

HERITAGE TURKEY

BRITISH INSTITUTE AT ANKARA

The British Institute at Ankara (BIAA), founded in 1948 and incorporated in the 1956 cultural agreement between the Republic of Turkey and the United Kingdom, is internationally renowned for conducting world-class research in Turkey and the Black Sea region in the fields of history, archaeology and related social sciences. 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 60,000 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 a global and neighbourhood perspective. 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 are: Climate and its historical and current impact; 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. The Institute also offers a range of grants, scholarships and fellowships to support undergraduate to post-doctoral research.

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From the Director, Lutgarde Vandeput
Ankara, November 2014

Dear members,

We have had a year full of events, workshops and lectures at the BIAA. The largest amongst them was the international conference entitled 'Pathways of communication: roads and routes in Anatolia from prehistory to Seljuk times'. It was organised in collaboration with Ankara University (20–22 March 2014) and was the most important academically-driven event on an archaeology-related topic to take place in Ankara for several decades. Over three days, about 450 participants attended! What made the event special though, was the very high quality of the papers and discussions.

But the activities did not end with this conference. Over two days in late September many promising young scholars, as well as several well-established ones, presented their work at the workshop 'In motion: movements, crossings and transfers in Turkey, from prehistoric heartlands to modern nation-state', organised in collaboration with the Dutch Institute for Higher Education in Ankara. Like the routes and roads conference, this workshop was organised within the research framework of Divisions, Connections and Movements: Rethinking Regionality, a strategic development project funded by the British Academy. The smooth running of both events was ensured by the relentless efforts of one of our post-doctoral fellows, Leonidas Karakatsanis, who did a terrific job and without whom none of it would have been possible. You can read more about both events in the following pages.

Equally active was the BIAA's other strategic development project, Balkan Futures, a joint BIAA/British School at Athens programme organised in collaboration with l'École française d'Athènes. A second successful Balkan Futures workshop, 'The state in the Balkans: public service institutions, their role and development', took place in the British School at Athens in March 2014 and a final event is scheduled for December 2014 at l'École française d'Athènes. For more information, please see Marc Herzog's report on Balkan Futures on page 13.

The BIAA has a strong engagement with cultural heritage management in Turkey. As you will see from reading this issue of *Heritage Turkey*, the projects at Boncuklu and Çatalhöyük both take site presentation and preservation very seriously and invest heavily in sustainable programmes. The BIAA itself runs a cultural heritage project which has both a practical and a theoretical focus. The project is managed by another of our post-doctoral fellows, Işıl Gürsu, and is largely funded by the Headley Trust. Işıl is in charge of the practical case studies and is also heavily engaged in furthering theoretical debate on cultural heritage and its management in Turkey. You can read her report about activities this year on pages 37–38.

Amongst the many events of the past year, one more should be highlighted. On 10 October, the BIAA held a dinner at the British Academy in London in remembrance of Alan Hall. Alan was an epigrapher who worked in Turkey and served as the Institute's Honorary Secretary from 1973 to 1985. This event gave us the opportunity to gather together many long-term BIAA supporters and Turkey-lovers, and to thank our sponsors. We had a very pleasant evening and some of us even danced a little!

The BIAA sees investment in promising young scholars as one of its principal purposes; and our latest post-doctoral fellows have recently arrived in Ankara and started work on their projects. Orlene McIlpatrick is an archaeologist from Edinburgh University and is working on themes of continuity, movement and interaction in the Iron Age of central Anatolia by utilising a distribution analysis of Iron Age painted pottery types within the Kızılırmak bend. Daniel-Joseph McArthur-Seal is a historian from Cambridge University who will be working on smuggling and the reordering of the eastern Mediterranean between 1912 and 1940. I would like to take this opportunity to wish both of them a lot of success!

Unfortunately, I also have to report some less positive news. The General-Director of the Department for Cultural Heritage and Museums of the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism has told us that no new British archaeological or museum-based projects will be considered until the current restitution issues with museums in the UK are resolved. These are of course issues over which we have no control and which are, indeed, not our business. We are in touch with those directly involved on both sides, but can only keep our fingers crossed that these matters are resolved shortly!

The reflection of a very full year of research awaits you in the pages of this issue of *Heritage Turkey*. I hope you will enjoy reading about the wide variety of topics studied by scholars funded or facilitated by the BIAA.

With best wishes,



Europe-Turkey Media Exchange

David Logan | British Institute at Ankara

Early in 2014, the Institute for Strategic Dialogue (ISD), a London-based think-tank, launched a 'Europe-Turkey Media Exchange' (ETME) designed to discuss the challenges faced by the Turkish media and to explore the desirability and feasibility of establishing closer supportive links across national borders, building up a media network and holding periodic meetings. The BIAA was attracted by this. We felt that the project would probably undertake work relevant to our interest in contemporary Turkish political affairs, and that the scoping conference for the project, which was held in Istanbul on 10–11 May, might also yield material which could be the basis for academic research. We therefore agreed to share the cost of the conference with the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, and to participate.

ISD's initiative was prompted by their successful Europe-China Media Exchange project, now entering its fourth year of alternate meetings in Europe and China. Both European and Chinese participants have emphasised how much they benefit from these exchanges, gaining in-depth knowledge of key political, economic and cultural issues, and improving their understanding of the challenges faced by the media in their respective countries. The China exchange focuses on young and medium-level journalists, rather than senior figures who already have their own foreign networks, and ISD plan that ETME should do the same.

The conference was organised in cooperation with the Media School of Istanbul Bilgi University and was held on its campus. It brought together a group of 32 leading Turkish and European media academics and journalists, who would be well placed to set the process in motion, and was held under the Chatham House rule. The BIAA participants were Council member Gülnur Aybet, Assistant Director Marc Herzog and I. The meeting was timed to take place between Turkey's local and presidential elections, and so provided an excellent opportunity for the western Europeans to learn about the political, economic and media forces at play in Turkey today from the Turkish participants. There was lively discussion of the challenges to press freedom and the influence of the media on public policy, and of the role of social media and the future of print media. Unsurprisingly, the conference demonstrated the profound polarisation of political views in Turkey from which the media are not excluded and where they are clearly in no position to act as bridge-builder. This point was reiterated by Turkish participants time and again throughout the two-day meeting, and was best illustrated by the fact that the only two pro-regime journalists who had promised to participate failed to turn up.

Additionally, it was clear that the Turkish media's problems are compounded by the structure of their industry, whose origins, of course, were laid before the emergence of

the AKP government. Participants described how media independence was weakened by the fact that virtually all of the outlets are owned by Turkish businesses, whose interests often conflict with the requirements of objective journalism.

Among the Turkish participants, enthusiasm for the role of social media in Turkey was muted; the citizen journalist could not be trusted for accuracy and was apt to reflect the polarisation of political positions. The western Europeans pointed out that many of the problems associated with social media – and the future of print media – were common throughout the world. But because of its political polarisation, the problems were more acute in Turkey and were magnified by a shortage of well-trained professionals. European participants described some of the sophisticated ways of fact-checking and analysis that are being developed by their news organisations.

It was clear that the Turkish and European media share many common problems and confront similar challenges in adapting to technological advance and integrating social media into the broader media landscape. In all these areas they can learn from each other, even though the balance is uneven, with Turkey still lagging behind in terms of exploitation of the internet. But in the broader political context in which the media operate, there was a world of difference between the freedom of expression enjoyed by European media and the restrictions under which the Turkish media have to work.

After so much gloom, there was unanimity that the Turkish media deserve more support from European colleagues and from NGOs. A series of offers and suggestions was made for taking some of the issues forward and developing collaboration. Proposals included:

- the establishment of a web-based platform for European and Turkish journalists to keep in touch with each other and to provide opportunities for Turkish journalists to publish material they could not otherwise find an outlet for;
- collaboration with institutions such as the South East Europe Media organisation and the Columbia Media project on Press Freedom;
- the 'adoption' of Turkish journalists by European colleagues, acting as mentors and offering moral support;
- short-term placements for Turkish trainee journalists in European media organisations;
- annual meetings of European and Turkish journalists at Bilgi University.

As for the BIAA's role, we judged that our sponsorship had made a worthwhile contribution to a potentially useful process, and was also useful in terms of the opportunity the event provided to raise the Institute's profile with senior Turkish media figures. We don't yet know how ISD will take the process forward. When we do, we shall of course need to decide about the BIAA's future involvement.

CLIMATE AND ITS HISTORICAL & CURRENT IMPACT

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

Quaternary environments in northeastern Turkey: a context for early human occupation and migration

Darrel Maddy | Newcastle University

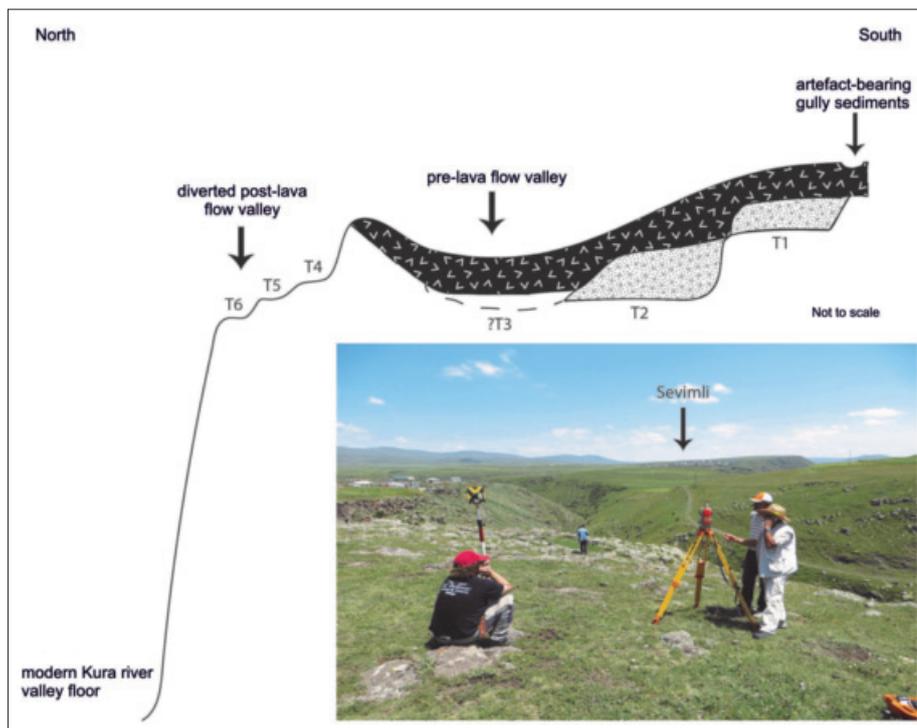
With Tuncer Demir, Tom Veldkamp, Serdar Aytaç,
Philip Glauberman and Jeroen Schoorl

This is the second year of our three-year pilot project designed to identify the potential significance of the Quaternary sedimentary record of the upper catchment of the Kura river in northeastern Turkey. Our overall aim is to understand the evolution of the Kura catchment during the last 2.5 million years within the context of dramatic regional tectonic and climate-driven environmental changes. Specifically, we want to assess the importance of the Kura river valley as a potential migration pathway for early hominins from Asia into Europe. Based upon our earlier BIAA-funded research in western Turkey, we now believe the earliest securely-dated hominins in western Turkey arrived sometime around 1.2 million years ago (Maddy et al. in review; also Lebatard et al. 2014). However, it is likely that hominins roamed across the Kura catchment much earlier, especially as early hominins (*H. erectus ergaster georgicus*; see Lordkipanidze et al. 2013) arrived at Dmanisi in Georgia around 1.8–1.6 million years ago (Gabunia et al. 2000). The timing of these early arrivals relies on finding hominin remains or artefacts within securely-dated sedimentary deposits. Establishing a reliable stratigraphy and chronology for the sedimentary and volcanic sequence in the Kura catchment will take many years, but this pilot study will inform our future work programme, allowing the targeting of key areas of interest, thus helping to make future research more efficient and effective.

Our first field season identified a number of immediate areas of interest, and during our second visit we concentrated our efforts in one of these areas, focusing on surface mapping and the description of outcrops close to the village

of Sevimli. Our initial work in this area, northwest of the village, identified the possible occurrence of three high-level river terraces buried beneath basaltic lava flows flanking the deeply incised (>140m) narrow modern valley. However, observations were limited to one surface exposure in the underlying sediments, restricting confirmation of a fluvial origin to only one of these terrace levels. We sampled the overlying basalts for Ar-Ar age estimation last year, but these samples are currently being analysed, with results due later this year. Significantly, however, the terrace sequence is cross-cut by a large NNE–SSW trending normal fault, downstream (east) of which the terraces appear vertically offset (downwards) by up to 80m relative to those upstream (west), suggesting substantial post-depositional fault movement along this fault. This fault is one of many similar trending faults to cut across this part of the Kura valley. These faults form part of a series of structures which transfer strike-slip motion from the Dursunlu fault system (which forms the western limit of the Ardahan basin) eastwards across to the large Kura fault system which extends northwards into Georgia. This strike slip motion is believed to be coeval with the onset of motion along the north Anatolian fault system and thus begins around 7 million years ago, which constrains a maximum age for the higher terrace sequence. It is likely, however, that these terraces are much younger, a question we should be able to answer once we receive the outcome of the Ar-Ar age estimation from these lavas.

This year we focused on the area south of the Kura incised valley, where a small northward draining tributary has cut a small canyon, exposing, in places, the sediments beneath the overlying lava flows. Our field observations when combined with detailed survey of the outcrops, obtained using a Pentax total station, suggest the presence of up to six terraces above the level of the modern incised



Generalised sketch of the outcrops observed in a south–north draining tributary of the Kura river south of Sevimli. Inset shows members of the research team preparing to take detailed measurements of outcrop heights.

valley. The two highest levels (T1 and T2 on the figure above) comprise discrete gravel bodies, the lower of which has a thicknesses in excess of 15m. Both have internal sedimentary structures consistent with their interpretation as fluvial deposits. The unusual thickness of the lower gravel unit suggests possible linkage to the motion on an adjacent NNE–SSW trending fault (with which the tributary is aligned). Both T1 and T2 are overlain by a lava flow which flowed northward to levels beneath the base of the observed outcrop of T2 gravels. We infer that this flow entered a contemporary valley floor at the T3 level, although no exposures beneath the lowest basalt have yet been observed. It is possible that these fluvial deposits are equivalents of the three terraces already identified northwest of Sevimli and, given their lithological content, it is likely that they were deposited by an ancestral Kura river.

The geometry of and flow structures in the lava suggest flow into an active valley floor at the T3 level. This ancestral T3 valley would thus have been blocked by this lava, forcing the river to find an alternate course. The surface morphology strongly suggests that this rerouting occurred north of the previous valley where we identified a further three strath terraces (T4–T6) cut at progressively lower levels. We have sampled a number of lava outcrops for Ar–Ar age determination in order to help constrain the timing of this terrace sequence. Alas, currently none of the outcrops in this older sequence have yielded human artefacts, but the search continues.

Cutting into the basalt sequence on the flanks of the incised tributary valley, and therefore younger, is a gully system, which is, in part, infilled with sandy sediments. These sediments yielded a significant number of artefacts made from semi-fine-grained volcanic, either dacite or fine basalt, rock, an abundant local raw material. None of the artefacts display evidence of rolling or reworking by water and there is only minor edge damage which is most likely related to time spent on the surface. No retouched tools were recovered. The dorsal flake scar patterns and the faceted striking platforms are suggestive of prepared core technology, possibly centripetal or recurrent Levallois. It is not possible, however, to assign the artefacts to any strict temporal period, but they are clearly Palaeolithic.

The timing and origin of the gully system is currently obscure. The gully system appears to drain into the

main northward draining tributary which drains a small graben system to the south. This actively subsiding area is bounded by two east–west oriented normal faults which appear to cross-cut, and thus, at least in part, post-date the NNE–SSW oriented faulting. How this drainage system evolved in response to these fault movements, volcanism and climate-driven change remains a key question for our next field season.

Our current fieldwork has confirmed the preservation of artefact-bearing sediments, but the stratigraphical complexity of the sedimentary record from this part of the Kura catchment will keep us busy for many years. Things may become clearer once our first geochronological age estimates are available. In the interim, we will continue our pioneering field observation programme.

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Prehistoric vegetation change and woodland management in central Anatolia

Ceren Kabukcu | University of Liverpool

The primary aim of my PhD project is to reconstruct the long-term histories of woodland use and management practices in central Anatolia through the analysis of wood charcoal macro-remains derived from prehistoric sites on the Konya plain.

Anthracology holds particular potential for palaeoenvironmental reconstruction in temperate semi-arid regions, especially in southwest Asia. Several indicator species (for example almonds, terebinths, junipers) are poorly represented in pollen from lake sediment cores. Anthracology thus provides complementary direct evidence with which to reconstruct past woodland composition, fuel selection and woodland management practices. Furthermore, it can inform the reconstruction of the combined impacts of climate change and landscape management practices that have contributed to the evolution and sustainability of particular vegetation habitats (for example oak steppe forests).

As part of my project, I have been analysing wood charcoal macro-remains from Pınarbaşı, Boncuklu, Can Hasan III, Çatalhöyük East and Çatalhöyük West. Most of my samples represent primary-secondary waste disposal contexts (middens), which contain fuel waste accumulated over variable lengths of time, and primary fire features, which provide snapshots of fuel use in single firing events. In addition to botanical identification, I record the presence of deadwood and wood anatomical indicators of management practices (coppicing, pollarding). I also calculate wood calibre (the size of logs used as fuel). My aim is to understand the relative importance of wood size, type and species in prehistoric fuel selection, and thus reconstruct woodland use and availability. In addition, I explore the co-variation of the anthracological data with the available off-site pollen sequences, archaeobotanical data for the presence of wild/weedy taxa at each site and archaeozoological data concerning herded animals. My objective in integrating these datasets is to understand temporal changes in local ecologies including woodland openness, the impact of grazing and browsing, and the management of individual tree species.

Preliminary results indicate the deep antiquity of semi-arid woodlands in south-central Anatolia. The earliest woodlands in the region are represented by the remains of juniper found at Pınarbaşı (~13000 cal. BC) on Karadağ (Baird et al. 2013). At Boncuklu (8500–7400 cal. BC), local wet woodlands comprising willow/poplar in a marsh environment were intensively used for timber and fuel. At Çatalhöyük East (7100–6000 cal. BC), with climatic amelioration and improved soil conditions, there is evidence for the development of more diverse riparian woodlands with elm, ash, willow and poplar. With the beginning of the ceramic Neolithic, semi-arid oak woodlands and later juniper woodlands, both of which were located at some distance from

the settlement in the Taurus foothill zone, were intensively used. Towards the end of the Neolithic occupation at Çatalhöyük East and during the early Chalcolithic at Çatalhöyük West, the available evidence suggests that while some groups (in the TP Area of the East Mound) used more intensively local riparian vegetation, others (on the West Mound) continued to use a diversity of woodland resources.

