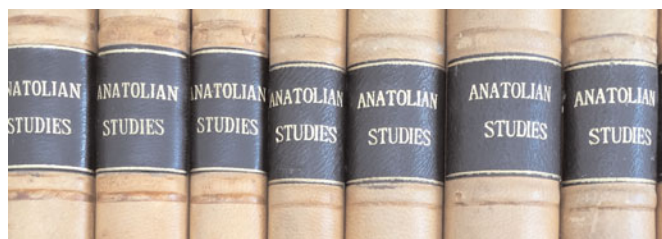
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As the British Institute at Ankara faces up to the challenges of the future, it seems natural to look back on the successes of the past. In the many decades since the early days of John Garstang and Seton Lloyd, the BIAA has transformed itself from a trailblazing base for archaeological excavations into a modern, multidisciplinary research institution which supports a vast and diverse array of projects. And as it approaches its 70th anniversary in 2018, the Institute has been working keenly on projects exploring and commemorating its history, a programme I was involved in as this past year's Research Scholar.

The BIAA's Research Scholarship serves a dual purpose. First, it supports pre-doctoral research, which typically leads into a PhD project. Second, the scholars also work on the Institute's in-house projects, whether looking forwards to the future – for example this year saw the creation of a UK-wide contact database of researchers specialising in Turkey and the wider region – or working on consolidating the BIAA's long and productive history. Previous years have seen extensive work on organising and digitising the BIAA's many archival resources; future scholars will continue this project while working on updating the library's categorisations and keywords.

During my time as Research Scholar, I used the Institute's archives to support work on two projects concerning the BIAA's heritage. The first of these is a short film documenting the BIAA's history, created by the Assistant Director, Leonidas Karakatsanis. The second is a major expansion of the BIAA website, focusing on past projects, appointments and the BIAA's long and interesting history in the region, again overseen by Leonidas. My own work as Research Scholar focused on finding background information and photographs for both projects – a difficult task given the sheer size of the BIAA's collections!

The Institute's own journal, *Anatolian Studies*, was the natural starting point. As well as being the major repository of the BIAA's research output since 1951, the older issues of *Anatolian Studies* have matured into rich historical documents in themselves. In addition to providing records of dates and office holders, the sometimes-personal introductory sections and always-heartfelt obituaries from the early years never failed to bring colour and pathos to the



The Edinburgh University Land Rover, used by Alan Hall and Michael Ballance, among others, for their epigraphic research in the 1950s

project. Furthermore, the broadening horizons of the BIAA become all the clearer when looking at these volumes. While once the Institute was comprised solely of archaeologists, now it is home to political scientists, specialists in cultural heritage management, historians, anthropologists, conservationists and experts in many other diverse fields, all while staying faithful to the original vision of the BIAA as one of the most active archaeological institutions in Turkey.

But while *Anatolian Studies* conveys the breadth of the BIAA's activities, the photographic archive displays its physical reach. There are more than 40,000 photos, slides and negatives, all originating from the Institute's innumerable research projects across Turkey. Almost 600 photos from the 20th century have already been made available online, and are accessible at <http://biaatr.org/>. By the end of the year, with the addition of a large part of the digitised archive, this number will reach 9,000. From the grainy sepia hues of the earliest digs in the late 1940s through to the latest digital photos of ongoing excavations, this collection serves not only to record the BIAA's extensive research on Anatolia but also the history of the institution and the researchers themselves.

The search for photographs to use in these projects turned out to be one of the most involved and engaging aspects of them. Everyone at the Institute was keen to volunteer their own photos and reminisce about old times and former colleagues, as were two former directors – David French and Hugh Elton – who visited Ankara during the summer. Credit must go to David in particular; his keen memory has been invaluable for finding and identifying photos from his long tenure in Ankara!

Both these projects have been very successful. The film commemorating the Institute's history was presented at the British Academy Soirée last May and the expanded sections of the website have already gone live. Both are available to be explored at <http://biaa.ac.uk> – I hope you can find the time to have a look!

MIGRATION, MINORITIES & REGIONAL IDENTITIES

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

Dark times in Istanbul

Daniel-Joseph MacArthur-Seal | British Institute at Ankara
doi:10.18866/biaa2016.020

My second year in Ankara has been a year of extremes. On two terrible evenings while working late in the office colleagues and I heard the instantly recognisable sound of explosions. Both were revealed to be car bombs; the first, on 17 February, targeted a convoy of military vehicles in the vicinity of numerous Turkish ministries and the second, less than a month later, exploded in the very heart of the city, at the transport hub of Kızılay, killing dozens of residents on their way home from work or out for the evening. Taking place at a spot which I, like everyone else in the city, had passed innumerable times, I felt lucky to find myself in the safety of the office and in the company of my colleagues. I was luckier still to have been in Germany during the largest of all the suicide attacks in the country in recent months, which killed over 100 gathering demonstrators outside Ankara railway station on 10 October 2015, and in Greece during the horrifying events of 15 July 2016, in which more than 200 people lost their lives. All the while, countless further attacks have afflicted Istanbul, Bursa and the south-east of Turkey, while events of unimaginable horror unfold across the country's borders in Syria and Iraq.

Somehow, amidst all these events, work continues. This academic year I have turned my attention back to my doctoral research, on the Allied occupations of Istanbul, Alexandria and Thessaloniki during and immediately after the First World War, which I am preparing for publication. I have been collecting and transliterating documents from the Ottoman archives to add to my existing British and French records, comprising Istanbul police reports on incidents

involving Allied soldiers, the requisitioning of civilian and government property by the armies of occupation, and strikes by tram drivers and electricity station workers.

I have been paying particular attention to the impact of occupation on the nightlife of occupied Istanbul; an article I wrote on which has now been accepted for publication in the journal *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East*. The article traces how, after four years of wartime austerity, the influx of thousands of British, French and Italian soldiers with relatively high levels of disposable income into Istanbul stimulated a huge expansion in nocturnal entertainment in the city.

Alongside soldiers, new nocturnal entrepreneurs arrived, chasing profit and fleeing the instability that continued to perforate the post-war world. Bertha Proctor, the Lancashire-born owner of the eponymous Bertha's Bar at Şişli tram terminus, travelled with British troops to Istanbul on their departure from Allied-occupied Salonica. Other bars were the ventures of refugees who brought skills from past employment to their new home, as seen in Frederick Bruce Thomas' Anglo-American Garden Villa and the longer enduring Maxim Club, and in the wider role of Russian refugees in the supply of labour to the nocturnal economy. The rest were supplied by local landlords, keen to capitalise on the additional demand brought by Allied servicemen. Agah Sırrı Levent later wrote how Ottoman entrepreneurs 'know very well how to entertain new guests ... every day a shop changed its wears, writing the name of a new saloon on the window'. British journalists remarked how 'as by magic, "English", "Scotch", "London" and "Gibraltar" Bars sprang up everywhere'. By 1920 Istanbul had 471 beerhalls, 288 licensed cafes and restaurants, and 654 alcohol wholesalers serving both longstanding customers and these new arrivals.



Soldiers and sailors at a cafe in wartime Salonica

But this was not a simple story of merry money making, and the newly invigorated nocturnal economy of Istanbul had its dark side. Allied soldiers drunk on a heady cocktail of booze, military victory and imperialism were at the centre of numerous outbreaks of violence in the city streets. On a night in October 1919, a band of 15 or so American marines were embroiled in a fight with civilians at the Montecarlo Cafe, during which they fired their revolvers and wounded the responding Allied police with a broken bottle. On the night of 6–7 March 1920, ten French sailors who had absconded from the torpedo boat *l'Algerien* got drunk at the Brasserie de Pera, after which they seriously wounded an Ottoman civilian before being arrested by the Ottoman police and conveyed to the naval prison at Sirkeci. As a result of similar incidents, some entertainment institutions, such as the Olympia music hall, barred Allied troops from admittance.

Concerned by the potential threat to public order and the damage to European prestige in the city, the Allied military authorities made efforts to police and regulate nightlife. The Allies were quick to take control of the Ottoman police in the city, and tried to ensure sufficient night-time patrols were sent out from local *karakols*, particularly in the districts of Pera and Galata where the city's drinking establishments were concentrated. But with Allied officers few and far between, the police's nocturnal presence was limited. Ottoman police officers were more numerous, but as the Allies were determined to restore the capitulations that extended legal immunity to European soldiers and civilians, these policemen were unable to punish their transgressions.

So as to concentrate their limited resources, the Allies decided to limit the times and places that drinking establishments could open. During the first months of the occupation, a blanket closing time of 10pm was imposed. This was later relaxed for establishments in good favour with the authorities to 12pm and, at times, 2am. Bars that were a source of concern, by contrast, had their licensing hours restricted, were barred to Allied troops, losing profitable custom, or were closed entirely. As a result of such measures, a large number of intelligence reports can be found among



British officers at a Turkish cafe in Istanbul, ca 1920

Allied police documents, giving small insights into the bars, cafes and restaurants that dotted the city. We hear how the Brasserie Kedi on Postacı Sokak in Beyoğlu served a clientele of cosmopolitans and *femme de mauvaise vie*, and thus was denied its application for a later closing time, while the Cafe Moskva somewhat predictably hosted meetings of Bolshevik sympathisers and was put under police observation.

A large number of bars, restaurants and brothels defied the licensing hours, and were at times caught open after hours, resulting in punitive fines and closure. The Cafe de la Paix on Asmalı Mescid, for example, was closed for ten days in 1919 after it was discovered open late at night. Bar owners did all they could to implore the Allied authorities to grant them late licenses, with the owner of the London Bar, Hapat Assadourian, even enlisting the Armenian Patriarch to write a letter in support of his application to stay open until 2am.

Some of the nightspots established during the occupation period survived long into the Turkish Republic, like the Maksim Club in Taksim, founded by the aforementioned Frederick Bruce Thomas, which was a mainstay of Istanbul nightlife until the 1960s. Others disappeared with the emigration of their mostly non-Muslim proprietors, to be replaced with new entertainment venues and entrepreneurs. Despite challenges old and new, the lights of nocturnal Istanbul are still burning.



The long-enduring Maksim Club, 1959

Armenian architect monopolies and the remaking of local identities in eastern Anatolia in the Hamidian period

Alyson Wharton | University of Lincoln

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Having written my first book on Armenian architects, specifically looking at the Balyan family's ability to dominate imperial building works in the capital over three generations, I had been somewhat blinkered in my approach to Ottoman architectural history and had never expected to find such rich material as I stumbled upon in eastern Turkey. Four years ago, I moved to Mardin Artuklu University, where I was to work for three years. I had seen the picture-postcard views and I did not regard the celebrated 'urban fabric' (as Füsün Alioğlu put it) as being particularly characteristic of the transformations of the 19th century. However, already when I arrived for my interview, a member of the audience enquired if I had heard about the local architect Serkis Lole, an Armenian who had built prodigiously in Mardin. This was an indication of the treasure trove of information that I was soon to uncover, not only in Mardin, but across the region.

Through fieldwork in Mardin and in neighbouring cities (Diyarbakır, Antep and Urfa) and short trips to the Prime Ministry Archives in Istanbul, I started to notice the recurring story of Armenian architects who became powerful through local building works in the decades of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, a period spanning the reign of Abdülhamid II. These Armenians won the contracts for the 'new building types' of the post-reform age: schools, municipal buildings, government houses, barracks, for instance. They were also responsible for rebuilding churches and mansions belonging to local notables. Their control of local construction extended to training apprentices in stonecutting and extracting stone. In many cases they were known as *mimarbaşı* (chief architect), a title preserved through oral history and Armenian 'memory-book' literature, although no such official position existed.

These architects are not only interesting because of the degree of their local power, but because of the stylistic choices they made. They did not follow the fashions of Constantinople; their works made reference to local ornament and some even included visual quotations from the iconic buildings of that city's past. However, this localness was presented through the structures of the capital: the neo-classical façade, the entrance inscription and the *tuğra* (sultan's imperial monogram) showed that these were firmly 're-made' products of the Ottoman 19th century.

The reign of Abdülhamid II has been portrayed as a time of tightening control over the populations of the Ottoman east; the sultan is thought to have used his policies to set Armenians and Kurds on a collision path. The historiography of the rise of nationalism has also tended to view the radicalisation of these populations as the significant intellectual current. The impact of the Armenian architects in

shaping the urban environment – and moreover their relatively independent agency in doing so – helps to bring to the fore the local dynamics behind the Hamidian-era and early 20th-century crises.

This summer, thanks to a study grant from British Institute at Ankara, I was able to extend my field of enquiry to border-zone towns in the northeast. This allowed me to make comparisons with areas under Russian control (Gyumri, Batum and Kars), and to ask whether the phenomenon of Armenian architect monopolies and the stylistic localism of towns in eastern Anatolia were characteristics only of Ottoman rule or if these architects (and their styles) travelled across imperial borders.

I spent one final month in the Prime Ministry Archives, where I focused my research on Van, Bitlis and Erzurum, and I also looked at what could be found about building works in Kars. I was, by now, not surprised to learn that in Bitlis, Van and Erzurum there were Armenian architects who played a dominant role in constructing the municipality and government-house buildings, as well as schools and mansions. However, I noted a number of initiatives to regain Muslim control of the construction industry in locales like Erzurum, which coincided with a greater emphasis on security-related architecture. I also noted the extent to which the new buildings became targets during times of communal discord.

Travelling through Van, Bitlis, Erzurum and Kars, and seeing many buildings with Armenian inscriptions corroborated my findings from the archives. These towns also made clear to me that the buildings that were constructed with Russian ties had a different relationship to style. Although style could often be a reflection of training, it was striking to see that, even in (eastern Anatolian) areas that did have high Russian cultural influence, Armenians built in a localised manner. In the future, I hope to draw out further how and why these architects played an important role in the Hamidian-era reconfiguration of their respective border towns.



The municipality building (*belediye*) in Bitlis, built by Arakil Kalfa in 1898

Mapping the contemporary circulation of old gold coins in Turkey

Samuel Williams | Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac
doi:10.18866/biaa2016.022

I moved to London shortly after completing two years of fieldwork as an economic anthropologist in Istanbul's Grand Bazaar, and I found myself one day wandering along Dalston High Street, a hub for many of the city's diverse diasporic communities from Anatolia. Only a few miles as the crow flies from the City of London, where members of the London Bullion Market Association still set a daily benchmark world price for gold in the famous 'London Fix', I popped into a small jewellery shop and enquired about the cost of one of the Turkish gold coins on display in the window. The goldsmith quickly consulted his computer and quoted me a price. When I asked what was flickering across his screen, the goldsmith revealed not a livestream from Bloomberg or Thompson Reuters, but a direct feed from the noisy little corner of the Grand Bazaar where I had just been doing fieldwork – Tahtakale – or, as it is sometimes affectionately known in Istanbul, 'our little Wall Street'.

While the Grand Bazaar's transformation over recent decades into one of the world's most visited tourist sites has been dramatic, what is less well known is the efflorescence of the bazaar's financial blackmarket during the years since the opening of Turkey's economy into a key node of a burgeoning international market for scrap gold.

Today, on average, a third of global gold production is supplied from recycled scrap, and, even though Turkey has only limited primary deposits for mining, more recycled gold is produced some years via the country's pawnbrokers, refiners and bazaars than is actually mined in any single country except China, Australia and Russia. Turkey's so-called 'scrap' is largely constituted of old gold coins like the one I found in Dalston and distinct vernacular forms of jewellery that have long been a conventional component of ritual prestations among different Anatolian peoples and which remain a vital means of popular finance, with domestic reserves currently estimated by the World Bank at some 5,000 metric tons. Although such assets are typically characterised by development agencies as 'pillow gold' – sequestered away as a hedge against risk under the pillow and unavailable for productive investment – my experience in the Grand Bazaar and Dalston suggests that such forms of gold do in fact circulate extensively, albeit more or less informally.

Scaling up from previous research in the bazaar, I am now conducting a pilot ethnographic project that will map the who, what and where of the circulation of these varieties of gold in contemporary Anatolia, focusing in the first instance on gold coins. Based primarily on interviews with local goldsmiths in a number of regional centres, my field data identify what particular species of coin are exchanged in different regions, and which religious, ethnic, national or other social groups

and identities are associated with the circulation of the various forms. Inspection of even the bare-bones classification blinking on the livefeed from the Grand Bazaar reveals over 50 basic varieties of gold coin: Ottoman originals or replicas associated with various sultans and Republican examples minted with the image of different presidents, each sovereign available in five distinct denominations and each denomination available in either a simple form or an ornate form specifically designed for adornment. Belying the apparent global reach of the London fixing price for gold (or even the local Grand Bazaar benchmark), my research demonstrates the international market for scrap gold is one of the few financial markets with profitable margins for arbitrage between different places, and, as the goldsmiths I work with are helping me to discover in regional Anatolia, the geographic price differentials between coins in different areas of Turkey are partly a function of various social groups' trust in the enduring value of different sovereigns. Goldsmiths make money – sometimes quite literally melting down and recrafting coins – by artfully imagining how different peoples in Anatolia today reckon with history.

