



# Annual Report NINO and NIT 2016

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Fig. 1. Although Neo-Assyrian (8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC) and showing a fortified settlement on top of a city mound in the Levant (ancient Astartu) this Assyrian relief may convey an impression of how Pakute would have looked like, if it was indeed ever constructed.



Fig. 2. Basmusian in autumn 2015. Note the eroded "citadel" and the thick flood depositions with sherds and baked brick fragments on the lower parts (photo A. Ameen).



# Pakute, a Middle Assyrian fortress on the Rania Plain

*Jesper Eidem*

## Introduction

While the site of Tell Shemshara, a main focus for the NINO project on the Rania Plain, was once briefly the easternmost outpost for the empire of the mighty Shamshi-Adad I (ca. 1833-1776 BC), later Assyrian monarchs also reached this far and even further east into the Zagros mountains. In the latter centuries of the Second Millennium BC Middle Assyrian kings and later again kings of the Neo Assyrian empire campaigned repeatedly and extensively in these regions, but the often vague information in ancient written sources, and relatively scant knowledge of the local archaeological landscape, have made it difficult to identify the places mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions.

The new and extensive archaeological activity in the northeastern Kurdish region of Iraq is now beginning to provide important evidence and fill some gaps. A few years ago a Leiden based project, directed by W. van Soldt, made exciting discoveries at the site of Satu Qala on the Lower Zab, not far west of the Rania Plain. Inscriptions found at Satu Qala show that it can be identified with ancient Idu, capital of a local kingdom, which became an Assyrian vassal in Middle Assyrian times. Further east a German team has recently started investigations of two Neo Assyrian sites in the plain of Pishdar, the valley to the east of Rania, beyond the pivotal pass at Darband-i Ramkan. But what of the Rania Plain itself? Before the Dokan Dam flooded much of the plain Iraqi archaeologists conducted salvage excavations at Tell Basmusian (Fig. 2), and there found, not far below the surface, remains of a Middle Assyrian occupation. The finds in this level included a small group of cuneiform tablets,

unfortunately not well preserved or particularly informative, but clearly of Middle Assyrian date (Fig. 3). As explained in a previous Annual Report (2015) Basmusian must be considered a key site of the Rania Plain, but its ancient name remains unidentified. An Iraqi survey which included many sites on the plain identified numerous “Assyrian” sites, but the dating criteria used are not clear, and the results therefore not very helpful today. Tablets retrieved unofficially “somewhere” on the Rania Plain now reveal that a site here, almost certainly, can be identified as ancient Pakute, an apparently important, heavily fortified, stronghold of several Middle Assyrian kings. In this short paper we present the relevant evidence and briefly consider the likely candidate *on the ground* for the site of Pakute.



Fig. 3. Middle Assyrian cuneiform tablet from Basmusian, found by Iraqi archaeologists 1958 (photo J. Læssøe).



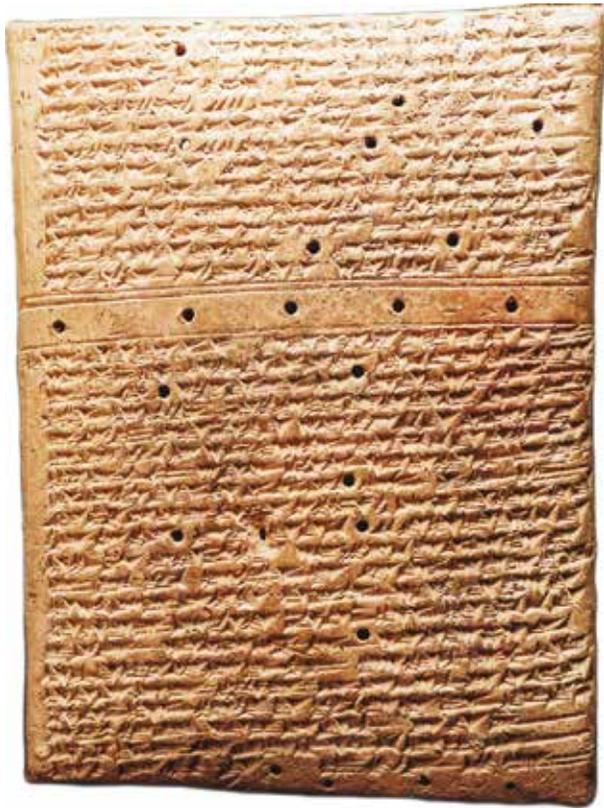


Fig. 4. A complete 'Pakute' tablet: SM 2004 (after A. George (ed.), *Cuneiform Royal Inscriptions and Related Texts in the Schøyen Collection*, CUSAS 17, CDL Press 2011, Pl. XLIX).

## The written evidence

The Middle Assyrian stronghold of Pakute is known only from foundation inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I (ca. 1114-1076 BC) on large clay tablets. Two of these, one complete (MS 2004; Fig. 4) and the other a fragment (MS 2795), are in the Schøyen Collection in Norway, and were published by G. Frame in 2011. The complete specimen, after a general description of the king's exploits, provides a fairly detailed description of Tiglath-pileser's restoration of Pakute:

“At that time, (with regard to) the great wall of the city of Pakute, which previously a ruler who had preceded me had built, I tore down the dilapidated (sections) that had become old. I delineated its site and reached (down to) the bottom of its foundation trench. I made bricks (and) (re)laid the foundation of that wall. I made the foundation twelve-and-a-half courses deep. I completely (re)constructed (the wall) from its foundations to its parapets (and) I built inside it a towered building. I surrounded (the city) with the wall. I raised (the wall) 180 courses (of brick) higher (than previously). I heaped up a pile of earth on top of its large mound. I made (it) much stronger than previously. I dug a moat round it. I built inside it a palace (to be) my royal residence. I completely constructed (the palace) from its foundations to its parapets. I raised its wall and its towers and made (them) fast with a facade of baked bricks. I hung high doors of pine in its doorway(s). I placed monumental inscriptions of mine inside it.” (translation by Frame)

G. Frame discussed the location of Pakute, otherwise unknown, and concluded tentatively that it might be sought near the Diyala river, quite far south of the Rania Plain. Frame's publication, however, immediately reminded the Swedish scholar O. Pedersén of yet another, similar tablet which, like the Schøyen examples, had surfaced from the antiquities market, and was known to him via photos circulated in the early 1990'ies. Where



Fig. 5. The tablet fragment found at Chwarqurna 2012 (image courtesy of the Sulaymania Museum). The image shows the obverse of the fragment with remains of what corresponds to lines 19-30 in the complete tablet published (see caption to Fig. 4).



this tablet may be today is unknown, but the photos show clearly that it is a different, ‘third’ tablet, with the same inscription and the same date. Pedersén was told that the tablet had been found “in the area of Shemshara”, but since the Shemshara site itself was not known to have Middle Assyrian occupation he tried to establish if the tablet perhaps came from Basmusian, but with no result.

Since these tablets served as foundation deposits it was at least clear that Pakute should be identified with a site on or near the Rania Plain, and this was confirmed when in early 2012 a new fragment emerged, again on the Rania Plain (Fig. 5). The fragment was brought to F. Qaradaghi in the museum of Sulaymania and, rather curiously, was said to have been found on the surface of level ground near the modern town of Chwarqurna, southwest of Rania. The Schøyen and Chwarqurna fragments cover different portions of the tablet, and may thus belong together, but would apparently not join directly. Unfortunately no images are available of the Schøyen fragment to check this possibility, and it must for the moment be left undecided whether we in total have three or four tablets. Images of the two complete specimens show them to be brownish, while the Chwarqurna fragment seems lighter in colour.

When the NINO project began its first field season at Shemshara in autumn 2012 I was told of a tablet found there some years previously. Pursuing this information further, however, it emerged from a photo, unfortunately not very close up, that this tablet was a complete example of the ‘Pakute’ type, and thus presumably one of the two already known. My objection to the Shemshara origin of the tablet was met with a revised account which stated the origin as Basmusian! Further and quite recent inquiries have confirmed beyond any reasonable doubt that this was indeed the case. In the early 1990’ies local fishermen found two large and complete tablets on the lower east slope of Basmusian, one actually in the lake and covered by ca. half a metre of water. These

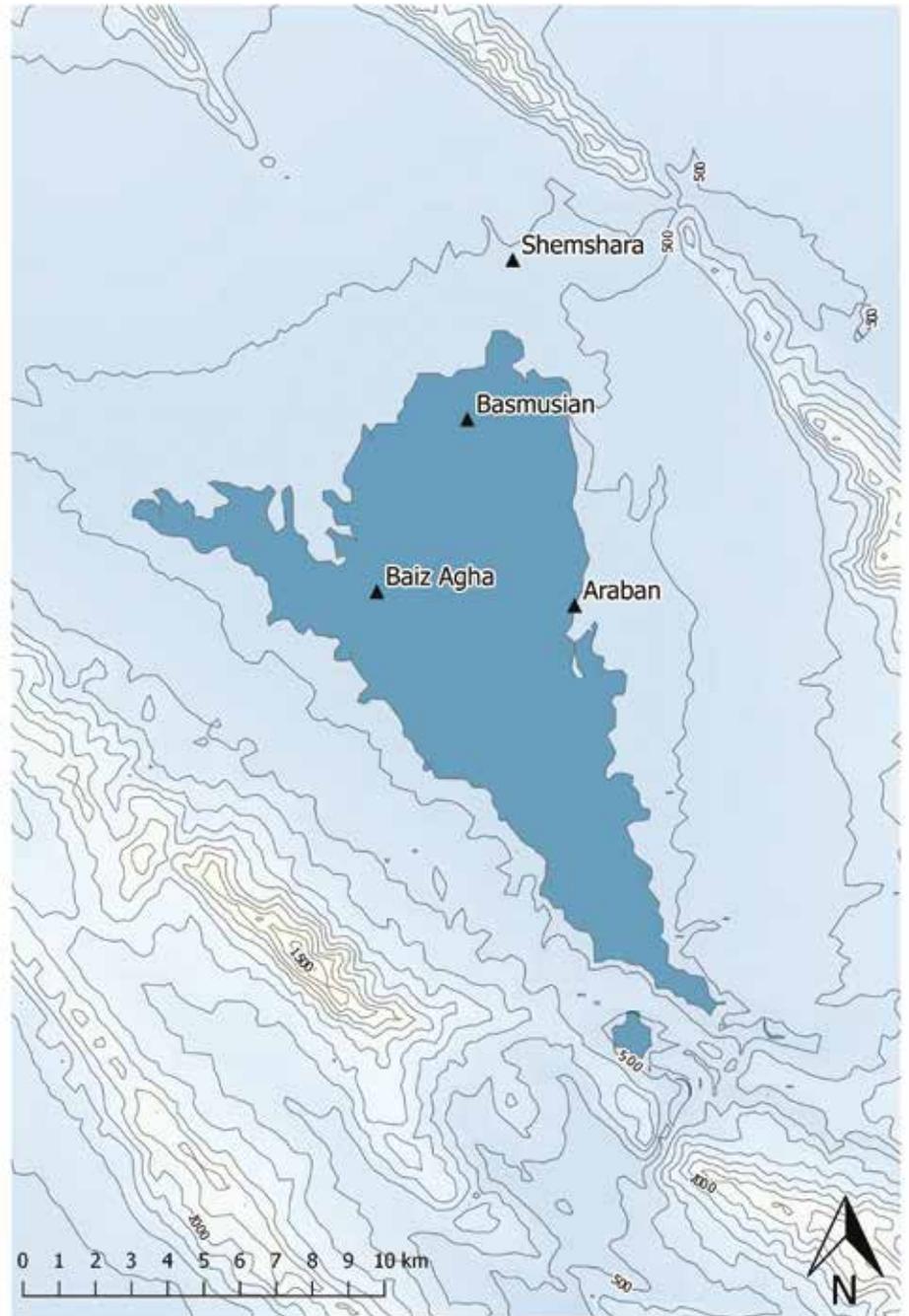


Fig. 6. Map of the Rania Plain with sites mentioned in the text

must be the two complete ‘Pakute’ tablets, and this renders it virtually certain that Basmusian was the site of ancient Pakute. Presumably the Schøyen fragment also was found there, on a separate occasion, and the curious story of the origin of the Chwarqurna fragment may safely be disregarded as irrelevant. Perhaps further inquiries may one day illuminate the origin of the two fragments.





Fig. 7. Aerial capture of Basmusian in 1952 (base photo by *Hunting Aerosurveys*, courtesy of the Dokan Dam; extract prepared by E. Mariotti).

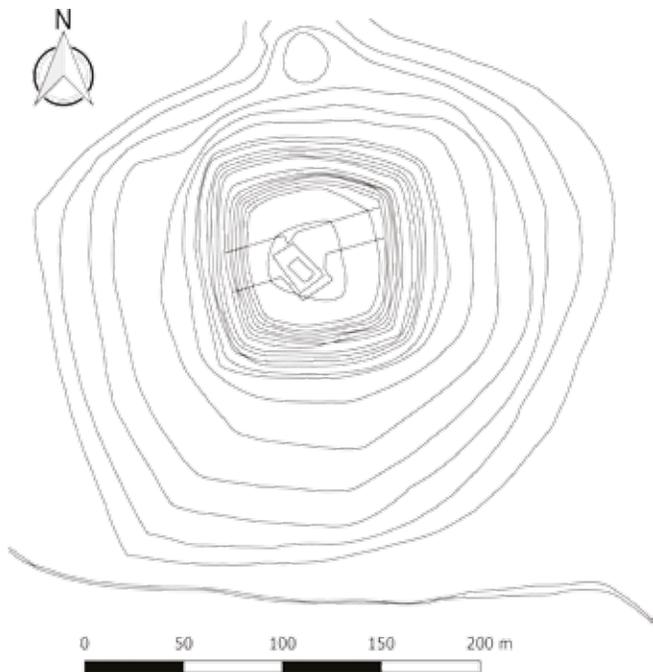


Fig. 8. Plan of Basmusian in 1956, showing trenches and position of Early Second Millennium BC. temples on summit (after B. as-Soof, 1970; this version prepared by M. Uildriks).