Central Anatolia has been variously described in the modern botanical and ecological literature as a treeless steppe and a seriously degraded landscape ruined by overgrazing. Yet, remnants of previously (and in some cases currently) managed native woodland habitats remain amidst the modern intensively and extensively farmed and irrigated landscape (Asouti and Kabukcu 2014). My research project demonstrates the vital role woodlands played as a resource base in the transition from the late Pleistocene to the early Holocene, and from foraging to farming lifeways. One of the aims of the project is to emphasise the deep antiquity of woodland management practices in this area, while also highlighting the biodiversity and heritage values of woodlands. In areas such as the Konya plain a greater understanding of traditional vegetation management practices can provide a vital resource for planning future landscape management in the face of global climate change and increasing pressures on scarce water resources.



Managed juniper woodlands on the foothills of the Taurus.

This PhD project is funded through the University of Liverpool, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences OSI Studentship (Overseas Fees Award). Fieldwork in 2014 was supported by a study grant from the British Institute at Ankara.

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Learning from the past: exploring the clues of climate responsiveness in the vernacular urban pattern of Mardin

Ender Peker | University of Reading

Why should we try to be more 'modern' honey? We are comfortable and happy enough in our existing 'primitive'(!) living environment.

This is the response I received from a 48-year-old woman when I asked her whether there were aspects of her 'Old Town' living environment that could be applied to contemporary developments in the new city of Mardin. She had so internalised her way of life and the built environment in which she had lived for many years, that, in response to my line of questioning, she started to criticise those living 'contemporary lifestyles' on account of their consumption-oriented and ostentatious way of life.

This scene, which took place in August 2014 in Mardin, was one of the encounters with local people that form part of my doctoral research. The city of Mardin, located on the slopes of a rocky hill in the southeastern part of Turkey, is mainly medieval in origin and has been named as a candidate for inclusion in UNESCO's World Heritage List. My research is designed to compare urban design patterns and associated lifestyles in the vernacular/traditional part of the city (Old Town) and the more contemporary sector (New Town). A key part of the study is to look for variations in climate responsiveness between the designs of the two settlements and to make recommendations about how to integrate better the two so as to create a more climate responsive urban environment.

The climate responsive approach to urban design originated in the field of architecture, and is one of the movements that seeks to produce inherently comfortable urban settings which consume minimal energy in order to reduce negative effects on the natural world (Energy Design Resources 2010). This requires the exploitation of natural regional climatic characteristics in order to reduce the use of finite energy sources, while seeking desirable levels of urban comfort. In other words, two major foundational goals of climate responsive design are (1) to reduce energy consumption and (2) to provide a comfortable living environment. The former goal might be achieved through (a) technologically innovative solutions that foster the use of less energy and obtain efficient performance in built environments and/or (b) by reducing the demand for energy through design by exploiting as fully as possible the natural climatic characteristics of the region under consideration. However, as Milne and Givoni (1979) note, the parameters of human comfort vary from culture to culture. Therefore the latter goal might be achieved by approaching urban design as a socio-technical process which allows for the integration of local socio-ecologic values into urban development processes.

Considering that each locality has its own culture and that lifestyles vary widely from place to place, designing a climate responsive urban environment calls for an in-depth analytical approach which enables the exploration of contextual requirements and the limits of urban development. Therefore, I approach urban design as an on-going process, one which comprises not only spatial organisation and physical adjustments to the built environment but which also integrates human dimensions, including an understanding of social interactions and (variations in and barriers to) climate adaptation. In order to understand how social and cultural lifestyles relate to the spatial organisation of particular climatic territories, I examine both the vernacular urban setting in the city of Mardin, which has developed throughout history in harmony with climatic conditions and the inhabitants' lifestyles, and the contemporary urban setting, which has been developing since the 1960s as part of the wider rapid urbanisation seen across Turkey.

As seen in the pictures below, the two settlements represent quite distinct urban development patterns. While the Old Town presents a horizontal development mainly based on a terraced housing system, the New Town has developed in a predominantly vertical direction and comprises high-rise apartment blocks. However, this verticality does not equate to compactness. Although Mardin is a medium-scale city, urban sprawl is still visible in the New Town.



With the generous support of the British Institute at Ankara, I have been able to complete a large part of my fieldwork research in Mardin. The fieldwork was composed of 60 in-depth interviews and 600 street questionnaires, half of which were completed by users of the Old Town and the other half by users of the New Town. The main objective was to understand the way people use the built environment and provide thermal comfort in both indoor and outdoor spaces.

Preliminary results show that, although people living in the New Town have better living conditions in terms of infrastructure and social services, they suffer from thermal discomfort, especially during the summer. It is possible to conclude that providing thermal comfort is a significant problem in the New Town. Eighty percent of survey respondents said they were not able to live without air conditioners during the summer and 93% of respondents in the New Town have at least one electronic cooling device. Although 33% of the residents in the Old Town have an air conditioner, respondents mentioned that they tended to use air conditioners for just one or two hours at a time, and only on extremely hot days. Findings also revealed that daily life in the New Town is highly dependent on the use of electricity. In the event of an electricity power-cut (which happens frequently in Mardin), people are not able to use their air conditioners, boilers, lifts and other facilities essential to everyday life. The results indicate that, during the summer, the average electricity consumption for a single family in the New Town is twice that of a same-sized family in the Old Town. Unsurprisingly, the significant difference in consumption levels is caused by the greater use of electronic cooling devices in the New Town.

Unlike that of the New Town, the vernacular architecture of the type found in Old Mardin provides particular advantages to maximise the benefits of natural air ventilation. Two of the significant features most frequently mentioned in the interviews are the courtyards and terraces of residential units. Both these architectural features provide air ventilation, natural cooling and also the opportunity for local people to escape to an external space when they experience thermal discomfort inside their home.

I would prefer to die rather than move to one of those high-rise 'cage' blocks in the new town! Look at this lovely courtyard [interviewee points]. I am able to see the sky, I am able to breathe fresh air whenever I want.

This response from a 75-year-old male interviewee indicates that these external architectural features are not only important in terms of thermal conditions, they also play a crucial role in terms of general mental and physical well-being. Apparently, people living in the Old Town have adapted to extreme climatic conditions with the help of the physical organisation of their domestic environments. For instance, hosing the courtyard is a widely used adaptive technique which provides natural cooling by the effect of evaporation, especially in the afternoons. Similarly, sleeping on the terrace is a common activity in the Old Town. In comparison, this is almost impossible to do on the balconies of apartment blocks in the New Town due to the way in which apartments are orientated to one another. The ordering of the built environment also explains another reason why people in the New Town are pushed to exist within closed

apartments and obligated to live with air conditioners: people are unaware of the reality that by using air conditioners they are triggering a vicious cycle of cooling the indoor environment and simultaneously heating the urban outdoor environment. Almost every single building in the New Town has a façade covered by the external units of air conditioners. The heat released by these devices contributes to an increase in the urban temperature, an effect which is referred to as the 'urban heat island effect' in the literature.

In line with the discussion of urban climatic conditions, 75% of survey respondents mentioned that they do not enjoy going out during the daytime in the New Town. According to the respondents, a lack of shade and trees makes walking or using open spaces almost impossible on sunny days. Conversely, the narrow streets of the Old Town, which are lined by the walls of houses and oriented against the sun, create a comfortable walking environment for pedestrians.

It is possible to find shaded streets in the Old Town, but if you want to walk in the New Town you have to wait for the setting of the sun.

This response, from a 19-year-old interview respondent, demonstrates how the formation of the built environment affects the way people behave, commute or live their daily lives. This highlights the role of urban design in terms of its capacity to shape many of the parameters pertaining to the living conditions of citizens.

This study has revealed that there are many lessons to be learnt from the past in terms of maximising our ability to live sustainably within the built environment. The vernacular urban pattern in Mardin, which has been largely sustained in its present form since the medieval era, demonstrates that, even though many of the technological solutions we utilise and take for granted today were not available in the past, it was nonetheless possible to find adaptive solutions to variations in local climatic conditions. Considering the level that technological development has reached in the 21st century, there is great potential for designers and engineers to find implementable and sustainable climate responsive solutions by combining the innovative solutions of the past with advanced technologies. Further results will be discussed in my doctoral thesis, planned to be submitted at the University of Reading towards the end of 2015. Furthermore, a documentary detailing the results of my research will be prepared and published through social media channels soon.

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Cultural, social and historical values in the shaping of Turkey's investment and energy policies

Mavluda Sattorova | University of Liverpool

The aim of this project is to uncover the hitherto under-explored role of cultural, social and historical values in the shaping of Turkey's national investment and energy policies, and of Turkey's interaction with international regulatory frameworks. Existing scholarship on the interplay between international law and national policymaking is characterised by a dearth of empirical studies. The project aims to fill this gap by directly engaging with Turkish policymakers and carrying out a novel historical and socio-legal analysis of the formation and implementation of energy and investment policies in Turkey and the role of unique competing national and international values therein. Not only is Turkey one of the major recipients of foreign direct investment but it also plays a considerable role as an investment exporter both within its region and beyond. Due to its unique geopolitical position, Turkey is also one of the major players in the global and regional energy security matrix.

The project will be conducted in four stages. Firstly, a national legal framework on energy and investment will be mapped and analysed, with focus on the process of the formation and implementation of laws and policies on investment in energy. Secondly, a focus-group study and interviews with government officials involved in the making or implementation of energy and investment policies will be conducted. Thirdly, the findings will be embedded into existing legal, sociological and political science scholarship about the impact of socio-cultural and historical values on national and international economic policies. Finally, a concluding report and a paper detailing a set of targeted policy recommendations, evaluating broader theoretical implications of the project findings and setting out a follow-up research agenda will be published and disseminated.

Since the aim of the project is to explore the impact of socio-cultural and historical values on the interplay between international economic law and national energy and investment governance in Turkey, this research will benefit national and international policymakers by providing them with fresh and evidence-based insights into how effective energy and investment policies ought to be designed. The project will also benefit NGOs and campaign groups involved in influencing international and national policy agendas in the areas of energy, investment and sustainable resource management. Likewise, the project will benefit a broader academic community, both globally and within Turkey, by bridging the gap between the currently isolated discussions about the role of unique socio-cultural and historical factors in shaping the way in which countries interact with international regulatory regimes and the way in which they design national, bilateral and multilateral policy on investment and sustainable energy development. As energy policies play an exponentially

important part in the global geopolitical scene, the engagement with Turkish policymakers and focus on the laws and policies of Turkey will make a novel and timely contribution to the growing but still limited body of literature on energy, investment and global security. The project will also benefit Turkish scholars by integrating their voices into the existing debates and providing a platform for their engagement with international policymakers and NGOs.

The first tranche of interviews was conducted in May 2014. A primary focus was on the consequences of Turkey's involvement in the international investment regime as a state party to investment treaties and a defendant in disputes brought against Turkey by foreign investors. Unsurprisingly, the interviews produced rich and novel insights into the interplay between international investment policymaking and arbitration, on the one hand, and Turkish law and policymaking, on the other. The level of awareness about international investment law among government officials appears to be uneven. However, the interviews suggest that an analysis of the impact of international investment law on governance in specific areas such as investment and energy should take into account Turkey's participation in other international and supranational frameworks, including its agreements with the European Union and the ensuing harmonisation of Turkish national legislation with EU regulations.

Other preliminary findings stemming from the interviews reveal that, in contrast with Latin American states and certain post-communist countries which also have been active in the international investment arena (including in their capacity as defendants in investment arbitration cases brought against them by foreign corporations), Turkey's overall perception of the international investment regime appears to be generally positive. This can be attributed to the fact that Turkey acts both as an exporter and an importer of investment. Also, although investment treaties have been used by foreign investors to sue the Turkish government, they can also be (and have been) harnessed by Turkish investors operating abroad.

It is expected that the next stage of interviews and case studies will produce further useful insights, thus contributing to a more nuanced understanding of the way Turkey acts as a rule-taker and a rule-maker in the international legal arena.

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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 constitutes them as a physical bridge and has traditionally pitted them at the crossroads between different historical forces and empires. This was as much a feature in prehistoric and historic times as in the contemporary era, when trans-boundary migration remains an important domestic and international concern. The interplay between these diverse historical forces and migratory patterns has been a significant factor in shaping the region's domestic and social make-up over time. It has played an important role in forming cultural identities 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.

Whose is the Baklava? Politics of reconciliation and cultural extimacy

Leonidas Karakatsanis | British Institute at Ankara

Is the promotion of cultural similarity between societies marked by relations of enmity a safe path by which to promote reconciliation and peace? In the history of Turkish-Greek relations, the celebration of discovering how 'similar Turks and Greeks are' has been a stable discursive and emotional element in almost all initiatives for rapprochement. This celebratory narrative would, usually, iterate the 'common Aegean or Mediterranean culture', the enjoyment of similar foods, drinks or customs, or would circulate around the realisation that in both languages there is a word, *kéfi* or *keyif*, untranslatable in western European languages, to express the process of reaching enjoyment during an evening with friends, music and alcohol.

In my recently-published book, *Turkish-Greek Relations: Rapprochement, Civil Society and the Politics of Friendship* (2014), I present a more complex picture of the above schema as part of a wider exploration of a long history of common efforts for peace and reconciliation. Severe stereotyping maintained through the teaching of history, biased media reporting and a lack of face-to-face interaction has led the Greek and Turkish communities to imagine each other not only as 'enemies' but as radically different 'others', as the exact 'opposite' of each one's national self. In both official national narratives of the past, Greek and Turkish alike, the 'other' has been extensively depicted as barbaric, cunning, dirty, etc. Therefore, I argue in the book, the moment when one realises that one shares something 'intimate' with such an 'other' – like the cultural objects or practices one thought were unique to oneself – can be a puzzling experience. The moment of realising the similarity to one's imagined opposite

can be a moment that poses puzzling questions instead of providing easy answers; it can be a moment of intense personal or societal transformation with no secure outcome.

Take, for instance, the examples of the *Karagöz* or *Karagiozis* shadow puppet theatre, the hundreds of identical melodies in traditional songs sung on both sides of the Aegean in Turkish or Greek, the sweet *Baklava* or *Baklavás*, the aniseed-based alcoholic drink called *rakı* or *ouzo*. Despite scientific (or usually pseudo-scientific) efforts to designate the origins of these products or practices, and despite their valid or otherwise results, there is a simple fact underlying the experience of enjoying or consuming them: generations of people on both sides of the Aegean have grown up knowing – and feeling – that *their* version of each one of these cultural objects or practices is part of what they themselves uniquely 'are'; it has been a significant means for imagining themselves as part of 'a nation'.

Michael Herzfeld's (2005) concept of *cultural intimacy* has been pivotal in explaining these ideological and affective mechanisms that link together national identity with a number of dispersed cultural practices and modalities of enjoyment. Cultural intimacy explains how people perform their national identities while imagining that they have their own unique and exclusive ways of doing and enjoying 'things' that outsiders might find unfamiliar, weird or even appalling. The concept of cultural intimacy answers the questions of how cultural practices are construed as 'similar' or the 'same' despite their variance within the limits of the nation-state, and how they can affectively connect communities under common single names of nationhood.

But what happens in the moment when the shared cultural practices cross contentious borderlines that politically separate instead of unite? What happens when the ability to acquire such a *single overarching name* to cover for

the dispersion of these practices and enjoyments wanes? As argued, the moment that ‘Greeks’ and ‘Turks’ realise that such elements of material or immaterial culture are actually diffused in similar versions across their borders becomes critical. It is a moment when emotions of surprise usually force an answer to be sought along the sway of a contentious pendulum: *ownership vs sharing*.

In the first case the result is a feeling of antagonism over the proof of ownership of the element that is proclaimed as ‘common’. This usually takes the form of the question posed in the title of this article: *whose is the baklava?* This is a question that in most cases scales up, from interpersonal chit-chat and feelings of uneasiness, to institutional ‘battles’ for the recognition of the ‘origins’ of the practices in question at the level of supranational institutions like UNESCO or the EU. The case of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs’ reaction to UNESCO’s decision (4.COM 13.73) of 2009 to recognise the Turkish ‘origins’ of the shadow puppet theatre of *Karagöz*, with the Greek ministry claiming the ‘Greekness’ of the Greek version of *Karagiozis*, is such an example (see *Today’s Zaman*, 3 September 2009).

The second option offers a self-reflective point of contact and communication that connects instead of separates. But again the answer here can vary between two different approaches: on the one hand, the lyrical and emotionally loaded discourse of celebrating the ‘common culture’ by overlooking differences for the sake of a ‘Greek-Turkish friendship’ or, on the other, the more neutral realisation that cultural practices know no national borders, that they are almost always ‘copies’ with no ‘original’ and that both Greeks and Turks can eat *their* baklava – even if this means that one can also compare them and argue that one might be ‘better’ than the other (and in the case of baklava the Turkish version, especially pistachio-filled, would be hard to beat!).

Despite the mundane or even funny character of such moments, the translation of these feelings of surprise, when realising that one resembles one’s ‘enemy’, become moments of *the political*. They become moments which, as Laclau and Mouffe (2001) argue, can fix new hegemonic interpretations of how things are (or of the meaning invested in things) and promote ‘friendship’ instead of ‘enmity’.

In my book, bringing into a dialogue the work of Herzfeld and the psychoanalytical theory of Jacques Lacan, I propose the concept of *cultural extimacy* as a prism to understand this puzzling process. Extimacy, in Lacan’s theory (cf. Miller 1994), is the psychic condition where the limits between the inside and the outside are blurred, where cause and effect between external stimuli and internal processes are less clear and where the imagined singularity of the subject as having clear boundaries from its ‘outside’ is shaken.

Similarly, if *cultural intimacy* successfully speaks of the way cultural practices generate a surplus of enjoyment by producing a feeling of belonging as part of a plural singularity (we ‘Greeks’ enjoy *souvlaki*, we ‘Turks’ enjoy

döner, etc.), *cultural extimacy* tries to depict the dynamics of a similar enjoyment that is marked by the separation of a hyphen (as in *Greek-Turkish*) and draws its affective surplus from the sway of a pendulum between friendship and enmity. Cultural extimacy signifies the fact that the realisation of cultural similarities across the border is deemed to remain always incomplete, unable to find an overarching name to give meaning to the ‘sameness’ discovered, always in sway between the ‘inside’ and ‘outside’, and therefore always open to contestation. It means remaining exposed to the hate-stimulating discourses of cultural ownership but also open to the creativity of the politics of peace and reconciliation.

While only a few months are left until the completion of my BIAA research fellowship in March 2015, cultural extimacy will be part of my new research project, which aims to compare different cases of rapprochement politics between contentious dyads in the Mediterranean, the Caucasus and the Middle East; these are areas where, as argued above, cultural practices are scarcely contained within national borders, language or ethnic boundaries.

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Greek (above) and Turkish (below) versions of baklava. Photos by N. Bratt, L.W. Yang; creative commons licence.

