

BORDERED PLACES | BOUNDED TIMES
CROSS-DISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVES
ON TURKEY



Edited by

EMMA L. BAYSAL & LEONIDAS KARAKATSANIS

British Institute at Ankara

Monograph 51
2017

BORDERED PLACES | BOUNDED TIMES
CROSS-DISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVES
ON TURKEY

Edited by
Emma L. Baysal & Leonidas Karakatsanis

BRITISH INSTITUTE AT ANKARA
Monograph 51
2017

Published by
British Institute at Ankara
10 Carlton House Terrace, London SW1Y 5AH
www.biaa.ac.uk

ISBN 978 1 898249 38 2

© British Institute at Ankara 2017

Typeset by Gina Coulthard
Printed by Short Run Press Ltd, Exeter

All rights reserved. No parts of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the British Institute at Ankara.

Contents

Acknowledgements <i>Leonidas Karakatsanis & Emma L. Baysal</i>	iii
Preface <i>Susan Sherratt</i>	v
List of figures	x
Introduction	
Expanding the perspective: towards a deep history of borders, boundaries and frontiers in Turkey <i>Leonidas Karakatsanis & Emma L. Baysal</i>	1
A. Borders in prehistory	
1. Material culture reconsidered: personal adornment and the conceptualisation of boundaries in the Epipalaeolithic <i>Emma L. Baysal</i>	15
2. Ubaid 'islands' in a non-Ubaid 'sea': an attempt to define the Ubaid and its cultural boundaries in northeastern Mesopotamia <i>Konstantinos Kopanias</i>	27
B. Early states	
3. Borders are rough-hewn: monuments, local landscapes and the politics of place in a Hittite borderland <i>Ömür Harmanşah</i>	37
4. Fortified cities, high rocky mountains, steep places: what do we know about the border between the Hittite state and Azzi-Ḫayaša? <i>Anna Katarzyna Chrzanowska</i>	53
5. A view over high mountains: the Assyrian perception of the Urartians and their kings <i>Julia Linke</i>	65
6. Fortification architecture of Late Bronze Age Anatolia: where are the borders? <i>Çiğdem Maner</i>	73
C. A Greek Anatolia?	
7. Conceptualising interregional relations in Ionia and central-west Anatolia from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period <i>David Hill</i>	85
8. Borders make the polis: Klazomenai <i>Elif Koparal</i>	97
9. Alternative. A borderland approach to Archaic East Greek art: a case study <i>Leticia R. Rodriguez</i>	111
D. Empires	
10. The coming of Rome and the redefinition of cultural and ethnic boundaries in north-central Anatolia <i>Jesper Majbom Madsen</i>	123
11. Boundaries of a frontier region: late antique northern Mesopotamia <i>Elif Keser-Kayaalp</i>	135
12. Mountains as frontiers in the historiography of the early Islamic conquests <i>Abby Robinson</i>	149
E. Imprints of an Ottoman past	
13. From the centre of memory to the margins of space and representation: ethnic boundaries and the Turks in the Republic of Macedonia <i>Maja Muhić</i>	157
14. Permeability, social practices and borderline identities: perspectives from the Bulgarian-Turkish border since the mid 20th century <i>Nikolai Vukov</i>	169
F. Borders in the making	
15. Hospitality, conditionality and managing migrant time across borders: Syrian migrants in Turkey <i>Souad Osseiran</i>	183
16. Crossing back and forth: identity and belonging across and beyond bordered worlds in the films of Fatih Akin <i>Marc Herzog</i>	195

3. Borders are rough-hewn: monuments, local landscapes and the politics of place in a Hittite borderland

Ömür Harmanşah
University of Illinois at Chicago

Abstract

Cultural historian Elliott Colla proposed in a recent paper that ancient borders, unlike their modern versions, were often roughly hewn, both materially and conceptually. With this he not only refers to the artfully crafted and politically contested nature of borders in antiquity but also cleverly highlights their geological grounding. For the Hittite imperial landscapes, Colla's statement has special resonance, since Hittite frontiers are often discussed with respect to the making of rock reliefs and spring monuments that commemorate the kingship ideology at both politically contested border regions and appropriate local sites of geological wonder and cultic significance such as caves, springs and sinkholes. Treaties were signed and border disputes were settled at these liminal sites where divinities and ancestors of the underworld took part as witnesses. One such monument is the Yalburt Yaylası Sacred Mountain Spring Monument that features a lengthy Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription put up by the Hittite kings in the countryside. Excavated by the Anatolian Civilisations Museum, Ankara, in the 1970s, the Yalburt Monument near Konya is dated to the time of Tudhaliya IV (1237–1209 BC). Since 2010, the Yalburt Yaylası Archaeological Landscape Research Project has investigated the landscapes surrounding the Yalburt Monument. The preliminary results of the extensive and intensive archaeological surveys suggest that the region of Yalburt was a deeply contested frontier, where the Land of Hatti linked to the politically powerful polities of western and southern Anatolia. This paper discusses the nature of a Hittite borderland with respect to settlement programmes, monument construction and regional politics.

Özet

Kültür tarihçisi Elliott Colla, yakın bir zaman önce sunduğu bir bildirisinde, eskiçağda sınırların modern versiyonlarının aksine, sıklıkla hem fiziksel, hem de kavramsal olarak kabaca işlenmiş olduğunu söyler. Bu söylemle, sınırların hem ustaca çizilmiş olduğunu, hem de siyasi olarak çekişmeli bir doğası olduğuna vurgu yapmaktadır. Aynı zamanda bu olgunun jeolojik temellerine işaret eder. İmparatorluk dönemi Hitit topografyasına baktığımızda, Elliott Colla'nın bu önerisi ayrı bir önem kazanır. Çünkü Hitit sınır boyları sıklıkla kayalara oyulan ve su kaynaklarına inşa edilen anıtlar aracılığıyla tartışılmaktadır. Bu anıtlar bir yandan siyasi çekişmelere sahne olan sınır bölgelerinde krallık ideolojisini yaşatmakta, bir yandan da mağaralar, su kaynakları ve düdenler gibi jeolojik açıdan mucizevi olan ve dini önem taşıyan bu yerel birimleri sınırlar içine dahil etmektedir. Anlaşmalar ve sınır tartışmaları yeraltı dünyası tanrılarının ve kutsal ataların huzurunda, bu eşik niteliğindeki mahallerde imzalanır ve çözüme bağlanırdı. Bu anıtlardan bir tanesi de Yalburt Yaylası Kutsal Dağ Pınarı Anıtı'dır ve Luvice hiyeroglifle yazılmış uzunca bir yazıtı sahiptir. Bu yazıt Hitit İmparatorluğu'nun kırsal alanda yer alan önemli yazıtlarından biridir. 1970'lerde Ankara Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi tarafından bir kurtarma kazısında ortaya çıkarılmış olan Konya yakınlarındaki bu anıt, 4. Tudhaliya'nın zamanına tarihlenir (M.Ö. 1237–1209). 2010 yılından beri Yalburt Yaylası ve Çevresi Arkeolojik Yüzey Araştırma Projesi, Yalburt Anıtı'nı çevreleyen arazi üzerinde gerçekleştirilmektedir. Gerçekleştirilen yaygın ve yoğun yüzey araştırmalarının ilk sonuçlarına göre, Yalburt bölgesinin yüksek siyasi rekabetin süregeldiği bir sınır bölgesi olduğu ve Hatti Ülkesi'nin Batı ve Güney Anadolu'nun politik olarak güçlü yönetimleriye burada karşı karşıya geldiği anlaşılmaktadır. Bu bildiride, bu Hitit sınır bölgesi, yerleşim programları, anıt inşaatları ve bölge siyaseti ele alınarak incelenmektedir.

The horizon is an arc wherein a given landscape comes to an end – an end of visibility, of presence, of availability. A place per se has no horizon, only an enclosure or perimeter. Only when places are concatenated in a landscape is there anything like a horizon, which is the undelimited limit, or better the *boundary*, for the landscape as a whole. As a boundary, the horizon does not merely close off the landscape; it opens it up for further exploration, that is, for bodily ingress (Edward Casey 2001: 417).

Introduction: borderlands as a constellation of places

Frontiers and borderlands are complex geographies that tend to house marginal and relatively fluid cultural practices and particular political configurations that are difficult to explain through the normative laws of the imperial centre. In his work on Anatolian borderlands, Keith Hopwood has shown how semi-nomadic pastoralists of the Byzantine and Turkish communities in the Beyşehir Lake basin during the medieval period interacted and mingled by sharing lifestyles while ‘the incursions of the armies of central governments were unwelcome to the inhabitants’ of the borderlands (Hopwood 1993: 131). However, historical studies on borderlands rarely offer spatially informed perspectives on the topographic configuration of borderland landscapes and the kinds of spatial practices and material interventions through which they are shaped, maintained and transformed (note, however, Oya Pancaroğlu’s 2005 work on the association of sacred cave sites and borderlands in medieval Anatolia). This contribution to *Bordered Places | Bounded Times* attempts to address these issues from an archaeological perspective and investigates the material shaping of a borderland zone in south-central Anatolia during the Bronze Age.

