

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 57,000 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.

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The front cover features 'A Turkish woman sitting on a Carpett [sic]' dated ca 1580–1590: Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.14.23, fol. 16 (with the kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge).

HERITAGE TURKEY

British Institute at Ankara Research Reports

Volume 3 | 2013

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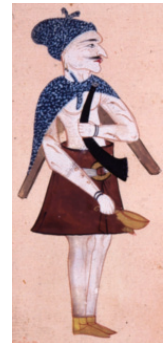
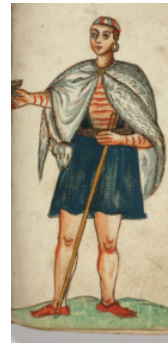
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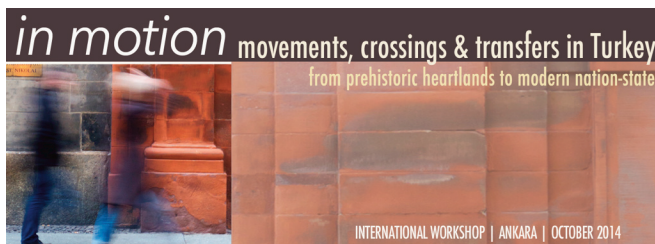


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INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOP | ANKARA | OCTOBER 2014

From the Director
Frankfurt am Main, September 2013

Dear Members,

A lot has happened at the Institute over the past 12 months. I mentioned in last year's letter that the number of people working at the BIAA on various projects would increase. Indeed, Dr Özge Dilaver Kalkan has been working with us on the Balkan Futures project since autumn 2012. In April, Özge organised the first of three workshops linked to the project, together with our Assistant Director, Dr Marc Herzog, and the British School at Athens. The workshop, Rethinking Turkey's Current Role and Engagement in the Balkans, was very well received. A second workshop is planned for March 2014 in Athens.

At the beginning of June, a very different workshop took place in collaboration with the Middle East Technical University. The event, Bordered Places | Bounded Time, was organised by the BIAA Post-Doctoral Fellows and funded by the BIAA. Dr Emma Baysal, a specialist in prehistoric archaeology, and Dr Leonidas Karakatsanis, a social scientist, realised that there were quite a few points of contact between their research interests and took the opportunity to organise a joint workshop. The concept of discussing borders by crossing borders between very different disciplines worked well and very interesting discussions developed after the papers. You can read more about both these events in the pages that follow.

The borders workshop was linked to our new project, Divisions, Connections and Movement – Rethinking Regionality, which is funded by the British Academy as part of its strategic development programme. The project runs until the end of March 2015 and has enabled us to appoint Leonidas as a Post-Doctoral Fellow; he is responsible for the organisation of events and publications as well as pursuing his own research. Two events will follow on from the borders workshop. In March 2014, a large-scale conference, entitled Pathways of Communication: Roads and Routes in Anatolia from Prehistory to Seljuk Times, will take place in Ankara. The conference is being organised in collaboration with Ankara University and will be held in one of the lecture theatres there. The following year, a workshop on 'movement' will form the third event relating to the Divisions, Connections and Movement project.

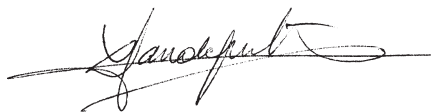
Soon, the 2013–2014 BIAA Post-Doctoral Fellows will arrive. This year, two archaeologists were chosen from amongst the many applicants. Dr Sophie Moore (Newcastle University) will concentrate on first and second millennium AD material from Çatalhöyük and Dr Catherine Draycott (Oxford University) will focus on social and cultural identities of early Achaemenid western Anatolia. I hope that they will have a fruitful and enjoyable year in Ankara and at the Institute! Personally, I will not be able to follow their progress at close hand, since I have been granted a sabbatical. I am currently working on my research at the J.W. Goethe University in Frankfurt am Main and will be back in Ankara in the spring.

Clearly, the research community at the BIAA is flourishing and very active, and this has been made possible by the unrelenting support of the Institute staff for whom this extra activity means a significant increase to their workload. I would therefore like to use this opportunity to thank Gülgün (Manager), Burçak and Tuna (Librarian and Assistant Librarian), and also Kesiban (Housekeeper) and Mustafa (Caretaker) for keeping up with the increased demands and for ensuring the smooth running of the Institute. You may have spotted a new name amongst the ranks of the Institute staff. Indeed, Tuna Çapar started as Assistant Librarian in the spring. Tuna studied archaeology at Hacettepe University and is now doing a masters degree in computer animation, which he intends to apply to archaeology. Deniz Ünsal, our previous Assistant Librarian, left us when she secured a permanent position in the Archaeology Department of Bursa University. We wish her all the best in Bursa!

As you browse your copy of *Heritage Turkey* 2013, you will notice that the space reserved for archaeological projects has shrunk again. Indeed, times remain hard for archaeologists working in Turkey. This year, new regulations issued by the Turkish authorities, forbidding the collection of ceramics, rendered it impossible to conduct a scientifically justifiable survey. Thankfully, hopeful rumours of a possible review of the matter are circulating.

I hope that you enjoy your copy of *Heritage Turkey* and that you will appreciate the huge variety of topics and research covered by the authors, who are all scholars funded and/or facilitated by the BIAA.

Best wishes,



Lutgarde Vandepuit

Book restoration

Orlene McIlfatrick | University of Edinburgh

There are over 57,000 volumes in the Institute's library. It was this piece of information that made up my mind to go to Ankara. I had sent a letter of inquiry to the Institute about volunteering in the autumn of 2012, and had received a very enthusiastic reply in response to one particular skill I had listed – book restoration.

Apart from being an archaeology student, I have been a part-time book restorer throughout my ten years studying in Edinburgh. I have worked for book dealers, bookshops, private collectors at home and abroad and university libraries; for the last six years I have been based at Edinburgh Books, the largest antiquarian and second-hand bookshop in the city.

Unsure what exactly awaited me, I packed into my luggage as many of my repair tools and materials as could be carried legally onto a plane (it's surprising what in-flight contraband can be used in book repair!) posting the remainder ahead by courier. A proposed two-week stay stretched to four, working on the collection full time. During that time we estimate that I repaired approximately 400 books. During this first visit, many of the worst cases were repaired, but a huge amount of work remained, with rooms full of books which had not even been assessed. It was clear that I would have to come back (which, given the wonderful atmosphere – and cake – of the BIAA, suited me perfectly). Since then I have combined my preparation for a post-doctoral project with a further ten weeks spent in Ankara, conducting my own research while also continuing work on the library collection.

The type of repair work ranges from books that are 'slightly damaged' to those that are 'completely falling apart'. Many of the books have suffered from common damage such as detached covers, torn outer spines and loose hinges, which can be repaired quite quickly, but some have required more comprehensive and time-consuming repairs. Specific types of books, such as the iconic blue French paperbound publications, suffer worst from regular use, and at least half of these volumes have required stabilising. A few books have required complete resewing before being rebound into their repaired covers. One such example can be seen in the illustrations accompanying this report. This book was bound by a method known as 'tape sewing' and the tapes, which were made of linen, had completely disintegrated over time. In order to repair it I had to remove all the old thread and the remains of the tapes, and rebind the book using the original method. Most of the materials and tools I used are easy to transport, but some, such as sewing frames, are not very portable, and I have learned to improvise; in this case, the Assistant Director's kitchen chair became an impromptu sewing frame – and it worked perfectly!

To date, around 700 books have been repaired, with a similar number still requiring work. Some await leather which I must prepare specially; it must be carefully dyed in shades to match the patina of antique leather, then pared to almost paper-thinness. One volume is waiting while I practise a complicated technique of interlaced hand-sewing used in the 19th century, so that resewn sections will match the original construction perfectly. Further work is planned on future visits. In addition to the books, there is a large number of antique maps which requires repair or consolidation, and the maps will be included in the scheme of future work.



The Assistant Director's chair being used as an impromptu sewing frame in order to repair the book shown above

BIAA ELECTRONIC MONOGRAPHS

www.biaa.ac.uk/publications

Recent publications by David French in the Roman Roads and Milestones series

1. Republican Milestones
2. Imperial: Galatia Milestones
3. Imperial: Cappadocia Milestones
4. Imperial: Pontus et Bithynia Milestones

Divisions, Connections and Movement – Rethinking Regionality

Lutgarde Vandeput | British Institute at Ankara

Divisions, Connections and Movement – Rethinking Regionality is a new two-year BIAA research programme, funded by the BASIS strategic development programme of the British Academy. Turkey has often been studied regionally, with a focus on its important geopolitical location and its position as a bridge between Europe and the Middle East. This regional approach has encountered criticism within the social and political sciences. Indeed, the multi-disciplinary character of the regional approach has rarely promoted a creative dialogue between the different disciplines, but rather it has tended to create ‘parallel monologues’. This has resulted in further affirmation of disciplinary borders and has obstructed progress and innovative thinking. Specifically within the field of Turkish studies, much effort has been invested in constituting Turkey as a well-defined terrain of study and interest, and, as a result, significant issues that cut across national and regional as well as disciplinary borders have not received proper attention. Divisions, Connections and Movement aims to address these concerns by introducing a thematic approach to the objectives of regionally-based research in a *longue durée* perspective. The thematic approach offers a better basis for the development of interdisciplinary projects, by facilitating a culture of dialogue and cooperation that permits cross-fertilisation of ideas between different disciplinary terrains.

The themes that have been chosen – divisions, connections and movement – derive from the well-known regional concept of Turkey as a crossroads. The novelty of the project lies in creating an interdisciplinary approach within a well-defined theoretical framework for the analysis of these topics in a Turkish context. By applying interdisciplinary approaches in a diachronic perspective to the themes of divisions, connections and movement, the project aims to establish strong links between different fields of study. With this programme, the BIAA has chosen to promote and strengthen ties between the archaeology-related disciplines it has traditionally supported and those recently added to its remit, thus opening up pathways for new collaborations and creating innovative cross-discipline research and research networks. Rather than engaging in a geographically wider network, involving fewer disciplines or restricting the chronological focus, the project concentrates on Turkey and applies a multitude of disciplines over a long time frame.

The ‘idea’ for this programme on divisions, connections and movement arose from the observation that several disciplines currently represented within the BIAA’s research portfolio – including archaeology, ancient history, history, sociology, social science, social economy, political science and anthropology – use similar conceptual tools to investigate historical phenomena at different periods of time, from prehistory to the contemporary world.

The project comprises a series of related events – two workshops and one major conference – designed to initiate and promote critical dialogue between different disciplines. The intention is for participants in the workshops to focus on the exchange of ideas between different fields, to identify and explore common ground and differences between their various approaches, and thus advance the potential for collaboration.

The first workshop was entitled Bordered Places | Bounded Time: Reflexive Approaches to Understanding Societies. Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Turkey from Archaeology, Anthropology, History and Political Science. Emma Baysal and Leonidas Karakatsanis present a more detailed report on this workshop later in this edition of *Heritage Turkey*, but, in short, the workshop studied the concept of borders through detailed reflection on the Turkish case and aimed to deepen understanding of the Turkish region by examining borders. ‘Turkey’ is approached in its widest sense, connoting both the modern state/nation/society, as a place imagined from different viewpoints, and the space/territory/land demarcated in pre- and proto-historic, Classical, Byzantine, Ottoman and contemporary times.

The second event will be the major conference Roads and Routes in Anatolia: Pathways of Communication from Prehistory to Seljuk Times, which will take place in Ankara in March 2014. For further details, see the short article by Leonidas Karakatsanis and me later in this volume.

Finally, a second workshop – In Motion | Movements, Crossings and Transfers in Turkey. From Prehistoric Heartlands to Modern Nation State – will take place in autumn 2014 and will be organised by me, Emma Baysal and Leonidas Karakatsanis. Participants will be asked to use a comparative approach to examine the ways in which the mobility of materials and products, people and ideas has affected social change at different periods. The final scope of the themes to be treated will depend in part on the results and outcomes of the other activities in the programme, but points of focus are bound to include population exchanges, relocation policies during the Ottoman empire, the contemporary mobility of nomadic communities, immigration and refugees as well as the phenomenon of transhumance. The diffusion of technologies, settlements and agricultural innovation throughout time are identified as likely valuable themes.

With this programme, the creation of new research networks should be enabled and encouraged, thus opening up pathways for new collaborations and the creation of innovative cross-discipline research.



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 the upper catchment of the Kura river, northeastern Turkey: a context for early hominin occupation and migration

Darrel Maddy | University of Newcastle

With Tuncer Demir, Tom Veldkamp, Serdar Aytec and Rob Scaife

In recent years, substantial evidence for the early human occupation of the Caucasus during the Quaternary (the last 2.58 million years) has emerged in the literature. The importance of this region for early hominin migration cannot be underestimated. Finds of *Homo erectus* (thought to be the first hominin to leave Africa), found close to the Georgian village of Dmanisi (see figure 1, over the page) and associated with volcanic deposits with age estimates of around 1.7–1.8 million years, have ignited debates around the topic of 'the first Eurasians' (Gabunia et al. 2000). Within Turkey, the oldest known hominin locality is that of Kocabaş, in the Büyük Menderes valley in western Anatolia, where fragments of a cranium, tentatively attributed to *Homo erectus*, have been found in travertine deposits dated to around 490–510 thousand years (Kappelman et al. 2008). However, earlier hominins are known to have occupied Turkey, as evidenced by finds of Lower Palaeolithic artefacts (Harmankaya, Tanindi 1996), but their chronology is often poorly constrained and the region generally remains poorly understood in terms of hominin dispersal.

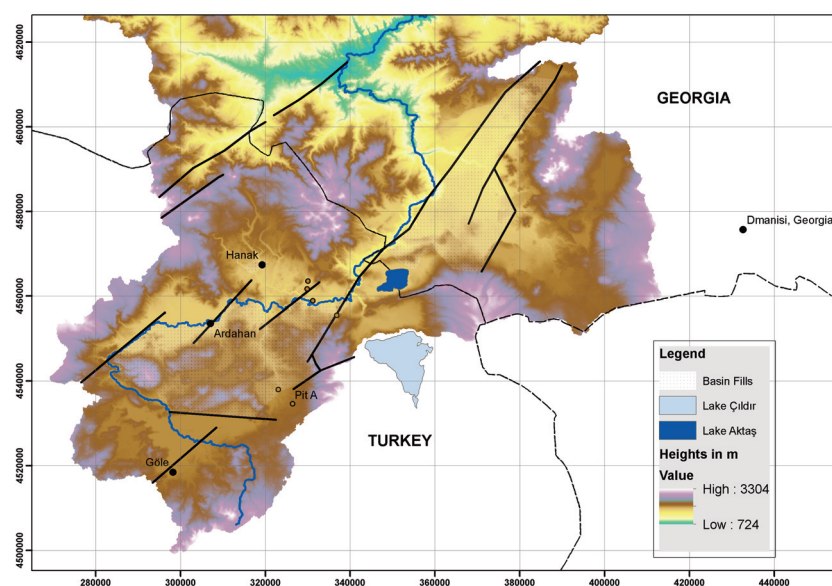
This three-year pilot project is designed to help initiate renewed efforts to investigate the record of hominin occupation and migration in Turkey. Specifically, we will investigate the environmental changes which provide the context for early hominin occupation in northeastern Turkey by exploiting the palaeoenvironmental archives contained within sedimentary records. Our study area, the upper catchment of the Kura river, spans the Turkish-Georgian

border and lies within 100km of the hominin site of Dmanisi (see the maps over the page), and thus there is every reason to believe that hominins would have been present in the area, early in the Quaternary.

The Kura river rises in northeastern Turkey and traverses the Lesser Caucasus mountain range, passing the Turkish-Georgian border en route, and ultimately flows through the Transcaucasus depression, through Georgia and on into Azerbaijan where it debouches into the Caspian Sea (see figure 1). The catchment spans a highly active tectonic zone. The mountain ranges of the Caucasus testify to the large-scale continental collision (compressional tectonics) and uplift of the Arabian and Eurasian plates which started in the Oligocene (~ 34–23 million years ago) and continued into the Miocene (~ 23–5 million years ago). However, since the Middle Pliocene (~ the last four million years) the Lesser Caucasus and much of the east Anatolian plateau have been subjected to an extensional tectonic regime dominated by strike-slip faulting which has been accompanied by extensive alkali volcanism (Koçyiğit et al. 2001). These transform motions have created a series of pull-apart basins which have subsequently filled with sediment (figure 2). More recently, some of these basins have experienced uplift, with active inversion of the basin fill sequences, forcing rivers to incise through their thick sedimentary fills, in response to the uplift. The Kura river, in our Turkish field area, traverses the still deepening (subsiding) Ardahan Basin, but also flows across areas where extensive river terrace sequences have formed in response to localised uplift (for example along the southern edges of the Hanak Basin). The development of this river system is complicated further by extensive localised faulting (normal and oblique, see figure 3), which often offsets river terraces, and the frequent incursion of basaltic lava flows into the developing valley floors from nearby eruption centres.



