

MANAGING INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE IN TURKEY:
FOUR CASES ORIGINATING IN ANTIQUITY

A Master's Thesis

by
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Bilkent University

Department of Archaeology
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Ankara
June 2021

To my parents

Birsen & Oğuz Oktay Mendeş



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CASES ORIGINATING IN ANTIQUITY

The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences

of

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by

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ABSTRACT

MANAGING INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE IN TURKEY: FOUR CASES ORIGINATING IN ANTIQUITY

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This thesis concerns the intangible cultural heritage of Turkey. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has taken various steps to safeguard and promote intangible cultural heritage over time. Recently, owing to the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, effective strategies have started to occur. The Convention includes two lists, Representative and Urgent Safeguarding Lists, for elements to be nominated and then adopted. Four elements from Turkey have been chosen as case studies because they are originating in antiquity. Three of them are registered in the Representative List: Flatbread making and sharing culture, Dede Korkut epics, and the Mangala game. The fourth one, the Kılıç

Kalkan dance, is presented as a suggestion to be also registered in that list. Their roots in the past are examined by using ancient texts and sometimes artifacts. Because nowadays safeguarding intangible cultural heritage is a growing international concern, this thesis also proposes new safeguarding activities. It is hoped that this research will offer various insights into the concept of intangible cultural heritage and that the results will contribute not only to the understanding of intangible cultural heritage from a different perspective but also to help further studies on this topic.

Keywords: Intangible Cultural Heritage, UNESCO, Antiquity, Safeguarding, Turkey.

ÖZET

TÜRKİYE'DE SOMUT OLMAYAN KÜLTÜREL MİRASIN YÖNETİMİ: ANTİK ÇAĞ KAYNAKLI DÖRT VAKA

Mendeş, Seren

Yüksek Lisans, Arkeoloji Bölümü

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Bu tez, Türkiye'nin somut olmayan kültürel mirasıyla ilgilidir. Birleşmiş Milletler Eğitim, Bilim ve Kültür Örgütü (UNESCO), somut olmayan kültürel mirası zaman içinde korumak ve desteklemek için çeşitli adımlar atmıştır. Son olarak, Somut Olmayan Kültürel Mirasın Korunmasına İlişkin 2003 tarihli Sözleşme sayesinde etkili stratejiler oluşmaya başladı. Sözleşme, aday gösterilecek ve sonra kabul edilecek unsurlar için Temsili ve Acil Koruma Listeleri olmak üzere iki liste içermektedir. Türkiye'den dört unsur Antik Çağ'da ortaya çıktıkları için vaka çalışması olarak seçilmiştir. Bunlardan üçü Temsili Liste'ye kayıtlıdır: İnce ekmek yapma ve paylaşma kültürü, Dede Korkut destanları, Mangala oyunu. Dördüncüsü, Kılıç Kalkan dansı da bu listeye kaydedilmek üzere bir öneri olarak

sunulmuştur. Geçmişteki kökleri, eski metinler ve bazen de eserler kullanılarak incelenmiştir. Günümüzde somut olmayan kültürel mirasın korunması giderek büyüyen bir uluslararası endişe olduğundan, bu tez aynı zamanda yeni koruma önlemleri de önermektedir. Bu araştırmanın somut olmayan kültürel miras kavramına çeşitli bakış açıları sunması ve sonuçların yalnızca somut olmayan kültürel mirasın farklı bir perspektiften anlaşılmasına değil, aynı zamanda bu konuda daha ileri çalışmalara yardımcı olması beklenmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Somut Olmayan Kültürel Miras, UNESCO, Antik Çağ, Koruma, Türkiye.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	i
ÖZET	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
LIST OF TABLES	xi
LIST OF FIGURES	xii
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background	1
1.2 UNESCO	2
1.3 Methodology and Aim	3
1.4 Outline of the Thesis	4
CHAPTER 2: AN INTRODUCTION TO INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE ...	9
2.1. Definition and Origin of Intangible Cultural Heritage	12
2.2 Definitions	12
2.2.1 Official Definitions by UNESCO	12
2.2.2 Other Definitions	15
2.3 History of Intangible Heritage	16
2.3.1 Processes towards Safeguarding Intangible Heritage	16
2.3.2 Recommendation and Proclamations	17
2.3.3 Steps Taken in Turkey	18
2.4 Significance of the Intangible Heritage and the 2003 Convention	19
2.5 Nominations of Intangible Heritage in UNESCO	21
2.5.1 Lists of Intangible Heritage	21
2.5.2 The Intangible Heritage of Turkey	23
CHAPTER 3: FLATBREAD MAKING AND SHARING CULTURE	31
3.1 Definition of Bread and Flatbread	33
3.2 History of Bread and Flatbread in (Pre-)Neolithic Period & Antiquity	34
3.2.1 Near East in Pre-Neolithic and Neolithic Period	35
3.2.2 Anatolia	36
3.2.2.1 Pre-Pottery Neolithic and Neolithic	36
3.2.2.2 Bronze Age: Hittite Period	36

3.2.3 Egypt.....	39
3.2.4 Greece.....	39
3.3 Ottoman Empire	40
3.4 Flatbread Today	41
3.4.1 Common Features in the State Parties.....	41
3.4.2 Flatbread Making in Turkey	43
CHAPTER 4: DEDE KORKUT EPICS	46
4.1 Epics.....	47
4.1.1 Definition of Epics	47
4.1.2 Characteristics and Significance of Epics	48
4.2 The Dede Korkut Epics	48
4.2.1 Oral Tradition.....	48
4.2.1.1 Dating	49
4.2.1.2 Musical Accompaniment	50
4.2.1.3 Purpose	50
4.2.2 Written Tradition	51
4.2.3 Who is Dede Korkut?.....	52
4.2.3.1 The Meaning of the Name	52
4.2.3.2 How Dede Korkut is Portrayed in the Epics	52
4.2.3.3 The Graves of Dede Korkut	53
4.2.3.4 The Grave of Bamsı Beyrek.....	54
4.3 Common Points and Similarities between Dede Korkut Epics and Ancient Greek Texts.....	55
4.3.1 Dede Korkut Epics and Homeric Epics	56
4.3.1.1 Similarities in Narrative Techniques.....	56
4.3.1.2 Similarities between Characters.....	57
4.3.2 Similarities between Dede Korkut Epics and Other Literary Works	58
4.3.2.1 Paris and Basat.....	58
4.3.2.2 Wild Dumrul and Alcestis	58
4.3.2.3 Multiple Headed Monster	59
CHAPTER 5: MANGALA.....	61
5.1 Distribution of Mangala	62
5.2 Rules: How it is Played.....	63
5.3 History of the Mangala	64

5.3.1 Possible Appearance in Göbeklitepe during the Neolithic Period	64
5.3.2 Antiquity	65
5.3.2.1 Mangala in Anatolia	65
5.3.2.2 Mangala in Other Civilizations.....	66
5.3.3 Later Period: Ottoman Empire.....	66
5.4 Mangala Today	67
CHAPTER 6: KILIÇ KALKAN DANCE	70
6.1 The Function of Dance	71
6.1.1 Definition of the Dance and Music.....	71
6.1.2 The Origin of the Dance	72
6.2 Pyrrhic Dance (Pyrrhichios).....	73
6.2.2 Meaning and Aim	74
6.2.3 Description and Characteristics of the Pyrrhic Dance.....	75
6.2.3.1 The Dancers and Their Appearance	76
6.2.3.2 Music	77
6.2.3.3 The Way of Dancing.....	77
Collective.....	77
Solo	78
6.2.3.4 Performances of Pyrrhic Dance	79
Locations	79
Events.....	80
6.3 The Origin of the Pyrrhic Dance	82
6.3.1 The Eponymous Pyrrhichus, Neoptolemus and Achilles.....	83
6.3.2 Athena.....	84
6.3.3 The Curetes	85
6.4 Pyrrhic Dance in Anatolia.....	85
6.4.1 Antiquity	85
6.4.2 Ottoman Period	87
6.5 The Kılıç Kalkan Dance Today in Turkey	89
6.5.1 Characteristics of Kılıç Kalkan Dance.....	89
6.5.2 The Symbolism of Kılıç Kalkan	90
CHAPTER 7: SAFEGUARDING INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE IN TURKEY.....	92
7.1 Folklore Studies During the Early Republican Period.....	93
7.2 Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage Today in Turkey	95

7.2.1 Inventories and ICH Institute (Ankara).....	95
7.2.2 Intangible Cultural Heritage Museums	96
7.2.2.1 Intangible Cultural Heritage Museum: The Case of Ankara	97
7.2.2.2 Living Museums	98
7.2.3 Educational Programs.....	99
7.2.4 Research Centers.....	100
7.3 Existing Safeguarding Activities for Case Studies.....	101
7.3.1 Safeguarding Flatbread in Turkey	101
7.3.2 Safeguarding Dede Korkut Epics in Turkey	103
7.3.3 Safeguarding Mangala in Turkey	105
7.3.4 Safeguarding Kılıç Kalkan Dance in Turkey.....	107
7.4 Suggestions for Safeguarding Intangible Heritage in Turkey	109
7.4.1 Cultural Center.....	109
7.4.2 Summer School for Children	111
7.4.3 A Comprehensive Website for ICH of Turkey	112
CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION.....	115
8.1 Background of the Intangible Cultural Heritage	115
8.2 Case Studies	116
8.3 Safeguarding Practices.....	117
8.4 A Last Word	120
REFERENCES	121
FIGURES	132
APPENDIX A.....	151
APPENDIX B.....	152
APPENDIX C.....	153
APPENDIX D	155
APPENDIX E.....	156
APPENDIX F	158

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Elements inscribed in the List of UNESCO (May, 2021).....	25
Table 2. Elements in the Lists of On-going Nomination(s) and Backlog nomination(s) (May, 2021).....	27
Table 3. All elements in the lists of UNESCO (May, 2021).	30
Table 4. Processes towards Safeguarding Intangible Heritage.....	151

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Religious vessel from Çorum.....	132
Figure 2. Terracotta woman baking bread.....	132
Figure 3. Bakers in Surname-I Hümayun.....	133
Figure 4. Baking flatbread in Sac in Turkey.....	134
Figure 5. Examples of bread oven types.....	134
Figure 6. Tannur type ovens for baking flatbread.....	135
Figure 7. Flatbread making in Turkey.....	135
Figure 8. The tomb of Dede Korkut in Bayburt.....	136
Figure 9. The tomb of Bamsı Beyrek.....	136
Figure 10. Slab from Göbeklitepe.....	137
Figure 11. Mangala slab from Ephesus, Arcadian.....	137
Figure 12. Mangala slab from Aphrodisias, Theatre.....	138
Figure 13. Mangala slab and its drawing from Stratonikeia.....	138
Figure 14. Mangala slab from Ain Ghazal.....	139
Figure 15. Surname-i Hümayun miniature showing people playing Mangala.....	139
Figure 16. A 16 th century coffeehouse miniature showing people playing Mangala.....	140
Figure 17. Two women sitting on the sofa and playing Mangala...140	
Figure 18. Women playing Mangala in Harem.....	141
Figure 19. Hydra showing Pyrrhic dancer.....	141
Figure 20. The Atarbos Base showing Pyrrhic dance.....	142
Figure 21. Relief showing Pyrrhic dance.....	142
Figure 22. Lekythos showing Pyrrhic dancer.....	143
Figure 23. Lekythos showing solo Pyrrhic performance.....	143
Figure 24. A statue base showing Pyrrhichists.....	144
Figure 25. Bell crater showing Pyrrhic dancer in a banquet.....	144
Figure 26. Polyxena Sarcophagus.....	145
Figure 27. Drawing of side C of the Polyxena Sarcophagus, by K. Clayton	145
Figure 28. Exterior of Makron cup.....	146
Figure 29. Reconstruction drawing by C. Bron showing Pyrrhic dance Drawing.....	146
Figure 30. Pyxis showing Pyrrhic dancer in front of an altar and a statue of Artemis.....	147
Figure 31. Ankara Intangible Cultural Heritage Museum.....	147

Figure 32. Beypazarı Living Museum.....	148
Figure 33. Beypazarı Living Museum	148
Figure 34. Kenan Yavuz Ethnography Museum.....	149
Figure 35. Kenan Yavuz Ethnography Museum.....	149
Figure 36. National Intangible Heritage Center, South Korea.....	150
Figure 37. National Intangible Heritage Center, South Korea.....	150



CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In this technological era, it is essential to safeguard our cultural heritage, since due to the effects of globalization, people are losing it progressively. Thus, the responsibility to safeguard not only the tangible heritage but also the intangible culture is more important than ever. It cannot be denied that this situation requires great effort and strong strategies because the negative effects of globalization are inevitable.