In a recent unpublished paper, Elliot Colla suggested that, in contrast to the border fences of 20th- and 21st-century nation-states, ‘pre-modern boundaries and frontiers are often rough-hewn both materially and conceptually’. He continued by suggesting that, ‘as structures they gesture not so much to the site they occupy, but to politics located elsewhere. As signs of the periphery, they point to centres elsewhere; in themselves, they mark distance more than proximity, absence more than presence’ (Colla 2008). With this statement, Colla refers to the artfully crafted, politically contested but also physically ambiguous nature of borders in antiquity and cleverly highlights their *geological grounding*. This geological grounding of borderlands as real topographies where spatial practices of the political nature materialise is rarely explored, and it is my intention to contribute to borderland/frontier studies via this perspective.

If we consider a borderland landscape as a cultural artefact and a political reality on the ground, we engage directly with one of the central concerns of contemporary

landscape archaeology, which is geared towards a concrete understanding of archaeological or historical landscapes as socio-spatial products and artefacts of material practices such as place-making, construction and movement (see, for example, Knapp, Ashmore 1999; Evans et al. 2009; Harmanşah 2013: 28–31; and various papers in Bowser, Zedeño 2009 and Bender 1993; notable in this sense is Tim Ingold’s notion of *taskscape*: 2000: 189–208). The complexity of borders and borderlands in the ancient world requires us to see them as *real landscapes* in their ontological groundedness. Although this might seem obvious when stated as such, I contrast this rather straightforward observation with our common conceptualisation of pre-modern/ancient borders as imagined cartographic features or dividing lines abstractly drawn. This notion derives from a long history of mapmaking and scientific cartography, which leads us to move seamlessly from the lines on a map to actual borders and frontiers on the ground. This paper attempts to reimagine borderland landscapes as ambiguous and contested topographies before the advent of scientific mapmaking, and prior to their capture in the representational clarity of modern political maps.

In this paper, I argue that borderlands are a feature of the physical landscape first and foremost, along with being a product of the political imagination, and I advocate for an explicitly spatial reading of borderlands as vibrant, contested and fluid. Secondly, I suggest that borderlands are best understood as a specific regional landscape that is composed of a constellation of interconnected *places* where political negotiation takes place through practices of public spectacles and commemorative activities which involve the construction and maintenance of monuments and sites of memory (Nora 1989; 1996). Pierre Nora associates ‘sites of memory’ with the post-industrial world and its cultural amnesia, as sites where an artificial recovery of collective memory is attempted through material manifestations in the form of monument building and commemorative ceremonies. He contrasts pre-modern environments of memory, where oral cultures were strong, with the post-industrial world, where our ability to remember collectively is lost in the context of the modern nation-state. Yet this contrast has its problems. Arguments have been made to show that neither has modernity been able to take away all those environments of memory nor are pre-modern contexts devoid of creating politically charged, artificially configured ‘sites of memory’. By ‘site of memory’ I refer to places of commemoration where collectively shared pasts are negotiated through ceremonies, spectacles, inscriptions and monument building.

Scholarly discussions of borderlands and frontiers often focus on the ‘boundary situations’ or borderland processes (Parker 2006: 78), sharp material culture differentiations at frontiers (Lightfoot, Martinez 1995: 471) or

the political agents, military conflicts and treaties settling border definitions. Today's widespread, modernist understanding of borders relies heavily on the cartographic representation of borders as linear geopolitical features in the landscape, a notion that derives from the way modern nation-states are imagined on the ground. The notion of space as quantifiable as well as dividable is frequently, albeit anachronistically, adopted in the historical imagination of ancient states, and comes with the expectation of sharp material culture variation on either side of a given border. In the similarly popular core–periphery models that are frequently used in borderland and frontier case studies, frontiers are imagined as territories defined by movement from a powerful and innovative core to a passive and receiving periphery (Lightfoot, Martinez 1995: 471–72).

In contrast, I suggest that borderlands are complex zones of interaction and hybridisation, the continuity of which depends on place-based events, monument building activities and state-sponsored celebrations, and that such borderland zones tend to have a defining role in the making of imperial cores. In such contexts they materialise as unique cultural and built landscapes of anxiety, contestation and identity crisis. This proposal works particularly well in the eclectic empire of the Hittites, where the precise

separation of its imperial core ('Land of Hatti') cannot be easily defined with respect to its continuously shifting frontiers (Pecchioli Daddi 2009: xii). In the second half of this paper, I will discuss a geographically well-defined cluster of Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age monuments in a borderland region in south-central Turkey (dated roughly between 1400–1000 BC; fig. 3.1). These are monuments at springs and prominent rock outcrops which are roughly carved into the living rock with images and inscriptions, and therefore are deeply embedded in particular geology of the landscape (on Anatolian rock monuments, see Kohlmeyer 1982; Harmanşah 2014a; forthcoming; Ehringhaus 2005; Bonatz 2007; Glatz 2009; Seeher 2009; Glatz, Plourde 2011; Ullmann 2010; 2014; Ökse 2011). I argue that such 'roughly hewn' monuments are unfinished discourses written over powerful places, and this was how, in a way, frontier landscapes were configured as borderlands. As Christopher Tilley suggests in his work *The Materiality of Stone*, places and landscapes 'form potent mediums for socialization and knowledge for to know a landscape is to know who you are, how to go on and where you belong' (Tilley 2004: 25). This relationship between place, belonging and knowledge is always unfinished, as are the rough-hewn inscriptions of place,

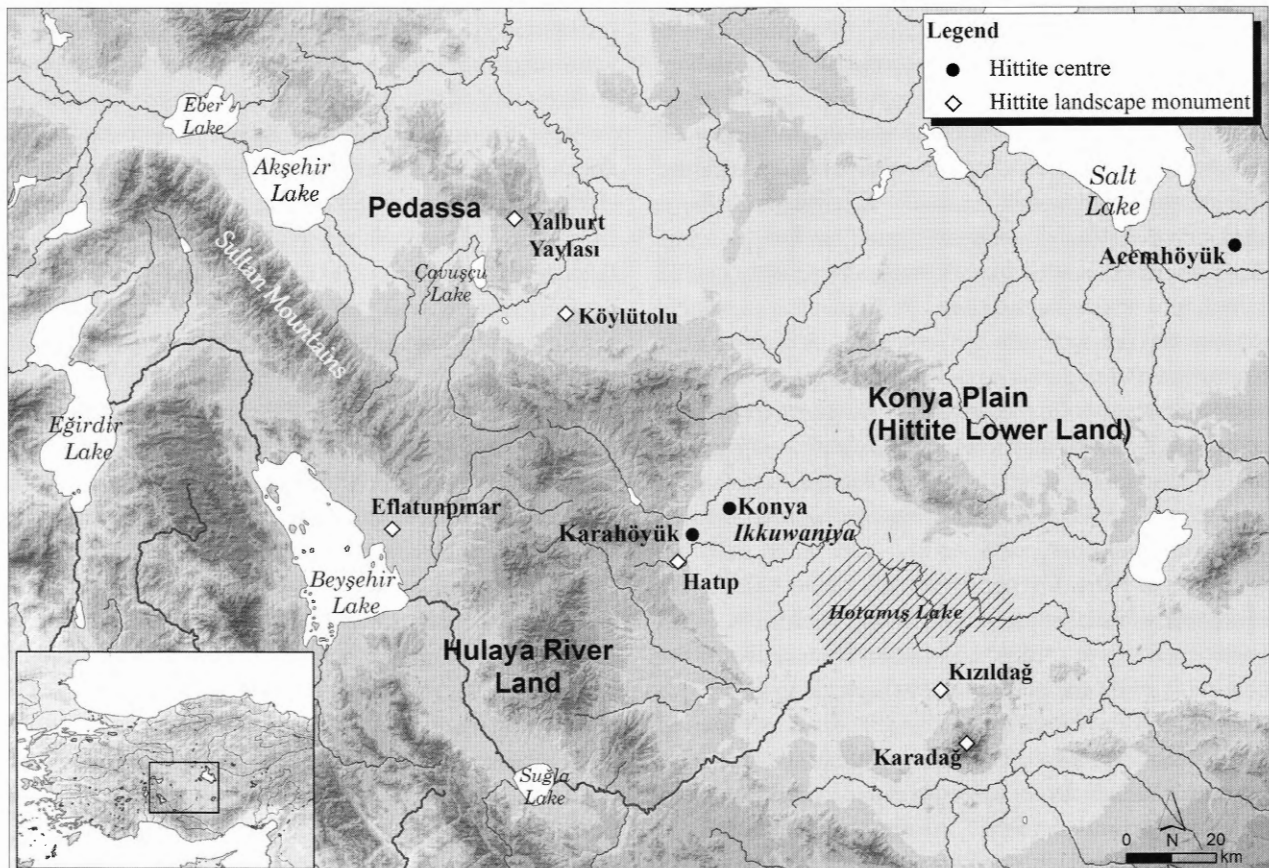


Fig. 3.1. Map of the Konya plain and lakes region at the time of the Hittite Empire, with locations of landscape monuments (map by Ö. Harmanşah and M. Massa).

the meanings and political associations of which are spectral and fleeting despite the claims of eternal preservation in the act of carving the 'untouched' rock.