1. General location of the Kura river. LC: Lake Çıldır (Turkey), LS: Lake Sevan (Armenia). Coordinates are for UTM Zone 38T (100km grid squares). Background Digital Elevation Model uses the 90m SRTM data



2. Digital Elevation Model of the upper catchment of the Kura river based upon the GDEM 30m dataset (heights are in metres). Black solid lines show the position of major strike-slip faults (after Koçyiğit et al. 2001). Stippled areas are subsiding basins. All coordinates are UTM Zone 38T (20km grid squares)

The evolution of the Kura river catchment is a direct response to these large-scale tectonic motions, but also reflects changes in water and sediment supplies as a consequence of the climate and associated vegetation changes of the Quaternary. The upper catchment of the Kura lies generally at, or above, 2,000m, and as a consequence receives ample precipitation fed largely from the southern Black Sea region. The higher parts of the catchment, i.e. above 2,600m, display clear evidence of glaciation; thus the discharge (water and sediment) regime of this river system would have, at times, been heavily influenced by the waxing and waning of upland glaciation during the Quaternary. Therefore, despite the overwhelming tectonic controls on fluvial system development, climate change also has a key role to play.

Significant for the context of hominin occupation, the weathering of the Tertiary/Quaternary volcanic strata, driven largely by changing climates, produces extensive areas of fertile soils. Wetter periods during the Quaternary would have been ideal for rapid plant growth, fuelled by ample water supply and high nutrient status. Healthy plant communities would, in turn, have been capable of supporting a diverse fauna, including hominins. The presence of such plentiful resources undoubtedly would have made these riverine environments, together with occasionally extensive lakes forming within the subsiding depressions, attractive to early hominins.

Our goal is to reconstruct the sequence of environmental changes via systematic investigation of the sedimentary deposits found in and around the current valley of the Kura river and its tributaries. Although preliminary geological maps, at a scale of 1:50,000, are available, these often present

only very crude representations of the deposits on the ground and lack the detail, both in terms of sediment body geometry and detailed sedimentary information, necessary for accurate interpretations. Our initial observations in July 2013 have confirmed the need to carry out our own detailed mapping and sediment descriptions, as existing interpretations do not seem sufficiently robust. Such field studies are time-consuming and it will be many months before a clearer picture of the sedimentary sequence emerges from the data.

Our approach to this work has a rather traditional geological flavour. Underlying all modern investigation is the necessity to establish a firm lithostratigraphical framework. This will involve detailed mapping in key target areas where extensive fluvial deposits can be identified and there is sufficient exposure to establish a comparatively detailed understanding of the processes of deposition. Hopefully, some of these sediments will yield key biostratigraphical data, perhaps in the form of



3. Exposure of an oblique slip fault plane (right) with a drape of slope sediment (left) from near the centre of the Ardahan Basin. Such localised movements add to the complexity of the stratigraphy and lead to differential responses to relative motion along different reaches of the river

faunal records (for example fossils with well-constrained time ranges) or floral records of key species indicative of specific climate/environmental conditions. Although it might be possible to recover hominin remains, a more likely scenario is the discovery of artefacts (for example flakes) which clearly signal the presence of hominins.

Our fieldwork in 2013 did produce significant observations which lead us to be very optimistic about the outcome of this pilot project. We were able to confirm areas where extensive fluvial deposits are present. Figure 4 shows an outcrop in a fluvial terrace close to the village of Hasköy (Pit A, figure 2). These sediments clearly indicate the presence of a large river system (somewhat different to the modern descendent). Several potential flakes and cores were observed in this deposit and these will be systematically investigated at a later date when we obtain the relevant permissions. For now it is sufficient for us to know that there is probable contemporary hominin occupation around the time of deposition of this particular unit. Further possible artefacts were observed elsewhere but our investigations are currently at too early a stage to begin suggesting whether patterns can be observed. We also noted outcrops of fluvial deposits which appear to contain vegetation imprints. This is encouraging, as it suggests a high probability of preservation of palaeo-vegetation data such as pollen and macrofossils within these sediments. In parallel with the work to establish a robust lithostratigraphy and biostratigraphy, we are sampling key volcanic deposits for age estimation using Ar-Ar techniques. Fortunately we have already identified a number of locations where lava flows directly relate to the fluvial sequence and basalt samples taken from these localities are now at an Ar-Ar measurement facility in Amsterdam. These age estimates will prove critical in targeting future investigations, but results from these samples are not expected until late 2014.

Pioneering research is always challenging and, at the outset, the complexity of these sedimentary records can seem confusing. Although a deep understanding of these archives will take many years, our initial observations provide many reasons to be optimistic that this sequence will yield significant insight into the presence and movements of early hominins in northeastern Turkey. The widespread availability of materials suitable for age estimation gives us good reason to believe that we can place these events within a robust chronological time frame.

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4. Exposure of a thick fluvial sequence forming an extensive terraced landscape in a tributary which drains the eastern part of the mapped Ardahan Basin (Pit A, figure 2). This locality has probable flakes within the fluvial sequence

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.

Balkan Futures: one year on

Marc Herzog | British Institute at Ankara

It is most gratifying to write on the progress of the Balkan Futures research programme after the first article in last year's *Heritage Turkey*. The past year has seen lots of activity and the following article will endeavour to give a quick summary of the key developments and events that were held and are being planned, especially the principal workshops, the research project of the Balkan Futures Research Fellow and the next steps down the road for the programme. The Balkan Futures research programme is jointly run with the British School at Athens (BSA) with the collaboration of the Ecole française d'Athènes (EfA). It is funded by the British Academy, and the London School of Economics is also affiliated to the programme. It is a three-year research programme that concentrates on themes of inter-regional development and cooperation in the Balkans. The project also encompasses a more specific focus on Greece and Turkey, examining their roles and interests in a region where they have historically played major roles in shaping social and collective identities.

Workshops

The time frame of Balkan Futures envisages three central workshops to be held within the duration of the research programme, although lots of complimentary events have also been held in the past year on both sides of the Aegean. The first of the workshops, titled *Rethinking Turkey's Current Role and Engagement in the Balkans*, focused on the multifaceted nature of Turkey's contemporary engagement and role with the Balkans and was held in Ankara on 16–17 April. The workshop was divided into three central panel sessions which looked at different aspects

of this relationship, such as Turkey's regional foreign policy and external relations, the economic interactions between Turkey and the region and, lastly, questions and themes of civil society and identity that are influential in Turkey's relations with the region. The participants, who came from a selection of Balkan member-states and beyond, presented intriguing insights on these themes from a variety of angles.

The workshop's opening event featured Turkey's Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Naci Koru, and Tim Judah, a veteran journalist whose coverage of the Balkan region is well-known and respected. It attracted a large audience of around 100 people which included members of the diplomatic representation of over 20 countries, including the ambassadors of Australia, Hungary, Serbia and Montenegro. The audience also included many members of Turkish governmental ministries, especially the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as academics, scholars and researchers from Turkish universities and think-tanks. A reception at the British Embassy was also organised on the evening of the 16 April as part of the workshop.



Deputy Foreign Minister Naci Koru speaking at the workshop held in Ankara

Although Turkey's historical link to the Balkans is a much-covered field, especially in the year of the centenary of the Balkan Wars, the topic of its contemporary regional presence and engagement is quite specific. As such, the workshop was one of the first to look at this topic in such multifaceted depth, from a variety of different subjects and themes and bringing together a diverse mix of researchers from different disciplines and backgrounds. This is important as one of the central aims of Balkan Futures is to generate new research networks focusing on the Balkans. The workshop was co-organised with and held at the premises of USAK (International Strategic Research Organisation), an internationally renowned think-tank that concentrates its research on international affairs and foreign policy. This proved to be a very fruitful union, and USAK's focus on issues of foreign relations and good links with Turkish state ministries were helpful in ensuring the participation of some of the main speakers. Due to the interesting nature of the subject matter, the wide range of participants and the large and distinguished audience that the workshop attracted, it also managed to garner quite a lot of very positive media coverage. This included coverage in various publications such as the English-language daily *Today Zaman*, the current affairs magazine *Aksyon* and a large section in USAK's monthly journal, *Analist*, that also featured interviews with individual participants. In addition, Channel 24 and the news portal Haberler covered the event and there were short reports on TRT Radio, TRT Türk, TRT English and Anadolu Ajansı.

Overall, Rethinking Turkey's Current Role and Engagement in the Balkans was a fantastic start to the planned series of Balkan Futures workshops. We are now planning the second official workshop, which is to be held in Athens at the beginning of March 2014 at the BSA and EfA. It will examine the historical evolution and development of state welfare and public services and other public agencies across the Balkans. These include *inter alia* public institutions that deliver healthcare, education and welfare services, as well as banking and financial agencies. This focus will be set within the broader interaction between citizens' changing expectations of their states and the evolution of state duties. Therefore, the workshop will map the route by which public institutions arrived at their current form. The era from the Ottoman period to the emergence of independent states, the communist era, the post-Cold War period and the era of EU membership will all be examined; these periods have each had a significant influence on the development of particular institutions in the Balkans. By tracing historically dependent processes and evolutionary paths between and among these periods, the workshop will assess how contemporary institutions and structures in the realm of public and welfare services and delivery have emerged, developed and gained (or not) legitimacy and public acceptance. This thematic focus will enhance current understandings of the challenges and issues faced by contemporary public institutions in the

region. In turn, it connects with themes of political, economic and social crises against a background of demographic and environmental concerns.

The last workshop in the official series of three will be held in winter 2014/2015. As with the second workshop, it will also take place in Athens, with the BSA and EfA acting as the main hosts. This time the subject will be an evaluation of the regional role of Greece within the Balkans, as well as internal developments within the country over the past five years, and will cover the scope and nature of its foreign policy aims in the Balkans, trade relations and the current role of the EU in this context. Prior to the onset of the economic crisis, Greece, the first EU member from south-eastern Europe, was a key actor in the region economically, politically and culturally. As such, the workshop will take place against an open and dynamic background as the economic crisis affecting Greece is still unfolding.

Research Fellow

Apart from the events mentioned above, another key plank of the project is the appointment of a Research Fellow for the three-year period of the programme. This appointment connects with the principal objective of Balkan Futures – the production of new research by a new generation of scholars in the field of Balkan regional studies. Dr Özge Dilaver Kalkan was appointed in June 2012, and is carrying out a research project titled 'The Bridge with a Closed Gate: Modelling Trade, Mobility and Barriers Between Istanbul and Thessaloniki'. The project, known as BETWEEN – IT, aims to study important characteristics of the trade flows and economic mobility between Thessaloniki and Istanbul, focusing on the socio-economic contexts and geographical patterns of these interactions. The project also aims to build state-of-the-art agent-based computer simulation models that will enable scenario analysis and projections of the research findings into the future. The project employs grounded simulation, which is a mixed-method research design that Özge developed during her PhD. It starts with studying a social phenomenon, paying particular attention to interactions, institutions and the way individuals make sense of the 'rules of the game' in a particular socio-economic context. Selected findings of the fieldwork are then simulated with agent-based models in order to explore patterns emerging from these rules and contexts under different scenarios. Agent-based modelling is a research approach that generates a high number of virtual objects representing social and economic actors. The model is then used for studying the interactions between these actors and the societal outcomes of these interactions.

Therefore, reflecting back on the past year, Balkan Futures has taken off as a multi-pronged research programme, picked up speed and is now in full flight.

http://www.bsa.ac.uk/pages/balkans.php?cat_id=104

Bordered Places | Bounded Time

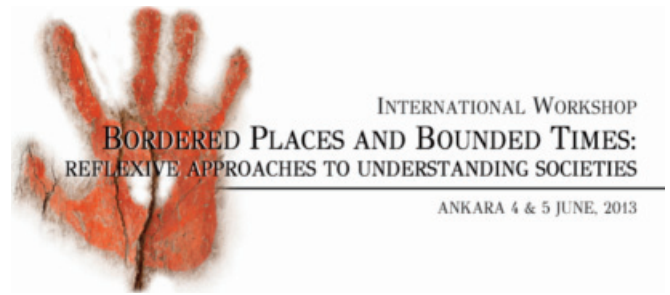
Emma Baysal and Leonidas Karakatsanis |
British Institute at Ankara

Bordered Places | Bounded Time: Reflexive Approaches to Understanding Societies. Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Turkey from Archaeology, Anthropology, History and Political Science, a fully interdisciplinary social science workshop, was held at the Middle East Technical University in Ankara on 4–5 June 2013 as part of the Divisions, Connections and Movement – Rethinking Regionality research programme. We organised the event as part of our Post-Doctoral Research Fellowships at the Institute. The workshop was inspired by the fact that, despite working within separate disciplines (archaeology and political science respectively), we were using the same theoretical approaches to borders. Having realised our overlapping areas of interest, it seemed natural to test the waters with an event aimed at interdisciplinary interaction. Borders and boundaries have been a popular topic in the social sciences in recent years, and Turkey provides an ideal subject given its role as a crossroads both in the past and the present. Participants with subject areas ranging from contemporary political theory to prehistoric archaeology travelled from 11 countries to attend the event. All were fired-up by a passionate interest in borders and boundaries in their many and various forms.

Boundaries are a powerful defining feature in human society: they can separate, unite and catalyse change; they may be areas of conflict, friendship and trade. The workshop targeted three main aims: to facilitate communication between research areas that do not usually meet; to stress the dynamic diachronic processes of making and unmaking borders; and to foster the diffusion of an interdisciplinary, mutually beneficial dialogue with a broad perspective on border and boundary studies *in* Turkey and with a special focus *on* Turkey.

The workshop took place at the height of the recent protest activities relating to Gezi Park in Istanbul, and this not only gave rise to an extra element of debate with relation to borders and boundaries but also some considerable practical problems for the organisers in Ankara. In the end, the only effect on the event itself was the withdrawal of two of the discussants who were otherwise occupied in Istanbul. Their absence was more than compensated for by the enthusiastic discussion of all participants, many of whom also took advantage of the opportunity to be at the heart of political action, observing at close hand the protests in Ankara as spectators and out of research interest. The immediacy of the situation was reflected in contributions by a number of scholars which included photographs and thoughts tying current events to their research topics.

Current research on other political situations provided an up-to-date picture of live social issues in Turkey, such as the status and actions of Syrian migrants and the question of the politics of memory when coming to terms with past events.



The construction of identities through the use of borders was approached both through historical and contemporary perspectives in case studies combining populations inside and outside the borders of modern Turkey. Historical perspectives came in the form of the discussion of frontiers and the perception of the 'other' in the construction of identity.

Turkey's deep and complex past provided inspiration for many of the papers; the difficulty of identifying borders in Classical archaeology and texts proved to be a major theme. It emerged that despite the relative abundance of archaeological and textual evidence for this period, the identification of borders on the ground is a controversial topic.

Moving deeper into Turkey's past, the interpretation of early written sources and their correlation to the interpretation of archaeological evidence, the complexity of land divisions, ritual and material cultural differences was explored by several of the speakers. Turkey's most distant past was encountered from the perspective of some of the earliest settlements, and papers considered issues of interpretation caused both by the agency of the archaeologist and the wider political agenda.

After much lively discussion and exchange of ideas over the course of the two-day event, two major themes emerged from the workshop. Firstly, the use of narrative to contribute to, and reinforce, political agendas is a subject consistently encountered from prehistory to the present day. Secondly, the problem of the identification and conceptualisation of boundaries, both by those experiencing them and by those studying them from a temporal or spatial distance, was noted.

Having held such an inspiring interdisciplinary event, we are now looking forward to the publication of an edited volume of selected papers.

The programme of the event and abstracts can be found at: <http://bordersworkshop2013.wordpress.com/>.



Exploring a rich – but undisclosed – history of Turkish-Greek rapprochement

Leonidas Karakatsanis | British Institute at Ankara

Leonidas Karakatsanis is one of the Institute's Post-Doctoral Research Fellows. His book, Turkish-Greek Relations: Rapprochement, Civil Society and the Politics of Friendship, will be published in Spring 2014 in Routledge's Advances in Mediterranean Studies series.

'Ah! You speak Turkish! And you're a Greek!!! I cannot believe it ... I am so happy to realise this ... so happy to be able to become friends with you ... !'

The night before I started writing this contribution for *Heritage Turkey*, Haluk, the owner of a cosy café in Kavaklıdere where I have been spending many of my evenings since arriving in Ankara as a BIAA Post-Doctoral Research Fellow a year ago, entered this state of happy 'shock'. Despite his fluent English (which meant that finding a common language was not an issue) and despite having long been aware that I am Greek, it was, now, the realisation that we could share a more direct, unmediated and intimate communication using Turkish that made him feel this willingness to open up: 'you know what we have been taught at school, right?' He continued in Turkish, 'that you are filthy people ... enemies ... Then one finishes school, goes to university and starts, maybe, slowly, to dismantle this image in your head ... and then a trip to a Greek island and that's it! ... then you understand ... that we have been bombarded with lies ... you know this, right?'