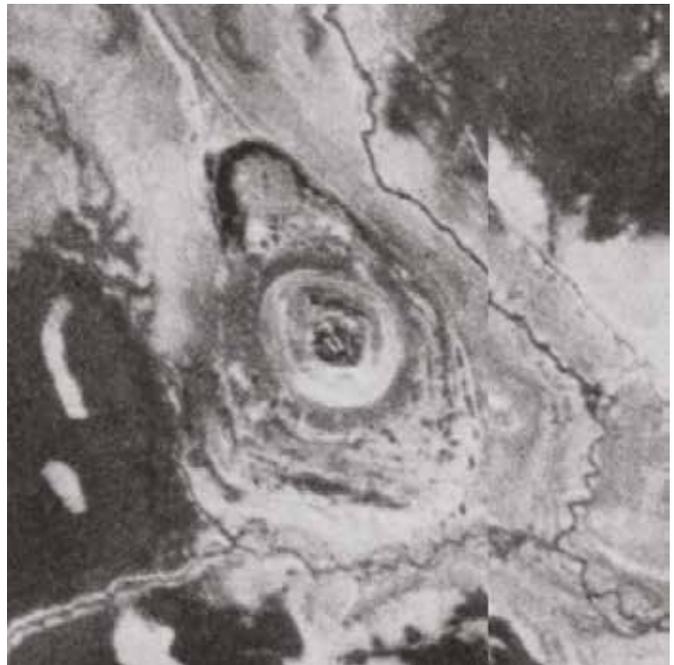


Fig. 9. Extract of CORONA image 1968 showing the site of Basmusian. The outline of the temple building on the summit is still visible. The visible walls must be of the older Temple 2 (Level IV), which was placed on a brick platform. The published plan of this temple shows a one-room shrine ca. 18 x 15 m large and with walls ca. 2.8 m thick.



## The archaeological evidence

The fact that three or four examples of the Pakute foundation tablets have been found would indicate that several corners of its foundations, where the tablets presumably were embedded, had eroded sufficiently to expose them by the early 1990's. Let us briefly return to the description of Pakute given by Tiglath-pileser himself. According to this he restored what a previous Assyrian king had constructed. This is a frequent *topos* in Assyrian inscriptions, but should be basically trusted, and sometimes the specific predecessor is named. In any case Tiglath-pileser's project included a complete renovation, tearing down all the ruined parts and constructing new foundations, in this case with 12½ courses of bricks – so ca. 1.5-2 m. This probably refers to the citadel within which he built a towered building. He then supplied the site with a city wall built of bricks 180 courses high – so ca. 20 m, surrounded the site with a moat, and finally built a palace inside the settlement.

The now virtually certain identification obviously prompts a re-examination of the site of Basmusian and the Iraqi excavations there 1956-58. An aerial view, captured 1952 by *Hunting Aerosurveys* (Fig. 7) shows the mound of Basmusian, with a village on its southern slope, and the high, very regular 'citadel'. A topographic map of the central part of the mound made by the Iraqi team shows that the 'citadel' mound towered some 15 m above the rest of the site, with a summit some 30 × 30 m (Fig. 8). The first Iraqi season in 1956 was directed by the young Behnam Abu as-Soof, who subsequently had a long and distinguished career in Iraqi archaeology. In 1970 he briefly published his results at Basmusian in the Iraqi journal *Sumer*. He describes how two large trenches were dug extending east and west from the summit, and exposed poorly preserved Islamic (level I) and Middle Assyrian (level II) levels. When earlier temples of Middle Bronze Age date (levels III-IV) were discovered where the two trenches converged on the very summit, work was concentrated here, and only small areas

elsewhere dug below the Middle Assyrian level (Fig. 9). The photos published show that the early Second Millennium BC temples were preserved not very far below the surface of the mound, and consequently that the later levels here were shallow. Since also the 1952 image shows no trace of a city-wall or moat around the site it would seem that the Middle Assyrian project was never fully realised.

In fact this scenario is not unlikely. Given the precarious situation of Tiglath-pileser's Pakute, close to powerful adversaries in the Zagros, the ambitious building project for the fortress boasted in the foundation tablets was perhaps never actually finished, and construction stunted. But before that happened the foundation tablets were prepared and probably already deposited. Indeed the pre-flood 'citadel' mound of Basmusian perhaps owes its very regular layout to a deliberate project. As noted by as-Soof: "there are still traces of brick and juss structures elsewhere on the mound, resembling the buttressed terracing visible on the flanks of Qal'at Erbil". The high summit of the now heavily eroded site presents numerous exposed surfaces and walls of baked bricks, clearly the remains of major construction works of as yet uncertain date (Fig. 10).



Fig. 10. Baked brick features on Basmusian, autumn 2015 (photo A. Ameen).



As-Soof also notes that in 1957-58 a colleague, Abd al-Qadir at-Takriti, conducted further excavations at Basmusian, and reached a level XVI with Neolithic remains. These excavations, never published, were probably focussed on the high 'citadel' mound, which was no doubt the ancient core of the site, perhaps re-shaped and supplied with our foundation tablets in Middle Assyrian times. Today Basmusian is sadly eroded by continuously flooding and only a shadow of the once mighty 'citadel' remains, probably now bereft of most Middle Assyrian remains (Fig. 11). Still the site remains a focal point on the Rania Plain, visible from most angles, except when high level of Lake Dokan completely covers it. We hope in coming years to record and document Basmusian and its last remains, and gain a better understanding of this important site.

The early Second Millennium BC archives found at Tell Shemshara provide numerous names of other ancient settlements in the area and thus probably also refers to the contemporary settlement at Basmusian. A possible candidate is the town of Burullum, apparently the local capital of *mat Utem*, the ancient designation of the Rania Plain. Since Tiglath-pileser's Pakute has no apparent etymology in Assyrian or other known languages it is tempting to think that it could be a remote echo of *mat Utem*, from *Matute* > *Pakute*, but this is of course mere guesswork. Another question is how the different Middle Assyrian sites on the Rania Plain related to each other, in time and space, but approaching this will require further investigations and new data.



Fig. 11. Middle Assyrian sherds collected from the surface of Basmusian autumn 2015.





Fig. 12. Basmusian Island in background, view north from the site of Gird Mamand (autumn 2014).

### Acknowledgements

I am grateful to F. Qaradaghi of the Sulaymania Museum for permission to study and publish the tablet fragment from Chwarqurna, and to O. Pedersén, who shared with me photos of the “third” tablet. D. Marf is warmly thanked for researching the origin of the “Pakute” tablets.

### Further reading

See in general the article “Dams and Damage” in the *Annual Report NINO & NIT 2015*, pp. 2-13.

Detailed reports on the NINO Rania Plain Project are soon available in J. Eidem (ed.), *ZAGROS. Proceedings of the NINO Jubilee Conference 2014 and other studies*, PIHANS 130 (= ZaSt 1), Leiden 2017.

The Dutch project at Satu Qala is described in detail in W.H. van Soldt *et al.*, “Satu Qala: Preliminary Report on the Seasons 2010-2011”, *Anatolica* 39 (2013), 197-239. For a quick overview and updates see <http://www.uni-leipzig.de/~satuqala/>

O. Pedersén communicated the existence of the “third” tablet in the journal *N.A.B.U.* 2011 N° 4, note no. 81.





Fig. 1. Adnan Baysal recording ground stone artifacts.



Fig. 2. Aysel Arslan preparing silicone casts of the surface of a clay object.



# Depot Discoveries. The Barcın Höyük Study Season in 2016

*Fokke Gerritsen and Rana Özbal*

The completion of the excavations at Barcın Höyük in the summer of 2015 has not meant that the archaeological research has come to an end. On the contrary, studies on the finds and the scientific samples that had been collected over the years continued and intensified in 2016. Members of the research team spent four weeks in July and August in the small town of Yenişehir, where most of the finds are stored, to further document and analyze finds from previous years. Major progress was made on the documentation of the ground stones by Adnan Baysal, on the ceramics by Laurens Thissen, and on the micro-artifacts by Rana Özbal. Furthermore, the detailed recording of all the bone tools by Mücella Erdalkıran is now almost complete. Time was also spent very productively on performing checks and making additions and corrections to the information stored in the master database, and on developing queries to visualize spatial patterns in the data using the still expanding GIS (Geographic Information System) developed for the site. Here some ‘depot discoveries’ are highlighted.

## **A ‘new’ Early to Middle Bronze Age transitional period occupation**

Even the more faithful readers of the NINO-NIT Annual Reports may not immediately remember a brief mention in the 2010 Barcın Höyük report of a building of which a small section had been excavated. This is what we wrote:

The excavations in L13 and L14 also led to the discovery of an occupation phase that we had only had some glimpses of in the form of small finds found out of

context. It has now become clear that the southern slope of the prehistoric mound was dug into in the Late Roman Period to create a terrace for a building made of mudbricks ... A section of the back wall of this building was found, set close against the artificially steepened slope of the Neolithic mound. The interior surface of this mound was covered with lime plaster. It had a square bin set against it, next to which a cooking pot lay squashed on a burnt floor.



Fig. 3. Excavating the EBA/MBA remains in L13 in 2012.

In following years, we excavated a little more of the building and this led us to question our assumption of a Late Roman date. Even though several scholars familiar with regional ceramic sequences had tried to identify the material associated with the building for us, lingering doubts remained. It was not until the 2016 study season, when we had the opportunity to bring out the material from the excavation depot, and compare it with



published materials from other sites, that we – or Laurens Thissen to be more precise – finally realized that the cooking pot and other ceramics in fact belonged to the transition of the Early to Middle Bronze Age, around 2000 BC. A visit to Professor Turan Efe at nearby Bilecik University, who has conducted extensive excavations at Bronze Age sites in western-central Anatolia, confirmed this date.

While this makes it unclear what the nature of Late Roman activity at the site may have been, if it occurred at all, the new date points to the interesting observation that between the earlier part of the fourth millennium and the end of the third millennium, the site was intermittently occupied at least three times, during the Late Chalcolithic, the middle of the Early Bronze Age and again at the transition to the Middle Bronze Age. Clearly, the location held a certain attraction for settlers, but the surroundings may not have always been suitable for habitation. Perhaps fluctuations in the lake level of the Yenişehir Valley (in parallel with fluctuations that have been demonstrated for the same time period through geological research at nearby Lake Iznik) determined when people could and could not live on the mound.

## First footprints, now fingerprints

After the footprints discovered *in situ* in 2014 (see *Annual Report NINO & NIT 2014*), fingerprints came into view in 2016. Over the years we had collected several dozen baked and unbaked lumps of clay, small fragments of figurines and unidentifiable clay objects. Unsure what these could tell us about the Neolithic inhabitants, we had placed them in storage after only basic recording. There they waited until Aysel Arslan, PhD student at Koç University, brought them out again in the summer of 2016 for a pilot project to test these objects for the presence of finger impressions. Using an ingenious RTI-device (Reflectance Transformation Imaging), custom-made by Vahid Ghouschi and Hakan Ürey of Koç University's engineering department, Aysel quickly managed to show that many of these decidedly unimpressive lumps of clay show traces of the fingerprints of the individuals that held and shaped the clay. The dome-shaped device can be used to photograph the object 56 times, with the light source each time coming from a different angle. This then allows one to digitally manipulate the lighting in such a way that the miniscule ridges left by fingerprints on the clay surface stand out clearly.

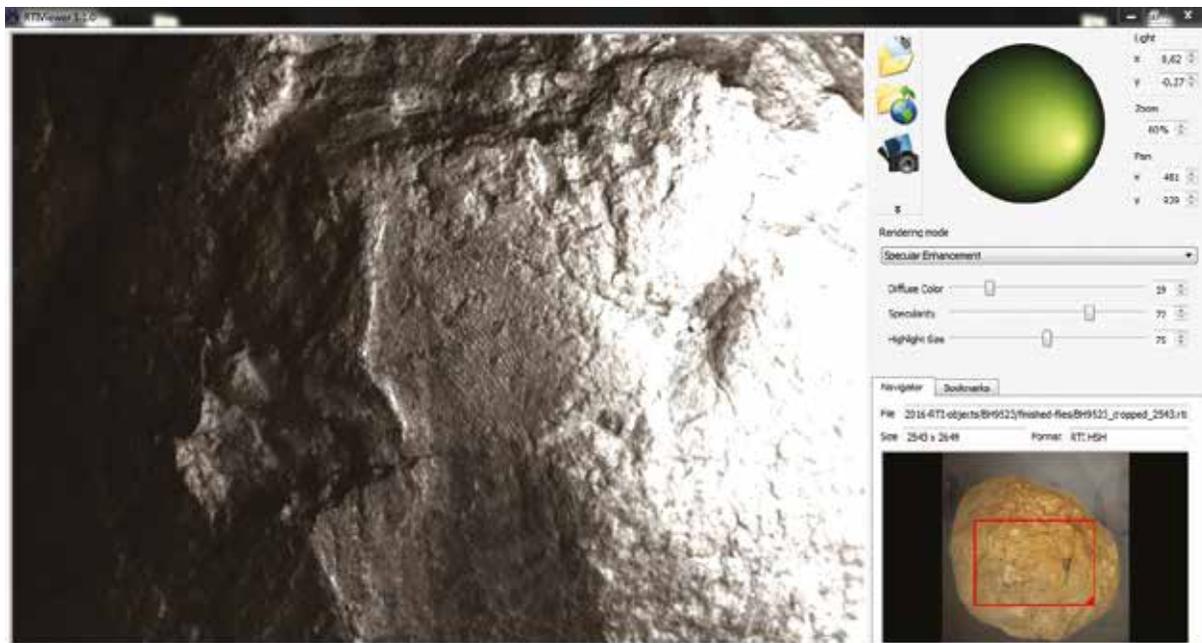


Fig. 4. Screenshot of the RTI software, showing fingerprint impressions on the surface of a clay lump.



With the help of forensic techniques, the next step will be to try to establish the age and gender of the people whose fingerprints we find. If this works, it may give us very useful clues about who it was that worked clay in the Neolithic community. Men, women and children? When it comes to Neolithic pottery production, it is sometimes suggested that this was predominantly a women's task, analogous to ethnographic cases. These new techniques may make it possible for the first time to test this assumption for an archaeological case, and open up exciting new avenues for inquiry into the social organization of labor.

### Easily overlooked: fish and mice

Countless liters of soil had been wet sieved over the years to collect samples of 'micro-artifact' assemblages. The very small fragments of bone, pottery, chipped stone debris, and other objects that are left on the screen after all the sand and clay has been washed away are generally too small to collect by hand. But they are a very useful complement to the larger artifacts discovered in the excavations, for two main reasons. First, they sometimes include objects such as very small beads or bones of very small animals that otherwise tend to go undetected. Secondly, as micro-artifacts in the prehistoric settlement would easily have become lodged in dirt floors, they can be interpreted as a reflection of the activities that took place at that particular spot. Their spatial distribution helps determine which types of activities took place where in the settlement, and may help identify indoor versus outdoor activities, or the location for specific activities such as flint knapping.