Invisible Natalia: Moldavian Gagauz caregivers in Turkish households

Ivo Furman | Goldsmiths College, University of London

In the past two decades, Turkey, as a developing country, has seen extensive gains in terms of life expectancy and living standards. The average life expectancy for the Turkish citizen has risen from 57 in 1981 to 74 in 2011. As living conditions in Turkey begin to reach the standards of developed countries, Turkish society is faced with a new kind of health challenge. According to World Health Organization (WHO) data, about 500,000 people are currently estimated to have Alzheimer's disease in Turkey, and this number is on the rise. The data also reveal that Turkey is estimated to be one of the top four countries in the world with the highest prevalence of Alzheimer's by 2050, when the number of people who are diagnosed with Alzheimer's in Turkey is expected to reach 2 million. Being a progressive disease characterised by memory disorders, Alzheimer's tends to affect mostly elderly people above 60 years of age. Due to the nature of the disease, Alzheimer's patients require extensive care, yet the Turkish health system is woefully ill equipped both in terms of facilities and qualified staff to deal with the pending Alzheimer's crisis.

A grey economy has emerged as a result of the gap between what is offered by the Turkish health system and the ever-increasing number of Alzheimer's patients in Turkey. Families with enough economic means often hire non-professional medical staff as domestic caregivers due to the fact that there is often no public facility to take stricken family members to for care and treatment. While native caregivers tend to demand high salaries and are often unwilling to spend their entire working week with the patients in question, foreign migrant workers constitute a cheaper and more appealing alternative. This situation has created a demand for domestic caregivers from post-socialist societies in the region, particularly from the Turkic-speaking parts of Moldova (Gagauzia).

With a per capita GDP of roughly \$2,000, Moldova is one of the poorest countries both in Europe and in the developing world. Located on the border with Ukraine, the autonomous region of Gagauzia remains one of the most underdeveloped regions of Moldova. The lack of self-sustaining economic opportunities in their native homeland has created a cheap and mobile workforce out of the Gagauz people. In regional Moldavian towns such as Komrat (population 24,000), Cadır-Lunga (19,500) or Vulcănești (14,000) almost every family has a female member employed in Istanbul under irregular working conditions. Due to the near impossibility of returning back home, the working conditions of female Gagauz employed in Turkey are characterised by menial and precarious labour; they often have to take up jobs which might be described as being the lowest in the 'economic trash heap'.

The phenomenon of the Moldavian Gagauz female caregiver in Turkey is perhaps emblematic in highlighting the conditions of precarious and unregulated workforces of the European and wider region. Often working on either a six-day or full-week schedule, the caregiver is on a non-stop shift which is never witnessed by the general public. Contracted to help households with old and/or terminally-ill family members, domestic workers not only perform more basic forms of manual labour such as household chores but also affective forms of labour. Lacking health insurance and denied access to social security, foreign domestic workers constitute an essential yet invisible aspect of the bourgeois sphere of life in Turkish society. Despite their growing presence in Turkish society, the subject of domestic caregivers and the documentation of their labour practices remain relatively unexplored within the context of academic research in Turkey.



A still from *Unawarded Performances* (2005), a film about Moldavian women working in Istanbul households made by artist Gülsün Karamustafa.

Thus 'Invisible Natalia: the affective care practices and strategies of Moldavian Gagauz caregivers in Turkish households' is an ethnographic study funded by the British Institute at Ankara that aims to document the care practices and strategies used by Gagauz domestic workers living with Turkish Alzheimer's patients. By doing so, this project aims to overcome the lack of academic literature on affective labour, irregular migration and the Moldavian Gagauz community in Turkey. After the completion of the project, the documentation will be shared with experts from the Alzheimer's Foundation in Turkey to prepare an advisory report on the positive and negative aspects of the affective care practices of foreign caregivers. The report will be presented to policymakers in the health-care system to promote knowledge transfer from health professionals to foreign migrants actively employed in looking after Turkish Alzheimer's patients.

Balkan Futures in 2014

Marc Herzog | British Institute at Ankara | www.balkan.bsa.ac.uk

Balkan Futures is a three-year research programme concentrating on themes of inter-regional development and cooperation in the Balkans, with a more specific focus on Greece and Turkey, examining their roles and interests in a region where these two countries have historically played a major part in shaping social and collective identities. The programme is run jointly with the British School at Athens (BSA) with the collaboration of l'École française d'Athènes (EfA); it is funded by the British Academy, and the London School of Economics is an affiliated partner.

2014 has proven to be a very busy and active time for the Balkan Futures research programme, which will have seen two multi-day, high-profile workshops having taken place by the end of the year. Here I will outline the events and developments within Balkan Futures in 2014, focusing on the workshops, before Özge Dilaver, the Balkan Futures Research Fellow, presents a brief summary of the progress of her research project.

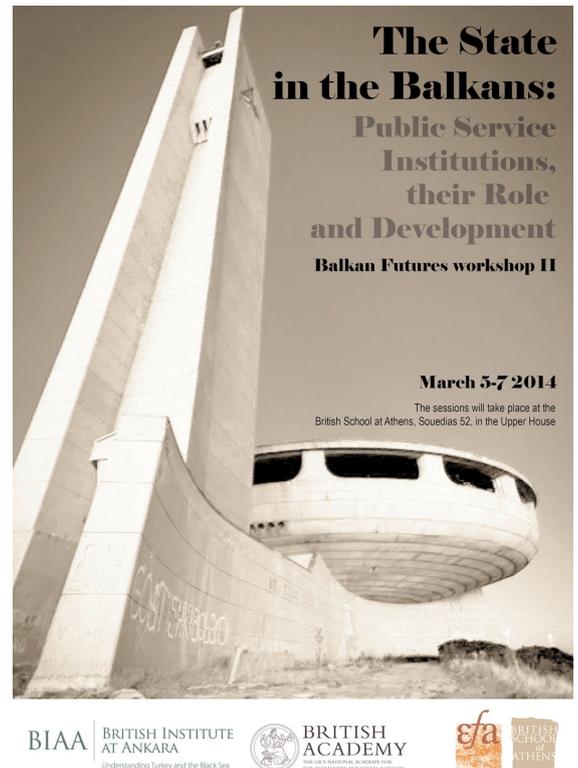
In early March this year, the second Balkan Futures workshop, 'The state in the Balkans: public service institutions, their role and development', took place in Athens. Its focus was an examination of the nature and role of states and other public agencies across the Balkan region, including, *inter alia*, public institutions that deliver healthcare, education and welfare services, as well as state-economy relations. In that sense, it had a historical concern with how public expectations and perceptions of the role of the state have changed over the course of time. By tracing historically dependent processes and evolutionary paths, the workshop investigated how contemporary institutions and structures in the realm of public and welfare services emerged, developed and gained (or not) legitimacy and public acceptance.

The workshop kicked off at the residence of the British Ambassador to Greece, a stately building once inhabited by Greece's early 20th-century prime minister Eleftherios Venizelos. The British Ambassador to Greece, John Kittmer, gave an opening speech which was followed by an open discussion on the historical nature and development of the state in southeastern Europe between two veteran political historians and scientists of Greek academia, Professor Paschalis Kitromilides and Professor Thanos Veremis. The rest of the workshop, with over 20 participants, was held at the BSA, with a reception at the EfA on the last day. The involvement of several scholars focusing on Turkey and the presence of two participants from the first Ankara-based workshop of the Balkan Futures series provided a strong and coherent sense of continuity. The subsequent publication will be co-edited by Özge and Daniel Knight.

The third and final Balkan Futures workshop, 'Contemporary mobility and changing stereotypes in the Balkans', will take place in early December this year and will address the problems of collective selfhood and otherness in the contemporary Balkan region. Contributors will tackle issues relating to the regional reformulation of images and stereotypes of neighbouring nations and of the 'West' since the opening of national borders in the 1990s. In that sense, some of the questions in this discussion will reflect on how traditional images have been overcome, modified or reaffirmed and how new encounters and transnational currents of migration from the Balkans to Europe have modified the image of Europe.

As an essential component of the Balkan Futures research programme, Özge Dilaver, the Balkan Futures Research Fellow, sums up the progress of her project in 2014:

The 'Between – IT' project aims to study important characteristics of the trade flows and economic mobility between Istanbul and Thessaloniki, focusing on the socio-economic contexts and geographical patterns of these interactions. The second year of the project has seen the completion of the fieldwork component, which has involved conducting interviews to gather the perspectives and experiences of people travelling on buses between Istanbul and Thessaloniki. The resulting data have been analysed and the simulation models of the two cities have been improved so as to geographically represent their major production centres. The analysis of the fieldwork data has yielded two contributions to the existing literature on borders and liminality. The first describes the everyday experiences of the Turkish-Greek border in a way that demonstrates that borders are complex entities that are deeply embedded in historical, cultural and geographical contexts. The second contribution, which is still being developed, explores the state of liminality that many travellers on the cross-border bus between Thessaloniki and Istanbul encounter through their experiences at either side of the border.



Pathways of communication: roads and routes in Anatolia from prehistory to Seljuk times

Lutgarde Vandepuit | British Institute at Ankara

Over three days in March 2014, the conference ‘Pathways of communication: roads and routes in Anatolia from prehistory to Seljuk times’ took place in the historic Farabi Auditorium, the largest conference venue of the Faculty of Languages, History and Geography at Ankara University. This event was an element of the British Institute at Ankara’s Divisions, Connections and Movements: Rethinking Regionality research programme, which has been funded by the British Academy. It was co-organised by the BIAA and Ankara University, and ran extremely smoothly thanks to the organisational talents of Leonidas Karakatsanis, who, in turn, was able to count on excellent help from several archaeology students and assistants from Ankara University. Over the course of the event, more than 450 people attended and participated in the discussions.

The aim of the conference was to bring together philologists, ancient historians, epigraphers, ancient geography specialists and archaeologists to discuss the ancient routes and roads of Anatolia from different perspectives and to develop a diachronic perspective on their use and development from the earliest beginnings to the end of the Seljuk period. Thus, 14 speakers were invited to deliver keynote papers on overarching topics, and each of these papers was presented in combination with two or three others which highlighted specific aspects of the theme introduced by the keynote address. The positive response to the call for papers permitted the scientific committee, composed of Douglas Baird (University of Liverpool), Kutalmış Görkay (Ankara University), John Haldon (Princeton University), Michele Massa (UCL, Koç University’s Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations), Stephen Mitchell (University of Exeter, BIAA) and myself, to choose from many promising proposals for papers and to select those that would, together, generate the most coherent programme.

The conference started off with a panel on maps, digital mapping and related possibilities and difficulties in the digital era; this was followed by a panel on digital approaches to roads and networks. These two panels set a general framework for the other ten sections that were broadly arranged in a chronological order, apart from one panel that had a thematic subject and dealt with sea routes.

The chronological arrangement highlighted several gaps in our knowledge. Whereas the papers on earlier prehistory by necessity dealt with communication and long-distance trade routes without developed roads, other contributions made it clear that this situation may have changed already in the course of the third millennium BC, when the combined action of pack animals and wheeled vehicles may have helped shape better-defined roads. However, the pathways and extent of Bronze Age roads/routes can only be elicited by



Conference participants and organisers outside the event venue at Ankara University.

comparing the scant archaeological evidence with later road networks. This is despite the fact that written evidence clearly indicates the existence of a well-defined road system in Hittite times, as the panel devoted to that topic nicely demonstrated. Surprisingly, the information we have on routes and roads through Anatolia between the Hittite and the Hellenistic periods is thin and patchy for many regions of Turkey throughout the Iron Age. Even for the Hellenistic period a large question mark remains over the appearance, density and course of roads.

This is partly due to the expansion of the built-road system in the Roman imperial period. The contributions to the conference clearly showed the wealth of material from this period. Not only are paved stretches of roads preserved, so too are milestones, inscriptions related to routes and roads as well as literary evidence. What is more, papers dealing with newly-recovered material made it clear that much more is still waiting to be discovered. The careful plotting of remaining stretches of roads as well as other remains indicating the existence of a road in ancient times have led to the partial reconstruction of local road networks in certain areas. This work has also revealed how, in less densely inhabited areas, local tracks in some cases still follow those of the Roman period. Remarkably, the amount and variety of information on routes and roads for the post-Roman period is less rich and we are largely dependant on road-related structures for reconstruction.

The conference thus collected together, for the first time, material on the routes and roads of Anatolia across a wide span of time and considered it from a variety of angles. Among the important results is the recognition of the longevity of the main long-distance routes through the country and an understanding of the clear impact of landscape and geography on the course of these ‘highways’. The importance of natural features was a recurrent element in the papers dealing with long-distance routes as well as those considering local networks of roads. An edited volume based on the conference papers is currently in preparation.

In motion: movements, crossings and transfers in Turkey

Leonidas Karakatsanis | British Institute at Ankara

Lutgarde Vandeput | British Institute at Ankara

The final event of the Divisions, Connections and Movements: Rethinking Regionality research programme, funded by the British Academy and organised by the British Institute at Ankara in collaboration with the Netherlands Institute of Higher Education (NiHA), was the workshop 'In motion: movements, crossings and transfers in Turkey, from prehistoric heartlands to modern nation-state'. The event took place over two days in late September 2014 in the NiHA conference room (the full programme and abstracts of presentations are available at www.inmotionworkshop2014.wordpress.com)

The workshop could not have been timelier for stimulating vibrant discussions, since 2014 has been a year in which issues of population mobility have been high on the agenda in Turkey and the wider region. Not only has the crisis in Syria resulted in one of the world's largest cross-border refugee movements of recent decades, but a new law on 'foreigners and international protection' has also been recently introduced in Turkey (law no. 6458) and is currently in its first stages of implementation. Beyond introducing several new provisions, the law also codifies for the first time a large number of laws and decrees regarding the regulation of movement in Turkey.



Refugees from Syria queue for food distribution in Suruç, southeastern Turkey. Photo by Leonidas Karakatsanis.

Stimulated by these developments, the workshop organising committee aimed the focus of this event on the experiences and the effects of different types of mobility. In the preceding two events of the project the focus had been on the media facilitating or obstructing movement (i.e. borders and roads), but movement itself was the theme of this workshop. The topic was studied from an agent-based or subject-based approach. In other words, there were two main questions that the papers presented at the workshop successfully addressed and which the discussants and audience debated vibrantly. The first concentrated on how mobility, immigration and the

transience of forced movement was or is experienced by those 'in motion'; the second questioned the possible effects of the movement of people, things and ideas – or the regulation of such movements – on communities and societies.

As for the previous events within this research programme, the aim was to juxtapose such experiences and effects in a *long-durée* perspective and to explore patterns of behaviours that might persist from prehistoric times until today, due either to the universality of the phenomenon under study or to regional and geographical characteristics. Several of the case studies presented during the two days of the workshop enriched the participants' understanding of a variety of such diachronic patterns: the parallel efforts of immigrant communities to preserve their cultural identities and also to belong and adjust to their new setting; the role of the mobility of individuals in the dissemination of ideas and ideologies; the clash of interpretations between travellers' accounts and local knowledge.

The agenda for the first day of the workshop covered a vast timespan and ranged from questions about the causes of migration to the ancient site of Kerkenes in Phrygian times and the movement of craftsmen from Nicomedia to the wider Mediterranean, to itineraries of intellectuals and ideas that became political catalysts during the era of emerging nation-states in the late Ottoman period. The second day was devoted to themes such as the shifting regimes of movement control in the Bosphorus during the early 20th century, the shifting concept of the 'home' in Alevi immigrant communities and an analysis of the effects of the implementation of the new immigration law in Turkey today. Furthermore, comparative studies were presented juxtaposing the contemporary experiences of immigrant and minority ethnic groups in Turkey, and the different attitudes to the refugee phenomenon in two Turkish cities.

The closing panel took the form of a round table discussion in which organisers, discussants and participants shared ideas and comments. This gave, firstly, the opportunity to reflect creatively on the juxtaposition of the different disciplinary methodologies, case studies and sources presented. Suggestions were made for new trajectories of research to be followed or included in further explorations of the phenomena noted (gender perspectives, the role of the circulation of art in the experience of mobility). Some of the themes that had circulated constantly during the two days' of sessions stimulated a vibrant debate with a rich exchange of ideas: the question of the conditions that constitute a community as 'diasporic' and the dilemma of whether Turkey is changing from a transit to a recipient country in terms of immigration.

As all who participated agreed, the points raised and discussed in depth during the two days of the workshop moved the current debate on mobility forward and stimulated ideas that will be explored further in the consequent publication of the papers.

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 also had an impact on Turkey'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.

Religion as legal strategy in the Black Sea and the eastern Mediterranean

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Uskoks, Cossacks, Knights of St John and the North African (Barbary) corsairs were all notorious perpetrators of maritime violence in the Black Sea and the eastern Mediterranean, but one of the biggest threats to commerce in these waters in the late 18th and 19th centuries came from imperial Russian naval forces. The frequent conflicts between the Russian and Ottoman empires made crossing the Black Sea and the Aegean a perilous affair; in addition to the regular hazards of sea travel, merchants now had to contend with being hunted as prizes by the naval forces of the warring empires. From the late 1760s, when Russian naval forces began to encounter Ottoman subjects at sea, the religion of Ottoman merchants mattered a great deal to Russian naval activity, particularly in wartime. As part of Russia's military strategy, Russian naval forces captured predominantly Muslim vessels and cargo; meanwhile, Russian admiralty courts released wrongly seized Ottoman Christian ships to their owners.

The capture of enemy ships and their cargo by belligerent nations is governed by a part of the law of nations known as 'prize law'. When vessels commissioned by Russia, whether privateers (privately-armed ships sailing under the Russian flag) or regular naval forces, seized military or merchant ships – that is, prizes – their captures were adjudicated in admiralty courts. These admiralty courts, set up on ships and in Russian ports, became venues for enforcement of the Russian policy to intercept enemy trade. My research, which has been generously funded by a British Institute at Ankara study grant, examines the deployment and strategic use of religious identities in Russian admiralty courts in the Black Sea and the eastern

Mediterranean in the late 18th and 19th centuries. By the early 19th century, taking prizes had become a far more pronounced aspect of Russia's wars against the Ottoman empire and its campaigns of conquest around the Black Sea, rendering Russian prize law and legal strategies in Russian prize courts a significant part of the legal geography of the Black Sea region.

Although religion had little to do with the outbreak of the Russo-Ottoman wars of the 18th century, it played an important rhetorical role in Russia's strategic activities. Manifestos and proclamations played on Christian subjects' natural affinity with Orthodox Russia, urging them to rise up against the Muslim yoke. Orders to Russian ships and privateers, which permitted them to intercept trade heading to Istanbul, classified the ship and its cargo according to religion rather than a political or ethnic affiliation. Pace S.M. Soloviev, who painted the Russo-Ottoman conflicts as a standoff between Orthodox Christianity and Islam with the liberation of the Ottoman empire's Christian subjects as an important goal for the Russian side, there were many geopolitical goals at play in these wars (Soloviev 1994). I.M. Smilianskaia, for instance, points to evidence that the Russian side considered access to the Black Sea as the primary aim of the 1768 war (Smilianskaia et al. 2011: 72), an issue which peace treaties at the end of subsequent wars revisited. Nevertheless, confessional categories had an important place in the daily operations of Russia's strategic forces as well as their interactions with the local populations in the theatre of war.

