

Living (on) Archaeological Sites in Turkey: Engagement of Local Communities into Decision—Making Process*

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Archeological sites have been considered as “dead” sites consisted from building remain buried into ground in modern heritage management doctrines for a long period. Thus their conservation policies are mainly shaped according to this Western perspective. After the spread of international doctrines in conservation of cultural heritage to other parts of the world, it was realized that some archaeological sites were more than group building remains. They were pilgrim sites for the local communities continuously for centuries onwards. Even in some cases, they have traditional management systems to take care for the site. This has raised the awareness about the gaps in modern heritage conservation approaches. International organizations have mentioned about the involvement of local groups in heritage management systems considering their traditional and cultural association with the cultural site. This has provided shifting of conservation approaches from conventional approaches towards *living heritage* approach in such delicate cultural heritage sites. The purpose of this paper is to discuss the historic generation of policies towards local communities living on archaeological sites in Turkey comparing the policies between living (on) archaeological sites and living archaeological sites approach.

Keywords: archaeological site, living heritage, management, local communities

Introduction

Origins of modern cultural heritage management concepts were born mainly in Europe especially after the first decades of 20. century. Common doctrines and principles started to spread to other regions of the world with the establishment of international organizations like International Museums Office, International Council of Museums. These organizations provided international platform bringing together important experts of the period to discuss and reach common goals and principles in conservation. Similarly, there was a conference held in 1904 entitled as “The Preservation and Conservation of Architectural Monuments” (also named as Madrid Conference). One of the remarkable focus of discussions was the classification of monuments as “dead” monuments” and “living monuments” based on the document prepared by Loius Cloquet (Jokilehto, 2005:389). The term “dead/living” referred to the “use/non—use” condition of the monument. According to this term, archaeological sites were generally considered as “dead” monuments/sites due to their ruined condition¹. This

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¹ In 1893, Cloquet grouped monuments into “dead” monuments such as pyramids, temples, and ruins with their documentary value and as “living” monuments such as churches, palaces, manor houses, buildings with contemporary values (Jokilehto, J., 2005:389).

classification also directed the intervention principles for conservation of the monument. “Dead” monuments should have been preserved through consolidation interventions, while “living” monuments should have been restored considering their use values and potentials (Jokilehto, 2005,p389).

Continuous use of historic buildings during this period was discussed as a technical problem within conservation principles of cultural assets. Riegl (1928,p79) identifies the past and present interest groups of a monument as former creators and modern viewers. According to him, present perceives and judges the works of former creators by their historic, artistic and age values. Thus, the values of the monument are assigned by the modern viewers. He also mentions the “use value” in present situations. He gives the example of the dome of St. Peter’s in Rome stating that no one would prefer to view just the view of the dome itself without lively modern visitors or religious ritual practices (Riegl, 1928,p79). However, the focus in his discussions is still on the fabric material use and values of monuments. The use value of historic buildings and structures was considered as a technical problem to deal with during conservation process. While common conservation approaches towards conservation were developing in technical aspects, the bonds of traditional cultures to historic places were neglected. After the spread of Western European conservation paradigms to other parts of the world, it was realized that there were serious gaps between practice especially in locations of non—western countries and indigenous cultures. Wijesuriya (2005,p31) gives examples on the impact of British colonial approach in archaeology and conservation in South Asia mainly Sri Lanka during mid 19th century. After the arrival of colonialism in these regions, they tried to establish their own understanding and legislative approaches to the administrative and institutional management systems of these countries (Wijesuriya, 2005,pp30-31). Second affective impact started with the international doctrines after World Heritage activities. Some of the archaeological sites of the country—mainly listed in the World Heritage list today— had been preserved thanks to the traditional management systems of the local communities who were religiously connected to the heritage site. Under these circumstances, conservation and management approaches in these countries were shifted to fabric—based conservation issues (as a result of Western conservation paradigms) neglecting the intangible bonds and traditional management systems of local communities (Wijesuriya, 2005,pp33-37) In some locations, which were sacred for some groups, local people were not allowed to continue to their traditional believe systems and rituals. Neglect of local communities and their cultural believes after the legislative arrangements in these protected sites by heritage authorities resulted in even destruction of the cultural heritage site by local communities. Taruvinga and Ndoro (2003,p3-4) give such an event from an African world heritage site in Zimbabwe. Domboshava rock shelter with its more than 150 rock paintings dated back to 10,000 and 2000 years ago, was designated as a National Monument in 1936. This was followed by establishment of the site facilities including site museums for tourists especially after 1980s and limitation of the local people’s site rituals. The application of modern laws by the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe evoked an unfortunate incident in 1998, when one of the rock paints was deliberately destroyed by local people as the result of tension between the authorities and public (Taruvinga & Ndoro, 2003 pp7-8).