In a wild era of international finance unleashed by Richard Nixon's pivotal decision to decouple the US dollar from gold, social scientists have often been mystified by why so many people around the world don't treat gold as just like any other asset class. Moving away from caricatures of 'goldbugs' and 'pillow gold', my research suggests one reason people particularly value gold is that its ability to be formed and reformed enables it to move between what anthropologists sometimes describe as different regimes of value. This pilot research establishes that the recrafting and circulation of gold coins across regional and state borders enables various social groups in Anatolia and the diaspora to articulate – ritually and economically – distinct forms of subnational and transnational community that transcend the sovereign jurisdiction of the contemporary Turkish state.

I hope that further research into the vital (informal) role of institutional and Turkish state actors in the international scrap-gold market – both in Turkey and further afield – will help explore how the state itself, in its dealings with gold, reckons with the threats that global financial markets pose to its own claims to sovereignty.



RELIGION & POLITICS IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

This Strategic Research Initiative concentrates on the interaction between religion and politics that has always served as a crucial determinant in the evolution of state and society in Turkey and the Black Sea region across time. Political ways of mobilising for, maintaining and contesting leadership and authority have often been expressed and transmitted through the use of religion. This theme has at times also merged with discussions on tradition and modernity as well as change and continuity regarding the development of state and society. In the Turkish context, this has not just influenced the evolution of the domestic environment and political systems but has also had an impact on the country's international standing and behaviour. Likewise, the balance between religion, state and society has also accompanied processes of state formation and nation building for other countries around the Black Sea, including during the Soviet and post-Soviet periods.

Networks and crossroads: the geography of power in the fourth century AD

William Lewis | BIAA & Cardiff University

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Turkey and its ancient lands have long been cherished as a crossroad of civilisations, but in the fourth century AD it was a crossroad in a more literal sense. There were imperial capitals in Constantinople and Antioch, with the route between them leading through Ancyra, where Julian's column is still seen in Ulus commemorating one such journey. With the disputed Rhine and Danube frontiers to the northwest and the Sassanid conflict in the southeast, this particular route became a busy highway for emperors and their political and military elites, travelling to wherever they were needed most. The prestige of old Rome and centralised government had long since been overridden by the practicalities of frontier rule. Asia Minor's geographical position in the Empire had long brought it wealth and trade – now it brought power.

My own area of research focuses on the last generation of the Constantinian Dynasty (AD 337–363). In particular, I am interested in the diffusion of imperial power and the access to the workings of state that was increasingly granted to clerics of the newly legitimised Christian faith. My research has focused on the mechanisms behind this: the opportunities of influence and the shadowy and sprawling networks of personal connections behind them. Asia Minor is the natural starting point for such an investigation, because of both its geopolitical importance in the fourth century and its strong attestation in the sources.

Of the eight emperors who ruled or claimed to rule in the period AD 337–363, the longest lasting and most important

is Constantius II (r. AD 337–361). For most of his life he ruled from the East, primarily Antioch, and with his imperial sponsorship of Christianity this gave an unheard-of importance to the clergy of Asia Minor and Syria. A religion which had once been a parallel structure – separate from and in competition with the state – suddenly had personal access and moral authority over the most important figures in government, and even the emperor himself. How was this potential power to be leveraged? In whose interests was it going to be used, and why? How far did the networks stretch which underpinned so many of these imperial interactions?

The British Institute at Ankara's Research Scholarship has provided me with the necessary funding and resources to begin investigating these questions, and the short answer at this stage is that these networks appear to have been immense. While the Church was made up of individuals, and often opportunistic and self-interested ones, they existed within an organisation that had been developing systems of communication, regulation and self-government since the first century AD. Take, for example, the churchman Aëtius. He came into the imperial sphere in Antioch through the dynamics of alliance and opposition; it took not only the support of Bishop Leontius to win an audience with Gallus, Constantius' subordinate emperor at the time, but also a clash with rivals Basil and Eustathius.

Each of these men was not only an individual, but also a representative of a wide web of connections – via family, friendship, obligation, theology and geography. Their backgrounds and connections defined their interactions, while theology provided a suitable language for conflict. The competition for power and influence made sure that such views became polarised, and compromise in the middle ground became as risky as fanaticism. Important Sees were



Layers of history: Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman remains at Ayasuluk Fortress, Selçuk

made battlegrounds, with religion the direct or indirect fuel behind heavy rioting in Constantinople, Ancyra and Antioch. Churchmen used the potential power of the mob and the threat of instability to make sure their agendas were heard.

And the emperors, for the most part, were willing to hear them, rather than risk the kind of separate power structures that led to coups and civil wars. Theology became policy, and religious disputes became inseparable from imperial politics. The AD 340s in particular saw an early Cold War between the two halves of the Empire ruled by two brothers – Constantius and Constans – but split bitterly by the so-called Arian Controversy. It was this hardening of boundaries, both geographically and theologically, that

tightened ecclesiastical networks even as it divided them. The aim of my research is to show that these networks and the religious conflicts that grew from them were not caused solely by a clash of beliefs, but were rather the consequence of the opening of a whole new arena of competition for accessing power in the Roman world.

During my time at the British Institute at Ankara, alongside my work on building an academic contact database for the BIAA and expanding the digital resources (see my report on page 3), I finalised a PhD proposal to investigate these questions and themes further, and have since secured an AHRC-funded PhD position at Cardiff University, where I now continue my studies.

Turkey and Britain 1914–1952: From Enemies to Allies

Daniel-Joseph MacArthur-Seal | British Institute at Ankara

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The British Institute at Ankara research project ‘Turkey and Britain 1914–1952: From Enemies to Allies’ held its inaugural workshop, investigating Anglo-Turkish engagement during the First World War, on 1–2 April 2016 at the Uluslararası Stratejik Araştırmalar Kurumu in Ankara. One of the objectives of the workshops was to bring policy makers and historians together, and, accordingly, the audience included diplomats from South Sudan, Somalia, Thailand, Peru, Japan, the United Kingdom and Turkey, military officers and numerous academics among more than 70 listeners. The conference was opened by the former Turkish Ambassador to the United Kingdom, Özdem Sanberk, who made reference to the twists and turns of Anglo-Turkish relations while emphasising their continued importance and expressing his continued optimism about the at times challenged relationship between the two countries.

The first panel dealt with aspects of Anglo-Ottoman relations on the outbreak of the war. Camille Cole, from Yale University, presented part of her doctoral research on transport and infrastructure on the Tigris, where British and British-Indian companies and engineers played an ambiguous role as both agents of Ottoman modernisation and British imperial aspirations. Piro Rexhepi, an incoming fellow at the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity, examined how pan-Islamists connected British India and Ottoman Albania, where a war-time pro-Ottoman uprising frustrated Allied plans for the new state. Ambassador Altay Cengizer, the Director-General of policy planning at the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and a published historian, argued that the Ottoman Empire had no choice but to enter the war on the side of the Central Powers: an issue that would be debated throughout the conference. Cengizer made his case on the basis of readings of diplomatic exchanges with Britain, Russia and Germany in the summer of 1914, and concurred with the Committee of Union and Progress assessment that the Entente offer of territorial integrity could not be trusted given British and French promises to reward Russia and potential Balkan allies. Richard Moore, the current British Ambassador to Turkey, made a short speech recounting his meeting with some of the last surviving veterans of the Gallipoli campaign and elucidated some of the complexities of empire and resistance through reference to his family’s history of both anti-imperialist activism and services to the state.

The evening keynote lecture was delivered by Eugene Rogan, whose *The Fall of the Ottomans: The Middle East During the First World War, 1914–1920* is perhaps the most comprehensive regional study of the war. Rogan elucidated the similarity of experiences in the Ottoman and British trenches, drawing on the diaries and letters of the soldiers of both empires fighting in Gallipoli and Mesopotamia.



The second day of the conference moved forward chronologically to deal with the war and its immediate aftermath. Sevtap Demirci of Boğaziçi university provided a useful overview of the Ottoman road to war and the formative clash between the British and Ottoman Empires at Gallipoli, echoing Altay Cengizer’s emphasis on the inevitability of Ottoman participation in the conflict. Turning to Syria and Egypt, M. Talha Çiçek, Newton Fellow of the British Academy at SOAS and assistant professor at Istanbul Medeniyet University, elaborated on how the call to jihad was used to motivate Ottoman Muslim soldiers in Syria in preparation for an attack across the Suez Canal, which Çiçek claimed to have been a genuine plan for invasion, rather than the ‘exploratory offensive’ that it was defended as after its failure. Çiçek’s research shows how Ottoman religious propaganda became an important means to counteract the dread that many in the province felt at the outset of the conflict, a point raised in Eugene Rogan’s previous lecture, and reveals Ottoman commitment to the concept of jihad that others have dismissed as a German imposition. Ayhan Aktar, a professor at Istanbul Bilgi University, showed how a British official history that sought to downplay Ottoman successes in the Dardanelles succeeded in shaping Turkish accounts of the sinking of the battleship *Bouvet* in subsequent decades, until underwater investigations of the wreck and his own research revealed the true cause of its sinking. Warren Dockter, a research fellow at the University of Cambridge, demonstrated the durability and depth of Winston Churchill’s relationship with Ottoman and Turkish elites and his affection for the country, revealing a more complex and nuanced understanding of Churchill’s views of the Ottoman Empire.

Charles Laderman from the University of Cambridge examined the decision by the United States not to declare war on the Ottoman Empire during the First World War, exploring the extent to which President Woodrow Wilson’s suspicions of Allied, particularly British, motives in the Near East coloured his diplomacy and how the US government, supported by the American missionary lobby, withstood pressure from its domestic critics, led by Theodore

Roosevelt, for an American-Ottoman war. Selçuk Esenbel, professor emeritus at Boğaziçi University, then illustrated the important role played by Japanese representatives, another British ally that nonetheless remained neutral towards the Ottoman Empire, in mediating relations with the defeated Ottoman government and providing a channel through which to enter discussions with the resurgent Turkish national movement in Anatolia.

David S. Katz, a professor at Tel Aviv University, spoke about Arnold J. Toynbee, whose relief work saved many lives and whose newspaper articles helped push public opinion in favour of Turkey. It was on his way home, travelling on the Orient Express, that Toynbee had the idea of how to organise what would become his famous *A Study of History*, the dozen volumes which made him a household name throughout the English-speaking world, put him on the cover of *Time* magazine and ultimately led to him being crowned by the popular press as the greatest historian of his day. Matthew Ghazarian, a doctoral student at Columbia University, and Ozan Arslan, a professor at Izmir University of Economics, both presented on the Caucasus, one of the most complex theatres of the latter part of the war, where Bolshevik, White Russian, Ottoman, British, Armenian and Georgian forces variously held and lost ground. Arslan provided a detailed account of Ottoman expansion into the space ceded by post-revolutionary Russia and how ambitions in Central Asia, like those in Egypt discussed by Çiçek, were supported through sectarian propagandising. Ghazarian showed how control of the region's important oil resources drove events, if in a rather unexpected way, with the obstruction of exports rather than the extraction of resources seeming to motivate imperial policies.

Rethinking 'radicalisation' in regional and global politics

Marc Herzog & Leonidas Karakatsanis | BIAA

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At the 2014 UK Political Studies Association conference in Manchester we co-organised a panel series titled 'Radicalization and transformation in southeastern Europe'. Our experience there encouraged us to expand this research theme into a special issue of the *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* in May 2016 (issue 24.2). During a period when the brunt of political science scholarship seemingly focuses on radicalisation only as a security threat or as a process inescapably intertwined with Islamic fundamentalism, we chose to explore its neglected aspects. To do this we adopted Christian de Vito's definition that sees radicalisation as 'a shift in the contents and/or forms of contention that, in relation to previous contents and/or forms of contention, is perceived as an escalation by (some) historical agents and/or by external observers' (De Vito 2014: 72).

We invited colleagues working on southeastern Europe (Turkey, Greece, Bulgaria, Albania) to expand on their panel presentations and reflect more deeply on the type of 'radicalisation' their case studies reflected. The cases included the intervention of the 'anti-capitalist Muslims' group during the Gezi Park protests, the anti-austerity movement in Greece, the anti-corruption rallies in Bulgaria, the absence of radical politics in today's Albania and a comparison of the Turkish and Greek state responses to eruptions of civil discontent and protests between 2008 and 2013. Through these cases we show that radicalisation in politics can be seen as a process of intensification of existing forms of political engagement within liberal democracies by both society and state actors. This intensification can have negative (the shrinking of democratic rule and the rise of state violence) as well as positive (the creativity involved in forms of social disobedience and the reversal of political apathy) effects. Hence, we argue that what determines whether radicalisation is progressive or conservative, productive or disastrous for democratic politics is the specific character and content of such an intensification. This stands in sharp contrast to the dominant approach that sees radicalisation as a mainly 'external' threat to liberal democracy or a kind of cancerous cell within it.

Our suggestion of treating radicalisation as a 'form' instead of connecting it a priori with a negative or positive content can be helpful as a means of examining contemporary developments within the region and beyond. For instance, this approach can be used for the examination of contradictions of liberal democracy at the inter- or supra-state level, moving away from the focus on the nation-state by pointing to the illiberal intensification of governance orders emanating from transnational institutions like the EU, NATO, the IMF or the World Bank. The growing legitimacy crisis of the EU can be examined as a crisis involving the radicalisation of a neo-nationalist logic affecting its core mechanisms and pushing the union to act increasingly as a cloak for the vested interests of primarily Germany and the EU-north, particularly in response to the 2008 global financial crisis. This logic is now seemingly expanding to many Baltic member-states, which



Holding a half-hour sit in every Saturday on Istanbul's Istiklal Street for more than 20 years now, the 'Saturday Mothers' protest against the disappearance of loved ones during the 1980s and 1990s in Turkey (photo by leon_eye)

are refusing to comply with the union's constitutive principle of problem-sharing (this time in regards to the refugee crisis and refugee resettlement across the EU).

On the other hand, one can see radicalisation also in the intensification of emancipatory practices resulting from the refugee crisis moment. Societal networks of solidarity mobilised quickly in response across different countries, while states, governments and official organisations seemed clueless and slow to respond. One needs to consider here that many sub-state actors such as international NGOs and aid agencies all too often acquiesce too easily to their main donors' geopolitical agendas and shape their programmes according to these. For instance, Pamela DeLargy (2016: 6) highlights the reluctance of aid organisations to respond to the grim conditions at the refugee camp in Calais to avoid angering donor governments while being active in Darfur or Mosul. In this respect, the 'radicalisation' of trans-European solidarity movements not co-opted into or resisting these long-term geopolitical strategies and interests presents a landscape of potential for much-needed political change in relation to the refugee crisis. Of course, this radicalisation at the grass-roots level is not without the dangers of attracting groups with reactionary, xenophobic or repressive agendas.

During times when intensified complexity reigns over sociopolitical phenomena due to the dense interconnections between local, regional and global politics, treating radicalisation as a form means understanding such phenomena more clearly and providing the tools for distinguishing between radicalisation that can be dangerous and that which can be beneficial for democratic politics.

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A British participant in an aid convoy to the Calais refugee camp, June 2016 (photo by Alisdare Hickson used under a creative commons license: <https://flic.kr/p/HmiVTy>)

Remembering displacement as a means of reconciliation? Towards a comparative approach

Leonidas Karakatsanis | BIAA

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Achieving success in reconciliation efforts is far from a linear process. This is especially so in the case of *historical conflicts* where long-enduring mutually negative perceptions reign. Turkish-Greek or Turkish-Armenian relations are paradigmatic of this. In cases like these, the ability to overcome the effects of prejudice and mistrust qualifies as one of the most important preconditions for solving bilateral disputes. Therefore, the creation of *empathy* across societies stands, rightfully, as a widely recognised criterion for the success of reconciliation initiatives (Çuhada, Gültekin-Punsmann 2012: 42). *Displacement*, on the other hand, has been an effect of such historical conflicts, carrying a heavy emotional/affective load and linking the past to the present. Memories of displacement are not abstract. They are often based on real experiences of personal, family or community pain and loss, and they are transmitted from generation to generation. Furthermore, the material traces of displacement (the leaving behind of the family house and the village mosque or church, etc.) appear as reminders of a painful past.

This short article examines some of the issues regarding the comparability of reconciliation processes and the possible uses of such a comparison, with examples drawn from the Turkish-Greek and Turkish-Armenian cases. More specifically, it looks at some prospects and challenges of rethinking displacement and its affectiveness as a means of reconciliation.