This scene, taking place in August 2013 in Ankara, resembles stories and episodes of other similar 'revelatory incidents' (Theodossopoulos 2007: 6) narrated by several of my Greek and Turkish informants and interviewees during the course of my research on Turkish-Greek relations – similar incidents of 'discovering the other'. These are incidents that highlight the common passions vibrating on both sides of the Aegean borders: people exposed to narrow-minded nationalist ideologies who, then, manage to dispose of these stereotypes when they have the chance to meet 'the other' face to face.

Therefore, despite their seeming particularity, histories of encounters like the one I had with Haluk and the sentiments of positive surprise that usually follow such encounters became, concomitantly, significant primary material for my own project: a six-year-long study of the history of Turkish-Greek rapprochement. This project initially took the form of a doctoral dissertation at the University of Essex (2011) and was, then, during the year of my fellowship at the BIAA, expanded and transformed into a book manuscript for a forthcoming monograph to be published by Routledge (2014): *Turkish-Greek Relations: Rapprochement, Civil Society and the Politics of Friendship*.

Turkish-Greek relations have been a theme usually examined by scholars of international relations (IR) theory, mostly through a focus on balance of power and state interests as a method of analysis. This 'conventional' – if we may call it this – IR approach concentrates primarily on the bargaining practices performed at the register of 'high-politics' (i.e. encounters between state representatives, government officials and diplomats, the signing of treaties, agreements, etc.). As some critics have deftly argued, this approach often suffers from a 'policy-oriented bias' (Rumelili 2004: 2; see also Vathakou 2010: 17). I argue that the problem of such a perspective lies also in what we can call an over-emphasis on linear continuities. In other words, conventional IR approaches usually construe the interests of each state as stable unchanging entities, and therefore ignore the significance of processes taking place *inside* and *between* the two societies in question; they overlook the fact that change can also mean a different understanding of one's state 'interests' (i.e. by opting for peace instead of maximising the acquisition of territory or natural resources) or that change can be the result of inter- and intra-societal processes instead of the signing of official treaties.

Of course, there are much more nuanced approaches to be found inside the domain of IR theory, especially within the cluster called 'critical IR studies'. This cluster refers to the work of scholars who make a significant effort to take into account the influence of voting constituencies, civil society groups and independent actors such as intellectual elites and artists in transforming conflicts to peaceful coexistence (see, for instance, Çarkoğlu, Rubin 2005; Rumelili 2007; Heraclides 2010; Vathakou 2010). In this more nuanced case, the relations between states are approached mostly through the perspective of what we can call ruptures and discontinuities; attention is directed towards the breaks with the past and the emergence of the new. In the Turkish-Greek case, for instance, critical IR studies have been helpful in explaining moments when conflicting relations have subsided under the pressure and the emergence of reconciliation initiatives.

Against the backdrop of these two different approaches (the conventional and the critical IR approaches), my research comes to offer an alternative, complimentary but also in many cases corrective, understanding of the conditions that have made possible rapprochement between Turkey and Greece, by focusing on both continuities *and* discontinuities as intertwined processes.

What has been the most enduring element of continuity in the long history of Turkish-Greek relations that has remained largely under-explored in recent literature? Funnily enough, it is the repetition of seemingly insignificant moments of affective excess between 'Turks' and 'Greeks' like the one I experienced with Haluk, or like the ones narrated by my interviewees; moments that, despite their particularity, have been transformed into important factors for the birth, development and growth of a movement for reconciliation between the two societies, creating strong friendships that

have stood against the tide of enmity. These moments are paradigmatically condensed in a small phrase repeated over and over again during the last 90 years of Turkish-Greek relations: Turkish-Greek friendship!

Türk-Yunan dostluğu or *Ellinotourkiki filia* (i.e. the Turkish and Greek language forms of ‘Turkish-Greek friendship’) is a collocation, a motto, that has been an omnipresent denominator of Turkish-Greek encounters from the 1930s until today: projected as a vision for the future by the lips of state leaders Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and Eleftherios Venizelos, incorporated in treaty titles in the inter-war period, lending itself to the names of several initiatives and associations in the post-war period, adopted as a claim for peace and disarmament by various social movements after 1974 and even adapted into advertisement campaigns after 1999.

However, this continuous repetition of a message for friendship, which appears to be as old as the interstate tensions between Turkey and Greece, did not translate to a linear continuity, or a faithful replication of a ‘copy’. Instead, in this case, repetition meant that divergent meanings and diverse visions were infused into the little collocation. And it is here that continuity becomes interlaced with rupture.

In other words, throughout the history of Turkish-Greek relations, different people have meant or imagined different things when they discovered, uttered, praised, claimed or hoped for the realisation of a ‘Turkish-Greek friendship’. Their feeling of surprise when they saw their old ‘enemy’ appearing as a ‘friend’ was translated in different demands. For example, the state-oriented ‘friendship’ under NATO during the 1950s to 1960s was later transformed into a claim for a ‘Turkish-Greek friendship of the people’ by radical leftists in the 1970s. Then, in the 1980s, ‘Turkish-Greek friendship’ became the binding motto of left-wing intellectuals and local government representatives of Aegean

municipalities before transmuting into the passionate slogan-stimulus for civil society activists in the late 1990s and, finally, becoming a stable accompaniment to the news on bilateral economic cooperation used by journalists, politicians and businessmen alike during the 2000s.

My forthcoming book unravels this rich and diverse – but so far undisclosed – history of Turkish-Greek reconciliation initiatives using a novel research strategy: it transforms the little collocation ‘Turkish-Greek friendship’ into a prism through which one can revisit the history of Turkish-Greek relations, examining the different actors and the different demands standing ‘behind’ it at every different historical moment.

Equipped with a specially moulded interdisciplinary toolkit combining political discourse theory and original ethnographic study, while taking advantage of extensive archival research into Turkish and Greek sources, national, local, personal archives and a significant number of interviews with pioneers of the rapprochement movement, I explore the successes and failures, difficulties and predicaments of the multifaceted efforts for Turkish-Greek rapprochement.

The results show that events and scenes like my encounter with Haluk have been in constant repetition for almost 90 years now and instead of disconnected private experiences have been important nodal points for transforming feelings of enmity into friendship and nurturing a movement for peace. However, the emergence and repetition of a ‘Turkish-Greek friendship’ has not always led to the same demands and visions of how this peace and friendship could be realised. Continuity and discontinuity are in this case less oppositional than they seem, because, as argued, in most of the cases explored in this research, repetition meant – first and foremost – *change*.

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The boat connecting the Greek island of Mytilene with the Turkish coastal town of Ayvalık decorated with the symbol of Turkish-Greek friendship (Ayvalık, May 2005)

Syrian migrants in Istanbul: guest status, legality and temporality

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As the conflict in Syria continues, the number of Syrian migrants living in Turkey and arriving in Istanbul has steadily grown. Syrian nationals present in Turkey are considered guests rather than refugees by the Turkish state, and while in Turkey Syrian nationals are under the temporary protection of the state. The Turkish state has taken various measures to manage the presence of Syrian migrants/refugees in Turkey. As the state pursues a different approach to Syrian migrants present in Istanbul than it does for those living in the border provinces and state-run camps, my research is concerned solely with the case of Syrian migrants living in Istanbul. By examining Syrian migrants' experiences as 'guests' in Istanbul, I explore the legal framework set up to legalise the presence of Syrian migrants in Istanbul and I address a number of questions. What is it to be Syrian and a 'guest' in Istanbul? How is protection enacted in Istanbul?

In the current phase of this research project, I am focusing on the one-year residence permits being issued to Syrian migrants, as this measure is part of the temporary protection offered to Syrian migrants living outside the border provinces and state-run camps. The residence permits give Syrian migrants access to medical care and educational services in state institutions. Securing a permit is contingent on having entered the country legally, but many migrants came to Istanbul without passports. Beyond the issue of documentation, most migrants are uninformed as to how to benefit from the services available to them and rely on word of mouth to learn about their options.

There have been previous cases where 'guest' status has been granted to people coming to Turkey to flee conflict, the most recent being Chechens coming in the early 2000s; however the access to services in the current case is unprecedented. Thus, since this case study presents nuances regarding Turkey's position towards refugees, migrants and guests, I intend to compare the data I gather with previously published literature on migrants and refugees living in Istanbul. Furthermore, an assessment of the residence permit programme offers an opportunity to compare the experiences of Syrians of different legal statuses as many Syrian migrants live in Istanbul without permits or official documents. I am investigating these research questions through participant observation and interviews undertaken with Syrian migrants living in Istanbul. As part of this endeavour, I am documenting changes experienced by Syrian migrants regarding their legal status in Istanbul and their knowledge of the benefits of their status. I am also seeking out information concerning the state policy from state actors and collecting information available on these issues in the media.



Bread is the essential accompaniment to any meal, and Syrians favour their flat oven-baked bread over any other type. This bread is now being manufactured in Istanbul, with two bakeries having opened in the city. The bread is distributed to the various parts of the city where Syrian migrants live

This research is part of a broader PhD project which I am undertaking as a research student in the Anthropology Department of Goldsmiths College, University of London. In my project, I explore how Syrian migrants in Istanbul mark time, and ask if these practices become modes of making time. I argue that through their socialising, labour and, ultimately, their movement Syrian migrants in Istanbul transform their wait – they make time. Time here is taken as socially constituted through interaction and engagement rather than an assumed measure of change. I examine how Syrian migrants render their presence in transit socially significant. I approach transit in Istanbul as a matter of time rather than the city being a transit space within a migratory trajectory. In this research, I focus on individuals and families who fled Syria as a result of the revolution and travelled to Istanbul as well as Syrian migrants living in Istanbul prior to the revolution in Syria. While many of these people are seeking to travel to Europe to begin a new life there, others maintain the aim of returning to Syria and others still concentrate their energies on creating a future in Turkey.

An assessment of the legal framework determining the presence of Syrian migrants is crucial to understanding the state's approach to these migrants in Istanbul, as well as the ways the migrants remain in the city, as undocumented or as residents, for instance. The migrants' experience of their time in transit is also affected by the legal framework. Moreover, I examine the ways migrants engage with the legal framework, and the benefits available, as part of making their time in transit.

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.

Understanding British-Ottoman relations at the twilight of the Ottoman empire, 1880–1922: Winston Churchill and the Ottoman empire

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The British and Ottoman empires had developed a unique relationship by the latter half of the 19th century. Years of diplomatic relations which oscillated from reluctant alliances to outright hostility had left the relations between the two powers in a state of confusion and incoherence. In London, British diplomatic policy with regards to the Ottoman empire was caught in the political struggles between the Conservative and Liberal parties, the imperial tensions of London and its imperial holdings in Asia and Africa, the prejudices of orientalism and the powerful personalities of the political elite. In Constantinople, Ottoman policy concerning Britain was subject to the major debts of the empire, the tensions between the increasingly weak sultan and the rapidly westernising Turkish population, the spectre of pan-Islamism and that of increased nationalism in the Ottoman peripheral regions in the Middle East. Given the significant role that Britain played in the Middle East in the aftermath of the First World War, it is important to understand the relations between the two empires and how those relations eventually collapsed into war.

This research project, which is generously sponsored by the British Institute at Ankara, seeks to create a better and more nuanced understanding of British-Ottoman relations. It covers specific events in British-Ottoman relations at the twilight of the Ottoman empire, 1880–1922, and the major personalities who helped shape British policy concerning the Ottoman empire during this period. Additionally, it also seeks to create a research network of scholars with expertise in British diplomatic history, Ottoman diplomatic history

and Middle Eastern history. Making extensive use of the Ottoman archives in Ankara and Istanbul, our aim is to raise awareness of Turkish academic resources among British scholars while exploring the underutilised British diplomatic resources concerning the Ottoman empire.

A major and perhaps unexpected source of archival information has been the Churchill Papers, located in Churchill College, Cambridge. Winston Churchill played a role in shaping British-Ottoman relations prior to the First World War and, afterwards, he was integral to British diplomatic policy with Turkey and the restructuring of portions of the former Ottoman empire in the Middle East. Since Churchill remains one of the most studied personalities of the 20th century, it was surprising to find so much relatively unexamined archival evidence concerning his relationship with and attitude toward Turkey and the Ottoman empire. While the majority of research on this topic focuses on Churchill's role in the attempted naval conquest of the Dardanelles, the unsuccessful Gallipoli campaign and his wartime disdain for the Ottomans, a complete review of the documents and photographs tell something of a different story. The larger picture indicates that Churchill's views of the Ottoman empire were a unique blend of Victorian orientalism, geopolitical strategy and genuine respect and friendship. Moreover, the archives reveal that Churchill's anger towards and disregard for Turkey and the Ottoman empire was largely confined to the First World War.

It should be no surprise that Winston Churchill held a relatively positive view of the Ottoman empire. His father, Lord Randolph Churchill, was, like most Tories of his day, pro-Turk; he was a Conservative who typically shied away from the British government's more imperialist undertakings. Like many in the Conservative party, Lord Randolph held the view that the Ottoman empire was a useful ally against the Russian empire, which many conservatives feared was trying

to expand its frontiers into Central Asia, threatening the British connection to India. Lord Randolph's position on the Ottoman empire had a lasting effect on Winston Churchill's understanding of British-Ottoman relations. It was, however, by no means the only influence on Churchill's view of the Ottoman empire. After years of British imperial education at Harrow and from a personal relationship with its headmaster, Rev. J.E.C. Weldon, Churchill had developed a strong belief in the 'civilising mission' of the British empire and its Christian religion.

This goes some way in explaining a letter Churchill wrote to his mother on 6 April 1897 in which Churchill chastised the Salisbury government for not taking a more interventionist approach with regards to the policies of the Ottoman empire in Crete, which Churchill believed had led to the massacre of Christians on the island. Furthermore, Churchill argued that Salisbury's foreign policy in relation to the Ottomans was 'not only wrong it is foolish ... because it is unjustifiable to kill people who are not attacking you ... and because it is an abominable action which prolongs the servitude under the Turks of the Christians races'. However, perhaps owing to a combination of his struggle with his increasing atheism (which developed more fully the longer he was stationed in India), his diminishing faith in the tactics used on the British imperial frontier and an insatiable lust for glory, Churchill's position on the Ottoman empire changed dramatically.

Within 15 days he had completely reversed his position and, by 28 April, Churchill had decided to go and fight with the Ottomans *against* the Greeks. This led to an interesting confrontation between Churchill and Ian Hamilton (the future commander of the ill-fated Mediterranean Expeditionary Force) on a transfer boat because, while Hamilton had promised his service to Greece, Churchill had promised his to Turkey. While Churchill's peculiar allegiance to Turkey largely owes to his lust for glory, an additional explanation might be that he inherited a 'Turkophile' attitude from his father. Years later, in his autobiographical *My Early Life* (1930), Churchill recalled the incident, saying that Hamilton was a 'romantic' and was thus 'for the Greeks', while he 'having been brought up a Tory ... was for the Turks'. However, their formal confrontation was not to be, for by the time they reached their port of call at Port Said in Egypt, the war was over. Churchill lamented his lost adventure in a letter to his mother in late May 1897: 'I have reluctantly had to give up all hopes of Turkey as the war has fizzled out – like a damp firework'.

Having served on the Northwest Frontier in India and in Sudan, Churchill came to appreciate the intricacies of the Islamic world far better than many of his contemporaries. Often fighting Islamic jihadists with the aid of British Muslims, Churchill developed a unique respect for the Ottoman empire; he began to see it as a progressive force which could help pacify and civilise the fringe, fundamentalist sects of Islam. For Churchill, this altruistic notion was

accompanied by geostrategic considerations. The first of these was that Churchill believed the Ottoman empire and the British empire had a special bond, as the two 'greatest Mohammedan powers', and that their large numbers of Muslim subjects made the two powers natural allies. In fact, according to a 1910 census, there were approximately 20 million Muslims in Turkey. In British India there were approximately 62 million Muslims and 10 million Muslims in Egypt, making the British empire the largest Islamic power. This, of course, was not lost on Churchill who hoped an Anglo-Ottoman alliance would help pacify Muslims in India who followed the Caliph. The second consideration was far more basic; Churchill hoped to court the Ottomans for an alliance to help shore up the British empire against the Russians (much like his father had done) but also to help protect Britain from the aggressively expansionist German empire.