1.1 Background

The study of cultural heritage has received a significant amount of attention from scholars. Cultural heritage has a crucial role in people's lives, not only because it represents their past, but also their present and future. Thus, it displays people's identity, values, and traditions. It should not be limited to only material properties because culture is a living concept, and it is always changing through time. For that reason, it is possible to divide cultural heritage into two different categories as tangible and intangible.

Tangible heritage represent physical assets which are movable as sculptures, paintings or immovable as buildings, monuments, ancient sites among others. On the other hand, intangible heritage does not refer to physical items like tangible heritage; it includes the heritage that is transmitted between generations, and exists in people's culture intellectually and always recreated.

1.2 UNESCO

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was founded in 1946. In terms of cultural heritage, it aims to preserve and promote culture and cultural diversity. It is also active in attempts to support educational and science activities. UNESCO builds up international relationships by supporting cultural heritage and the equal dignity of all cultures. Thus, it plays a crucial role in safeguarding the cultural heritage both in the world and in Turkey. UNESCO is the main source of my thesis since it embraces everything about intangible cultural heritage. Especially the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage plays a key role for promoting and safeguarding intangible cultural heritage (ICH)¹. For elements to be registered to the Convention, there are two lists, the Representative List and the Urgent Safeguarding List. Furthermore, on the website, it is possible to find the nomination forms, periodic reports, among other information.

¹ Along with my thesis, I also use the abbreviation ICH in the place of Intangible Cultural Heritage which is commonly used by UNESCO.

Unfortunately, I have understood along my research that there is a lack of scholarly sources about the intangible cultural heritage in the world, concerning its roots in the past. In many cases, it has been difficult to reach specific information regarding the case studies. One of the main reason for this situation is because it is getting attention from scholars recently and slowly. Since not everything was well documented, I have been obliged to use websites such as the one of UNESCO, the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, and the Municipalities of Bayburt and Malatya among others. However, they usually give information sometimes without mentioning any reference to their source or they name a source which is difficult or not possible to find. Thus, it is almost impossible to make double-checking; hence every piece of information was challenging to find.

1.3 Methodology and Aim

This thesis aims to introduce the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Turkey and to discuss its safeguarding in the light of four case studies, three of them already registered in the Representative list of the 2003 Convention. The reason that I have chosen them among others is that they present the particularity to be rooted in antiquity and it has been possible to follow their existence till today. Therefore, I could combine my background since I graduated from Archaeology and, at the same time, my interest in cultural heritage.

Each of these cases are studied individually in a chapter. I arranged the order of my case studies according to the date they were accepted the Representative list.

1.4 Outline of the Thesis

The general introduction of my thesis is this first chapter. It presents first the background, sources, methodology, and aim of the thesis. Then the outlines are given.

In the second chapter, general knowledge about intangible heritage is given. Firstly, I discuss the definition of intangible heritage. It is difficult to make a concise definition because it includes many aspects. That is the reason why there are different definitions for intangible heritage. I prefer the one in the Convention of 2003 since it is considered as the official one and reflects the concept of intangible cultural heritage effectively. In the Convention of 2003, intangible cultural heritage is defined as "*the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage*". Also, a place is given in this chapter to the collective memory because intangible heritage creates a cohesion and supports this social process. In the chapter, strategies used by UNESCO towards safeguarding intangible heritage are also mentioned. They include Conventions, Recommendations, and Proclamations. Moreover, the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of 2003 is considered to be a crucial step to safeguard intangible

heritage, and it is accepted by many countries, including Turkey. The fact that the elements such as Whistled Language, Mangala game are adopted in the lists is a guarantee that they will be safeguarded. I have created three different tables representing elements on the lists, including their domains, states.

In Chapters 3, 4 and 5, the three case studies registered in the Representative List are described; the Chapter 6 concerns the Kılıç Kalkan dance a fourth example which is not registered. In all these chapters, I give general information since I have to limit myself to avoid giving too many details. I follow the same outline for each case study: (1) definition and description; (2) history from antiquity to today in the different regions where it belongs with a special mention of Turkey; (3) the element today.

Chapter 3 starts with the first case study, "Flatbread making and sharing culture: Lavash, Katyrma, Jupka, Yufka" (Azerbaijan, Iran, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Turkey) and its domains are "oral traditions and expressions; social practices, rituals, and festive event; knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts". These two actions of making and sharing are parts of the element itself. In Turkey, the flatbread is widely known as "Lavaş" and "Yufka", which are baked on "Tandır" and "Sac". For each chronological period, firstly, I start with bread in general and then continue with flatbread.

The following chapter deals with the “Heritage of Dede Qorqud/Korkyt Ata/Dede Korkut, epic culture, folk tales and music” (Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, and Turkey) and its domains are “performing arts; oral traditions and expressions; social practices, rituals, and festive event”. The controversial identity of Dede Korkut himself is discussed in this part. It was considered that there were two manuscripts of Dede Korkut and 12 stories; however, recently, in 2018, a new manuscript was found, and now we have the 13th epic. In this chapter, I examine the existence of Dede Korkut, the date of epics for its oral and written version. I also analyze the history of the epics as well as their common points and similarities with Greek literary works such as Homeric epics.

Chapter 5 covers (1) “Traditional intelligence and strategy game: Togyzqumalaq, Toguz Korgool, Mangala/Göçürme” (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkey) and its domains are “social practices, rituals, and festive event; knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe”. In Turkey, the game has many names; however, I prefer to use the name Mangala. I examine its distribution, the rules and lastly its long history.

Chapter 6 focuses on the Kılıç Kalkan dance, which is not inscribed in the list of UNESCO. As if for a file prepared as an application for registering on the Representative List, I have determined “performing arts” and “social practices, rituals, and festive events” as the more suitable domains. The ancient roots of Kılıç Kalkan dance are examined and analyzed. It was an armed dance of which Plato, in *Laws* (7, 815ab), offers a good description, saying that the

dancers act like they are in a battle, both protecting themselves or attacking others. Although there is different information in ancient sources concerning the origin of the pyrrhic dance, we know that it was performed at festivals, banquets and competitions. Fortunately, many vases and other artifacts are depicting such dance scenes, and they provide valuable data.

Chapter 7 is dedicated to safeguarding practices for intangible cultural heritage in Turkey, which are necessary for new generations to gain more awareness about their heritage. In the first part of the chapter, I discuss what is currently done as safeguarding practices, focusing on my case studies. These practices include academic, social events, documentary films, and promotion in the media. Museums such as the “Living Museums” and “ICH Museums” are important assets for the safeguarding, as well as research centers. Moreover, there are major steps in Turkey, too, for safeguarding intangible heritage, such as establishing the “Intangible Cultural Heritage National Inventory of Turkey” and the “Living Human Treasures National Inventory of Turkey”.

In the second part of Chapter 7, I start with the small surveys that I have conducted to see if the concept of intangible cultural heritage and my case studies are known enough by people around me. I believe that even though they are small-scale surveys, they helped me to perceive to what extent intangible cultural heritage is known. Afterwards, I mention specifically what has been done in Turkey for each case study.

In the third part of Chapter 7, I give a few suggestions to safeguard intangible cultural heritage in Turkey, and at the same to make it better known by the public.

The eighth chapter includes the conclusion of the thesis, which will provide an overview of the thesis and the study results. It will also include final thoughts and observations for future research.

CHAPTER 2

AN INTRODUCTION TO INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE

Culture consists of traditions, social habits, languages, expressions, or ideas. Because culture is dynamic, it always tends to evolve and recreate itself. Since ancient times, communities have interacted with each other owing to many circumstances such as the movement of people, trade, and gifts, so they shared their cultures, traditions and in the end, hybrid cultures were created. These cultures shape the heritage of a community and are passed between generations. Thus, cultural heritage is a universal concept which is owned by everyone in the world. Such universality actually demonstrates how rich cultural heritage can be.

Tangible heritage is related to material forms and it includes movable and immovable objects, and sites, such as paintings, monuments, ruins, etc. On the other hand, intangible heritage includes oral traditions, craftsmanships, performing arts, social practices, and practices concerning the universe. In the Convention

of 2003 that will be mentioned later on, intangible cultural heritage is represented in five different domains and these are (1) oral traditions and expressions; (2) performing arts; (3) social practices, rituals, and festive events; (4) knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; (5) traditional craftsmanship. However, one element may belong to more than one domain (see Table 1). Intangible cultural heritage connects people of a community and it gives a sense of belonging to this community. In addition to this, it provides social cohesion and maintains collective memory.

In my thesis, collective memory has a significant role. Collective memory refers to a type of memory that is shared by a community or group so they develop a connection to it. Maurice Halbwachs² introduced the concept of collective memory in the 1920s and he explains that: "(...) it is in society that people normally acquire their memories. It is also in society that they recall, recognize, and localize their memories." (Halbwachs, 1992: 38). Thus, the collective memory resides beyond a single person since collective memory is linked to the memories from the past that is shared by society. Collective memory applies specifically to certain cultural practices that have an effect on the creation, transition, and disappearance of social identities and social awareness regarding the past (Ijabs, 2014: 992).

² Maurice Halbwachs (1877 – 1945) was a French philosopher and also sociologist.

Apart from collective memory, anthropology also has a significant place on my thesis. Anthropology is well positioned to examine main factors such as the role of ICH in constructing social ties, change and continuity, and transmission and interference processes with because it has theories and techniques for studying cultural practices in live contexts (Amescua, 2013: 105). Cultural anthropology perceives the society by using cultural patterns and analyses cultural division. It is commonly pointed out that as people shape their environment around them, the environment also shapes and changes them so their culture also changes with their adoption to the environment.

Thus, we have various cultural heritages; however, we will see that people also share common cultural framework. For instance, gender roles attributed to each sex differ by culture and have an effect on personality development (Haviland et al., 2017: 146). Cultural norms that determine normal behavior are defined by the society so what is normal and acceptable in one society may be odd and unpleasant in another (Haviland et al., 2017: 150). It is possible to see these issues our case studies below. Flatbread making and sharing culture is practiced by women almost all time except in some cases. For the Kılıç Kalkan dance, we shall see that it is only performed by men although it was not the case for the pyrrhic in antiquity. On the other hand, today, there is no gender attribution for Dede Korkut epics and Mangala game.

2.1. Definition and Origin of Intangible Cultural Heritage

According to the Oxford English Dictionary³, the etymology of word intangible is from Medieval Latin (intangibilis) and French (1508). The meaning is “incapable of being touched”. Oğuz⁴ mentions that the term intangible cultural heritage was used for cultural heritage as an outcome of the tangible cultural heritage studies during UNESCO’s programs for the protection of cultural assets: according to him, the introduction and creation of this word probably have a long period of development, as long as UNESCO's past, which was established by 20 countries in 1946 (Oğuz, 2018: 57).

2.2 Definitions

2.2.1 Official Definitions by UNESCO

During the International Conference held in Washington D.C., the terms “folklore” or “traditional and popular culture” are used and defined in 1989 to refer to the intangible heritage:

“Folklore (or traditional and popular culture) is the totality of tradition-based creations of a cultural community expressed by a group or individuals and recognised as reflecting the expectations of a community in so far as they reflect its cultural and social identity (...)”⁵

³ <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/97332?redirectedFrom=intangible+#eid>

⁴ Mehmet Öcal Oğuz is the President of the Turkish National Commission for UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage Committee since 2011.

⁵ <https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/00111-EN.pdf>.

In the 1989 Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore, this definition concerning intangible cultural heritage was implemented by UNESCO. The recommendation can be considered as the first international document to specifically safeguard folklore; however, it was not legally binding. Later on, in 1993, UNESCO introduced the term intangible cultural heritage. There has been a range of studies carried out by UNESCO regarding the various terminologies in the context of intangible cultural heritage. In addition to this, in 2001, a meeting was held in Turin, Italy. Thus, the first definition of the intangible heritage was passed and accepted in UNESCO documents was made during this meeting (Oğuz, 2003: 247). It was decided that a cultural heritage can be considered as intangible if:

“Peoples’ learned processes along with the knowledge, skills and creativity that inform and are developed by them, the products they create, and the resources, spaces and other aspects of social and natural context necessary to their sustainability (...)”⁶

Afterward, in 2003 Convention, intangible heritage was defined as:

“the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage”.⁷

⁶ International Round Table in Italy: <https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/00077-EN.pdf>.