Borderlands and frontiers literature in the field of archaeology is often impacted by the contemporary structure of modern nation-states. Such an understanding is often uncritically projected back to the ancient world, resulting in a predominant understanding of borders as *linear* and as largely impermeable features of the landscape. As mentioned above, the spatial understanding of borderlands largely depends on presumed core-periphery models of territorial dynamics (for excellent, critical overviews of archaeological and relevant anthropological theories of frontiers and borderlands, see Lightfoot, Martinez 1995; Rodseth, Parker 2005; Parker 2006, all with extensive bibliographies). The modern notion of borders is a product of Cartesian theories of space that divide up landscapes without much respect to local configurations of meaningful places and cultural relationships. The boundary itself is a component of the modernist notion of space, which is abstract, finite and quantifiable, constituting space as a container which is disassociated from its contents, as Henri Lefebvre argues (Lefebvre 1991: 170, 181). The immediate relationship between bodies that constitute space and the space itself is denied. Modern nation-states have not only implemented this post-Enlightenment understanding of spatiality through violent demarcation of territories and the creation of subjects of the state as 'contents' of razor-wire demarcated territories, but they have also ingrained this way of understanding the world as a world of containers such that other forms of spatiality have become inconceivable; this is well illustrated by the academic desire to map the political boundaries of ancient states. In Lefebvre's terms, boundaries are both real spaces and representational spaces at the same time. They are places of friction and negotiation as real geographies of social encounter and political contestation (*borderlands as real spaces*) and as imagined lines that are fabricated by ideological discourses of territorial division in the utopian fashion of mapmaking by sovereign powers (*borders as representational spaces*).

In recent years, I have met a transnational Arab family operating a falafel shop in the city of Providence. From our conversations, I learned that when the modern border between Turkey and Syria was set, their extended family's land was split, with half the family remaining in Syria and the other half in Turkey. The family members have to cross the militarised border for ceremonies and celebrations such as weddings and funerals. The modernist notion of a nation-state border is imposed in the form of a violent intervention of a straight line drawn and engineered on abstract maps. The inked line on the map materialises as a

linear strip of mined fields, a complex of barbed-wire fences and military watchtowers, as well as split and traumatised families. However, the borderland zone where this Arab family lived (i.e. the transition zone from northern Syrian basalt and limestone hills to southeastern Turkey's arid steppe landscapes around the Tigris and Euphrates rivers) has historically been a zone of shifting cultural identities and the cohabitation of different ethnic and religious groups, including Arab, Kurdish, Syrian-Orthodox, Armenian and other communities. It is necessary, therefore, to seek a nuanced notion of borders and borderlands that speaks to the historically specific understandings of geographical space in both modernity and antiquity, rather than reflecting one model over another.

Hittite borderlands and rock monuments: a place-based approach

If ancient borderlands can be defined as contested geopolitical zones of interaction for different territorial or colonial entities and as geographically meaningful regions in the imagination of sovereign powers and local communities (Parker 2006: 80), in what ways can they be studied and mapped *on the ground*? What are the physical manifestations of borderlands in archaeological landscapes? In the following, I present the case of a cluster of Anatolian rock monuments of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages which date to the last two centuries of the Hittite Empire (ca 1400–1200 BC) and the aftermath of its collapse when former Hittite territories were balkanised into small regional states while claiming the ancestral heritage of the Hittite Empire (for a detailed discussion of this transition and the role of monuments and city building practices, see Harmanşah 2013: 40–71). In these imperial and post-imperial contexts, rock reliefs and spring monuments were constructed at prominent springs, mouths of caves or sinkholes, on the steep rock walls of river gorges or mountain passes – but each time presenting a special, eventful geology. These monuments commemorate the kingship ideology at politically contested border regions and appropriate local sites of geological wonder and cultic significance such as caves, springs and sinkholes while transforming them into state-sanctioned sites of ritual practice. In official interstate treaty texts, we learn that these monuments appear as sites of contestation in borderlands and that borders are configured around such monuments.

During its 1986 season, during restoration work on the wall near one of the monumental city gates known as Yerkapı at the Hittite capital Hattuša/Boğazköy, the German archaeological project discovered the so-called 'Bronze Tablet': an impressive artefact with a well-preserved 353-line inscription of a treaty between the

Hittite Great King Tudhaliya IV and Kurunta, the king of Tarhuntašša (Bo 86/299 = CTH 106.A; Houwink ten Cate 1992; Hawkins 1995: 49–53; 2002: 144; Bryce 1998: 295–299; De Martino 1999; on the excavation of the Bronze Tablet, about 35m from Yerkapi, see Neve 1987: 405–08, Abb. 21–23; the principal standard edition of the Bronze Tablet is Otten 1988; for a more recent translation of the text, see Beckman 1999: 108–24; the border description between Tarhuntašša and Hatti was already known from the Ulmi Tešub treaty [KBo IV 10], yet the Bronze Tablet provides a more comprehensive version from the time of Tudhaliya IV in the second half of the 13th century BC).

Ever since its discovery, the publication of the text and and the secondary literature produced about it have informed us a great deal about the historical geography of the Hittite Empire and its borderlands, particularly to the south. The treaty provides a thorough geographic description of the definition of the border between the kingdom of Tarhuntašša and ‘the Land of Hatti’ (KUR^{URU}Hatti): i.e. the core territories of the Hittite Empire. The Land of Hatti was usually considered at the height of the Hittite Empire to have been a combination of the Upper Land, located in the bend of Maraššanda river (classical Halys, modern Kızılırmak) in north-central Turkey, and the Lower Land in the environs of the modern Konya plain (Gurney 2003; Forlanini 2009). Tarhuntašša occupied the central Mediterranean coastland and the mountainous landscape of the Central Taurus range, and gradually became powerful in the last two centuries of the Hittite Empire. In fact, the Hittite king Muwatalli II attempted to move the Hittite capital from Hattuša to Tarhuntašša – an unknown urban centre. This was a massive imperial attempt to reorient the political geography of the Hittite Empire, though ultimately unsuccessful (Singer 2006). Kurunta was a famous ruler of Tarhuntašša, installed by the Hittite kings, and he had direct blood ties with the imperial family at Hattuša, being the son of Muwatalli II. The borderland between Hatti and Tarhuntašša is described in the Kurunta-Tudhaliya IV treaty of the Bronze Tablet, and geographically identified as the Hulaya River Land and the Land of Pedassa (Hawkins 1995: 50). The Hulaya River Land is confidently, but perhaps not so conclusively, associated with the Çarşamba river basin that carries the fresh waters of the Beyşehir and Suğla lakes into the Konya plain (Hawkins 1995). This identification owes a great deal to the recently discovered rock-relief monument at Hatip Springs immediately outside the modern town of Konya, in the southwestern suburbs of the city known as Meram (Bahar 1996). At the western edge of the small neighbourhood of Hatip, an impressive rock façade sharply rises with a prolific spring emerging from several mouths at its bottom. In 1994 Hasan Bahar of Selçuk University located

faint relief images of feet with upturned toes emerging from the very rough surface of the moss-covered bedrock about 5m above the mouths of the spring. The site was locally known as ‘The Prophet’s Feet’, based on these relief images (Bahar, personal communication June 2009). When the whole image and its accompanying inscription was cleaned and studied closely, it was understood that this was a rock-relief monument of Kurunta, king of Tarhuntašša in the second half of the 13th century BC (Dinçol, Dinçol 1996).

Here, in the midst of the Hulaya River Land, we find Kurunta putting up a rock monument which uses the image of a striding god wearing a horned peak cap and short tunic, and carrying a bow and arrow, a dagger and a lance – an iconographic repertoire associated with the Hittite Great Kings. I have argued elsewhere that this representation of divinity and/or deified king presents a carefully articulated ambiguity in its iconographic choices and attempts to endow the king with the visual power of a divine image, while this powerful imagery became a shared pictorial rhetoric of kingship in Late Bronze Age Anatolia (Harmanşah 2014a). What is perhaps even more scandalous about the monument is that the inscription that accompanies the relief announces Kurunta, rather pretentiously, as the ‘Great King’, which is a title known to have been exclusive to the kings resident at Hattuša (Singer 1996; Mora 2003). If the identification of modern Konya with the Hittite urban centre Ikkuwaniya is correct (Bryce 1998: 482, n.17), the geopolitics of this relatively recently discovered monument dedicated to Kurunta become even more prominent and forceful.

Further west in the same borderland zone, in the volcanic mountain range and rocky hills south of the Konya plain, two further sites of rock reliefs and Hieroglyphic Luwian monuments were discovered in the early 20th century: Kızıldağ and Karadağ (fig. 3.1; Bittel 1986; Hawkins 1992). Both these sets of monuments are carved in prominent rock outcrops on mountain peaks, and their inscriptions refer to the ruler Hartapus who, like Kurunta, also presents himself as a ‘Great King’. Kızıldağ is a dark-red andesite outcrop, part of the volcanic geology of the Karadağ range, and it rises stunningly above the now seasonal Hotamış salt-lake (for figures, see Harmanşah 2015: 3.4–7). On a very prominent outcrop on the north-western slope of Kızıldağ, overlooking the lake, one finds a major cluster of monuments and inscriptions. On a throne-like flattened surface of the rock facing north-northwest, a male figure is depicted seated on a throne and holding a spear in one hand and a cup in the other. One accompanying Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription identifies him as ‘Hartapus, Great King’. The two other inscriptions that were also carved on the same outcrop have been dynamited in the recent decades, but the most complete

one originally read: 'Beloved of the Storm God, the Sun, Great King Hartapus, son of Mursilis, Great King, Hero, built this city' (Hawkins 2000: 1.438).