In July 1910 Churchill took a cruise on Baron de Forest's yacht, *Honour*, which took him to Constantinople where he met Djavid Bey Pasha, the Ottoman Minister of Finance, and the two became fast friends, sharing a correspondence until the First World War. Djavid Pasha introduced Churchill to the Sultan, the German Ambassador, Marschall von Bieberstein, several other leading members of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) movement and its



Djavid Bey Pasha, the Ottoman Minister of Finance, ca 1911



An official government portrait of Winston Churchill as the First Lord of the Admiralty, ca 1914

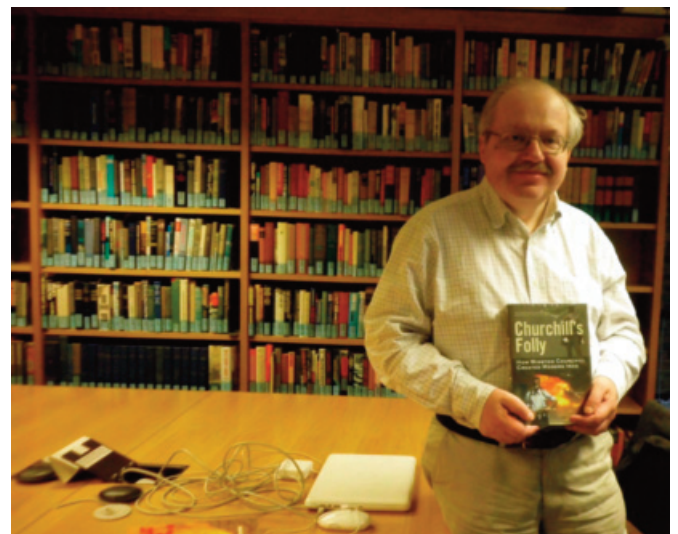
de facto leader Enver Bey Pasha, whom Churchill described as ‘a would-be Turkish Napoleon’ and whom he had met a year prior in Germany as a guest of the Kaiser to watch German military manoeuvres. It is remarkable that Enver Pasha and Churchill also struck up a friendship in which they occasionally corresponded even after the war, as late as 1919. While in such powerful company in Constantinople, Churchill suggested that the Ottomans should remain neutral in any European struggle that might arise, urging them to ‘remain the courted party rather than one which is engaged’.

Another opportunity for Churchill to argue the merits of an Anglo-Ottoman alliance came in 1911 during the Italo-Turkish War. Knowing of Churchill’s experience in Sudan, a war correspondent named H.C. Seppings Wright wrote to Churchill explaining that the Italians had committed ‘a wholesale massacre of helpless women, children and old people’ and also reporting on the bravery of the Ottoman soldiers fighting the Italians. This caused great concern for Churchill because just a couple of months earlier he had received a letter from Djavid Bey Pasha, who wrote to gauge Churchill’s position on a formal alliance with Turkey. Churchill at once reported this approach for an alliance to Lord Grey, the British Foreign Secretary, and argued in favour of it saying that ‘Turkey has much to offer us ... we must not forget that we are the greatest Mohammedan power in the world’ and that ‘we are the only power who can really

help and guide her’. Churchill then argued an Anglo-Ottoman alliance would be ‘a clear protest against the vile massacres of woman and little children which have dishonoured the Italian arms’. However, Lord Grey could not be swayed and the alliance never materialised, perhaps resulting in the Ottoman leadership only following Churchill’s earlier advice to remain ‘the courted party’ until November 1914, when Turkey finally joined the Central Powers.

Though Churchill tried to keep the Ottomans from joining the Central Powers, personally writing letters to Enver Pasha, Djavid Pasha and Talaat Pasha, he was unsuccessful, especially after he had personally authorised the sequestration of two dreadnaughts which the British had constructed for the Ottoman navy. Though Churchill’s fits of rage and depressions concerning the Gallipoli campaign are well documented, it is a testament to Churchill’s enduring relationship with Enver Pasha and others that in 1916 Churchill explained to his wife that ‘[a]fter the war I shall be friends with Enver and will make a great Turkish policy with him’. This, of course, never transpired. But Churchill did take up a relatively magnanimous position with Turkey after the war. He continually urged Lloyd George to alter his radically pro-Greek policies and even explained in the final volume of his history of the First World War, *The World Crisis* (1931), that ‘the whole attitude of the Peace Conference towards Turkey was so harsh that Right had now changed sides’.

Thus, while this research project is currently informing essays and monographs on British-Ottoman relations, and diplomatic history as a whole, and building research networks, it has also shed light on forgotten aspects of one of history’s most studied figures and his relationship with the Ottoman empire.



Christopher Catherwood posing at the Churchill archives with his book *Churchill's Folly*, which is about Churchill’s Middle Eastern Policy after the collapse of the Ottoman empire in the aftermath of the First World War

The Assyrian Church of the East and the Russian Orthodox Church: inter-religious relations

Kaitlyn Pieper | British Institute at Ankara

Since January 2013 I've had the pleasure of being based in Ankara as the Institute's Research Scholar. While the majority of my time has been devoted to creating an online archive of the research projects carried out under the auspices of the BIAA between 1947 and 2013 (check it out at <http://www.biaa.ac.uk/research/papers/type/previous>; QR code below), I've also had the chance to prepare for my PhD research in a variety of ways. Beyond linguistic preparation and attending a six-week academic seminar on 19th century American religion, where I presented on charismata among early Mormon missionaries, I've also been researching my PhD topic directly. I hope to investigate late 19th century religious relations between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Assyrian Church of the East in the Ottoman and Persian empires.

In the 19th century, the Church of the East (also called the 'Nestorian' or, modernly, Assyrian Church) was centred primarily in what is now eastern Turkey and northwestern Iran, in relative isolation. The story of its sensational 'discovery' by the West is broadly known. It was around 1820 that the British and Americans first became aware of eastern Christians who spoke 'the language of Jesus', and in the decades that followed they initiated missionary efforts among them (Baum, Winkler 2003: 124). German Protestants became interested in the Church from 1825 and the French began missionary work in 1838 (Baum, Winkler 2003: 124–26).

Some aspects of the inter-Christian relations that ensued have been extensively dealt with – such as the involvement of the Anglican Mission (see Coakley 1992) – and much of interest has been learnt from the study of the eastern Church's interactions with its European counterparts. For instance, we see that the selection of the Church's current eponym ('Assyrian') and modern nationalist claims were influenced by the British missionaries. Additionally, primary literature from the period illuminates interesting features of the western religious mindsets: the strong millenarian expectations and eastern Christianity's role within the millennial lead-up, the Presbyterians' eagerness to see the eastern Church's members as 'proto-Protestants' and the Anglican mission's aim of rejuvenating the ancient church with its former proselytising power all provide interesting material for studies focusing on missiology and eastern-western inter-Christian relations.

The Russian angle, however, has been largely neglected. It is known that the Russian empire had significant interaction with the Church of the East and its people on both military and missionary fronts, and, indeed, has often been accused of liberally peppering their proselytisation with politics. At the moment, only Russian sources attempt to

describe the history of interaction in any systematic way, and these are often published out of theological centres. Beyond a need to confirm the historical facts and make them more accessible to English-speaking scholars, a proper examination of primary literature would surely lend fascinating insight into both the Church of the East and the Russian Orthodox Church, and their perceptions of each other.

Eastern Christians had long looked to Russia as a source of protection from and support against their Muslim neighbours; one of the early alliances was in the 1770s, when the Nestorian Catholicos united with Russia and Georgia against Turkey (Sado 1996). In the late 1820s some Nestorians resettled in Russian territory and became Russian Orthodox (Sado 1996); this, however, was largely in the expectation of support from the Tsar, and when that failed to materialise many returned to their original faith (Baum, Winkler 2003: 124–26). Between the 1830s and 1850s, Nestorian leaders made multiple attempts to enter into political or religious alliances with Russia, applying to the embassies or consulates in Tehran, Tabriz and Tbilisi, and sending messages to the Holy Synod or Russian Emperor; the Russians, however, remained largely unresponsive (Sado 1996). Some minimal efforts were made, such as appointing a 'sarparast' in Persia to ensure the protection of the Christians in 1845 and creating an organisation for the support of the Nestorians in Yerevan who had converted to Orthodoxy (Sado 1996; Baum, Winkler 2003). The 1860s saw the Russians exert a greater interest, as evidenced by two journeys made to the eastern Christians in 1861–1862 and 1864–1865 by Sofonia Sokolskii (a Russian Orthodox leader) in response to a request from Michael of Urmia (Baum, Winkler 2003; Konstantin 2012: 22). Russia still took no steps to facilitate their accession to the Orthodox Church, however, though requests for this continued all the way through the 1890s (Baum, Winkler 2003: 133). In 1892 the Russians finally began to show serious interest in the prospect, though there was resistance (clearly) from the Anglican side (Baum, Winkler 2003). Two Orthodox priests visited Nestorian villages to gather information in 1897, which they subsequently presented to the Holy Synod. Between 17–21 March 1898 the Synod decided to accept Mar Ionan of the Church of the East and his fold into union with the Orthodox Church; he and a delegation travelled to St Petersburg, and on 25 March were accepted into the Church at Alexander Nevsky Lavra (Sado 1996; Baum, Winkler 2003). At this point, 20,000 were officially united to the Russian Orthodox Church (Baum, Winkler 2003). The social interest aroused by this event is attested by the translation and publication in 1898 of Maclean's *The Catholicos of the East and his People*; the foreword cites the Nestorians' 'sincere desire ... to again unite with the mother-church from which it had fallen due to the folly and pride of its leaders' (Lopukhin 1898). Shortly after the accession, the Synod organised a mission to the Church of the East in Urmia (modern-day Iran) and sent four people to head it that autumn.



Cover page of a 1906 edition of *Orthodox Urmia*, the mission journal published bilingually in Syriac and Russian (photo courtesy of S. Sado, with permission)

The first group led mission activities until 1901, though they were replaced with new missionaries in 1902 due to conflicts and incompetence (Sado 1996). The new group was successful in forming a translation committee that translated and printed Orthodox literature in Syriac, as well as in registering the 'Cyrillo-Sergian Urmian Brotherhood' in 1904. This group, too, however, faced internal troubles and external ones; one of their main complaints was the Anglican mission and its efforts to hinder their work (Zhuravskii 2003: 64). Sergii (Lavrov) became the new mission leader in 1904, and would remain in that capacity until the summer of 1916. Though the Russian revolution, Russo-Japanese War and other events combined to make the period 1904–1908 quite difficult for the mission, they did manage to publish a journal entitled *Orthodox Urmia* during 1905–1906 (it would run again between 1911–1914) (Sado 1996). Beginning around 1909 the anti-Russian stance of the Nestorians changed, and Nestorian Patriarch Mar Shimun Benjamin initiated correspondence with the mission head at Urmia, even directly discussing union in 1911. In September of that year some 100 households joined Orthodoxy, and in December the Bishop of Mosul, Mar Ilii, was received into Orthodoxy as well (Sado 1996). The Nestorian Patriarch remained interested in union

between 1913 and 1914, but Sergii never found a sanctioned opportunity to meet with him before 1914, and thereafter it was put off entirely with the onset of war. Though Russia was militarily very successful on the Caucasian front, occupying Trabzon, Van, Erzerum, western Armenia and Kurdistan, the Synod had no funds for foreign missions, and the mission head was left vacant in September 1917 (Sado 1996).

I expect that a close study of the primary Russian literature will yield much of interest, elucidating the political and social context but also lending insight into the attitudes of the Russian Church towards the eastern – but Christian and proximate – other. Since many western accounts are disparaging of the Russian mission and its motives, allowing the Russian voice to surface should create a more holistic perspective. In a world increasingly sensitive to the concept of a global Christianity that spills over traditional borders and regional assignments (a Pew Research Center study – <http://www.pewforum.org/2011/12/19/global-christianity-exec/> – shows that over 66% of the world's Christians resided in Europe in 1910, whereas a century later the figure was 25%), this seems an opportune time to uncover narratives of little-known missions and to explore new possibilities for inter-Church influences.

I'd like to thank kind mentors Erica Hunter, for her guidance in formulating the topic, and Nikolai Seleznyov (Institute for Oriental and Classical Studies) and Father Stefan (head of the St Petersburg Theological Academy library), for acquainting me with primary Russian sources and their repositories. Many thanks are owed to the BIAA for supporting my research and providing a very comfortable base from which I am able to study, travel, write and consider further questions of inter-religious significance.

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QR code for the online archive of research

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.

Roads and Routes in Anatolia: Pathways of Communication from Prehistoric to Seljuk Times

Lutgarde Vandeput and Leonidas Karakatsanis |
British Institute at Ankara

On 20–22 March 2014 the BIAA will hold a conference in collaboration with Ankara University in an attempt to bring together philologists, ancient historians, epigraphers and archaeologists to compare diverse classes of data from past communication networks in Anatolia. The aim of the conference is to increase the still extremely fragmentary knowledge of routes and roads in Anatolia and to develop a diachronic perspective on their use from their beginnings to the end of the Seljuk period.

Movement has always been a necessity to enable interaction and communication between individuals, communities and societies. Moving focuses on specific paths that allow fast and easy connections, rather than occurring randomly in the landscape. Roads and routes are therefore essential for carrying materials and information from one location to another whereby landscape and cultural elements play defining roles. Landscape and cultural elements can be both promoting and constraining factors, and should therefore be taken into account whilst studying routes and roads.

There is substantial evidence that exchange networks already existed in Anatolia before the Neolithic period, with goods travelling over long distances. By the mid third millennium BC a long-distance network of connections between the Anatolian plateau and Upper Mesopotamia had been established, and this brought an intense exchange of goods, technologies and ideas. From the second millennium BC onwards, textual evidence adds substantially to our understanding of the routes travelled, the details of journeys and the locations of centres.

It is highly likely that later roads and routes overlie earlier ones, at least partially, but these palimpsests of roads remain largely to be studied. The Roman long-distance road

network can probably be considered the best-known system, mainly thanks to epigraphical research, but we have only a limited idea about local roads and pathways around individual sites. When and how these developed, what degree of sophistication existed in the infrastructure or even how these roads and pathways were embedded in their landscapes is even less well known. For the post-Roman period, Byzantine roads have also received detailed attention; the Seljuk road and route system, however, is surprisingly under-researched.

Equally largely unexplored is the relationship between roads, human landscapes and natural environments, and how these different elements affected each other through time. Only rarely has the role of natural routes through mountain passes or that of the rivers flowing through Anatolia been taken into account. Furthermore, sea routes and the onward journey of shipped goods after they reached land have not often been the topics of research. Natural routes complemented built roads and routes, and both systems should be considered together to reach an understanding of the networks of connectivity and their development through time.

In combining data from different disciplines, generated by a variety of methods, the conference aims to transcend the present fragmented state of knowledge and to create a new level of understanding of connecting road and route systems in Anatolia through time. Such an understanding will both clarify the mechanisms of exchange and the diffusion of cultural traits, as well as contribute to developing a human geography of Anatolia. Better understanding of these matters will also enable ancient sites to be studied within the context of their wider network of relations and as locations within a cultural landscape.

For the conference programme, please visit:

<http://pathwaysofcommunication.wordpress.com/>

Scientific committee: D. Baird, K. Gökay, J. Haldon,
M. Massa, S. Mitchell and L. Vandeput

New research and new technology at Aşıklı Höyük

Brenna Hassett | Natural History Museum

How do you make something 10,000 years old look new? This was the question asked this season at the archaeological site of Aşıklı Höyük, where more than 20 years of careful excavation led by Mihriban Özbaşaran and Güneş Duru of Istanbul University's Department of Prehistory have unveiled the fascinating and complex story of central Anatolia's earliest settlement. Aşıklı Höyük was occupied for nearly a thousand years and its inhabitants were among the earliest adopters of a settled, agricultural lifestyle. Much of the research at Aşıklı focuses on understanding the transition towards a 'Neolithic' settled, farming lifestyle. An international team assembles every year to study and interpret the material and archaeology uncovered with each new field season, and it has been my privilege to work on a small project that looks at how we might see evidence in teeth of this monumental transition in how people lived by the effects it had on child health and development. However, this year also marked the beginning of a new project for me on site, where the 'samples' taken aren't teeth but photographs. As the technology for recording and preserving evidence of the past improves, new methods and techniques for analysis become possible. And at Aşıklı Höyük, where we have an entire experimental village, there is little hesitation to try out something new. So this year, we have been investigating the possibilities of using photogrammetry to build virtual reconstructions of the archaeology.

Photogrammetry has a respectable history in archaeology, starting with reconstructions using aerial photography, which, when multiple pictures are taken at a slight offset, can be used to determine the actual size and shape of something on the ground and reconstruct it in three-dimensional space through a series of geometric equations. This is a laborious process, however, and requires accurate recording of camera positions and angles, not to mention an airplane. More recently in archaeology laser scanning, where the reflected light is measured to build up a three-dimensional image, has become increasingly popular for recording sites and structures, as it is reasonably fast and effective, though it does require the user to purchase special (costly) equipment. However, with the advent of easy access to powerful computers and sophisticated digital cameras, it has now become possible to accomplish the same ends just by taking a series of digital photos.

While open-source software to make three-dimensional models from photographs exists (for example VisualSFM), I used the application PhotoScan (Agisoft, Russia) to reconstruct objects into three-dimensional models that can be viewed and manipulated on a computer screen, tablet or even a smartphone. This means that from just a handful of photographs, we can make a model of a 10,000-year-old Neolithic house that students, site visitors and members of the public



The interior of a three-dimensional model of the latest reconstruction on site – a Neolithic roundhouse

can hold in their hands. With photo-realistic reconstructions, it's possible to tour the new reconstruction of a Neolithic roundhouse at Aşıklı Höyük from anywhere in the world.