Displacement as mutual trauma in the history of Turkish-Greek relations

The two-way flow of people between Greece and Turkey in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, both in the form of irregular, violence-ridden displacement and as an organised population exchange, represents one of the largest forced movements of people in contemporary European history. Until recently, in both Turkey and Greece the historical burden of this past of collective pain, exile and loss was the source of competing national narratives of victimhood, rightfulness and blame. It fed national traumas and stimulated collective (but different in each case) 'symptoms'.

In the Turkish case, the symptoms took the form of a *collective forgetting*. Muslim refugee populations from the Balkans, the Aegean islands and Crete were expected to symbolically erase their connections to places of family origin and block their memories of loss (of lands, of people, of roots) in favour of solidifying their links and affiliation to their new nation state (İğsız 2008: 451). Public memory of these 'origins' or commemoration of such links remained taboo for almost 100 years after the establishment of the Turkish Republic.

In the Greek case, the symptom was reversed; instead of silence, there was a loud excess of discourses. Initially, the trauma was soothed by commemorating the abandoned lands as ‘lost homelands’ – *hamenes patrides* – through the establishment of refugee cultural associations. Gradually, however, the discourse of ‘lost homelands’ was replaced by that of *alytotes patrides* (that is, the ‘non-liberated homelands’), setting nationalistic/irredentist overtones of remembering, which deeply affected the third generation of refugee descendants and their associations during the 1980s and 1990s (Liakos 1998). Still, despite the radically different symptoms, the result was largely the same on either side of the Aegean: silent or vociferous monologues where the national ‘self’ finds its place as hero or victim and the ‘other’ is characterised as the perpetrator of crimes.

The return to the homeland revisited

An undeniable success of the Turkish-Greek reconciliation process has been the reversal of these two symptoms. During the 1980s and 1990s, when nationalist sentiments reigned in both countries, a small but vibrant movement for Turkish-Greek reconciliation was born on both sides of the Aegean (Karakatsanis 2014). One of the movement’s first achievements was the realisation that the period of suffering, loss and displacement was a mutual history, shared by both societies. The twinning of projects between Greek and Turkish towns of origin or destination for the displaced became a vehicle for community reflection and the creation of mutual empathy. The positive climate that emerged after the exchange of disaster aid in the aftermath of the deadly earthquakes that hit first Turkey and then Greece in 1999 gave a further boost to these initiatives. A new wave of civil-society projects, driven by the need of the communities to co-explore their roots across the border, flourished.

Before these initiatives, a visit to Turkey by descendants of Greek refugees in order to find a grandparent’s family house would usually take the form of a homage to the ‘lost homeland’ involving entry into a ‘hostile’ territory. Such a visit was typically carried out in secrecy or privately. For the Turkish descendants of refugee families, such practices were unthinkable before 1999: there was nothing to be sought on the ‘other side’, since no public forms of remembering were nurtured. Today, the effects of change are easily traced. The discourse of ‘non-liberated homelands’ has been completely abandoned in Greece. Many refugee cultural associations organise frequent trips to Turkey and build links with the local communities there. In Turkey, flourishing research on the past of the Muslim presence in the southern Balkans, the Aegean islands and Crete is evident (Kehriotis 2011). The establishment of the Foundation of Exchanged Populations (Lozan Mübadilleri Vakfı) in Istanbul in 2001, followed by the formation of several local associations all around the country, exposed the concealed past of displacement in a new light: as a shared – with the ‘other’ – painful experience.



Panagitsa village in northern Greece: a common prayer for deceased ancestors by Turkish and Greek descendants of the population exchange (source: *Milliyet* newspaper)

Can success be copied? Reflections on the Turkish-Armenian rapprochement

Having oscillated between pre-negotiation and negotiation stages for years, Turkish-Armenian reconciliation is still an ongoing process (Çuhadar, Gültekin-Punsmann 2012: 13–14). Despite the abandonment of the official rapprochement since 2010, initiatives at the civil-society level continue on the part of a brave generation of activists, scholars and artists on both sides of the border.

As in the Turkish-Greek case, this is a process in which memories of the past stand as the most significant barrier to overcoming sharply opposing narratives of selfhood and otherhood. The Turkish-Armenian and Turkish-Greek reconciliation processes seem to be linked in various other ways as well. For instance, the sharp growth in Turkish-Armenian civil-society activities devoted to rapprochement recorded in 2001–2002 (Çuhadar, Gültekin-Punsmann 2012: 17) came after the unprecedented boom in 1999–2001 of similar NGO involvement in Turkish-Greek rapprochement (Karakatsanis 2014: 209). Many practitioners active in the latter case applied, in turn, the experience they had gained to Turkish-Armenian reconciliation projects. Following the 2011 earthquake in Van, Armenia and Turkey attempted to reiterate the previously successful pattern of disaster aid exchange, with Armenia sending rescue teams to the region; however, a change of climate similar to that seen in the Turkish-Greek case did not follow.

Taking into account these contact points between the two cases, it seems reasonable to ask whether Turkish-Greek rapprochement could provide a ‘best practice’ example for incorporating displacement into the reconciliation process. In other words, can the positive change that took place in Turkish-Greek relations be copied? Can the memory of displacement and loss be transformed from a cause for hatred into a means of contact?

In her unpublished ethnographic research, Araz Kojayan (2014) followed Lebanese members of the Armenian youth diaspora who were visiting Turkey. Such visits, argues



An abandoned Armenian church in a Turkish village in the district of Van. The old photo on the column commemorates a visit by the Armenian patriarch (photo by the author)

Kojayan, were mainly aimed at experiencing the ‘imagined homeland’ of ‘western Armenia’. Therefore, the journeys were usually disappointing to the visitors, since they did not find the place they expected. Instead, they saw Armenian cultural heritage in decay and felt like they were visiting a hostile and strange land rather than a lost ‘home’.

Such an account seems to stand in sharp contrast to the celebrated visits of Greek and Turkish descendants to their ancestors’ homelands during the last 20 years. However, if one looks further back, to the time when *alytotes patriides* (the ‘non-liberated homelands’) dominated the discourse of the descendants of Greek refugees, the image ceases to be so different. Is it, then, just a matter of the two processes for reconciliation being at different *stages*?

This forms the fundamental research question of my new project, to be pursued over the next three years, which involves a comparative examination of processes of and prospects for rapprochement in the wider region. A few reflections will be presented here in the form of two initial hypotheses.

Affective balances, silences and echoes

The first hypothesis is that the distance to be covered in the Turkish-Armenian case is much greater than in the Turkish-Greek; the main reason for this is that, for the latter, an *affective balance* of empathy has been easier to achieve. As long as they both take the brave step of self-reflection, ‘Greeks’ and ‘Turks’ share the tragic ‘luxury’ of having balanceable collective narratives when talking about memories of displacement and loss: the ethnic cleansing of Muslims during the Greek revolution of 1821 in the Peloponnese alongside the massacres by the Ottoman and Egyptian armies; the displacement of the Muslims of Thessaly and Macedonia alongside the violent exodus of the Orthodox population of Anatolia; the brutalities of the occupying Greek forces during 1919–1922 alongside the atrocities of the Turkish irregulars pushing Greeks out of the coastal region of Asia Minor. In the Turkish-Armenian case,

any similar effort to balance the narratives usually falls into the trap of what S. Kasbarian and K. Öktem (2014: 124) call a ‘neo-denialism’ – i.e. a position that ‘accepts some measure of Armenian suffering, but seeks to offset this against Turks’ and Muslims’ experience of uprooting and warfare throughout the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth century’. In this respect it is doubtful whether this strategy – successful in the Turkish-Greek case – can prove helpful here.

The second hypothesis is that breaking with silence and taboos can have significantly positive and diffusing effects. Silence, in fact, has been a *symptom* that cuts across both reconciliation processes alike. Lifting one silence (like that related to the roots of Muslim refugees from the west) might mean opening up the possibility of lifting others, too. The engagement of Turkish scholars with what only a few years ago appeared an absolute anathema – the word ‘genocide’ – can be seen as a positive development. At the same time, lifting silence might also mean inviting the ‘other’ to lower their voice and listen. This worked successfully, in fact, for the abandonment of Greek society’s vocal claims over ‘lost’ or ‘non-liberated homelands’.

If there are a few ‘lessons’ to learn from the Turkish-Greek rapprochement process, the first is that such shifts can only happen when societies work in tandem to nurture a mutual self-reflection regarding both their past and their present. The other lesson is that progress cannot be predicted. Building on the small successes fostered by civil society for creating points of contact and waiting for the right opportunity to diffuse them across society and policy makers should be the strategy adopted.

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HABITAT & SETTLEMENT

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

Boncuklu: the spread of farming and the antecedents of Çatalhöyük

Douglas Baird | University of Liverpool

With Andrew Fairbairn & Gökhan Mustafaoğlu

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Introduction

The Boncuklu project offers the opportunity to understand what the uptake of farming meant for early Holocene foragers, in terms of their household organisation and social practices, landscape engagements, ritual and symbolism, as well 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 only 9.5km to its north.

Work took place in Area P and Area M in 2016. In Area P we are investigating two buildings, with the intention of learning more about the domestic activities in these houses and the deployment of ritual and symbolism within the structures. In Area M we are investigating open areas between buildings as well as one building that does not appear to be a standard domestic house. In Area M we aim to dig a sounding to natural through what is likely the full sequence of the site.

Household archaeology

This year, we excavated three buildings that seem to be variants of typical Boncuklu residential structures: Building 20 and Building 21 in Area P and Building 24 in Area M. We also started to expose a new building in Area M – Building 26; this is probably a residential structure but we are not yet certain. All buildings showed evidence for ritual practice and symbolic elaboration.

By completing the excavation of Building 20 we have confirmed that some buildings were relatively short lived. This structure, although one of our largest buildings, had a modest number of floors compared to some of the others we have excavated. Nevertheless, there is evidence for symbolic elaboration of this building and ritual practices; what seem to be settings created in the earliest floor were painted red. We also excavated a grave cut through later floors of the building, which contained a crouched adult inhumation; so there was at least one burial in the building.

Building 21 provided further evidence of ritual practices within these buildings with a series of deliberate depositions in postholes and cache pits around the southwestern and southeastern edges of the building. An elongated cache pit ran along the southeastern wall edge. This contained a fragment of a figurine and a piece of obsidian with a bone point fragment placed at its base; these items were deposited before the plaster mix that sealed the feature was inserted. Interestingly, the figurine fragment was placed in a deeper niche in the cache pit and was surrounded by ashy material underlying the location where we previously found a



Cache pit with obsidian in Building 21

complete bear figurine in the final fill of a posthole; this suggests very specific repetitive practices. A cache pit against the northwestern wall contained several pieces of obsidian, deliberately arranged within the filling plaster (so they would not have been easily retrievable) alongside a decorated stone plaque. In addition, a very small grave of a perinatal child was inserted against the southwestern wall.

At Building 24 we are excavating the western edge of a probable residential structure in the western sounding in Area M. This building had a hearth, remodelled twice, with a line of stakeholes along its western edge, as seen in other buildings. Notable are the repeated deposits of eggshell to the west of the hearth and a small pit with masses of bird, fish and amphibian bone within its fills. Collectively there is much evidence of food processing on these ‘dirty’ floors northwest of the hearth, as in other kitchen areas of these typical domestic structures. Nevertheless, some of the earliest floors we reached in these ‘dirty’ areas show extensive areas of red paint. This was especially so in one feature which had a thick marl plaster plug; the first two to three floors overlying it were painted both orange and red. It is exceptional to find red-painted areas within the northwestern ‘dirty’ kitchen areas. Given the repetitive nature of red painting in this area, it suggests that the usual categorisations of space as appropriate for symbolic practices could be modified in a systematic way, in particular circumstances.

Underlying the sequence of midden and the buildings in the northern part of Area M that do not conform to the standard residential structures, we detected the substantial wall of another building (Building 26) with a plaster face. Set into the interior wall face was a niche containing a boar’s jaw. This represents a further variant of the animal-bone installations inserted into the structural fabric of Boncuklu buildings. It is also a clear antecedent of the practice of incorporating boars’ jaws into walls at Çatalhöyük: a further clear and very specific link in symbolic and ritual practices between the Boncuklu community and its successor.



Boar’s jaw in the wall of Building 26

Non-standard buildings

In the northern part of Area M we have been excavating structures with particularly silty, coarse plaster floors that must have been roofed, but seem to have had flimsier walls than other buildings and non-standard sets of fixtures within them. One such is Building 23, the excavation of which we finished this year. The excavation of earlier floors of this building showed a continued and unusual density of small pits, some of which seem to have been temporary fire pits. The building did have a substantial hearth; unlike the regular houses, however, this was not set in a distinctive dirty area. This hearth started life as a deep bowl and then seems to have been turned into a platform hearth.

Preceding Building 23 were further floors, which may be the remnants of other such buildings. These also showed a notable density of pits and floors with dense layers of phytoliths, showing they were covered with reeds. In one such area of flooring, four larger than usual pits were noted, one with animal scapula jammed down its edge and a boar’s tusk fragment at its base. These pits are unusual in being possible small storage pits. There were also shallow scoops that may have been settings for baskets or containers and, furthermore, areas of red paint on these floors. In a slightly later floor, a large bowl hearth and a deep pit with animal bones jammed down its edge were found. These features all suggest large wooden posts, frequent fire installations and small storage pits were regular features of these probably kitchen or work buildings. The question of whom such buildings served – several households or one specific house – is an interesting one.

Area M middens

To the north and earlier than Building 24 we excavated a series of midden lenses – a general dump of organic material – in this open space. In the northeastern part of this area, we removed a series of very fine laminations of alternating light brown clay, dark grey ashy silt and thin white ash lenses, all apparently contained within a cut and representative of very repetitive activity. So far, we estimate over 300 laminations. In the north-central and western parts of the trench we excavated some deeper more massive layers of midden. Some of these had built up against edges lined with matting or layers of vegetation. In these midden layers was a sequence of repeatedly reconstructed hearths, attesting further to very repetitive use of space in open areas as well as within buildings.

Cut into these various middens was a pit with an artefact cache at its base. This pit seems to have been cut at about the same point in the stratigraphy as a number of burials in these external areas. The cache consists of a grooved stone (one of our largest ground-stone axes) covered with ochre, an elongated polisher/hammerstone and, most notably, a particularly long flint blade, by far the longest ever found at the site and of distinctive material and technology. This is



Area M artefact cache

clearly a specialist product and an import to the site. So this cache certainly included three exceptionally sized objects. They were all placed on a piece of bone. It is not impossible that this pit is one end of a burial or that it marks special depositions near and associated with burials; more investigation will be required to ascertain which is the case. This further indicates that these open areas in the centre of the site were settings for symbolic practice as well as more mundane activities and rubbish disposal.

Experimental archaeology

Gökhan Mustafaoglu oversaw our experimental activities.

A cracking time. We have been challenged to understand the composition and nature of the plasters on the floors and walls of the Boncuklu houses. Previous experiments trying to replicate plasters with low quantities of temper (as appears to be the case with the prehistoric plasters) failed dramatically. The first floors we laid in the new experimental houses in 2014 cracked to a significant degree. Local mudbrick experts recommended the inclusion of high levels of straw temper, which duly ensured the floors held together. Since then we have puzzled over the nature of the materials used and their application.

Micromorphological study by Wendy Matthews and Aroa Garcia-Suarez has demonstrated some organic content in the floors, including rare dung and, especially, some burnt organics and some sand. As a result, we decided to experiment with a range of more appropriate materials, mixes and application conditions to see if we could produce floor plasters more akin to those used in the Neolithic for our next major refurbishment of the interiors of the buildings.

The local white marl was the major constituent of all the mixes. We added to this three different categories of material: quartz, burnt organic and unburnt organic temper. A control set of samples consisted of just marl and the lower alluvial

sediment. All the other experimental mixes included the quartz, and various mixes of the burnt organic and unburnt organic were incorporated with the marl, lower alluvium and quartz. Including the controls, this resulted in 16 permutations, many of which we felt were similar to the prehistoric plaster mixes. Unfortunately, all the experimental floor patches cracked, except the two samples which had very high elements of organic inclusions: one with very high proportions of wetland vegetation and one with high quantities of fresh animal dung. These thus bore similarities to the more recent ethnohistorical floors but not to the Neolithic floors.



Experimental floor plasters

The issue of the plaster recipe thus remains a conundrum and we suspect that the judicious choice of marl and other clay mixes, with the right shrinkage characteristics, would produce the desired result, but we are unsure of relevant sources in the landscape. We look forward to tracking down these materials in future years and producing just the right plaster mix.