On the southwestern edge of the mountain, about 50m south of the Hartapus relief is an impressive rock-cut installation accompanied by a longer Luwian inscription of Hartapus. The rock-cut installation is described often as a 'throne' (Gonnet 1983; Hawkins 2000: 435); it faces the Hotamış lake and is accessed by a series of elaborately carved rock-cut steps. The hieroglyphic inscription is carved to the southern side of the installation on a flattened surface, and reads: 'The Sun, Great King, Hartapus, Hero, beloved of the Storm-God, son of Mursilis, Great King, Hero: by the goodness (of) the celestial Storm-God (and of) every god, (he) who conquered every country, (and) conquered the country ...' (Hawkins 2000: 1.438).

Based on epigraphic grounds, David Hawkins convincingly argues for a dating of Hartapus' inscriptions in the 12th century BC, immediately after the fall of the Hittite Empire, especially considering its close affinity with the Yalburt Yaylası Mountain Spring Commemorative Monument of Tudhaliya IV and the Boğazköy Südburg Inscription of the Hieroglyphic Chamber (Hawkins 2000: 1.434). Since Hartapus announces himself as the Great King, a title that is usually reserved for the Hittite Great Kings resident at Hattuša, he might have been challenging the authority of Hattuša at this time, in a manner similar to Kurunta's political gesture at the Hatip spring. What is really intriguing in this inscription is how Hartapus shares the imperial rhetoric of founding new cities and carving reliefs and commemorative inscriptions on the living rock of the Hittite rulers of Hattuša. The inscriptions of Hartapus from nearby Karadağ, refer to the very place as the 'divine Great Mountain'. Therefore, it is, I think, safe to assume that the whole volcanic massif that incorporates both Karadağ and Kızıldağ, as well as the Hotamış lake may have been viewed as a sacred landscape in the second millennium BC. With the discovery of Kurunta's rock relief and inscription at the Hatip springs, where he claims his 'Great Kingship', the Kızıldağ and Karadağ monuments can now be more meaningfully linked both to the geopolitics of the Hulaya River Land as borderlands and to the royal rhetoric of kingship at the end of the Hittite Empire.

In the absence of thorough archaeological work at Kızıldağ and Karadağ (for a recent survey of the surface finds at Kızıldağ, see Karauguz et al. 2002), there is currently no substantive evidence that would argue against dating the Kızıldağ and Karadağ monuments towards the very end of the Late Bronze Age. While the inscriptions are certainly dated to the transition between the end of the Late Bronze Age and the beginning of the Early Iron Age, the relief image of Hartapus sitting on a throne has long

been dated on stylistic grounds to the Middle Iron Age (eighth century BC). However, these stylistic grounds have been challenged by many (for a bibliography, see Hawkins 2000: 1.434, see also Rojas, Sergueenkova 2014: 145–46).

In close association with the Hulaya River Land and in the borderlands region between Hatti and Tarhuntašša, the Land of Pedassa is frequently mentioned in the treaty texts (Hawkins 1995: 50). Pedassa (sometimes read Pitassa) is usually identified with the region to the north of the Sultan Dağları range, corresponding to the sub-provinces of Kadınhanı, Sarayönü and Iğın, where the Yalburt Monument is located, and perhaps further north all the way to the Sangarios river valley.

At Yalburt Yaylası, the late Hittite king Tudhaliya IV, a contemporary of Kurunta, raised a very important commemorative monument at the mountain spring site, and celebrated his victories over the Lukka Lands and the surrounding landscape in southwestern Anatolia (Harmanşah, Johnson 2012; 2013; Harmanşah et al. 2014). In the following sections, I will come back to this monument to discuss the specific regional context in which the Yalburt Monument was built. However, it is important to point out that we must consider its specific historical circumstances in the very context of the politics of this borderland.

The Divine Road of the Earth: the geology of liminality

In the discussion of the borderlands in the Bronze Tablet text and other treaty documents from the last few centuries of the Hittite Empire, rock monuments are given a special place in the political configuration of territory. Various types of rock monuments, which were clearly built at places of high local significance in the borderland landscapes, are referred to as politically charged places of contestation between different territorial entities. This is evident in the sense that the references to such monuments often raise issues of inviolability, forbidding particular political agents to visit such sites. The following section from the Bronze Tablet treaty text is informative in this sense: 'In the direction of Mount Huwatnuwanda, his frontier is the *hallapuwanza*, but the *hallapuwanza* belongs to the land of the Hulaya River. Up behind the city of Kusawanta, his frontier is the Stone Monument of the Dog' (Beckman 1999: 109, text 18A§5.i.29f).

Similarly, in another treaty between the Great King Hattušili III and Ulmi-Tešhub of Tarhuntašša (CTH 106B = KBo 4.10), the frontier is marked as the 'Divine Road of the Earth' (DINGIR.KAŠKAL.KUR), translated here by Gary Beckman as the 'sinkhole' of the city of Arimmatta and belonging to the land of Pedassa/Pitassa:

In the direction of the border district of the land of Pitassa, his frontier is the *sinkhole* of the city of Arimmatta, but Arimmatta belongs to the land of

Pitassa. In the direction of Mount Huwatnuwanta, his frontier is the *hallapuwanza*, but the *hallapuwanza* belongs to the land of the Hulaya River. Up behind the city of Kursawanta, [his] frontier is the Stone Monument of the Dog (Beckman 1999: 104, text 18§3.19f).

The meaning of *hallapuwanza* is unknown; however, it is clear that the numerous instances within the treaty documents point to symbolically charged places as loci of territorial delineation (see also Van den Hout 1995: 27). From one generation to the next, the places of power and ritual practice, such as the ‘Divine Road of the Earth’ of the city of Arimmatta or the ‘Stone Monument of the Dog’, maintain their importance in the political-cum-cultic landscape of the borderlands. Further on in the text, the treaty also requires that the ruler Kurunta should not come close to or go up to particular monuments, including the monument referred to in texts as the ‘Eternal Rock Sanctuary’; this monument may have been associated with the funerary cult of the dead Hittite kings:

Concerning the matter of the Eternal Rock Sanctuary (^{NA4}*hekur* SAG.UŠ), Marassanta made an oral appeal to my father, resulting in the ruling: ‘Kurunta shall not be found near the Eternal Rock Sanctuary’. My father had a tablet made for Marassanta, and Marassanta has it in his possession. My father did not know this, however – how the text concerning the Eternal Rock Sanctuary is inscribed within the *kuntarra*-shrine of the Stormgod, and how for all time it should not be permitted for Kurunta to forfeit the Eternal Rock Sanctuary. But when it happened that my father heard the text, then my father himself reversed the decision. And when I, Tudhaliya, Great King, became King, I sent a man, and he saw how the text concerning the Eternal Rock Sanctuary is inscribed within the *kuntarra*-shrine of the Storm-god: ‘For all time it shall not be permitted for Kurunta to forfeit the Eternal Rock Sanctuary’. If it happens that Marassanta brings the tablet which he holds, it shall not be accepted (Beckmann 1996: 111, text 18§10.i.91f).

The expressions that describe rock monuments are usually collected under the two titles ‘Eternal Rock Sanctuary’ – or, more accurately, the divine rock-*hekur* (^{NA4}*hekur* SAG.UŠ) – and the ‘Divine Road of the Earth’ (DINGIR.KAŠKAL.KUR). The divine rock-*hekur* (alternatively spelled as *hegur*), which is also often translated as ‘Everlasting Peak’ (cf. Balza, Mora 2011), has been interpreted as a cult or burial place, or a monument to dead ancestors (‘Imperial Mausoleum’) that was associated with a rocky outcrop and/or mountain peak, largely based on

the textual contexts (Bryce 2002: 182–83; Van den Hout 2002: 74–80). In a text of Šuppiluliuma II concerning his father’s deeds and especially the conquest of Alašiya (KBo 12.38), the divine rock-*hekur*, appears to have been built or carved by the Hittite king, supplied with a commemorative text, while an image (ALAM) of his father was installed on it (Balza, Mora 2011: 215). The divine rock-*hekur* monuments also appear to be more like religious institutions that comprised a complex of buildings and large numbers of religious personnel and paraphernalia (Balza, Mora 2011: 218; Harmanşah 2015: 43, n.14). In contrast, the ‘Divine Road of the Earth’ monuments are associated with the geological features of springs, natural tunnels, river gorges or caves, as well as sinkholes: features that clearly link to the circulation of water above and below the earth. Mimetically built architectonic structures such as Chamber 2 of the Südburg Sacred Pool Complex at Hattuša are also understood as ‘Divine Roads of the Earth’, thanks to Hawkins’ ingenious reading of the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription inscribed on its walls (Hawkins 1995: 44–45; see also Harmanşah 2015: 58–67).

The divine rock-*hekur* and the Divine Road of the Earth monuments are often located in contested frontier regions. At the same time, in the geographical and the multi-tiered cosmic imagination of the world of the Anatolian communities, these monuments are also considered liminal spaces, as entrances to the underworld, and places where ritual communication with dead ancestors could be established (Gordon 1967). While the divine rock-*hekur* institutions memorialised the ancestor cult of the Hittite kings, the Divine Road of the Earth monuments were utilised as sites for the signing of inter-polity treaties (Gordon 1967: 71). In this way, through the watery orifices of karst geologies, a multiplicity of Hittite divinities, mountains, springs and rivers, and the Divine Road itself as well as the deified ancestors served as witnesses to the signing of such treaties. It is therefore possible to argue that the rock monuments that appear in the definitions of borderlands are not random and isolated topographical markers that were always there and that happen to be used for describing borders. On the contrary, these were sites that were monumentalised and maintained by Late Bronze Age political elites precisely to serve as powerful colonial claims to borderland territories. The miraculous and wondrous aspects of these places as geologically distinct localities of rock outcrops, mountain peaks, caves, sinkholes or springs are drawn into the affective rhetoric of evocative places that formed the edges of their empires. In the following section, I turn to the Yalburt Yaylası Sacred Mountain Spring Monument in the karst uplands of modern Ilgın, which may have served precisely this function during the last century of the Hittite Empire.