⁷ To see the definition (Article 2): <https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention#art2>.

The complete definition in the 2003 Convention (Article 2, Paragraph 1) demonstrates that intangible cultural heritage is what groups or individuals recognized as a part of their cultural heritage. Also, it shows that intangible cultural heritage is continually recreated by individuals and groups based on relation to their surroundings, interactions with nature, and tradition, and gives them a sense of belonging and thereby fostering cultural diversity and human imagination.

When definitions are compared, it can be seen that there is a significant improvement in the way that the latest version is clearer and makes the concept of intangible cultural heritage more easily understandable. It is stated on the website of UNESCO⁸ that the intangible cultural heritage does not involve religion, language or any other practice that violates human rights, or gender equality or offends other groups, individuals or communities. Here, it is significant to clarify the difference between folklore and intangible cultural heritage because even though these two terms are intertwined and share the similar idea, they diverge in some points. First of all, it is clearly indicated in the 2003 Convention⁹ that intangible cultural heritage should be alive, not dead or extinct; however, folklore can consist of both alive and dead practices. Also, it is possible to say that the concept of intangible cultural heritage is more limited and narrow when it is compared to folklore.

⁸ <https://ich.unesco.org/en/faq-00021>.

⁹ Intangible cultural heritage is "Traditional, contemporary and living at the same time; Inclusive; Representative and Community-based".

2.2.2 Other Definitions

Besides the definition of UNESCO, other ones are also worth mentioning. For example, the term intangible cultural heritage is described as “forms of cultural heritage that lack physical manifestation” (Stefano, Davis, Corsane, 2012: 1). Such a definition specifies that the concept includes immaterial components that are untouchable. Here, it is significant to note that sometimes intangible cultural heritage also includes instruments, materials, or objects such as the traditional craftsmanship of Çini-making in Turkey and this situation may be confusing. It may be questioned by the public why it is called intangible heritage if there are tools and finished materials. Thus, it is important to mention that intangible heritage includes the knowledge and ability to create these products and the implementation of the technique, hence the domain of traditional craftsmanship is an example of this situation. Here, the intangible heritage is related to the skills and knowledge of craftsmen.

William S. Logan¹⁰ mentions that intangible heritage is the “heritage that is embodied in people rather than in inanimate objects” (Logan, 2007: 33). It is significant to note that William Logan emphasizes the importance of intangible heritage practitioners because they have a vital effect on the protection and conducting of their intangible cultural heritage.

¹⁰ William Logan has served as the Director of Deakin's Cultural Heritage Centre for Asia and the Pacific and he was a consultant for UNESCO.

According to van Zanten¹¹, it is more proper to use the term “living culture” rather than intangible cultural heritage because he argues that living culture can be attributed to the individuals who perform it (2004: 38). Even though the term intangible heritage is seen as controversial, it demonstrates a specific concept of the cultural heritage and it is lawfully accepted. A few different expressions and different words were used for explaining the intangible heritage like folklore; in any case, it can be said that the term intangible heritage is now well-known and accepted by many states.

2.3 History of Intangible Heritage

2.3.1 Processes towards Safeguarding Intangible Heritage

Oğuz highlights that the *Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* of 1972 is one of the most significant highlights of this long story (Oğuz, 2018: 57). This Convention was adopted by UNESCO on 16 November 1972. Till then, it can be said that intangible heritage was still ignored. However, to protect and maintain intangible heritage, there was a need for attitudes different than the ones for tangible heritage. During the Convention, it was agreed that intangible cultural heritage is as significant as tangible heritage, and safeguarding it is a crucial mission for every country. It is also a fact that intangible cultural heritage deserves international protection. This was the first step

¹¹ Wim van Zanten is an ethnomusicologist who edited the Glossary of Intangible Cultural Heritage for UNESCO in 2002.

to implement the concept of intangible cultural heritage and to protect it (See Appendix A).

Since it carries such crucial ideas, there was a global concern not to lose the intangible heritage of the states. The World Conference on Cultural Policies in Mexico in 1982 was one of the occasions that mentioned the preservation of the intangible heritage for the first time. It is possible to say that owing to this conference the concept of intangible heritage gained more awareness because, during the Conference, UNESCO was asked to develop a program to safeguard intangible heritage. Here, it is also significant to note that this conference was one of the first occasions in which the term intangible heritage has been utilized¹². The term intangible gained prestige and importance during the 1990s when it was used instead of the term folklore (Antons & Logan, 2018: 28).

2.3.2 Recommendation and Proclamations

During numerous UNESCO General Conference and Executive Board sessions, the idea of safeguarding this heritage has been brought up. UNESCO started to consider immaterial products so that in 1989 the *Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore*¹³ was declared and a first definition was given (see above).

¹² <https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/01854-EN.pdf>.

¹³ To see Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore: http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13141&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html.

At the same time with the Recommendation and Proclamations, a programme which is called *Living Human Treasures*¹⁴ was founded in 1993; however, it was withdrawn after the 2003 Convention. The purpose of this program was to motivate Member states to set official recognition to practitioners and bearers so it would be possible to help them to be transferred to young generations. Today, Turkey has an inventory regarding Living Human Treasures which will be mentioned later both in this chapter and chapter 7.

It has led up to *The Proclamations of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage* which can be considered as steps of a critical phase in UNESCO's action to safeguard intangible heritage. It advocated the recognition of intangible heritage. There are three Proclamations of 2002, 2003, and 2005 and these include a list of 90 distinguished examples of the world's living heritage¹⁵. These 90 items were added to the Representative List in November 2008 including Turkey's Arts of the Meddah, public storytellers, and Mevlevi Sema ceremony.

2.3.3 Steps Taken in Turkey

On September 16-17, 2002, the Intergovernmental Committee was held in Istanbul, Turkey, and the title was "Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Mirror of Cultural Diversity". The role of this Committee was to support the Convention's goals, to advise about

¹⁴ <https://ich.unesco.org/en/living-human-treasures>

¹⁵ To see the Proclamation of the Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity: <https://ich.unesco.org/en/proclamation-of-masterpieces-00103>.

practices, and also to offer suggestions for the preservation steps for intangible heritage.

Two national inventories, Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) National Inventory of Turkey” and “Living Human Treasures (LHT) National Inventory of Turkey”, have been created and we shall see their activity in detail in Chapter 7.

Afterward, on 17 October 2003, during the general conference in Paris, the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* has been acknowledged and accepted by a significant number of countries. It should be highlighted that this Convention has a more significant role when it is compared to the *Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore*. The reason is that it is legally binding so there are precautions against violation of the law if no essential measures are taken to guarantee the safeguarding of intangible heritage (Foster, 2015: 5). Today, 178 countries have accepted the Convention so it can be seen that it is a vital step to preserve intangible heritage. Owing to this convention, intangible heritage gained more recognition and awareness.

2.4 Significance of the Intangible Heritage and the 2003 Convention

Today, intangible cultural heritage is in danger due to the processes of globalization. In this technological era, cultural differences started to disappear as a common heritage began to

emerge. Sometimes, dominant cultures suppress other ones. Instead of their own culture, most people tend to prefer the popular one. For instance, it would be accurate to say that *Romeo and Juliet* (1591-1596) by William Shakespeare is one of the most famous literary works today. It is so popular that in Turkey, it is better known than *Leyla and Mecnun* (c. 1535) by Fuzûlî which is considered an outstanding work on a similar topic.

Many people consider cultural change to be the result of a series of innovations. However, when we look at this issue from an anthropological perspective, adoption of a new invention, on the other hand, frequently leads to cultural loss and the abandoning of an existing practice or trait (Haviland et al., 2017: 351). People who are free to choose what changes they will or will not accept are more likely to innovate, diffuse, and lose their cultural identity. However, people are often compelled to make changes they do not want to make, generally as a result of conquest and colonization (Haviland et al., 2017: 352).

Unfortunately, due to such situations, cultures are losing originality as their intangible cultural heritage disappear day by day. The new generations are not aware of what is left to them from their ancestors. Most of the time, they are not even familiar with their traditions, cultures, and values which slowly disappear. However, it is significant for the young generations to understand the vitality of the intangible heritage because it has shaped partly their education and personality as it belongs to the culture of the country while they are the ones who will transmit it to new generations after

them. Thus, they need to be aware of the importance of intangible heritage and should give priority to it. To ensure that, UNESCO's Convention of 2003 is considered as a turning point for the viability of intangible heritage.

Here, it is noteworthy to mention the aims of UNESCO's 2003 Convention: firstly, the Convention covers significant activities that will ensure the sustainability of the intangible heritage such as educational programs and community participation. Secondly, it also ensures respect for the heritage of individuals, communities, and groups as well. Another aim is to bring awareness of the significance of intangible cultural heritage at many levels such as local, national, and international. Lastly, the Convention also aims to arrange international cooperation and local cooperation.

2.5 Nominations of Intangible Heritage in UNESCO

2.5.1 Lists of Intangible Heritage

Every year, a meeting is held by the International Committee to discuss nominations that are submitted by the states and to determine whether the cultural practices and intangible heritage expressions proposed should be added to the Convention's lists or not.

There are two lists: "(1) List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding (USL), and (2) Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (RL)." The Urgent Safeguarding List consists of elements that need immediate steps

to keep them alive. On the other hand, the Representative List is composed of elements that display the significance of these elements and inform people about their value. Lastly, there is also the Good Safeguarding Practices List which includes initiatives, projects, and activities that accurately represent the Convention's purpose and norms.

On the website of UNESCO¹⁶, there is valuable information about intangible heritage. By searching in countries, the latest news and events, periodic reporting, and lists can be seen. In 2021, there are 584 elements on the website of UNESCO attributed to 131 countries.

Furthermore, the elements on the lists are ordered chronologically according to their registration. Sometimes, the items belong to more than one states so such items are considered as these states' common heritage. All elements have their explanation pages which include an explanatory article that provides significant information such as what kind of intangible heritage it is and how this heritage is conducted. In the article, it is also written to how many countries the heritage belongs. In addition to this, the pages also include a short voice record that sometimes consists of music or voices belong to that intangible heritage. Lastly, there are also videos and photos and they show how people are practicing their intangible heritage.

¹⁶ See the website of UNESCO for Intangible Cultural Heritage: <https://ich.unesco.org/>.

It can be seen that UNESCO designed an informative and beneficial inventory for the intangible cultural heritage of humanity. Such a detailed website provides a significant amount of information to people who would like to learn more about it. It also makes people aware of the importance and interest of items.

2.5.2 The Intangible Heritage of Turkey

Turkey was one of the founding members of UNESCO in 1946 and actively has taken part in UNESCO conventions. It is a valuable country in terms of cultural heritage with a great variety and it actively protects the richness in both tangible and intangible heritage. Turkey's intangible cultural heritage inventory registration process consists of some steps that should be mentioned briefly¹⁷: the commissions established in Provincial Cultural Directorates prepare proposals of elements to be registered and establish a file for each that they forward to the Ministry of Culture. Inventory proposals determined by the commissions are evaluated and, if approved, they are included in the inventory and then nominated to UNESCO upon request.

In the session of the Turkish Grand National Assembly on 19 January 2006, the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage was accepted and the "Approval of the Ratification of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the

¹⁷ <https://aregem.ktb.gov.tr/TR-159257/somut-olmayan-kulturel-miras-ulusal-envanteri.html>.

Intangible Heritage” law (No. 5448) was published in the Official Newspaper (No. 26056); Turkey signed on 27 March 2006 (Oğuz, 2017: 10).

Turkey gave importance to the implementation process of the Convention. An Intangible Cultural Heritage Specialty Committee was established inside the UNESCO Turkish National Commission and this Committee promotes its projects on the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (Oğuz, 2017: 13). Turkey started to prepare the lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding (USL) and Representative List (RL) of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. These items are merged in a single table in a chronological list (see Table 3). It can be also seen from the site of UNESCO that sometimes Turkey has been working together with some countries for common items on the lists. Between 2006-2010, Turkey was elected to the membership of the Intergovernmental Committee.

Turkey is one of the countries that make many proposals to UNESCO for the lists and has many items written¹⁸. In 2020, 20 elements were added to the list and there are still some additional elements waiting for nominations¹⁹.