Grave slumping. Observing the outcomes of last year's experimental work was instructive. At the beginning of the season we were surprised to note that the graves we placed in the experimental houses showed no sign of slumping, in contrast to the Neolithic examples which always show this phenomenon. We speculated that this might be due to insufficient use of the overlying floor area. As a result, we increased the traffic and weight applied at regular intervals during the season. This eventually had the desired effect in house 2, where significant slumping was observed. Other factors involved may have been the backfilling of the Neolithic graves with a more mixed midden deposit than the alluvium excavated from and used to backfill the experimental examples. This does suggest though that the prehistoric examples probably took some time to slump and then only after significant traffic on the overlying floor.

Clay objects. The manufacture of the enigmatic, small, geometric-shaped clay objects found in their thousands at Boncuklu has been investigated through experimentation this season. Under the supervision of Lucy Bennison-Chapman, who studies the clay objects, a team of budding clay-object makers produced 63 imitations of the Neolithic artefacts, reflecting the three most common shapes found on site: cone, disc and sphere. The objects were made very quickly; the time-consuming element is the clay preparation. They were then subject to a series of differing hardening processes: sun drying, drying inside a cool building, drying at the edge of an open fire, inside the hot ashes of a fire and inside a building at the edge of a hearth. For each hardening location and process, the distance of the objects from the heat source and/or the duration of exposure varied. The sun-dried objects (the set exposed for the greatest time duration) were most successful, retaining their shape and developing an extremely smooth finish. Those plunged directly into hot ashes exploded, but those put into cooler embers (< 250°C) held their shape, changed colour and obtained an almost polished finish. These, in appearance, are most similar to the Neolithic objects.

The great Neolithic bake-off. Gökhan Mustafaoglu and Mustafa Guven, our guard, indulged their pyromania and desire for red meat with a series of cooking experiments. Having rampaged through the local countryside culling meat and fuel, we were all set for some incendiary experiments. Luckily, no buildings or individuals were hurt in the course of these experiments, although the willow fire did seem to come close. Meat was cooked using a series of fuels and types of hearth/fire installation. The method least likely to meet food hygiene standards was cooking using volcanic rocks placed in hot embers. The rocks were placed in the hearth after the fire had died down, which meant that, although the embers were still incredibly hot (550°C), the hot rocks never reached above 50°C and both the meat and bread placed on them remained uncooked. In contrast, the meat placed on rocks in the flames cooked completely and, whilst it was rather chewy, was completely edible. Another method used was wrapping a large cut of meat in reeds and placing it on top of the embers. This sat on the heat for about four hours but emerged disappointingly uncooked. It was later buried in the embers and left overnight, which resulted in a cooked but unpalatable product.

Another issue we are interested in understanding better is how the Neolithic inhabitants may have preserved the copious quantities of meat yielded by hunting aurochs and boar. Because of their large size, these animals would have provided more meat than was likely to be consumed immediately, suggesting the possibility of meat preserving practices. There are few clues to this, so we decided to investigate the options using the sorts of facilities we have found at the site. To test the possibility of smoking as a



Experimental bread making and marrow cooking

preservation practice, several strips of meat were hung on a screen around an experimental hearth. This failed to smoke and dry the meat satisfactorily, suggesting the possibility of treatment prior to smoking, for example salting or sun drying. Alternatively, it may suggest the meat was hung more directly in the smoke, for example around the smoke hole or suspended over the hearth in the Neolithic houses.

Even though wheat was grown at Boncuklu, it is not clear if it was used to make bread. Given the absence of extant ovens on site, if the occupants did make bread there is a major question of how it would have been cooked. The most ineffectual method tested was baking bread on a floor immediately in front of a hearth. Baking the dough on rocks placed in the embers hardened the outside of the bread but failed to cook the centre, because the rocks clearly weren't hot enough. The best method for cooking the dough was to place it directly on the embers, which produced a fairly well-baked bread, although it was unappetizingly covered in ash and other debris.

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Ups and downs at Çatalhöyük 2016

Ian Hodder | Stanford University

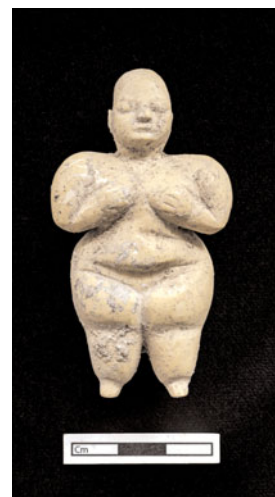
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The site of Çatalhöyük consists of two mounds near Çumra, Konya in central Anatolia. The main East Mound has over 18 levels of Neolithic occupation dated from 7100 to 5900 BC, while the West Mound has Chalcolithic levels. The site is one of the largest Neolithic sites in the Middle East and is a well-preserved example of the mega-sites that emerged in the later pre-pottery and pottery Neolithic. The site was established as being of international significance by the work of James Mellaart in the 1960s and a new team has been working there since 1993, resulting in the site being placed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2012.

Since 1993 we have worked at the site for two to three months every summer, although in 1999 we excavated for six months in order to dig a deep sounding to the base of the East Mound. However, when we reached the lowest levels of occupation in 1999 we found ourselves not in houses but in areas of midden and animal pens. So we still did not know what the earliest houses at Çatalhöyük might look like. Given the new work being carried out by Douglas Baird at nearby Boncuklu (see pages 15–18), which shows the existence of oval houses in the millennia prior to Çatalhöyük, it seemed important to try again to reach the base of the mound in the hope of glimpsing the earliest phase of housing. And so for 2016 we planned a five-month season with a core team of 12 excavators and 15 lab and support staff. We started on 1 May and all was going well until the civil unrest in Turkey in mid July that led to heightened concern amongst our research partners and amongst the team. I therefore decided to end the season after only three months, with the aim of completing the planned excavation in 2017.

Despite the shortened season, we made some spectacular finds and learned much that is new about the site and its development through time. Perhaps of greatest interest to the media was the discovery of two remarkably preserved stone figurines. During July the core team had been joined by other researchers including a team from Poznan, Poland, led by Arek Marciniak. This team is now working in the TPC Area that links the South Area to the TP Area and the levels excavated by Mellaart at the top of the East Mound. These upper layers are distinctive in many ways, but one of the most intriguing is the prevalence of female figurines with the ‘three Bs’ prominent – bellies, buttocks and breasts. In 2016 two remarkable stone examples were found in Building 150 (see another headless example found in 2015 in this building and reported on in *Heritage Turkey* 2015). The first figurine was found next to the eastern wall of Building 150 and right by the northern edge of a burial. Its deposition is most likely associated with the construction of a platform. It seems to have been deliberately placed on the surface of an earlier platform and then covered by the new platform. The figurine is made of marble and was deposited with a portion of an obsidian blade. A few days later a second, smaller figurine was found deposited just to the north of the larger one; it is made of limestone and was placed inside a lump of marl. Near the head of this second figurine a piece of galena was found, shiny and reflective like a mirror, and also two blue beads. There are two perforations in the head as if the object was suspended on string.

These depositions were undoubtedly very intentional and significant. The pairing of location and the fact that both were deposited with obsidian or galena is highly unusual. In these uppermost levels of the site (Building 150 is in a level equivalent to Mellaart’s Level III), burial beneath platforms is less common than in the earlier levels and one intriguing suggestion is that these deposits replaced inhumations. What is certain is that the depositions indicate the importance of closing and rebuilding platforms.



Left: first figurine found in Building 150 by the TPC team led by Arek Marciniak. Above: second figurine found in Building 150. The figurines are shown at the same scale. All photos in this article are by Jason Quinlan

Much of the media immediately latched onto these figurines as examples of the famous Çatalhöyük 'Mother Goddess'. However, research on such figurines and their clay counterparts at the site by Lynn Meskell, Carrie Nakamura and Lindsay Der has demonstrated that the focus on the 'three Bs' at the site normally coincides with an emphasis on older, mature women, in which the three Bs are often sagging. Rather than mother goddesses, these images seem to represent older women who have gained status and prestige in the community through their lifetimes.

Next to the 'up' trenches of the TPC Area where these figurines were found, one descends 'down' to the deep excavations of the South Area. It is here that we are planning to get to the bottom of the East Mound in 2017. In preparation for that campaign, in 2016 we excavated Building 17 and its neighbour Building 160 with 161 below. I mentioned the large number of burials below Building 17 in *Heritage Turkey* 2015. In 2016 the burials just kept on coming until the whole floor began to look like a Swiss cheese. As noted last year, many of these burials seem to be cut into midden, but it is the sheer number of burials that is most impressive. It is telling that Building 17 is the base of a sequence of elaborate buildings that Mellaart called 'Shrine 10'. In the buildings above Building 17 we excavated large numbers of burials in the 1990s, as did Mellaart in 'Shrine VI.10' in the 1960s. While we now accept that such buildings are domestic, it is clear that some buildings ('history houses') are important for burial and ritual over the long term. This was always a central house for burial.

Just to its east, however, is a stack of smaller buildings in which there are never many burials. Mellaart found a pair of leopards on the western wall of the main room of this building, and we have continued to excavate the structure as Buildings 43, 160 and 161, going downwards in the stack. In the earliest level so far excavated, Building 161 has some characteristics that suggest it was paired with Building 17. In particular, both have ovens in highly unusual locations – the northeastern corner of the main room – and in both there is a curved wall separating off the northern part of the room. Also significant is that in both we found burials in which the torso had been covered with rodent scat, and in both there are burials with planks. This pairing of buildings in the early levels of occupation has been seen in the construction of Mellaart's Shrines 1 and 8 on the same raft, and in the very distinctive pairing of his Shrines 14 and 7 in Level VI. The pairing is presumably part of the larger focus on the interconnection between houses in the lower levels of occupation.

In the North Area of the site we concentrated on continuing the excavations in the large Building 132 that I described in *Heritage Turkey* last year. We also started excavating an adjacent midden area. For the first time we excavated this as if it was a Palaeolithic cave, trying to tease apart the fine layers one by one, and plotting the position of all artefacts within a

1m grid. This proved an invaluable exercise, as we were able to discern activity areas, hearths and work surfaces. This research is allowing us to understand for the first time how these open areas (a better term than 'midden') functioned.

Excavations also continued in the very burned Building 131, where many burials have been found with well-preserved organic material including wooden bowls. Next to Building 131 is the earlier Building 5. This had been excavated in the 1990s but we had not excavated the floors, wanting to leave the building on display. In 2016 we decided to see if there were any burials beneath the floors, especially as the building above, Building 1, had contained over 62 burials. And, indeed, below the northwestern platform a remarkably rich set of secondary burials was discovered. Burial F.3808 turned out to be the richest burial we have ever found at the site. In the upper part of the grave was a bundle of bones including a spinal column and a femur, all wrapped in a plant-based material. Below this bundle was a cinnabar-painted skull, placed inside a wood and basket container. Two flint daggers and a shell were also placed inside the container. Outside the container were four of the highest quality bifacially flaked obsidian points that I have ever seen, pressed into some fibrous material, and a 'macehead' of white marble, beautifully and skillfully decorated in spiral meanders.



Burial F.3808 showing skull in container with flint blades, as well as obsidian points, shell and macehead

Acknowledgements

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Engaging the material and academic legacies of the first BIAA-led surveys in the Konya plain

Christoph Bachhuber & Michele Massa |
University of Oxford & Bilecik University
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The Konya plain has been a major focus of research for the British Institute at Ankara since its founding in 1948, including survey projects led by James Mellaart, David French, Ian Todd and Douglas Baird, and excavations at Canhasan, Pınarbaşı, Boncuklu and Çatalhöyük. It is from this legacy that our own project, entitled the ‘Konya Regional Archaeological Survey Project’ (KRASP), was initiated in 2016.

Two outcomes of this earlier research are foregrounded in KRASP. On the one hand, there has been no attempt to integrate all this BIAA legacy data into a regional analysis of the Konya plain and, on the other, the surveys have resulted in the excavation of Neolithic and Chalcolithic settlements to the general exclusion of all later periods. These interests reflect a broader trend in the archaeology of the Konya plain. Archaeologists have a far better understanding of the origins of sedentism and agriculture in this region than of later historical developments. For example, although Bronze Age settlements were a priority in the first BIAA-led surveys (see below), it is surprising that this period has subsequently attracted so little interest not only from BIAA-based scholars but from the archaeological community as a whole. This is even more surprising considering the Konya plain’s close proximity to the core area of the Hittite state and the general popularity of the Hittites in both academic and popular imaginations alike. Here we would like to pick up where Mellaart, in particular, left off in his surveys of the Konya plain.

These first surveys are a study in contrasting academic temperaments. Mellaart believed that his survey-based research could address one of the most puzzling questions for Old World archaeologists in the 20th century: the origins and spread of Indo-European speakers. French was more cautious, growing increasingly sceptical of the analytical potential of prehistoric archaeology. He eventually abandoned prehistoric surveys in favour of his ‘Roman Roads’ survey project. For French, the certainties of Latin epigraphy inscribed on mile markers were preferable to the vagaries of prehistoric settlement patterns. Thus the dominant legacy of these earliest BIAA-led prehistoric surveys would become Mellaart’s, who continued to publish his ideas on Indo-Europeans (specifically ‘the Luwians’) well into the 1980s. KRASP has inherited the data of these first surveys but also, more problematically, Mellaart’s interpretations. The material legacy includes about 6,000 sherds and 400 lithics collected from over 100 Neolithic, Chalcolithic, Bronze Age and Iron Age settlement mound sites, all stored at the Institute in Ankara.

Mellaart developed a working hypothesis in his survey of the Konya plain during a period when most survey projects were undertaken for the sole purpose of compiling site



Archaeological survey pioneers in Turkey:
James Mellaart (left) and David French (right)

gazetteers. As with so many other aspects of his career, Mellaart’s analytical abilities and archaeological imagination were more expansive than those of his peers. His hypothesis of an Indo-European invasion was spatially oriented and interested in changes in material culture through time. His most compelling observations (see below) do not relate to the second millennium when Indo-European speakers are textually attested (for example the Hittites), but to the third millennium (Early Bronze Age, hereafter EBA) when there is no epigraphic evidence for an Indo-European language. So why did Mellaart focus on the EBA? Since text-based research was better placed to write histories of Indo-Europeans in Anatolia, then Mellaart clearly believed that the prehistoric origins of Indo-Europeans should be his domain.

Mellaart’s understanding of the EBA in the Konya plain was rooted in a cultural historical paradigm that was already reaching its twilight when he published these ideas in the 1960s. In this vision, the Konya plain was indeed a two-dimensional cartographic plain across which a monolithic cultural entity – the Luwians – invaded. For Mellaart, the first Indo-European speakers entered Anatolia from the eastern Balkans during the EBA. Mellaart observed this invasion in a number of phenomena across the western and southern regions in particular. For example, Mellaart believed that the Luwians used a technologically innovative type of wheelmade, red-slipped pottery, most well-known from Troy but observable across much of Anatolia in the mid to late third millennium BC. The majority of the sites in the Konya plain appear to have been abandoned and/or destroyed at the same time that this pottery was introduced, signalling a profound socio-political disruption caused by the invasion. Notably, he highlighted a dramatic drop of settlement frequency in the Konya plain from 100+ EBA sites to eight in the Middle Bronze Age. Mellaart followed these two trends across the whole western and southern length of Anatolia, from Troy, through the Konya plain and as far east as Cilicia.

There are several reasons to doubt this historical scenario on empirical and theoretical grounds. For example, stratigraphic, chronological and typological studies of the red-slipped pottery in excavations near Eskişehir have since

demonstrated a probable origin in this region. The red-slipped repertoire was gradually adopted towards the west (Troy) and towards the south and east (Konya plain to Cilicia). Our regional analysis will provide more chronological, spatial and technological resolution to the problem of the appearance of this pottery in the Konya plain, but our research will likely reveal the adoption of this pottery rather than evidence for a migration. Also, preliminary results of our analysis of second-millennium pottery (Middle Bronze Age and Late Bronze Age) has shed light on a significantly higher number of Middle Bronze Age sites than Mellaart himself identified. The dramatic drop in site frequency appears to be a bias in his ability to distinguish diagnostic pottery, rather than a real demographic trend.

There were other biases in these first surveys also. Mellaart and French surveyed the landscape from a car, limiting their site identification to highly visible settlement mounds. They covered vast survey tracts at the expense of missing dozens if not hundreds of less visible sites. One of the primary aims of KRASP is to fill in these blanks in settlement patterns through our own planned pedestrian surveys, through remote-sensing methodologies using aerial and satellite imagery, and through the collation of all previous survey and settlement-based research in the Konya plain. In this we will be building on the methodologies and data of Baird's more recent surveys in the Konya plain, including the detection of 'flat sites' through intensive investigations of canal cuts.