The mountain spring: the political ecology of borders

In the Hittite borderland region of Pedassa, which has been discussed in some detail above (fig. 3.1), an important sacred spring monument was built in the pastoral highlands to the northwest of the Konya plain at the time of one of the last rulers of the Hittite Empire, Tudhaliya IV (1209–1237 BC). The architectural and epigraphic aspects of this monument and its specific geographical context locate this unique monument at the centre of frontier politics of the of Hatti-Tarhuntašša borderlands. The Yalburt Yaylası Sacred Mountain Spring Monument is a pool built of locally quarried ashlar limestone blocks in two courses, and it is strategically placed at the mouth of a prominent spring whose sweet waters rise at a



Fig. 3.2. Yalburt Yaylası Sacred Mountain Spring Monument near modern Ilgın (photo from the archives of the Anatolian Civilisations Museum, Ankara).

limestone-schist contact in the local geology of the Karadağ-Gâvurdağ Massif. This spring marks the boundary today between the villages of Çobankaya and Büyükoba in the karst uplands of the modern town of Ilgın and accompanying summer pasture settlement of Yalburt Yaylası. One of the longest Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions that is known from the Hittite world was inscribed on the inner face of the upper ashlar course of the pool (figs 3.2–3.4). In the inscription, which was distributed over at least 22 blocks, Tudhaliya IV speaks in a victorious, exalted and violent tone of the Great Kings and commemorates his military victories in the southeastern part of the Anatolian plateau, specifically the Lukka Lands (fig. 3.3; Poetto 1993; Hawkins 1995).

Since 2010, I have been directing a diachronic regional survey project in the territory of the sub-province of Ilgın, which takes the Yalburt Monument as the literal centre of its research objectives and geographical focus (for preliminary reports, see Harmanşah, Johnson 2012; 2013; 2014). The Yalburt Yaylası Archaeological Landscape Research Project has investigated both the long-term settlement at Yalburt Yaylası as well as the landscapes in the close vicinity of the Yalburt Monument by systematically exploring the ecologies of the settlement and cultural history of the environment from antiquity to contemporary post-industrial times (Johnson, Harmanşah 2015). The preliminary results of the survey present us with complex dynamics of settlement, and suggest what kinds of evidence a critical archaeology of borderlands may offer in understanding the politics of landscape in the last centuries of the Hittite Empire. The survey project has

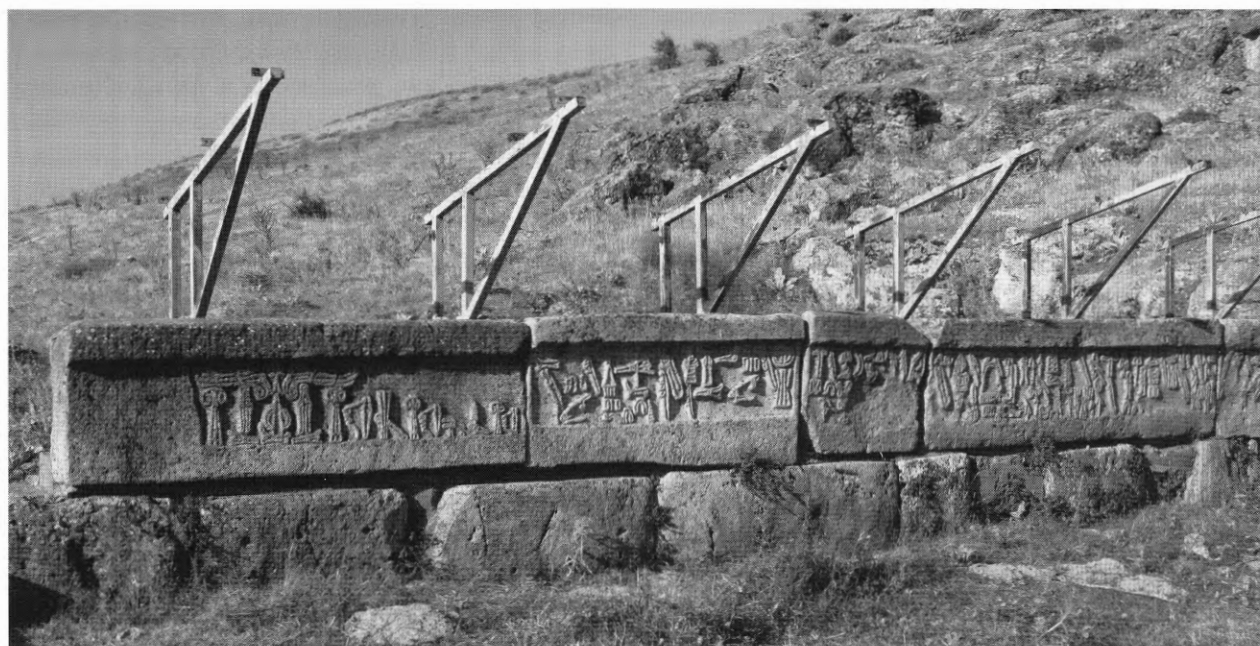


Fig. 3.3. Yalburt Yaylası Sacred Mountain Spring Monument near modern Ilgın: Luwian Hieroglyphic inscription of Tudhaliya IV (© Yalburt Yaylası Archaeological Landscape Research Project).

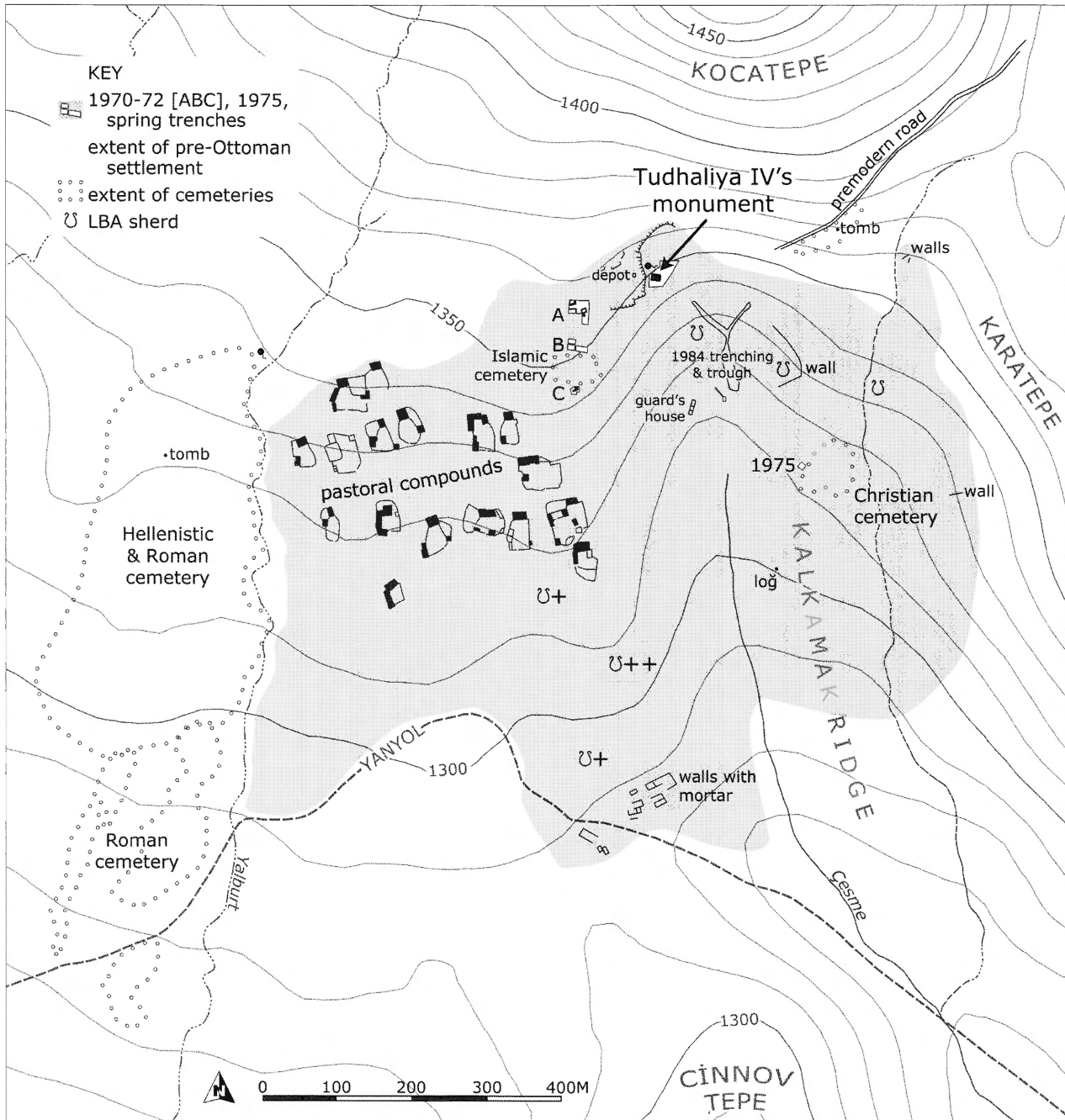


Fig. 3.4. Map of Yalburt Yaylası archaeological site (map by Peri Johnson; © Yalburt Yaylası Archaeological Landscape Research Project).

focused particularly on the political tensions and cultural relationships between local histories of settlement and the imperial interventions that challenged the course of those histories in the short and long terms.