This season's experiment in finding new ways to bring our research out of the field and into the hands of the public has been a great success. The models of houses, burials and objects that were created in the field will be an important part of communicating the fascinating story of this important site to audiences in my home institution, the Natural History Museum, London. The models can also be used as part of the site archive, offering an opportunity for researchers and visitors to get an immediate 'feel' for the settlement in three dimensions. Most importantly, it's a great way to make that 10,000-year-old burial look new again!



Reconstruction of a house floor burial (photos by Brenna Hassett and Güneş Duru, Aşıklı Höyük Research Project)

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

Douglas Baird | University of Liverpool

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. There are few sites where we are able to observe direct evidence for the earliest adoption or development of farming and a focus on how the spread of farming occurred has distracted from understanding how the adoption of farming affected those caught up in the process and changed the relationships between people, plants, animals and landscapes. At Boncuklu we have demonstrated previously the adoption of farming by indigenous central Anatolian foragers (Baird et al. 2012), so the project now 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 landscapes, ritual and symbolism, as well as to understand the spread of farming to the west, 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 pages we review the principal discoveries of 2013 in relation to the key issues of investigation.

Settlement organisation

In the central and southern parts of the site we excavated in two trenches, Areas M and P, to see whether possible domestic residences were to be found all over the site and how densely packed the households might have been. In addition, we wanted to understand whether different areas of the site were used in different ways and whether there were non-residential structures. Adding to the two detected in Area P in 2012, by extending the area 3m northwards we revealed two new curvilinear buildings, one succeeding the other and, for the most part, with features of domestic residential structures. We also revealed a mass of mud-brick structural debris associated with some of these buildings.

For significant periods of time in Area M, open spaces, in which midden deposits accumulated, characterised this central area of the site. This year, we added significantly to our knowledge of the use of these open spaces. Several types of hearths seem to have been common in these areas and some saw repeated use. For example, there were at least three phases of use of a sub-square hearth in the northwest part of Area M. These were carefully cut down and lined with clay or occasionally their edges were created with previously burnt daub lumps. In addition, circular pits up to 1m in diameter were cut in these spaces, with some containing fragments of human skulls – continuing clear evidence for the circulation and deposition of human skulls in these areas. Midden accumulated in different depositional circumstances in different parts of Area M. Some areas saw

more massive dumping of less consolidated material. In other areas more finely laminated and compacted deposits of ash, phytoliths and possible coprolites accumulated. This season we confirmed two *in situ* Neolithic burials in the open spaces of Area M.

Also in Area M, we had previously identified the presence of structures with unusual floor configurations and different wall and roofing arrangements, which contrasted with the standard domestic structures. We excavated part of two of these in Area M. One, Building 16, in the northern part of M had more solid plaster floors than its successors in this area, and collapsed structural debris, which we identify as roofing material, had fallen onto the latest floor. Whilst we cannot therefore comment on the construction of the walls of this structure, it seems to have had a relatively substantial ceiling/roof with reeds and thin wooden structural components encased in a clay roof material. These structures in Area M varied widely in the makeup of their floors, features, walls and roofing. In the western part of the area parts of earlier structures have also been excavated. These had very silty and ashy floors, as did some in the later phases of Area M. Occasionally red ochre was scattered over these floors. As with the later buildings in the area, several hearths seem to have been present.

Thus a picture is emerging of a site with modest densities of contemporary dwellings. The residential structures were probably grouped together in small clusters around the peripheries of the settlement, with more central areas of the site given over to distinct activities carried out both in the open, where midden deposits were dumped, and also in distinctive types of structures whose use contrasted with that of the structures to the north and south.

Use of space and ritual practices within structures

Building 6, the best-preserved example of a Neolithic dwelling at Boncuklu, continued to yield interesting insights into the use of space, domestic activities and ritual practice in domestic structures. This building suggests that the ‘dirty’ northwestern kitchen areas of the habitations saw more frequent remodelling and intense activity, relative to the floors of the ‘clean’ southeastern areas. In the kitchen area of Building 6 the edge of the hearth was constantly refurbished with a series of clay packing deposits around the main hearth area. A series of postholes indicates the regular shifting of a post in this area and the packing deposits show the presence of numerous stakeholes near the hearth. There was also a series of small sub-square shallow pits to the north of the hearth, which may well have contained small artefact caches. This is suggested by the discovery of a cache of 32 obsidian tools packed together in what was probably a small container which survived as a series of fibres preserved as phytoliths, immediately under the edge of the northern wall. We also excavated two pits in this area on the edge of the northern wall, just northeast of the hearth;

one pit had two animal scapulae plastered into the pit. One was a boar scapula and the other was that of either a deer or wild caprine. Louise Martin, studying the animal bone, suggests these were plastering rather than digging tools. It seems likely they may have been kept in these pits during their period of use in the house, but then, when finished with, were symbolically incorporated into the house to which they belonged, as part of a deliberate ritual deposition, analogous to the way in which people were buried in houses with which they were probably associated. It is interesting that a large wild-cattle joint, used as a hammer, was plastered back into one of the postholes in the northwestern part of this building as well.

Other animal bones are associated with other parts of the building. Thus, this year we excavated more fully the entrance area. This had many floors, some with reed phytoliths on them. The middle phases of the entrance had a flat threshold with a wild-cattle horn set into the edge of the entrance area and it appears it would have protruded into the building next to the threshold. The middle phases of the entrance had a distinct raised threshold – about 10cm high – with 16 floors in the entrance area. The floors sloped down to the outside, showing the exterior areas were lower to the east and suggesting the building was terraced into the sloping surface of the site.

Mortuary practices

As noted above, we have documented clear articulated inhumations in middens in Area M. One was a tightly crouched burial of an adult, with overlying and underlying phytoliths which strongly suggest the individual was wrapped in matting or textile. We also found an articulated perinatal burial in earlier midden deposits in Area M. In addition, each of two pits in the earlier phases of Area M contained fragments of skull from multiple individuals, further attesting to the circulation and deposition of such elements in the open areas of the site.

In Building 12 in Area H we excavated several floors that sealed the latest burial in the building. The burial, Grave 30, was that of an articulated adult male, tightly bound together. The burial had been placed in or on a basket or mat, the impressions of which were to be seen in the marl at the base of the grave. Several floors earlier, a large oval pit the same size and shape as most of the graves under the house floors had been cut. No human remains were found in this pit. The pit was filled with bricky debris, ashy lenses and phytolith layers. A large retouched flint blade had been deliberately placed on the surface of one of the lower ashy fills which should be seen as a symbolic act. It is possible that this was a large storage pit, but it is unlike any of the few likely storage installations we have found and exactly like the burial pits. Perhaps this was a grave that was never filled, a cenotaph or a burial from which human remains had been retrieved; as we have seen, skulls certainly circulated.



Animal scapulae in Building 6

Other finds

Amongst other exciting finds we single out a cache of *Collumbella* marine shell beads in a dense spread of mud-brick collapse in Area P. This must have been contained in a small bag carefully deposited or buried in this structural debris. We also found a number of examples of the distinctive decorated grooved stones and plaques which typify the site. One of the most distinctive this season had a new motif which is reminiscent of some of the so-called dancing scenes; the motif may be intended to evoke a series of anthropomorphic figures with upraised arms (see photo below).



Decorated stone plaque

Boncuklu community heritage programme

2013 saw significant progress in Boncuklu's community heritage programme, with construction of a Visitor Centre and the installation of bi-lingual interpretative panels. Progress has also been made in providing information about the site for adults and children, and a series of resources for visitors and local schools hosted on our bi-lingual website (<http://boncuklu.org/>). A series of publications – in Turkish and English – is being developed in time for the 2014 season. This includes a booklet for children with commissioned cartoon characters intended to help form a link with our younger audience. Furthermore, a series of teacher support resources is being produced, including powerpoint presentations and lesson ideas. The development of these resources has been coordinated by Steve Chaddock of Timeline Heritage. The local school teachers are enthusiastic about the project, which will see further developments around the Visitor Centre to allow better community interaction and development of a 'field classroom' on site. Plans have been developed to roof and preserve Building 6, build some replica Neolithic houses and create a visitor path at the site. The project is also contributing to the Neolithic gallery in the planned new Konya Archaeological and Ethnographic Museum. Further sponsorship is being sought to help fund these forthcoming developments.



Interior of the Visitor Centre

Acknowledgements

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The season after the year before: Çatalhöyük 2013

Ian Hodder | Stanford University

It really did seem like the morning after the night before. After the euphoria of the UNESCO inscription of Çatalhöyük onto the World Heritage List in 2012, we seemed to be living through a severe headache in the 2013 season. In many ways the impact of the inscription was very positive. The guards at the site count the number of foreign and Turkish visitors every day. Since January 2013 the numbers of visitors have increased dramatically. Bus loads arrived daily during the 2013 season, brought by companies advertising themselves with names like 'World Heritage Academy'. Clearly UNESCO inscription has made a big difference, and local and regional communities will benefit. Inscription has also meant the site has attracted greater investment by national and regional heritage organisations. For example, KOP (Konya Ovası Projesi) has provided funding for four new experimental houses that will themselves attract more tourists when they are constructed next year. On the other hand, the increasing numbers of tourists create their own headaches, putting pressure on the parking facilities and causing faster erosion on the paths across the mound. But the greatest impact has to do with regulation regarding health and safety. For example, Stanford University has become concerned about its liability in relation to the tourist numbers and has requested 50 improvements – everything from wooden caps on survey pegs to better medical training for staff. Coupled with the numerous new regulations instigated by the current Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the 2013 season has been a trying one, concerned as much with risk management and compliance as with archaeology itself.

Luckily we have had a wonderful management team wending its way between the increasing demands of bureaucracies and administrations. Yıldız Dirmit has taken over as a very effective Project Manager, supported in the field by the wisdom of Levent Özer and by the help of our Assistant Director, Serap Özdöl. Our temsilci was Fahri Ayçin from the Konya Museum.

Luckily too, the archaeology has been very rewarding and we made a number of remarkable new finds this year. These kept the team in good form, even when our numbers got up to 120, from 22 different countries.

Çatalhöyük is located near Çumra, Konya in central Turkey. The East Mound was inhabited between 7400 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. Because Çatalhöyük is a large site (13.5ha) at an early date and with good preservation, its excavation is slow and difficult; it needs a big team.

It is the good preservation at the site that led to the most remarkable of our discoveries in 2013. Building 52 in the North Shelter had been burned by its Neolithic inhabitants when it was abandoned. This conflagration had baked through the floors and platforms of the building; in doing so it had inadvertently preserved cloth that had been placed between the skeletons of those who had previously been buried beneath the floors.

This cloth has been analysed at the laboratories at Çatalhöyük and it has been identified as linen, made from flax. This is one of the earliest finds of cloth in the world, and is certainly one of the best preserved. It seems that the linen, which is very finely woven, was traded from the Levant all the way to central Anatolia. Archaeologists have long known of the long-distance trade of obsidian and shells at this time period in the Middle East, but this is the first indication that cloth or textile may have been part of the trade system, perhaps exchanged for the obsidian from Cappadocia.



Neolithic linen preserved in a burial in Building 52

In the same grave a wooden bowl or some sort of head cover made of wood was placed over the skull of a child. The dead at Çatalhöyük were sometimes treated in very different and remarkable ways. Over the years we have found many unusual burials, such as bodies buried with a lamb, or covered in the seat of a small carnivore, or quite frequently with the head removed. It is tempting to interpret the wooden head cover as a mask, since the latter have been found in the Neolithic of the Levant, but in this case the most likely explanation is that the decayed wooden object is a bowl.

Both the cloth and wooden bowl were found in graves in the northern part of the main room in Building 52 in the North Area of the site. This building had in previous excavation seasons proved to be very interesting and unusual, with a bull's skull and horns set into the west wall and with a bench with bull horns affixed to its side. It was obviously an especially large and complex building. In most buildings, installations such as bull horns on walls were removed when the building was abandoned. But Building 52 was burned, and we often find that burned buildings retained their installations. So it is difficult to work out whether some buildings like Building 52 look more elaborate because of



Wooden bowl placed on the skull in a burial in Building 52



Wild sheep horns arranged along a thin 'bench' in Building 52

the way they were abandoned, or whether they were burned on abandonment because they were special and elaborate – a classic chicken-and-egg problem. One possible indication that Building 52 had long been special and important is that when in 2013 we dismantled the bench that had held bull horns, we discovered a thinner smaller bench beneath it, this time affixed with wild sheep horns. It seems increasingly likely that more important buildings were abandoned by intentional burnings.

In 2013 we also started excavating Neolithic buildings in an area we are calling TPC in the southern part of the site. The aim here is to understand how the site changed in its latest phases of occupation and to link up some of our previously separated excavation areas (TP and South). Here we found buildings that indeed did differ very much from earlier buildings (with, for example, very thick walls built with large flat bricks) and which had not been burned on abandonment. One of the buildings at this late phase had walls painted with designs not seen before. Normally the paintings at Çatalhöyük are made using dark paint (red or black mostly) on a white background, but in this case very regular white lines had been painted on a darker background. This painting continued along at least the east and north walls of the main room: it must have been a very bright and vibrant space.

Normally archaeologists record everything, including wall paintings, using paper and pencil and photography. Indeed, archaeological recording has become increasingly a matter of filling in forms and drawing plans on permatrace. This is slow and laborious, and afterwards, back in the dig house, all the data have to be entered into the database, the plans scanned and digitised and the photographs uploaded. In 2013 we started making use of new digital technologies to speed up this process and make it more flexible. Using computer tablets, images are taken of what is being excavated and these images are converted into 3D models that can be orthogonally rectified and placed into the GIS database for the site. Still in the trench, the excavated features or skeletons can be drawn over and annotated and uploaded as shape files into the GIS. So all the planning and



Justine Issavi recording using a tablet in Building 80

recording can be done without paper. This system was used successfully in 2013 in a few excavation areas; we hope to expand the use of tablets across the whole site next year.

For many years, teams have also been working on the Chalcolithic West Mound at Çatalhöyük. In 2013 the trenches there were finally filled in and closed down. So this was the last year of excavations by the team led by Peter Biehl, Eva Rosenstock and Jana Rogasch. Members of the team will be returning to work on post-excavation, but we are sorry to see them leave the field. Much has been accomplished and we now have for the first time a good picture of how the Çatalhöyük community changed as it moved into the sixth millennium BCE.

Acknowledgements

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The 2013 Çatalhöyük team assembled near the North Shelter (all photos Jason Quinlan)

Investigating microscopic traces of Neolithic life in the Konya plain

Aroa García-Suárez | University of Reading

I first heard of the ancient town of Çatalhöyük during my first term at university, almost ten years ago. The social and symbolic complexity of the site fascinated me, and, although I later decided to direct my career towards the study of Pleistocene hunter-gatherer lifestyles, I remained haunted by this exceptionally-preserved agricultural settlement. This might be the reason why, when it was proposed that I conduct research on local developments in sedentism and site networks in central Anatolia during the Neolithic period, I did not hesitate to accept the challenge.

Having already spent one year committed to this project, I do not regret my decision. The UNESCO World Heritage site of Çatalhöyük is a key settlement for the understanding of the development of early agricultural societies in the region. Since the initial excavations by James Mellaart in the 1960s it has become recognised as an internationally significant site due to the exceptional preservation of its wall art and the richness of its bioarchaeological assemblage. These characteristics have made the settlement a unique site within the Neolithic of Turkey and have served to promote the view of Çatalhöyük as a self-defined entity, not always taking into account how it relates to the broader regional picture.

My research is currently focused on the geoarchaeological study of buildings, middens and open areas at the Neolithic sites of Boncuklu (ninth to eighth millennium BC uncal.), Çatalhöyük (eighth to sixth millennium BC cal.) and Pınarbaşı (ninth to seventh millennium BC cal.). The well-defined architectural units at these three sites provide rigorous contextual data for the geoarchaeological analysis of variations in their depositional sequences and traces of activities. This research aims not only to place the large community at Çatalhöyük in regional perspective by comparing records of ecology, resources and social strategies between these chronologically spaced settlements, but also to shed light on to the claimed persistent egalitarian ethos at Çatalhöyük by studying contemporary sequences from several neighbouring buildings and the ecological strategies and networks they represent.

To achieve these goals, an approach that integrates the microarchaeological record with the macroarchaeology has been adopted. This involves, first, the development of a micro-excavation strategy that allows for a better identification, documentation and understanding of the information present in the individual micro-layers (between 2 and 5mm thick) that constitute a great part of the Çatalhöyük sequence.

This strategy has been tested during the 2013 field season. This past summer, Building 114, in the North Area of Çatalhöyük, was carefully excavated in vertical 'slices', in a similar fashion to the way we cut a cake, leaving at least one section exposed during the process. The sections

provided great insight into the depositional histories of the building and enabled the application of a range of field and laboratory sedimentological characterisations, such as pXRF and micromorphology. In addition to this, the sequence of this small building (ca. 4m by 1.5m), which shows the whole range of features that we see in larger buildings, including wall paintings, plastered platforms and several human burials, has proven to be of value to the investigation of the function of these small but independent buildings and the social strategies they represent within the wider organisation of the settlement.