In the 1768 and 1787 wars, Russia's policy emphasised the susceptibility of Muslim cargo to capture; however, other orders and rescripts suggested that all non-Christian cargo would be considered good prize. Catherine II's instructions to Count Aleksei Orlov, commander of Russian forces in the Aegean Sea during the 1768 Russo-Ottoman war, stressed

that the 50 blank privateer patents attached to these instructions were to be used to capture Muslim cargo only (*MIRF*: 382–83). In another order, quoted by Vice-Admiral Elmanov to the prize commission in 1771, Catherine had apparently instructed Orlov that not only Muslim but also Jewish goods were subject to requisition. These classifications are not surprising, as religious identities were, in fact, organising principles of both the Russian and Ottoman empires. But Catherine’s instructions do raise questions of how Russian cruisers and privateers might learn the confessional identity of a ship or its cargo from the flag under which it sailed.

Not unaware of the potential for abuse of the liberties granted by the privateer patents, Catherine II was concerned that Russia’s co-confessionalists would fall prey to eager privateers. She expressed this concern in several of her letters to Orlov before sanctioning privateering as part of the First Russian Archipelago Expedition during the 1768–1774 Russo-Ottoman war. Alongside her instructions to seize Muslim goods, Russian privateers were further cautioned to leave untouched European commerce and particularly non-contraband goods peddled by Greeks, as they were practitioners of Russia’s own faith. The *Rules for Privateers*, issued and distributed in 1787, contains several articles warning privateers not to harass vessels sailing under Christian flags and further articles address Greeks in particular. The special status enjoyed by Ottoman Christian Greeks in this regard is also observed by Molly Greene, who documents the great lengths to which Ottoman Greeks went to prove their Christianity to the Maltese prize tribunal

(Greene 2010). Its Christian ownership exempted Greek cargo from the *corso*, the permanent war the Catholic Knights of Malta waged against the Islamic Ottoman empire. However, the Russian story differs in several ways. For one, the Russians were not in a protracted war against Islam (in fact, Catherine the Great’s reign exhibited a streak of toleration towards Muslims inside the borders of Russia’s own empire), but were, rather, involved in several discrete wars with the Ottoman empire. More importantly, Russians did not need proof of Greeks’ Christianity, but in fact emphasised it to inhabitants of the Greek archipelago and to other Christian populations of Ottoman Europe in order to recruit them to assist Russia’s military forces. The primacy of ‘Greek’ in Russian political discourse suggests that Ottoman Greek merchants did not need to make a case for having a special status – distinct from other subjects of the Ottoman empire – to Russian authorities, as it was that Russians made the case for them. On the contrary, this special status was exploited and reinforced as a legal strategy by Ottoman Greek merchants. Appealing their captures before Russian prize tribunals, therefore, Ottoman Greek subjects instead sought to prove their ‘Greekness’.

When Russia’s main theatre of operations moved to the Black Sea in the first decade of the 19th century, Russia began to pursue merchant ships under both Ottoman and neutral flags more actively. During the 1806–1812 war, within the span of a few months after the ceasefire between the Russian and Ottoman empires fell apart in March 1809, the Russian government’s policy swung from allowing Ottoman trade to continue to arrive in Russian ports, to



Naval chart of the islands of Paros and Naxos made by Russian naval officers between 1774 and 1780. The port of Auza on the island of Paros (left) was the seat of the Russian Admiralty Commission and Prize Commission in the First Russian Archipelago Expedition of 1769–1774 (map 22 from the printed version of the *Atlas of the Archipelago* compiled by I.I. Golenishchev-Kutuzov, V.P. Fondezin and I.M. Bersenev, St Petersburg 1798).

banning all Ottoman vessels from Russian ports, to arresting all Ottoman vessels in Russian ports despite their explicit intentions not to do so only months earlier. Orders to Russian frigates cruising in the Black Sea instructed them to intercept Ottoman trade at sea for various reasons, both to deal a blow to Ottoman commerce but also to prevent any communication with or assistance to ‘mountainous peoples’ (*gortsy* or *gorskie narody*), which included Circassians, Abazins and Kubans on the eastern side of the Black Sea. In these circumstances, even neutral-flagged ships were not immune from persecution, and were often stopped under suspicion of carrying Ottoman trade, Ottoman subjects or other contraband on the basis of flimsy evidence (usually rumours or reports from other merchant ships). In one particularly notable example, a squadron under the command of Captain Svinkin captured eight vessels sailing under then-neutral French flags in 1811 on the suspicion of contraband and illegal trade with the Abazins, on the eastern side of the Black Sea. Despite what appeared to be proper documentation, the prize commission was reluctant to recognise the ships’ neutrality on the basis of certain inconsistencies in their paperwork and several of the ships and their cargo were condemned as good prize.

The new reality of the perilous Black Sea environment in the first decade of the 19th century is most evident from the admiralty records held in the Russian State Naval Archive. Many of the original records of the prize commissions in Russia’s Black Sea ports seem to have been lost, so it is difficult to gauge the sheer numbers of merchant vessels captured by Russian forces on the Black Sea in this time period. However, often merchants contested or appealed their captures, and their petitions were reviewed by the Admiralty, and often the Committee of Ministers and the State Council. In some cases, even the emperor weighed in on merchant appeals to clarify Russian policy.

Although the government’s 1806 Law on Prizes did not codify Ottoman Christians’ neutrality into law (a change from previous laws), from the government’s reasoning in its decisions on merchant appeals it is evident that Russia’s practice of equating Orthodox Christian ‘Greekness’ with neutrality carried over into the 19th century. In evaluating these petitions, the local prize commissions or the central Admiralty in St Petersburg relied on the content of instructions to the cruisers who made the capture as well as the latest rescripts emanating from the Russian monarch. The latter generally provided precedent that helped decide these appeals. Even as late as October 1809, Emperor Alexander I’s rescript to Governor de Richelieu in Odessa instructed him to permit Greek vessels from Anatolia into Russian ports, reasoning that ‘while these peoples [*narody*] are subjects of Turkey [sic], but more have remained under its yoke, and have an allegiance to Russia’. Indeed, the October 1809 rescript was the basis of many appeals by Greek and Armenian (also Orthodox) merchants whose ships were

captured in the Black Sea. Often these appeals were successful, and after much bureaucratic turmoil the petitioners’ requests were met and their property, or its monetary equivalent, was returned to them.

However, it is evident that there was some tension between the personal and institutional incentives to capture prizes and the exclusion of Ottoman Christians from the legal realm of good prizes. For instance, when the Committee of Ministers – a high-level body in the Russian government – reviewed the capture of *Meleksa*, an Ottoman-flagged vessel belonging to two Greeks, Harlampi Simionov and Yanni Georgiev, they determined that, since the ship was captured in 1809 before the October rescript, this vessel should be good prize as it was heading to an Ottoman port city when it was taken. Moreover, while this stipulation was issued for this one ship, it was read as an amendment to Russian policy and accompanied further instructions issued to other frigates in 1811 suggesting that all Christian vessels heading to Ottoman ports may be taken as prizes. Without a doubt, this lack of clarity only encouraged Russian frigates to capture as many merchant vessels as they could, only to let the bureaucrats sort out the objections later.

Few have examined the effects of Russia’s maritime politics on the patterns of Black Sea trade or within the broader contexts of Ottoman capitulations and the consular networks of the Black Sea and the eastern Mediterranean. My research suggests that Russia’s legal stance towards Ottoman trade and the general exclusion of Ottoman Christians from capture on the Black Sea helped shape these systems. The passage of the 1806 Law on Prizes and further development of prize law institutions allowed Russia to maintain control over the Black Sea and to regulate trade in both its own ports as well as other Black Sea port cities. If the numerous appeals by merchants are to be believed, any of Russia’s captured prizes brought the merchants in question to disastrous ruin, just as restitution saved them from bankruptcy. Despite its muddled and imprecise policies, Russia’s general exception of Christian merchants sailing under the Ottoman flag and subsequent restitution of some property to many wronged merchants enabled particular kinds of trading networks and patterns of trade on the Black Sea until the middle of the 19th century.

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American missionaries and the Young Turk Revolution

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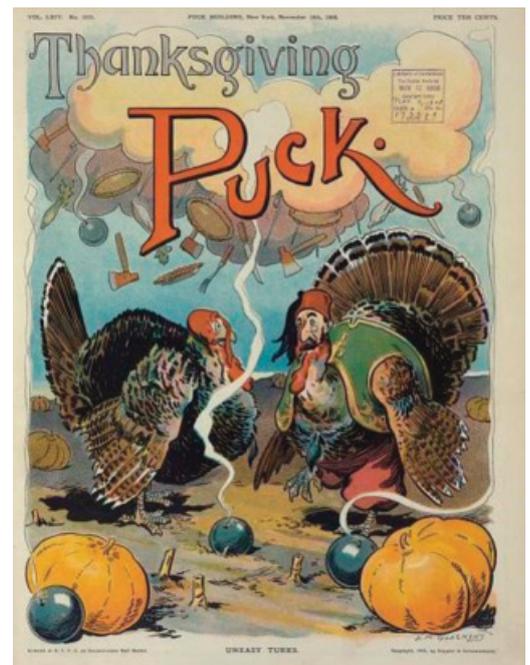
In 1908, a group of junior army officers launched a coup that led to the reinstatement of the Ottoman Constitution, which had been suspended for the majority of Sultan Abdul Hamid's reign, and the resumption of parliamentary politics. This revolution, which became known as the Young Turk Revolution, captured the imagination of people around the world. This was especially the case in the United States, where Americans regarded it as a highly significant event that had the potential to transform Ottoman society and pave the way for a constitutional system of government. American interest in the Revolution derived from the belief that the downfall of autocratic government had been brought about by their missionaries, who had been active in the Ottoman empire from the outset of the 19th century. Since then, American missionaries had developed a more extensive network in the empire than any other nationality group. By contrast, America's economic interests in the Near East were minimal at this time.

The rising power of the United States at the turn of the 20th century enhanced the role of missionaries as international guides responsible for interpreting the wider world for ordinary Americans and policymakers. Missionary expertise was especially in demand when revolutions occurred in nations in which they were the most prominent American presence. The Young Turk Revolution, at least initially, was interpreted in the United States as the Ottoman empire refashioning its governmental system in the American image. The missionaries, the only Americans active in many regions of the empire, were widely credited by their countrymen as being the instigators of reform.

The pre-eminent American missionary group, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, greeted the revolution in the Ottoman empire as a 'nation's sudden conversion'. The American Board embraced the new 'Ottoman nation' and, in their schools and publications, employed a secular message that promoted 'modern Ottoman citizenship' to advance co-existence between all its communities. If the revolution established a 'free Turkey', one that safeguarded missionary institutions and allowed them to proselytise with the permission and protection of the authorities, the American Board believed it would then have prime access to the most promising mission field in the world.

The missionaries' relief at the demise of autocratic government and their excitement for the future of constitutional government was reflected across Ottoman society. Ahmed Emin Yalman, a Turkish journalist who would soon leave for New York to begin a PhD at Columbia University, recalled that, 'everyone was inclined to celebrate the end of the nightmare of despotism and oppression'. Halide Edip, a renowned Turkish author and the first female graduate of an American missionary college, declared: 'There had never been a more passionate desire in the peoples of Turkey to love each other, to work for the realisation of this new Turkey ... it looked like the millennium'. The Ottoman empire's Muslim majority did not subscribe to the millennial vision of the Christian missions, which looked forward to the thousand-year reign of Christ on earth at the end of the age. Nevertheless, close ties were established between American missionaries and Turkish reformers as they both were looked to as constructors of civil society in the new Ottoman polity. Dreams of building a new Ottoman nation vanished amid the turmoil of the First World War and the missionaries' main constituents, the Armenians, were subject to unprecedented violence. However, the links forged between the missionaries and reform-minded Turkish leaders would prove instrumental in the reconstruction of the region after the war and would provide the basis for the ultimate establishment of relations between the United States and the Republic of Turkey.

The American Research Institute in Turkey (ARIT) has recently become the custodian of the archives of the Amerikan Bord Heyeti, the historical descendent of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions' administrative agency in Turkey. Much of the material in these archives is unique to this collection, including site reports, drafts and administrative correspondence. ARIT also holds the Board's library, which includes missionary biographies, a full run of its monthly news bulletin, *The Missionary Herald*, and a collection of books, periodicals and pamphlets printed by the Board. Thanks to the generosity of the British Institute at Ankara, I have been able to spend time this past summer accessing the Board's library and archives, one of the most significant international source material collections related to missionary undertakings in Turkey during the Ottoman and Republican periods. This research has enhanced my understanding of the historical basis for Turkish-American relations, a relationship that was of enduring importance to the stability of the eastern Mediterranean region during the 20th century and which remains critically significant today.



Stories and narratives in contentious politics

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This article will summarise a piece of research that is currently in progress, the aim of which is to examine the presence of particular narrative groupings in cycles of contentious politics in Turkey, Bulgaria and Russia over the period of 2011 to 2013, with the Istanbul Gezi Park summer protests as the main focus. The current working paper results from a panel titled 'Radicalization and transformation in southeastern Europe: prospects and predicaments', organised by Leonidas Karakatsanis and myself at the 2014 Political Studies Association conference held in Manchester.

For the purposes of this paper, I wanted to apply the methodological approach of Eric Selbin, an American political scientist, whose work has involved constructing a set of 'standard stories' of revolution that through historical research he found recurring across multiple instances throughout time and space. In Selbin's words:

For all the myriad variations, it is possible to discern a surprisingly timeless story told and retold, of brave, valiant, and committed people, often youth, who, realizing the gross inequities of their situation, rise up to demand freedom or equality or justice (Selbin 2010: 17).

In that sense, as Solinger, Fox and Irani (2008) state with regard to stories and narratives, they can constitute important, transformational tools to struggle against unjust status quos and express the possibility of alternative social realities. Thus, the experimental rationale of the paper is to apply Selbin's approach in order to identify a similar set of 'standard stories' in the contentious politics across the three regions mentioned above.

Turkey's Gezi Park protests in the summer of 2013 and the paper's other cases have been included in what's been seen as a new wave of global contentious politics similar to the '1968 protests' or Eastern Europe's 1989 'revolutions'. Biekart and Fowler (2013) term this wave 'Activisms 2010+', capturing a wide geography of disparate cases over the last five years, from the US Occupy movement, to the Indignado protests, to the Arab uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt, to protests in Greece, Turkey, Bulgaria and Russia, among others.

Narratives in protests and social movements

Narratives and stories are used here as interchangeable terms and understood as discursive structures that require a plot structure tying the order of events together sequentially in terms of cause and effect, a particular perspective of narration and an element of indeterminacy or ambiguity that draws in the audience's interpretive faculties (Christensen 2011: 4–5). Research on the role of narratives and stories in

social movements only began in the last two decades, as movements have also increasingly been interpreted in terms of 'collectively constructed and shared meanings, interpretations, rituals, and identities'. Castells (2013) argues that one of the fundamental criteria for overcoming fear and indifference, and becoming mobilised, is the acquisition of a sense of 'togetherness' with other like-minded people. Narratives and story-telling are essential here in creating and diffusing shared meanings and understandings among demonstrators or nascent protest movements and establishing a collective communal identity.

Every protest cycle and emerging protest movement constitutes its own unique tapestry, woven out of highly localised contexts where 'tradition and group-knowledge' constitute invaluable tools to embed events in narratives that can resonate with diverse audiences. Practices of 'bricolage', 'translation' and 'reinvention', merging different themes, images and symbols together in a meaningful way, and the appropriation of elements, images and symbols from other cases are other important resources.

A key element characterising the movements within the contemporary 'Activisms 2010+' cycle of contentious politics has been the intensive use of information and communication technologies. The global growth in the use of information-communication technologies over the past two decades, especially of the internet, has significantly facilitated social mobilisation, communication and the exchange of ideas, images, symbols and themes across diverse geographies of contentious politics.

'Mass self-communication' platforms like Facebook or Twitter, for instance, can provide organisational and mobilisational capacities that are simultaneously rooted in particular geographic imaginations – Istanbul's Gezi Park for instance – and globally 'multi-sited'. This allows emerging protest movements to remain relatively non-hierarchical and fluid, and furthers the pluralisation of stories and narratives that emerge and are exchanged. Thus, it is perhaps easier than ever before to 'de-nationalise' narratives of protests and discern common narratives, as Selbin does in his work on stories of revolution.

In relation to the cases of contentious politics in Turkey, Bulgaria and Russia, by analysing the dynamics of the protests as well as the language and images used, I have constructed three particular narrative groupings. These are roughly equivalent to the themes of dignity, democracy and social justice that Biekart and Fowler (2013) identify as being key within the 'Activisms 2010+' cycle.

1. Narratives of popular struggle to reclaim public space and voice.
2. Narratives of popular struggle against political injustice and authoritarianism.
3. Narratives of popular struggle against socio-economic injustice.

The first narrative group revolves around the retaking or reclaiming of public spaces by social collectivities, often presenting themselves and/or seen as ‘the people’, ‘the public’ or ‘civil society’. This narrative group focuses on the expression, assertion and celebration of agency and public visibility through demonstrations at or occupations of particular spaces. This enacts collective solidarity and togetherness, allowing shared narratives of identity and causes to strengthen themselves around the protests. This retaking is frequently presented as having been preceded by a long period of dormancy and silent suffering until the crossing of a threshold. Similarly, Glasius and Pleyers (2013: 560) focus on themes of dignity as people strive to gain civic visibility through the public performance of citizenship. This narrative group is also entwined with perceptions of political and social disempowerment and injustice.

The two other narrative groupings that I posit focus on the forms of injustice against which the protests are directed, and are inter-related within themselves and with the first narrative grouping. The narrative group focusing on resistance towards political authoritarianism and political injustice has a dual dimension in what it calls for and against. The narrative plots collective resistance against forms of authoritarianism as well as the defence of democratic social and political values and practices. The third narrative grouping addresses socio-economic forms of injustice, often linked to the damage and dislocation of neoliberal globalisation and the promotion of fairer alternative forms of economic governance.

Having briefly outlined the theoretical context and introduced the schema of the narrative groups I have established, I would like to shift to the main case of Turkey. During the summer of 2013, social media constituted a vital tool of communication, information dissemination and mobilisation, since the mainstream media ignored much of the Gezi Park protests. New York University’s social media and political participation unit registered 22 million tweets in the first 12 days of the protests, with hashtags like #occupygezi, #direngeziparki and #geziparki.

When we begin to look at the Gezi Park protests through the lens of the first narrative group, we see that the heterogeneity and diversity of participants and groups (Kemalists, Kurdish groups, anarchists, anti-capitalist Muslims, feminists, rival football supporters, nationalists, environmentalists, LGBT activists) facilitated the expression of this narrative as emanating from the ‘people’ or ‘civil society’. The narrative’s spatial imagination was linked to Istanbul’s geography, especially Taksim Square and Gezi Park, the dominant symbolic sites through which the assertion of a public voice was articulated.