If there are obvious limits to the settlement data of Mellaart and French, then the BIAA corpus is ideal for addressing other regionally extensive phenomena. Mellaart and French were pioneers in using ceramics collected from regional surveys to reconstruct networks of communication and technology transfer. In March 2017 we will begin a geo-chemical and petrographic study of the BIAA ceramics to address related concerns, although with technologies and methodologies that were not available to Mellaart and French. This research should provide a higher resolution to problems related to the production and exchange of pottery in the Konya plain in different historical contexts, for example during the EBA when the wheelmade red-slipped repertoire was adopted.

Many of the questions we are asking of the BIAA legacy material were not asked by Mellaart or French. Archaeological preservation and heritage in the Konya plain are major concerns of KRASP. Part of our literature review of survey and settlement data includes reports on the state of preservation of archaeological sites. We have calculated that roughly 70% of the sites that Mellaart and French identified in the Konya plain have since been impacted by a range of modern activities. These include (in order of frequency): levelling a settlement mound to create an agricultural field, building on and inhabiting settlement mounds, looting, constructing roads and irrigation channels, quarrying settlement mounds for fertile soil (*kerpic*) and the submersion of settlement mounds in dam reservoirs.



Google Earth imagery of Üçhöyük III Mezarlık (cemetery) in the Konya plain; this was identified in Mellaart and French's surveys and has since been impacted by ploughing activities (shaded areas indicate the probable extent of damage or loss)

In addition to these published accounts, KRASP has initiated a remote-sensing (satellite-based) survey which includes among its other aims the visualisation and spatial analysis of destruction to archaeological sites. This trend can be traced on a nearly decadal basis through legacy and serial satellite imagery. Likewise, data generated by the BIAA surveys in the 1950s and 1960s will provide higher resolution to those archaeological landscapes that have since been affected or otherwise destroyed by development and looting.

Modern impacts on the archaeological landscape raise an ethically and analytically complex challenge for our project. Ultimately, these research questions will require ethnographic methodologies as we strive to understand the relationships between the archaeological landscape of the Konya plain and the various stakeholders in these landscapes today, including local communities, Turkish and non-Turkish archaeologists, and other Turkish national interests.

Since Mellaart, there has been no compelling Bronze Age narrative of the Konya plain to match, for example, the overwhelming interest in the Neolithic of this region (inspired initially by Mellaart). A Bronze Age narrative is needed, not least, to attract more research attention to and heritage interest in the relevant archaeology of the Konya plain. Mellaart had a gift for spinning archaeological stories that captivated generations of would-be archaeologists and the colleagues and students who worked with him.

Archaeologists need similar (if more disciplined) skills today as the boundaries between archaeological research, heritage and outreach become increasingly blurred. These new research agendas are partly a response to the accelerating trends of development and looting that continue to threaten archaeological landscapes across the greater region. If the Bronze Age archaeology of the Konya plain is to be salvaged from oblivion then it needs to be made significant, in the imaginations of academics and the public alike.

The early stages of metallurgy and metal exchange in northwestern Turkey

Michele Massa | Bilecik University

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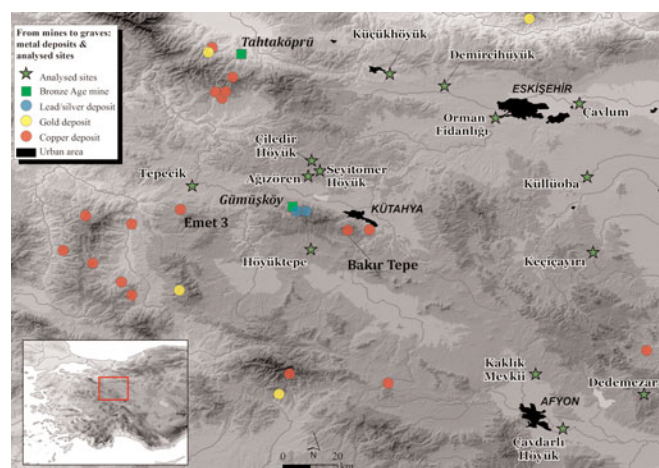
The project ‘From mines to graves: metallurgy and metal exchange in northwestern inland Anatolia, ca 3700–1500 BCE’, the pilot study of which has been sponsored by a British Institute at Ankara Small Grant, aims to shed light onto the mechanisms of metal production and exchange during the early stages of metallurgy in western Turkey. It builds upon several decades of research indicating that, during the Chalcolithic and Bronze Age (ca 6000–1200 BC), the Anatolian highlands was one of the most important metallurgical centres in the Old World. This region not only provided copper, lead, silver and gold to surrounding metal-lacking areas, but was also at the cutting edge of metalworking technologies. For the early historical period, some 23,000 Old Assyrian cuneiform tablets (ca 1950–1700 BC) supply incredibly accurate textual accounts of interregional metal exchanges between central Anatolia and Upper Mesopotamia. There is, however, increasing archaeological evidence that this trade network is only the mature phase of a process which started during the mid to late fourth millennium BC. Furthermore, textual sources are almost entirely silent with regards to the infrastructure of metal production, as well as the extent and complexity of local and regional trade networks within Anatolia.

Thus, ‘From mines to graves’ intends to open a new perspective into archaeo-metallurgical research in Anatolia by attempting to reconstruct the different stages of the Late Chalcolithic and Bronze Age metallurgical *chaîne opératoire* (i.e. extraction, refinement, object manufacture) at the regional level. It also aims to understand the mechanisms of the exchanges of finished products within local and regional networks, and the diachronical changes thereof, by investigating the relationship between highland sites (close to mines and refinement facilities) and lowland sites (close to major trade routes). The project focuses on an area (the Eskişehir, Afyon and Kütahya regions) that has witnessed dense archaeological research, is rich in metal deposits and evidence for pre-modern mining, and is intersected by important natural routes connecting the Aegean with the central Anatolian plateau (see figure). It targets a large dataset (ca 800 metal samples) from 14 sites with different occupation spans (covering ca 3700 to 1500 BC), thus allowing a diachronic perspective about continuity and change in the use of specific technologies, alloys and shapes, as well as the ability to identify potential differences at the regional scale.

During the project’s first stage, functional and technological typologies of metal objects and metallurgical tools will be employed to highlight differences in manufacturing traditions both diachronically and between sites. In order to understand alloying practices, chemical

composition analysis will be conducted via a portable x-ray fluorescence spectrometer (pXRF). In the following stages, microscopic analysis (with SEM) and destructive chemical analysis (with ICP-MS) of slag and ore will allow a more detailed insight into metallurgical technologies (for example firing conditions, additives and trace elements). Lead isotope analysis will target selected ore, slag and objects to sketch the possible origins of raw materials and artefacts. Finally, an archaeo-metallurgical survey will explore known and potential pre-modern mining sites, providing data on the scale and level of organisation of metal extraction in different periods.

Preliminary results indicate that all analysed settlements (starting at ca 3700–3500 BC) have evidence for in-site metal production in the form of tools and/or manufacturing debris, witnessing the widespread availability of raw materials in the region. This is confirmed by earlier research that has identified numerous metal deposits in the region, as well as at least two Bronze Age mines. Analysis of slag and ore from two sites also hints at the presence of two more Early Bronze Age mines within the study area (at Emet 3 and Bakır Tepe, see figure). Second, based on the available evidence, products made with sophisticated manufacturing techniques (for example bivalve casting, lost-wax technique, metal plating) and more specialised metallurgical workshops seem to occur exclusively in lowland sites with easier access to exchange networks. On the other hand, excavated metal workshops within highland sites are characterised by small-scale and low-level specialisation activities, suggesting metal extraction and production from local sources and probably limited to local consumption. Third, bronze objects (partly composed of tin, a rarer metal) seem restricted to lowland sites with direct access to interregional routes, a situation that only changes at the very end of the third millennium BC when tin becomes more readily accessible. This phenomenon is likely correlated with intensified relations with areas further to the southeast, approximately at the time of the establishment of the Assyrian trade network that introduced significant amounts of tin, likely from Afghanistan and beyond.



Sakçagözü in context: Garstang's 1908–1911 excavations revisited

Ali Çifçi | Koç University

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The site of Sakçagözü (Sakçe Gözü or Coba Höyük) is located in the Islahiye district of Gaziantep – 21km northeast of Zincirli – and first came to light in the late 19th century, when a group of basalt reliefs was found lying on the surface of the mound. The subsequent excavations conducted by John Garstang at the site between 1908 and 1911 uncovered a Neo-Hittite fortified enclosure and a portico leading to a palace, which featured a series of basalt reliefs.

Coba Höyük is the smallest site on the Sakçagözü plain. After his arrival, Garstang immediately started excavations because of the sculpture that was lying on

the surface of the mound. He also conducted excavations at the nearby site of Songurus, located to the northwest of Coba, which is the largest site in the region. Garstang used the Sakçagözü material as well as that collected during his 1907 journey through central and southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria to illustrate his 1910 book *The Land of the Hittites*.

Garstang reburied the reliefs after he had completed his excavations at Sakçagözü, but they were later removed by the Turkish authorities to Ankara in 1939 and put on display at the Anatolian Civilizations Museum, where they still reside today. After the removal of the reliefs from the site, further excavations were carried out by the British Institute at Ankara. These later excavations were undertaken with the aim to sort out the stratigraphy of the site; however, they ended up concentrating on the earlier occupation levels.

The basalt reliefs from Sakçagözü have been dated to the last quarter of the eighth century BC by a number of studies, as have the wall and gate surrounding the enclosure. However, despite these impressive finds, there are no written materials from Sakçagözü that might help to identify its ancient name. Nonetheless, it has been suggested that Sakçagözü should be identified with the city of Lutibu in the kingdom of Sam'al, where the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III confronted a military coalition of northern Syrian and southeastern Anatolian states in 858 BC. Sam'al was located in the eastern part of the Amanus range between Karamanmaraş and Antakya. Like other independent kingdoms in northern Syria and southeastern Anatolia, it was incorporated into the Neo-Assyrian state during the ninth and eighth centuries BC.

My current research project aims to reappraise the regional significance of the site of Sakçagözü and Garstang's excavations there for the Iron Age. In particular, new excavation results, from sites such as Tel-Tayinat, Gedikli-Karahöyük, Tilmen, Zincirli and Karkemiş, and data from other research projects (for example Istanbul University's Islahiye Region Excavation and Research Project) have provided valuable new insights into the small neo-Hittite kingdoms that typified the region's political and material culture during this period. These kingdoms are often overlooked in favour of the larger regional narratives of the Hittites, Assyrians and Urartians. In addition to the data from these archaeological projects, the digitisation of Garstang's photographic archives by the University of Liverpool (ca 900 items), which includes photographs from his 1907 journey and the Sakçagözü excavations, and the availability of unpublished research materials held at the Istanbul Archaeological Museum will assist in the re-evaluation of the Iron Age levels (IX, X and XI) of Sakçagözü, which Garstang published in interim form only.



The excavated portico of Sakçagözü with basalt reliefs in situ (courtesy of The Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool)

Sinop Kale Excavations 2016

Jane Rempel & Sue Sherratt | University of Sheffield

With Owen Doonan, Andrew Goldman, Alexander Bauer, Emine Sökmen, Beth Watson & Holly Rosevear

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In the summer of 2016 the second season of the Sinop Kale Excavations project unfolded, with continued excavations in the heart of ancient Sinope, on the Black Sea coast of Turkey, as well as a programme of environmental sampling, study of the handmade pottery and recording and virtual reconstruction of the Hellenistic fortification wall that runs across the neck of the Sinop peninsula.

This project, directed by Owen Doonan (California State University Northridge), builds on more than a decade of survey and environmental research conducted by the Sinop Regional Archaeological Project. Its aim is to investigate the nature of pre-Greek settlement as well as the early Greek settlement and its later development. The Sheffield contingent, supported by funding from the BIAA and including Jane Rempel and Sue Sherratt from the Department of Archaeology as well as recent graduate Nick Groat and current undergraduates Holly Rosevear and Beth Watson, worked alongside an international team including Associate Director Alexander Bauer (Queens College, New York), Assistant Director Emine Sökmen (Hitit University), Field Director Andrew Goldman (Gonzaga University) and staff and students from both American and Turkish universities. Project funding, in addition to that provided by the BIAA, comes from the National Geographic Society, the National Endowment for the Humanities, CSU Northridge, Queens College and Gonzaga University. This year, the University of Sheffield was also able to support our undergraduate students through the Sheffield Undergraduate Research Experience scheme (SURE). Through six-week paid placements, the SURE awards provide undergraduate students with the opportunity to work in partnership with an academic staff member on a dedicated research project during the summer vacation. Through their SURE projects, students become directly involved in the research activity of the University, take part in active research projects in subject areas that are of special interest and experience what it is like to work in partnership with academic staff or collaboratively in a research group.

Beth Watson's SURE project – 'Understanding the Hellenistic fortification walls at ancient Sinope, Turkey' – involved working with Jane Rempel to record and interpret the remains of the Hellenistic fortification wall in the Sinop Kale area. The fortification walls of the Kale are a prominent feature of the town, both ancient and modern, and they represent the best-surviving Hellenistic fortifications in northern Asia Minor and the Black Sea region (Crow 2014: 38–39). Strabo, around the beginning of the common era, called Sinope 'the beautifully walled city' (12.3.11). The Hellenistic wall that he describes ran as a curtain wall northwest to southeast across the neck of the Boztepe peninsula. This line of wall still survives today, albeit with later Roman, Byzantine, Seljuk and Ottoman additions; the best-surviving section of the original Hellenistic wall is located at the northwestern end, in the Sinop Kale Excavations project area. This includes the northwestern Hellenistic tower, with its upper portions rebuilt, an adjoining section of the Hellenistic wall (also with upper portions rebuilt and restored), as well as a section of the foundations and lower courses of the Hellenistic wall that had been exposed by earlier archaeological work in the area (see the 3D reconstruction, below).

While textual references attest to a fortification wall at Sinope at least as early as the early fourth century BC (Polyaenus *Stratagems* 7.21), the earliest surviving wall is from the Hellenistic period and has been traditionally associated with one of two kings of Pontus: Pharnakes I (second century BC) or Mithridates VI (first century BC) (Bryer, Winfield 1985: 70, 76–77; Doonan 2004: 76; Crow 2014: 39).

The design of the Hellenistic fortification wall is unique, however. Although the isodomic masonry of quarry-faced blocks with drafted margins and the bevelled corners on its towers suggest a Hellenistic date, a series of arrow slots with projecting lintels is unparalleled (Crow in Bryer, Winfield 1985: 78; Crow 2014). In addition, stratigraphic excavations of the foundation trench for the Hellenistic fortification wall in 2015 and 2016 have provided a close understanding of its construction process and preliminary reading of the material in its fills suggests it is not later than the third century BC. The chronological resolution provided by the Sinop Kale Excavations will provide an important contribution to studies of fortification walls of this period as well as to our understanding of the urban development of ancient Sinope.

A first attempt at a 3D model of the wall section in the Sinop Kale Excavations project area (J. Rempel and A. Çobanoğlu)





3D model of a portion of the Hellenistic wall
(B. Watson and J. Rempel)

In order to understand better the nature of the wall, it was important to record the surviving remains in the project area so that its construction and morphology can be reconstructed. Beth's SURE project involved recording the exposed foundations of the Hellenistic fortification wall using close-range photogrammetry. This technique uses a linked series of digital images to create measurement-accurate 3D models (like that above). Agisoft Photoscan was used to process the images and MeshLab to ensure the accuracy of scales applied to the models using known measurements. This work has resulted in a spatially accurate record of the surviving architecture of the Hellenistic wall in the Sinop Kale Excavations project area and the models will be used to create 2D measured drawings in AutoCAD. We were also able to work with Ahmet Çobanoğlu to create a 3D model of the entire northwestern corner of the surviving fortification wall, including the Hellenistic tower, from imagery taken from an unmanned aerial vehicle, commonly known as a drone (see figure on previous page).