With the help of four dedicated high school students from Yenişehir, Rana Özbal was able to sort, count and weigh several hundred samples, each yielding between dozens and hundreds of micro-artifacts. The spatial analysis, aided by the GIS, is still ongoing, but several striking observations already stand out. Small fish bones, mostly vertebrae, show that at least some fish was on the diet. Given the nearby lake or marsh, this is not surprising.



Fig. 5. Mouse bones from a micro-archaeology sample.

However, the macro faunal remains had never given clear evidence for fish consumption. And, as we now know, while people were having their meals on the raised floors of the houses of phase VI d1, mice and other small rodents were waiting in the small spaces between the floor beams for seeds and other food remains to fall down between the cracks. The rich botanical samples from the same locations show that they were, inadvertently from a human perspective, well provided for. Some of these animals did not survive the destructive fire that burnt down the houses above their heads, and their tiny skeletal parts ended up in our micro-archaeology samples. Alfred Galik is currently analyzing these.

### Other activities

In the course of the year, analysis and research also took place at the NIT (lithics, botanical remains), at Koç University's Archaeology Lab (soil chemistry analysis, obsidian sourcing through pXRF analysis), at Boğaziçi University Archaeometry Research Center (lipid residue analysis) and at Ege University (bone tools). Results of the excavations were presented at conferences in Turkey, the Netherlands and Austria. In the course of the year, a number of scholarly articles appeared relating to the Barcın Höyük excavations, (co-)authored by several of the members of the research team. A full list of 2016 publications is provided elsewhere in this *Annual Report*.



# Koninginnen van de Nijl



Queens  
of the Nile



Fig. 1. View of the exhibition Queens of the Nile.



# Incestuous Egyptian Queens: from Hatshepsut to Cleopatra

*Olaf E. Kaper*

## Preliminary remarks

The “Queens of the Nile” were the topic of a major exhibition in the National Museum of Antiquities (RMO) in Leiden between 17 November 2016 and 17 April 2017. The successful exhibition (ca. 125.000 visitors) was developed in close collaboration between Leiden University and the Museum. NINO with its indispensable library facilitated some of the preparations. Queenship was chosen as a highly interesting theme from a scholarly point of view – despite previous exhibitions in museums around the world on the topic of ancient Egyptian women, not much research has been done into the role of queens in Egyptian religion and their position at court. The exhibition was limited to the New Kingdom (c. 1539-c. 1077 BC), ensuring that the objects presented a visual unity and allowing a more in-depth presentation of the theme. Even the New Kingdom was a too large period to be able to discuss all its individual queens, and instead five queens were chosen as a focus for the exhibition.

## Introduction

In this paper, I would like to expound somewhat more on the topic of the ancient Egyptian queens, and on the issues we could not include in the exhibition. In particular, I would like to point at the relationship between the New Kingdom queens and the great Cleopatra, because it brings to the fore some of the important concepts and ideas that have determined the role of queens in ancient Egypt in all periods of its history. It also allows me to pursue a personal interest in the long-term cultural changes in Egypt.

## Cleopatra: alliances and reinvention

Cleopatra (69-30 BC) was the seventh queen of that name, who ruled Egypt at the end of the Hellenistic period, just before the Romans took control of the country in 30 BC. Her full royal name was Cleopatra VII Thea Philopator, “the goddess, who loves her father”. Like earlier queens of Egypt, she never ruled alone. First she ruled together with her father Ptolemy XII Auletes, from 52 to 51 BC. Subsequently, with her brother or half-brother Ptolemy XIII Theos Philopator (51 to 47)

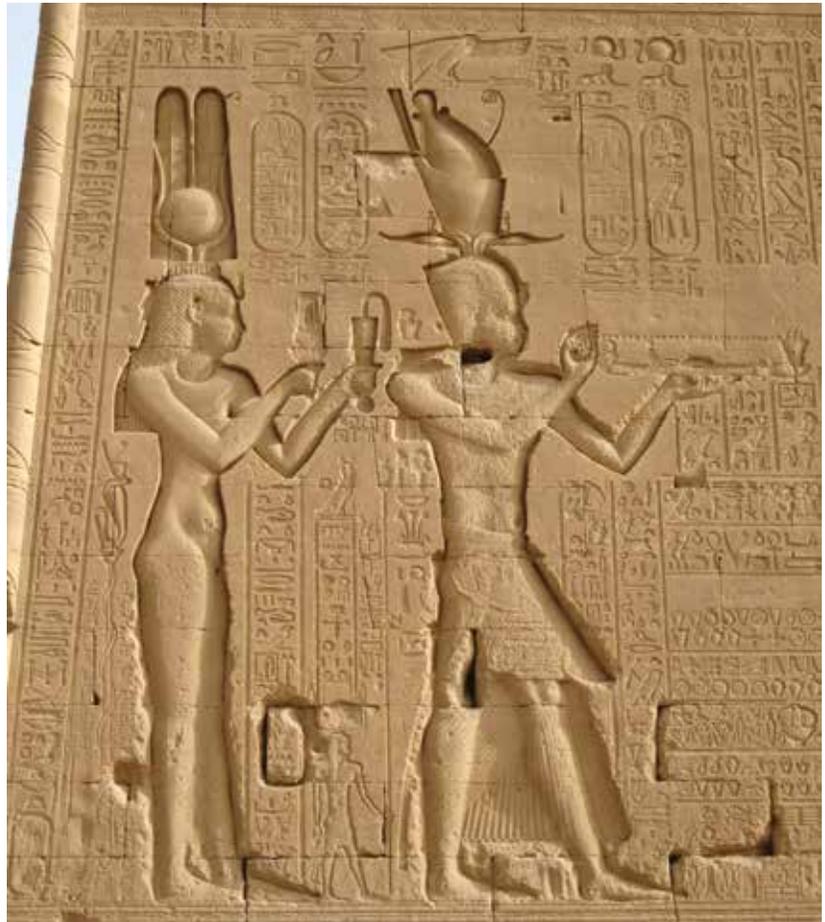


Fig. 2. Relief on the rear wall of the Great Temple of Hathor at Dendera. Cleopatra is preceded by her son Ptolemy XV Caesar (Caesarion).



followed by another brother Ptolemy XIV (47 to 44). Finally, after the deaths of her brothers, she ruled together with her son, Ptolemy XV Philopator Philometor Caesar (also called Caesarion, 44 to 30 BC). It was common for a Ptolemaic queen to marry her brother, but in this case, there is no evidence for or against such a marriage between siblings. Of course, Cleopatra also had liaisons with Julius Caesar, the father of Ptolemy XV, and with Marc Anthony, with whom she had a further two children. Again there is no proof of marriage with these men, but in Egypt there was no tradition of elaborate ceremonies at this occasion, so it remains a hard point to prove. The two Romans were already married under Roman law, so a marriage to Cleopatra would not have been accepted in Rome, but Marc Anthony may have married Cleopatra in Egypt.



The country had undergone many changes since the period of the New Kingdom, the most important of which were connected with substantial cultural influences from abroad. Since the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great, the country had quickly embraced the Hellenistic ideals, and the Egyptians had adopted Greek as the language of the administration and of education. The art and architecture of Greece became visible everywhere in daily life, both in the cities and in the countryside. At the same time, the religion of ancient Egypt, with its temples in traditional architecture and the hieroglyphic script, continued undiminished. Even many foreigners who were living in Egypt embraced the cults of Isis and Osiris, who were by now the principal gods of the country.

As Queen, Cleopatra took on several new names, the principal one was Nea Isis, “the new Isis”, and elsewhere she was called “Daughter of the god Geb”, which also refers to Isis. This reference to the most important goddess of the nation emphasized Cleopatra’s high standing, of course, but it was a specific mythologisation that came forth from Egyptian ideas about queenship, relating the queen to the (male) king and to the world of the gods.

It is said of Cleopatra that she would dress as Isis for important political and religious ceremonies. This is remarkable for a Hellenistic queen, but we know that Cleopatra was probably the first ruler in her family, who had held sway over Egypt for nearly 300 years, to make an effort to learn the Egyptian language. Possibly, Cleopatra had a more manifest interest in the ancient religion, but also earlier queens of the dynasty had been depicted wearing Egyptian clothes, just like their husbands could be depicted as Egyptian pharaohs in the art style of ancient Egypt. Such Egyptian costumes would relate the kings and queens specifically to their role in the Egyptian cult.

### Greek in appearance, Egyptian at heart

The queens of Hellenistic Egypt provide us with important insight into the true nature of kingship at this period. One of the most remarkable aspects of this period, which distinguishes the Egyptian royal house from the common people but also e.g. from the royal house in Seleucid Syria/Iran, is the frequent occurrence of incestuous marriages. From Ptolemy II onwards, the kings were generally married to their sisters. Arsinoe II was the full sister and wife of Ptolemy II, just like Cleopatra VII married her half-brother Ptolemy XIII. This aspect is hard to understand when we only consider the cultural background of the royal family in Greece or Macedonia, but in the Egyptian context it makes more sense.

The explanation for a marriage with siblings can be found in Egyptian religion. Also the gods of Egypt could marry consanguineously, and the most famous example of such a marriage was the couple Isis and Osiris, who were full brother and sister and yet they got a son, Horus. The Egyptian queens of the New Kingdom also sometimes married their brothers and it is worth looking anew at the possible connections between the Hellenistic kings and their Egyptian predecessors.



## The New Kingdom: connecting the old to the new

In the New Kingdom, only a few queens are known with certainty to have married their brothers. They were Ahhotep II, who was possibly married to king Kamose; Ahmose Nefertari, wife of king Ahmose; Ahmose Merytamun, the wife of Amenhotep I; Hatshepsut, the wife and half-sister of Thutmose II, and Bintanat, who was married to her brother Merenptah, but not as his principal wife. Each of these queens was distinguished by the special title “king’s sister”, but it is possible that also other queens were siblings of their husbands even when they did not carry this title. It is clear, however, that the practice was very rare after the first few generations of the New Kingdom. It may be that the new dynasty was in need of establishing its rule by exercising what must be seen as a divine prerogative. Ordinary Egyptians never married their sisters; it was an expression of royal ideology projected onto the divine roles of the king and queen. Lana Troy (2002, 2) has expressed the role of the queen as follows: “the feminine as a medium of regeneration which,



Koningin

Queen

# Ahmose Nefertari

18de dynastie  
(± 1562–1494 v.Chr.)

18th Dynasty  
(± 1562–1494 BC)

Ahmose Nefertari trouwde haar broer, farao Ahmose I, de stichter van het Nieuwe Rijk. Zij kregen minstens vijf kinderen. Toen Ahmose I stierf, volgde hun zoon Amonhotep I zijn vader op. Hij huwde met zijn zus: Meritamun. Deze stierf echter op jonge leeftijd, waarna Ahmose Nefertari de rol van 'Grote Koningin' overnam. Amonhotep I trouwde nooit opnieuw.

Ahmose Nefertari married her brother, Pharaoh Ahmose I, the founder of the New Kingdom. They had at least five children. When Ahmose died, their son Amenhotep I succeeded to the throne. He married his sister: Meritamun. She died, however, at a young age, after which Ahmose Nefertari assumed the role of 'Great Queen'. Amenhotep I never married again.

Ahmose Nefertari was de eerste koningin met de titel 'Godsgemalin van Amon'. Deze priesterfunctie was de hoogst denkbare maatschappelijke rol voor een vrouw. Het priesterschap van Amon ontwikkelde zich in haar tijd tot één van de belangrijkste instituten. Ahmose Nefertari zorgde ervoor dat de koningin deelde in deze macht.

Ahmose Nefertari was the first queen to carry the title 'God's Wife of Amun'. This priestly position was the highest imaginable societal role for a woman. In this period, the priesthood of Amun developed into one of the principal institutions of the state. Ahmose Nefertari ensured that the queen would share in its power.

Ahmose Nefertari verloor haar vader in de strijd tegen de Hyksos, een bevolkingsgroep uit Azië die Egypte een eeuw lang had overheerst. Ze speelde een belangrijke rol bij de overgang van oorlog naar vrede aan het begin van de 18de dynastie. Na haar dood verkreeg zij een goddelijke status en werd zij nog lang door de bevolking vereerd. Ahmose Nefertari werd mogelijk zeventig jaar oud. Haar oorspronkelijke graf was waarschijnlijk geplunderd en het is nooit gevonden. Haar mummie belandde in een bergplaats voor koninklijke mummies in de Thebaanse dodenstad, waar deze in 1871 werd teruggevonden.

Ahmose Nefertari lost her father in the battle against the Hyksos, a people of mixed Asiatic origin who had ruled Egypt for about 100 years. She played an important part in the transition from war to peace at the beginning of the 18th Dynasty. After her death she was given divine status and worshipped by the population for a long time. She probably lived to 70 years of age. Her original tomb was probably plundered and it has never been found. Her mummy ended up in a hiding place for royal mummies in the Theban Necropolis, where it was rediscovered in 1871.



Fig. 3. Banners in the exhibition providing information about Queen Ahmose Nefertari.



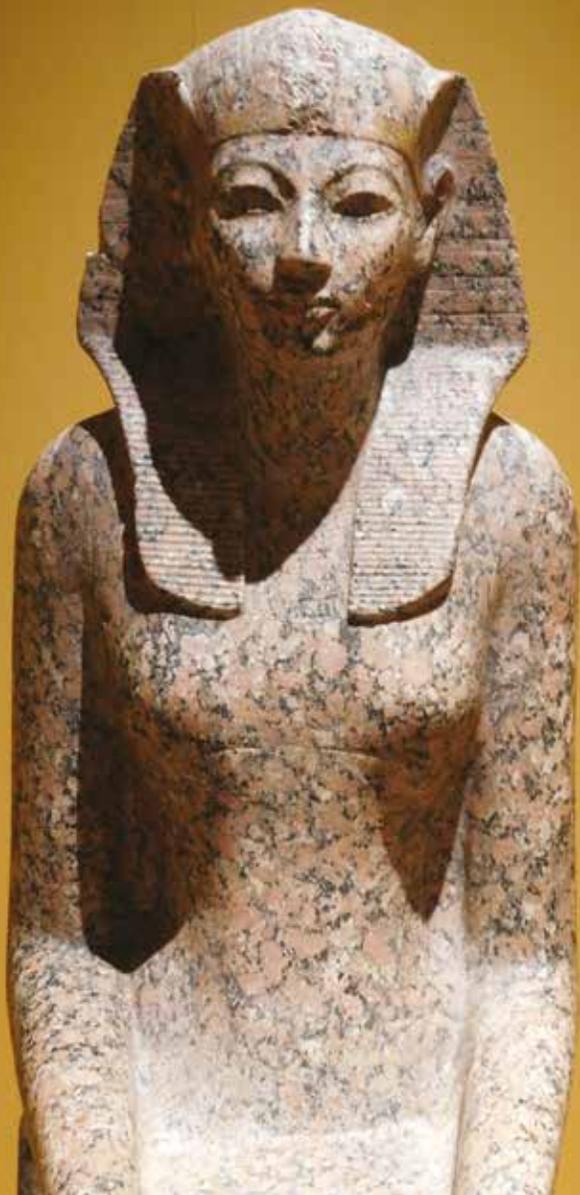


Fig. 4. Upper part of the statue of Queen Hatshepsut as shown in the Leiden exhibition. (Leiden RMO no. F 1928/9.2 and New York MMA no. 29.3.3).

in relationship to the kingship, becomes the affirmation of its renewable strength.” The feminine component was essential for the renewal of kingship, and ideally the queen took on a triple role: as daughter of the previous king, as wife of the present king and as mother of the successor. In that sense, the fact that she was also the king’s sister was not the principal reason for the marriage. But because the gods could also marry with siblings the practice became acceptable.