Although the protests first centred on preventing the demolition of Istanbul’s Gezi Park, the focus quickly shifted to a broader narrative of resistance against perceptions of encroaching political authoritarianism and the defence of

democratic freedoms and civil liberties, fitting into the second narrative grouping outlined above. This is a common development in protest cycles, and one that the social movement scholar Della Porta refers to as ‘the cognitive expansion of protest claims’ (2014: 32).

Unlike the anti-austerity movements within the ‘Activisms 2010+’ cycle, the Gezi Park protests were not primarily concerned with socio-economic grievances or injustices, since Turkey was not as badly affected by the 2008 financial crisis as other countries. However, narratives of resistance to socio-economic and environmental injustices were present, especially in the early period of the protests which involved themes of neoliberal economic governance in contemporary Turkey, specifically the destruction of Gezi Park. These narratives concentrated on state-led campaigns of gentrification and the sense that public spaces were regarded only as privatisable assets by the government and related business interests, a theme that also links this narrative to that on political injustice.

In this brief article, I argue, in a similar way to Selbin, that it might be possible to discern broad narrative groupings across time and space in the context of contentious politics. Stories, narratives and their telling are instrumental in this context, in creating a social sense of togetherness and community, and in allowing movements to grow and sustain themselves through time. Although there is not space here to focus on the other case studies, the proposed schema of narratives of retaking/reclaiming public space, of struggles against political injustice and of socio-economic injustice can be used as a useful lens to examine diverse protests and protest movements, and to situate them against one another in the stories they disseminate.

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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 relationships with the environment, to the formation of large-scale settlements and the changing 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.

The Boncuklu Project: the spread of farming and the antecedents of Çatalhöyük

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With Andrew Fairbairn, Ofer Bar-Yosef, Gökhan Mustafaoğlu

There has been much controversy about the mechanisms by which the earliest farming spread around the world. At Boncuklu in central Turkey we have previously demonstrated the adoption of farming by indigenous central Anatolian foragers, so our current project at the site gives us a chance to understand what this uptake of farming meant for such foragers – in terms of their household organisation and practices, engagements with the landscape, ritual and symbolism – as well as to understand the spread of farming 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. In the following article we review the principal discoveries of 2014 in relation to key issues of investigation at the site.

Houses

We excavated three houses this year: two in Area P on the south side of the mound, Buildings 20 and 21, and one in Area H in the north of the site, Building 12.

In Area P, Building 21 was earlier than Building 20. It is well preserved with walls surviving 0.5m high in places. This is a sub-oval building, whose southern and western walls are relatively straight and thus may indicate a slow transition to the rectangular structures seen at Çatalhöyük and may also indicate continuing influences from areas to the south and east following the adoption of crops. As with many Boncuklu houses, a floor ridge demarcates the north-western part of the building. Set against the northwestern corner was a circular hearth with a clay rim. A setting of burnt stones formed a ring around the edge of the hearth, and it was framed by lines of stakeholes indicating a wooden structure over the hearth and closely replicating

patterns seen in other buildings, such as Building 6. The northern part of the building seems to have had complex features unusual for Boncuklu houses, including some sort of bench or bin feature set against the wall. At the end of the life of the building, an oval burial pit, Grave 44, was cut through the final floor in the eastern area of the building. Fragments of aurochs horn on the floor may have fallen from the walls of the building, suggesting the walls were decorated with at least one bucranium.

Building 20 seems to display its own variant of standard house layouts. In the western part of the building was a circular hearth with a white clay plaster rim. The division between higher, better-made floors in the eastern part of the building and grey dirty floors in the hearth area in the west was quite distinct. Cutting through the floors west of the hearth was an irregularly-shaped pit, which seems to have been used as a temporary hearth, perhaps post-dating the use of the more carefully-constructed main hearth. A deep posthole had been cut from the latest floor on the southern edge of the building. A series of stakeholes characterises the main area of floor.

Different closure processes seem to have determined the character of the fill deposits of these two buildings. Building 21 was filled with a mass of brick debris, upon which, we suspect, was constructed a later building; no



Building 21.

evidence of this later construction has survived, apart from three large postholes and two graves. However, these features seem to have respected the walls of Building 21 and suggest a putative later building was constructed on a very similar footprint. Building 20, on the other hand, was filled with an extensive area of charred remains and burnt structural material, including burnt reeds and mud plaster, lying on the final floor. This seems to be burnt roof collapse. Since the walls of the building were not burnt, it may be that only the roof was burnt in the dismantling of the structure or that the roof beams were removed and the collapsed roof was burnt *in situ*. Overlying the burnt structural material was a large deposit of animal bone which seems to have accumulated in the abandoned shell of the structure and includes the remains of a number of aurochs, equids and wild boar, equating to several thousand kilos of meat. We see this as the remains of a large-scale animal processing and consumption event which accumulated over a relatively short period of time. Whilst it might be attractive to characterise this as a large-scale feasting event, it seems likely that complex processes may be involved in this bone accumulation. For example, Louise Martin, Caroline Middleton and Elizabeth Farebrother, who are working on the fauna, indicate that the pig skulls had been chopped to remove the tusks and a number of bones had been cut so as to retrieve marrow.

In Area H we excavated earlier phases of Building 12. Like other buildings, there is a large hearth in the northwest of this building. We defined the southwestern edge of the building and excavated some of the later floors from this area southwest of the hearth. We excavated two postholes in later floors this season. Preceding these were about ten floors which overlay a series of features. These included a circular grave of a child with marine shell beads as grave goods (Grave 40). The area of floors nearby had small patches of ochre. From about the same phase of the building was an oval U-sectioned plaster-lined fire pit (F356). This had a setting of burnt stones in the plaster at the base of the pit. Belonging to the same floors as this fire pit was a plaster basin (F416). To the northeast of the main hearth (F171) were two postholes that probably cut through from the late floors of Building 12. As with other buildings, postholes shift around during the life of the structure, indicating they were not integral to standard roof-support arrangements. In addition, occasionally southeastern clean areas seem to have had special short-term fire installations built within them.

Mortuary practices

For the first time at Boncuklu, this year we documented a large number of burials in the open midden areas of the site. Including two previously located midden burials, we have now identified eight burials in Area M; these were clearly carried out during the accumulation of midden deposits

there. It is in this context we should now see the circulation and deposition of skulls in these open areas, reported on previously. Indeed one of the ‘graves’, Grave 43, excavated in 2014 was indeed a pit with an isolated skull. In the northwestern part of the area we excavated Grave 36, in which only the upper torso and head of an individual was preserved. Immediately south of 36 was Grave 39, an adult burial where the pelvis and parts of the long bones were present but the upper part of the grave was truncated by activity in the midden area. To the south of Grave 39 was Grave 41, a poorly-preserved but articulated primary adult burial. To the south of Grave 41 was Grave 42, again probably an articulated primary burial, disturbed by animal activity, with some beads associated with the skull. To the south of Grave 43 was a large oval pit (F306) which contained the disarticulated bones of at least four individuals: two adults, a juvenile and a neonate. Two adult skeletons showed evidence of significant disease-related pathology. Three skulls – two adult and a juvenile – had been piled up at one end of the cut. The long bones were lying aligned along the bottom of the pit and other bones were scattered through the fill.

The intercutting of graves, multiple disarticulated burials and skull deposition are distinctive practices associated with these burials outside houses. Thus, these individuals seem to represent distinct mortuary practices peculiar to those buried outside houses. A range of ages and both sexes seem to be represented in these open-area burials, and the frequency and types of grave goods do not seem to be different. It will be interesting to explore what factors may have led to these burials outside houses and the extent to which distinct social groups might be indicated by these particular mortuary practices.

Finds

Notable finds this season include a particularly large, ochre-covered axe (15.2cm long) and a large stone polisher, also covered with ochre; these may be associated with the phase of mortuary activity in the open area in Area M. One of the typical Boncuklu incised stone plaquettes discovered this season in Area P seems to be a second example of the ‘dancing’ motif; this echoes representations from elsewhere in the Neolithic Near East and indicates the widespread sharing of common symbolic references during this period.

The child burial we excavated in Building 12 had a necklace consisting of over 180 marine shell beads. This further underlines the acquisition of this distant resource and the large-scale circulation of these materials and objects made from them.

Lori Hager continued her examination of fingerprints on the clay objects and figurines from the site. We now have a corpus of over 40 distinct prints and some indication that both the sex and age of the makers of these objects will be identified by this method.

Electronic site recording

This year saw a major methodological innovation at the site, with the use of an android-based electronic recording system to record all our on-site stratigraphic and context information. Developed by FAIMS (Federated Archaeological Information Management Systems), a project supported by the Australian Research Council, the system utilises a local wireless network and micro-pc server to allow direct electronic recording using an app version of our pre-existing record sheets. Andy Fairbairn oversaw the development and introduction of the system, which worked well, despite a few adroitly circumvented glitches. Distinctive advantages of the system, in addition to the obvious one of saving time by not having to enter the information into the site database as a separate activity, include the ability to attach quick record photos, to develop sketches using the photos and to attach audio and video records. A detailed end of season survey, combined with further post-excavation development, is preparing the second version of the Boncuklu app for deployment in 2015.

Public engagement

A Visitor Centre was built and fitted out at Boncuklu in 2013. This year we continued to develop the on-site visitor facilities by constructing two replica Neolithic oval mudbrick houses with internal features, like those of the houses on the site. This project, supervised by Ofer Bar-Yosef, will allow visitors to understand better the nature of the Boncuklu Neolithic houses, in conjunction with information presented in the Visitor Centre and the archaeological remains themselves. In addition, they will allow the archaeological team to understand better the factors involved in the construction, maintenance and use of these structures through experimentation.

After experimenting with mudbrick recipes to match those found in Boncuklu's houses, we produced 1,000 handmade bricks for a house designed to replicate very closely the plan and construction of our excavated examples. For the second building, designed to last longer as part of the visitor experience, we used mould-made bricks in a technique more like that of the recent past and built walls that are slightly wider than those of the Neolithic houses. The bricks were made within a week, and the extraction of the raw materials, the clays especially, would clearly have been the most time-consuming element of this building preparation phase. Oval pits, 0.5m deep, that provided foundation footprints for the buildings, were dug out in a few hours and the walls were also erected quickly by a team of five. The roofs are the most speculative element. Burnt roof debris suggests that timbers and reeds were key elements of the Neolithic roofs, so we constructed flat roofs for these buildings, akin to those that typify mudbrick buildings in the Middle East over the past centuries. Smokeholes were set in the roofs, located over the hearths. The floors and walls were plastered with white marl, with a different mix used for the sunken northwestern dirty areas around the hearth. These floors and walls took over a



Boncuklu experimental house 1 under construction.

week to dry; perhaps this was one of the longest phases of the construction process. Although the only light ingress is through the small doorways and smokehole, the white plaster ensures the buildings are very light during the day. Experimental fires showed the smokeholes work well at funnelling the smoke out of the buildings. We will observe the effects of winter on the buildings, in particular whether rain coming through the smokeholes damages the floors in particular ways and how well the construction features cope with the heavier rain, and snow, of the autumn and spring.

In 2014 we have also produced a booklet to explain the site to children in English and Turkish, funded in part by the Wenner-Gren Foundation (visit www.boncuklu.org/education for a free pdf download). Specialists at the site are also producing free education materials for school teachers and the wider community in both English and Turkish, and developing activities and resources for community and school open days. We had an open day for the Hayıroğlu community on 8 August; this was a great success with 93 visitors. On 4 September the Karatay Belediye Başkanı launched a second open day, which attracted about 140 visitors from the wider area of Karatay. These both featured activities for children, who made bead necklaces and coloured in images related to finds from the site, provoking much discussion about our finds amongst the children and the wider community.

Acknowledgements

2014 season sponsors and funders: British Institute at Ankara; Australian Research Council; American School for Prehistoric Research, Harvard; University of Liverpool; Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. We would also like to thank the Directorate General for their continued support, the Director of Konya Museums, Yusuf Benli, for his constant help and the kind guidance of our Ministry representative, Dilek Atalar. Many thanks also to FAIMS HQ, especially Penny Crook and Brian Ballsun-Stanton for tireless work developing and refining the Boncuklu Excavation Module.

Have we discovered a new type of building at Çatalhöyük?

Ian Hodder | Stanford University

Those who attended the excavations at Çatalhöyük in the summer of 2014 might have been forgiven for thinking they had come to the wrong site! The excavation methods used at the site have long been known to be slow and painstaking, the main tools being dental picks and small brushes. Some of the field staff did use such tools this year, but others found themselves amid mattocks, shovels, wheelbarrows and clouds of dust, returning to the dig house at the end of each day caked in sweat and grime. As the overall Çatalhöyük Research Project approaches its last years of excavation, the pace has quickened and the push is on to reach deeper levels and complete the digging of buildings.

One impact of the larger scale and faster pace of work was that the size of the team increased in 2014 and for several weeks there were 140 researchers and students living and working in the dig house. Team members came again from over 22 different countries, funded by a diversity of sources, including the British Institute at Ankara, and managed by Yıldız Dirmit, based in the Stanford Archaeology Center.

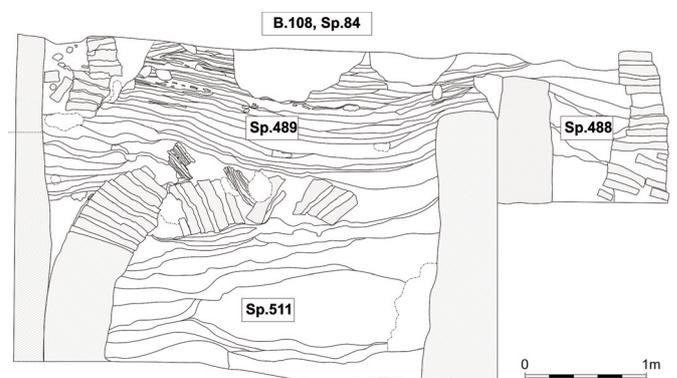
To add to the crowding and complexity of the season, two conferences were held at the site, running back-to-back in the seminar room in the dig house. Both international in scope, the first dealt with 'Religion, history and place in the origin of settled life' and was funded by the Templeton Foundation; the second focused on 'Social and economic changes in the second half of the seventh millennium in the Near East' and was funded by the Polish Research Council. In addition, in mid September, the Çatalhöyük team organised a session at the annual conference of the European Association of Archaeologists in Istanbul. The whole-day session, on the topic of the ways in which as a team we 'assemble' arguments from many strands of data, was well received and attracted much interest. Also at the conference venue in Istanbul Technical University, a team from one of our main sponsors, Yapı Kredi, put on a wonderful exhibit about the project, its results and the communities it works with. The exhibit attracted a good amount of interest and press coverage.

Çatalhöyük is located near Çumra, Konya, in central Turkey. The East Mound was inhabited between 7100 BCE and 6000 BCE by up to 8,000 people who lived in a large Neolithic 'town'. There were no streets and people moved around on the roof tops and entered their houses through holes in the roofs. Inside their houses people made wonderful art – paintings, reliefs and sculptures – which have survived across the millennia. The art was first excavated in the 1960s. New work at the site started in 1993 and is planned to continue to 2018, under the auspices of the British Institute at Ankara and with permission from the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

The enhanced speed and scale of excavation certainly paid off in terms of our understanding the nature of buildings and building sequences at this 9,000-year-old tell site in central Turkey. We had always thought, and previous excavations have always found, that later buildings were built directly on top of earlier buildings. The focus on continuity of houses over many rebuilds and generations was very important at the site. But in digging beneath Building 77 we found something startlingly new. Instead of a precursor the same size and shape as Building 77, we found a massive, double-sized building with unprecedented thick walls. This Building 132 is seen in the foreground in the photo below. The current plan of the Neolithic buildings in the northern part of the site makes it clear that the walls of Building 132 were unusually thick. And the building was so large that it was replaced by two buildings – the elaborate Building 77 and Building 108 to the south. The figure below shows a section through the deposits of Building 108, down into the underlying Space 511 that is the southern room of Building 132. The section shows that the southern wall of Building 132 (Space 511) collapsed into the partially-filled room, before the area was used as a midden (perhaps for Building 77) and was then built over by Building 108. The section again shows the remarkably thick walls in comparison to Building 108. We look forward to



View of the North Area showing Building 132 emerging in the foreground. Photo by Jason Quinlan.



Section through the deposits in Building 108 and Building 132 (Space 511). Source: Arkadiusz Klimowicz.

finishing the excavation of Building 132 in 2015 to see whether its large size is an indicator of special functions or status. Hundreds of buildings have so far been excavated. All are constrained in size and have thin walls (except in the upper levels where the architecture changes). At the time of Building 132 it stood out as very different from the rest. Is this the first indication of some type of building at the site that had some special function?

Immediately to the south of Building 132, we continued excavating Building 52, including its Space 90. We are gradually starting to understand the very complex life-history of this building – or rather complex of buildings. The sequence shows a clear example of aggrandising. Originally two smaller buildings, walls were knocked through and the floors of the main room expanded to produce one very large building. Other rooms were added on until there were eight rooms or spaces. This size of building, with so many rooms, is unusual, although the walls are of the normal width, unlike Building 132 to the north. Another instance of aggrandising in this building is that a small platform edge into which wild sheep horns had been set was later increased in size to a large bench set with wild bull horns. In the later phase of occupation, a large bull's head and horns were set into the wall and 11 bull horns stacked above them. All this suggests a social unit intent on expanding in size and symbolism. But the functions in Building 52 were the same as in other buildings. Again, the question of whether Building 132 is different in this respect remains to be answered.

Nearby Building 77 we found Building 119. This has a very typical plan, one very similar to other buildings around it including Buildings 1 and 3. We now realise that most if not all buildings at Çatalhöyük had some form of paintings on their walls at some time during their occupation. Often these paintings were only visible for a short period of time before being covered over again in white plaster. Building 119 turned out to have paintings of an unusual sort in the northeastern corner. We have found incised and impressed decoration on walls before, instead of the usual paintings on flat plaster. This was the first time we had found a hybrid technique in which both painting and impression into the plaster were used. But as usual the two to four layers of painting were only brief episodes in the longer-term life of the house.

Many other buildings were excavated in the North Area of the site, several containing thick deposits of clean fill, necessitating hard labour in the often extreme heat. We are now beginning to get a good overall plan of this part of the site in the middle layers of occupation and it is clear that there are groupings and sectors of housing and midden with different characteristics. Finally resolving the changing plan of the North Area will depend on detailed stratigraphic and radiocarbon research.

We also excavated in the South Area, shown in the photo opposite. Here a large number of buildings were excavated, leading to new discoveries of wall paintings. In particular we



Wall painting discovered in the northeastern corner of Building 119. Photo by Jason Quinlan.

worked hard and pushed through Building 43 in order to uncover the footprint of the underlying building (as yet unnumbered). In these earlier levels we began to see a pattern that had not been clear before – that many of the buildings were linked by crawl-holes or by niches that cut into neighbouring buildings. There seems to have been more connectivity between buildings early on, and this is allowing us to get a better handle on the complex stratigraphies of the buildings in this part of the site.