Holly Rosevear's SURE project – 'The handmade pottery of Sinop Kale' – involved working with Sue Sherratt. They made a start on studying some of the handmade pottery found in the 2015 excavation, particularly that found in Locus 29. Locus 29 was originally thought to lie inside a 'dugout' (House 1) on the western side of Operation 1 (Rempel et al. 2015; Doonan et al. 2016), but excavation in 2016 revealed that the wall, consisting of eight or more courses of flattish stones and thought to define the northeastern edge of House 1, actually extends for at least 5m more to the southeast, suggesting that Locus 29 probably lay (in a yard?) outside the structure, the rest of which to the north and northeast was eventually destroyed or covered by the Byzantine wall. The pottery from Locus 29 consists almost entirely of handmade pottery of varied appearance and with various types of decoration, some of which has a generally Early Bronze Age (third millennium BC) appearance. It also, however, bears resemblances to pottery uncovered in 2000 in an eroding scarp to the west of the 2015 excavation and at a somewhat lower level, associated with what were tentatively identified as stone-lined pit houses. These were stratified below the Hellenistic levels, and both architecture and pottery were compared to material from northern and western Black Sea sites of Early Iron Age (early first

millennium BC) date (Doonan 2004: 56–58). Only a couple of wheelmade sherds, well embedded within Locus 29, hinted that some – or perhaps much – of this pottery might actually be contemporary with an early stage of the Greek colony of Sinope in the late seventh to sixth century BC. A major question was thus whether any of the pottery from the fill was genuinely of Early Bronze Age date (so demonstrating Early Bronze Age occupation of the site) or whether the indigenous inhabitants continued making pottery of generally Early Bronze Age appearance after the foundation of the colony at the end of the seventh century BC, and, if so, for how long. In other words, what the date range of the pottery from the fill of Locus 29 is likely to be. Given the lack of understanding hitherto of the prehistoric ceramic chronology of this part of the Turkish coast (which has in the past led to suggestions that it was uninhabited for long stretches between the Early Bronze Age and the seventh to sixth century BC), this is a particularly important issue. Another question is the extent to which similarities to pottery from other sites around the Black Sea should be regarded as the result of maritime interaction, and, if so, at what points in time in particular.

In order to begin to investigate these questions, Holly strewed, sorted and macroscopically examined all feature sherds (those with rims, bases, handles or decoration) from Locus 29, and entered them in a database in which details of fabric, inclusions, surface finishes, types of decoration, rim or base types (where appropriate) and possible shapes were recorded. These entries are accompanied by a photograph of each sherd and supplemented by profile drawings of rims and bases.



Holly Rosevear studying some of the handmade pottery
(photo by Sue Sherratt)



University of Sheffield archaeology undergraduates Holly Rosevear, Nick Groat and Beth Watson in front of the Hellenistic fortification wall (photo by J. Rempel)

Preliminary results suggest that Locus 29 contained an interesting variety of fabrics and tempers, surface colours, surface finishes and decorations. Most sherds are relatively coarse, but a few are of a notable fineness. Tempering includes shell/calcareous inclusions, quartz pebbles and some chaff; cores are frequently black (a normal indication of low firing temperatures). Surface colours range from black to greyish yellow/buff to red, including some mottling. Surface finishes include varying degrees of burnish, sherds with a rough concrete-like finish outside and a smoothed/burnished interior, and an unusual burnished red washy slip. Among the shapes (where determinable) are rounded and carinated bowls or cups and jars of various sorts, including hole-mouthed jars; rims tend to be rounded or pointed and sometimes slightly squared, bases can be flat or raised and handles vertical or horizontal. Decorations include applied or pulled-up ridges with finger-impressions or diagonal slashing, knobs or lugs, neatly impressed holes and incised lines.

Despite its general 'Early Bronze Age' appearance, it seems unlikely that much, if any, of this pottery is actually Early Bronze Age in date. On the other hand, some of it seems to find good parallels at sites, such as Berezan and Olbia, on the northern coast of the Black Sea, where handmade pottery co-exists with imported Greek pottery from the late seventh century down to the fifth century and later. Particular similarities can be seen in several of the shapes, in the finger-impressed ridges, in the knobs and lugs and the rows of impressed holes (for example Solovyov 1999: figs 18, 20–22; Gavriljuk 2010: pls 262–69), while some of the incised pottery seems reminiscent of some of the so-called Kizil-Koba pottery of the northern Black Sea (Solovyov 1999: fig. 24). Especially intriguing are one or two sherds on which differential burnishing appears to have been used to create a rim band of the sort one might see on imported painted pottery, which might suggest

contemporaneity with, and influence from, the latter. The results of portable x-ray fluorescence (pXRF) analysis combined with microscopic studies of technological processes, carried out this summer by Alexander Bauer on a number of the sherds, should help to establish groups of wares based on different clay sources and give some idea of the variety and possibly varied sources of this pottery.

For a summary of the results of the 2015 season, see <http://antiquity.ac.uk/projgall/578> and the Sinop Kale Excavations web site: <http://srpexexcavation.wixsite.com/kale>.

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View from the Sinop Kale Excavations project area to Ak Liman after a rainstorm (photo by J. Rempel)

New finds and new results at Aphrodisias in 2016

R.R.R. Smith | Oxford University

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Aphrodisias has been excavated continuously since 1961 under the aegis of New York University, and the site illuminates brilliantly the life and art of ancient cities in the eastern Mediterranean, from Roman imperial times into the post-classical world. The current project focuses on the documentation, conservation and publication of already excavated monuments and on targeted new excavation and research, aiming to understand better the character and history of the site from the Roman into the late antique, Byzantine and Ottoman periods.

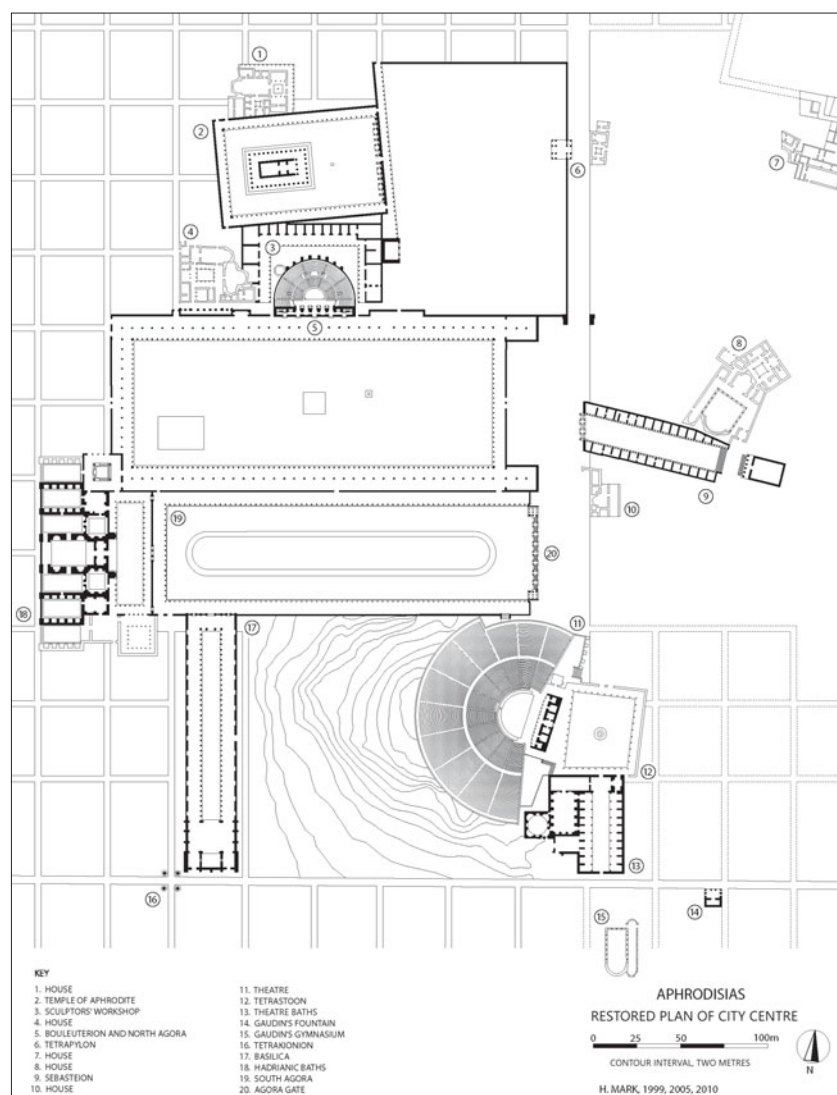
In 2016, the Aphrodisias team worked a long season, from 1 June to 30 September. There were some 60 of us, both students and colleagues – archaeologists, architects, conservators, epigraphists, restorers, surveyors, photographers, draftsmen and numismatists – together with 96 local workers. There were important results and interesting finds.



View of Aphrodisias

The South Agora and Tetracylon Street

Excavation was concentrated on two longstanding projects – in the South Agora and on the Tetracylon Street – both parts of a plan to create an enhanced visitor route through the centre of the site, from the Sebasteion to the Tetracylon Street to the South Agora.



The South Agora is dominated by a 170m pool, partly excavated in the 1980s. After a detailed survey of its water system in 2011 and test trenches in 2012 that revealed planting trenches for palm trees around the pool, a five-year project was begun in 2013. This is generously funded by Mica Ertegun and called *The Mica and Ahmet Ertegun South Agora Pool Project*. The project is designed to complete the excavation of the pool and to research its long archaeo-history and that of the surrounding palm grove.

Excavation in 2016 investigated the overlying medieval and post-medieval levels, as well as the plantings surrounding the pool. One large trench (SAg 16.1) was excavated in phase across the eastern half of the complex and reached below the marble seat courses of the pool's inner perimeter. The marble surround of the pool is now almost fully exposed.

In addition to some important marble finds, perhaps the most striking aspect of the excavation was the high level of post-antique and medieval activity across the whole area. Far from being empty fill, the levels above the pool have a complex sequence of walls and strata from approximately the tenth through to the 16th century, accompanied by significant deposits of glass and metal slag. They imply a level of human activity not previously expected at the site in these periods.

Among an abundance of coins, small finds and marble fragments of architecture and statuary, two items may be mentioned. A newly uncovered slab of the pool's southern perimeter was found to be inscribed with a semi-public graffito, prefaced by a cross, for one 'Kolotron, head gold-worker (*protaurios*), whom God shall remember' (I 16.20). The text is accompanied by two engraved frontal busts of athletes: one (left) wearing an elaborate victor's crown; the other a much larger bust (right) of a thick-necked boxer or wrestler. This athlete has a single lock of hair emerging from his otherwise clean-shaven head – the hairstyle of the professional heavy athlete (*cirrus in vertice*). The same Kolotron is known from a similar seat inscription in the Theatre.

A fragment of an early imperial portrait head (inv. 16-52) was excavated during the cutting back of the east section of the pool fill at the eastern limit of SAg 16.1, where the 1990 excavation of the eastern end of the pool had stopped. Two dumps full of roof tile, pieces of wall revetment and small fragments of carved marble were uncovered here, on the northern side of the pool. The head fragment was found in the lower dump layer in what was probably an early seventh-century context. The head was once part of a high-quality portrait statue of the Julio-Claudian period. Its nose, upper face and hair fringe are perfectly preserved. The quality of the portrait can be seen in the delicate carving of the line of its upper teeth in the slightly opened mouth.



The newly uncovered graffito

The Tetrapylon Street runs north to south from the Tetrapylon to the Propylon of the Sebasteion. Its excavation, begun in 2008, is designed to open this part of the street for visitors and to bring new information about the history of the site in the late antique, Byzantine and Ottoman periods.

Excavation in 2016 concentrated on the deep overburden covering the street immediately south of the Propylon of the Sebasteion (SAve 16.1-3). The aim is to extend the street excavation to the south to connect it with the back of the Agora Gate at the original Roman level, both to enhance visitor circulation at the site and to investigate a key urban hub in the ancient city plan.



The South Agora pool



The Tetrapylon Street

The eastern half of the excavation area was occupied by several subsequent street levels. At the eastern limit of the trenches, the street had always been bordered by a sizeable wall. In origin, this was a Roman wall that defined the western line of a well-preserved complex known as the Cryptoporticus House. In later periods, unmortared rubble was added on top of the Roman wall remains, but it is clear from the excavation of several walls oriented east to west across its line that for a long period after the seventh century this area was no longer used as a street.

The western half of the excavated area was occupied by a sizeable, well-built structure (visible in the foreground of the photo on the previous page). The excavation has so far uncovered its two most northern spaces, both of which had been intentionally filled in, probably in the later 19th century. The eastern space was a water tank, lined with hydraulic mortar, supplied by a pipe coming from the south and heated by a praefurnium on its eastern side. The larger western room had a hypocaust and water supply provided by a pipe from the tank that runs around the eastern and northern walls of the room. It was clearly the hot room of a small bath complex, of the middle to late Byzantine period. Since bath complexes of this period are rare, this excavated example is of considerable significance.

To the north of the Propylon, work aimed to excavate large brickfalls that had been left in situ on the Roman pavement in 2014 and 2015, in order to open the street and to carry out conservation work on its paving. Three areas of brickfall that collapsed in the early seventh century from the western street wall were drawn, photographed and excavated (NAve 16.1). The southern brickfall lay directly on top of the street paving; the 'middle' brickfall came from two arches of the upper storey of the eastern street colonnade; and the northern brickfall lay on top of a thick layer of burned and unburned material, including window glass.

Part of this third context contained a large and important female head (inv. 16-15). It is a veiled portrait of the early imperial period that clearly once belonged to the extensive statue display on the Sebasteion's Propylon. It has an ideal Augustan physiognomy with the tight melon-hairstyle of a young woman. The trial attachment of the head to a surviving statue from the Propylon found nearby in 1981 (inv. 81-151), although it does not join, showed that they almost certainly belong together. Furthermore, the statue is identified independently, by its inscribed base (inv. 82-210), as Aemilia Lepida, wife of Drusus Caesar (son of Germanicus). She appears prominently in history only in AD 36 when she was forced to commit suicide, the Roman historian Tacitus tells us (*Annals* 6.40), because she was conducting a widely known affair with a slave. Such matters, however, were not of much concern in Aphrodisias. The newly excavated head completes a remarkably well-documented honorific statue of a Tiberian princess, one who is not identified in any other portraits.

The Hadrianic Baths, Sebasteion and Tetrapylon

A major conservation project in the Hadrianic Baths, begun in 2010, was pursued for a final season with work on the main fabric of the complex. The Baths, partly excavated in 1904–1905 and the 1960s, were in a bad state of deterioration. After seven years of work, the excavated Rooms 6, 7, 13 and 14 have now been conserved and opened to the public; Rooms 4, 5 and 12 have also been conserved and can be viewed from the exterior; and Room 15, the great palaestra court in front of the Baths, has been cleared and made accessible to visitors.

In 2016, conservation work was concentrated in the great central hot room of the complex, the caldarium (Room 4), and on the tall masonry support wall between Rooms 4 and 5. A find of considerable historical significance was made in Room 4: a well-preserved bronze coin of the emperor Phokas (AD 602–610) was recovered from the mortar layer immediately beneath some loose marble paving. It implies that significant renovations were still being undertaken in the early seventh century at a time when previously no such civic vitality had been suspected.

The physical anastylosis of the three-storeyed South Building of the Sebasteion is now mostly completed. In 2016, work was carried out at the back of the structure,



The statue of Aemilia Lepida



The Hadrianic Baths



The South Building of the Sebasteion

building up the rear wall in petit-appareil-style masonry to act as a brace and support for the whole anastylosis. The first physical assembly of all parts of the Propylon's first storey is also now complete, and it was decided not to dowel and glue the columns and entablatures permanently but to leave them dry-fixed as they are, in case further work proves possible. Important advances were made in 2016 in the study of the Sebasteion's building history. Careful cleaning and recording revealed that in late antiquity a water basin (9.25m wide) was built up against the front of the Sebasteion Temple at a time when it had been put out of use as a cult building.

The Tetrapylon, the grandiose entrance to the domain of Aphrodite, was the subject of an anastylosis project carried out by Kenan Erim in the years 1983–1990. The anastylosis is checked and maintained periodically, and, in 2016, the western side of the structure was scaffolded, cleaned, pointed and thoroughly checked. Open joints and cracks between repairs and the marble of the ancient building were mapped and filled using hydraulic lime-based mortars. Some of the abstractly restored figure and acanthus decoration of the pediment was remodelled and recoloured by hand to match the character of the surrounding stonework, using the Keim Restauro system.

Research and publication

Research for publication remains a high priority, and in 2016 publication study was pursued on the Stadium, Bouleuterion, North Agora, Byzantine architectural ornament and the Roman and Byzantine phases of the Temple of Aphrodite.

New Aphrodisias publications in 2016 include P. Stinson, *Aphrodisias VII. The Civil Basilica* and R.R.R. Smith, J. Lenaghan, A. Sokolicek and K. Welch (eds), *Aphrodisias Papers 5: Excavation and Research at Aphrodisias, 2006–2012* (Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplement 103). Extensive work was carried out during the 2016 season in support of three new monographs currently in press or in final preparation: (1) N. de Chaisemartin and D. Theodorescu, *Aphrodisias VIII. Le Théâtre d'Aphrodisias: les structures sceniques*; (2) J. van Voorhis, *Aphrodisias IX. The Sculptor's Workshop*; (3) E. Ögüş, *Aphrodisias X. The Columnar Sarcophagi*.