¹⁸ The top 5 countries with the most elements are China (42), France (23), Japan (22), Republic of Korea (21), and Turkey (20)/Spain (20).

¹⁹ To see Turkey’s intangible cultural heritage page on UNESCO website: <https://ich.unesco.org/en/state/turkey-TR>.

Year	Element	Domains				
		Performing Arts	Oral Traditions and expressions	Social Practices, Rituals and Festive Event	Knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts	Knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe
2008	Mevlevi Sema ceremony	✓		✓		
	Arts of the Meddah, public storytellers		✓			
2009	Karagöz		✓			
	Âşıklık (minstrelsy) tradition	✓	✓	✓		
2010	Kırkpınar oil wrestling festival	✓	✓	✓	✓	
	Traditional Sohbet meetings	✓	✓	✓		
	Semah, Alevi-Bektaşî ritual	✓	✓	✓		
2011	Ceremonial Keşkek tradition			✓		✓
2012	Mesir Macunu festival	✓	✓	✓		✓
2013	Turkish coffee culture and tradition		✓	✓	✓	
2014	Ebru, Turkish art of marbling				✓	✓
2016	Flatbread making and sharing culture: Lavash, Katyrma, Jupka, Yufka		✓	✓	✓	
	Nawrouz, Novruz, Nowrouz, Nawrouz, Nauryz, Nooruz, Nowruz, Navruz, Nevruz, Nowruz, Navruz	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Traditional craftsmanship of Çini-making				✓	✓
2017	Spring celebration, Hidrellez			✓		✓
	Whistled language		✓			✓
2018	Heritage of Dede Qorqud/Korkyt Ata/Dede Korkut, epic culture, folk tales and music	✓	✓	✓		
2019	Traditional Turkish archery			✓	✓	✓
2020	Art of miniature				✓	✓
2020	Traditional intelligence and strategy game: Togyzqumalaq, Toguz Korgool, Mangala/Göçürme			✓	✓	

Table 1. Elements inscribed in the List of UNESCO (May, 2021).

Table 1 shows the elements inscribed in the List of UNESCO. As we can see, most of the elements include more than one domain of the Convention because they are not restricted to one particular manifestation so most of the time they contain several domains. It can be seen that there are many elements from the categories of oral tradition and expressions and social practices, rituals, and festive events. Between 2008-2014, Turkey was able to register elements to the list of UNESCO every year. The first two elements have been entered in Representative List in 2008, they are the Mevlevi Sema ceremony and Arts of the Meddah, public storytellers. The only year Turkey did not inscribe any element was 2015, later on, starting from 2016 Turkey continued to register elements every year till now. In 2020, at its fifteenth session on 14-19 December 2020, the files "Traditional intelligence and strategy game: Togyzqumalaq, Toguz Korgool, Mangala/Göçürme" and "Art of the miniature" were evaluated and adopted to the list. In 2017, Whistled Language has been accepted to the list of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding. It is significant to point out that this element is the only one inscribed in the USL. Other elements have been accepted to Representative List.

Here, it should be noted that the states are required to prepare a report about the registered items regarding the implementation of the Convention every 6 years for the Representative List and every 4 years for the Urgent Safeguarding List. This report is necessary to see if states are fulfilling the obligations concerning the safeguarding of the items dictated by the Convention.

2022	On-going Nominations	Ahlat stoneworks tradition	Urgent Safeguarding List
2022		Culture of Çay (tea), a symbol of identity, hospitality and social interaction	Representative List
2022		Craftsmanship and performing art of balaban/mey	Representative List
2022		Telling tradition of Nasreddin Hodja/ Molla Nesreddin/ Molla Ependi/ Apendi/ Afendi Kozhanasyr Anecdotes	Representative List
2021		Hüsn-i Hat, traditional art of Islamic calligraphy	Representative List
2020	Backlog Nominations	One master, thousand masters project	Good Safeguarding Practices List
2012		Aşure Ritual	Representative List
2012		Nomadic movement of Sarıkeçili Yörüks	Urgent Safeguarding List
2012		Sabantoy, Habantoy	Urgent Safeguarding List

Table 2. Elements in the Lists of On-going Nomination(s) and Backlog nomination(s) (May, 2021).

Besides the elements inscribed in the list, Table 2 shows the elements that are in the lists of On-going Nomination(s) and Backlog nomination(s). These elements belong to the RL, USL, and good safeguarding practices. There are 5 elements which will be nominated in 2021 and 2022. On the other hand, the Backlog List contains the files since 2012 that were not processed because of limited sources even though they have been registered in USL. Such a situation is related to the limit of UNESCO not evaluating more than 60 files in a year. Because UNESCO receives so many files every year, it became probably impossible to go back and evaluate the ones in Backlog Nomination(s) list. Some of the files in this list have been taken out and nominated again by Turkey this year such as Ahlat stoneworks tradition.

In Table 3, it is possible to see all the items in three lists. The blue-colored ones represent the items in the lists of On-going Nomination(s) and Backlog nomination(s). Green colored ones demonstrate the items which are already on the list. Moreover, states can also be seen in this table which shows which element belongs to which countries. This table also demonstrates the existence of multi-national items so it can be understood which items are a common heritage of the states. In a way, it would not be wrong to say that the table attests to how seriously Turkey takes the protection of its intangible heritage.

Year	Element	List	Listing of ICH	State(s) Party(ies)
2008	Mevlevi Sema ceremony	Representative List	Inscribed in the List	Turkey
	Arts of the Meddah, public storytellers	Representative List	Inscribed in the List	Turkey
2009	Karagöz	Representative List	Inscribed in the List	Turkey
	Âşıklık (minstrelsy) tradition	Representative List	Inscribed in the List	Turkey
2010	Kırkpınar oil wrestling festival	Representative List	Inscribed in the List	Turkey
	Traditional Sohbet meetings	Representative List	Inscribed in the List	Turkey
	Semah, Alevi-Bektaşî ritual	Representative List	Inscribed in the List	Turkey
2011	Ceremonial Keşkek tradition	Representative List	Inscribed in the List	Turkey
2012	Mesir Macunu festival	Representative List	Inscribed in the List	Turkey
2012	Sabantoy, Habantoy	Urgent Safeguarding List	Backlog nomination(s)	Turkey
2012	Nomadic movement of Sarıkeçili Yörüks	Urgent Safeguarding List	Backlog nomination(s)	Turkey
2012	Aşure Ritual	Representative List	Backlog nomination(s)	Turkey
2013	Turkish coffee culture and tradition	Representative List	Inscribed in the List	Turkey
2014	Ebru, Turkish art of marbling	Representative List	Inscribed in the List	Turkey
2016	Flatbread making and sharing culture: Lavash, Katyрма, Jupka, Yufka	Representative List	Inscribed in the List	Azerbaijan, Iran, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkey
	Nawrouz, Novruz, Nowrouz, Nowrouz, Nawrouz, Nauryz, Nooruz, Nowruz, Navruz, Nevruz, Nowruz, Navruz	Representative List	Inscribed in the List	Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, India, Iran, Iraq, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Turkey

	Traditional craftsmanship of Çini-making	Representative List	Inscribed in the List	Turkey
2017	Spring celebration, Hidrellez	Representative List	Inscribed in the List	North Macedonia and Turkey
	Whistled language	Urgent Safeguarding List	Inscribed in the List	Turkey
2018	Heritage of Dede Qorqud/Korkyt Ata/Dede Korkut, epic culture, folk tales and music	Representative List	Inscribed in the List	Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Turkey
2019	Traditional Turkish archery	Representative List	Inscribed in the List	Turkey
2020	Art of miniature	Representative List	Inscribed in the List	Azerbaijan, Iran, Turkey, Uzbekistan
2020	Traditional intelligence and strategy game: Togyzqumalaq, Toguz Korgool, Mangala/Göçürme	Representative List	Inscribed in the List	Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkey
2020	One master, thousand masters project	Good Safeguarding Practices List	Backlog nomination(s)	Turkey
2021	Hüsn-i Hat, traditional art of Islamic calligraphy	Representative List	On-going nomination(s)	Turkey
2022	Telling tradition of Nasreddin Hodja/ Molla Nesreddin/ Molla Ependi/ Apendi/ Afendi Kozhanasyr Anecdotes	Representative List	On-going nomination(s)	Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Turkey
2022	Craftsmanship and performing art of balaban/mey	Representative List	On-going nomination(s)	Azerbaijan, Turkey
2022	Culture of Çay (tea), a symbol of identity, hospitality and social interaction	Representative List	On-going nomination(s)	Azerbaijan, Turkey
2022	Ahlat stoneworks tradition	Urgent Safeguarding List	On-going nomination(s)	Turkey

Table 3. All elements in the lists of UNESCO (May, 2021).

CHAPTER 3

FLATBREAD MAKING AND SHARING CULTURE

By considering the diet culture of a civilization, it is possible to get information concerning whether this civilization is based on agricultural production or has a nomadic lifestyle. Bread has a significant role because it offers precious knowledge about ancient culture. Undoubtedly, all forms of bread were among the most consumed and produced food in antiquity. The role of bread was not only to help people to survive, but its role was also connected to religion, magic, and tradition (Davidson, 2014: 541). In addition to this, bread is also related to the economy because there was a necessity for some countries to import wheat and it was a source of wealth for the countries producing and trading it.

In Turkey, bread has a crucial place and is subject to respect. There are proverbs and idioms about bread. It has such a great value that people make oaths to bread. It would not be wrong to say that bread is considered a holy food since most people believe

that throwing bread away or stepping on it is a sin. It should be also noted that this is the case in other countries.

In spite of the fact that the ways of making bread share similar features, there is a great variety in terms of bread types, which are related to the evolution of civilizations. Among these types of bread, I will study the flatbread which was registered in the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity of UNESCO in 2016 under the name of "Flatbread making and sharing culture: Lavash, Katyrma, Jupka, Yufka" ("İnce Ekmek Yapma ve Paylaşma Kültürü: Lavaş, Katırma, Jupka, Yufka" in Turkish)²⁰. It is a shared heritage of Turkey, Azerbaijan, Iran, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan. In the state parties, the element is known by different names close to each other . For instance, in Azerbaijan, it is mostly referred to as "Lavaş" and "Yukha"; in Iran, as "Lavash"; in Kazakhstan, as "Katyrma"; in Kyrgyzstan, as "Jupka" and lastly in Turkey, as "Lavaş" and "Yufka"²¹. The difference between Lavaş and Yufka is that Lavaş is made of leavened flour but Yufka is made from unleavened flour. If their shape is considered, Yufka is larger and thinner when it is compared to Lavaş.

Flatbread types bread in general can be round or oval, and is that made by using hand for kneading and sometimes a rolling pin. What is significant for this element is not only making flatbread but

²⁰ Nomination file no. 01181

²¹ There are many different names for flatbread and it varies according to the regions. For instance, it is called "Şepit" in Isparta/Yalvaç (Genç et al., 2019: 98).

also the idea of having a common activity and sharing, since people come together with such acquaintances as family, and neighbors and they bake the flatbread all together. The domains of this element are "Oral Traditions and expressions", "Social Practices, Rituals, and Festive Events", and "Knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts".

3.1 Definition of Bread and Flatbread

In the dictionary of Merriam-Webster²², bread is described as "a usually baked and leavened food made of a mixture whose basic constituent is flour or meal (a type of flour)". On the same website, flatbread is defined as "a bread (such as focaccia or naan) that has a wide surface and little thickness"²³. The flatbreads were obviously named after their shape.

In her study about flatbreads, Pasqualone notes that flatbreads are versatile products and it is possible to bake them by using different types of flours. In addition to this, she mentions that dough can be of different consistency, leavened or unleavened, and can be baked in various ways and with a reduced thickness up to a few centimeters (2018: 47).

²² <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/bread>.

²³ <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/flatbread>.

3.2 History of Bread and Flatbread in (Pre-)Neolithic Period & Antiquity

The history of bread goes back to several millennia. It is widely acknowledged that the pioneers of wheat domestication started in Anatolia, Syria, and Iran before 7000 BC. The beginning of agriculture corresponds to the production of cereal crops and thus bread (Davidson, 2014: 542). However, there are some indications that bread was made for the first time in an earlier period in Near East and Anatolia.