On a final note, we expanded our experiment with paperless planning, using tablets, to over ten excavation teams (termed ‘pods’). The excavators soon got used to the very sensitive touch-screens, and many asserted that use of the tablets saved time and was more efficient than traditional methods. Using the tablets in the trenches also allows more information to be made available to excavators as they dig.

Acknowledgements

The main sponsors of the project in 2014 are Yapı Kredi, Boeing and Koçtaş. Other sponsors are Shell and Çumra Şeker Fabrikası. Funding was also received from the Templeton Foundation, the British Institute at Ankara, the Kaplan Fund, Imitatio (Thiel Foundation), the Turkish Cultural Foundation, the Polish Academy of Sciences, SUNY Buffalo, Stanford University and Archaeology Center.



View of 2014 excavations in the South Area at Çatalhöyük. Photo by Jason Quinlan.

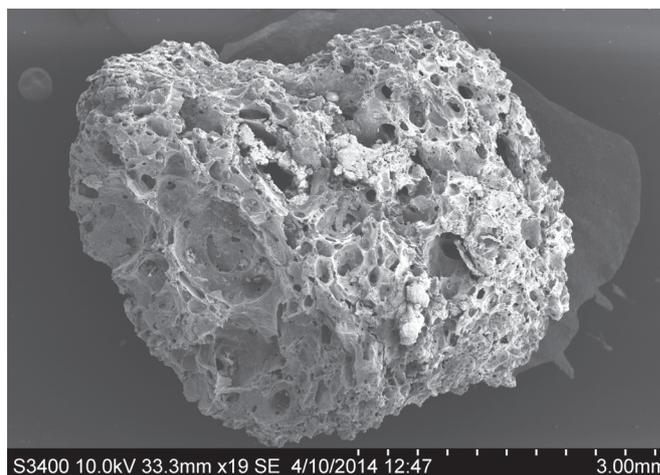
The genesis of bread cultures at Çatalhöyük: an archaeobotanical perspective on changing cuisine

Lara Gonzalez Carretero | University College London

My archaeobotanical research traces the origins of bread cultures in the Near East and Europe, focusing on Neolithic Çatalhöyük (Turkey). The importance of bread and its symbolism in the culture of Turkey is striking. Bread and other ‘cracked’ cereal preparations, such as *bulgur* or *tarhana*, constitute the bulk of both the modern and ancient Turkish diets. Their intrinsic cultural significance is made clear by the use of the Turkish term *ekmek* (bread) as a generic term meaning any kind of ‘food’.

The Neolithic East Mound at Çatalhöyük is a 9,000-year-old tell site located in central Turkey on the Konya plain. Following an initial project directed by James Mellaart in the 1960s, a second, ongoing, research project began in 1993 under the supervision of Ian Hodder. As part of this project, my archaeobotanical research focuses on the analysis of food preparation and cooking practices during the extensive occupation of the East Mound between 7100 and 6000 BC. Çatalhöyük provides the most complete and detailed record of Neolithic households in the Near East, based on over 20 years of excavation and research. Çatalhöyük has been considered to represent a house-based egalitarian society and, to date, every house at Neolithic Çatalhöyük is believed to have had a similar role and functionality in relation to daily activities such as food processing and food preparation (but see Ian Hodder’s article in this volume). Evident differences have not been found among houses in terms of food preparation and cooking during the Neolithic period at Çatalhöyük. Each of the houses contained its own oven, hearth and fire spots; different types of ovens have been identified at Çatalhöyük and the *tandır* oven was the most common type used across all the houses. A wide range of cereal preparations, such as bread-type foods and porridge-like mixtures, were probably cooked in the interior of their domed structures and then stored for future consumption. Following on from these ideas, the overall aims of my research, which has been sponsored by UCL and the BIAA, are to provide substantial new knowledge about unstudied amorphous plant remains, such as lumps of ‘cooked’ cereal preparations, shifts in cooking practices with the advent of ceramic vessels being used as cooking pots and the use of wild plant species, with special attention given to species of wild mustard like *Descurainia sophia*, an oily seed and a possible food condiment at Neolithic Çatalhöyük.

During the 2013 season at Çatalhöyük, around 15 archaeobotanical samples were selected for preliminary study of possible charred food fragments. Having carried out scanning electron microscope analyses on them and having successfully identified charred food matter, during the 2014 season a further 150 archaeobotanical samples, spanning the major phases of Çatalhöyük (pre-ceramic, cooking ceramic



Scanning electron microscope image of a charred lump of processed grain from Çatalhöyük.

and post-cattle periods), were collected from the North, South and TPC Areas of the site for export and analysis. After initial scanning, these samples are thought to be representative primarily of food-processing contexts (rather than dung-burning), such as ovens, hearths, fire spots and storage deposits; they are also believed to represent aspects of ‘Neolithic recipes’ before, during and after cooking.

Very little has been said about the use of non-staple foods (wild species) and how the ingredients and the way these were cooked may have changed through time at Çatalhöyük. For the first time in the archaeobotany of Çatalhöyük, my project integrates unstudied plant evidence, such as cereal lumps originally identified as ‘bread’, with the study of artefact assemblages (clay balls, pots, ground stones, etc.) and experimental food preparation. Following up on Sultana-Maria Valamoti’s work on prehistoric processed cereal preparations in Greece, this project aims to compare the characteristics of Neolithic cereal food preparations retrieved from Neolithic Çatalhöyük with modern experimental cereal preparations cooked under similar controlled circumstances. These comparative analyses of Neolithic and experimental food preparations, involving macroscopic and scanning electron microscope examination, will shed light on cultural changes in cooking practices and possible ingredients used for the preparation of food among the Neolithic community at Çatalhöyük.

The study of the preparation of bread-type cereal foods together with the analysis of the different plant ingredients added during the preparation of meals and cooking practices can help to improve our knowledge and understanding of the Neolithic in Turkey. Not only will this project contribute to our knowledge about cooking traditions, it will also contribute to the study of social organisation and cultural entanglement at Catalhoyuk. Food at Catalhoyuk, with bread as the principal component of meals, will be studied as an origin of European bread cultures and as an example of social and cultural cohesion in the prehistoric Near East.

Identification of archaeobotanical remains from the West Mound of Çatalhöyük and Çamlıbel Tarlası

Elizabeth Stroud | University of Oxford

The crop husbandry techniques used during the Chalcolithic period in the Anatolian region and their implications for social organisation are not well understood. Thus I am examining two Chalcolithic sites – Çatalhöyük West and Çamlıbel Tarlası – in order to understand the nature of crop husbandry during the period and the potential information that this can shed on social and labour organisation during the Chalcolithic.

Çatalhöyük West and Çamlıbel Tarlası are situated on the Anatolian plateau; Çatalhöyük is located on the Konya plain, 60km southeast of Konya, and Çamlıbel Tarlası is sited near the Bronze Age Hittite site of Hattusha, 150km east of Ankara. Botanical samples have been assessed in order to understand the crops grown at the sites, as well as the nature of the crop husbandry practised, through ecological analysis of the weed assemblages and stable isotope analysis of crop remains. By identifying the crop weeds within the samples, inferences about crop-growing conditions can potentially be made; thus it may be established whether the crops were weeded, manured or watered. Such farming practices may have played an important role in defining the social/labour organisation within these settlements.

The key to understanding such nuanced views of crop husbandry is the identification of archaeological weed specimens as closely as possible to species. This requires examination of a comprehensive reference collection containing the flora of the local region. To help finalise the species identification of specimens from the two sites, research has been conducted at the Selçuk University Konya Herbarium and the archaeobotanical laboratory of the British Institute at Ankara. This work was funded by a British Institute at Ankara study grant.

At the Konya herbarium, with the help of Associate Professor Dr Osman Tugay, a number of taxonomic families were targeted for examination – Poaceae and Rosaceae – in particular the almonds, as well as the *Pistacia* and *Silene* genus. Preliminary research ascertained whether the herbarium sheets contained seed or fruit specimens. Once those species were determined, they were compared to photographs of the archaeological items. The low number of herbarium sheets with seeds limited the study to a number of the *Silene* species that had intact capsules. This allowed comparison to the two whole *Silene* capsules found in the Çamlıbel Tarlası material.

A number of attributes of the *Silene* capsules were noted, which could be used to distinguish between species and identify the archaeological items. The most important attribute in the case of the Çamlıbel examples is the reticulate pattern on the capsules. Such patterning is extremely uncommon within the herbarium specimens, with

only one species from the 20 taxa examined having such a patterning. Specimens of *Silene dichotoma* (and sub species) showed much the same reticulate patterning as the archaeological specimens (see figures below), thus allowing the archaeological specimen to be typed as *Silene dichotoma* type.



Silene dichotoma capsule from the Konya herbarium.



Silene capsule from Çamlıbel Tarlası.

Additional research was conducted in the archaeobotanical laboratory at the British Institute at Ankara. Unfortunately, the collection does not contain specimens comparable to the almond found at Çatalhöyük West – a deep-gloved almond. Nor did the research indicate any potential method for differentiating the nuts of *Pistacia atlantica* from those of *Pistacia terebinthus*. This difficulty was due to the overlapping shapes and sizes of the nuts. Due to this, the seeds found at Çatalhöyük West will be classified as a *P.alantica/terebinthus*.

The research conducted at the Konya herbarium and the British Institute at Ankara, in conjunction with research on reference collections in the UK, will allow a more nuanced understanding of the weed flora found at both Çamlıbel Tarlası and Çatalhöyük West. Such data can be used to understand the nature of crop husbandry at these sites during the Chalcolithic.

Burials and identities at historic period Çatalhöyük

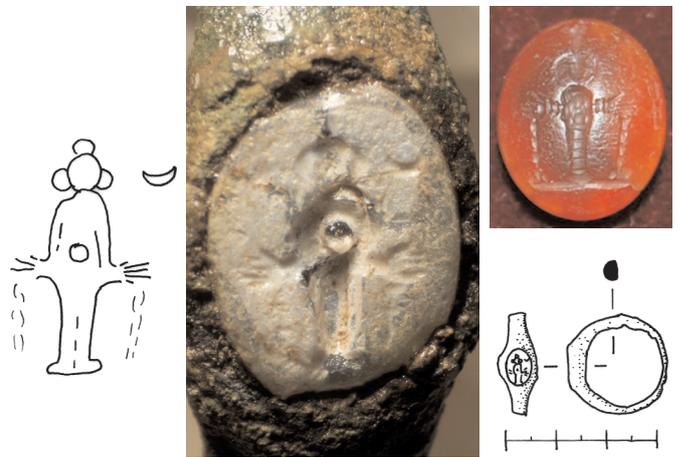
Sophie Moore | British Institute at Ankara

We know so much about prehistoric Çatalhöyük – famous as the earliest Neolithic city and for its stunning art and incredible state of preservation – as a result of the current programme of excavation at this UNESCO World Heritage Site which began in 1993 and is scheduled to continue until 2018. Perhaps less well known is the presence of a first- and second-millennium AD cemetery which covers the surfaces of both the mounds which constitute the site. Historic period graves were present in every excavated area on site, 300 of which have been excavated. It is this cemetery, sporadically in use between the first century and the 17th century AD, which has been the focus of my one-year post-doctoral fellowship at the British Institute at Ankara.

Many practical challenges present themselves when dealing with a large multi-phase cemetery excavated by a variety of teams over many years, and without the prior establishment of a firm chronology. We do have some dates for the graves from a programme of radiocarbon dating undertaken by Team Poznan, in particular Monika Kwiatkowska, and it is this programme of dating that provides the broad-brush chronology we started with (Kwiatkowska 2009: 133). At first glance the graves themselves seem reasonably homogenous and, broadly speaking, ‘medieval’, as they are all more or less east–west aligned and contain extended supine burials in relatively plain earth graves; as we drill down into the data though, there are enough significant differences to categorise the material further.

In the summer of 2011, Mark Jackson and I began to work on the graves from a single area of the site known as 4040 (now part of the North Area), creating a typology of graves which suggested three major phases of the cemetery (Moore, Jackson 2013). The results of my work this year have refined this typology, proposing a fourth category of grave. In addition to the previously identified Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman burials, there is also a group of graves with a very distinctive morphology. The funerary architecture of these graves comprises a primary pit cut east–west and a secondary pit cut into the side of the initial pit to create a very tight lateral niche into which the body was placed in an extended supine position with the head turned to the right. The secondary niche was then capped with mudbrick without being filled. It is as yet unclear whether or not the primary pit was backfilled or left open. The closest direct parallel to these graves within Anatolia is from Pınarbaşı (Moore forthcoming), where a coin and bell suggest a date in the Seljuk period. Positive identification of these burials as Seljuk and Islamic could significantly refine our categorisation of 11th- to 13th-century graves on the Konya plain and would allow us to explore answers to interesting questions about identity and migration.

Each of the four phases of graves on the site presents specific challenges, but one of the most enjoyable from this year’s work came in the form of three intaglios from three of the first- to fourth-century graves. These tiny graven objects include a glass-paste gem with a Nike figure, a carnelian showing two fish and an anchor (with significant implications for early Christianity in the area) and an image of Artemis of Ephesus (shown below next to a contemporary object from the collection of the British Museum also identified as representing Artemis). The Artemis figure is inscribed into a serpentine stone which is set into a copper alloy ring. The figure is identifiable as Artemis by the stylised nimbus, the posture of the hands and feet, the twined yarn falling from her hands and the crescent moon to her left. It is possible that the circular flaw at the centre of the stone was the reason it was chosen, and represents one of the many ‘breasts’ or ‘eggs’ which usually adorn the figure.



Artemis intaglio from Çatalhöyük, centre (© Jason Quinlan; drawings by author), with contemporary comparison, top right (© Trustees of the British Museum).

Discussing identity is not trivial on a site such as this one, where multiple complex phases of cemetery have cut into prehistoric material. Future work must rely on a more complete programme of radiocarbon dating. The potential of the excavated material from Çatalhöyük is enormous, and future work could elucidate all manner of aspects of identity, life and death on the Konya plain in the historic period.

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Changing times and faraway places.

The beads and pendants of Canhasan I and III

Emma Baysal | British Institute at Ankara

Beads and pendants can tell us much about how prehistoric people perceived themselves and also how they presented themselves to others. They can give clues to technologies and interactions that other artefacts might not reveal. The social and individual aspects of prehistoric populations are particularly important in a context where the focus has often been on the more practical elements of human life such as architecture and food procurement.

Surprisingly, preliminary results from the study of beads and pendants at a number of sites in Anatolia suggest that even at the height of periods of social change, such as the beginning of settled life and the adoption of agriculture, ornaments stayed the same. Some materials and forms remained in use consistently from the Epipalaeolithic until the Chalcolithic, a period of almost 10,000 years. The materials often originated far from the places where they were used. My previous research has already shown that materials travelled from the Mediterranean to the Konya plain area from the Epipalaeolithic onwards. It was with this thought in mind that I was prompted to look at the beads and pendants from the Neolithic site of Canhasan III and the later Chalcolithic site of Canhasan I.

As part of a larger project that aims to take a broad look at the use of personal ornamentation in prehistory, the ornaments of the Canhasan sites have been employed to add to the picture of how ornamentation practices changed between the pre-pottery Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods. This timespan encompasses major social changes from nomadic to settled lifeways, and from hunter-gatherer to agricultural and pastoral food procurement; in other words, it encompasses some of the most significant social changes in human history. The position of the Canhasan sites in central Anatolia, in an area with a relatively well-known prehistoric record resulting from an illustrious background of excavation, makes their artefacts highly comparable and therefore a great addition to existing evidence. David French's excavations of the Canhasan sites in the 1960s added much to our understanding of prehistoric settlement in central Anatolia and employed, for their time, state-of-the-art excavation techniques for the recovery of high-quality excavation data (see, for example, French et al. 1972; French 2010).

The materials recovered from the excavations have been stored at Karaman Museum, and in July 2014 I was able to study them. The museum catalogue revealed 181 beads and pendants from Canhasan I and 60 from Canhasan III. Preliminary results and initial comparison with materials from other sites have revealed that the Canhasan ornaments both share common features with other contemporary sites and have their own unique characteristics. For example, the Neolithic assemblage of Canhasan III, although somewhat



Neolithic beads from Canhasan III (top) and Chalcolithic beads from Canhasan I (bottom). Included are examples of materials that originated far from the sites: shell from the Mediterranean and obsidian from Cappadocia.

limited as a result of the short period of excavation at the settlement, contains, like those from other sites, many small stone disc beads, the single unifying feature of Neolithic ornamentation practices across Anatolia. However, distinct bead types, such as a large flat bead made from conglomeritic rock to create an interesting surface pattern (see photo) and a 'seal' form which resembles those used to mark possessions in later periods, display both variety and a higher degree of technical skill. A single obsidian bead testifies to long-distance contacts, while two examples of half-finished beads tell us that manufacture was carried out at the site.

Meanwhile, the larger and more diverse assemblage of Chalcolithic Canhasan I tells a very different story. Some astonishingly complex use of mother of pearl to produce visually striking items that would have reflected light and glittered when worn (see photo) is added to the repertoire of less conspicuous items. A wide variety of stone and shell beads hints at long-distance contacts with coastal areas and faraway sources, and thus indicates how connected a Chalcolithic site in central Anatolia was with the wider world.

The study of the Canhasan artefacts in Karaman Museum, carried out with the kind support of David French, was generously funded by the Mediterranean Archaeological Trust and the British Institute at Ankara. The work was carried out with permission from the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism and with the patient assistance of Ercan Er of Karaman Museum, to whom I extend my sincerest thanks.

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Feasting and the earliest mass production at the dawn of cities

Daniela Arroyo Barrantes | University of Cambridge

New investigations in southeastern Turkey and northern Syria have provided ground-breaking evidence for the emergence of cities in the Near East. During the fourth millennium BC, sites in this area reached up to 130 hectares, with a large increase in pottery and obsidian production. This suggests the existence of large population centres five hundred years before the urban explosion of Uruk, the earliest city recorded and located in modern Iraq. Through the use of statistical and digital methods of pottery analysis, the Majnuna Project is investigating the introduction of the mass production of pottery at these early urban settlements.

Tell Majnuna, a mound on the outskirts of Tell Brak in northeastern Syria, has revealed more than 350,000 fragments of pottery in large mass graves, together with enough animal bones to indicate the serving of a meat-based meal for several thousand people. The dozens of human bodies found, some displaying signs of violence, indicate the celebration of large feasts in association with organised violent conflict.

The ceramics of this period are crucial to our understanding of intensive and complex craft production in early cities. The volume of ceramic production can inform us about population size and the exploitation of natural resources in ancient settlements.

Digging digital pots

But how many pots are we talking about? How many feasting episodes can be identified in the many layers of burials and rubbish found at Majnuna? How many people can be fed from these pots? These are just some of the many questions we must ask ourselves when investigating the nature of populated communities at this time.