Due to such feedbacks from significant heritage sites —some of which were inscribed in World Heritage List—, it was realized that some of the archaeological sites that were so—considered as “dead” sites may be still “living” due to subject of pilgrimage or worship by local communities or special interest groups. This gap is also mentioned through the report of UNESCO committee in 1994 as “all living cultures –and especially the ‘traditional’ ones—, with their depth, their wealth, their complexity, and their diverse relationships with their environment are figured very little in the list” (ICOMOS, 2005,p20). These facts caused shifts in conservation

theories and finally the birth of new approaches. The focus on significance of local communities that have linked to the cultural heritage sites was risen and the gaps occurred in involvement of local communities during the management process were realized. After the increase in awareness to consider local communities within cultural heritage protected areas, how they would be integrated into the decision making process has become another subject of discussions. This has led the rise of participatory methodologies in heritage conservation². In result, cultural heritage management policies were shifted from “conventional approach”, which focused on fabric conservation towards “values based approaches” (Naycı, 2013). Purpose of values—based approach is to identify values and significance of a cultural site according to the perceptions of different stakeholders³ including local communities. The purpose is not to conserve the fabric only but it is the values that are assigned to it by different interest groups (Poulios, 2010,p172).

But the main question raised in this approach is that: “Is it always possible to come to solution where you can reach the shared values by different or even conflicting values by interest groups?” The answer is negative in some experiences especially where there have been severe conflicts between the local people who want to continue their traditional way of livings or social belief systems and heritage authorities who still overweigh conservation of the fabric prior to local values. This conflict between local people and heritage authorities caused destruction in the cultural heritage site as stated in the above case. Therefore all, it was also understood that values—based approach may fail especially in management and operation of “living heritage” sites. This has given rise to the “living religious heritage” approach, which gives significance to the cultural associations of the related community with the “place”⁴ (Stovel, 2005,p9). The discussions and experiences gained from natural protected areas have also supported development of new ideas in community based paradigms. The main idea in these discussions is the information values of traditional practices and their utilization in protected area management systems to achieve sustainability as mentioned through the Rio Declaration in 1992⁵.

Turkey has diverse and dense amount of archaeological assets that merged with protected natural and rural settings. Within the development of international conservation and management paradigms stated above, the purpose of this paper is to portray historic generation of conservation policies regarding archaeological sites and their impacts on local communities in the country. The main focus question of the paper is “What is the difference between the two policies: Living Archaeological Sites vs. Living (on) Archaeological Sites Approaches?” First section summarizes historical generation of policies regarding conservation of archaeological sites. It continues with the current situation through selected examples from Mediterranean region. The paper continues with evaluations on problems and gaps in current legislative system. It concludes with discussions on opportunities and potentials of “living archaeological site approach” to achieve

² Burra Charter (Australia ICOMOS, 1999) the significance of public participation in decision-making process within cultural heritage sites is emphasized “Conservation, interpretation and management of a place should provide for the participation of people for whom the place has special associations and meanings, or who have social, spiritual or other cultural responsibilities for the place” (Australia ICOMOS 1999: article 12).

³ According to Demas the typical stakeholders include “governmental and nongovernmental agencies with an interest at site, archaeologists and other expert groups, groups with an affinity or ancestral relationship to the site, local community groups who economically benefit or conversely who may be adversely affected from the site, private tourist agencies, special tourist groups such as pilgrim purpose (Demas, 2002,p31).

⁴ ICCROM housed a programme in 2003 entitled as “Living Religious Heritage”. In this programme, a number of examples from different parts of the world were discussed showing that living religious heritage and their conservation necessities may differ than other heritage sites.

⁵ Rio Declaration: “...indigenous people and their communities have a vital role in environmental management and development because of their knowledge and traditional practices. States should recognize and support their identity, culture, interests and enable their effective participation in achievement of sustainable development” (UN, 1992: Article 22)

sustainability and cultural continuity in management of these areas.

Historical Generation of Policies Regarding Conservation of Archaeological Sites in Turkey

Anatolia (Asia Minor) is located on historically significant geography linking important civilizations of eastern and western world throughout ages. In result, she possesses diverse remains of archaeological sites and historic structures from different periods. Legislative experience of Turkey in conservation of cultural assets goes back to the Ottoman period, when initial legislative arrangements in conservation started with antiquities. Evolution of governmental policies in conservation is discussed through three sections in this paper according to important milestones in legislative and administrative arrangements. First section starts with the first legislation in Ottoman period (1864) until the foundation of Turkish Republic (1923). The second section includes two phases starting from early years of the Republic and the period between 1973 and 1983, when conservation approaches extended from artifacts scale to site scale with the impacts of international doctrines. The Act No 2863 was adopted in 1983, and it still constitutes the basis for current legislative approaches. It has been revised after 2003 with additional arrangements and regulations, which are still valid today. So, the era from 1983 up to present is discussed as the contemporary period in the third section.