When we look at flatbreads specifically, we know that flatbreads were a common thread of the late Stone Age in some parts of the world where the grains (probably wild) were the primary source of nutrition. The Middle Eastern lavash, Greek pita, Indian roti among others are surviving examples (McGee, 2004: 517). In addition to this, these breads were most likely originally baked over on fire, then on a griddle stone, and last, in beehive-shaped ovens that were open at the top and held both coals and bread; dough was stucked against the interior wall (McGee, 2004: 517; Davidson, 2014: 542). This shows that flatbreads could be the first shape of bread ever made, and which has continued without any interruption until today.

We shall examine the history of bread and flatbread in chronological and regional order. Each section will start with the history of bread and then continue with flatbread.

3.2.1 Near East in Pre-Neolithic and Neolithic Period

In their research, Arranz-Otaegui et al. examine 24 charred food remains from the site of Shubayqa. The site is located in northeastern Jordan and it is a hunter-gatherer site. Their analysis shows that people of Shubayqa 1 made foods similar to bread and their date goes back to the late Epipaleolithic or Natufian period dated to 12,000–10,800 BC (2018: 7928). In their article, they conclude that even though prior studies have linked bread production to Neolithic agricultural communities, the analysis of charred food remains at Shubayqa 1 demonstrate a scientific evidence for the existence of bread-like foods 4000 years before (around 14.4– 14.2 ka cal BP), which corresponds to the early Natufian period, prior to the emergence of agriculture in southwestern Asia (Arranz-Otaegui, 2018: 7928).

In Near East, the bread making can be followed thanks to the ovens which have been discovered as for example the ones mentioned by Andrew Balby, in his book, *Food in the Ancient World from A to Z* (2003: 58).

Fuller and Rowlands indicate that early in the Near East, tannur-type²⁴ ovens which are suitable for making flatbreads were developed: the earliest ovens were pebble-filled cylindrical-shaped pits which were also utilized for public meat roasting at Mureybit (9500–9000 BC). In the late Pre-Pottery Neolithic settlements, for instance, in Maghzalia, and in Ali Kosh in Iran (ca. 7000 BC),

²⁴ It is conical-shaped clay bread oven with opening for stoking the heat.

doomed brick ovens are known. In general, the early ceramic period saw an increase in oven discoveries (Fuller & Rowlands, 2011: 43), it shows that people started to create new types of ovens at that time. They are similar to the ones called tandır which are used today. It can be assumed that these ovens were used for baking bread, among other purposes, such as meat.

3.2.2 Anatolia

3.2.2.1 Pre-Pottery Neolithic and Neolithic

According to Gonzalez Carretero et al., bread was known and already significant in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic Period (10,000-6,500 BC) (2017: 429). As a matter of fact their case study about Neolithic Çatalhöyük reveals that some food remains originated from bread and dough were predominant in the earlier stages of the settlement (ca. 7100-6400 BC).

In the Pottery Neolithic period bread production and consumption was common in Anatolia: the best proof of this is the presence of mills of that period thought to be used to grind wheat residues and wheat in centers such as Diyarbakır (Çayönü), Burdur (Hacılar) and Konya (Çatalhöyük) (Keskin et al., 2020: 284).

3.2.2.2 Bronze Age: Hittite Period

Undoubtedly, bread has a crucial role in the diet of Hittites. It is possible to reach such significant information about flatbread owing to cuneiform tablets. In one of the texts, it is said "nu NINDA-an e-

ez-za-at-te-ni wa-a-tar-ma e-ku-ut-te-ni”²⁵ which means in English “you will eat bread and drink water”. In the cuneiform tablets, at least 180 types of bread and bakery products of Hittites are mentioned and it should be noted that there are probably also more that were not mentioned in the texts (Albayrak et al. 2008: 55). This situation demonstrates that the production and consumption of bread were crucial. These breads were named according to certain geometric shapes, size, weight, the region of the Hittite Empire, purpose, and preparation technique such as flatbreads, fish-shaped bread, leavened or unleavened bread among many others (Akin & Balıkcı: 2018: 278).

In their book, *Hittite Cookery: an experimental archaeological study*, Albayrak et al. give six recipes for flatbread, the ingredients are flour (barley or wheat or sometimes both), water, salt, and sometimes cheese. The authors used food and bread names according to Hittite texts, material data revealed in excavations, ethnoarchaeological data and gastronomy information obtained by visiting surrounding villages while preparing this experimental study.

Hittites had a special name for flatbread which is called “NINDA.SIG” and it is almost the same as the flatbread in Anatolia today (Albayrak et al., 2008: 137). In addition to this, we learn about the rituals when it was used: in the texts of the

²⁵ This sentence, from the Testament of Hattusili I, was analyzed and solved by Friedrich Hrozný in 1915 (Albayrak et al., 2008: 13).

"AN.TAH.SUM" festival²⁶, it is stated that flatbread was divided and presented to various gods after the heart, brisket, and liver of animals were placed on it (Albayrak et al., 2008: 137).

Flatbread sharing was significant for the Hittites and there are some flatbread called tumati- and piiantalla/i- that were produced and distributed to be shared during the period of famine (Keskin et al. 2020: 285). This situation still can be seen today in Anatolia which will be mentioned later.

Artun Ünsal has demonstrated that a vessel (Figure 1) from a Cult Room found in Eskiypar close to Çorum dates back to 1750 BC and represents a sanctuary. There is inside a miniature of a woman holding her breasts, an altar and a spouted jug (2003: 50). This woman figure is represented as a goddess and she wears a disc-shaped headdress (Özgüç, 1999: 3). It has been proved by a carbon test that the black objects in the form of semi-circles on the miniature altar and full circles on the bottom of the vessel are pieces of bread (Ünsal 2003: 50). According to the shape, they look like flatbread. Özgüç indicates that the interior of the drinking cup is transformed into a miniature replica of a temple or a large building's sacred space (1999: 3). The interpretation of this vessel is that the inhabitants of the place where the vessel was found made their dedication to the gods by placing real pieces of bread in this miniature religious space (Ünsal 2003: 50). It may be a

²⁶ It is a Hittite spring festival which is related to the agriculture and celebrated in Anatolia.

reproduction on a small scale of what was happening as a ritual in the temple.

3.2.3 Egypt

It seems that bread was adopted during Late Predynastic Egypt as a practice taken from the Western Asian/Mesopotamian tradition (Fuller & Rowland, 2011: 41). In the *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, it is highlighted that both bread and beer were essential to the Ancient Egyptian diet. They were eaten by all people during any meal, and without them, the meal was deemed to be fully unacceptable (Samuel, 2001: 196). It can be understood that bread was a staple for Egyptian cookery.

Some flatbreads were prepared on the preheated walls of cylindrical ovens, although this is not the case with all loaves (Samuel, 2000: 569).

3.2.4 Greece

We have some information about the bread production from Greek writer Archestratus (5th century BC) who mentions Phoenician, Lydian, and Cappadocian bakers (Davidson, 2014: 545).

In his book, *Food in the Ancient World*, Alcock emphasizes that bakers from Cappadocia are deemed the greatest, and Phoenician bakers probably from the Archaic period would supply leavened

bread while they were dealing with yeast or a yeast equivalent (2006: 154).

Leavened bread came quite late along the northern edge of the Mediterranean and it was not produced until around 400 BC in Greece. Flat barley breads were presumably the standard for a long time after that (McGee, 2004: 517).

Unfortunately, there is a lack of information about flatbread: we have little precise information in Greek Antiquity for flatbread.

A terracotta figure²⁷ (Figure 2) found in Cyprus that, dates to ca. 600–480 BC, depicts a woman baking bread. The woman is represented while leaning to an oven and putting dough pieces against the hot walls. This object probably shows an influence from Near East where such ovens were used as we have seen above. It can be seen clearly that this representation is similar to today's flatbread-making practices.

3.3 Ottoman Empire

We learn from a folk poet, Kaygusuz Abdal from the 14th century that during the Ottoman Empire, people were eating bread, yufka, thick yufka, and various pastry (Ünsal, 2003: 68). Moreover, Mahmud of Kashgar in *Dîvanu Lûgât-it Türk*, which is the first

²⁷ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/241310>

Turkish dictionary, mentions flatbread as “a kind of pita between loaves and yufka” (Atalay, 1985: 481).

There are miniatures depicting bread. For instance, in the *Surname-i Hümayun*, (Figure 3) drawn by Nakkaş Osman in 1582, the parade of baker craftsmen and people carrying bread is depicted. Another miniature depicts an Ottoman dignitary on a voyage sitting in the tent while his servants cook a dinner. One of them is preparing flatbread and cooking it over an open fire on a griddle (Işın, 2018: 144).

Hans Dernschwam, who is a 16th century German traveller, encounters unfertile mountains around Çorum and mentions that locals were baking flat wheaten loaves stuck to the walls of big earthenware vessels, called tandır today in Turkey (Figure 5, 6). In addition to this, he mentions that the locals also used a metal plate heated on a tripod over the fire to bake a thin bread (Vroom, 2018: 150).

3.4 Flatbread Today

3.4.1 Common Features in the State Parties

Since antiquity, simple cooking ways for flatbread have continued to be almost the same over time.

It has been stated in the Nomination Form of flatbread making and sharing culture that there are a few differences between the states

(Turkey, Azerbaijan, Iran, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan). This situation is not surprising since the element underwent various cultural changes. For example, different ingredients and different kinds of flours are used and sometimes baking methods change according to the country. However, the common feature is the practice itself which includes the idea of sharing with families and neighbors since they come together to bake flatbreads.

Another significant information mentioned in the Nomination Form of the element is related to the social and cultural function of flatbread. Among the reasons for making flatbread, it can be considered that the most common one is the preparation of bread for winter. However, flatbread making cannot only be explained as a storage for the winter. It actually reflects a significant social solidarity especially in Anatolia. Accordingly, many sayings are told for the sanctity of bread. Moreover, cooperation and hierarchy are observed among women in bread making.

Otherwise bread is used during the rites of passage, such as death and marriage. For instance, in Kazakhstan, people believe that flatbreads during the funeral provide a kind of protection for the deceased from the burning Sun while s/he is awaiting god's decision. Bread, which is considered sacred by the Hittites, is still considered sacred today in Anatolia and is distributed after death (Keskin et al. 2020: 290). On the other hand, it is also involved in marriage: in Azerbaijan and Iran, flatbread is usually placed on the shoulders of the bride in order to wish newly married couple happiness and wealth. Additionally, in Iran, during some religious

ceremonies and traditional weddings, flatbread is served as part of the sacred offering. In Turkey, the dried flatbread is usually crumbled on the bride's head during the wedding. In Kyrgyzstan, it is believed that preparing flatbread aids patients. In Anatolia too, it continues to be used for treatment.

It can be understood from all of such information above that flatbread making and sharing culture create social cohesion since many people are involved in this activity.

3.4.2 Flatbread Making in Turkey

In Turkey, the element is still practiced widely not only in rural areas but also in urban areas. Traditionally, the element bearers come together and prepare flatbreads. Beşirli says that people with low social and economic levels in Turkey did not buy bread from the bakery due to economic reasons, so village bread such as flatbread was produced by housewives (2010: 164). However, it would reflect more the reality to say that making and sharing flatbread is related to special occasion and it should not only be limited to economic reasons. It is important to note that flatbreads can be stored for a long time so people can take these breads with them while they are traveling from one place to another.

How flatbread is prepared and cooked is precisely described in the Nomination Form of flatbread. It is mentioned that flatbread is usually prepared by using leavened or unleavened dough, water, and salt; however, sometimes it may include other materials such

as milk and butter. There is no specific flour type for flatbread but wheat flour is the most used. On the website of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (General Directorate of Research and Education), making flatbread is explained comprehensibly: firstly, small pieces called “beze” (bun) are taken from the dough by using traditional tools or hands. Secondly, by using hand or a rolling instrument (oklava in Turkish), the dough is rolled and the round or oval shape is given to that piece. As mentioned before, in Turkey, “lavaş” and “yufka” (Figure 7) are prepared (leavened and unleavened) with different methods. The most straightforward preparing strategies for flatbreads have remained practically the same since the Antiquity: they can be prepared on red-hot pebbles or flat metal cooking plates, or terracotta vertical ovens, which are round or truncated cone-shaped constructions (Figure 4, 5, 6) (Pasqualone 2018: 49-50).

During cooking, a type of flat wooden utensil²⁸ is used to turn the dough. In terms of flavor, it is preferred to cook the dough on a wood fire or on embers which also has the advantage of not emitting soot.