The survey area roughly corresponds to the modern boundaries of the Ilgın sub-province (*ilçe*) of the broader Konya province, and falls directly to the west of the Konya plain, which itself corresponds to the core of the Hittite Lower Land (fig. 3.5). The survey area historically connects what were the core Hittite territories to the west through the route known as the 'common road', especially

during the Late Iron Age and the Hellenistic period (see, for example, Strabo 14.2.29; Xenophon *Anabasis* 1.2.14–18). This road, leading from Konya to Afyon and onwards to the west, was most likely used by the Hittite armies on their way to Lycia (Harmanşah, Johnson 2012: 336). The diachronic regional survey project combines the field methodologies of archaeological survey, geomorphological study and landscape ethnography. Since its inception in 2010, the project has concentrated on three hydrologically linked tectonic basins – the Ilgın plain, the Atlantı plain and the Çavuşçu lake basin – as well as the Bulasan

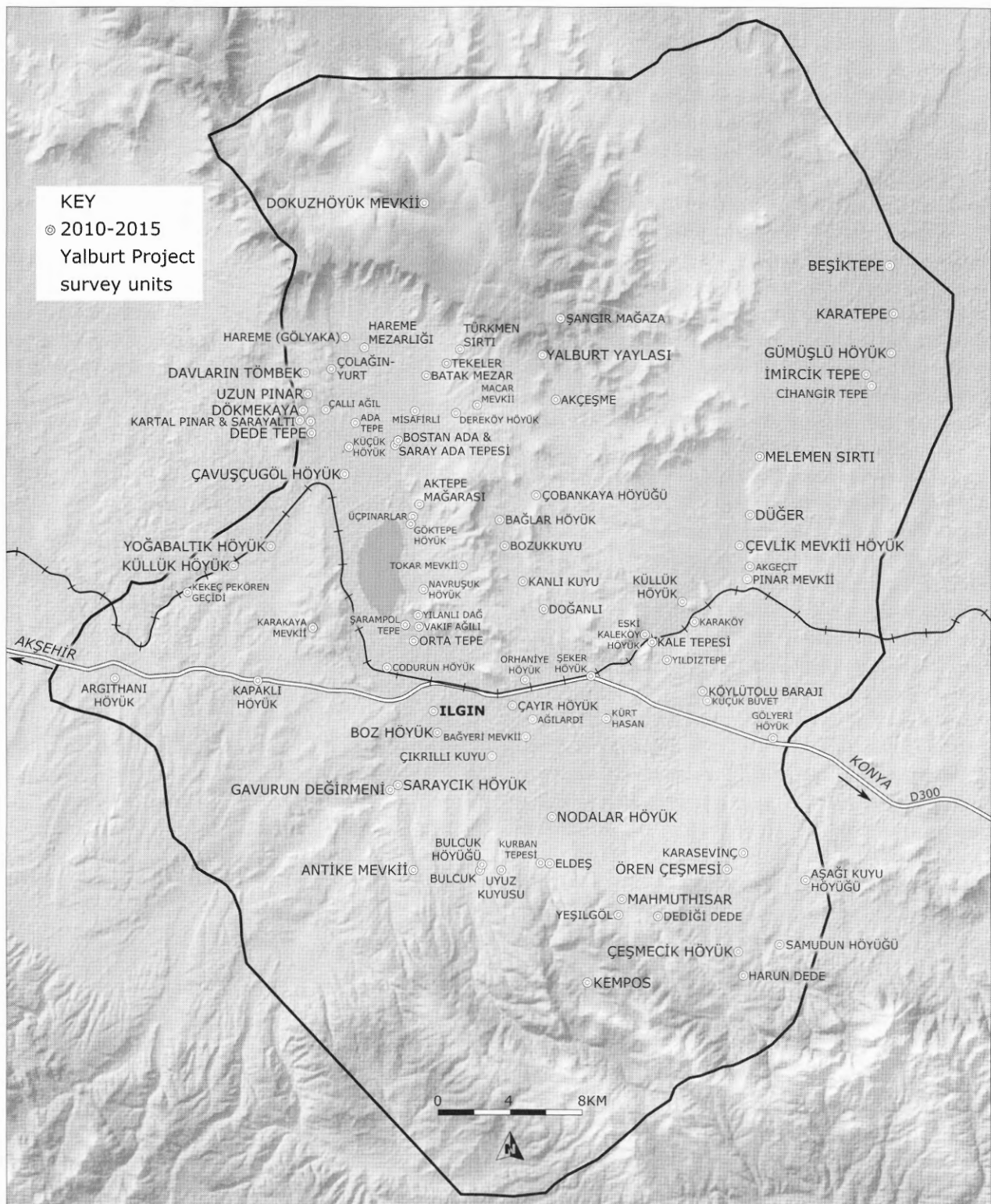


Fig. 3.5. Yalburt Yaylası Archaeological Landscape Project: survey region and units 2010–2014 (map by Peri Johnson; © Yalburt Yaylası Archaeological Landscape Research Project).

river valley, which provides an important corridor of settlement and agriculture between the Ilgin and Atlanti plains (fig. 3.5). This landscape connects the two major fortresses of the Hittite period – Kale Tepesi and Uzun Pınar-Kartal Pınar complex, which were surveyed and dated by the

Yalbur Project in a recent field season – with the Hittite earthen dam of Köylütölu Yayla to the east of the Ilgın plain and the mountain-spring monument of Yalbur Yaylası, which sits to the north of the survey area on the degraded slopes of the Karadağ-Gâvurdağ mountain.

The Yalburt Monument was excavated by the Anatolian Civilisations Museum, Ankara, from 1970 to 1975, following its discovery during the digging of a massive canal for the spring (Temizer 1988; Harmanşah, Johnson et al. 2014). It was built on top of an important spring on the southern slopes of the Karadağ mountain in an area that comes into contact with impermeable layers of schist. The recent surface survey work at the Yalburt Yaylası archaeological site and the excavations carried out by Raci Temizer's team in the 1970s near the Hittite pool, on top of the Yalburt mound and on the Kalkamak ridge to the southeast of the Hittite pool have revealed a relative absence (or scarcity) of evidence related to a significant Hittite settlement at the site (fig. 3.4). Nevertheless, a gradually expanding Late Iron Age, Hellenistic, Roman and late Roman settlement around the spring monument has been documented, both stratigraphically and from surface remains.

The site's Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription commemorates the Hittite Great King Tudhaliya IV's successful campaign to the southwest, especially to the lands of Nipira, Kuwakuwaluwanta, the Lukka Lands and Wiyanawanda (Hawkins 1995: 66–85). The inscription also mentions his construction of 'a stone-stand place' (SCALPRUM.CRUS.LOCUS) at a 'frontier/borderland' – most likely this expression refers to the monument itself (Hawkins tentatively interpreted this as a 'socle' in his commentary based on the cuneiform equivalent of the Luwian expression: NA₄.KI.GUB: Hawkins 1995: 74). This is one of the best-known commemorative texts from the territories of the Hittite Empire, including the capital Hattuša. It has shed light on important aspects of the historical geography and political history of the last century of the Hittite Empire. But why did Tudhaliya IV decide to build such an important monument to his military prowess in the midst of this upland frontier region, and how does this imperial intervention relate to the long-term history of the local settlement landscapes in this area? Over the last three years, the Yalburt Project has come up with a series of possible answers, simply by looking at the incredibly rich archaeological landscape around the monument.

First and foremost, the preliminary results of the projects's 2010–2014 seasons suggest that the environs of Yalburt Yaylası were a deeply contested borderland zone, where the Land of Hatti linked to the politically powerful politics of western Anatolia. The country known as Pedassa in the Hittite texts was a self-governing political entity for most of the lifespan of the Empire and is known to have caused trouble to Hittite kings prior to Tudhaliya IV (Hawkins identifies Mount Huwatnuwanda with the Sultan mountains, while the region of Ilgın is considered to have been included in Pedassa [at least the southern

portion of it]: Hawkins 1995: 51, n.177; for a similar identification, see also Barjamovic 2010: 371). The military road that connected the Lower Land to the southwestern territories passed through the Ilgın plain, and the military significance of the Ilgın plain as a parade and review ground for armies moving from east to west is well known from other episodes in history. According to Xenophon, on his expedition to Persia, Cyrus the Younger chose this route and camped for three days with his army in the plains of ancient Tyriaion where he had a review of his Greek mercenary soldiers to impress the Cilician queen (*Anabasis* 1.2.14–18). A Hellenistic inscription from the village of Mahmudhisar within the survey area records the letters of the Pergamene king Eumenes II to the citizens of Tyriaion, usually identified with modern Ilgın, and grants economic and political autonomy as well as the settlement of military officials in the city (Jonnes, Riel 1997). These deep historical associations with the military puts Tudhaliya's Yalburt inscription in an excellent perspective.