After the New Kingdom, the queens tend to disappear from the public monuments, but the Nubian royal family of Dynasty 25 again used the same title “king’s sister” for the wife of the king who bore the royal successor. It is likely that this tradition was transferred to Nubia from Egypt, together with the institution of kingship itself, but it is not certain whether the queens were also full sisters of the king. They may have been their half-sisters.

### Back to the future

When the Ptolemaic dynasty established itself in Alexandria as the successors to the Egyptian kings, they showed great respect for the local religion and the traditional expressions of kingship. Ptolemy I took up the practice of building temples for the gods, like Alexander the Great had also done, and he had himself depicted sometimes as a Hellenistic ruler and sometimes as a Pharaoh. Ptolemy II then elevated his own sister to be his co-ruler and wife, taking up one of the more ancient traditional religious expression of kingship, and this would have great consequences for the rest of the dynasty. Not every subsequent king married his sister, but most of them did, and the women were elevated to the status of co-ruler, which had been exceptional in ancient Egypt. Only a few queens, such as Hatshepsut and Nefertiti, had received a comparable status previously.

We have no written documentation about this singular move by the early Ptolemaic kings, but the only explanation we can find for their incestuous marriages lies in the traditions of Egyptian kingship. The Ptolemies applied an ancient theological interpretation of kingship, and they did so with more zeal than previous pharaohs had done since about the time of Queen Hatshepsut at c. 1480 BC. Cleopatra was the last queen of Egypt to marry her brother. However, the practice of brother-sister marriages did not disappear with her demise. In the Roman period we find the practice emerging among the common people of Egypt, who must have drawn



inspiration from the Ptolemaic royal house, possibly supported by economic reasons. It is a remarkable twist to a tradition that had started as a mythological construct expressing relationships among the gods, and that had been applied to the political constellations devised for the early New Kingdom and again for the co-regency of the Hellenistic kings and queens of Egypt.

### Further reading

O.E. Kaper (ed.), *Koninginnen van de Nijl: Macht en schoonheid in het Nieuwe Rijk (1539-1077 v.Chr.)*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Leiden 2017. ([www.sidestone.com/books/koninginnen-van-de-nijl](http://www.sidestone.com/books/koninginnen-van-de-nijl))

G. Hölbl, *Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches. Politik, Ideologie und religiöse Kultur von Alexander dem Großen bis zur römischen Eroberung*, Darmstadt 1994.

Lana Troy, The queen as a female counterpart of the pharaoh, in: Ch. Ziegler (ed.), *Queens of Egypt: From Hetepheres to Cleopatra*, Paris and Monaco 2008, 154-170.

S.R. Huebner, Brother-sister marriage, in: R.S. Bagnall *et al.* (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, Hoboken 2013, 1194-1195.



Fig. 5. Reconstruction of the costume of Queen Nefertari in the Leiden exhibition. Vulture cap and earrings prepared by Sebastiaan Berntsen and Olaf Kaper, made possible by NINO.



King's Gate of Hattusa in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara



# The Individual and his Body in Hittite Anatolia: A New Project

Alice Mouton

The body of an individual connects this person to other members of his community, it enables him to interact with them in a physical way. Without a body, no senses would exist and without the senses, no communication would be possible. However, the body also separates the individual from the other persons through its own inherited or acquired particularities. Thus one can say that someone's body represents both a factor of social cohesion and of discrimination at the same time. This theme has been very much explored in social anthropology but it has been almost completely ignored in cuneiform studies till now. In Hittitology, only the lexicography of the human body parts has been systematically studied. The aim of the project consists in filling this gap in the Hittite texts. It will be divided into five main areas: I. The human body and language, or its functions in the communication strategies; II. The body, perceptions and society, including a study of the senses as they are described in the texts; III. The body as a symbol of social belonging, including a study of clothing, hair arrangements and jewellery as evidence of social status; IV. The body as a medium for religious experience, where we will see that an individual's gestures, postures and movements are as significant as his words in the ritual process; V. The body and death, or, among other things, the use of ritual over a dead body and what the consequences are on the spirit.

## I. The Human Body and Language

The relations that exist between the human body and language are numerous. First, the body has a natural repertoire of symbols and idioms, and each repertoire is specific to one particular cultural group, thus placing

emphasis on it. Some examples of metaphors in names of body parts were already studied. For instance, one could mention the following passage from a Hittite ritual text:

*"They praise their fist (and) bone."*

In this context, the term "fist" means "strength" whereas "bone" means "capacity to resist". Two hittitologists also noticed the uses of Hittite *pata-* "foot" and *haršar* "head" for designating the lower and upper extremities of furniture, and this shows that, like in many other languages, Hittite uses names of body parts for concepts of space. Furthermore, idiomatic expressions related to body parts are numerous in Hittite. If we take only the expressions related to the mouth, we find: 1. *"to call by the mouth"* which probably means "to claim ownership"; 2. *"to break the mouth"* which means "to break one's silence"; 3. *"to bond the mouths"* that is "to oblige (someone) to be silent"; 4. and finally *"to lift from the mouth"* meaning "to contradict, to call in question".

Besides those metaphors and idiomatic expressions, one could also study the euphemisms used for designating the male and female sexual organs, because those euphemisms could reveal linguistic taboos. Hittite *genu-* "knee" is, for example, very frequently used for designating the male sexual organ, but it is not the only one in this case. We find also the euphemisms *"manhood"* and *"member"*. Similarly, the female sexual organ can be called *"what she has got underneath"*, as it is the case in the Ullikummi myth, or *"femininity"*. Behind those linguistic taboos lies the indigenous perception of the gendered body and, more generally, of sexuality, two crucial aspects of anthropology of the body.





Relief from Alaca Hoyuk King and Stormgod

The body is also a well-known communication tool: gestures, postures and facial expressions take part in what we call non-verbal communication. All known contexts could be studied in this perspective, and a sample of each textual genre could be picked in order to highlight the various strategies of non-verbal communication and their impact on discourse. For example, elements of non-verbal communication are quite numerous in the texts of the so-called Kumarbi Cycle. In the “Song of the Emergence”, one could, for instance, note the postures of the divine king’s cupbearer who is described as “standing in front of” his master, a position which demonstrates the cupbearer’s prestige, as he is allowed to face the king himself. But the same cupbearer is also described as “bowing down at his feet”, a posture that expresses submission. Finally, the fact that the cupbearer is also described as placing “the drinking cups in his hand” combines these two same aspects of prestige and submission. As for the king of the gods, the text describes him sitting on the throne. To sit on a throne represents more than any other posture or gesture accession to kingship in Hittite texts:

see the expression “to sit on his father’s throne or in kingship” in the historical records and the “festival of sitting (in kingship)”, as is called an enthronement ceremony.

In the Ullikummi myth, one could notice the Sun god’s gesture of placing his hand in front of his forehead, a gesture that we would today interpret as a way to protect one’s eyes from strong light – that would be quite appropriate for the Sun god!

## II. The Body, Perceptions and Society

The body is also a perception maker through its senses and the way those perceptions are described in the texts could reflect social organization itself. For instance, in the “Song of Emergence”, the vanquished god Anu is described as unable to withstand Kumarbi’s gaze, and this scene clearly illustrates Kumarbi’s domination over his rival Anu. Similarly, in Mesopotamian literature, there is a distinction between the gods’ and men’s perceptions: the gods “look or stare at” the men, whereas the men passively “see” them. The persistent gaze of the gods at the men reflects their power over them. A comparable situation can also be observed in Hittite texts between the men who passively “see” their dreams and the gods who “appear” as actors in those human dreams. An analogous power relation between the king and his vassals could very well be expressed through the lexicography of perceptions and senses in the texts. Thus, a lexicographic and contextual study of the five senses, at least in the so-called literary texts (prayers and myths), could be quite useful.

Another aspect that is worth taking into account is the indigenous perception of individuals with deficient senses. The cases of blind and deaf people have already been studied. Hittite texts do not describe disabilities from birth, but only those acquired by criminals, perjurers or disobedient slaves as a punishment. Mutilation or even scars seem to prevent a person from entering a temple,



thus excluding him from taking part in cult activities. That is at least what a Hittite oracular report seems to indicate:

*“Mutilated (or) scarred persons have entered [the temple]. Will an Old Woman of Hattuša perform (a ritual) [for the deity] as she usually performs (it)?”*

### III. The Body as a Symbol of Social Belonging

Clothing, hairstyles and jewelry depict someone’s social status. The Hittite Great King is immediately recognizable thanks to his royal vestments and insignia. For instance, in a Hittite evocation ritual for the deities of an enemy city, one reads:

*“When she (= the priestess) finishes evoking the deities of the enemy city from the frontier, the king dresses himself as a king.”*

Whenever the king needs to be saved from a foretold death, a human substitute puts on the royal garments and is thus identified with him. Thanks to this identification, death is transferred from the king onto his substitute. Therefore, the king says:

*“[S]ee! This one (is) the king. [I have placed] the name of kingship on this one and I have clothed this one with the [vestment] of kingship! I have placed the lupanni-cap on this one!”*

As one can suspect, the king’s attire varies according to circumstances and probably also according to periods. The king is, for instance, dressed in a white coat and black shoes during a particular festival. One of the richest testimonies is probably the following passage of a Hittite ritual text:

*“They clothe [...] with the fine garments of kingship, they clo[the ...] with a Hurrian tunic, an E.ÍB clothe, a lu[panni-cap, ...] a pair of leggings, a pair of shoes [...]”*

All those clothes clearly correspond to what the text calls “the fine garments of kingship”, thus describing them. Note that we find again

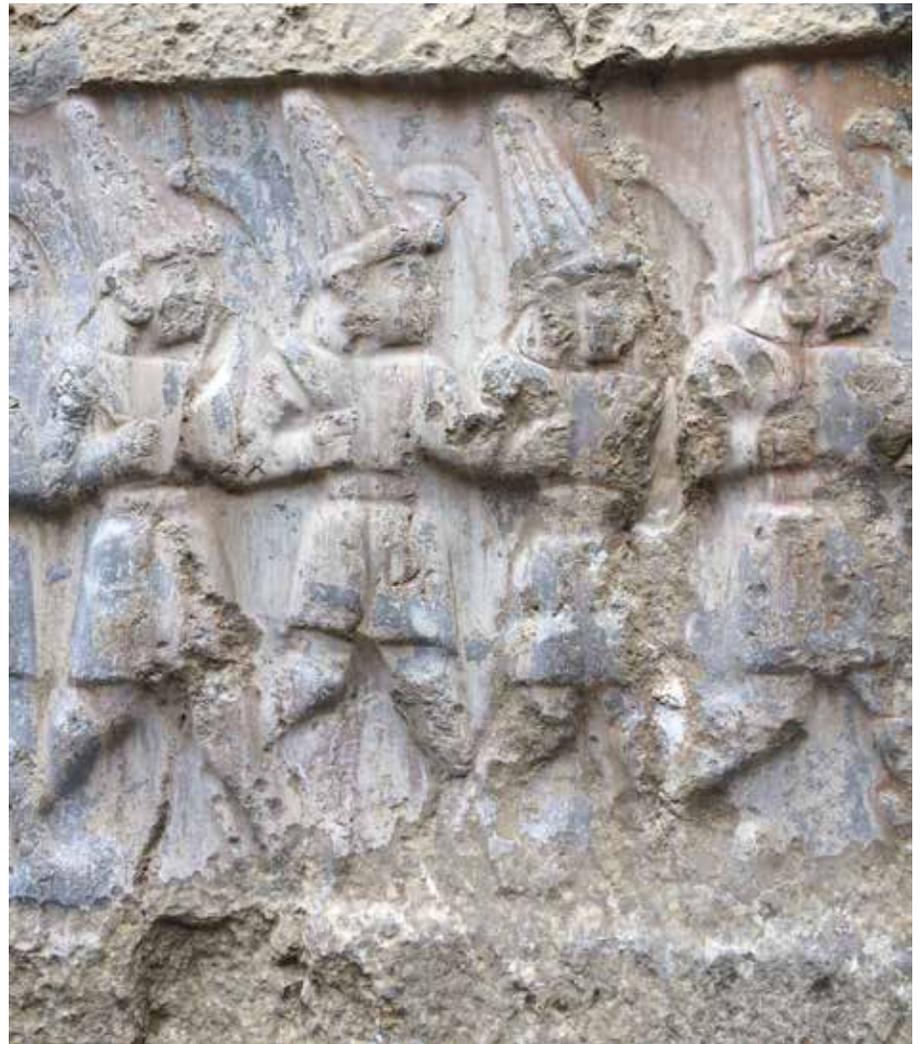
the *lupanni-cap* already mentioned in the previous extract.

It sometimes happens that the king or the prince wears what the Hittite texts call “the deity’s clothes”. This expression can be found in the text of a festival:

*“When it is the next day, the prince wears the deity’s vestment (and) he puts on white shoes.”*

One could also quote that other extract of a text describing a festival in the Hittite city of Nerik:

*“When, on the next day, they start the festivities in Nerik, the king [w]ears the deity’s vestments, (namely) a tunic and an adupli-garment, and he puts on a belt. He [pu]ts on the [ka]ttiluri-[garment] of the deity, (his) [li]tuus (and his) shoes.”*



Twelve Gods at Yazilikaya detail



Just like the human substitute of the king who is identified with him, one could think that the king or prince identifies himself with the deity whenever he wears his clothes.