Ottoman Period (1864—1923)

The word “policy” is usually used to mention governmental attitudes and rules based on legislative arrangements. When it comes to the attitudes of public, this may differ from the governmental and official approaches. While governmental policies regarding conservation of antiquities in Ottoman period go back to 1860s, public attitude towards these assets goes back far beyond this era. Therefore, the policies in this section are discussed as public attitudes and governmental legislations correlating their impacts on each other. Due to the increase of interest in ancient civilizations and antiquities, the archaeological sites that were located throughout the Ottoman Empire—which administratively included Anatolia, Middle East and North Africa during that period— attracted several travelers especially starting from the 16th century. Throughout their journeys in distant geographies, foreign travelers did not just interest in exploration of ancient settlements. They also conducted observations related to geographical and natural setting as well as social structure of the society including local beliefs and traditions (Naycı, 2012a). In many rural areas, the villages and rural compounds were located side by side or above ancient settlements. Travelers also noted their observations related to attitudes of local people with the ancient settlements they were settled within. One of the main questions raised and discussed starting from this period were “How could archaeological settings in rural areas survived up to day, due to the local people or despite the local people living aside them?”(Naycı, 2012b).

The utilization of materials from previous civilizations’ structures as re—use material or stone quarries in new constructions has been a common habit in all traditional cultures. The attitudes of each culture may differ according to change in politics, religion and propaganda from one generation to another. Similarly, general attitude of Ottoman society towards archaeological assets were as re—use material in their construction. Texier (2002,p340) stated that fragments of an inscription panel from the ancient Phrygian settlement “Midoseum” was re—used in a Seljukid tomb Harap Ören village. Similarly, the fragments of pagan religion with human and lion reliefs were used in the construction of citadel wall of Konya. (Texier, 2002,p340). Chandler (1971,p134) also noted examples of rural villages where marble pieces with Latin or Greek inscriptions were used as grave stones. Thus, change of religion throughout ages didn’t cause hesitation in the use of symbols of previous religious in the Ottoman society. Similarly, conversion of “unused” building’ for a given function

even in religious buildings, or constructing the newer one side by side were very common. In several historic sites of Anatolia, it is very common to see the important religious building of different civilizations with different belief systems together. Such situations generated throughout Anatolia were also noticed by foreign travelers who visited many places in the country during Ottoman period. One of the important examples is the Augustus Temple located in historic district of Ankara (Ancrya) with its 2300 years old historical past. The construction of Augustus Temple is dated to 5. BC and completed 1. AD according to common opinions of scholars. It is famous for its significant monumental inscription *Momentum Ancyranum* dedicated to eastern propaganda of Augustus, who was the first emperor of Rome (Şahin Güçhan, Naycı, 2013). The temple is thought to be built upon a former Phrygian temple. It was converted into a church during the Byzantine period. Following, Hacı Bayram Mosque was constructed next to the temple in the 15th century instead of tearing down the previous pagan or Christian religious landmarks. Therefore, the place has continued its respected and sacred meaning with accumulation of important landmarks of different religions together starting from Phrygians up to present. This integration also took attention of Texier during his travel to Ankara. He commented as “The mosque has protected the temple. Although the temple is far away from its original condition, it was respected as a part of important religious compound” (Texier, 2002,p453).

Were the relationships of local people towards archaeological settings only materialistic based? Did they only claim these remains as potential building “pieces” or empty “building stocks”? In various examples, travelers gave information about the resemblance of rituals or superstitious believes between the local traditions and the former pagan cults of the setting they are located within. Texier (2002,p105) tells a very common superstitious belief on holy trees by local Muslims: “The properties of these trees are believed to cure from illness or reverse spells by tying a part of cloth onto its branch. Thus, some of these trees are full of clothes. Some stones with distinct appearance have the same role as well. Such stone is sometimes a natural stone or an old building. Their meaning is similar to holly trees. In some locations of Asia, there are such stones which have reputations throughout centuries. There is such prior column in Tyane in the outskirts of Taurus (the ancient name of current Bor town in Niğde Province). People come to visit this column from distant places. Because this place is the home town of famous miracle Apollonius, what if the fascinating beauty of this column belongs to the idea that comes from the time of that interesting person? This Tyane column is known for curing malaria. Since people cannot tie clothes onto it, they bang a nail next to the column” (Texier 2002,pp105-106).

As the archaeological potential of Anatolia was recognized throughout Europe, several archaeological excavations were started to discover valuable findings of ancient settlements. Most of them were conducted by foreign researchers. Permissions for archaeological excavations were given by the Ottoman Sultans. The aim of excavations during this era was not only scientific based. With the exploration of important findings, it was common to remove valuable antiquities out of the country (Naycı, 2012). In many cases, excavator leaders were “harsh” to the archaeological setting (Madran 2002,p23) during their excavations with obsession of finding valuable findings and exporting them outside the country. The raise of interest in antiquities also affected the attitudes of local people towards archaeological assets. They started to consider ancient sites as economic resources by involving into trade of antiquities. The assets located nearby their village became a resource for financial activity. It became a common habit to inform collectors or traders about the findings they had come across or even they contributed to illicit excavation of findings. In time,

desire to find some antiquities to sell to traders resulted in destruction of the ancient structures⁶. Aizanoi is an interesting historic example for such an event. Therefore, it can be concluded that increase in the destruction of ancient sites in Anatolia began with the increase in interest and trade in antiquities starting after the 18th century (Naycı, 2012a).