Acknowledgements

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The Propylon

A Roman woman from Çatalhöyük

Sophie Moore & Michelle Gamble |

Brown University/University of Hull & Heritage and
Archaeological Research Practice, Edinburgh

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Osteobiographies grant us an insight into the lives experienced by people of the past. This year at Çatalhöyük, the historic cemeteries team was involved in excavating and studying the remains of a Roman woman from Çatalhöyük who had been interred with a remarkable assemblage of objects; the remains offered singular evidence of congenital disabilities. The process of piecing together the story of historic Çatalhöyük is one which works at various scales; in previous editions of *Heritage Turkey* we have discussed data at the largest scale, focusing on the typology of graves and the possible interactions between mortuary populations, here we focus at the scale of a single human life.

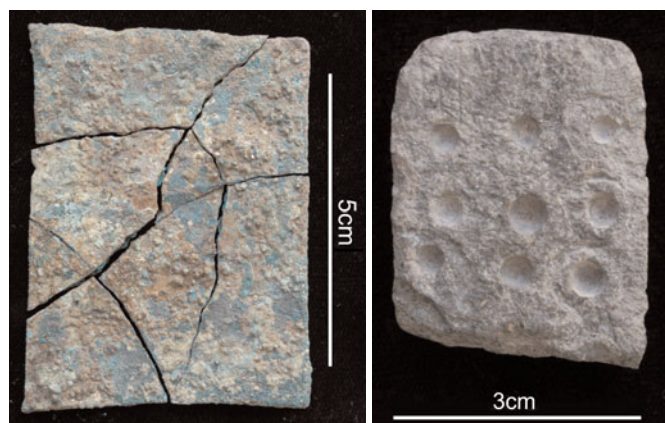
Our Roman woman was buried in the cemetery that overlies the Neolithic remains at Çatalhöyük; this cemetery is present in almost every area excavated on site. She is part of a mortuary group of approximately 62 graves dating from the Roman period, which have been determined as such by their grave goods, burial position and grave type. The 190 well-contextualised grave contexts from the first and second millennia AD comprise four morphological groups of graves. These groups correspond roughly to phases of cemetery use: Roman, Christian and two separate groups of Islamic-period burials, all cut into the prehistoric East and West Mound tell sites. While the majority of historic-period burials contain few grave goods or inclusions, a number of the excavated Roman burials were richly furnished. The grave focused on here, Feature 5077, was cut into a Neolithic midden deposit close to a group of richly furnished burials excavated by the BACH team (Cottica et al. 2012).

The woman is likely to have died in her mid-30s, and was interred in a Roman furnished burial, typical for the site: a deep, straight-sided grave aligned west to east with the cranium to the western end facing approximately east. The

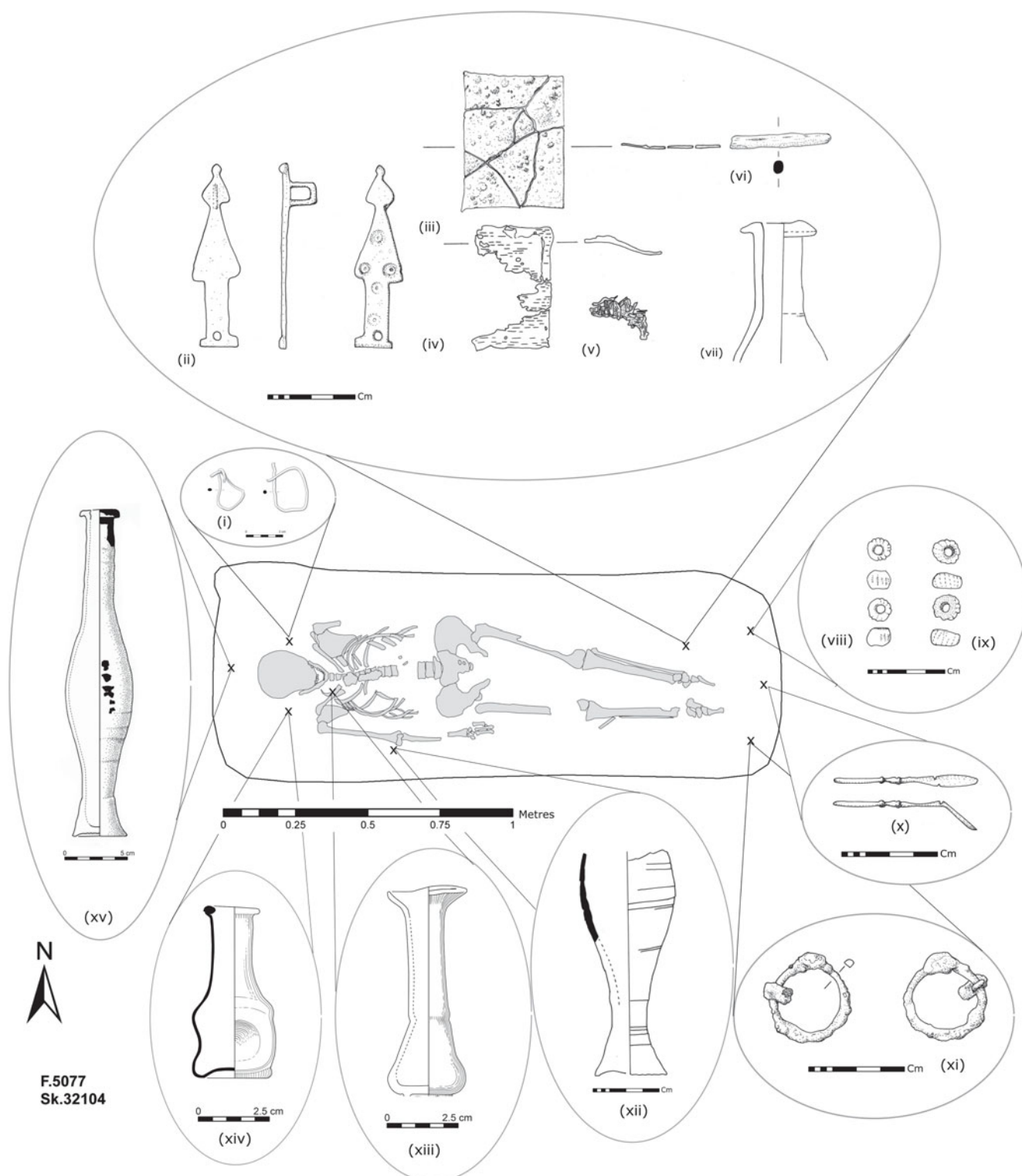
pattern of decomposition of the body, particularly the opening of the pelvic girdle, indicates that the body decayed in a void (C. Knüsel, personal communication), while the presence of wood and iron nails suggests the use of a coffin. Significant numbers of grave goods and inclusions were recovered from the grave. Most came from within the line of the coffin or were placed on the body itself. There are indications that the body was loosely shrouded; the clavicles were held in a vertical position and the right arm was held against the torso. In addition, red pigment staining the top of the spine (body of T2) and left side of the mandible perhaps indicates that a red-coloured cloth, which stained the bone during decay, was draped over the cranium, in addition to a shroud wrapping the rest of the body. The woman's head is likely to have rested on a now decayed object at the time of deposition, elevating the top of the cranium enough to allow it to face east.

Small finds from within the grave include a glass unguentarium recovered significantly above the level of the skeleton; this object might have been placed on the closed coffin lid. A glass unguentarium with an oblong body was recovered from the left-hand side of the cranium and two gold earrings were closely associated with the left and right temporal bones; these are likely to have been worn at the moment of burial. Two ceramic unguentaria were present. One was recovered unbroken from immediately behind the cranium, and was probably pushed against the western edge of the coffin. The other was broken in half at the midline with the base preserved, and came from the southern edge of the coffin, closely associated with the right arm. A copper alloy box clasp, with associated fragmentary wood, was recovered from the left of the body by the pelvis, and was found with a fragmentary glass vessel, a worn fragment of bone pin and a milled rectangular copper alloy plate in the same area. Mineralised beneath the copper plate was a fragmentary sheet of wood and a small piece of coarse fabric. The latter could be part of the shroud or, together, these items might be three parts of a composite object. At the base of the grave two blue faience melon beads were recovered, as well as a copper alloy ear-scoop and a corroded iron fibula brooch.

In addition to the intentionally deposited items listed above, the fill of the grave contained a significant quantity of Neolithic objects. The inclusion of Neolithic objects in historic-period graves is not unusual at the site, particularly for graves cut into midden contexts. It is likely that in most cases the inclusion of Neolithic objects in historic-period graves is incidental, a by-product of the back-filling process. In some cases, however, such as feature 2403 on the West Mound where a very fine obsidian point was recovered in close association with a burial, Neolithic objects may have been intentionally buried with the Roman dead. One such object is present in this grave: a worked stone with rows of indentations similar to the markings on the copper alloy box hasp. The date and nature of this decorated stone is unclear, making the nature of its inclusion in the grave assemblage ambiguous.



Milled copper alloy plate and Neolithic stone object
(photos by S. Moore)



(i) gold earrings, (ii) copper alloy box hasp, (iii) milled copper alloy rectangular plate, (iv) wood preserved beneath iii, (v) fabric preserved beneath iii, (vi) bone pin fragment, (vii) glass bottle neck, (viii) blue faience melon bead, (ix) blue faience melon bead, (x) copper alloy ear-scoop, (xi) iron fibula brooch, (xii) ceramic unguentarium base, (xiii) glass unguentarium, (xiv) glass unguentarium, (xv) ceramic unguentarium (i, xiii, xiv and xv illustrated by K. Killackey)

Although the small-finds assemblage from this grave is relatively rich in comparison to most other Roman-period graves at the site, it contains a fairly standard suite of objects for an Anatolian furnished grave of the second or third

century AD, where cosmetic kits including vessels containing oil or perfume, ear-scoops and other small copper alloy grooming objects commonly accompany the burial of women. The three glass vessels, two of which are largely

complete, provide a secure Roman date. Free-blown glass vessels, like these, date back to the Etruscan period and examples are known from tombs as early as the second and first centuries BC, but they do not become common grave goods until the first century AD, and the unguentaria forms present here and in other previously published graves from the site are common for Anatolian graves of the first to third century. The vessel which may have been placed above the coffin has most in common with a first-century type Isings 28b, which continued in use into the second century with the addition of a partially broken ring foot. The broken neck of a thick-walled white vessel found at the base of the grave is perhaps more closely related to Isings 82b2, a form common in the second and third centuries AD (Isings 1957).

The gold earrings and possibly the iron fibula brooch are the only true grave goods, being distinct from grave inclusions in that they were worn by the deceased at the moment of burial. The two faience melon beads, which show close similarity to beads from a late Flavian mortuary context in Winchester (Biddle 1967: 243), may have been worn during life, but are also likely to have apotropaic significance (Allason-Jones 1995: 27). The two beads from this grave are very worn around the bore, suggesting a significant use-life prior to deposition. The wear on the beads does not necessarily indicate their use as objects of personal adornment; beads of this type have also been noted decorating military equipment (Allason-Jones 1995: 27) and interpreted as having been used to decorate horse harnesses (Ritterling cited in Price, Worrell 2010). Beads showing little wear were perhaps produced specifically as funerary objects and included in graves to ward off the spirits of the dead.

The woman herself had a number of congenital skeletal conditions which would have affected her during her lifetime. She was unusually small and gracile for the population at large, with scoliosis to the right side, indicated by the narrowing of her vertebral bones and the addition of a pillar of bone anteriorly. There are associated changes to her pelvis, with the right auricular surface smaller than the left, suggesting asymmetric force transmission (C. Knüsel, personal communication). In life, this woman would have had significant ambulatory problems, and her remains sit within a group of at least three other Roman skeletons, found in features 700, 706 and 1455, which display significant palaeopathological changes which would have limited mobility in life and necessitated care from others in the community. A further seven individuals among the Roman burials show osteoarthritic changes or trauma to the feet and legs.

As we enter our final year of fieldwork, and aim to complete the palaeopathological assessment of the community in 2017, it will be interesting to establish whether the Roman population of this site contained an unusual number of people with conditions affecting their movement.

Another possibility of pathology is presented by a black deposit present at the base of the thoracic cavity, on the anterior surface of the ribs. This deposit is similar in terms of composition and location as those noted on two adult skeletons from the Neolithic levels – sk.1378 in F.28 and sk.1424 in F.30 (Birch 2005) – and two adult burials from the Roman cemetery excavated by the BACH team – sk.2219 and sk.2212 (Cottica et al 2012: 331–34). Wendy Birch suggests that for the Neolithic individuals the deposit is a result of pneumoconiosis, or ‘black lung’, caused by inhaled soot, and it is possible that the woman buried in the Roman grave discussed here had the same condition. Conversely, the black staining could be manganese deposited on the bones during the taphonomic process, and not an indicator of pathology at all.

The aim of a full bio-cultural analysis of the individuals from the multi-phase historic cemetery at Çatalhöyük is to provide a clearer understanding of both the individuals buried at the site and the communities of practice they lived within. Understanding the levels of pathology present in a community gives us insight at the scale of a population but also allows us to look at the likely experiences of individuals and how they may have fitted into the broader picture. For the Roman community, one of the most interesting developing threads of research is the frequent instances in which individuals who required a great deal of care during life were shown a great deal of respect in death. This was the case for our Roman woman of limited mobility who was buried with her gold earrings, iron brooch and scented unguents. She was laid to rest carefully wrapped, dressed and protected by two blue faience beads.

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CULTURAL HERITAGE, SOCIETY & ECONOMY

The promotion, management and regulation of cultural heritage is a complex process involving many different agents and stakeholders on local, national and international levels. It is a critical element of public policy involving a diverse range of actors such as international organisations, governmental ministries and agencies, political parties, private organisations, museums and local communities. How cultural heritage is produced and consumed, interpreted and understood can have profound impacts on structuring social and economic interaction and decision-making. Likewise, it influences the formation of social values and ideas as well as notions of common identity and history. It also affects economic and infrastructural development across a range of different levels. Cultural heritage management has become an important issue only recently in Turkey, and is now rapidly developing. As a result, a whole range of new issues and problems for which solutions have to be found within Turkey, but also on a much wider scale, have arisen. It is these inter-relationships contained within the field of cultural heritage that this Strategic Research Initiative sets out to examine in the Turkish context.

Monumental architecture, cultural heritage management and local perceptions of Aspendos

Lutgarde Vandeput & Işıl Gürsu | British Institute at Ankara

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As in previous years, we joined the team working at Aspendos under the direction of Veli Köse (Hacettepe University) to work on the monumental architecture (Vandeput) as well as on cultural heritage management and public archaeology (Gürsu).

Monumental architecture

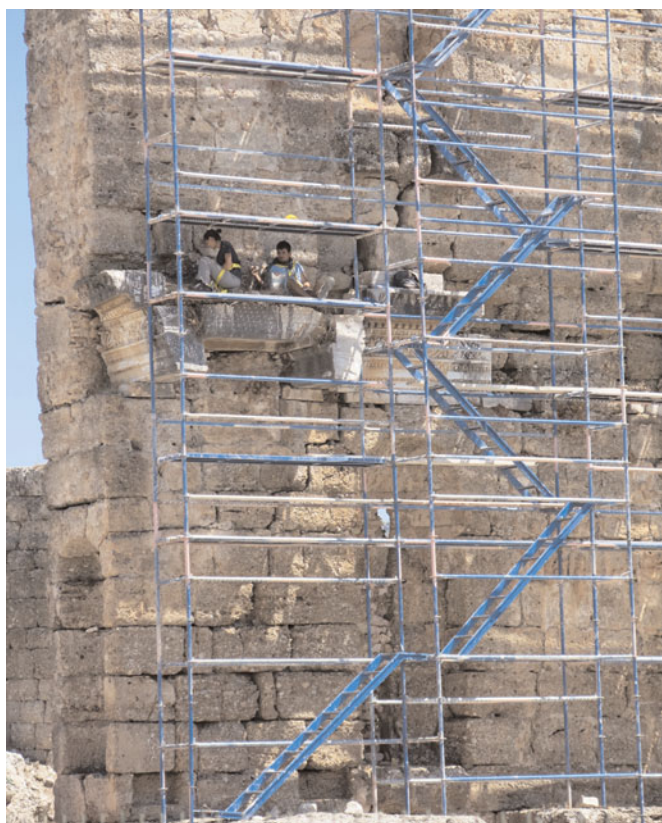
The plan for the 2016 campaign at Aspendos was to carry out detailed studies on the *scaenae frons* of the theatre and on the nymphaeum along the northern side of the agora; these are two important ‘eye-catchers’ situated along the newly developed visitor routes at the site. However, 2016 has hardly been a ‘normal’ year for Turkey, and, as a result, the number of tourists dropped drastically. This in turn resulted in limited budgets for Turkish excavation teams and forced the Aspendos team to carry out a more limited programme than originally planned. Scaffolding did go up in front of the western half of the nymphaeum façade, but the project could not afford to fund scaffolding in the theatre. By way of an alternative approach to study of the *scaenae frons*, a series of systematic and detailed photographs was shot by drone; it remains to be seen, however, whether the necessary detail needed to produce detailed architectural drawings was obtained.