The attire of the other members of the Hittite social elite, namely the priests, priestesses, scribes and diviners, should be systematically studied. Indeed it seems reasonable to affirm that each group of priests or priestesses was distinguished from another by their clothing

statue of the Storm-god's son or a temple of the Storm-god's son, then the SANGA priests and the AMA.DINGIR priestesses wash in advance. They remove the garland/diadem from their heads, they wrap their heads with a white headband and they wear white clothes.”

This passage shows that, just like the king, priests and priestesses wear various clothes according to circumstances. It also shows that a KILILU, either a wool or vegetal garland or



Relief from Alaca Hoyuk entertainers

and hair arrangements, because such visual symbols of social identity are rarely ignored in a human community. One could see signs of this phenomenon in the following passage:

*“He wears like a SANGA priest.”*

This shows that those priests were easily recognized through their clothing. See also the following passage:

“When the days of the reconciliation (festival) occur, and if there is in the city a

a metallic diadem is part of the usual attire of both the SANGA priests and the AMA.DINGIR priestesses.

One could also mention the occurrence of “first rank” and “second rank” clothes given to SANGA priests and lower ranked characters respectively during the KILAM festival. This shows better than anything else that the attire of a temple personnel member reflects his ranking within the temple hierarchy.



Clothing, hairstyles and jewelry are also gender related. To dress a man like a woman probably constitutes a significant social gesture that needs to be studied context by context. At first glance, one could think that such a gesture humiliates a man in his male condition. This is precisely what the following incantation uttered during a ritual for Ištar of Nineveh shows:

*“Remove from the men virility, strength, health and courage, (as well as their) weapons, bows, arrows (and) knife and bring them to Hattuša! Put in those ones’ hands the woman’s distaff and spindle! Clothe them like women! Put the kureššar headdress on them! Remove your favor from them!”*

Finally, the body is sometimes marked in the context of a rite of passage. When an individual changes his status, his age group or his state, he can be physically marked through tattooing, scarification, mutilation, etc. In Hittite texts, I have suggested that the priestesses called “women with a pierced nose” – but not “cut off nose”, contrary to what was suggested before – probably had their nose pierced with a ring or another jewel at the time of their installation ritual as priestesses. In a very different context, middle Hittite letters from Mašat Höyük mention the blinding of new slaves.

#### IV. The Body as a Medium for Religious Experience

The roles of the human body in religious experience have also to be studied. It is, for instance, necessary to analyze in context gestures, postures and physical movements (processions included) performed by such and such ritual participants, as those acts take part in the ritual discourse.

In ritual context, the body is sometimes stripped of its clothing (one calls this ritual nudity, a phenomenon that has been studied already). Sometimes, the body is also mistreated, and this ritualized violence, as I have tried to show elsewhere, is supposed to

help the individual reach a certain degree of purity.

Through purification of the body – whether this was a violent process or not –, one aims at purification of the whole person. The relationship between physical cleanliness and ritual purity is a central concept within the religious system of Hittite Anatolia, a system that involves several degrees of purity and impurity. One of the highest degrees of purity allows an individual to experience in a physical manner the divine: he can meet a deity without intermediaries either through his senses (like in the case of dream theophany) or through his whole body (in the case of the so-called hieros gamos). This can be understood from a well-known passage of Paškuwatti’s ritual text where we read:

“The patient sleeps. (Afterward, he will say) whether he sees in a dream the goddess’s incarnation, (whether) she comes to him and sleeps with him. For three days during which I in[voke] the goddess, he reports the dreams that he sees (and) says whether the goddess shows him her eyes (or) whether the goddess sleeps with him.”

It seems that the more or less important proximity of the goddess “in her body” (*tuēkki=(š)ši*), as the text states, reflects the degree of purity acquired by the patient.

#### V. The Body and Death

The last theme is the dead body, as the body plays a crucial part in someone’s death. First, the dead body has to be ritually “treated”: like the physical envelop of the deceased, it has to be ritually prepared in order to facilitate the individual’s voyage into the realm of the dead. Archaeology has an important part to play in this inquiry. As for the texts, they mention the cremation of the Great King’s body, and this cremation is probably to be understood as a way to facilitate the sovereign’s so-called “divine destiny”. Through the analysis of the ritualized treatment of the dead body, one is confronted to the universal issue of the



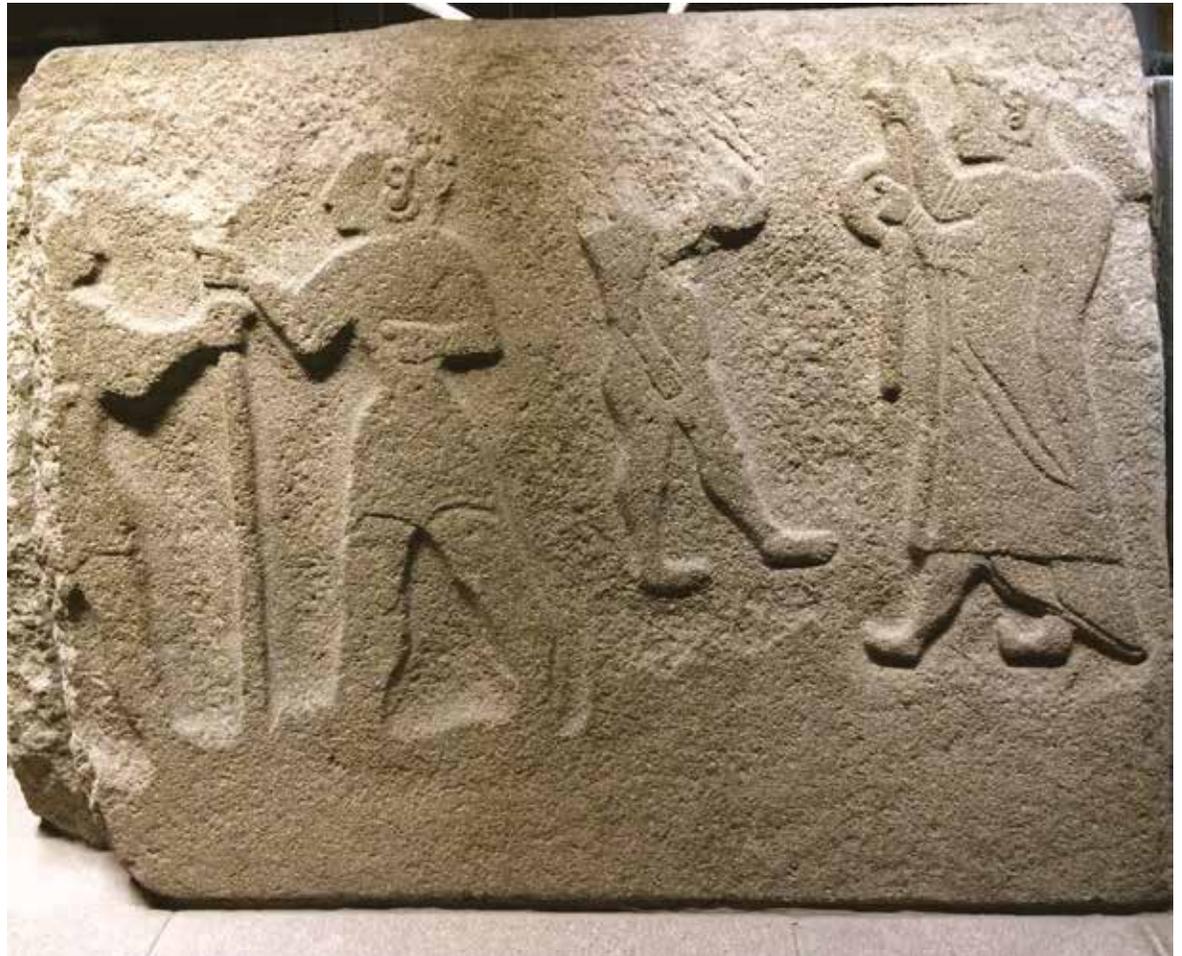
relationship between the body and the spirit, a central topic in the history of religions. One should try to define more clearly this relationship in Hittite Anatolia. During the Hittite royal funerals called *šalliš waštaiš* that one could translate as “the great anomaly”, one can spot the following sequence:

*“On the day when he becomes a god, they do this: they sacrifice a plow ox for the exaltation of his spirit. They pierce its head [and] they say: ‘Let it become what you have become! Release your spirit into this ox!’”*

The last sentence of this passage seems to indicate that the plow ox is being used as a psychopompous entity, with the transfer of the dead king’s spirit into the animal’s head through piercing of that head. This would imply that, in the very specific context of the

*šalliš waštaiš* ritual, the human spirit is able to separate itself from the body and survive on its own. This separation seems to be provoked by the ritual procedure and becomes permanent through the body’s cremation. This sequence belongs to the Great King’s so-called “divine destiny” and that of his nuclear family members; it is in no means systematic for each person’s death in Hittite Anatolia.

Upon someone’s death, the dead body is not the only one being ritually “treated”. Mourners are also often involved during the funerary ceremonies and even during the mourning period *per se*. The texts of the Hittite royal funerary ritual mention the participation of female (professional?) mourners called the *taptara*-women who wail for the deceased. This mourning rite is designated by two different verbs:



Relief from Alaca Hoyuk King and others



1. the verb *wiya-* which also designates some animal cries, such as those made by birds and pigs. Therefore this verb should more precisely designate inarticulate screams and by extension screams accompanying tears;

2. the verb *alalamniya-* which seems to mean “to lament”.

So, whenever they intervene, the *taptara-*women do not obligatorily make use of words but rather of inarticulate sounds expressing pain. The main function of this sound ritual is probably to add a strongly emotional dimension to the ceremony. This ritual act is not only performed by the *taptara-*women, as the beginning of the text shows:

*“All, grown-up(s and) youngster(s), remove their reed ŠULPATU and start wailing.”*

The human body is mentioned everywhere in the Hittite texts, but precisely because of its ubiquity has never been examined in detail until now. The aim of this new project consists in determining to what extent the body is a central concept both in communication and in social relationships in general. These thematic inquiries will hopefully contribute to a better understanding of the social mechanisms within the Land of Hatti. This project has first been launched on an individual basis by Alice Mouton but is now also open to general collaboration through an interdisciplinary research seminar initiated by Mouton in September 2016. This seminar is entitled “The Individual and his Body in the Ancient Mediterranean Basin” and consists in monthly sessions during which Egyptologists, Hittitologists, Assyriologists, Near Eastern Archaeologists, Biblists and Classicists debate on several aspects of the anthropology of the body. A collective volume will be published as the proceedings of this seminar.

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<http://www.orient-mediterranee.com/spip.php?article3088&clang=en>

Photographs courtesy Vincent Blanchard.







## Institute administration

### Curatorium NINO-NIT

NINO and NIT are both governed by a Curatorium (Board of Governors). Members:

- Prof. Dr K. van der Toorn (President)
- Ir. H.G. Dijkgraaf (Treasurer)
- Prof. Dr R.T.J. Cappers
- Dr A.H. de Groot
- Prof. Dr O.E. Kaper
- Ing. Jac.G. van Oord
- Prof. Dr R.J. van der Spek
- Prof. Mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker
- Drs. W. Weijland
- Prof. Dr E.J. Zürcher

The General Director of NINO and NIT is secretary to the Board. The Curatorium of NINO and NIT met on 21 June and 6 December 2016.

### Scientific committee

A committee within the Curatorium of NINO and NIT advises on scientific matters. Members: Prof. Dr R.T.J. Cappers, Dr A.H. de Groot, Prof. Dr O.E. Kaper (president), Prof. Dr M. Stol, and the director of NINO/NIT.

### Staff

In the period under review staff assignments remained unchanged. The staff members of NINO in Leiden are:

- Prof Dr J. Eidem, General Director NINO and NIT (0.7 fte general management, 0.3 fte research)
- Mr R.T. Dickhoff, financial administrator (1.0 fte)
- Mrs C. Hoorn-Janssen, financial administration assistant (0.6 fte)
- Mrs A.G.M. Keizers MA, head librarian (1.0 fte)
- Ms O.T.C. Hoogzaad MA, library assistant (1.0 fte)

- Mrs M.W. Keuken MA, library assistant (0.5 fte)
- Ms C.H. van Zoest MA, secretary (0.5 fte) and publications officer (0.5 fte)

As Local Director of NIT, Dr F.A. Gerritsen is stationed in Istanbul.

### *(Visiting) Research Fellows*

- Prof. Dr J.F. Borghouts
- Dr J.C. Fincke
- Dr D. Giannessi
- Dr W.F.M. Henkelman (EPHE, Paris)
- Dr A. Mouton (CNRS, Paris)
- Dr J.J. Roodenberg
- Prof. Dr J. de Roos
- Prof. Dr M. Stol

### *Volunteers*

Dr D. Giannessi and S.R.L. Berntsen MA worked as volunteers on the collections (De Liagre Böhl, archives).

## Activities and publications by staff members and research fellows

### Prof. Dr J. Eidem

In January Eidem lectured in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden on the latest results of the NINO Archaeological Project on the Rania Plain (Kurdish Region of Iraq) in autumn 2015 (see NINO/NIT Annual Report 2015, 2-13). In February he lectured on the NINO project at the University of Florence (Italy). In November-December he gave a course on "The Archaeology of Iraqi Kurdistan" at The University of Amsterdam (UvA). New fieldwork on the Rania Plain was postponed to 2017 due to the unusual high water level of Lake Dokan, which precluded access to some of the key sites investigated. Instead much time was devoted to the preparation of comprehensive interim reports on the results obtained 2012-15, which will be



published in the first volume of a new sub-series of PIHANS: ZAST = ZA(gros)ST(udies), to appear in mid-2017.

## *Publications*

Scents of Empire on the Sajour, in T.J. Wilkinson, E. Peltenburg, E.B. Wilkinson (eds.), *Carchemish in Context*, Oxford: Oxbow 2016, 106-116.

A. D'Agostino, J. Eidem, D. Giannessi, S. Mazzoni, V. Orsi, K.R. Raheem, Survey of Qaladze (Sulaymania Governorate, Iraq) 2013, *Anatolica* 42, 77-110.

Qal'at Halwanji, in Y. Kanjou, A. Tsuneki (eds.), *A History of Syria in 100 Sites*, Oxford: Archaeopress, 235-238.

Dams and Damage: Heritage loss and second phase salvage on the Rania Plain (Kurdish Region of Iraq, Annual Report NINO and NIT 2015, 2-13.