This situation raised the initial conflicts for archaeological excavations. To whom the findings would belong to became the focus of discussions: the Ottoman State, foreign excavator leaders or owner of the land where the finding was discovered? Thus, initial content of governmental conservation policies and legislations included antiquities. The purpose of these regulations was to regulate the conflicts that occurred between the state, foreign excavation groups and land—owners through legislations. This was also initial process in political awareness conducted by the Ottoman State. Exportation of archaeological findings outside the country by foreign researches was forbidden with the initial legislative arrangements that were put in action between 1869 and 1906⁷ (Naycı, 2010,p71). In the first regulation (1869), involvement of local people were represented by obligation for the permission of owner for archaeological excavations located in his property. To deal with this situation, archeological findings could be shared into three giving each part to Government, the foreign excavator and local owner in the second regulation (1874). This situation was totally banned during the third regulation (1884) after the establishment of State Museum by Osman Hamdi Bey. In the final legislation (1906), it was declared that all old assets located on both public and private properties including ones that would be obtained from underground belonged to the State (Naycı, 2010). Accordingly, the State owned all excavated findings. Similarly, it was stated that exportation of excavated assets out of country wasn't allowed. Discovery, conservation and collection of these assets became under the jurisdiction of the State by these statements. Moreover, owners having archaeological assets in their lands had no right to destruct or remove them⁸. (Naycı, 2010,p72). In rural settings, there were generally local people continuing their traditional economies mainly based on agriculture. Therefore, the second conflict was the land—use rights of private owners.

The Period From Early Years of Republican Era Until 1983

The second political era in the historical generation conservation policies includes the period from the foundation of modern Turkish Republic in 1923 to 1983, when the initial steps of contemporary conservation approaches were developed. The fourth Ottoman legislation—*IV. Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi*—, which was prepared and put into action with the efforts of Osman Hamdi Bey in 1906, was used until 1973. Therefore, this era can be classified into two sub—eras: 1930s, which includes the initial years of modern Republic, when the conservation approaches were impacted from political background of the period, and the area after 1970s, when the governmental policies started to be affected from international conservation approaches as a result of adoption of international conventions such as UNESCO Convention on Conservation of Cultural and Natural Assets.

⁶ J. T. Wood expressed in his memoirs that it was a common belief among members of Ottoman society that there were treasures hidden inside wells or marble sculptures. With a desire to find these treasures, they broke the sculptures (Naycı, 2010).

⁷ Four legislations were prepared by Ottoman State during this era: First regulation was *I. Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi* (1869); second regulation was *II. Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi* (1874), *III. Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi* (1884)and finally *IV. Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi* (1906).

⁸ Activities related to ruin, destruct, open lime quarry, any kind of building activity, re-use of ruined stones, re-functioning of these remains for other uses such as house, storage or barn were banned within the areas close to the archaeological assets (Naycı, 2010).

While conditions regarding archaeological excavations were conducted according to the former Ottoman legislation, there were also remarkable contributions by the policies of the newly founded government during the early years. There were efforts to build a new social structure which mainly based on nationalism during those years. Thus, archaeological research and conservation policies were highly affected from National History Thesis of the government (Naycı, 2012a). The aim of this thesis was to link the “roots” of Turkish history into pre—Ottoman period of Anatolia (Altınyıldız, 2007:288, Redford, 2007:246). Archaeology and anthropology became important scientific tools to investigate the origins of Turkish history as it was common in European nations as well. Atatürk himself had encouraged some important scholars to search and conduct researches in Anatolian archaeology and anthropology. These policies were supported by the foundation of national institutions such as Ankara Ethnography Museum in 1928 and Turkish Historical Research Association in 1931, which was reorganized as Turkish History Association in 1935 (Şahin Güçhan and Kurul, 2009:38). Foundation of these institutions opened new dimensions in archaeological surveys throughout Anatolia starting from 1930s. Hamit Zübeyr Koşay and Remzi Oğuz Arık were important scholars of this period, who had significant contributions to the archaeological and anthropological surveys of the time⁹. During their archaeological surveys and excavations in central and southeast rural Anatolia they noticed and explored similarities between the archaeological records and the ethnographic data of the local people in nearby villages (Takaoğlu, 2004:17, Redford, 2007:246). Arık and Koşay led the birth of ethno-archaeological studies in Anatolia with their observations on correlation between ethnographic data and archaeological researches. Thus, rural residents of Anatolia were culturally linked to pre-Islamic periods for the first time. Although the results of these researches and observations were not integrated into the process of conservation policies, they were important scientific witnesses and basis for following researches especially for ethno-archaeological surveys of the modern eras.