In order to answer these questions, the project aims to develop specific tools to treat large-scale ceramic samples in simple and efficient ways. Based on a digital database of all excavated sherds, a statistical protocol has been developed to provide a confident range of the possible numbers of vessels, their variation and size, taking into consideration different methods for these estimations and the difficulties in determining exact figures. Also, by digitally reconstructing the vessels from pottery drawings, we are able to understand approximately how many portions of food each vessel could carry and, therefore, the volume of discarded food and the size of each feasting event. The measurement of vectors via computer analysis is also used to assess how similar the pots are and how much ancient potters diversified or standardised the design of vessels for large-scale distribution. Computer simulations are also used to calculate how these pots could have been used over the course of a number of meals, and with different ration sizes, and this enables us to explore different models.

Cross-regional research and heritage protection

Ongoing investigations in Turkey are part of a combined strategy aimed to improve our knowledge of pottery production in the fourth millennium BC. Fieldwork at Arslantepe, Malatya, was carried out in collaboration with the Italian Archaeological Expedition in Eastern Anatolia of the University of Rome La Sapienza, a leading team in the study of early complex communities and the analysis of ceramic mass production. During a fantastic season at Arslantepe, an extension of the late fourth-millennium (VIA phase) complex was discovered north of the main building corridor. It was also possible to compare the locally mass-produced bowls to the Majnuna sample, and to record various traces of the production techniques used for these pots.

Other potentially mass-produced assemblages will be identified through the study of written reports and archaeological materials at the British Institute at Ankara and other research centres in Turkey. Published and unpublished ceramic collections will be examined in order to understand similarities in production techniques and pottery types of this period. A digital geographical database will integrate all the information gathered during the investigation; this will allow us to visualise the density and evolution of different pottery types across northern Mesopotamia.

The emergence of mass production in this region reflects sophisticated social transformations not seen previously in human society. Moreover, it challenges the traditional view of southern Mesopotamia as the cradle of civilization, showing that craft specialisation and intense urban production activities took place contemporaneously in different areas of Mesopotamia. Furthermore, the Majnuna database is a concrete approach to safeguarding the heritage of countries in the event of armed conflict. The off-site study of Syrian antiquities along with the analysis of Turkish collections provides a unique opportunity to identify, classify and date previously excavated artefacts through cross-regional collaboration, providing greater chances of recognising authentic pieces acquired by illicit traffic and illegal digging.



Mass-produced bowl from Arslantepe, Turkey. Courtesy of the Italian Archaeological Expedition in Eastern Anatolia.

Çaltılar Archaeology Project 2014

Alan M. Greaves | University of Liverpool

With Belgin Aksoy, Andrew Brown, Namık Çağatay,
Pedar Foss, Neyir Kolonkaya-Bostancı and Neil Macdonald

This article is dedicated to the memory of Ali Ocakçı Amca

The main objective of our project has been to conduct intensive surface analysis of the two prehistoric settlement mounds of Çaltılar and Seki-Eceler in the mountainous *yayla* region of western Lycia. In 2008–2010 we completed a total surface survey of the site of Çaltılar (Momigliano et al. 2011) and in 2012–2014 we collected and analysed samples from a series of transects laid out across the surface of the much larger site of Seki-Eceler, 12km south of Çaltılar (Greaves et al. 2013). Both sites are located in a discrete mountain basin with distinctive environmental characteristics that affected the agricultural and economic base of these two pre-Classical communities. In 2014, we therefore conducted geomorphological studies to build up a full picture of the ancient environment and achieve our overall aim of a comparative settlement history of the sites of Çaltılar and Seki-Eceler and the micro-regions that they occupied.

Çaltılar is located among flat fields, whereas Seki-Eceler is situated beside a flood-prone river. In order to relate the two sites to their immediate environs better and to build computer flood models for Seki-Eceler, in 2014 we completed topographic survey of the fields around Çaltılar and the riverbed adjacent to Seki-Eceler using a Magellan Pro Max 500 GPS system. In total, 250 points were taken at Çaltılar and 350 at Seki-Eceler. This new information will be added to our GIS database and will greatly enhance our understanding of the physical shapes of both sites, their histories and their environments.

In order to understand further the ancient environments of both sites, Namık Çağatay of Istanbul Technical University (ITU) directed a programme of geomorphological core sampling. Drilling operations in Çaltılar were carried out south of the *höyük*, and a 7.5m-long core with 11m penetration was recovered. The sedimentary drill-hole



Coring at Çaltılar.

section probably represents a marsh environment. At Seki-Eceler two sites were drilled. Northeast of the *höyük*, due to the predominance of gravel and sand layers in the river sediments, only 4.7m penetration was possible with poor core recovery. South of the *höyük*, the drill penetrated to a depth of 5.5m with a core recovery of 4.8m. The upper 4.65m of the sedimentary section consists of brown silty mud and the lower 15cm consists of pebbly sand. The cores were transported to the EMCOL labs of ITU for sedimentological and geochemical analyses, and will be used for palaeoenvironmental reconstructions.

Neyir Kolankaya-Bostancı of Hacettepe University analysed the lithics collected from both sites. The 24 lithic artefacts collected during the Çaltılar survey include one piece of obsidian, four pieces of radiolarite, five pieces of quartz, four pieces of quartzite and ten pieces of flint. The Çaltılar assemblage is dominated by flint employed to manufacture blades by indirect percussion, many modified into sickle blades, knives and a notched bladelet. Points are represented by a complete radiolarite arrowhead and the base of a quartzite spearpoint. From Seki-Eceler, 38 Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age lithics were found, including three pieces of quartz, seven pieces of quartzite, seven pieces of radiolarite and 21 pieces of flint. No obsidian was found during the survey. Just like the Çaltılar lithic industry, local materials were used for stone tool manufacture. The presence of a flint core fragment, radiolarite platform rejuvenation flake, unretouched blades, bladelets, flakes and waste products indicate local knapping on site. The Seki-Eceler assemblage is also dominated by flint employed to make blades by indirect percussion, but, unlike Çaltılar, only one flake is attested. Again sickle blades and notched blades dominate the assemblage, demonstrating the important role agriculture played in the economies of both sites.

An analysis of the post-Bronze Age pottery was undertaken by Andrew Brown and focused on two main objectives: completion of pottery catalogues for final publication and comparison of the material from the two sites. All the Seki-Eceler survey material (about 9,000 sherds) was examined and sorted to remove any diagnostic material that would aid in the identification of ceramic groups and,



Aerial view of Çaltılar Höyük.

potentially, chronologies (268 pieces in total). These pieces were photographed and selected diagnostic material from the ca 35,000 sherds found at Çaltılar was re-photographed where required – in total, 1,947 photographs were taken. The Seki-Eceler material was then sorted and described, using the same methodology previously employed for the Çaltılar material, giving two comparable diagnostic groups of material.

The initial results of our comparative analysis are, of course, preliminary, but several tentative conclusions can be made. It is clear from examining the Seki-Eceler material that not only does the site run much later than Çaltılar, into the Late Roman period and perhaps later, but that its earliest phases of the Iron Age are less well represented. The abundant local Iron Age wares seen at Çaltılar are present at Eceler, but they are fewer in number and with a smaller range of form and decoration. Equally, the quality of the sherd material from Eceler is poorer; unlike Çaltılar, decorated finewares and imports form a fraction of the assemblages. The sherds are generally more abraded and in a worse condition than those from Çaltılar, and, as a consequence, we have much more undiagnostic or as yet unidentified material from Seki-Eceler. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify material, in addition to the local Iron Age wares, present at both sites. Most obvious is a small group of finewares with well-refined grey clay and streaky black or brown glazes. At Çaltılar these are assumed to be later Iron Age/Archaic in date and are perhaps similar to those at Seki-Eceler, although the clear longevity of the latter site means they could well run into later periods. During the 2014 season, further examples of vessels with thick white or cream slips and geometric decoration, perhaps imports from western Anatolia, were also identified.

In addition to our archaeological research, we held an educational event attended by 150 adults and children from the local village. This was our biggest event since we began our public meetings in 2008. We also further developed the archaeological research facilities at our centre in Çaltılar with the addition of a new drinking fountain and carved stone plaques to guide visitors into the education centre. We also installed new steel shelving units, purchased furniture, painted and undertook other small repairs and building works.

Acknowledgements

We are grateful to the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism for the permit to conduct our work and for all the help we received from their courteous and professional staff, especially our representative this year, Gürkan Mehmet Gürevin of Ödemiş Museum. We are also grateful for the collegial help of our representative from the MTA General Directorate, Cihan Yurteri, who oversaw the geomorphological research, and Dursun Acar and Burak Yalmaz of ITU. We gratefully acknowledge the support of Seydikemer Kaymakam and our colleagues at Fethiye Museum for our archaeological and educational activities.



Iron Age imported ceramics from Çaltılar.

Financial support for this year's work came from the British Institute at Ankara, Liverpool University and a private sponsor. Generous sponsorship and technical support for the topographic survey came from Yıldız Haritası, Fethiye. Thanks are also due to the University of Liverpool and those members of the team, past and present, who donated so generously to establish a memorial fund for Ali Ocağcı Amca, who always showed us such warmth and hospitality during our stays in Çaltılar village. The money raised has been given to his family to support his grandson's education.

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Ali Amca Ocağcı in the grounds of the restaurant he owned in Çaltılar, with his cook Şerefe.

Images and ambiguities. Interpreting identities in the tomb art of early Achaemenid western Anatolia

Catherine M. Draycott | British Institute at Ankara

A picture is worth a thousand words, so the cliché goes. Anyone with some experience of art history, though, might call that a low estimate. Images not only communicate in ways words do not, they are not necessarily made with the same aims. Some images are made for particular purposes, to convey specific ideas; but even if an artist or the person who commissioned the image had very clear intentions these may not come out clearly in the work. Intent may never have been well formulated to begin with or the image may not have been made to convey any particular message at all, at least not consciously.

Such issues complicate attempts to use images as historical sources, and impact my research on images used to adorn tombs in non-Greek areas of western Anatolia in the early years of the Achaemenid Persian empire. These images, which accompany an increase in monumental tombs after the Persian conquest of Anatolia in the 540s BC, allow precious insights into the ways that Anatolian elites were memorialised, and, considering the limited indigenous inscriptions from the period, they constitute important sources of local self-expression with which one might offset the reports of Greek writers such as Herodotus.

While Herodotus' descriptions of Anatolians and other peoples are concerned with their ethnic identity, which he defines with reference to ancestry, distinctive customs (often gender specific) and sometimes dress (usually military panoply), the tomb images generally describe the deceased in different terms. 'Describe the deceased' is not the right way to put it, however, because it makes it sound as though the images were intended to convey messages about the deceased in a direct way, even functioning as portraits, documentaries or visual biographies. Things are never so simple.

Take the so-called 'funerary banquet' – depictions of a single man or a couple on a couch, usually drinking – one of the most common tomb images both at this time and later. As the term 'funerary banquet' implies, the theme has been seen as directly related to the sepulchral context, either a depiction of the afterlife or a depiction of banqueting at a funeral. Due to a lack of evidence for compatible afterlife beliefs or the regular staging of funerary or mortuary feasts, as well as some later inscriptions which suggest a focus on life rather than afterlife, most now see the theme as a depiction of 'the good life'. These images do not necessarily depict *real* life, however. Rather, multiple motifs such as drinking, luxuries and marriage may be combined into one seamless but artificial image. Further, although perhaps not the norm, there *is* evidence for funerary drinking and feasting, and for laying out the dead on couches in the tomb; so the ideas of reclining, drinking and death could have become entwined quite early on. The images themselves are ambiguous; they

do not provide information which allows one to determine whether they were intended to be (and normally) read as images of life or death, or both.

Even more perplexing are images of myth. The sacrifice of the Trojan princess Polyxena on a sarcophagus found in the north Troad could have several intended meanings – with tragic death and local myth history foremost among them. But why Perseus beheading Medusa would be chosen for monuments such as a sixth-century painted tomb at Kızılbél in the upland plains of northern Lycia is not at all clear. Some have seen 'life after death' (Pegasos and his brother Chrysaor were born from her blood) while others, in the case of later uses of the same myth, want to read political messages (Perseus, a Greek, was ancestor of the Persians). Rather than specific intentions about what such images should mean, however, they may have been chosen because they were polyvalent – they could be meaningful in many ways – something which might not be consciously understood, but which made them resonant and attractive.

The inability to fix intended meanings to such images might seem to be an impediment for using them as sources for identities. If the sample is rich enough, though, even images with quite nebulous meanings become meaningful within larger patterns. The use of myth in the Kızılbél tomb in the Lycian highlands, for instance, can be contrasted with the lack of myth on contemporary tombs from coastal Lycia. In some regions there is a notable absence of the 'banquet' motif in favour of other themes. Such patterns reflect not ethnic cultures *à la* Herodotus, but various conditions of landscape, climate, materials, economic connections and social structure, and practices and mentalities shaped by these. In these terms, as indications of practices and mentalities and not *necessarily* as intentional statements about the self, images can be used as sources for the assorted identities that criss-crossed Achaemenid Anatolia, without getting stuck on overly specific interpretations.



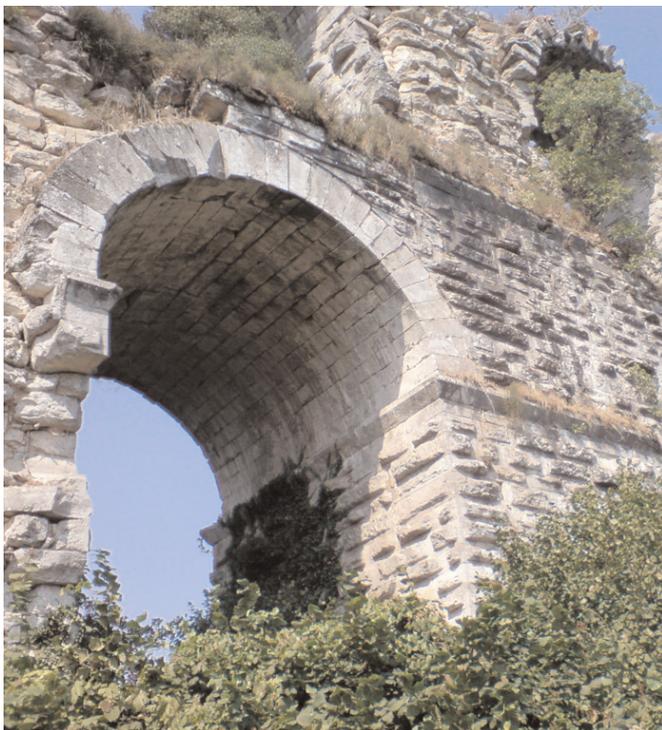
A 'funerary banquet' on a stele from near the Persian satrapal seat of Dascyleum, now in Istanbul, ca 460–450 BC.

Reconstructing the water-supply system of Constantinople

Riley Snyder | Universities of Bologna and Edinburgh
Özge Dilaver | British Institute at Ankara

The availability of fresh water was an important concern for the Byzantine city of Constantinople. In the early second century, around two centuries before the small Thracian town of Byzantium was transformed into the new eastern administrative capital, the emperor Hadrian built an aqueduct to provide the citizens of Byzantium with fresh water (Mango 1995: 9). In the fourth century, the transformed metropolis of Constantinople had a booming population and a growing need for more water. As the Hadrianic water-supply system was proving insufficient and the surrounds of the city offered no significant local fresh-water resources, the city looked far into its hinterland to quench the thirst of its inhabitants.

The mid fourth century saw the beginning of construction of one of the longest water-supply systems in history. By the beginning of the fifth century, a second phase was completed that extended the long-distance water supply from natural springs 120km west of Constantinople to the city. Recent research (Snyder 2013) on the construction materials and workforce used in the building of the water-supply infrastructure of Constantinople has shown that it was one of the largest construction projects undertaken in the ancient world, requiring as much stone as the Great Pyramid of Giza and five times more manpower than that required to build the Baths of Caracalla in Rome.



The fifth-century monumental aqueduct bridge of Kumalıdere, part of Constantinople's water-supply system.

Despite its scale, the water-supply system of Constantinople has been the focus of only two major studies (Çeçen, 1996; Crow et al. 2008) and, compared to the water-supply system of Rome, it is significantly neglected in modern scholarship. From a theoretical point of view, this neglect is problematic because an improved understanding of the construction process of the water-supply system could change the longstanding narrative of deteriorating engineering and organisational skills following the decline of the western Roman empire. Amazingly, much of the water-supply system is still preserved, despite numerous earthquakes. Today, however, proposed construction projects threaten its existence and highlight the need for immediate and extensive studies to be undertaken.

As part of a two-year Leverhulme-funded project at the University of Edinburgh, we will employ agent-based simulation modelling to study the construction of the water-supply system of Constantinople. The aims of this part of the project are threefold. Firstly, we aim to integrate information from different domains (archaeological, textual, historical and ethnographic) into a coherent narrative that can be visualised in simulation models. Secondly, we aim to use simulation experiments to generate hypotheses about the day-to-day construction activities, different levels of agency and major organisational decisions taken in these levels. Finally, we aim to improve some of the earlier manpower-requirement calculations, based on the information sources we will have gathered and using geographical analyses in our simulation models.

About agent-based modelling

Agent-based modelling (ABM) is a *constructive* research approach that enables the modeller to construct a detailed hypothetical reality by generating virtual representatives of the concepts that are relevant to the study, to assign qualitative or mathematical properties to these representative entities and to define logical rules that govern, constrain or produce their behaviour and interactions.

Like other types of modelling, ABM brings about simplifications of the perceived reality (Gilbert and Troitzsch 2005). Yet, it offers a different way of simplification by enabling the study of non-linear systems dynamically and as a whole, rather than in parts. It facilitates systematic reasoning and analysis in complicated or complex settings by generating virtual elements that are thought to imitate real-life processes. Agent-based models generate many independent and interacting virtual agents that are also the primary units of analysis. These agents are 'self-contained programs which can control their own actions based on their perceptions of their operating environment' (Huhns and Singh 1998) and they can be built to represent independent and adaptive individuals or elements in a system.

Because of its unique properties, ABM has become an increasingly popular tool in the social sciences, including

economics, sociology and the interdisciplinary field of sustainability studies. Agent-based modelling is also an emerging technique for analysing social behaviour and organisation in an archaeological context. Important studies include Kohler et al.'s influential work on Anasazi populations (1996), Graham's spatial and social network analysis based on Antonine itineraries (2006) and Wilkinson et al.'s work on urbanisation in Bronze Age communities in Upper Mesopotamia (2007).