(ed.), *The NINO Archaeological Project on the Rania Plain. Summary Report on Work autumn 2015: Excavations at Shemshara and further Survey on the Rania Plain* (unpubl., submitted to the Directorate of Antiquities, Sulaymania), 36 pp.

## **Dr J.C. Fincke**

In 2016, Dr Jeanette C. Fincke (CNRS Ivry sur Seine and NINO visiting research fellow) concentrated her research on the plant list URU.AN.NA for an edition together with Dr JoAnn Scurlock (Chicago). For this purpose she spent several sometimes month-long research stays at the British Museum (London), the Vorderasiatisches Museum (Berlin) and the Oriental Institute (Chicago) in order to collate and copy the relevant cuneiform tablets. While in the USA, she also collated the Nuzi tablets of the Yale Babylonian Collection.

In 2016, Dr Fincke gave three lectures in Oxford (UK), Philadelphia (USA) and Jerusalem (Israel) on various subjects from the field of divination, highlighting not only their tradition and usage in the past, but also their potential value for the History of Astronomy. This research focus of hers becomes noticeable in another project with Prof Wayne Horowitz of the Hebrew

University (Jerusalem) on *The Great Star List and Related Texts*, for which she spent one month in Jerusalem, and the workshop proceedings she edited as *Divination as Science. A Workshop Conducted during the 60th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Warsaw, 2014* (Eisenbrauns, 2016). Because of her increased travelling in 2016, she enjoyed so much more the benefits of the excellent equipped NINO library that enabled her not only to continue her research successfully in Leiden, but also to turn her results into publications.

## *Publications*

The Oldest Mesopotamian Astronomical Treatise: *enūma anu enlil* (EAE), in: J.C. Fincke, *Divination as Science*, Eisenbrauns, 107-146.

(together with Mathieu Ossendrijver) BM 46550 - a Late Babylonian Mathematical Tablet with Computations of Reciprocal Numbers, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 106, 185-197.

ākilu, a pest, lit. "eater, devourer", in omen apodoses and other texts; *N.A.B.U.* 2016/4, 167-168 Nr. 102.



*Photo © J.C. Fincke. Taken courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.*

## **Dr J.J. Roodenberg**

In summer Roodenberg had the opportunity to travel through the southeastern region of Anatolia, namely in the area of the Ilisu Dam Project, where archaeological rescue excavations have been carried out in the past decades. The Ilisu Dam Project was set up to build a hydroelectric power plant fed by a reservoir along the Tigris. A number of archaeological sites in threat of



submersion by the dam reservoir have been subject to investigations by national and international teams. Today final researches are taking place by archaeologists of the regional museums before the power plant will be put into operation within a few years. The undersigned visited sites from the Bronze Age, Roman and Byzantine periods.

Regarding NINO publications, preparations on editorial and lay-out level of *Anatolica* Vol. 42 (2016) occupied Mrs Van Zoest, editorial secretary, and the undersigned during spring. Manuscripts were assessed by Editorial Board members or specially invited experts of the subjects concerned. Regrettably, during printing of this issue a few technical mistakes were made that went unnoticed. In order to compensate this inconvenience authors and subscribers were enabled to download correct versions of the affected articles. The publishers have taken this experience as an incentive to be extra attentive hereafter.

### *Book review*

MARGUERON, J.-C. — Mari. Capital of Northern Mesopotamia in the Third Millennium BC. The archaeology of Tell Hariri on the Euphrates. Oxbow Books, Oxford, 2014. *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 73 5/6.

### *Publications*

Neolithic farmers from the eastern Marmara region on the move – closing the circle? *Anatolica* 42.



*View of a section of the Ilisu Dam works on the Tigris in southeastern Anatolia.*

### **Prof. Dr M. Stol**

Prof. Dr. Marten Stol was fully occupied by the final editing of his book *Women in the Ancient Near East* which was published in August. He did this in close collaboration with Mrs. Helen and Professor Mervyn Richardson who had translated the book into English. The book was selected to be available in Open Access. In June his forty years of editorial work on Assyriology at the NINO journal *Bibliotheca Orientalis* was celebrated. In October he gave a presentation of the cuneiform and alphabetic scripts in the Ancient Near East at the school Rehoboth in Alphen aan den Rijn.

### *Publications*

In *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*: entries Verleumdung, Viehhütungsverträge, Waage, Waffe, Waise, Wanne, Wassersucht, Wein, Wetzstein, Witwe, Würfel.

The Old Babylonian “I Owe You”, in: K. Kleber and R. Pirngruber (eds.), *Silver, Money and Credit. A Tribute to Robartus J. van der Spek on the Occasion of his 65<sup>th</sup> Birthday on 18<sup>th</sup> September 2014* (PIHANS 128), p. 23-35.

## **Outreach**

**LeiCenSAA, LUCIS, and NINO Collaboration: Ancient Arabian extravaganza: Crossroads Arabia and the Oasis of Tayma in North Arabian – 6000 years of cultural contacts**

The third annual Ancient Arabian Civilizations lecture (2017) was the result of a special collaboration between the Leiden Center for the Study of Ancient Arabia (LeiCenSAA), Leiden University Center for Islam (LUCIS) and Society and the Netherlands Institute for the Near East (NINO), with the help of the Juynboll Institute and Oosters Foundation. This collaborative effort underscores the growing importance of pre-Islamic Arabia for the study of the Ancient Near East and Islamic origins. This year's two-day event consisted of a workshop on the 14<sup>th</sup> of December and a keynote lecture on the 15<sup>th</sup>. Our theme centered on the oasis of Taymā' as an intersection of ancient Near Eastern cultures; Nabonidus, the



last king of Babylon, made the oasis his residence for a large part of his rule. Taymā' was occupied later by the Liḥyanites, the Nabataeans, the Romans, until it was ultimately incorporated into the early Muslim state. The workshop gathered experts, archaeologists and epigraphists, to discuss our growing understanding of Taymā' in light of the most recent discoveries. The meeting concluded with the presentation of the preliminary season report of the Thaj Archaeological Project.

The keynote address was delivered by Arnulf Hausleiter, the co-director of the Saudi-German excavations at Taymā', entitled "The oasis of Tayma, Northwest Arabia: 6000 years of cultural exchange". Arnulf's work is helping to re-write the history of the Arabian Peninsula. Until archaeological projects of this sort, Arabia's past was understood almost entirely based on literary sources from the Islamic period, which view pre-Islamic Arabian Peninsula through the polemical lenses of isolation and barbarism. His lecture gave the audience a tour across the millennia of habitation at the oasis of Taymā'. The archaeological evidence is decisive: Taymā' had close ties with the empires of its time – a cosmopolitan center rather than a dusty peripheral town.

The oasis likely played an important role in the Islamic conquests of the 7<sup>th</sup> century CE, but then experienced a decline as trade routes and centers of power shifted.

Both events witnessed over packed rooms, with many members of the audience choosing to stand rather than miss out on this cutting-edge research. Following this, the NINO kindly sponsored a reception where members of the audience, scholars, and our keynote mingled and discussed further the fascinating history and archaeology of North Arabia's premier oasis.

## **Oriental Workshop Day for the Youth "From Babylon to Thebes"**

Saturday, March 26, 2016, the fourth edition of the Jeugdstudiedag "From Babylon to Thebes" took place in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden. This day was organized by students and teachers of Ancient Cultures of the Mediterranean

World (OCMW) and by students of Archaeology of the Near East. The Workshop Day is aimed entirely at high school and university students, who are interested in the Ancient Languages and Cultures. In total there were 20 participants from various school backgrounds.

We offered six interactive workshops: Hieroglyphs, Hebrew, Archaeology of Mesopotamia, Cuneiform Script, Egyptian Temples, and finally there was a workshop Greek Wax Tablets added for the first time. The participants could follow four out of these six one-hour workshops.

Participants came into contact with the Egyptian script in the workshop on Hieroglyphs. Fania Kruijf and Lonneke Delpout spoke about the deciphering of the Egyptian writing by Jean-François Champollion and about the various language and writing phases of ancient Egyptian. After this introduction the participants tried to decipher a hieroglyphic inscription, beginning with royal cartouches.

Esther van der Velden and Wilmine Torn Broers took care of the workshop Hebrew, the ancient language of the Bible. Esther and Wilmine introduced the participants to the alphabet and writing system. Finally, the participants were asked to translate a short text from the Bible.

The Workshop Archaeology of Mesopotamia took place in the Ancient Near Eastern hall of the Museum. Catriona Ewing, Sarah Barbier and Theo Krispijn gave a presentation on archaeology of the Near East and on archaeology in general. Theo discussed the Assyrian reliefs and the head of a statue of Gudea in the hall. Catriona took away some prejudices about archaeology by speaking on what archaeology means today. Sarah spoke about pottery analysis on the basis of real potsherds. Then the participants received the assignment to re-assemble a broken pot. Not easy but very educational!

In the workshop on Cuneiform Writing, Rients de Boer and Noor Otten talked about this script, that was first used in Mesopotamia ca. 3200 BC to write Sumerian. After this introduction the participants began to translate a Sumerian and an Akkadian text. Finally the participants had the opportunity to write one of these texts, or their



own name in cuneiform script, on a clay tablet.

Steffe van Gompel and Emma de Looij were responsible for the workshop on Egyptian Temples this year. They had to adapt the workshop considerably because the museum's Egyptian department was unfortunately still closed. The workshop thus took place in the Taffeh temple itself, located in the entrance hall of the museum. "What happened in an Egyptian temple?" and "What did a temple look like?" were a few questions answered, while participants were guided in and around the Taffeh temple.

Finally, we offered a new workshop this year: Greek wax tablets. Cisca Hoogendijk led this workshop, Astrid Hamberg and Maike van Haeringen assisted her. Cisca Hoogendijk had included replica wax tablets for this workshop, but also genuine tablets from the Papyrological Institute! They carried school exercises by Aurelius Antonius, son of Nemesion, from about 350 AD. The participants translated excerpts of Aurelius Antonius's exercises from images.

After the afternoon session, all participants and workshop leaders gathered again in the Leemans Hall of the Museum for the closing session. We all agreed that it was a very successful and educational day. We are already looking forward to the next edition, and we thank NINO for kindly supporting the Workshop Day for the Youth.

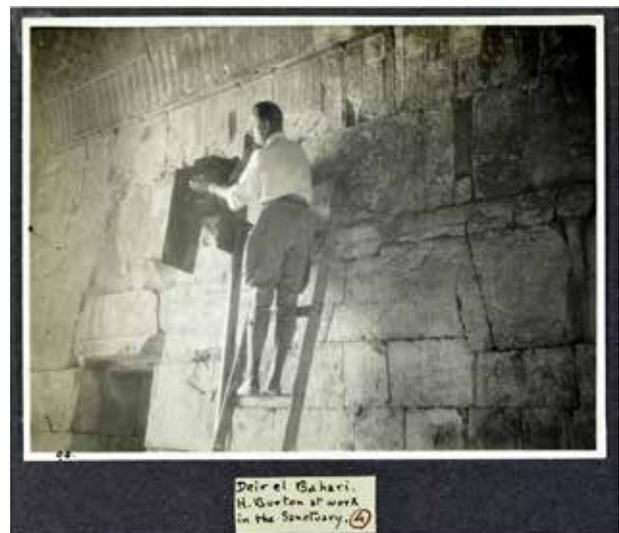
*Veenhof Lecture 2016: Pioneering photography in Egypt and Mesopotamia in John Alfred Spranger's 1929-1936 photo reportages*

The Veenhof Lecture 2016 was held by Stefano Anastasio (Superintendency for Archaeology, Art and Landscape – Florence) on 25 November, at the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden, and was dedicated to the recently retrieved photo archive of John Alfred Spranger.

Spranger was born in Florence on 24 June 1889. His father, William, moved to Tuscany from England in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and was a professor at the Academy of Arts and Drawings in Florence. John Alfred was a leading figure in the cultural milieu of Florence at the beginning of the twentieth century. He was both

an archaeologist and a photographer (as well as engineer, topographer, mountain climber, art collector...). He was the author of several photo reportages detailing archaeological monuments and landscapes especially in Italy, Albania, Greece, Canada, Egypt, and Mesopotamia. In 1913-1914, he participated in the Filippo De Filippi Expedition to the Himalayan Karakoram, as assistant topographer. The photographers of the expedition – Cesare Antilli, Major of the Italian Army, and Giorgio Abetti, a Florentine astronomer – systematically used cameras during the expedition, creating a real reportage. Photos were developed and printed during the trip, and used to make computations, measurements, etc. Spranger surely gained a great passion for photography thanks to this expedition.

In the 1920s-1930s, he took part in a number of Etruscan excavations in Tuscany and paid great attention to the use of the camera to document the excavation work in progress. During this period, he spent time with Harry Burton, the photographer of the discovery of the Tomb of Tutankhamun. It was in fact in Florence that Burton was hired as a photographer and archaeologist by Theodore M. Davis, who obtained the concession for the excavations in the Valley of the Kings in Egypt. During his stay in Florence, Burton spent time with Spranger and both were involved together in a number of Etruscan excavations. Their friendship is witnessed by Spranger in his Egyptian album, where Burton is portrayed in some photos taken in 1929 during the excavations at Deir el-Bahari.



*Harry Burton at work in Deir el-Bahari (1929).*



Throughout the Second World War, Spranger served in the British Army in Egypt and Abyssinia between 1939 and 1942, before his return to Florence. He died in 1968 at Newbury, in England, and was buried in Florence.

The passion for photography accompanied J.A. Spranger for life. He took thousands of photographs, collecting them in refined photo-albums, consistent in shape, size and style, enriched by annotations, topographic maps and plans (most of the original stereograms were recently retrieved at the public library of Vaiano, a small town close to Florence where many documents from Spranger's family are held today). On Spranger's death, some albums, i.e. those dedicated to "archaeological subjects" were donated by his heirs to the then Superintendency of Antiquities of Etruria, and are currently held at the Photo-Archive of the Archaeological Museum of Florence.

The lecture in Leiden focused on the albums dedicated to a trip to Egypt in 1929 (3 albums with 115 photos) and a trip to Mesopotamia (Iraq) in 1936 (9 albums with 217 photos).

Spranger's photos are particularly meaningful, especially because he combined his skills in using the camera with a great expertise in archaeology and topography. He often glued maps of the sites he had surveyed on the albums, on which all perspectives and camera angles were marked and numbered. As a result of this, he was able to create outstanding "georeferenced" sets of photos for many archaeological sites: Giza, Heliopolis, Memphis, Saqqara, Beni Hasan, Abydos, Dendera,

Medinet Habu, Karnak, Luxor, Thebes and Deir el-Bahari, in Egypt, and Ur, al-Ubaid, Uruk, Nippur, Babylon, Ctesiphon and Birs Nimrud in Mesopotamia.