In many Anatolian cities, local administrations and governors were dealing with re-development of cities with modern urbanization principles and refurbishment of their infrastructural necessities. Since many of the existing towns had been developed above or aside by ancient settlements, the utilization of ancient structures became a part of re—development and urbanization process of existing towns. There are two examples from Mersin —located in Mediterranean region— showing the attitudes of local governors during this process. There was news in local newspaper “*Yeni Mersin*” stating that Roman period water network system would be utilized for fresh water necessities and irrigation systems of nearby villages in Silifke, which is located in east of Mersin¹⁰. The ancient water systems of Uzuncaburç and Olba were renovated by State Water Affairs during 1950s (Naycı, 2010:286). Similarly, Roman period tunnels were unearthed during the construction process of urban infrastructural system under the town of Tarsus by the municipality. As stated through the local newspaper “*Yeni Mersin*”, they were assumed to belong to ancient city infrastructures. The attitude of municipality was to utilize the ancient infrastructural network for the necessities of the modern town. The news was about the exploration of some branches stating that the studies would continue to explore the main channel so that they would be utilized for modern city system. It would provide cheaper development process.

⁹ Hamit Zübeyr Koşay was one of the founders of the Institution and director of the Ethnography Museum. He carried out archaeological excavations to reveal information on pre-Ottoman Turks. Atatürk himself had asked and encouraged him in his researches. Arık contributed in initial excavations of Alacahöyük as a co-director. He linked researches between Alacahöyük and the Turkish village nearby during his studies (Redford, 2007:246).

¹⁰ Local Newspaper “*Yeni Mersin*” dated to 27.09.1934. “*Silifke’nin On Dört Köyü Susuzluktan Kurtuluyor*”; “*Romalılar Devrinden Kalan Su Yollarından 14 Köy Faydalanacak*”

Therefore, the municipality aimed to re-use ancient systems for economical and practical reasons as seen in other town of Anatolia as well. Despite the attitudes of local authorities, national governmental policy towards archaeological assets was conservation of the assets with no exemptions. For this purpose, the State warned local administrations and municipalities to prevent the re-use of archaeological remains during new urbanization activities during this period (Naycı, 2010:78)¹¹.

The infrastructural investments of the State developed with some important dam projects during 1960s. Construction of Keban Dam in southeast region was one of the significant nationwide investments of the period. It also caused necessity for regional archaeological surveys and salvage excavations in south-east Anatolia as supported by Government. This situation raised ethno-archaeological surveys in the region. It was better to observe ethno—archaeological information especially in locations such as east, southeast and central Anatolia, which weren't altered by modernization of daily-life and agricultural activities yet. Yakar has been one of the significant researches who conducted ethno-archaeological surveys throughout Anatolia for the past few decades. He studied varieties of ethnic groups throughout the country comparing their local traditions and belief systems. According to Yakar (2007,pp96-98), although these ethnic groups has been historically differentiated because of their religious and linguistic differences for political reasons, they showed significant cultural similarities with their folkloric properties such as local believes, literature, music and food. This was the result of historic and geographic significance of Anatolia, which is located on intersection of important civilizations and different cultures that affected each other. He linked the resemblance of rural and local traditional systems with the past information of the nearby archaeological setting. He defined such rural areas who still continued their traditional local systems as “*Living Archaeology*” (Yakar, 2007:17). After 1970s, the impacts of international conservation doctrines started to affect the national legislations. The Conservation approach was broadened from single-structure scale to site scale with the Act No. 1710. As a result, in addition to the definition of “asset” coming from the term of “antiquities” in Ottoman period, the new designated status of conservation cites (*Sit* in Turkish) was introduced throughout legislations for conservation of place with group of buildings or Archeological setting (Naycı, 2010,p70).

Contemporary Era: from 1983 up to Present

The Conservation Act on Cultural and Natural Assets¹² adopted in 1983 has been the basis for the current conservation legislations since then. After this era, the national legislations and approaches have been highly affected from international conservation doctrines with the establishment of intergovernmental organizations and increase in number of conventions that Turkey was participated. The Conservation Act has included several topics regarding conservation of cultural assets, some of which are directly related with archaeological assets. The categories of designated conservation sites are defined as “Archaeological Conservation Site, Natural Conservation Site, Historic Conservation Site, Urban Conservation Site and Urban—Archaeological Conservation Site”. Archeological sites are classified into three sub-categories according to usage conditions and content of activities that can take place in each zone. I. Degree Archaeological Sites are strict protection zones, where all types of activities that would cause harm to the archaeological information of the site are banned. Allowed activities only include archaeological researches,

¹¹In 1931 the Council of Ministers established Conservation Council of Monuments. In following years; the Commission reported that Municipalities and Provincial Local Administrations cause destruction of old assets for reasons such as to construct roads or sell their building lots due to lack of information related to values of these monuments and their conservation (Madran, 2002:109).

¹² The Act No 2863, Conservation Act on Cultural and Natural Assets (23.07.1983/18113)

conservation works, environmental arrangements for visitor presentation, service facilities for site management, infrastructural constructions that must be conducted in these areas, limited seasonal agricultural activities. Permission for these activities has to be approved by Regional Conservation Councils in the name of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Conditions for II. Degree Archaeological Sites are similar to the I. Degree areas. However, simple repairs of unregistered buildings are allowed under the approval of Regional Conservation Councils (Naycı, 2010:123)¹³. In conclusion, this era was important in order to establish a basis for modern conservation and management approaches for archaeological sites with the legislative tools that was brought by the Conservation Act. However, there were problems in practice due to the lack of experience in implementation.