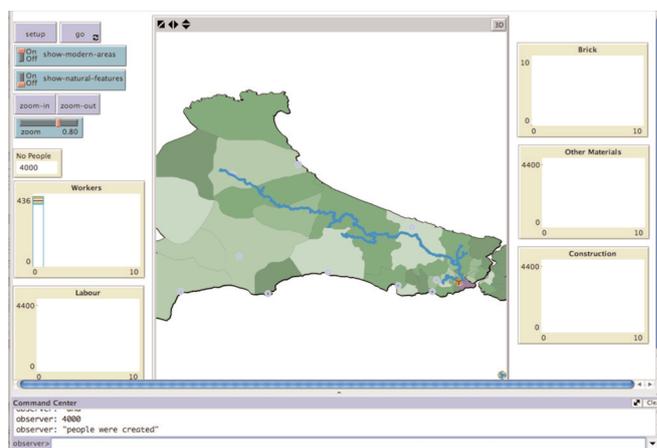
Simulating the water-supply system of Constantinople

As mentioned above, the agent-based model of the water-supply system aims to integrate information from different sources. The starting point is the structure itself, which provides a lot of information about the construction process. The structure of the water-supply system of Constantinople is made up of two primary structural elements: bridges and channels. The majority of the channel systems are built and buried immediately below ground in the 'cut and cover' method and occasionally run through rock-cut tunnels and over earthen embankments. The water-supply system traverses a landscape that changes from rolling open lowlands to densely-forested and mountainous uplands. Not surprisingly, the greatest concentration of aqueduct bridges is found in the latter, between the villages of Çiftlikköy and Binkılıç. The steep hills and deep valleys of this region also host the largest of the aqueduct bridges in the hinterland with dimensions of up to 175m long and 37m high.

The main structural materials of the water-supply system are stone (marine and crystalline limestone) and lime-based hydraulic mortar. Unlike the architecture of late antique Constantinople (with its alternating courses of brick and stone), brick was not used as a load-bearing structural element in the construction of the water-supply system. However, large quantities of crushed bricks were used as aggregate in the structural mortar and channel-lining plaster. Whereas stone was procured from sources local to the construction site, brick was most likely produced at brickyards right outside Constantinople's walls. In addition, compared with similar structures – such as other water-supply systems and fortification walls – we know that the Constantinopolitan water-supply system was most probably built in multiple simultaneously-constructed sections and that workers were employed and organised under a trade guild system.

We have started building the 'CLAWS' (Constructing the Late Antique Water Supply) model by embedding GIS data of Thrace into the simulation model. Different layers of data visualise the location of the water-supply system, the city of Constantinople, the brick factory and the known towns of the time. The next step in reconstructing the building process is the gathering of information and hypotheses about workers from different occupations, their hometowns and guild organisations. The model will support calculations of

manpower requirements, in particular in relation to material logistics, by showing the most efficient routes and organisations as a benchmark. It will also enable us to explore different scenarios related to trade guilds (size, location, spread of skills and tacit knowledge), worksite divisions (logistics of multiple simultaneous construction sites), the lives of workers (careers, working conditions, mobility) and the logistics of material supply (procurement sites, production sites, transportation networks).



The CLAWS simulation model running in NetLogo.

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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 and its importance has only become an issue 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, has risen. It is these inter-relationships that are contained within the field of cultural heritage that this Strategic Research Initiative sets out to examine in the Turkish context.

The BIAA's cultural heritage management project

İşılay Gürsu | British Institute at Ankara

This joint project of the British Institute at Ankara (BIAA) and the Archaeology Department of Hacettepe University builds on the results of the Aspendos Archaeological Project and the Pisidia Survey Project, and began in January 2013 (www.kulturelmirasyonetimi.com/en). It has been generously supported by the Headley Trust as well as the BIAA. The project involves both theoretical and practical aspects, and concerns two case studies: Aspendos and Pisidia. The first phase is dedicated to the preparation of a site management plan for Aspendos and its surroundings, followed by the creation of a regional cultural heritage management plan for Pisidia, an ancient region located in the Taurus mountains to the north of the Pamphylian plain.

Aspendos

In September 2013, Veli Köse of Hacettepe University was granted the official excavation permit for the site of Aspendos. During the first excavation season (July to August 2014), cultural heritage management was one of the project's priorities. A team of researchers collected a substantial amount of both qualitative and quantitative data for the people-centred approach to cultural heritage that the project is trying to emphasise by interviewing visitors, on the one hand, and local inhabitants, on the other. Hakan Tarhan (Boğaziçi University) undertook on-site interviews as part of the visitor survey programme. He interviewed 300 international and Turkish visitors and 50 professional tour guides, while I (as the BIAA Cultural Heritage Management Fellow) conducted in-depth visitor interviews at the site with a smaller group of visitors. Güldem Büyüksaraç (Istanbul

University) conducted interviews with the local community in order to understand their attachment to the site and their perceptions related to the presence of an archaeological team. These interviews have revealed interesting insights that will help the team to understand the various ways in which visitors and local people interpret the site and shed light on the experience of an archaeological site visit.

The excavation house was often visited by local youngsters; the building has a large garden and was formerly the primary school – the usual playground for the neighbourhood children. They enjoyed the presence of the archaeological team and each day there were young visitors with different demands and creative ideas. An educational workshop is being planned for the local children in order to give them an idea of how archaeologists work.



Our young visitors at the excavation house.

Following the excavation season, meetings took place at the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism regarding a 'landscaping project' and an application for UNESCO World Heritage Listing for Aspendos. The landscaping project is based on plans that have been prepared in the light of the data collected during the 2014 season. It will be implemented by the Ministry from the end of 2014 onwards and involves the creation of various walking routes for visitors and the placement of information boards around the site. The second phase of the landscaping project will concentrate on the use of the Eurymedon (Köprüçay) river, which is very close to Aspendos, within the concept of eco-tourism. Preliminary investigations were undertaken for this purpose during the recent season.

All the necessary documents for the application to add Aspendos to the UNESCO World Heritage List have been submitted to the Ministry. The official application will be made by the Ministry in February 2015.

A website for visitors to Aspendos is being prepared: www.aspendosgezi.com and www.touraspendos.com.

Pisidia

Pisidia is the ancient name of the region in southern Turkey that lies within the boundaries of modern Antalya, Isparta and Burdur. This highland region stretches north from the gulf of Antalya as far as the Burdur, Eğirdir and Beyşehir lakes. It contains many archaeological sites, including Cremna, Ariassos, Sia, Pednelissos, Selge, Melli, Adada, Kapıkaya, Sagalassos and Termessos. These sites, which are hidden amongst the beautiful forests of Pisidia, offer a unique and quasi-poetic experience to their rare visitors.

Various scholars affiliated with the BIAA have conducted research in many of these Pisidian cities for almost 30 years. Over the course of this time, they have witnessed worsening conditions at most of these sites due to illicit digging and neglect. In an attempt to seek solutions to these problems, in 2013 the BIAA launched a project (Regional cultural heritage management of the Pisidia region) which aims to construct a theoretical framework, and set a standard, for cultural heritage management in the region.

A further project (The development of archaeological and eco-tourism in the ancient Pisidia region) aims to promote the cultural and natural heritage of the region for those visitors who enjoy off-the-beaten-track experiences and to implement a sustainable management plan which will enable the local communities to offer proper visitor facilities within the concept of eco-tourism.

The deliverables of the project can be defined within three categories. The first relates to local people and involves educating locals about the archaeological remains, raising awareness about the consequences of illicit digging and promoting conservation. Local families living along defined tourist routes will be encouraged to use their houses as b&bs. Local knowledge of the region's fauna, flora, traditions and



The Eurymedon (Köprüçay) river, close to Aspendos.

cuisine will be gathered in order to create an intangible heritage inventory of the region. Sales of locally-produced food and crafts to both visitors and online buyers will be fostered. The desired outcome is to encourage young people to remain in their home towns by helping them create sustainable economic activities.

The second category relates to the archaeological sites themselves. The aim is to create walking routes and to place information panels at selected sites. This aspect will be developed further by building on the accumulated scientific expertise of both past scholarship and the continuing cultural heritage management project which will conduct an anthropological survey in order to reveal the local peoples' attitudes and attachments to the sites. The desired outcome is to create a local awareness about the cultural heritage of the region and attract 'sensitive' visitors, such as trekkers, who enjoy both archaeological heritage and nature.

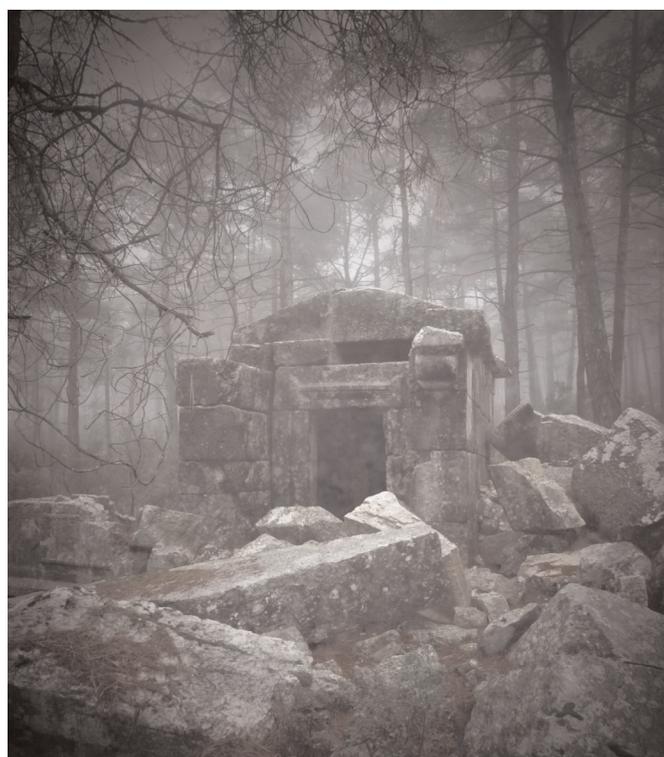
The final category focuses on visitors and outreach. The overall aim is to promote the area as a destination for visitors looking for an off-the-beaten-track experience. Brochures will be produced and websites and social media will be used. Ultimately, a visitor centre will be built at one of the sites. The desired outcomes are to reach potential visitors (both Turkish and international) and foster local involvement in the conservation of archaeological heritage through its economic exploitation in a controlled manner.

Earlier this year, I made a first reconnaissance trip to the sites in Pisidia with Umit Işın, who is an archaeologist and professional tour guide specialising in archaeological and ecological tours in the region. Preliminary investigation of local perceptions/attitudes towards archaeology was undertaken during this first visit. Further and in-depth research is planned for 2014–2015. A second visit to the region will be made shortly, during which Stephen Mitchell and Lutgarde Vandeput will be interviewed at the sites where they have worked for many years. These interviews will be filmed and published on the project's website; the launch of the Pisidia cultural heritage management web-site is imminent: www.pisidiagezi.com and www.pisidiatour.com.

Public archaeology workshop

The last, but not least, element of the BIAA's project on cultural heritage management is its public archaeology workshop. The workshop, titled 'Public archaeology: theoretical considerations and current practice in Turkey', was organised by the BIAA in partnership with Koç University's Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations and was sponsored by the Headley Trust. The workshop took place in late October 2014 at the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, Istanbul. It was triggered by questions about the relationship of archaeology with contemporary society. The workshop dealt with current issues in public archaeology and cultural heritage management from two perspectives: the changing people-based perception and understanding of archaeological heritage; and the new context created by the rapid growth of the tourism industry.

The workshop brought together international scholars in order to exchange ideas on the theoretical and practical aspects of public archaeology. The organisers placed particular emphasis on ensuring the participation of a full range of practitioners, such as Turkish museum workers, representatives from the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, site managers and archaeologists. Participation from the UK, which has a longstanding tradition of cultural heritage management (institutionalised in such organisations as English Heritage and the National Trust), was ensured in order to enhance the intellectual exchange about the ways in which Turkey's rich archaeological heritage can be presented to the wider public.



Sia in Pisidia.

Prototyping new technologies for public presentation at Çatalhöyük

Sara Perry | University of York

The Neolithic site of Çatalhöyük has long been used innovatively to interpret the archaeological record for public audiences. The site has a 50+ year history of producing a range of creative outputs for local and international dissemination, including everything from illustration, photography, film, comics and fine art interventions, to museum displays and other temporary exhibitions. The exceptional nature of Çatalhöyük's stratigraphy, its remarkable wall paintings and sculptural art, its egalitarian social organisation and urbanised terrain (characterised by continuous house clusters in streetless neighbourhoods) make it the perfect fodder for public presentation.

In recognition of its one-of-a-kind stature, Çatalhöyük was designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2012. This led to a swell of demands upon the site, including an increase in expectant tourists seeking resonant experiences both before, during and after their visits. Between 2010 and 2013, visitor numbers rose from 15,000 to over 20,000 at Çatalhöyük. Although such an increase is not inconsistent with larger tourism trends since 2002, it has been accompanied by a profound change in visitor demographic. Internationals are now coming to the site in increasingly equal numbers to locals. Whole new audiences have begun to present themselves, with a massive increase in Japanese tourists: from just 26 in 2011 to nearly 3,000 in 2013. And other groups are arriving in higher numbers too (for example a near 70% increase in Americans between 2011 and 2013).

These shifts offer an important opportunity to engage new and larger groups of people through meaningful forms of site interpretation. Çatalhöyük, however, is a difficult site to explain to visitors. To the untrained eye, the archaeology here is partial, seemingly poorly-preserved, fairly uniform in colour, with features that can be hard to differentiate. Visitors must stay on a fixed path, cannot venture inside excavated buildings and cannot look at authentic artefactual assemblages (because they are usually immediately removed for processing and conservation, and then transferred to the Konya Archaeological Museum). This means the most distinguishable aspects of the site are inaccessible to visitors, sometimes leaving them confused, disoriented or otherwise uninformed.

For the past three years, Angeliki Chrysanthi (University of Southampton) and students from the University of York and Ege University have been studying visitor flow, dwelling time and viewing patterns as they tour Çatalhöyük. By providing consenting visitors with digital point-and-shoot cameras and portable GPS units, and comparing the resulting data with observational records that we have been collecting since 2009, we have been able to confirm several tourist trends.

Among these, it's clear that visitors tend to focus more on on-going excavation/conservation practice while touring the site – meaning they prefer to look at experts at work rather than the actual material culture itself. Given that such experts only tend to be on site for a maximum of two months per year (during the low season in terms of tourist numbers), this pattern is troublesome. There is also evidence that some visitors seem to be walking through Çatalhöyük faster than previously, with fewer stops and with even less engagement with the site's already modest interpretative resources and tourist trail.

To circumvent these trends, different tools that provide richer, more personalised and interactive experiences to visitors deserve consideration. Much work has been invested internationally in enhancing tourist experiences via use of personal mobile devices at heritage destinations. However, their application to outdoor prehistoric sites like Çatalhöyük, where the archaeology is exposed, fragmented and geographically-isolated, is far less common. Mudbrick sites of this nature are ubiquitous in western Asia, so Çatalhöyük arguably offers an ideal testing ground for research and development of digital storytelling in such contexts.

With support from the British Institute at Ankara and the CHESSEX Project (www.chessexperience.eu), we have begun to experiment with personalised experiences and mixed-reality modes of engagement via mobile media (phone- and tablet-based), testing out the capacities of these media to: (1) be generated in a theoretically-informed, reflexive fashion, true to the nature of the research programme at Çatalhöyük and (2) innovate with storytelling and, in so doing, nurture care for prehistory, the material world and our human connections to the past, present and future.

In August this year, Akrivi Katifori, Vassilis Kourtis and Laia Pujol-Tost of CHESSEX joined us on site to prototype the first iteration of such mobile storytelling. Prior to their arrival, Angeliki convened a story-crafting night during which 17 members of Çatalhöyük's various specialist teams (spanning excavators to finds and regional specialists to visualisers) gathered for two hours following their normal fieldwork day to script stories around the long-excavated Building 52. Using prompt cards containing data and interpretations compiled from site reports, diaries and associated publications about Building 52, three groups prepared three separate narratives. The most complete of these narratives was selected for integration into our mobile prototype. The tale, written by Åsa Berggren, Allison Mickel, Sophie Moore, Lucy Wheeler and Paul Pettersson, told the history of Building 52 through the entwined perspectives of a modern-day archaeologist, Archie, and a Neolithic woman, Abla, who lived on site at the time of the building's burning.

We transcribed the written script, and prepared an audio recording of it, two avatars of Abla and Archie and a variety of specialist field imagery from Building 52, all of which we supplied to the CHESSEX team. They combined these assets into the CHESSEX Project's authoring platform, resulting in an interactive narrative that was accessible via tablets on site, connected to the CHESSEX server. We conducted nine video-recorded test-runs of the technology with members of the site team and visitors, followed by audio-recorded evaluative interviews with participants. Their feedback reinforced the promise of such digital

stories: they sought to elaborate the stories with more movement, more interactivity between the user and the archaeological site via narrative prompts, more multi-sensory stimuli and more opportunities to explore notions of time and space via animation.

Taken together, our experience suggests that interpretation at Çatalhöyük is best led by the visitors themselves, enabled with resources that can be personalised according to language, intellectual need and time available, and which can be accessed anywhere, free from the bounds of the site itself. These prototyping experiments demonstrate the potential to rethink and deepen interpretative understanding in complex environments like Çatalhöyük. Indeed, not only did the prototype have meaningful effects on users, but the initial story-writing process actually stimulated unanticipated intellectual debate and conceptual collaboration amongst the site's specialists. Their reactions suggest a possible impact on professional knowledge-making itself.

A conspicuous opportunity exists here, then, for archaeologists to push the boundaries on user-driven, mobile-based, interactive experiences at outdoor prehistoric sites in Turkey and beyond. In so doing, our understanding of the archaeological record – both as visitors and as specialists – has the potential to be transformed.



Abla and Archie, the characters animating Çatalhöyük's Building 52 digital story. Avatars by Kerrie Hoffman.

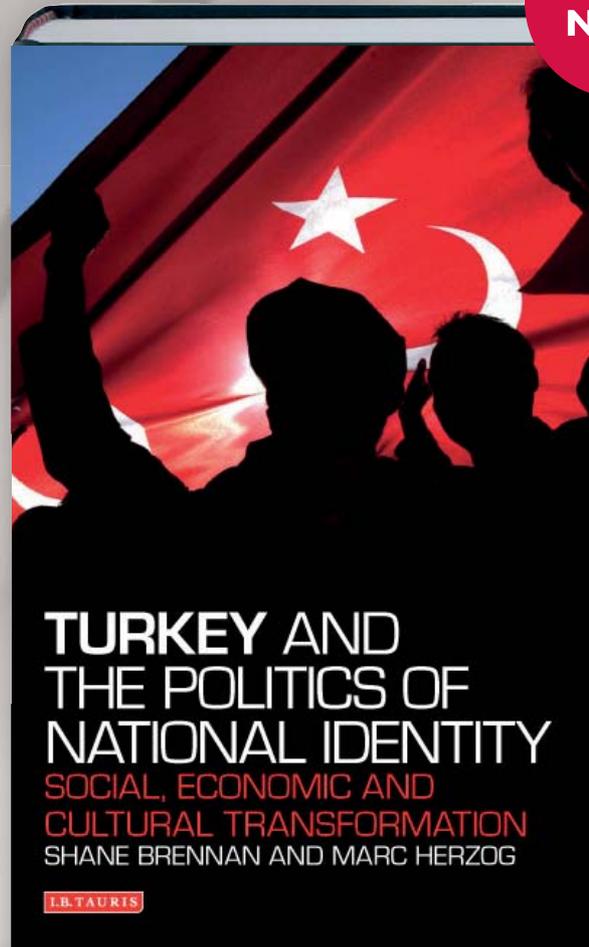
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