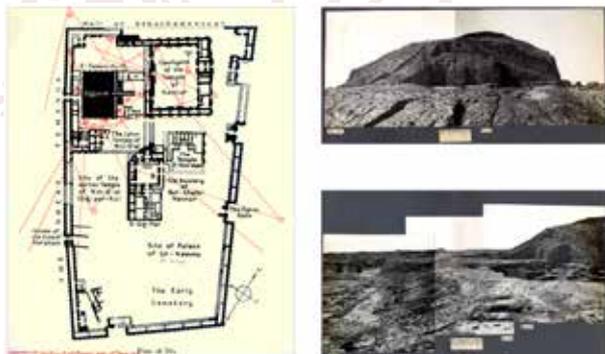
The Veenhoflecture allowed this important archive of a pioneer of archaeological photography to be presented, while the publication of a complete catalogue is currently in preparation by Barbara Arbeid (Etruscan albums) and the undersigned (Egyptian and Mesopotamian albums).

### *Loan to Palmyra exhibition in Deventer*

Museum 'De Waag' organized the exhibition "Palmyra, City of a Thousand Pillars in Deventer" from 10 November 2016-12 March 2017. The NINO library was asked to loan an old printed book: R. Wood, *The Ruins of Palmyra, otherwise Tedmor, in the Desart* (1753). In addition we were able to contribute digitized slides photographed by A.A. Kampman in the 1950s.



*View of the Palmyra exhibition in Deventer, the Netherlands; loan from NINO on the right.*



*Map of the temenos of Ur (1936), with the photo perspectives and camera angles marked and numbered. On the right, photos corresponding to no. 3 (ziqqurat, from NE) and no. 8 (ziqqurat and courtyard of Temple of Nannar, from N).*

### *NINO lectures in the National Museum of Antiquities*

NINO's lecture cycle runs parallel to the academic year, from October to May. The monthly lecture is usually hosted on a Thursday afternoon at the National Museum of Antiquities, as are the annual Veenhof Lecture in November and the Sancisi Lecture in May 2016 (both evening lectures). The following lectures were given:

**28 January**, Jesper Eidem: "Results of the NINO Archaeological Project on the Rania Plain, autumn 2015" (Academiegebouw, zaal 01 – the Museum's lecture room was being renovated).



**24 March**, Olivier Nieuwenhuys: “Sharizor Survey Project in Iraaks Kurdistan”.

**21 April**, Carina van den Hoven: “Het kroningsritueel van de levende heilige valk in Edfu”.

**26 May**, Martin Uildriks: “Op de frontier: nieuwe resultaten uit Soedan”.

**16 June**, Jérôme Rohmer: “Oases, Tribes and Empires: New Insights into the Political History of Northwest Arabia in the First Millennium BC”.

**27 October**, Carolien van Zoest: “Flaubert en Du Camp – calotypie in Egypte, 1849-1851”.

**10 November**, Wouter Henkelman, Sancisi-Weerdenburg-lezing: “Koning van deze Aarde, wijd en zijd – de Perzische blik op het Achaemenidenrijk”.

**24 November**, Stefano Anastasio: “The first Italian archaeological mission to Mesopotamia: Qasr Shamamuk, 1930-1933”.

**25 November**, Stefano Anastasio, Veenhof-lezing: “Pioneering photography in Egypt and Mesopotamia in John Alfred Spranger’s 1929-1936 photo reportages” (see above).

In addition we organised or co-organised a few extra events:

**28 June**, screening of the documentary film “Seyyidah Salme”, in which Dr E.J. van Donzel was interviewed by Deborah Giannessi and Anita Keizers. Held in a university lecture room, the screening was followed by questions and discussion, and by a walking lunch served in the NINO library.

**14 December**: symposium “Crossroads Arabia: Perspectives on cultural exchange between pre-Islamic Arabia and the outside world”. Speakers: Caroline Waerzeggers, Michael Macdonald, Alessia Prioretta, Fokelien Kootstra, Ahmad Al-Jallad. Held at Leiden University Library, Heinsius Room (see above).

**15 December**, Arnulf Hausleiter, Leiden Lecture on Ancient Arabian Civilization: “The oasis of Tayma, Northwest Arabia – 6000 years of cultural contacts and exchange”. Held at Leiden University Library, Vossius Room (keynote to the previous symposium; see above).

## Library

The NINO library is an independent academic research library, open to the public but mostly used by researchers and students from Leiden University and other universities in the Netherlands and abroad. The library is an open shelf library where visitors can consult the book collection themselves, except for items from our special collections which have to be retrieved by the library staff. Books cannot be borrowed, but copying facilities are available in the library.

The library is open on weekdays from 9 a.m. - 5 p.m.; 9133 visitors registered in the guestbook in 2016, mostly from the faculties Egyptology, Assyriology, Archaeology and Old Cultures of the Mediterranean World. The library can host a maximum of 66 visitors at once and there are approximately 30-40 visitors daily. Also in 2016 we were happy to welcome some renown visitors from abroad for a shorter or longer period for research in our highly appreciated library.

The staff members have been extremely occupied with getting acquainted with the new ALMA cataloguing system for the online catalogue in 2016. This was of course beside the regular ongoing library activities as assisting visitors, keeping the collection up-to-date, conservation of the collection, re-organisations of the shelves and all other ongoing practical library tasks as providing help with copying. During the annual check of the collection in summer, when visitor numbers are less than during the study semesters, 16 titles were found missing.

Work meetings are held bi-monthly to keep each other informed of ongoing developments.

This year 3 mini-exhibitions were displayed in the small showcase placed at the entrance of the library. The subjects of the exhibition of items chosen from the different collections in our library were in 2016: *Reizen in de “Orient”*, *Uilen in het Oude Egypte*, and *“Hoogland” collectie*.

In June a special gathering was organized to highlight our Rudolph Said-Ruete collection through a meet-and-greet with Prof. E. van Donzel, former director of the NINO.

The collection consists of monographs and periodicals. The titles are available in the online



Leiden University Libraries Catalogue, <http://catalogue.leidenuniv.nl>, under the subcategory "Leiden collections". Visitors can consult this catalogue on two computers in the library. Beside the online catalogue there is a periodical list and a library classification folder which visitors can use to find publications on the shelves.

The main fields of interest and largest categories are Egyptology, Assyriology and the Near East in general. The library can be considered one of the few excellent libraries in the world with many essential reference works for these subjects. Notable are also the many important publications on the Middle East, including Turkey, Iran, Hebraïca and the archaeological reports from the Levant area (the "Scholten" collection). The library further hosts an impressive collection of travel literature and country descriptions, and the special collections of Seyyidah Salme (Emily Ruete), D. van de Meulen, R. Hoogland and G.H. de Knecht. The publications are in western languages, Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, Turkish and in several other non-western languages.

Acquisitions are mainly restricted to the fields of Egyptology, Assyriology and archaeological reports on the Levant area. These acquisitions are based on publisher catalogues, reviews in journals as well as advice from NINO fellows and other specialists in Near Eastern studies. Due to rising prices we sadly had to cancel some standing orders and could order less new titles in 2016.

An list of acquisitions is published quarterly on the NINO website [www.nino-leiden.nl](http://www.nino-leiden.nl).

In 2016, 361 new monographs and 231 periodical issues were acquired. Occasional gifts and donations are accepted if appropriate for the collection. In 2016 these counted to 86 items.

As for the periodicals, there are 859 titles for all the categories available in the collection. 122 of these are dynamic (including some titles we receive in exchange for NINO publications) and some of them are just single volumes.

About 47000 titles are catalogued for the NINO library. The number of volumes present on the shelves is understandably a lot more. These volumes occupy approximately 1,650 km of shelf space in the 500 m<sup>2</sup> floor space of the library.

## Collections

Deborah Giannessi and Sebastiaan Berntsen continued their work on the Böhl Collection and our archive collections, respectively.

## Chair of Ecology and Palaeoecology of the Near East

Activities report R.T.J. Cappers, Professor extraordinary at Leiden University (Faculty of Archaeology).

### Courses taught

- Environmental history of the Near East
- Economy of food
- The archaeology of death and burial

### Supervising students

#### *PhD-students*

- F. Fantone (Leiden), participating in the Dunnun-project (Bronze Age Sabi Abyad; dr. Bleda During & prof.dr. P.M.M.G. Akkermans; Syria)
- C. Cilingir (Istanbul): archaeobotanical remains from Tepecik (Neolithic-Chalcolithic; Turkey)
- R. Neef (Berlin): archaeobotany of Jordan
- H. Madina (Paris): archaeobotany of the West Bank (Palestine)
- F. Heinrich (Groningen): Modelling Crop Selection in Roman Italy: The Economics of Agricultural Decision Making (Mediterranean)
- A. Hansen (Groningen): The agricultural economy of Islamic Jordan, from the Arab conquest to the Ottoman period (Jordan)
- C. van Doorn (Leiden): archaeobotany of Deir Alla (Jordan)
- X. Zheng (from Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences): archaeobotany of the Huadong region (China)

#### *MA students*

- D. Alshawish (Leiden): processing of Bitter vetch (*Vicia ervilia*)
- S. Barbier (Leiden): the use of threshing remains of Hard wheat as temper in mud bricks (Karanis, Egypt)



## *PhD defence*

- Robert Power

## **Congresses**

- International Workgroup for Palaeoethnobotany (Paris)
- Presentation Digital atlas of traditional agricultural practices and food processing at the Workshop 'Archäobotanik aktuell' (Berlin)

## **Field research and participation in excavations**

### *Turkey*

- Archaeobotanical research at Barcın Höyük (Turkey; Neolithic until early Chalcolithic): from 2007 onwards. Directed by Dr. F.A. Gerritsen (the Netherlands Institute in Turkey; NIT)
- Archaeobotanical research at Tepecik-Çiftlik (Turkey; late-Neolithic until Middle Chalcolithic): from 2004 onwards. Directed by Dr. E. Biçakçi (Istanbul University)
- Archaeobotanical research at Güvercinkayası from 1996 onwards (Turkey; Middle Chalcolithic). Directed by Prof.dr. Sevil Gülçur (Istanbul University)
- Visit NIT: check seed identifications Tepecik-Çiftlik and Barcın Höyük

### *Syria*

- Archaeobotanical research at Sabi Abyad (Syria; late-Neolithic and late Bronze Age): from 2000 onwards (previously by Prof. Dr. W. van Zeist). Directed by Prof. Dr. P.M.M.G. Akkermans (UL)
- Archaeobotanical research at Qala'at Halwanji (Syria; Early and Middle Bronze Age), directed by Dr. J. Eidem (director of NINO)

### *Jordan*

- Archaeobotanical research at Tall Hisban (Jordan; Umayyad-early Ottoman period). Directed by Prof. dr. B.J. Walker (Middle East and Islamic archaeologist and director of the Northern Jordan Project; currently: Missouri State University, USA, when the project commences: University of Bonn, Germany)

### *Morocco*

- Etnoarchaeobotanical research dealing with traditional food processing (bread and oven typology)

## *Crete*

- Etnoarchaeobotanical research dealing with traditional food processing (bread, pasta and tarhana)

## *Senegal*

- Etnoarchaeobotanical research dealing with traditional agricultural practices and food processing (comparing with Near Eastern agriculture)

## **Publications**

Cappers, R.T.J., R. Neef, R.M. Bekker, F. Fantone & Y. Okur (2016): Digital atlas of traditional agricultural practices and food processing (book and website of University Library Groningen). Groningen Archaeological Studies no. 30. Groningen: Barkhuis & Groningen University Library. 1962 pp.

Cappers, R.T.J. (2016): Modelling shifts in cereal cultivation in Egypt from the start of agriculture until modern times. In: U. Thanheiser (ed.): News from the past. Progress in African archaeobotany. Proceedings IWAA, pp. 27-35.

Cappers, R.T.J. & P. Kooi (2016): In memoriam – Wim van Zeist. In: *Palaeohistoria* (57/58), pp. 1-4.

Cappers, R.T.J., K. van der Ploeg & M. Schepers (2016): Bibliography of Wim van Zeist. In: *Palaeohistoria* (57/58), pp. 4-10.

Barnard, H., W.Z. Wendrich, A. Winkels, J.E.F.M. Bos, B.L. Simpson & R.T.J. Cappers (2016): The Preservation of exposed mudbrick architecture in Karanis (Kom Aushim), Egypt. In *Journal of Field Archaeology*.

Popta, Y. van & R.T.J. Cappers (2016): Een lading proviand – archeobotanisch materiaal uit het 16e eeuwse scheepswrak OE 34 (Flevoland). In *Paleo-Aktueel* 27, pp. 95-104.

Rijn, M. van & R.T.J. Cappers (2016): Botanisch onderzoek naar de samenstelling van de magering van kleitichels uit Karanis (Egypte). In *Paleo-Aktueel* 27, pp. 73-80.

## **Memberships**

- Korrespondierend Mitglied des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (DAI)
- Member of the scientific committee of the



Netherlands School of Archaeological Research (ARCHON) (graduate school)

- Member of the Curatorium of the Netherlands Institute for the Near East (NINO)
- Member of the Management Team of the Groningen Institute of Archaeology
- Editorial board 'Advances in archaeobotany'
- Editorial board 'Palaeohistoria'
- Editorial board 'Groningen Archaeological Studies'
- Editorial board 'Electronic Journal of Indian medicine'

### NINO Publications

#### PIHANS

Volume 127: M. Hartmuth (ed.) – **Christian Art under Muslim rule.** Proceedings of a Workshop Held in Istanbul on May 11/12, 2012. € 53.00

Volume 128: K. Kleber, R. Pirngruber (ed.) – **Silver, Money and Credit.** A Tribute to Robartus J. van der Spek on the Occasion of his 65<sup>th</sup> Birthday on 18<sup>th</sup> September 2014. € 65.00

Volume 129: V. Klinkenberg – **Reading Rubbish.** Using Object Assemblages to Reconstruct Activities, Modes of Deposition and Abandonment at the Late Bronze Age DUNNU of Tell Sabi Abyad, Syria (Consolidating Empire Project, Volume 2). € 47.70

#### Egyptologische Uitgaven

No new volumes appeared in 2016.

#### Achaemenid History

No new volumes appeared in 2016.

#### Anatolica

Anatolica Vol. 42 (2016): 9 articles, 198 pages.

#### Bibliotheca Orientalis

BiOr Vol. 73 (2016): 3 double fascicles, 837 text columns.