The town of Eskişehir which is located aside the ancient settlement of Stratonikeia (in Yatağan district of Muğla province today) constitutes an interesting experience in this sense. The historical background of the ancient site possesses important Roman, Byzantine and Turkish period architectural structures. There are beautiful examples of traditional houses and modestly constructed mosques in the town centre that are merged with the ancient setting in the periphery. The traditional stone paved street of the town is merged with the ancient roads of the former settlements. With its rich historical background, it reflects the integrated and continuous cultural diversity transmitted throughout centuries. However, the population of the town is moved out after an earthquake generated in 1957 (Kazıl, 2005). Although the town itself was not directly affected from the earthquake, this was foreseen as an opportunity for future archaeological excavations by the Government. Thus they were settled into a new location close to the original one, where new constructions reflecting traditional architectural features were built for them. Few decades later, the new settlement location of the town was included within the high quality reserved coal mining area during 1980s. Then there were attempts to migrate back to the old town. However, this was impossible since the area was I. Degree archaeological site and archaeological excavation areas (Kazıl, 2005). Thus, the abandonment of the old town has caused deterioration of the site and neglect of its unique cultural heritage assets.

Due to difficulties in implementation of the Act No.2863, some changes have been executed by the Conservation Amendment Act No.5226 in 2004¹⁴. This was also an update of the current system with impact of recent international doctrines such as integration of intangible values within content and definition of cultural asset (The Conservation Act: Article 3). The Act No 2863/5226 still continues to be the main legislation in conservation of cultural assets including archaeological heritage. Two new planning and management regarding archaeological sites are introduced with these changes: “Site Plans” to be prepared for archaeological sites mainly for visitor management facilities and “Site Management Plan” to provide coordination and consensus among different interest groups responsible from conservation and planning of these areas (Naycı, 2010). This management tool is useful especially in archaeological sites which are fragmented by various development zones, and for archaeological sites that extend through wide geographic areas including settlements as well.

Evaluations on Current Situation

In several examples we still see that ancient settlements were continuously settled, adapted or reutilized by

¹³ In order to integrate development and conservation conditions of archaeological sites within town and country planning conditions of the setting they are located within, the planning tool of “Conservation and Development Plans” (CDP) is introduced by this Act.

¹⁴ The Act No 5226—Amendments on Conservation Act on Culture and Natural Assets and various Acts (OG: 14.07.2004)

later civilizations. The aim of this chapter is to discuss the relationships of rural communities in sustaining integration of ancient and traditional cultural systems. One of such examples is from Datça—Bozburun region located at the southwest peninsula of Turkey. Due to its geographical significance as a transition zone between Aegean and Mediterranean regions, Datça—Bozburun region possesses distinct natural and ecological environment. The harsh topographical conditions of the region caused difficulties in transportation throughout its historic ages. This factor has also prevented the region from being invaded by urbanization or large masses of contemporary developments today. Due to its conserved natural and cultural values, the region has been designated as Specially Protected Area in 1990.

One of the important archaeological sites of Datça area is the ancient settlement of Knidos, which is located at the edge of the peninsula. Archaeological evidence shows dense production and exportation of olive—oil, wine and timber of cedar forests throughout Mediterranean basin in ancient times. The lands located within the territorium of Knidos (mainly the Maltepe location nearby Hızırşah, and Kumyer) possess ancient agricultural terraces, which were related with rural production and agricultural activities of Knidos (Tuna 1984:34). Purpose of such agricultural terraces is to create more suitable landforms for agricultural activities especially in rough topographical areas. They are constructed to prevent erosion of the soil by rains, provide control of water drainage and increase the productivity of plant root growth (Diler, 1994). Economic power of the region decreased due to the Arabian attacks occurred during the 10th . century. This era is assumed as the decline of Knidos. Most of the agricultural terraces located within the vicinities of the city were thought to be abandoned due to the economical decline started after this period (Tuna 1984:35). How were these terraces protected since then?

Traditional rural communities of the region are the key answer to this question. The region possesses well conserved traditional villages still reflecting their traditional townscape (fig.1) and cultural landscape patterns. Use of topography in development of settlements by narrow streets donated with public structures, traditional farmhouses reflecting local architectural features, and traditional agricultural terraces, fruit gardens constructed in harmony with nature and topography form the traditional settlement and landscape patterns of rural settlements (fig. 2—3).



Figure 1. Traditional terraces and fruit gardens with narrow streets among rural dwellings (Söğüt, Bozburun)



Figure 2. Traditional terraces and fruit gardens with narrow streets among rural dwellings (Söğüt, Bozburun).



Figure 3. Example from a traditional rural architecture (Yakaköy, Datça).