In conclusion, unfortunately, there is a lack of information concerning the origin of flatbread itself; there are not enough specific references or proofs. Luckily, it is proven that the history of flatbread at least goes back to Hittites in Anatolia, if not even

²⁸ The name of this utensil can vary from region to region; it is called püsürgeç, evraç, şiş, among many others.

earlier. In general, it is possible to trace flatbread in different civilisations of antiquity.



CHAPTER 4

DEDE KORKUT EPICS

Epics have a crucial role in ensuring the sustainability of a civilization's culture since they are transmitted from one generation to another. Because epics carry specific traces of cultures, they provide a great deal of cultural information. They are the consequences of historical, social, and political incidents, and they give an idea about what kind of values, traditions, or life civilizations had. Here, it is important to note that epics create cultural awareness because, in a way, they enable people to learn more about their history.

Dede Korkut epics are undoubtedly one of the most significant epics for the Turkic speaking communities. These epics are registered in the list of UNESCO's 2003 Convention for Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2018 and the common heritage of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Turkey. The name is "Heritage of Dede Qorqud/ Korkyt Ata/ Dede Korkut, epic culture, folk tales and music" ("Dede Qorqud/ Korkyt Ata/Dede Korkut Mirası: Destan Kültürü, Halk

Masalları ve Müzik” in Turkish)²⁹. The domains of this heritage are “Oral Traditions and Expressions”; “Performing Arts”; and “Social Practices, Rituals, and Festive Events”.

4.1 Epics

4.1.1 Definition of Epics

In their book, *A Handbook to Literature*, Harmon and Holman (1992: 171) also define an epic as:

“A long narrative poem in elevated style presenting characters of high position in adventures forming an organic whole through their relation to a central heroic figure and through their development of episodes important to the history of a nation or race.”

It is significant to know that epics were transmitted orally owing to the performances of bards, and later they were recorded by writing.

In time, oral epic goes through some transition, reinterpretation, and adaptation so, in the end, the last version is that of the culture of the last poet telling it, characterized by striking and disputed shifts in social norms and systems when it is compared with the first version (Raaflaub, 2005: 60). Thus, it is almost impossible to see a genuine and original version.

²⁹ Nomination file No. 01399.

4.1.2 Characteristics and Significance of Epics

According to John Miles Foley, epic has a crucial role because in literature, it “is the master-genre of the ancient world” (2005: 1).

The themes of epics mainly consist of heroism, war, victories, love, among many others. Undoubtedly, in antiquity, there are various significant models, such as the Epic of Gilgamesh in Mesopotamia, which is the story of the Uruk king Gilgamesh's quest for immortality. There are also other outstanding epics examples such as Rāmāyaṇa, the epics of ancient India; Odyssey and Iliad, ancient Greek epics; the epics of Koroghlu and Alpamysh of Turkic peoples or Kyrgyz epics of Manas that we will see for the Mangala and among others.

4.2 The Dede Korkut Epics

4.2.1 Oral Tradition

As other epics, at the origin, the Dede Korkut epics were told orally with music, and later on, they were recorded by writing. Until then, those epics survived in the oral tradition by being transferred over generations. Until recently, Dede Korkut epics were known to consist of 12 epics; however, thanks to a new manuscript that was found in 2018, a new epic has been added.

4.2.1.1 Dating

These epics should date back to the time between the 9th and the 11th centuries when the Oghuz who are a group of Turkic nomadic people were on the lower Syr-Darya in Central Asia (Reichl, 1992: 44). Unfortunately, no certain information was found concerning who told the stories first and when. However, on the website of Bayburt Provincial Culture and Tourism Directorate³⁰, it is mentioned that although it is assumed that the epics dates back to the 9th century, it is not possible to determine a precise date because the Turkic tribes were nomadic. I believe that this situation affected the theme and style of the epics since their culture has changed over time. They narrate the Oghuz Turks' life and tell their beliefs, virtues, struggles against the enemies, heroism, chivalry, and others. Each story relates the bravery of an Oghuz hero who faces struggles, and some of these heroes reappear in several stories. Furthermore, it is believed that these epics derived from a cycle of stories and songs that traveled between the Turkic peoples in northeastern Anatolia and northwest Azerbaijan (Meeker, 1992: 395).

In every society, oral tradition, especially epics, has a significant place in culture because they display specific characteristic features of their society and their ancestors. This situation is the same for Turkish people, since their epics are prominent early examples of Turkic culture. There are also other epics such as Alpamysh and the epic of Koroghlu telling about the origins of the Turks, but Dede Korkut epics are an extremely important work in terms of Turkish

³⁰ Bayburt claims to have a link with Dede Korkut as we shall see later on: <https://bayburt.ktb.gov.tr/TR-246891/dede-korkut.html>.

culture because they provide significant early information about the Turks such as their values, tradition, and lifestyles so, in a way, this work represents the cultural codes.

4.2.1.2 Musical Accompaniment

In Dede Korkut epics, many instruments such as Kopuz, Drum, and Zurna are mentioned. The Kopuz is mostly identified with Dede Korkut because he is mentioned in the epics while he is playing the Kopuz and it is even believed that he created it. These epics were told by bards together with the instrument and it is still the same today. The Kopuz was used for imitating or recreating the sounds of animals, the environment, or any other sound. The oral version of Dede Korkut epics may seem like storytelling. However, it is significant to point out the difference: storytelling does not necessarily include musical instruments and the topics are not related to heroism.

4.2.1.3 Purpose

The aim of Dede Korkut epics was not necessarily to amuse people since the first purpose of telling these epics was probably to educate the public about Oghuz's tradition and lifestyle and to show them as models of heroism. Nor it was aimed to call attention to social, political, economical issues. There is also a possibility that they might be told for soldiers to encourage them before going to war.

4.2.2 Written Tradition

The Dede Korkut epics were put in written by an anonymous writer. Until recently, there were two original copies. One of them is in the Royal Library of Dresden and the other one is in the Library of the Vatican (incomplete). They were written in the language of Oghuz Turkic. When their language and style are taken into consideration, it is commonly accepted that the manuscripts were copied sometime around the 16th century (Meeker, 1992: 395; Beekes, 1986:229). There are different hypotheses concerning the place where the book was written. There is a general agreement among the researchers that the book was written in Eastern Anatolia: in Kars, Erzurum, and Bayburt (Buldur et al., 2016: 928).

In 2018, one more manuscript was found, the Gonbad Manuscript located in a private library in Iran. It is written in Azerbaijan Turkish and it is assumed to date between the 16th and 18th centuries (Atsız, 2020: 189). To explain this argument, Shahgoli et al. make a logical statement in their study: "The language of the work is of a mixed character showing characteristics of transition period from later Old Oghuz Turkish to Early Modern Turkish of Iran and Azerbaijan" (2019: 148). They also emphasize that the other two manuscripts merged in terms of content, but this new manuscript included information such as parts, subjects, and persons not found in the other two manuscripts (2019: 160) and this shows that it has been composed later. While there are similar texts in the Book of Dede Korkut in Dresden and the Vatican until the 48th page of the manuscript, from page 48 to page 61, there is the previously unknown epic called "Salur Kazan Killing the Seven-Headed Dragon" (Ekici, 2019: 8), which is a 13th story.

4.2.3 Who is Dede Korkut?

4.2.3.1 The Meaning of the Name

Dede Korkut means Grandfather Korkut in English; the word "Dede" is a familiar name in Turkish. In addition to this, the name Korkut means fearless and majestic, so it is possible to say that it reflects the way that Dede Korkut was considered. He is also referred as Korkut Ata, "Ancestor".

4.2.3.2 How Dede Korkut is Portrayed in the Epics

It is believed that Dede Korkut is a legendary or semi-legendary person who was familiar with Oghuz Turks' traditions. There are various old sources providing information about Dede Korkut; however, it is not always possible to confirm them. According to the website of Bayburt Provincial Culture and Tourism Directorate³¹, the oldest historical source mentioning Korkut Ata is the Câmiü't by Reşidüddin, the vizier of İlhanlı³². According to this book written by Tabip Reşidüddin in 1305, Dede Korkut would be from the Bayat clan and the son of Kara Hodja, and he lived for 295 years.

In the epics, he is shown as a wise man who appears during troubled times or sometimes at the end of the epics and gives advice to the heroes. He guides them and gives significant information about the events which are happening in their lives. He

³¹ <https://bayburt.ktb.gov.tr/TR-246891/dede-korkut.html>.

³² İlhanlı was a Mongolian state founded by the grandson of Genghis Khan.

also chooses the names of the children who have shown their talent in heroic actions. However, Dede Korkut is not himself a hero, as Reichl indicates. He does not play an active role like heroes, he is a wise and respected man and the bard who tells tales and passes them on to the following generations (Reichl, 1992: 44).

Babayeva suggests that it is unlikely that such a person existed, and she suggests that a legendary figure originated from a historical character who must have portrayed the traditional bard of the Turkish past (2007: 138). Hence, there is no certain answer to the question of who Dede Korkut really is. It is commonly told to children that Dede Korkut is the one who told the stories and also composed them. However, like Babayeva suggests, it would be more appropriate to say that Dede Korkut is a representation of Turkish traditional bard since there is no valid evidence concerning his existence except the tombs thought to belong to him but which are subjects of doubt as well.

4.2.3.3 The Graves of Dede Korkut

The only mark of a real existence of Dede Korkut is the tombs which are several in different places both in Anatolia but also for example in Turkestan (Üçüncü, 2015: 142-145). On the website of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism³³, it is mentioned that the tomb of Dede Korkut (Figure 8) is located in the vicinity of Masat village close to Bayburt. The city is mentioned in the epics a few

³³ <https://eden.ktb.gov.tr/TR-127819/bayburt--dede-korkut.html>.

times, in contrast with other cities, so people living in Bayburt believe that Dede Korkut lived nearby and died there.

The tomb has been attributed to Dede Korkut (also called Ali Baba) by oral tradition. On the tomb, the old Turkish numeral 718 is written, which is the date according to the hegira calendar and is equivalent to 1318 according to ours. The date may be seen as controversial if we consider the date of the epics. However, the architecture and the material used correspond to the middle of the 9th century: the tomb has a circular shape with a characteristic cutting of the stones. Because other people have been buried in that grave, the date probably refers to the last person who was buried there.

4.2.3.4 The Grave of Bamsı Beyrek

A tomb (Figure 9) attributed to Bamsı Beyrek is on Duduzar Hill, directly opposite the “Zindan” in Bayburt Castle³⁴. Bamsı Beyrek is the hero of one of the stories of Dede Korkut, who conquered Bayburt Castle and departed from there to gain fame.

This grave was first known as belonging to Bamsı Bey Böyrek, and was later attributed to Abdulvehhab Gazi³⁵, and it is said that other

³⁴ <http://bayburt.gov.tr/dedekorkut>.

³⁵ According to Cultural Portal of Turkey, Abdulvahap Gazi is an army commander who lived during the Umayyad period and participated in the Anatolian campaign with the Islamic forces. He has tombs in Sivas, Iznik, Elazig and Bayburt (<https://www.kulturportali.gov.tr/turkiye/sivas/kulturatlasi/abduvahap-gazi-yatiri>).

people have also been buried there (Üçüncü, 2015: 147). In his book, Kemal Üçüncü explains that this kind of stratification of belief is because when the memory of the old hero is weakened, new names can be substituted for him or the name of a legendary mythological hero can be attributed to the existing shrine (2015: 148).

4.3 Common Points and Similarities between Dede Korkut Epics and Ancient Greek Texts

In addition to this, several concepts of these epics, such as characters and style, were already known earlier and can go back to antiquity (Beekes, 1986: 229). Thus, this situation demonstrates the roots of this heritage in an earlier past.

Folk material has existed for thousands of years in the Mediterranean geography it feeds on neighboring civilizations which have influenced cultures that have developed in the Anatolian lands (Can, 2011: 284). On the other hand, there are common patterns in almost all the epics and cultures, from Scandinavian folklore to Persian culture and many others. According to Bachvarova's study, most of the parallels and similarities can stem from a shared pool of perceptions of how man fits into his universe (2010: 77). Undoubtedly, there was an intercultural interaction since antiquity which probably caused such similarities. The origin of these similar motifs in Dede Korkut epics and also other epics cannot be known for sure, because it is difficult to think of a geographic boundary when it comes to oral tradition (Can, 2011: 268). In addition to

this, these masterpieces have been transferred by different civilizations over time by adding a piece of their own culture.