However, perhaps more significantly the results of the extensive and intensive survey in the survey area point to a major Hittite imperial intervention in the region in the form of a rigorous programme of irrigation, agricultural intensification and new settlement in the last centuries of the Empire, and a complex process of landscape negotiation between local communities and the Hittite colonial intervention (Harmanşah, Johnson 2012; 2013). The Yalburt Project has documented a massive Hittite dam to the east of the Ilgın plain, known in the scholarly literature as Köylütölu Yayla, where another commemorative inscription dated to the time of Tudhaliya IV was discovered in the 19th century (Masson 1980). The project has also documented a large fortress site, locally known as Kale Tepesi, located at the critical pass between the Ilgın plain and the Bulasan river valley, and only a few kilometres from Köylütölu dam. The fortress features well-preserved ashlar masonry walls that have close technological affinities with those of the Yalburt Monument (Harmanşah, Johnson 2012: figs 3–4). Moreover, a series of new lowland settlements has been attested on the Ilgın and Atlantı plains, dated by surface finds to the very end of the Hittite Empire. The region of Ilgın, then, presents us with a complex picture of a borderland landscape, where Hittite imperial interventions not only included the construction of commemorative monuments but also an anxious interest in agricultural intensification and renewed settlement with close cultural ties to the imperial centre. A more nuanced understanding of this borderland region, however, must also take into consideration the various strategies of resistance by local communities in the making of this frontier.

Conclusions

Recent work on textual documents from the reign of Tudhaliya IV has shown that large-scale efforts were put into the documentation and organisation of local cults across the Hittite Empire in the second half of the 13th century BC, if not earlier (for a detailed study of the Hittite cult inventories, see Hazenbos 2003; for a questioning of the dating of these inventories exclusively to the reign of Tudhaliya IV, see Cammarosano 2012). This wide-scale inventorying of small cult places, temples, sanctuaries, *huwaši* stones and other cult installations in the cities and the countryside of the Empire points to an ambitious programme and a desire to survey and control cult activities at the time of Tudhaliya IV.

The results of the Yalburt Project's archaeological survey of a wide region in the vicinity of the Yalburt Yaylası Sacred Spring Monument suggests that Tudhaliya IV's interest in documenting or organising local cult places in the countryside and the borderlands of his empire may in fact have been part of a much more substantial intervention into the economic and cultural life of these places and their local communities. The king seems to have commissioned the construction of a spring sanctuary with a monumental water reservoir at Yalburt Yaylası and supplied it with a lengthy commemorative inscription celebrating his victories in southwestern Anatolia. This gesture can be understood as a form of co-opting and monumentalising the so-called 'Divine Road of the Earth' sites, and linking them to the broader geopolitics of his imperial network on the central Anatolian plateau. Moreover, this appropriation

of a regional cult practice into the much more global Hittite religion, that supported and maintained the imperial ideology, went hand in hand with an intervention into the agricultural production and settlement system, through the construction of new town foundations to serve as administrative centres and the introduction of new water regimes.

In this paper, I advocate looking at borderland regions in antiquity from the perspective of places of cultural significance, and suggest that borderlands were configured not along linear, preconceived landscape features, as is often assumed, but mostly around places and nodes of power, which were literally and metaphorically 'roughly hewn'. The rough-hewn nature of these places emphasises the continuous reworking of locations as alive and active rather than static and conservative. At places of power, such as the rock and spring monuments of the Hittites that were raised in the Hulaya River Land–Pedassa region, tensions existed between local communities and the imperial powers who were interested in appropriating these local places of power to configure the edges of their imperial territories. Methodologically, a critical archaeology of place and place-making that traces the genealogy of such locations and their cultural biography is perhaps the most effective in studying borderlands.

Acknowledgements

A longer version of this chapter has been published as chapter 3 of Harmanşah 2015. The contribution here, which uses portions of the original publication, is republished here with the permission of Taylor & Francis Group, Routledge.

Bibliography

- Bahar, H. 1996: 'Ein Neues Hethitisches Denkmal in Konya-Hatip' *Arkeoloji ve Sanat* 18.73: 6–7
- Balza, M.E., Mora, C. 2011: 'And I built this Everlasting Peak for him'. The two scribal traditions of the Hittites and the ^{NA4}*hekur* SAG.UŠ' *Altorientalische Forschungen, Akademie Verlag* 38.2: 213–25
- Barjamovic, G. 2010: *A Historical Geography of Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Colony Period* (Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications 38). Copenhagen, Museum Tusculanum Press
- Beckman G. (ed. H.A. Hoffner Jr) 1996: *Hittite Diplomatic Texts* (Society of Biblical Literature Writings from the Ancient World Series). Atlanta, Scholars Press
- 1999: *Hittite Diplomatic Texts* (Society of Biblical Literature Writings from the Ancient World Series) (2nd edition). Atlanta, Scholars Press
- Bender, B. (ed.) 1993: *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives*. Providence/Oxford, Berg
- Bittel, K. 1986: 'Hartapus and Kızıldağ' in J.V. Canby, E. Porada, B.S. Ridgway, T.S. Madison (eds), *Ancient Anatolia: Aspects of Change and Cultural Development. Essays in Honor of Machteld J. Mellink*. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press: 103–11
- Bonatz, D. 2007: 'The divine image of the king: religious representation of political power in the Hittite Empire' in M. Heinz, M.H. Feldman (eds), *Representations of Political Power: Case Histories from Times of Change and Dissolving Order in the Ancient Near East*. Winona Lake, Eisenbrauns: 111–36
- Bowser, B.J., Zedeño, M.N (eds) 2009: *The Archaeology of Meaningful Places*. Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press
- Bryce, T.R. 1998: *The Kingdom of the Hittites*. Clarendon Press, Oxford
- 2002: *Life and Society in the Hittite World*. Oxford/New York, Oxford University Press
- Cammarosano, M. 2012: 'Hittite cult inventories – part two: the dating of the texts and the alleged "cult reorganization" of Tudhaliya IV' *Altorientalische Forschungen* 39: 3–37. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1524/afo.2012.0001>

- Casey, E. 2001: 'Body, self and landscape: geophilosophical inquiry into the place-world' in P.C. Adams, S. Hoeschner, K.E. Till (eds), *Textures of Place: Exploring Humanist Geographies*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press: 403–25
- Colla, E. 2008: 'Response to Christopher Witmore', paper delivered at the workshop 'Drawing on Rocks Gathering by the Water: Archaeological Fieldwork at Rock Reliefs, Sacred Springs and Other Places', Brown University Joukowsky Institute for Archaeology and the Ancient World, 1–2 March 2008; see Harmanşah 2014b
- CTH = Laroche, E. 1971: *Catalogue des textes hittites* (Études et commentaires 75). Paris, Klincksieck
- De Martino, S. 1999: 'Ura and the boundaries of Tarhuntašša' *Altorientalische Forschungen* 26: 291–300. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1524/aof.1999.26.2.291>
- Dinçol, A., Dinçol, B. 1996: 'Hatip Anıtı'ndaki hiyeroglif yazıt' *Arkeoloji ve Sanat* 18.73: 8–9
- Ehringhaus, H. 2005: *Götter, Herrscher Inschriften: Die Felsreliefs der hethitischen Großreichzeit in der Türkei*. Mainz, Zabern
- Evans, D., Pettigrew, J., Tamu, Y.K., Turin, M. 2009: *Grounding Knowledge/Walking Land: Archaeological Research and Ethno-Historical Identity in Central Nepal*. Cambridge, McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research
- Forlanini, M. 2009: 'On the middle Kızılırmak, II' in F. Pecchioli Daddi, G. Torri, C. Corti (eds), *Central-North Anatolia in the Hittite Period: New Perspectives in Light of Recent Research*. Rome, Herder: 39–69
- Glatz, C. 2009: 'Empire as network: spheres of material interaction in Late Bronze Age Anatolia' *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 28: 127–41. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jaa.2008.10.003>
- Glatz, C., Plourde, A.M. 2011: 'Landscape monuments and political competition in late Bronze Age Anatolia: an investigation of costly signaling theory' *Bulletin of the Schools of Oriental Research* 361: 33–66. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5615/bullamerschoorie.361.0033>
- Gonnet, H. 1983: 'Nouvelles données archéologiques relatives aux inscriptions hiéroglyphiques de Harpatusa à Kızıldağ' in R. Donceel, R. Lebrun (eds), *Archéologie et religions de l'Anatolie ancienne: mélanges en l'honneur du professeur Paul Naster* (Homo Religiosus 10). Louvain-La Neuve, Centre d'Histoire des Religions: 119–25
- Gordon, E.I. 1967: 'The meaning of the ideogram d KASKAL.KUR = 'underground water-course' and its significance for Bronze Age historical geography' *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 21: 70–88. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/1359360>
- Gurney, O.R. 2003: 'The Upper Land, *mātum elitum*' in G. Beckman, R. Beal, G. McMahon (eds), *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner Jr*. Winona Lake, Eisenbrauns: 119–26
- Harmanşah, Ö. 2013: *Cities and the Shaping of Memory in the Ancient Near East*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139227216>
- 2014a: 'Figures carved on the living rock: Hittite rock monuments' in M. Alparslan, M. Doğan Alparslan (eds), *Hittites: An Anatolian Empire*. Istanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları: 566–79
- (ed.) 2014b: *Of Rocks and Water: Towards an Archaeology of Place*. Oxford, Oxbow
- 2015: *Place, Memory, and Healing: An Archaeology of Anatolian Rock Monuments*. London, Routledge.
- forthcoming: 'Apparition on the living rock: rock reliefs and landscape monuments in the Near East' in A. Gunter (ed), *A Companion to the Art of the Ancient Near East*. Malden MA, Blackwell
- Harmanşah, Ö., Johnson, P. 2012: 'Yalburt Yaylası (Ilgın, Konya) Arkeolojik Yüzey Araştırma Projesi, 2010 sezonu sonuçları' *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 29.2: 335–60
- 2013: 'Pınarlar, mağaralar, ve Hitit Anadolu'sunda kırsal peyzaj: Yalburt Yaylası Arkeolojik Yüzey Araştırma Projesi (Ilgın, Konya), 2011 sezonu sonuçları' *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 30.2: 73–84
- 2014: 'Yalburt'a çıkan bütünyollar: Yalburt Yaylası Arkeolojik Yüzey Araştırması (Konya) 2012 sezonu çalışmaları' *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 31.2 : 377–94
- Harmanşah, Ö., Johnson, P., Durusu-Tanrıöver, M. 2014: 'A Hittite king at the spring of Yalburt: Bronze Age, cold waters and the Anatolian landscape' *Actual Archaeology Magazine* 10: 10–16
- Hawkins, J.D. 1992: 'The inscriptions of Kızıldağ and the Karadağ in the light of the Yalburt inscription' in H. Otten, E. Akurgal, H. Ertem, A. Süel (eds), *Hittite and other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp*. Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi: 259–74
- 1995: *The Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Sacred Pool Complex at Hattusa (SÜDBURG)* (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten Beiheft 3). Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz
- 2000: *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*. Berlin, De Gruyter. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1515/9783110804201>
- 2002: 'Anatolia: the end of the Hittite empire and after' in E.A. Braun-Holzinger, H. Matthäus (eds), *Die nahöstlichen Kulturen und Griechenland an der Wende vom 2. zum 1. Jahrtausend v.Chr.: Kontinuität und Wandel von Strukturen und Mechanismen kultureller Interaktion*. Möhnesee, Bibliopolis: 143–51