When the traditional settings are examined closer, it is seen that some of them are settled close to locations of ancient settlements. In some examples, the re-use of ancient building structures during construction of houses can be still seen today (fig. 4-5). The archaeological surveys in the region show that vineyard activities in this area go back to ancient times and continue until late Roman period (Tuna, 1984,p35). There are still remains and traces of ancient agricultural terraces in the region. Diler (1994,p443) describes this type of terraces as “stepped terraces”, which were constructed with good quality of workmanship by using irregular large stone pieces with varying sizes up to 1 m width without using mortar. In relation with the topographical condition of the terrain, their length reaches up to 100 m length, while they have 3-5 m widths. Some of these terraces continued to be used recently, with slight modifications. Lateral traditional additions or alterations to these ancient terrace walls were consisted of roughly built small sized masonry constructions (Diler, 1994,p443). Similar to vicinities of Knidos, Kumyer located near Yakapınar village houses ancient agricultural terraces and rural house components. Some of these terraces have been traditionally used by villages located on them today with slight differences (Tuna, 1984:36). Therefore, following cultures after the ancient times have

continued to use these terraces by renovating and adapting them according to their needs in time. It can be evaluated that existence of current traditional rural settlements has also provided conservation of these archaeological evidences.



Figure 4. Use of ancient remains in construction of traditional dwellings (Cumalı and Belen, Datça).

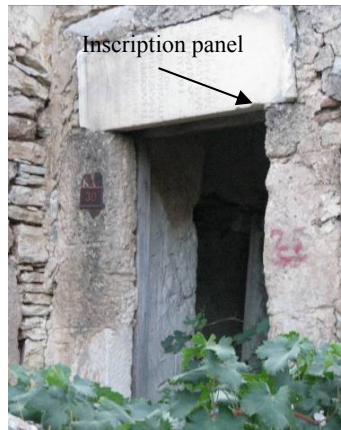


Figure 5. Use of ancient remains in construction of traditional dwellings (Cumalı and Belen, Datça).

The second example is from ancient Olba Territorium located in Mersin Province of eastern Mediterranean region today. The historic development of the region depended on sea trade of cedar wood collected from Taurus Mountains and agricultural products (mainly olive—oil, wine, saffron, etc.) through Mediterranean basin in ancient times (Naycı, 2012). Therefore, the region possess rich amount of archaeological sites that reflect the ancient rural settlement and production compounds today. Use of natural topography whether military, agricultural or religious purposes were important criteria in development of the settlements. One of the significant features reflecting the continuation of spiritual belief systems throughout cultures is the sacred geological pits in the region, which is rich in geological formation of caves and depressed geological pits due to its geomorphological structure shaped by underground waters. Two biggest geological pits of the region had been assumed as sacred since ancient times and donated with important religious building. Cennet—Cehennem archaeological site is an important example reflecting such situation. (Naycı, 2010:256—258)

Cennet (meaning “Heaven”) and Cehennem (meaning “Hell”) are the names of two adjacent geological

pits¹⁵ located 1 km. northwest from the Narlıkuyu shore located in Silifke district today. There is also underground cave named as “Astım (Dilek)” Cave (meaning wishing cave) next to these pits (Aygen, 1984). These geological formations are named with symbolic or religious motives as seen from the current local names given to. “Heaven” and “Hell” are the two important religion symbols in Islamic belief systems. Thus, one of the pits with its beautiful vegetation and spring water features has been named as Heaven, while the steep and sharp profiled one has been named as Hell, where it is believed that guilty people were thrown in during ancient times. The name of the cave has two meanings that are related with local superstitious beliefs. It is believed to cure the respiratory disorders because of the humidity inside. Also, it is believed that the wishes will come true for people who enter the cave. The sacredness of these pits goes back to historic times. Ancient settlement of Korykion—Antron was developed around Cennet (Heaven) and Cehennem (Hell) pits as an important religious cult area during Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods. Religious buildings from different periods were constructed onto former ones. The Zeus Temple, which was one of the important religious monuments of region, was constructed on the south of Cennet Pit. It was used during Hellenistic and Roman periods since names of over a hundred priests were depicted onto the wall of temple (Aydınöglü, 2007:168). There are also remains of a church that dates back to the 4th. century. There is Virgin Mary Church which dates back to the 5th. century in the bottom of Cennet Pit.

As discussed through different examples, ancient cultures have affected their followers in several aspects, which were transformed to later generations over centuries. Many traditional settlements followed the traces and experiences of past civilizations. Not only physical similarities, but also cultural motives assigned to the natural context were similar as discussed in previous chapters. Spiritual meanings of ancient world in many cases were transformed over centuries despite the differences in religious beliefs (from Paganism to Christianity and Muslim). These similarities may appear in both tangible (use of technology, building skills, traditional farming techniques, local productions, etc.) and intangible (social belief systems, rituals, etc.) aspects that had been shaped by sharing the common cultural and natural context. This resulted in integration of different cultures following each other throughout centuries sharing similar tangible and intangible values. Such situations can be described as *syncretism* which means “amalgamation of different religions, cultures or schools of thought together”¹⁶ (Turner, 2012).

Living Archaeological Sites or Living on Archaeological Sites?