13 articles and contributions; 166 titles reviewed (in articles, reviews, or short announcements).

### Report on NIT activities 2016

#### Introduction

The year 2016 saw the start of a new five-year cooperation between NINO and Koç University, as part of which the NIT maintains its premises in the Merkez Han complex in central Istanbul. After uncertainty about the future of the institute in previous years, this new agreement ensures continuity for the coming years. It allows the institute not only to continue its research programs and its function as a platform for academic exchange between the Netherlands and Turkey, but also to build and develop new initiatives. Several public activities could be organized in the course of the year thanks to support from the Netherlands Consulate-General. The foundations were also laid for new education programs in cooperation with Leiden University, which will commence in 2017.

Given the turbulent times that Turkey went through in 2016, it is satisfying to be able to report here on what all together amounted to a rather full year of NIT activities.

#### Staff

Throughout 2016, the core of the Istanbul-based NIT team consisted of local director Fokke Gerritsen (0,8 fte) and assistant Güher Gürmen (1,0 fte). Long-time NIT librarian Gülten Yıldız continued to work for the NIT library as a temporary Koç University employee until August 1<sup>st</sup>. Kim Deen and Zara Toksöz held internships.

#### Library

Under the new agreement with Koç University, the staff for the NIT library is provided by that university's Suna Kıraç Library. Branch Librarian İrem Ünal has been in charge of the NIT library since August 2016. Intensifying the cooperation with the library of the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations (ANAMED), also in Merkez Han, a new joint membership system was developed. The opening hours of the library have been extended, so that there is no longer a need to close the library during a lunch hour.



*The NIT library*



*Barcın Höyük excavations*

Another collaboration that came to fruition in 2016 is Bibliopera.org. A consortium of nine Turkish and international research libraries located in Beyoğlu (former Pera), headed by the Suna Kiraç Library and with funding of the Istanbul Development Agency, work together to provide access to all nine digital catalogues through one online portal. Bibliopera is also intended to form a platform for further cooperation for research and activities in Social Sciences, Art & Humanities.



Through acquisitions, exchanges and gifts, the collections of the library expanded by about 235 volumes over 2016, adding to its collection of c. 25.000 monographs and journal volumes. The main subject areas of the library are the archaeology and history of Anatolia, the Near East and Southeast Europe, and the history and urban development of Istanbul.

### Research and publications

The fields of scholarship in which the NIT actively conducts research concern archaeology, architectural history and heritage studies. This is carried out by NIT director Fokke Gerritsen as well as several affiliated Research Fellows. As an outcome of a workshop that took place at the institute in 2012, the edited volume *Christian Art under Muslim Rule, Proceedings of a Workshop held in Istanbul on May 11/12, 2012* appeared in 2016 in the PIHANS series of the NINO. The volume was edited by NIT Research Fellow Maximilian Hartmuth, now at Vienna University.

### Barcın Höyük Excavations Project

Analysis and publication of the Barcın Höyük Excavations proceeded well in 2016. A report on the research activities conducted in the framework of this research project are presented elsewhere in this annual report. The work resulted in a series of publications, listed below, ranging from excavation reports to technical studies and interpretative essays. DNA extracted from Neolithic skeletal materials recovered by the Barcın Höyük excavations served as an important ingredient of two high profile articles on genetic evidence for the spread of farming, in *Nature* and *PNAS* respectively.

- Baysal, E., A. Bursalı 2016: Turkey's first evil eye? The manufacture and use of blue beads in the Neolithic, *PAST. The Newsletter of the Prehistoric Society* 82, 14-15.
- Erdalkıran, M., 2016: Barcın Höyük 2014 Yılı Kemik Aletlerinin Ön Raporu, *Arkeometri Sonuçları Toplantısı* 31, 207-222.
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In December, eighteen researchers affiliated with the Barcın Höyük project spent three days together in Istanbul to present and discuss ongoing research.



*Barcın Höyük symposium*



*Ottoman Architecture in the Balkans*

### **Ottoman Architecture in the Balkans**

Senior Research Fellow Machiel Kiel continued his long-term research on the Ottoman Balkans. In 2016, the following publications appeared:

- Kiel, M., 2016: Christian Art under Islamic Rule: a Critique of the Historiography of Balkan Art and Architecture, Based on Ottoman Administrative Sources and Forty Years of Fieldwork, in: M. Hartmuth (ed.), *Christian Art under Muslim Rule, Proceedings of a Workshop held in Istanbul on May 11/12, 2012*, Leiden, 61-115 [with a mistake on p. 106, where the caption for figures 25 and 26 should read 'Bachkovo Monastery, mid-19<sup>th</sup> century frescos of Zachari Zograf (1810-1853)'].
- Kiel, M., 2016: The Zaviye and Külliye of Mihaloğlu Mahmud Bey in Ihtiman in Bulgaria, in: Hatice Aynur, A. Hilal Uğurlu (eds), *Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi'nin Hatırasına Osmanlı Mimarlık Kültürü*, Istanbul, 351-370.

Besides these two publications, nine articles for the *Islam Ansiklopedisi* were produced in 2016 but have not come out yet.

### **Fethiye Camii, the Former Pammakaristos Church as a Cultural Heritage Site in Istanbul**

NIT Research Fellow Mariëtte Verhoeven's research focuses on the meaning and value of Fethiye Camii, the former Pammakaristos Church, as a cultural heritage site in Istanbul. In 2016, she was the co-organizer of the international conference 'Byzantine Studies Alive', held on 16 and 17 June at Radboud University. It concentrated on two themes: 'Byzantium as a



Key Player in the Relationship Between East and West' and 'The Position and Transformation of Byzantine Heritage'. In her own paper 'Unlocking Byzantine Heritage through Digital Techniques – Opportunities and Limitations', Mariëtte Verhoeven focused on Byzantine heritage in Istanbul and especially on the Pammakaristos Church - Fethiye Camii.



*NIT Fellows' research projects*

### NIT Fellowships

Two junior researchers were awarded during 2016 with a fellowship for a research stay at the NIT. Here they report on the projects they conducted.

#### *Subtraction and Addition: Large-scale Building Projects in Istanbul*

Dirk van der Meij (Technical University Delft)

In November 2016, I was fortunate enough to be one of the fellows at the NIT. Earlier in 2016, I graduated in the field of Architecture at the Technical University of Delft with an architectural project. At the NIT, I had the opportunity to conclude the research by writing an extended essay. My research considers the act of building, seeing it as interplay between subtractions and additions. An initial interest into the areas of urban renewal within Istanbul made me witness the extreme scale of the current building developments. The NIT was a good base within Istanbul to be able visit places of interest and meet with local scholars and architects.

#### *The French Radical Party and the Making of Kemalism (1901-1939)*

Remzi Çağatay Çakırlar (Leiden University)

The Netherlands Institute in Turkey (NIT) offered me the opportunity to consult a remarkable amount of primary sources that are paramount for the realization of my project. I had the chance to conduct a large scale literature review on the newspapers published during the late Ottoman and early Republican period. In Istanbul, not only I had a quite pleasant stay, but I could also embark on my research the day I moved into NIT thanks to the Institute's practicality and its central location on Istiklal Caddesi.

### Education

In the early months of the year the NIT co-organized and hosted two intensive graduate level courses. Both attracted an international group of MA and PhD students. In the second part of the year, preparations were made for a semester program *Turkish Studies in Istanbul* that the NIT will offer students undergraduate students of Leiden University from 2017 onwards.

#### *January 4-31: Winter School Migration in the Margins of Europe: From Istanbul to Athens*

The Institute of Migration and Ethnic Studies of the University of Amsterdam, the department of Social and Cultural Anthropology of Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Koç University's Migration Research Center and the Netherlands Institutes in Greece and Turkey organized this intensive winter course in collaboration with Greek and Turkish universities. An international group of some 25 rMA and PhD students participated. In the first half of the course the seminars ran daily at the NIT in Istanbul. The courses combined field research in specific neighbourhoods of Istanbul and Athens.

#### *March 14-18: Spring School Reviving Previous Times and Expanding Horizons. Islam and Modernity in Global Historical Perspective*

The long title of this Spring School was matched by the large number of institutions involved in its organization: in addition to Dutch partners NISIS



(Netherlands Interuniversity School for Islamic Studies) and NIT, other organizations included Koç University's AKMED and ANAMED, and French and German organizations CNMS, IFEA and IISMM/EHESS. The Spring School consisted of an intensive program of workshops and keynote lectures.

### Lectures and meetings

March 29: **Migration and Ethnicity: the Case of Emirdağ.** Jak den Exter, who was director of NIHA (Netherlands Institute for Higher Education Ankara) from 2006 to 2014, presented a lecture on the research that he has conducted from the late seventies onwards to find answers to various questions related to migration and ethnicity.

May 26: **Nation-building and Nationalism in Turkey and Europe.** The Study Platform on Interlocking Nationalisms of the University of Amsterdam in collaboration with the Netherlands Institute in Turkey organized a two-day conference on nation-building and nationalism in Turkey and Europe. Within the scope of the conference, two public keynote lectures by professor Joep Leerssen (University of Amsterdam) and Dr Uğur Üngör (Utrecht University) on "Nationalism in Turkey and other parts of Europe, 1800-1950" were organized with the sponsorship of the Consulate General of the Netherlands in Istanbul.

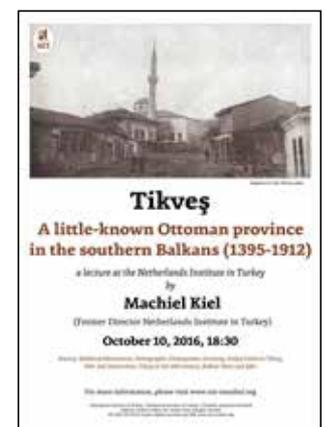
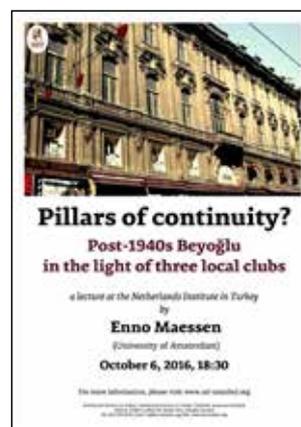
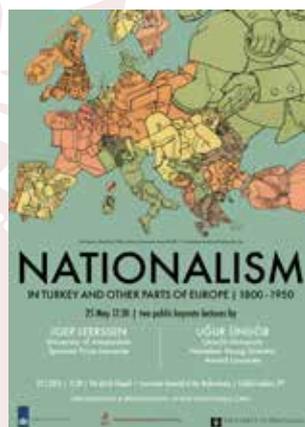
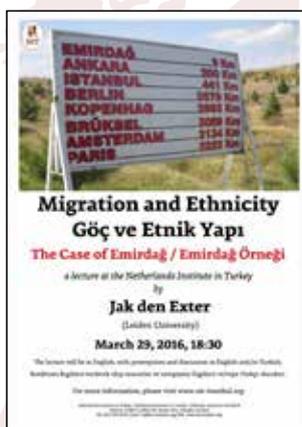
June 11: **Theatrical Lecture Performance: De Man in Europe.** De Man in Europe was part of the art project "In Search of Europe", co-produced by Het Zuidelijk Toneel and Company New Heroes. For his project In Search Of Europe,

Lucas De Man travelled to 17 cities in 8 countries in 30 days. He interviewed more than 20 young creators (creative professionals), who are trying to change the society they live in for the better. Based on this journey De Man made a 'theatrical lecture performance', which he performed in Istanbul at the invitation of the NIT and sponsored by the Consulate General of the Netherlands in Istanbul.

October 6: **Pillars of Continuity? Post-1940s Beyoğlu in the Light of Three Local Clubs.** In this lecture, former NIT fellow Enno Maessen presented a preliminary discussion of the conflict between discursive representations of Istanbul's central urban district, from the 1950s until the 1990s and the historical trajectories of three social clubs in that period. He aimed to problematize the understanding of Beyoğlu as a place which underwent a transformation from a cosmopolitan, upper class urban district to an ethnically Turkish, religiously Muslim, and socio-economically degraded area.

October 10: **Tikveş, a Little-known Ottoman Province in the Southern Balkans (1395-1912).** This lecture by former NIT director Machiel Kiel focused on the following themes: History, Medieval Monuments, Demographic Development, Economy, Evliya Celebi in Tikveş, War and Destruction, Tikveş in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Balkan Wars and after.

November 22: **Global Mobility and Migration Control: Recent Developments in the EU and their Consequences.** This lecture by NIT visiting scholar Prof. Dr. Richard Staring who holds the endowed chair of Mobility, Supervision and Crime at Erasmus School of Law in Rotterdam





*De Man in Europe theatrical performance*



*Global Mobility and Migration Control lecture*

was organized with the sponsorship of the Consulate General of the Netherlands in Istanbul. During this presentation, Staring explored from an interdisciplinary academic perspective some of the developments around controlling irregular migration towards and within the European Union during the last decade.

November 28: **Commanding Views. Anchors of Territory in the Landscape of Pergamon.** This research by Christina Williamson investigates how landmark sites and their commanding views were used as organizing principles in the ancient city of Pergamon, seat of the Attalid dynasty in the Hellenistic era. This paper represented at the Netherlands Institute in Turkey reflected a project using data from the DAI fieldwork in Pergamon; funding was provided by NWO (Rubicon grant), and the research was conducted in Pergamon and at Brown University in 2014-15, at the Joukowsky Institute for Archaeology and the Ancient World.

December 8-10: **Barcın Höyük. Archaeological Investigations of a Neolithic Settlement (2007-2015).** This symposium presented the results of the excavations led by NIT director Fokke

Gerritsen that took place at the Neolithic site of Barcın Höyük in the Yenişehir Valley between 2007 and 2015. The excavations aimed to find out more about the start of sedentary farming life in northwest Anatolia. The lectures in the symposium presented ongoing research on a range of themes, based on the archaeological discoveries at Barcın Höyük, and highlight the collaborative and interdisciplinary nature of the project.

December 16: **Klazomenai at the Dawn of the Early Iron Age.** Recent years have seen an increasing archaeological and historical interest in Bronze and Iron Age of Western Anatolia. A new research project was commenced at Klazomenai in 2014 that aims to analyse the quite extensive Early Iron Age remains from the site and carry out some further excavations to clarify the stratigraphic sequence spanning the final stages of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Early Iron Age. The lecture by former NIT fellow Rik Vaessen presented the first results from this project and discussed the implications of the new insights for our understanding of not just the site itself but also the wider Aegean world.