- Hazenbos, J. 2003: *The Organization of the Anatolian Local Cults during the Thirteenth Century BC. An Appraisal of the Hittite Cult Inventories*. Leiden/ Boston, Brill
- Hopwood, K. 1993: 'Peoples, territories, and states: the formation of the beğliks of pre-Ottoman Turkey' in C.E. Farah (ed), *Decision Making and Change in the Ottoman Empire*. Kirksville, Thomas Jefferson University Press: 129–38
- Houwink ten Cate, P.H.J. 1992: 'The Bronze Tablet of Tudhaliyas IV and its geographical and historical relations' (Review of Otten, H. 1988: *Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy*. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz) *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 82: 233–70
- Ingold, T. 2000: *Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*. London/New York, Routledge. <http://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9780203466025>
- Johnson, P., Harmanşah, Ö. 2015: 'Landscape, politics, and water in the Hittite borderlands: Yalbur Yaylası Archaeological Landscape Research Project 2010–2014' in S.R. Steadman, G. McMahon (eds), *The Archaeology of Anatolia: Recent Discoveries (2011–2014)* 1. Newcastle upon Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Press: 255–77
- Jonnes, L., Riel, M. 1997: 'A new royal inscription from Phrygia Paroreios: Eumenes II grants Tyriaion the status of a polis' *Epigraphica Anatolica* 29: 1–30
- Karağuz, G., Bahar, H., Kunt, H.I. 2002: 'Kızıldağ üzerine yeni bazı gözlemler' *Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Arkeoloji Dergisi* 5: 7–32
- Knapp, B., Ashmore, W. 1999: 'Archaeological landscapes: constructed, conceptualized, ideational' in W. Ashmore, A.B. Knapp (eds), *Archaeologies of Landscape: Contemporary Perspectives*. Malden, Blackwell: 1–30
- Kohlmeyer, K. 1982: 'Felsbilder der hethitischen Großreichszeit' *Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica* 15: 7–153
- Lefebvre, H. (tr. D. Nicholson-Smith) 1991: *The Production of Space*. Oxford, Blackwell
- Lightfoot, K.G., Martinez, A. 1995: 'Frontiers and boundaries in archaeological perspective' *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24: 471–92. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev.an.24.100195.002351>
- Masson, E. 1980: 'Les inscriptions Louvites hiéroglyphiques de Köylütolu et Beyköy' *Kadmos* 19: 106–22. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1515/kadmos-1980-0206>
- Mora, C. 2003: 'On some clauses in the Kurunta Treaty and the political scenery at the end of the Hittite Empire' in G. Beckman, R. Beal, G. McMahon (eds), *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner Jr.* Winona Lake, Eisenbrauns: 286–96
- Neve, P.J. 1987: 'Die Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy-Hattuša 1986' *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 102: 381–412
- Nora, P. 1989: 'Between memory and history: Les lieux de memoire' *Representations* 26: 7–24. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1525/rep.1989.26.1.99p0274v>
- (tr. A. Goldhammer.) 1996: *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*. New York, Columbia University Press
- Ökse, A.T. 2011: 'Open-air sanctuaries of the Hittites' in H. Genz, D.P. Mielke (eds), *Insights into Hittite History and Archaeology*. Leuven, Peeters: 219–40
- Otten H. 1988: *Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy: Ein Staatsvertrag Tuthalijas IV.* Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz
- Pancaroglu, O. 2005: 'Caves, borderlands and configurations of sacred topography in medieval Anatolia' *Mésogaios* 25–26: 249–81
- Parker, B.J. 2006: 'Toward an understanding of borderland processes' *American Antiquity* 71: 77–100. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/40035322>
- Pecchioli Daddi, F. 2009: 'Introduction: perspectives in Hittitological research' in F. Pecchioli Daddi, G. Torri, C. Corti (eds), *Central-North Anatolia in the Hittite Period: New Perspectives in Light of Recent Research*. Rome, Herder: ix–xiii
- Poetto, M. 1993: *L'iscrizione luvio-geroglifica di Yalbur: nuove acquisizioni relative alla geografia dell'Anatolia Sud-Occidentale* (Studia Mediterranea 8). Pavia, G. Iuculano Editore
- Rodseth, L., Parker, B.J. 2005: 'Introduction: theoretical considerations in the Study of Frontiers' in B.J. Parker, L. Rodseth (eds) 2005: *Untaming the Frontier in Anthropology, Archaeology, and History*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press: 3–21
- Rojas, F., Sergueenkova, V. 2014: 'Traces of Tarhuntas: Greek, Roman, and Byzantine interaction with Hittite monuments' *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 27:2: 135–60. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1558/jmea.v27i2.135>
- Seher, J. 2009: 'Der Landschaft sein Siegel aufdrücken – hethitische Felsbilder und Hieroglypheninschriften als Ausdruck des herrscherlichen Macht- und Territorialanspruchs' *Altorientalische Forschungen* 36: 119–39. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1524/aof.2009.0006>
- Singer, I. 1996: 'Great Kings of Tarhuntašša' *Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici* 38: 63–71

- 2006: 'The failed reforms of Akhenaten and Muwatalli' *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 6: 37–58
- Temizer, R. 1988: 'Introduction' in T. Özgüç (ed.), *İnandıktepe: An Important Cult Center in the Old Hittite Period*. Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi: xxiii–xxxii
- Tilley, C. 2004: *The Materiality of Stone: Explorations in Landscape Phenomenology* 1. Oxford/New York, Berg
- Ullmann, L. 2010: *Movement and the Making of Place in the Hittite Landscape*. PhD thesis, Columbia University
- 2014: 'The significance of place: rethinking Hittite rock reliefs in relationship to the topography of the Land of Hatti' in Ö. Harmanşah (ed.), *Of Rocks and Water: Towards an Archaeology of Place*. Oxford, Oxbow: 101–27
- Van den Hout, T.P.J. 1995: *Der Ulmitešub-Vertrag: eine prosopographische Untersuchung*. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz
- 2002: 'Tombs and memorials: the (divine) stone house and Hegur Reconsidered' in K. Aslıhan Yener, H.A. Hoffner Jr, S. Dhesi (eds), *Recent Developments in Hittite Archaeology and History: Papers in Memory of Hans G. Güterbock*. Winona Lake, Eisenbrauns: 73–91

Building on similarities and exploring differences in the way scholars undertake their research, this volume presents cross-disciplinary communication on the study of borders, frontiers and boundaries through time, with a focus on Turkey. Standing at the dividing/connecting line between Europe and Asia, Turkey emerges as a place carrying a rich history of multiple layers of borders that have been drawn, shifted or unmade from the remote past until today: from Palaeolithic hunter-gatherers to the period of early states in the Bronze Age, from the poleis of classical antiquity to the period of the empires defined by the Roman expansion and Byzantine rule, from the imprints of the Ottoman state's expanded frontiers to contemporary Turkey's national borders. Amidst proliferating interdisciplinary collaborations for the study of borders between social anthropology, geography, political science and history, this book aims to contribute to a nascent but growing direction in border studies by including archaeology as a collocutor and using Turkey as a case study.



Front and back cover: garden gate, Safranbolu, Turkey (photo Emma L. Baysal)

ISBN 978 1 898249 38 2



9 781898 249382 >