In the frame of my thesis, even though there are similarities with other traditions, I will demonstrate the similarities from Greek tradition due to the close cultural exchange and interactions with Anatolia.

4.3.1 Dede Korkut Epics and Homeric Epics

Even though these epics reflect the life of the Oghuz, there are similar patterns with the Homeric epics in terms of theme, structure, and subject.

There is a noticeable time difference in date between these epics since the oral version of Homeric epics dates back to the 8th century BC, and they were written around the 6th century BC. It has been suggested that both Homeric epics and Dede Korkut epics might originate from much older epics. This may be the reason why some features existing in the text of Homer are also present in Dede Korkut.

4.3.1.1 Similarities in Narrative Techniques

Both Homer and Dede Korkut were not storytellers, they were bards. There is an apparent similarity in terms of narrative technique which are typical to the oral tradition. While looking at

the texts, it can be seen that there is a shared artistic discourse with extrovert style (Can, 2011: 267).

4.3.1.2 Similarities between Characters

Leaving or separating from home are widely used topics in most of the epics from all civilizations. Thus, we do have this theme in both epics which include heroes who were away from their homelands due to different reasons and became captive. Bamsı Beyrek is kidnapped by enemies; Odysseus leaves his home to go to war and is in the captivity of Circe and Calypso among others. Apart from this separation from the homeland, there are other similarities between Bamsı Beyrek and Odysseus which demonstrate that Homeric epics and Dede Korkut epics have a strong connection. These two characters have to leave their wives, but their wives stay faithful to them throughout the story (Can, 2011: 269). Here, it is also important to point out that both heroes have a strong love for their wives and passion for their homeland, so neither Beyrek nor Odysseus agree to live away from their homelands, and they come back somehow (Can, 2011: 269).

Other significant and obvious similar characters between Dede Korkut epics and Homeric epics are Tepegöz and Cyclops. There is a physical similarity in both figures, which are one-eyed on the forehead. In both epics, it is not possible to harm them except from their eye and both of them live in a cave. In the end, they are blinded by a weapon. The heroes also run away with similar methods: Basat in Dede Korkut epics kills Tepegöz, wears his skin,

and escapes, while after blinding Cyclops, Odysseus escapes by holding the belly of a sheep (Naisaritabrizi, 2014: 92).

4.3.2 Similarities between Dede Korkut Epics and Other Literary Works

4.3.2.1 Paris and Basat

Another similarity is related to the fate of Basat and Paris. Basat is one of the fictional characters from the Dede Korkut epics, while Paris is a legendary character in Greek antiquity. Both of them are separated from their families due to different reasons. When Paris was born, he was left in Mount Ida due to a vision his mother saw, and Basat was separated from his family because of an enemy attack. Thus, Paris stays alive thanks to a she-bear, and Basat is raised by a lioness (Naisaritabrizi, 2014: 94).

4.3.2.2 Wild Dumrul and Alcestis

Dede Korkut epics also have common points with other works that carry the idea of avoiding death. One of the epics, which is called Wild Dumrul Son of Dukha Koja, shares similarities with Euripides' Alcestis (6th century BC). In Turkish, it is called Deli Dumrul.

In the story, Deli Dumrul challenges Azrail (the angel of death), but he could not defeat him, so he begs for his life. On only one condition, Allah would let Dumrul live. He has to find someone who would agree to die instead of him. However, his parents do not accept to die in his place. There is only one person who agrees to

substitute him: his wife. Similarly, in the tragedy of Alcestis, Admentus is the one who has to find someone to die in his place. However, just like Dumrul's parents, Admentus' parents also refuse to die in his place, but his wife, Alcestis, agrees. Both men have a deep love for their wives, so they do not accept their sacrifice.

In both books, the main focus is undoubtedly the commitment and sacrifice of Dumrul's and Admentus' wives, of whom the devotion saves their husbands' lives. The most significant similarity among these works is undoubtedly the theme of giving one's life in place of someone else (Sina, 2004: 229). Apart from these common points, the parents of both characters do not want to die for their son. Moreover, Sina mentions that both Admetus and Dumrul love gods/god, and these characters are also loved by the gods/god, since they are allowed to find someone who dies for them (2004: 230). In the end, Azrail takes the lives of Deli Dumrul's parents and gives him and his wife more years to live. In the story of Alcestis, she dies in her husband's place, but after her funeral, Heracles brings her back to life.

4.3.2.3 Multiple Headed Monster

The thirteenth epic of Dede Korkut epics is about Salur Kazan killing the seven-headed dragon. It is possible to see similar examples in antiquity since the theme of killing a monster with multiple heads by a hero is common. In Hesiod's *Theogony*³⁶, it is

36

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0130%3Acard%3D820>.

mentioned that there is a battle between Typhon and Zeus, and Typhon is described as follows: "From his shoulders grew a hundred heads of a snake, a fearful dragon, with dark, flickering tongues (...)" (820-830). It can be seen that there is also a multiple-headed creature that is slain by a hero or god.

Although it does not belong to Greek tradition, I would like to give another example. In an ancient Sumerian poem, *Ninurta's return to Nibru*³⁷, it is mentioned that there is a serpent with seven heads: "He hung the Anzud bird on the front guard. He hung the seven-headed serpent on the shining cross-beam" (55-63). In the poem, the monster is clearly described as seven-headed, and it gets killed by Ninurta.

As a consequence, the Dede Korkut Epics are highly significant in terms of providing much information about the history of the Turks. Despite the time gap, there are similarities in theme and subject between all the epics, such as the Homeric epics and Dede Korkut Epics. The majority of the parallels are most likely a consequence of the interaction between civilizations and they may be coming from a shared pool of motifs and ideas. Quite a few ideas from these epics were previously recognized and can be traced back to antiquity.

³⁷ <https://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=t.1.6.1#>.

CHAPTER 5

MANGALA

Games are necessary for human mental learning because they enable people, especially children, to develop their abilities. The games are also helpful to transfer a nation's values from one generation to the other. Even though games vary from nation to nation, they still share some similar characteristics. For example, even if the name of the game is different, it may share similar rules and game equipment. Because Anatolia has hosted various civilizations throughout the ages, there is a large cultural variety, and Turkey has a rich inventory in terms of games.

One of these games is Mangala, which is considered to be a strategy and intelligence game, and it has a long history that goes back to antiquity. There are many assumptions about the origin of the name Mangala. For instance, Küçükyıldız indicates that the name of this game, known in the world with names such as magala, mankala, kaleh, kale, is derived not from the Arabic root

of transfer, but from the word Kale, which means settlement, city and also means pit (2016: 27). He also adds that there are many games with name including the word "Kale" in Turkish children's games, and in the Ottoman Empire, the name of the game was "Minkale" and it can be interpreted as thousand castles or thousand pits (2016: 27) as the pits refer to the holes in the board, and thousands means many.

Mangala was registered in the list of UNESCO's 2003 Convention for Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2020, and it is a common heritage of Turkey, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan. The name of the element is "Traditional intelligence and strategy game: Togyzqumalaq, Toguz Korgool, Mangala/Göçürme"³⁸ ("Geleneksel Zekâ ve Strateji Oyunu: Togyzqumalaq, Toguz Korgool, Mangala/Göçürme" in Turkish). The game is called "Togyzqumalaq" in Kazakhstan; "Toguz Korgool or Toguz Korgol" in Kyrgyzstan, and "Mangala/Göçürme" in Turkey among many others. The domains of this element are "Social Practices, Rituals, and Festive Events" and "Traditional Craftsmanship".

5.1 Distribution of Mangala

De Voogt, specialized in board games, mentions that Mangala games display a wide range of distribution "from West Africa to the Caribbean and parts of South America, from North to South Africa, from South East Asia to South Asia and the Middle East" (1999: 104). The game has over a thousand titles and hundreds of

³⁸ Nomination file No. 01597.

variations around the world and according to the rules, nations, and regions, it varies as we shall see below (Küçükyıldız, 2015: 13). It can be seen that the game has traveled to many places, so that it may be one of the most common and best-known games in history. Its study led to a significant observation: Mangala game boards do not have a particular shape; sometimes the shape can be rectangular, square, or a little circular. The material used is also different: the boards were made of stones, woods, limestones, and it is played with stones, seeds, or any other material. It differs according to both countries and cities. Because it was transmitted between different civilizations, it can be assumed that they developed or changed the game according to the culture.

5.2 Rules: How it is Played

The rules and principles, in general are similar; however, some features are not common to every area. For instance, the number of pits on the board, token, players, or even the rules can be different (Küçükyıldız, 2015: 29) as we shall see below concerning the Mangala game today.

The aim of the Mangala³⁹ game is to distribute and take the tokens from the pits in order to collect them in their own compartments. The player grabs 4 tokens from any pit in his/her area, and he/she drops them one by one to the following pits until s/he can collect them to her/his compartment. The game finishes when there are

³⁹ To see a video how to play Mangala by Anthropologist Hasan Topdemir: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qNI7KRKyFQA>.

no tokens left, and the winner is the one who collects the most amount of tokens in his/her compartment.

5.3 History of the Mangala

There are studies concerning the history of mangala game board. Some boards from antiquity that we shall mention are similar to the today ones. However, we do not know the rules of the games at that time, and we cannot be sure that they were the same as nowadays. However, though some differences, I believe that the idea for making those slabs was the same: moving stones between the pits.

5.3.1 Possible Appearance in Göbeklitepe during the Neolithic Period

It is possible that the history of this game can be traced back to even the Neolithic period in Anatolia. In her work, Uluışık argues how old the Mangala game can be, and she mentions a slab (Figure 10) made of limestone with small pits and 7-9 holes in Göbeklitepe that Klaus Schmidt⁴⁰ defines as a game with unclear rules (2018: 174). If it is so, it may be an ancestor of Mangala, and it would show that this game has a very long history and might have spread over the world from Göbeklitepe (c. 10,000 BC)⁴¹. Even though it is sometimes claimed that the slabs in Göbeklitepe are related to

⁴⁰ This information is mentioned by Uluışık (2018) without any direct reference given to Klaus Schmidt; however, there is also a video of Klaus Schmidt talking about the slab (see Chapter 7 for this video).

⁴¹ <https://aregem.ktb.gov.tr/TR-235318/geleneksel-zeka-ve-strateji-oyunu-mangalagocurme.html>.

games, even to Mangala, it is not proven yet so it is better to be skeptical about this situation.

5.3.2 Antiquity

5.3.2.1 Mangala in Anatolia

There are also significant Mangala board examples from Anatolia, mainly from the Roman Period, but sadly, there is a lack of reliable dating. For instance, it has been stated that Mangala slabs have been found in Western Anatolia, and they were usually made by scraping on the paving stones of buildings such as stoa, city agora, basilica, and theater (Ersoy & Erdin, 2015: 149). Rectangular shaped board with two rows of five asymmetrical squares in each row was found inside the Agora of Smyrna; identical plates were found in Ephesos (Curetes Street and Arcadian) (Figure 11), Aphrodisias (on the theater steps) (Figure 12), Knidos (propylon), and Miletus (on the theater steps) (Ersoy & Erdin, 2015: 149) and also Stratonikeia (Figure 13) (Durnagölü, 2015: 110). It can be seen that these slabs have been found in crowded areas, so it would be reasonable to assume that the game was popular and common in the Antiquity. However, Ersoy and Erdin point out an interesting fact: it seems that Greek and Roman authors were not engaged in Mangala because they did not mention it (2015: 150). The reason is unclear since it is known that they have mentioned games in their works such as the game called "Ludus Latrunculorum"⁴².

⁴² It is a strategy board game played in Roman Empire.

5.3.2.2 Mangala in Other Civilizations

A limestone subrectangular slab (c. 5870 BC) similar to the Mangala board with two rows of six pits was found in Ain Ghazal (Figure 14) next to Amman in Jordan (Selvi-Bener, 2016: 32). Its width is 23 cm, the length is 39 cm long, and it was found in an abandoned house (Rollefson, 1992: 1). According to Rollefson, this board game may have parallels with today's Mangala game (1992: 2).