In a second stage, the geoarchaeological samples collected during the field seasons at the three study sites are processed for micro-analyses. At the heart of this methodological approach lies thin-section micromorphology, a technique that enables the microscopic study and identification of the nature, deposition and periodicity of specific components indicating particular human activities, such as storage, food procurement and cooking practices. For the purpose of this research several geochemical techniques comprising SEM-EDX, μ XRF, FTIR and analysis of organic matter are being integrated with micromorphology to enable the characterisation of specific deposits and elements related to variations caused by human activities. This methodological approach, possible thanks to a generous study grant awarded by the BIAA, provides links between macroscopic observations in the field and the information gathered through micro-analytical techniques, and results in a better understanding of the whole archaeological record.

The conclusions of this research will permit us to address the relationship between, as well as within, Neolithic communities and their environments, contributing to the understanding of the full range of landscape exploitation strategies used by early farmers in the wetland/dryland setting in which these sites existed. This is essential in order to confirm the paths to sedentism, cultivation and herding that scholars are currently positing for central Anatolia and current models for local diversity more widely.



Building 114 under excavation, North Area, Çatalhöyük

Long-distance trade and communication networks in Late Chalcolithic Anatolia

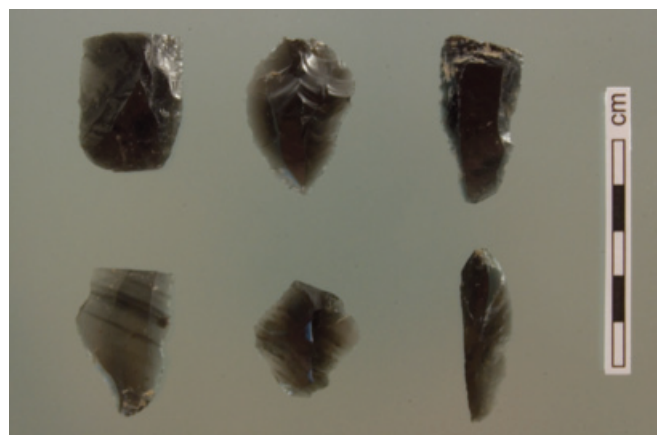
Ulf-Dietrich Schoop and Joseph Lehner | University of Edinburgh and University of California, Los Angeles

In contrast to the Neolithic or the Bronze Age, the social realities of the intervening periods are not well known in Anatolian archaeology. Thus, excavations at Çamlıbel Tarlası, a site close to the later Hittite capital Hattuša, were undertaken to shed more light on this neglected time period. Çamlıbel Tarlası is a small hamlet site dating into the mid fourth millennium BC, i.e. into the Late Chalcolithic. The location was used for a relatively short period of time – slightly longer than a century. Such small settlements are not often the focus of scientific investigation in Anatolia, but can produce quite interesting information. As became apparent, many of the activities at Çamlıbel Tarlası were related to the presence of a small copper ore deposit in the vicinity. Plentiful remains of a copper-working cottage industry, including remains of ore, slag, crucibles and finished metal artefacts, were uncovered among the ruins of the prehistoric houses.

Somewhat unexpected were indications of far-reaching contacts. Maritime shells must have travelled inland from the shores of either the Mediterranean or the Black Sea. The production and use of artificial steatite micro beads and the custom of cranial deformation point to influences from the upper Euphrates area. A casting mould for ring-shaped figurines establishes a link to the southern Balkans. The inhabitants of Çamlıbel Tarlası also had great interest in exotic flint which arrived at the site in the shape of long retouched blades. While the source areas for flint objects are somewhat difficult to trace, the situation is much better for obsidian, which is another exotic material used for making tools at the site.

Turkey has many sources of obsidian which were utilised over millennia for the production of stone tools. One of the most significant source areas for Near Eastern obsidian is located some 200km to the south of Çamlıbel Tarlası, in Cappadocia. Smaller deposits, however, have recently been discovered in northern Anatolia as well, in much closer proximity to the site. The chemical composition of each separate flow of obsidian has a potentially unique elemental signature which allows for the source identification of obsidian artefacts through chemical analysis.

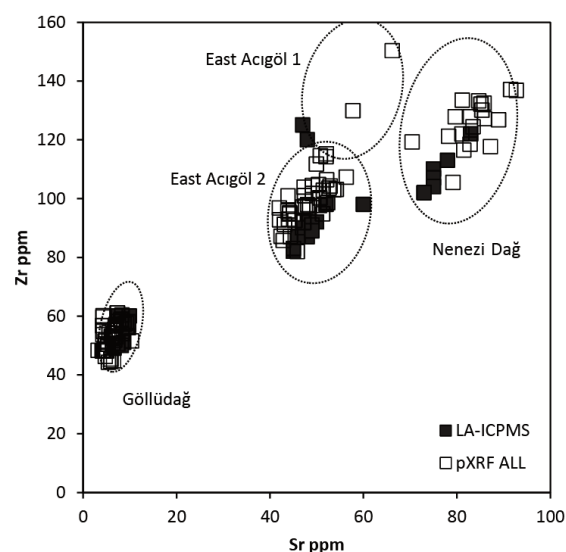
A natural question arises in the context of Late Chalcolithic raw material acquisition strategies: did the residents of Çamlıbel Tarlası acquire local obsidian or did they prefer more exotic obsidian materials for the production of their tools? Recent advancements in portable technologies, such as portable XRF analysers, have allowed us to characterise completely the entire assemblage of obsidian artefacts from the site, which using the traditional laboratory-based method would have been a prohibitively expensive and time consuming undertaking. With the help of a BIAA study grant, a representative sample was taken to the French National



Selection of obsidian artefacts from Çamlıbel Tarlası

Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS) in Orléans to test the accuracy of the portable XRF results by using ICPMS – a robust technology which can measure accurately minute quantities of elements down to the scale of parts-per-billion (ppb) – and to identify the source areas. Comparative results indicate not only a clear correlation, verifying the portable XRF data, but also allow us to define clear groups of obsidian.

Results indicate that the entire obsidian assemblage derives from exotic Cappadocian sources, namely from the well-known obsidian sources at Acıgöl, Göllüdağ and Nenezi Dağ, and not from more local sources in north-central Anatolia. This is significant because Cappadocian obsidian can be found at many contemporary sites as far away as the southern Levant. It is clear that geographical proximity of the sources was not the decisive factor in the choice of obsidian supply. Although comparable data from more contemporaneous sites are needed to understand how exactly fourth millennium BC obsidian exchange worked, this study has demonstrated how Çamlıbel Tarlası participated in overlapping exchange systems, maintaining communication with the wider world.



The Cappadocian sources of Çamlıbel Tarlası obsidian

Broad horizons? The exchange of ideas from the Neolithic to the Early Bronze Age

Emma Baysal | British Institute at Ankara

Emma Baysal was the Institute's Post-Doctoral Research Fellow for 2012/2013. Here she reports on the research she has conducted during the fellowship.

Turkey is a notable crossroads; it is the dividing line between the East and West, between the continents of Europe and Asia. In archaeological terms, Turkey is known as a place of many 'firsts'. It is home to the beginnings of agriculture and the domestication of animals, and host of the technological revolution which resulted from the use of metals for the first time. Thus, a project which combines questions of movement and innovation, and looks at their long-term dynamics, is well suited to a country of such archaeological vibrancy. In dealing with Turkish prehistory, my project ('The dynamics of marginality: the exchange of ideas from the Neolithic to the Early Bronze Age') probes archaeological data to ask what we can understand about how and why material-culture change occurred. Acknowledging and accepting the complexity of Turkey's early communities, among them some of the first settlements ever known, and also finding ways to bring to life the silent artefacts are crucial to the process of understanding such processes of transformation. Change has often been assumed to be inevitable. The spread of agriculture and the use of metal, for example, have been seen to be of such economic and social advantage that they were highly desirable to all. I have set out to question how and why new things, practices and technologies were adopted, adapted or rejected.

As one of the areas of the world with the greatest history of archaeological research, Anatolia has been both a pioneering area of enquiry and a partial victim of its own successes. The heavy focus on both the classification of artefacts with a culture-historical perspective (Harris 1994) and the tracing of new inventions (Mellaart 1962; Yener 2000), of which there is a particularly high incidence in Anatolia, has affected the way that evidence is treated. In breaking down the boundaries of previous research paradigms, I hope to promote a rethinking of the way in which archaeologists of Anatolian prehistory approach some aspects of data interpretation.

This work was inspired by my own specialist area of research – the study of prehistoric personal ornamentation – which has already begun to disclose some stories of complex inter- and intra-regional relationships and strength of local tradition. It has also shown that communities were not as open to change as has often been assumed. The depth of material tradition seen in the central Anatolian Neolithic is surprising; there are material procurement patterns that had already existed for more than 4,000 years by the time the first settlements were founded in the Konya plain during the

ninth millennium BC (Baysal 2013a; 2013b). When looked at in this perspective, taking account of deeply conservative traditions probably related to value systems not identifiable from the archaeological record, change processes can be seen as only one aspect of relatively stable social and technological organisation.

Identifying interactions between individuals and groups in prehistory relies on a detailed understanding of the materials, technologies and styles that were used. Technology and style have long been relied upon as defining characteristics of culture areas. In some cases it is simple to identify a material that has limited availability. Often a single artefact type, such as ceramics, has become predominant in identifying affinities and changes. Obsidian (volcanic glass), used in the manufacture of chipped-stone tools, is an example of such a material on which Turkish archaeology has relied since its inception. This single-material approach to material-cultural affiliations does not account for the interactions of individual settlements where products and influences were likely to originate from a number of directions. Taking account of the complete range of a settlement's likely contacts, whether in terms of physical movements of materials and products or the influences indicated by changing technologies, forms, functions and styles, gives a multifaceted picture of the constitution of social identity. It has become clear that a number of materials and products not traditionally considered in material-cultural affinities might give clues to the procurement and use practices of inhabitants of some areas. Advances in our ability to identify scientifically exact sources of materials and products have significantly changed the range of materials that can offer information to the archaeologist.

This general improvement in the understanding of material culture, in conjunction with a theoretical framework that is well suited to the nature of the data, taking account of its limitations and factors beyond the physical appearance of artefacts, allows for an improved understanding of transforma-



A Chalcolithic stone bracelet, broken during production, from Kanlıtaş Höyük, Eskişehir (courtesy of Ali Türkcan, Anadolu University)

tions. Approaching material culture through an inter-regional perspective accounting for agency, identity and social memory draws on all these factors to look ultimately at the way in which communities viewed themselves in relation to others.

In addition to identifying a suitable theoretical framework for use with the available evidence, my project also uses a variety of case studies, dating between the Neolithic and the Early Bronze Age, to explore the various aspects of interactions and material-culture change. Important in this approach is the attribution of equal weight to stasis and change, understanding that some things remained constant, even when new technologies or products were available. This continuity, when seen in the broader regional perspective, may have slowed or stalled the adoption of new ideas or perhaps changed the pattern of their spread. The examination of such a broad time frame is rarely undertaken in archaeology; however, in order to avoid period-specific biases and to take account of the legacies of preceding events in this context, it is important to be as broad-ranging as possible.

Overall, the juxtaposition of strong social identities, based in the active cultivation of social memory through reiterative material-cultural practices, with intensifying and increasingly complex social interactions through time allows a debate about the vulnerability of early social cohesion. Varying selectivity in the adoption of outside influences, coupled with population movements and manufacture for distant markets, gives a fascinating narrative of inter-regional interactions played out against often very conservative material-cultural traditions.

This research is still in its early stages; the amount of data to be collected and assessed, links to be established and innovations to be identified means that this project is scheduled to take another two years to reach completion in its final book form. In the meantime, I am beginning to publish articles on the subject from various perspectives and to present at conferences, which has, so far, proved very useful in terms of gathering feedback and new ideas.

In addition to work on this book, my specialist research on personal ornamentation also continues. Several articles will be appearing in the coming months on the subject, as well as two articles on the Alahan cemetery survey in collaboration with Hugh Elton. This year I have assessed an assemblage of Chalcolithic white marble bracelets from the site of Kanlıtaş (survey directed by Ali Turkcan, Anadolu University, Eskişehir) and written them up as an example of an incipient craft specialisation. This work has been complemented by an assemblage of beads and bracelets of stone and shell from Uğurlu on Gökçeada (excavation directed by Burçin Erdoğan, Trakya University, Edirne) which is beginning to tell a story of intensive and highly specialised interactions in the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic spreading across the Aegean, northwestern Anatolia, into the Balkans and around the western Black Sea. A further picture of the western Anatolian Neolithic is beginning to emerge from the

bead assemblage of Barcın Höyük (directed by Fokke Gerritsen and Rana Özbal, Netherlands Institute in Turkey). Having previously concentrated on the archaeology of central Anatolia, the transition to looking at the personal ornamentation traditions of the western and north-western regions is giving an insight into a world of material-cultural interactions that was more closely related to the Aegean region than to southeastern Anatolia. This work is also pioneering in that assemblages of personal ornamentation in Anatolia have received virtually no previous research attention. In the coming year I hope to start work on a variety of assemblages of Bronze Age beads from southeastern Turkey, thereby broadening both my horizons and the horizons of this research field even further.

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A large Neolithic disc bead from Barcın Höyük, Bursa (courtesy of Fokke Gerritsen, Netherlands Institute in Turkey)



A tomb block in the cemetery at Alahan (courtesy of Hugh Elton, Trent University)

Çaltılar Archaeology Project 2013

Alan M. Greaves | University of Liverpool

With Belgin Aksoy, Andrew Brown, Pedar Foss and Neil Macdonald

Between 2008 and 2012, the Çaltılar Archaeology Project conducted intensive surface sampling, geophysical survey, topographical survey and geomorphological investigations of the two höyüks of Çaltılar and Seki-Eceler in the highlands of Lycia. Then under the direction of Nicoletta Momigliano, this research gave valuable new insights into the pre-Classical settlement of the region. In 2013 our objectives were to complete that survey and bring it to publication, and also to build on the outcomes of the successful Turkey-EU Intercultural Dialogue for Museums (ICD-MUSE) partnership between Fethiye Museum and the University of Liverpool – Illuminating the Land of Lights.

The aims of the Çaltılar Archaeology Project are to provide substantial new knowledge about the settlement history, material culture and environment of pre-Classical northern Lycia (Chalcolithic to Early Iron Age, ca fourth to early first millennium BC) and to explore the role of this region within the context of broader eastern Mediterranean-Anatolian-Aegean interactions in these early periods. In October 2013 we continued to work towards these objectives with two weeks of study in the depot in Çaltılar village where the materials collected during three seasons of intensive pottery collection at Çaltılar (2008, 2009) and Seki-Eceler (2012) are stored.

The project's research lead for prehistoric materials, Belgin Aksoy, made a detailed study of the pottery and other

artefacts recovered from both sites, including a decorated spindle whorl (left). In particular, her work focused on cataloguing the material and identifying differences in the artefact collec-



tions from the two sites. She also considered how the results of ceramic analysis of pottery samples taken in previous seasons could be related to the macroscopic identification of different pottery types. All the lithics were re-drawn and photographed ready for publication.

Meanwhile, Andrew Brown led research into the Iron Age pottery, which represents the largest group of material from both sites; he focused on the ceramic assemblages collected at Seki-Eceler Höyük in 2012 in particular, in order to identify diagnostic material, fabric groups and potential chronological indicators. All surveyed material was examined with diagnostic material removed for illustration and photography. Several distinctive fabrics were identified that macroscopically appear characteristic for the bulk of

material at Seki-Eceler Höyük, and samples of these were taken for further scientific analysis by ceramic petrography. Although a small quantity of highly diagnostic late Roman material has been identified at Seki-Eceler, as yet there appears to be no material that might securely be dated to the intervening Classical and Hellenistic periods.

For our second objective – developing the outcomes of the Illuminating the Land of Lights project – we conducted both fieldwork and education activities.

In the field, we used Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI) photography to create interactive photographic images of reliefs and inscriptions. RTI is a non-contact technology that uses a series of flash photographs to emphasise surface relief. It is a useful tool for assisting in the interpretation of eroded artefacts where surface detail has been lost and also has value for conservation where monuments cannot easily or safely be removed to museums for safe-keeping.

For this study we chose artefacts that represent a challenge to standard methods of interpretation, recording and conservation. These were an altar carved with a relief image of a veiled goddess, two rock-relief stelae near Yayla Esenköy village, a relief of a shield and a single stele at Seki-Eceler, a rock relief of the Dioskouroi flanking a veiled goddess at Seki-Eceler and an inscription on a column in the garden of the mosque in Yayla Esenköy village (see photo below), all dating from the Roman period. The reliefs were studied by Catherine Draycott and the inscriptions by Nilhan Tüner.



Our education activities included a public meeting, a photographic exhibition and the relaunch of our website and Facebook group. The meeting in our research and education centre was attended by 30 people and included short presentations by me, the research team and Fethiye Museum staff. We also continued the development of the Heritage Education Centre established by the Illuminating the Land of Lights project, which features fun archaeological puzzles and educational games for the children of the village.