There are still important examples throughout rural Anatolia, which still show cultural links from ancient periods survived until traditional cultures. There are two reasons that may sustain this continuation: transmission of cultural beliefs and intangible values from generation to generation over centuries, similarities in enhancement of advantages or cope with limitations of the natural context they are located within (Yakar, 2007, Naycı, 2012). It isn't always easy to distinguish the reason underneath. However, such similarities between traditional rural life and the archaeological evidence of the cultural setting they live within still needs to be explored before they are disappeared by modernization and development impacts. The main impacts that

¹⁵ The Cennet Pit has an elliptical form with 250 m. diameter at top and 110 m. radius at bottom having 70 m. height. From the bottom of the Pit, it is connected to a cave which has 200 m. length and 135 m. height at its highest point (Aygen, 1984). There is underground water, which passes through the cave and poured into the sea from Narlıkuyu shore. Cehennem Obruk, which is located 75 km. north-east of the Cennet, has 50 m. and 75 m. diameter and 128 m. height. There isn't entrance to this depression due to its steepness (Naycı, 2010).

¹⁶ www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/syncretism?q=Syncretism

are threatening the integrated cultural knowledge from ancient to traditional systems in these environments are loss of oral history knowledge and local beliefs without being documented, abandonment of traditional rural settings, change in land—use patterns, topographical interventions due to development pressures, modernization in agricultural activities and lack of adequate management systems in traditional rural areas. Although governmental policies on *antiquities* were the oldest subject focused by legislations since Ottoman period, there are still serious gaps in management of these traditional areas. This stems from the application of conventional conservation approaches in these areas. Accordingly, the relationship of local people with archaeological sites are considered as private ownership problems that put risks for archaeological assets. Although they played significant role in sustainability of past information up to present as seen in several cases, they are not evaluated within the potentials of “living archaeological sites” of traditional systems. Instead, they have been just considered as people living on archaeological sites, who are potential threat to destruct these assets.

Conditions of I. and II. Degree Archaeological Sites cause severe conflicts for the private ownerships within the current legislative system since all construction rights of owners are canceled. Two important legislative tools—Expropriation and Exchange/Bartering—have been applied to provide compensation for owners who are restricted from construction activities due to the existence of archaeological assets on their building lots. Details related to exchange conditions for archaeological sites are defined according to Regulation¹⁷, by which private ownerships in these areas are interchanged with Treasury properties¹⁸. Main conflict which has been going on between the State and owners of the area on which archaeological sites are located since the Ottoman Period are tried to be solved by these regulations. III. Degree Archaeological Sites can be conditionally opened to new development activities. The development conditions are prepared through the CDPs and approved by Regional Conservation Councils. During the construction and implementation phases, all activities are carried out under the control of Museums in these areas (Naycı, 2010:124). Implementation of Exchange programmes is very challenging because of the fragmented planning and management context of Turkey with high number of responsible authorities, lack of adequate financial capacity to handle all the exchange programmes throughout the country, and last but not least the unwillingness of local people to move out from their original places. On the other hand, Exchange/Bartering programme needs consensus of both sides including ownerships and authorities, which is very difficult and necessitates further studies related to socio—economical structure, expectations of local people to conceive them to move out of their places and land analysis to match adequate areas (Naycı, 2010).

In conclusion, there isn't social, cultural reference to identify the relationship of local people with the place they live within local people as in “living archaeological site” approaches which aim to understand the historic, social and cultural link of local communities as the core of sustainable management policies. Integration and valorization of traditional knowledge in protected areas is still missing during decision—making process. On the contrary, current attitude can be defined as “living on archaeological sites” policy which bonds local communities to these cultural assets just with their physical relationship. Thus, the State assumes that translocation of rural people out of these protected areas will solve all the problems.

¹⁷ The Regulation on Exchange of Immovables located in Conservation Sites with Immovable Cultural and Natural Assets banned from Construction Activities with Treasury Properties (OG: 08.02.1990/22930)

¹⁸ Private ownerships located within the I. and II. Degree Archaeological Sites and I. Degree Natural Sites on which all types of activities are banned due to their designation conditions must be included within an Exchange/Bartering Programme by the Ministry of Finance in coordination with Ministry of Culture and Tourism (Regulation no 22930; article 4).

However, this has only caused culturally abandoned, empty and threatened areas as experienced in Turkey for many years. This situation also caused disrespect of public to designated areas. In order to avoid these legislative situations, local people even destroyed the archaeological assets and/or potentials within their ownerships in several rural areas. Recent approaches in international planning theories have also affected planning and management concepts in protected areas. Involvement of interest groups including local people into the decision—making process has become one of the significant criteria for many planning and management tools in Turkey today. Similarly, during the preparation of Management Plans for conservation sites including archaeological sites principles are stated as follows: “...in order to achieve conservation of cultural and natural assets within principles of sustainability,...achieving benefits of people living and working within area and their economical development...”. Although, there are positive efforts in order to improve participatory approaches with recent legislations through preparation of several plans related with archaeological sites (CDPs, Site Management Plans for “Management Areas, Environmental Impact Assessments, etc.), in practice there are severe problems and conflicts related to implementation of these principles and integration of local people into management system of archaeological sites. Therefore, it is worth to develop “Living archaeological heritage sites” approach to avoid these problems and gaps.

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