The erection of scaffolding in front of the façade of the monumental fountain was a necessity in order to conduct research on the stability of the back wall of the fountain. This stands two storeys high, but reveals many cracks in its masonry, especially along its western edge. Like the theatre,

the supporting back wall of the aediculated façade of the nymphaeum still stands approximately to its full original height. It has survived so well since it is one of the monuments of ancient Aspendos that were reused by the Seljuks. The studies carried out by the team’s architects during the 2016 field season have laid the foundations for the major project to consolidate the monument.

The presence of the scaffolding also allowed detailed study of the remaining in situ architectural decoration. The nymphaeum is normally dated to the Antonine period on the basis of this architectural decoration (Richard 2012: 258–80), which strongly resembles that of the theatre façade, as well as on the date of the construction of the aqueduct (Grainger 2009: 174). However, the building’s story turned out to be rather more complicated than it seemed at first glance ...

Research has revealed that the entablature seen today was not the original one. Preliminary studies had previously revealed that the proportions of in situ building elements from the aediculated façade were actually too small for the back wall of the building. This can best be observed at the side-wings where most of the building elements of the entablature are preserved. Whereas the lower edge of the projecting frieze blocks of the architrave should normally be aligned with the back wall, here they sit at ca 0.5m in from the edge of this back wall. Furthermore, the top mouldings of the cornice of the entablature barely jut out sideways from the back wall of the building. Detailed study of the remains has revealed that the back wall was cut back in areas in order to anchor the blocks of the currently preserved entablature. The socles for the projecting aediculae below, however, testify that the back wall supported an aediculated façade from its inception. The cut-back spaces in the back wall could relate to the original façade or they could have



Architects working on the scaffolding erected in front of the western half of the nymphaeum. The poorly inserted entablature as well as the large cracks in the wall show clearly

been created to position the building elements of the currently preserved decorated entablature. To allow these large blocks to be manoeuvred and slotted into place, the wall was cut back in areas of the back wall that would be invisible after the building blocks were positioned. The need for space in order to manoeuvre the blocks may also explain the presence of a row of undecorated limestone slabs below the frieze blocks of the architrave. With a corresponding row of blocks above the cornices, they wedged the decorated entablature securely against the back wall. Mortar and heavily mortared rubble were used to fill in gaps at all levels. An alternative explanation is that the presently preserved entablature was simply too small for the pre-existing slots in the back wall and the additional rows of limestone were needed to secure the smaller blocks of the current entablature.

Hardly anything is preserved of the second storey of the aediculated façade, but a set-back in the back wall creates a ledge above the top row of niches in the back wall. This seems to indicate that at one phase in the history of this monument, a double-storeyed aediculated façade existed in front of the back wall. What happened to the blocks of the original façade or when the original building was erected, remain unclear. Equally unclear is where the present-day entablature originated from or at what point in time it was inserted into the monumental back wall alongside the agora.



The entablature of the central niche, revealing the row of undecorated limestone blocks wedged in underneath the entablature and the conglomerate ashlars of the back wall partially cut back to receive the entablature

It is certain, however, that the building must have looked magnificent, with its projecting decorated façade and water cascading down into basins, via a waterfall emerging from below the central niche, and reflecting off the multi-coloured polished marble revetment with which the back wall was fully clad. Some of this revetment is still preserved in the niches of the upper storey. Even now, the monument remains impressive and awes its visitors.



A decorated architrave frieze block, revealing the limestone block on top of the cornice as well as the row of limestone blocks below the architrave (forefront of photo). The mortared rubble connecting the decorated building elements and the conglomerate back wall is also clearly visible

Cultural heritage management

Running in parallel to these detailed architectural studies of the monuments lining the visitor routes, the cultural heritage management project at Aspendos has continued; it focused on four different activities in 2016. The first relates to the people-centred approach adopted by the project since its inception. This year, Hakan Tarhan (postgraduate student, Boğaziçi University) and Işıl Gürsu (BIAA fellow) carried out face-to-face interviews with the inhabitants of the nearby market town of Serik, one of the largest centres in the Antalya region. Sixty-five randomly selected people were invited to take part in this survey. The focus was mainly on furthering an understanding of the attitudes of the local community toward archaeological heritage, and, in particular, assessing their interest in the site of Aspendos. These interviews built on work conducted in previous years in the small villages near Aspendos – Camili and Belkıs – as part of an effort to understand better the role of Aspendos in the economic, social and cultural dynamics of these communities.



Işıl Gürsu interviewing a young shopkeeper in Serik

The second activity was another Children's Day, which was organised at the explicit request of the children who attended the same event last year. We provided an excavation 'pool' in which some modern broken pottery had been hidden by the team, and the children were encouraged to excavate and then restore the ceramics. They also had the opportunity to colour sketches of the Aspendos nymphaeum. An important aim of this event was to create 'memories' related to the site in the minds of these children and to teach them about the importance of the site in an indirect way.

The third activity relates to both the first and the second stages of the Aspendos Landscaping Project. The first stage entails the construction of a new visitor centre, the creation of new visitor routes within the site and the placement of new information boards; and this is soon to be implemented

by the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism. During the 2016 campaign, the locations of the orientation signs that will be placed across the site were finalised and some minor updates were noted. The second phase of the Aspendos Landscaping Project focuses on the development and implementation of archaeological trekking and cycling trails connecting the site to its surroundings, especially to the Eurymedon river. This should result in socio-economic benefits for the local communities living around the ruins of the site. Preparatory work for this second stage is ongoing and will be completed within the next two months. This work is undertaken in consultation with Emrah Köşkeroglu, the architect responsible for drawing up the plans, including walking paths along the river and through the villages.

A final activity concerns work on the presentation of the site through new technologies. A specialist in 3D reconstructions, Simon Young, joined the team in Aspendos this year and conducted preliminary work on virtual reconstructions of specific monuments by means of Oculus Rift technology. He focused on the basilica in which excavations are currently taking place. Both the archaeologists and the workmen were the first users of the Oculus Rift glasses, which allow the wearer to experience a full virtual 3D reconstruction of the remains surrounding them – a very exciting way to experience the site! Ways to make this technology and these reconstructions available to the public are being considered for the forthcoming seasons.

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Children's Day at Aspendos

The Pisidia Heritage Trail

Işıl Gürsu | British Institute at Ankara

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The British Institute at Ankara's cultural heritage management project sprung to life in 2013 and continues today. The main goal of the project is to create awareness about the archaeological heritage of Turkey, both among people who live in the vicinity of ancient ruins and potential tourists likely to visit these sites. Cultural heritage is, of course, a finite and fragile resource and is under constant threat. Its protection cannot be delegated simply to enforcing security measures via laws and regulations. The sites which are the focus of this project are located far from densely populated settlements and, thus, are very vulnerable to illicit digging and decay due to neglect. Since they are not very well-known to the general public and therefore not visited frequently, they don't receive sufficient government support to ensure their longevity. Their protection, therefore, must involve local communities and the fostering of a sense of pride in the sites. It is often the case that local communities become more willing to protect their local ruins when they observe them being valued and visited by others.

One of the main elements of BIAA's cultural heritage management project has been the creation of the Pisidia Heritage Trail (PHT), a long-distance trekking trail, more than 350km long, connecting ten different archaeological sites located in the ancient region of Pisidia. These archaeological sites, situated in remote, pristine and densely forested highlands, have the potential to offer a quasi-poetic experience for explorers. The route of the PHT follows the remnants of 2,000-year-old ancient roads and, where these ancient roads are no longer traceable, little paths that are still used by local villagers. The trail is designed to attract hikers, nature lovers and adventurers in general, and to provide economic benefits for the communities who live in the vicinity of these ruins. This, in turn, is expected to result in increased protection of the sites by their local communities against illicit digging.

As a result of various periods of fieldwork undertaken in 2015 and 2016, the identification of the route has been finalised, with nine sub-routes connecting one archaeological site to another. The basic aim in plotting the route was to encompass the most pleasurable scenery and to arrange it in such a way that the little villages along the way could be easily visited from the trail. The sub-routes are marked by an archaeological site at each end: (1) Trebenna to Termessos: 38.3km; (2) Termessos to Ariassos: 33.7km; (3) Döşemeboğazi (ancient road) to Sia: 13.1km; (4a) Sia to Melli: 25.2km; (4b) Sia to Kocain Cave to Melli: 30.4km; (5) Melli to Pednelissos: 61.6km; (6) Pednelissos to Selge: 48km; (7) Melli to Kremna: 42.4km; (8) Kremna to Sagalassos: 54.1km.

Establishing the trail itself and its promotion through different channels are in themselves effective ways of fostering heritage protection. The project introduces an alternative tourism type to this highland region, where employment opportunities are limited, through management of this rich archaeological heritage. In the process of planning and implementing the trail, local people and authorities are being consulted at every step so that the project does not have a top-down approach, which may result in the exclusion of some parties. In addition to a formal meeting at the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, to date, the Regional Conservation Council of Antalya, Burdur Museum, local administrators of the villages along the route, national and local newspapers, the Culture Routes Society, the Antalya Chamber of Commerce and community leaders from Antalya, as well as locals living in the villages along the trail have all been consulted.

The fieldwork and planning of the route, undertaken by a team of experts, was realised thanks to the support of the Aurelius Charitable Foundation. The continuation of my fellowship



Pednelissos on the Pisidia Heritage Trail





Sia to Kocain on the Pisidia Heritage Trail

for another two years was secured thanks to generous funding from the Headley Trust. Additionally, the Pisidia Appeal, which was created last year, has attracted support from both individuals and foundations, including Robert Kiln, the Society of Dilettanti, the Stevenson Family and YDS boots.

These donations have been used to enable different experts to work on various aspects of this exciting project, including our GIS and map expert (Michele Massa, Bilecik University) and our botanic expert (Gökhan Deniz, Akdeniz University). Dr Deniz is working on the endemic and rare plants of the region, as well as the use of plants for various purposes by local communities.

Furthermore, the Leche Trust is sponsoring work related to the compilation of an intangible cultural heritage inventory of the region; as I write, work on the inventory is still ongoing. Meanwhile, fundraising efforts continue for the project. We aim to produce a guidebook and a dedicated website presenting the results of all this work, and to place information and orientation signs along the route.

Impact

The concept of long-distance walking trails is becoming quite well-known in Turkey thanks to earlier examples like the Lycian Way and the St Paul Trail. Increasing numbers of people have been walking these trails, and have made a visible impact on local economies. For instance, along the Lycian Way – a 540km-long trail – there are many new accommodation facilities run by locals in addition to previously existing ones. The number of people walking it increases every year and has now reached thousands.

The Pisidia Heritage Trail, however, is unique amongst these long-distance walking trails. It is the only one which offers an experience in an unspoiled natural environment where visitors can see around 50 different endemic plants, passes through two national parks which are very rich in terms of their bio-reserves and encompasses a remarkable archaeological heritage. It does not concentrate only on the trekking per se, but adopts a holistic approach to

understanding the various characteristics of the region, including its geography, archaeology, botany and, most importantly, its current living culture.

The final route passes through two provinces (Antalya and Burdur), seven towns and 21 villages. The project places great emphasis on the employment of local people living in these places. Initial observations and interviews affirm that there has been a sharp decrease in the number of young people living in these locations. One of the expected impacts of the project is encouragement for young people from these villages to stay, rather than relocate to cities in search of jobs. To this end, contact details of those people who are willing to act as guides to people hiking the trail have been collected. Those who aspire to open a B&B or a food and beverage unit will be supported in practical terms. The Pisidia Heritage Trail prioritises the economic benefits that tourism can create for local people and places a huge emphasis on increasing job opportunities in rural areas. It involves archaeologists willing to communicate the importance and meaning of their work to the general public in order to raise awareness of cultural heritage. This project is promoting a people-centred approach to the protection and interpretation of heritage.

There is an increasing emphasis on alternative forms of tourism in Turkey, especially by the government. Therefore the combination of archaeological exploration with hiking in the natural environment is a tool that can be used to press for government support for the promotion and protection of these sites and their surrounding landscape.

The knowledge required to accomplish the establishment of the Pisidia Heritage Trail has been accumulated over 30 years of archaeological fieldwork in the region, in addition to the work of the current BIAA cultural heritage management project, which includes, in particular, the consultation of a wide range of locals and experts. The results will be shared with interested people through the final outcomes, including the guidebook and website, as well as media opportunities, face-to-face contacts and academic articles.



Termessos on the Pisidia Heritage Trail

Ottoman towns in Bulgaria

Andrew Petersen | University of Wales Trinity Saint David
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When travelling from Turkey to Bulgaria, one of the strongest impressions is that of cultural continuity. Whilst the Turkish Latin alphabet on the signposts changes to Cyrillic once you cross the border and the place names appear to be Slavic, much of the architecture and many aspects of daily life are no different from neighbouring Turkey. Although many of the restaurants serve either international or Bulgarian food, there are still many places where the cuisine appears to be Turkish or rather Ottoman in origin. In spite of this strong sense of cultural continuity, the Turkish Ottoman past of Bulgaria is generally either glossed over or portrayed as negative and alien both in tourist publications and in popular culture.

The aim of my current research, which builds on previous work looking at the archaeology of Ottoman Bulgaria, is to focus on the development of Bulgarian towns during the Ottoman period. Although there has been considerable research carried out on the development of classical (Greek- and Roman-period) and medieval towns in Bulgaria, research on Ottoman towns has been much more limited. There have, on the other hand, been studies of the urban development of Bulgarian cities from the period of independence up to the present day. Although a handful of Bulgarian and international historians have begun to investigate the Ottoman era, there are considerable difficulties in doing so, partly because of the introduction of Social Realist architecture after the Second World War which reconfigured many town centres.

With a few notable exceptions, the centres and even suburbs of many modern Bulgarian towns have their origins in the Ottoman period. Following Bulgarian independence, many of the more obvious signs of Ottoman rule were either demolished or remodelled to make the towns appear more 'European'. This was an easier process than might be expected as much 19th-century Ottoman architecture was already heavily influenced by an international 'European' style. Characteristically Ottoman architecture was seen as backward and a reminder of national subjugation. The main problem was considered to be the mosques, which were both distinctively Ottoman and usually located in prominent positions within cities. Although many mosques were destroyed, others were converted to other uses. For example, sometime between 1901 and 1903 the Kara Cami in Sofia, designed by Mimar Sinan and built in 1548, was converted into the Sedmochislenitse Church by the removal of the minaret and the addition of stone crosses at each corner of the building.

One of the most important research questions to consider is the Ottoman contribution to urban development in Bulgaria following the Turkish conquests in the 14th century. For example, it is not clear whether 14th-century Bulgaria

had a highly developed urban network with significant numbers of people living in towns and cities. Some scholars, such as Machiel Kiel, have suggested that the population of late medieval Bulgaria was restricted and dispersed as a result of warfare between the Byzantines and Bulgarians, on the one hand, and as a result of plague, on the other. Certainly these two factors made the Ottoman conquest easier and there are several examples of Ottoman foundations designed to encourage urban development. One of the most famous examples is the *imaret* at the İmaret Cami at Ikhtiman between Sofia and Plovdiv. Ikhtiman is the presumed location of one of the decisive battles between the Ottomans and the Bulgarians. The battle, which took place in 1355, resulted in an Ottoman victory and the death of Prince Michail Asen (1322–1355), son of the Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Alexander. The *imaret* (soup kitchen) was probably built by Mihaloğlu Mahmud Bey sometime between 1370 and 1402 as a means of reviving settlement in this depopulated area. Other Ottoman buildings at the site included two caravanserais and a bathhouse, which were probably intended to form the nucleus of the town.

Another model of urban development is provided by the city of Kyustendil in western Bulgaria. The city is located in a deep valley to the southwest of Sofia, near the Macedonian border. The city is built over an ancient one and includes the remains of the Roman spa city of Pautalia. The fate of the settlement during the medieval period is not clear and it is possible that it was largely abandoned until it was captured by the Ottomans. There are several extant Ottoman monuments in the city, including the Fetih Mehmet Paşa Cami, built in the 1400s, and the Ahmed Beğ Cami, built in the last quarter of the 16th century. Although on present evidence it is not possible to determine the degree of continuity between the medieval and Ottoman periods of the city, it is clear that archaeology is the only method likely to provide a definitive answer.



The Kara Cami in Sofia

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