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The Lower Göksu Archaeological Salvage Survey

T. Emre Şerifoğlu, Naoise Mac Sweeney and Carlo Colantoni |
Bitlis Eren University and University of Leicester

The Göksu river valley, in Rough Cilicia, is a landscape rich with heritage and history. It is perhaps best known for its spectacular Byzantine and medieval remains, but archaeological relics from many different historical periods can be found here. Hittite texts and rock carvings imply that the valley was an important route between the plateau and the sea in the Bronze Age, and a distinctive indigenous culture appears to have taken root here in the Iron Age. In recent years, the results of several projects, including the Upper Göksu Survey and the Kilise Tepe Archaeological Project, have brought the valley's dramatic past to light.

The lower part of the Göksu valley is due to be flooded in 2016, with the construction of a dam at Kayraktepe, approximately 10km northwest of the town of Silifke (ancient Seleucia ad Calycadnum). The dam will bring new development to the region, but one unavoidable consequence will be that several known archaeological sites will be completely or partially submerged, including Kilise Tepe, Çingen Tepe, Mal Tepe, Ören Tepe and At Tepe. In addition to the loss of these known sites, a rich archaeological landscape will be submerged, including an unknown number of other ancient sites and monuments.

In 2013, an international team of Turkish and British archaeologists set up the Lower Göksu Archaeological Salvage Survey. Our aim is to document as much as we can of this unique archaeological landscape before it is lost beneath the waters of the dam. We plan to undertake a systematic survey of the flood zone, recording the archaeological remains for posterity. We are racing against time to learn as much as possible about this crucial area, which has been both a channel for communication and a distinctive region in its own right throughout its long history.

With generous support in the form of a Project Grant from the British Institute at Ankara, we have been able to complete our first season of archaeological survey in the field. On 30 September 2013, a small team began work from its headquarters in Taşucu, led by Tevfik Emre Şerifoğlu of Bitlis Eren University. The team worked in different areas of the valley, which includes parts of the districts of Silifke, Mut and Gülnar. This season's work had two objectives: to visit known sites that need further investigation and to visit potential archaeological sites which were determined using satellite images and maps.

Thus we conducted intensive surveys at the sites of Çingen Tepe, Mal Tepe, Ören Tepe and At Tepe, which were all recorded during surveys conducted by James Mellaart and David French. Of these, Çingen Tepe and Mal Tepe are located where the Kurtşuyu river joins the Göksu, while Ören Tepe and At Tepe are located where the Ermenek river meets the Göksu. All four sites were occupied from the Early Bronze

Age until the Byzantine period; at Mal Tepe, however, pre-Byzantine material was scarce and At Tepe may have been first settled before the Bronze Age.

These sites were divided into smaller areas in which archaeological materials visible on the surface were recorded by drawing and photography. Most of our time was spent at Çingen Tepe as this site will be flooded before the others and is already badly damaged due to illegal excavations. The western slope of the mound was investigated by dividing the whole surface into 322 2m by 2m grid squares, counting all the sherds in each, and drawing and photographing all the diagnostic pieces. It should also be noted that Çingen Tepe is located relatively close to Kilise Tepe (just on the other side of the Göksu river), and the archaeological material from there closely resembles that from Çingen Tepe.

During our investigations at these four sites, we spotted late Roman/Byzantine pottery scatters at fields near Ören Tepe and At Tepe, which point to the existence of extensive villages near these sites at this period. We also discovered a late Roman/Byzantine bridge, which is still in use today, near the site of Mal Tepe, and the remains of a Hellenistic or early Roman building very close to Ören Tepe.

In addition to this work, we visited numerous site candidates in the vicinity of Anamurlu, Aşağı Köşelerli, Hisar, Evkaf Çiftliği and Karahacılı villages during the 2013 season. Of these, two to the west of Aşağı Köşelerli and one to the north of Hisar proved to be late Roman/Byzantine villages or farmsteads. A stone-paved water canal was found in the vicinity of Anamurlu, which was probably built during the Byzantine or medieval period. Besides these, a Byzantine or medieval castle, which the locals call Ak Kale (White Castle), was discovered to the south of Karahacılı, which, based on the pottery scatters around it, seems to have had a small settlement attached to it.

Probably the most exciting discovery of this season was Dam Tepe, a mound located very close to the village of Evkaf Çiftliği on a terrace overlooking the Göksu river. The archaeological material implies that this site was occupied from the Early Bronze Age until the Byzantine period. The site will not be flooded, but the new road to be built as part of the dam project will partially destroy it. This discovery was reported to the local museum, and we have been informed that the measures necessary to protect it will be taken immediately.

Before the end of the season, we also paid a short visit to the famous Çolakkız rock relief (Late Bronze Age or Iron Age) near the village of Keben. A stone-paved trackway, which may have been built sometime during the Byzantine or medieval period and which links the river valley to the plateau above, passes just in front of the monument.

We would like to thank the Ministry of Culture and Tourism for granting us a permit, and the Director and staff of the Silifke Museum for their kind help and hospitality. We very much hope to continue our work along the Göksu river valley in 2014.

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.

Cultural heritage management: the 2013 fieldwork season at Aspendos

Işıl Gürsü | British Institute at Ankara

Cultural heritage management has established itself as a distinct academic field in the last couple of decades, with scholars mainly coming from the UK, USA and Australia. It is defined as the process of identification, assessment, management and interpretation of cultural heritage items, objects and places. Cultural heritage can range from prehistoric objects to contemporary art. When it comes to Turkey, archaeological heritage dominates the scene; thus it should come as no surprise that archaeological institutions have been the pioneers of heritage management projects in Turkey. Such projects have also become one of the priorities of the British Institute at Ankara (Vandeput, Köse 2012). The archaeological excavations that are being carried out with the BIAA's support are already investing heavily in cultural heritage management (see *Heritage Turkey* 2012). For instance, the Çatalhöyük project has been very successful in creating a site management plan and finding innovative ways to engage with the public.

Turkey is blessed with rich traces of many past civilisations. However, this material is a limited resource and unfortunately the country has suffered many losses due to illicit digging – a problem that police forces and legal sanctions alone cannot possibly conquer. One of the most effective ways to fight against illicit excavation is to create community awareness and to encourage local populations to generate internal control systems for the protection of their heritage. The potential for income generation from tourism and related activities is another important element in the current scenario.

As noted by Williems (2011), broad trends in cultural heritage management have in recent years shown changes in the definition and role of heritage in society. Heritage has become increasingly defined as relating to entire landscapes and urban areas rather than to single monuments or buildings. The role of heritage in society has also shifted, from the generation of revenue from visitors to respect for cultural diversity and the potential for wider economic and social benefits. These redefinitions were fundamental to the drafting of the Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, known as the Faro Convention, signed by the Council of Europe in 2005. This recognises the need to put people and human values at the centre of an enlarged and cross-disciplinary concept of cultural heritage; it shifted the emphasis to the democratisation of the identification of cultural heritage values.

Acknowledging the Faro Convention and the importance of these matters in the Turkish context, the British Institute at Ankara has decided to contribute to the theoretical and practical construction of a cultural heritage management project in southern Turkey. Inspired by models in the UK and the requirements of the region in question, the overall aim of the Institute's project is to promote an understanding and knowledge about the value of cultural heritage among local populations and to increase their involvement and engagement.

Thus, a joint initiative of the BIAA and Hacettepe University, building on the Aspendos Archaeological Project and the Pisidia Survey Project, was initiated in January 2013. The project is largely funded by the Headley Trust. It is currently ongoing and is realised on a step-by-step basis; preparations for a public archaeology workshop in 2014 are

under way. Academic connections in the field of cultural heritage management are ensured through contact with the Public Archaeology Programme at UCL, the Ironbridge International Institute for Culture Heritage at the University of Birmingham and the Research Center for Anatolian Archaeology at Koç University in Istanbul, the leading Turkish higher education institution in this field.

In 2013 the project has concentrated on the ancient city of Aspendos and in 2014 more emphasis will be placed on the region of Pisidia. During the Aspendos field season between July and late September 2013, a lot of thought and energy was poured into activities related to the cultural heritage management of the site. These included the improvement of the presentation of the site, an analysis of visitors' preferences, an analysis of local attitudes and meetings with the main stakeholders. With the ultimate aim of creating a model management plan for the other ancient Pamphylian cities in southern Turkey, our work at Aspendos will result in the composition of a sustainable development plan for the cultural and natural heritage of Aspendos and its surroundings.

The site-presentation measures that have been identified within the Aspendos development plan and accomplished during the 2013 season can be summarised as follows.

The arrangement of walking paths. One of the priorities of the Aspendos Project regarding site management is to organise the current visitor traffic in a better way. It was observed that many visitors left after seeing the theatre, without visiting the other parts of the site. This was partially due to the lack of walking paths and proper signage on site. Therefore, the first couple of days of the field season were dedicated to the arrangement of walking paths, which were formed by placing stones to either side. This had an immediate impact on the number of visitors who went to the ancient city centre.



Creation of pathways

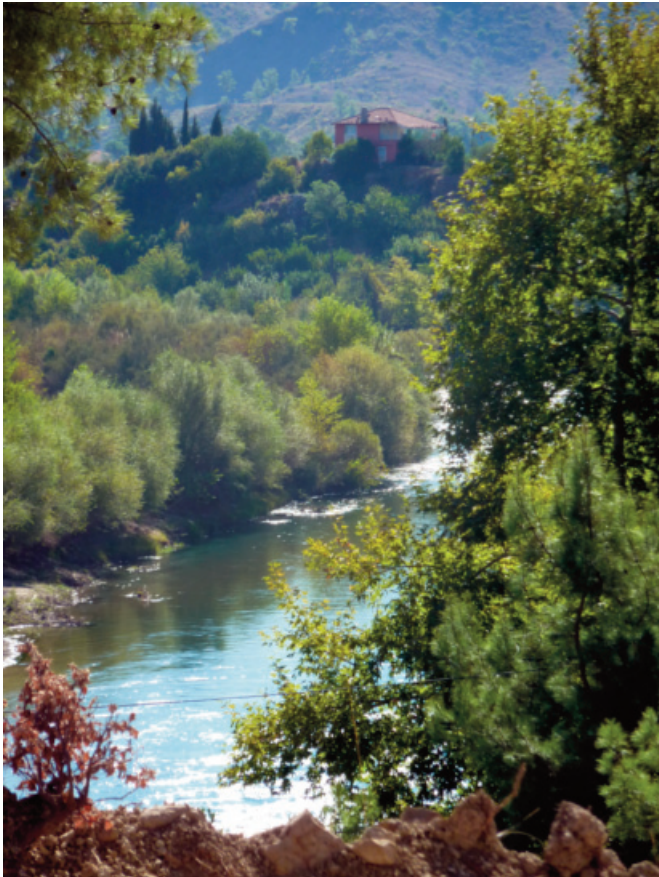
Vegetation removal. Some of the preserved monuments were totally covered with dense vegetation, which totally obscured any sort of perception of the ancient city. A lot of vegetation has been removed, improving visibility and creating a much clearer idea of the nature of the ancient city for the visitor, including its size and its organisation.

Signage, routes, security cameras and risk areas. A plan has been prepared with proposed locations for information and direction signs. The suggested direction signs contain information about the time required to get from one monument to another, enabling visitors to manage their experience. Walking routes, which vary in length and difficulty, have also been formulated. For security reasons, cameras will be placed at different parts of the site; the locations of these have also been suggested. Lastly, areas which could potentially be dangerous for visitors, and which vary in terms of their risk levels, have been identified and possible solutions to these risk problems have been offered.

With regards to off-site presentation, a website dedicated to the Aspendos-Pisidia Cultural Heritage Management Project is being prepared. An exhibition dedicated to archaeology and how the archaeological work is being conducted is among the off-site presentation projects for the coming years. The exhibition is planned to be held in Antalya city centre.

Additionally, a small project – titled Narratives of Aspendos – aims to construct a multi-layered reading of the site from different sources. It includes an archival search of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism regarding correspondence relating to Aspendos in order to record those events that have been staged on-site and those that have been rejected. Other sources include guidebooks and itineraries prepared by travel agencies. The visitor survey conducted at Aspendos has demonstrated that guidebooks are very influential in the decisions made by visitors. A further step in this scheme is to investigate the ways in which tour guides convey information about the site. All these investigations will lead to an understanding of the ways in which the ancient city is being portrayed and will serve as the groundwork for an updated guidebook and extended visitor surveys. They will also form an important contribution to the site management plan regarding the current situation at Aspendos.

As the full title chosen for the Aspendos plan (Sustainable Development Plan for the Cultural and Natural Heritage of Aspendos and its Surroundings) indicates, the project is not restricted to the site alone, but adopts a broader approach which considers the wider landscape rather than a single site. Therefore, a model plan will be created that will concentrate on the use of the Köprüçay river (ancient Eurymedon) and its surroundings. The creation of walking and cycling paths along the river, in addition to the construction of environmentally-friendly and simple bungalow-type buildings to be used as food and beverage units and as bed and breakfast accommodation, will be



The Köprüçay river near Aspendos

suggested as part of this plan. The overall idea is to encourage the local population to take part in the management of these resources, subject, of course, to training in specific matters such as service management, hygiene and hospitality. The sustainability element in the proposed scenario will enable the local population to continue these activities after the initial organisational phase has been completed. It is clear that the model proposed is more complicated than a simple build-operate-transfer model, but it is believed that it will contribute most effectively to the local economy.



Existing 'facilities' along the Köprüçay river

For the analysis of local attitudes, priority has been given to Camili village which is located around the aqueducts of Aspendos. Since the villagers already sell some souvenirs and beverages to tourists, they were mostly positive about the changes that increased tourism could bring and wished to take a more active part in it. The most common complaint is that they have not, to date, benefited much from the economic advantages brought by visitors to the site. A striking memory, which dominates their relationship with the site, is a 1969 Turkish movie starring the famous actor Cüneyt Arkın. Since the movie included a number of local men as extras, it acted as a medium to build a personal connection between the villagers and the site.

For the next season, our priorities will be to expand the number of visitor surveys and organise educational facilities for the local children in order to encourage them to build a relationship with Aspendos. This is in line with the outcomes of Merriman's (1991) public attitudes survey about people's attachment to the past and heritage in the UK, according to which there is a distinction between a personal past and impersonal heritage. In Turkey, people, especially the local populations, tend to view the ancient remains as impersonal heritage, if heritage at all. Therefore, in order to foster care and awareness, it is crucial to engage the children and enable them to build a relationship with these areas of cultural heritage, so that they become part of their personal past.



Souvenirs being sold near the aqueduct

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Souvenirs and stereotypes: an introduction to Ottoman costume albums

William Kynan-Wilson | University of Cambridge

By the close of the 16th century, Constantinople, once the preserve of Venetian and Genoese merchants, was again opening up to the world. A series of trade treaties signed between the Ottoman sultan and the rulers of western Europe resulted in new opportunities for merchants, and with them came a new level of European fascination with Ottoman culture: from brilliant Turkish carpets to the deep blues, reds and aubergine purples of Iznik ceramics to the muddy concoction of coffee – the taste for *turquerie* had struck. Interest in Ottoman lands is also attested through the proliferation of travel accounts, by writers such as Ogier de Busbecq, Nicholas de Nicolay and, later, Mary Wortley Montague. Their vivid descriptions of Turkish life and customs are well-known and widely referenced by scholars.

In addition to these relatively familiar records of European-Ottoman contact and exchange is a much less well-known genre of book – the Ottoman costume album – which emerged in the mid 16th century. Artistically, these albums are simple; they contain series of coloured drawings that depict the hierarchy and diversity of Ottoman society. Images range from the sultan and his court to drawings of Turkish ladies (see the image on the cover of this volume), Greek monks and Islamic holy men, biscuit sellers and water-carriers, prostitutes and drunkards. Alongside these drawings of single figures are narrative scenes that commonly show imperial wedding processions, the muezzin's call for prayer and even gruesome public executions. The breadth of imagery found is astounding, and herein lies the significance of these albums, for they neatly abbreviated the religious, ethnic and social diversity of Ottoman Constantinople for a European audience.

Thus far my research has identified 160 albums dating from the 16th century to the 19th; of these, 43 manuscripts were previously unknown or miscatalogued. These albums were highly popular records of Oriental travel, but their artistic simplicity (or crudeness, according to some scholars) has led to their general neglect. The few previous studies have focused upon individual manuscripts, thereby failing to realise many of the rhetorical and pictorial conventions that governed this genre. My research engages with these materials collectively, and it will result in the first comprehensive study of Ottoman costume albums. In particular, I have been able to chart how the iconography of these albums remained essentially unchanged from the 16th to the 19th century. For instance, dancing Greek girls are always depicted sashaying in the same yellow and pink outfits over a period of three centuries. Thus, what initially appears to be an accurate image of social documentation becomes a stylised stereotype.

While the figures themselves remain unchanging, many of the accompanying labels indicate how different European audiences and nations perceived the Ottoman world in various ways. For example, the image below (dated ca 1580–1590) depicts a young man in a skullcap who is clearly labelled 'A coffee drinker'. In isolation this would appear a fair, albeit simple identification. However, when one compares this character with similar images in albums in Athens, Doha and Jerusalem, among others, it becomes clear that this man is in fact a wandering Muslim dervish, known for cutting his own skin out of religious devotion (note the red lines that scar his arms and chest). The (anonymous) original owner of this album therefore misread the drawing owing to the prominent cup that the dervish holds in his right hand. There is no evidence that this golden vessel contains coffee, but the association between this drink and the Ottomans was so strong that it must have appeared a natural conclusion to the labeller of this image. Another English-owned album from the same period includes a strikingly similar image dated ca 1590 (see next page, top-left). The golden cup and the deep wounds of religious fervour are conspicuously absent; this is probably the result of the artist miscopying the image.



'A coffee drinker': Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.14.23, fol. 28 (with the kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge)



‘A devoted person that beggeth his virtuell’s’: Oxford, All Souls, The Codrington Library, MS 314, fol. 27 image no. 34 (with the kind permission of the Warden and Fellows of All Souls College, Oxford)

Nonetheless, the Oxford and Cambridge drawings unmistakably depict the same character. They share many essential elements: the green and red skullcap, the pierced ear and the sheepskin cloak. The label of the second example (fol. 46v) reads: ‘A devoted person that beggeth his virtuell’s’. Here, the figure’s religious devotion is correctly, albeit vaguely, understood. In this way, my research engages with European associations and perceptions of Ottoman society. Certain patterns emerge in the language and imagery of these albums: Italian and English examples contain many naval scenes and several depictions of mercantile figures, whereas German and Austrian manuscripts focus upon militaristic subjects and violent forms of punishment.

Rather than simply reading these images as records of life in Constantinople (as is commonly assumed), my research proposes that these drawings came to define the experiences and expectations of subsequent travellers. In other words, European travellers sought out the characters and customs that they saw in these albums. Belly dancing provides a pertinent parallel: it has become so engrained in the

popular imagination that modern tourists expect to see this form of dancing when in Turkey. However, this does not necessarily mean that belly dancing remains an everyday and organic aspect of modern Turkish culture. So too must we be careful in reading the imagery of costume albums as accurate depictions of Constantinople.

The complexities of these seemingly straightforward albums are well illustrated by the figure on the right (dated ca 1620), which also depicts a wandering dervish. This drawing was produced several decades after those of the other two albums, but it shares many of the same details: the figure is shown with a bare torso and cut skin, and he holds a golden cup. The crucial difference is style. The drawings in this manuscript are by an Ottoman artist who copied early costume albums by western artists. From the early 17th century onwards these ‘Ottoman style’ books became more popular than western examples among European travellers. Possibly the aesthetic ‘otherness’ of these images heightened their sense of authenticity as souvenirs of Oriental travel.

With the invaluable support of a Research Grant from the British Institute at Ankara I will be able to undertake detailed studies of more than a dozen manuscripts held in Turkish collections. These albums are of great significance because they demonstrate how Ottoman miniaturists began to copy western images of their own society and culture in the early 17th century. These books illuminate the complex, two-way process of cultural exchange between Europe and the Ottoman empire, thereby challenging a number of preconceptions about East-West relations during the formative period of the 16th and 17th centuries.



‘A Haydari, or wandering dervish’: London, British Library, MS 1928-3-23-046; formerly MS Sloane 5258, fol. 91r (© Trustees of the British Museum)

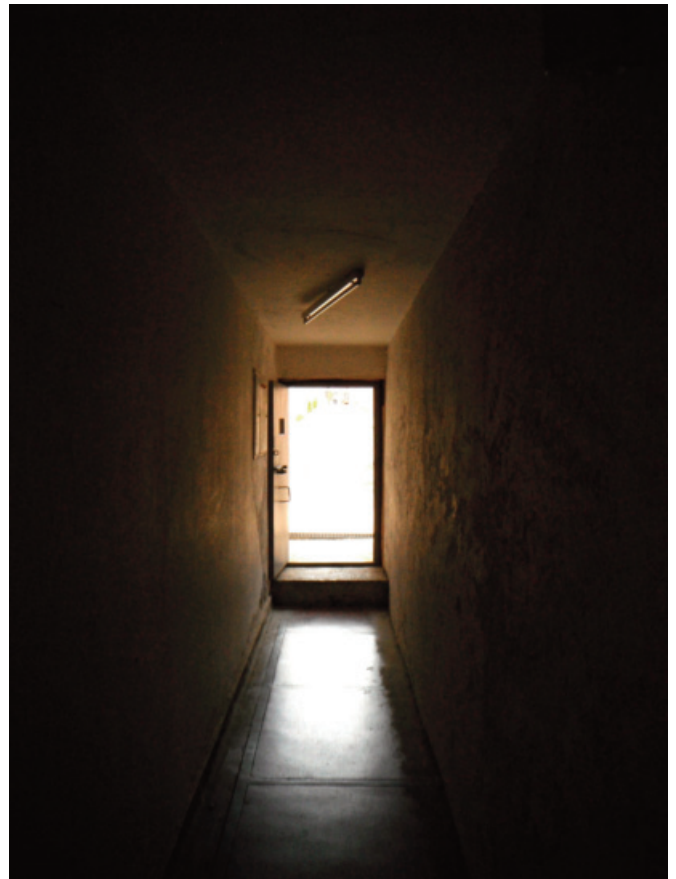
Contested histories and their musealisation at Ulucanlar Prison Museum

Marc Herzog | British Institute at Ankara

*For the first time they took me out into the sun today.
And for the first time in my life I was aghast
that the sky is so far away
and so blue
and so vast*
(Nazim Hikmet – Bugün Pazar)

Ankara's Ulucanlar Prison was established in 1925 and served as a penal institution for 81 years until 2006. During this period, it housed some of Turkey's most important figures of political struggles and was deeply connected to some of its most delicate and tense historical periods. Reading through the names of those imprisoned and, in some cases, executed there is like strolling across the landscape of Turkey's political history over the past century. Among many others, these include former prime minister Bülent Ecevit and other politicians like Leyla Zana, Metin Toker, Hatip Dicle, Muehsin Yazıcıoğlu; authors and film-makers like Yaşar Kemal, Nazım Hikmet and Yılmaz Güney; political activists such as Deniz Gezmiş. Over 15 prisoners were executed there, torture was common and violent riots and state repression occurred as well. In 2011, five years after closing, Ulucanlar opened its doors to the Turkish public again, but this time in its newly restored form as a museum to commemorate the prison's history.

As a museal space dedicated to a site of political violence and suffering, the study of Ulucanlar can be placed within a global trend of such sites that has begun to emerge in the past 30 years. This development started with the transnational commemoration process of the Holocaust. Williams (2007: 8) uses the term 'memorial museum' for those spaces which are 'dedicated to a specific event commemorating mass suffering of some kind'. Examples include the Villa Grimaldi in Chile or the Navy School of Mechanics in Buenos Aires, Argentina. In Turkey itself, these spaces are only just beginning to emerge. Historical battlefield sites such as those of Gelibolu and Sarıkamış could be seen as examples. Furthermore, one could point to the yearly 'Museum of Shame' exhibition focused on political violence and repression from the 1970s onwards which is organised by the Revolutionary 78ers Federation, a left-wing cultural association. In that sense, the Ulucanlar Cezaevi Müzesi is one of the first, if not the first, explicit 'memorial museum' connected to some of the key episodes of Turkey's republican history. It should be taken into consideration that Ulucanlar's opening comes at a time when the key historical eras that it is linked to, especially the period of the 1970s and the 1980 military coup, are gradually passing from the realm of lived memory into that of history for most people in Turkey, where the average age is 28.



The focus of this research is on Ulucanlar as a museal site of political violence and repression that deals with contested memories and how different practices of remembrance and forgetting, aestheticisation and musealisation interact in this space. If museums are institutions of memory that instantiate a dialogical link between past and present, this opens up questions surrounding the power and ability to re-present histories of political violence and interrogate the perspectives from which this reinterpretation occurs. As Kavanagh (1996: 5) states, museums are official sites where 'history is both remembered and forgotten'. In fact, remembering and forgetting tend to be intertwined aspects of all practices of commemoration and memorialisation. In this sense, it is evident that Ulucanlar attempts to fashion a meta-narrative of coming to terms not just with the prison's history but also more broadly with the historical periods it was part of. This meta-narrative attempts to invoke the wider national community by showing the ideological diversity of the prison's former inmates and thereby universalising the sense of affectiveness within a national frame. Secondly, this meta-narrative also aims to fulfil another purpose in showing that the authoritarian periods of suffering and repression which are on display are a thing of the past which can now be exhibited in the museums of a newer, more democratic age. Nevertheless, while the national community is included in

these messages that Ulucanlar communicates, it is also apparent that particular figures and episodes from its history have been discreetly airbrushed out. For instance, the historical role and voice of women at the prison is minimalised. This illustrates the political functions that museal spaces and sites of commemoration can serve in contemporary societies.

In that sense, another aspect of interest in examining Ulucanlar as a museal space is to chart the process through which the former prison became a site of commemoration and how its representation of the past is situated in 'the politics of the present' (Danforth, Von Boeschoten 2012: 219). The establishment of such commemorative spaces occurs within dynamic multi-actor environments ranging from national governments and international bodies to local communities and civil society groups. This is especially so when they concern contested historical periods involving multiple and competing communities of memory. As mentioned, it is also important to connect the narratives communicated at such sites to present political agendas and discourses. Narratives of the past that gain public legitimacy can constitute a valuable political resource and 'be instruments to legitimate discourse, create loyalties, and justify political options' (Barahona de Brito et al. 2001: 37). Thus, the museal politics and practices of remembrance within Ulucanlar's representation of its history as well as the political background against which they emerged present an excellent means of examining how contested memories are politically dealt with and managed in contemporary Turkey.



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Turkey experienced some extraordinary events in June 2013. An estimated 2.5 million people joined mass protests that started as a reaction to a project that would demolish Gezi Park in Istanbul. The park, now acknowledged as historically important by the Committee for the Protection of Cultural and Natural Heritage, is among the few green public spaces left in the city centre after half a century of industrialisation and immigration from rural Anatolia. The proposed project involved building a shopping centre that would resemble barracks that once stood on the site of the park and which had been the scene of a rebellion against the restoration of the constitutional system during the Ottoman period.

Hence, even the way the protests emerged evoked complex symbolisms and clashing functionalities, and, in just a few days, they expanded into different spheres and locations attracting crowds without a central organisation but with the facilitation of ideologically heterogeneous social movements and political organisations. The resulting variety of flags and slogans at parks and squares across Turkey indicated the multiplicity of issues that the June events represented. It appeared as if the common denominators of the demands were personal freedoms and rights, a better-working and more participative democracy, and respect for identities, historical values and the environment.

Taking these recent and extraordinary events as its reference point, this short article explores the conceptual anatomies of culture and heritage. More specifically, the article refers to old confusions about intangible cultural heritage and raises new questions regarding the material culture of large-scale protests. The term 'revolution' is used here not to imply that the June events have had immediate and significant effects within formal political institutions. Rather, it refers to sudden and significant transformations in the habits of thought, day-to-day actions and interactions of protestors in their own political spheres and the societal changes resulting from these transformations.

The concept of cultural heritage and the conviction that the cultural property of all peoples must be protected as part of a world culture emerged due to the very visible destruction of monuments during conflicts (Brown 2005; Vecco 2010). This conviction was followed by an increasing appreciation of the immaterial elements of cultural accumulation, such as rich folkloric traditions, performative arts, stories, rituals and knowledge sets such as folk medicine (Kurin 2004), as also being a part of world cultural heritage (Brown 2005); there was a recognition that the value of monuments could not be fully understood independently of broader historic and cultural contexts and an understanding that the identification of cultural heritage could not be done based on objective criteria, as our ability to recognise aesthetic, historic and social values is likely to be culturally specific (Vecco 2010).

For sociologists of culture, who have long studied definitions, contents, origins and manifestations of culture, these multifaceted extensions from a visible core to elusive and expansive conceptualisations are nothing new. Although a stream of studies approach culture as an environment transformed by communities with the aim of survival, most scholars include institutions as shared habits of thought, language and other symbol systems and networks of both relationship and knowledge while theorising about culture. Already, distinctions between tangible and intangible culture which are relatively straightforward, like, for instance, *kilim*, *oya* or *türkü*, become subjective in performance arts like the Karagöz shadow theatre or rituals like the Mevlevi Sema ceremony, where material elements play functional and symbolic roles of varying weights. The complexity involved in such distinctions increases further if the aim is also to capture symbolisms associated with kilim designs, and, even further, if it is also aimed to protect the habits of thought that enable Anatolian people to turn their observations into new symbols that will fit into the long-standing traditions of kilim making. Regarding the latter, it is well known, but often overlooked, that culture does not consist of repetitions of fixed traditions in a vacuum, but of daily sense-making, discoveries and inventions of living actors trying to make sense of how their realities are and should be.

Although, from the way culture is theorised in the social sciences, all social constructions that shape the physical and social environment an individual is born into can be considered 'cultural' and, albeit metaphorically, *inherited* from previous generations, it is not the aim of cultural heritage conventions to protect, or fix in time, all spheres of human life. The UNESCO conventions on intangible cultural heritage have been prepared with specific manifestations of traditional culture with exceptional social meanings and value in mind (Kurin 2004; Vecca 2010). The rapid acceleration of information moving between cultures in the so-called network society (Castells 2000) has created anxieties about protecting traditional and authentic cultural elements (Brown 2005) before they become extinct.

Beyond this generally retrospective and tradition-oriented perspective, UNESCO also recognises contemporary products of human creativity as part of world culture with its charter on digital heritage. Hence, on the one hand, information and communication technologies may threaten world cultural heritage and, on the other, help its production. Elsewhere, others have discussed whether the material culture of other primates, which can provide insights about our own cultural evolution, the culture of robots, as products of human creativity, and cultural elements with significant expected future value, such as settlements in space, should also be protected with cultural heritage management plans (Spennemann 2007). In all these cases, the products of creativity are approached as valuable resources, the importance of which can be temporarily overlooked.

Additional UNESCO criteria include that intangible cultural heritage must be consistent with human rights, mutual respect between communities and sustainability (Kurin 2004). Even though these additional criteria may aim solely to avoid potential clashes between different policy tools, in effect they reflect the prioritisation of not harming the current human condition over protecting long-standing traditions. This preference is not insignificant because cultural heritage identified through various decisions on what deserves to be protected, and from what, and with all its implications for cultural identities, intellectual property rights and power struggles, is 'transformed into a highly politicized commodity' (Brown 2005: 43).

At this point, I would like to address another manifestation of politicised human creativity: the material culture produced as part of major protests and civil resistance events such as the June events in Turkey. Culture has been the focus of recent social movements studies, diverging from earlier work that regarded social movements as instances of a universal pattern that mechanistically follow predestined stages. Recent studies identify the active, social, strategic and creative agencies of those participating in the movements as the point of focus, instead of universal laws happening to them. In this regard, culture is thought to affect various aspects of social movements including the choice of strategies used during protests, the construction of collective identities and oppositions, and the way reality in and around the movement is framed and made sense of. Culture also provides a toolkit for the material culture of the movement, which includes art forms, reference points, memories, symbols and skill sets (Klatch 1994; Polletta 1997).

Using humour at every possible outlet, the June events in Turkey quickly accumulated cultural outputs from new songs to new versions of well-known *türkü*s and from momentary street installations to rainbow-coloured stairs. From the early days of the protests onwards, the parks that were at the centre of the events hosted open forums on various matters and public workshops on arts, and they facilitated the donation and distribution of food, books and other goods in the temporary arrangement of public spaces into free 'supermarkets' and 'libraries'. While the cultural outputs explored and communicated the subject matter of the protests and documented the emerging histories of the events themselves, the forums and activities experimented with alternative ways of organising or *culturing* the society's life functions.

I will now conclude by integrating the two issues that I have elaborated on – cultural heritage and the culture of revolutions – in the form of a question. I have attempted to show that the rationale behind protecting intangible cultural heritage is to save rare and authentic outputs and accumulations of human creativity that comply with contemporary ethical standards but remain vulnerable to the conditions of our times. I will now argue that the material culture of revolutions such as the June events fulfil similar criteria. What

makes these objects rare and original is that they are products of specific times that actively and, at times, courageously question previously established and empowered settings. Although we may find continuities before and after large-scale protests, the actual occurrence of the events, with the mobilisation of time, effort, thought and creativity of large numbers of people, corresponds to important turning points in this long story. Thus, the cultural objects of such revolutions are most of all authentic representations of the worldviews, realisations, insights, discoveries and inventions of those who are standing up, or even jumping up, for human rights. While they may offer rich sources for better-negotiated futures, being closely connected to dynamic presents and elusive futures, and challenging the power imposed by formal institutions, they remain extremely vulnerable to disappearance. I therefore conclude by raising the question as to whether the material culture outputs of revolutions aiming to protect human rights have a special place in our heritage, not as exceptional works of art but for what they come to mean.



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