Metin And has pointed out some examples regarding the ancient roots of the Mangala game. He mentions that archaeologist Flinders Petrie found a Mangala board with 3 rows and 14 holes which dates back to 1400 BC at Memphis. In addition to this, he notes that there were similar holes on a board in Ceylon dating back to the first centuries BC as well as in Ethiopia, where holes carved for such a game into a rock dating to the 7th or 8th century AD were found (2019: 342)

5.3.3 Later Period: Ottoman Empire

Some significant Ottoman works mentioned Mangala: in *Divanü Lügat-it Türk* (1070), Mahmud Kaşgari mentions the game and he refers to it as Köçürme (Küçükyıldız, 2015: 13). In addition to this, a foreign mention belongs to Thomas Hyde⁴³, he gives the descriptions of Turkish games in *De Ludis Orientalibus* (1694), and Mangala was one of these games (Küçükyıldız, 2015: 22).

⁴³ Thomas Hyde was a scholar who lived between 1636–1703 and was interested in Oriental Antiquity.

Some significant miniatures illustrate the Mangala game. One belongs to the *Surname-i Hümayun*, (Figure 15) which is drawn by Nakkaş Osman in 1582. This work is about the circumcision feast of Şehzade Mehmet. Here, it is possible to see two people playing Mangala. Another miniature (Figure 16) is about Ottoman coffeehouses and was painted at the end of the 16th century. The picture depicts people playing Mangala. In most of the paintings, Mangala boards seem to have a rectangular shape and six pits on them. There are also two other illustrations showing people playing Mangala (Figure 17, 18). One of them (Figure 17) depicts two women sitting and playing Mangala and it looks like sometimes boards had decorations and ornaments. The other one⁴⁴ (Figure 18) shows women in Turkish dresses playing Mangala, painted by Jean-Étienne Liotard c.1740/2.

5.4 Mangala Today

Unlike Kazakhstan and the Kyrgyz Republic, in Turkey, there are various names for the game according to regions such as Köçürme, Dokuz Taş, Kuyulama, Çakıldak, etc. For example, in Turkey, the game has 225 names and is played with more than 150 rules, with different stones and pits (Küçükyıldız, 2015: 13). However, the most used and best-known names are Mangala and Köçürme. Thus, in my thesis, I preferred to use the name Mangala to refer to this game since it is more widely known. The name of the practitioners is *togyzqumalaqshy* in Kazakhstan and *korgoolchu* in

⁴⁴ https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_2010-7057-1

Kyrgyzstan. However, no particular name is given to practitioners in Turkey.

In the more common version of this game today in Turkey, there are 12 small pits arranged in two rows on the board, and it is played with 48 tokens. Usually, there is one big compartment on each player's side to collect the tokens. First, the players divide all 48 tokens into 12 pits, so there will be four tokens in each hole. Each opponent's territory has six pits situated in front of her/him. Nonetheless, the nomination file of Mangala demonstrates that there is a variety in terms of rules and format of the game; for instance, the boards have a different number of pits, such as 2,4,9. Moreover, it is pointed out that there is a Kyrgyz Epic, called Manas (written in 18th century but claimed to be much older), which mentions the Toguz Korgool game. During their performance, the epic reciters mention the rules and values of the game. It is also noted that, in Kyrgyzstan, it is mostly practiced in rural areas; however, in Kazakhstan, the game is practiced in all provinces of the country. Briefly, it is possible to say that there are minor differences in Mangala between these two countries and Turkey, such as the shape of the board and the number of pits; however, the rules remain nearly the same. The game is still popular in many of the cities in Turkey such as Bursa, Adıyaman, Kastamonu, Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, Hatay, among many others (Küçükyıldız 2015: 135-138). For being almost forgotten elsewhere, there is a need for public awareness about Mangala to be increased.

In conclusion, Mangala is probably one of the oldest games in history. It is possible to trace it back to antiquity may be even up to Göbeklitepe. Furthermore, it can be understood that there is a lack of information from the Ottoman Period to today but it reappeared again.



CHAPTER 6

KILIÇ KALKAN DANCE

This chapter focuses on my nomination proposal to the list of the intangible cultural heritage of UNESCO: the Kılıç Kalkan dance, it is translated as Sword and Shield Dance in English but I will keep the Turkish name. Not yet inscribed in UNESCO, the dance is registered in the list of Intangible Cultural Heritage National Inventory of Turkey. It has been previously noted that when an element is relevant to the concept of intangible heritage within the Convention of 2003, it is decided in which domains it should be classified and to which states it belongs. According to me, the domains: "performing arts" and "social practices, rituals, and festive events" are the most suitable ones for the Kılıç Kalkan dance. Additionally, the proposed states for this element could be from Europe, Africa and Asia such as Georgia, China, India, and Turkey. However this part needs a further research since the element is practiced in many countries and can be found worldwide. It should be also noted that since it is not registered in the list, the information about the dance is more scarce.

As in almost every civilization, dance has a significant role, especially for ancient Greeks, since over 200 different dances have been documented in their historical texts (Rinaldi, 2010: 70). Thus, this chapter is first dedicated to dance in general and war dances, then focuses on the pyrrhic dance, one of the well-known and popular war dances in antiquity, with which we can establish a link with the Kılıç Kalkan dance.

6.1 The Function of Dance

Dance plays a significant role in various events such as social gatherings and rituals, among many others. It is performed on multiple occasions and by different individuals around the world. It can be said that dances are related to civilizations' rituals, beliefs, and values because people used dance to demonstrate many things about their lifestyles, such as religion or social practices. Dance became a language to show concerns and happiness and express belief in a spiritual universe using body expression and gesture (Kassing, 2018: 73).

6.1.1 Definition of the Dance and Music

It is possible to conceive of dance as a type of human activity characterized by deliberate, rhythmical, and culturally inspired patterns of nonverbal body movements and stillness performed with effort in time and space (Hanna, 2008: 492). Such activity contributes to the comprehension of people's ideas and expression today and in antiquity, because as Hanna mentions, these dance movements are culturally inspired. On the other hand, in their article, Zenbilci and Çetin argue that it would be better to discuss

the purpose of dance movements instead of making a definition about dance in general since the movements of the body that are called "dance" differ according to cultures and periods (2018: 266). I agree that it would be better to analyze and understand the meaning and aim of dance movements since dance could be a tool for people to express their thoughts, lives, and many other things.

Dance establishes bonds between self, others, and the world thanks to rhythmical expressions (Warburton, 2011: 65). Here, it is also significant to note that the dance is both a collective and individual action. For instance, in antiquity, the dance was mainly performed as a collective activity, such as in ancient Greece, but we shall see that there are also examples of solo dances.

Last but not least, I believe that the definition of music is necessary since dance and music complement each other. On the website of Merriam-Webster⁴⁵, music is defined as "vocal, instrumental, or mechanical sounds having rhythm, melody, or harmony." It can be seen that the connection between dance and music creates a kind of cohesion and harmony.

6.1.2 The Origin of the Dance

Unfortunately, it is not possible to detect precisely the origin of dance. Like stories, epics, and songs, it has developed and evolved through time since it was passed down from generation to generation. Ancient cave paintings from prehistoric times already

⁴⁵ <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/music>.

represent dancing movements. Kassing mentions that prehistoric dance was relatively simple; it acted as an effective form of interaction through daily gestures (2018: 73). One of the first examples of dance depictions goes back to the late Chalcolithic Age (beginning of the 4th millennium BC), located in northwest Bulgaria, Magura Cave, which is dated between the Paleolithic Period and the Early Bronze Age. It is painted in the so-called Cult Hall and it depicts male and female figures performing various movements (Zenbilci and Çetin, 2018: 267). Andrea Arca⁴⁶ emphasizes that in this well-known and most repetitive painting, it is possible to see a large dance with hunting scenes, portrayed horizontally in two key registers.

An early example is known in Anatolia. In the Hunting Shrine of Çatalhöyük III (5750-5790 BC), a dance depicts hunters with clubs and bows and acrobats (Mellaart, 1967: 133).

6.2 Pyrrhic Dance (Pyrrhichios)

Among different types of dances, war dances have an essential place. Undoubtedly, there are many preparations for war, and dances are one of them.

There were various warlike dances for ancient Greeks, and the boundary between them was frequently vague (Cairns, 2012: 41). Sometimes, pyrrhic is a term used to describe armed or war

⁴⁶ TRACCE Online Rock Art Bulletin, 33, 2014:
<http://www.rupestre.net/tracce/?p=8048>.

dances in general; however, in my thesis, I refer to the term Pyrrhic dance as one specific martial dance which includes a shield, spears, or swords, and sometimes music.

Undoubtedly, among all the martial dances, the pyrrhic was the best known. The ability to perform this dance successfully became a required achievement for everyone enrolled in Greek public life, and it gained such importance that a successful performance was considered as a hero's signature (McGowan, 1984: 32). It was performed by men, although there were some occasions when it was performed by women.

6.2.2 Meaning and Aim

Such dances with a weapon, usually performed by men, are considered to be battle training dances, and there are two possible purposes to perform these kinds of dances: to achieve solidarity and act as a unit, and to get ready for battle psychologically and emotionally (Kassing, 2018: 79-80). In *Geography* (10.3) too, Strabo says, "the war-dance was a soldiers' dance, and the Pyrrhic dance indicates this". He also engages with this opinion: the dance is martial because its goal was to train for battle with weapons.

Since the dance was performed for military training, it can be said that it helps the body's and mind's health. Even though pyrrhic dance contributed to developing "physical fitness, agility, and dexterity" while controlling a shield, it is not possible to say that

dancing performance completely trained people to fight in a phalanx⁴⁷ (Wheeler, 1982: 232).

6.2.3 Description and Characteristics of the Pyrrhic Dance

In Laws (7.815a), Plato mentions a sword dance and says:

"(...) it represents modes of eluding all kinds of blows and shots by swervings and duckings and side-leaps upward or crouching; and also the opposite kinds of motion, which lead to active postures of offence, when it strives to represent the movements involved in shooting with bows or darts, and blows of every description."

Such description represents characteristics of pyrrhic dance because it imitates war-like movements as it can be understood from ancient sources and artifacts related to it. Additionally, on the artifacts, swervings and duckings movements that Plato mentions are visible.

To have a better understanding of how the pyrrhic dance was performed, apart from the written sources from Antiquity, there are ancient Greek vase paintings and reliefs that illustrate it.

Undoubtedly, vases are vital sources of information about ancient Greek life and also, for that case, about the pyrrhic dance itself.

Jean-Claude Poursat has a detailed study about the Attic armed dance in an article called *Les représentations de danse armée dans*

⁴⁷ Phalanx is a military impenetrable unit in dense and rectangular formation including shields and spears.

la céramique attique (1968). His identifications and findings related to the pyrrhic dance on the vases will be used below.

6.2.3.1 The Dancers and Their Appearance

When we look at vase paintings, we can see that the pyrrhic dance was performed both naked and wearing armor depending on the circumstances. For example, in the Panathenaea, the Athenian pyrrhic dance was performed nude (Wheeler, 1982: 231).

The pyrrhic dance was performed with shields, spears or swords, and helmet. One example is a hydria that dates back to 440 BC, which depicts a nude Pyrrhic dancer with a helmet, shield, and probably spear⁴⁸ (Poursat, 1968: 590).

Moreover, it should be highlighted that not only men performed the Pyrrhic dance, but sometimes women also did. On this hydria (Figure 19), a naked female⁴⁹ dancer is represented with the accompany of a flute player, a man, and a woman. Poursat mentions that the woman on the right section snaps her fingers to emphasize the rhythm (1968: 590). Douka et al. show that at the Panathenaic Festival and symposiums, the female Pyrrhic dancers performed (2008: 97). The dance was also performed by Amazons as we shall see below.

⁴⁸ She has the gesture of holding a spear in her hand.

⁴⁹ I follow the interpretation made by Poursat although the sex of the figure is difficult to identify.

6.2.3.2 Music

Music had a unique and crucial role in the life of ancient Greeks; it can be even said that music was the core of it. Music was played in almost every aspect of ancient Greece, such as during social events, gatherings, ceremonies, theatres, battlefields, among many others (Landels, 1999: 1). It can be understood from the Greek vase paintings that music played with the flute called *aulos* was also a part of the pyrrhic dance.

6.2.3.3 The Way of Dancing

The dance can be performed both collectively and in solo, and it seems like there are two different traditions. For example, as we shall see, the one coming from the Curetes refers to collective activity, while others coming from Achilles and Athena refer to individual performance.

Collective

A statue base⁵⁰, called the "Atarbos Base" (Figure 20) in Acropolis Museum from the Hellenistic Period, is made of marble and dates back to 323/2 BC. It can be seen clearly that the right section depicts eight nude youths carrying shields and wearing helmets while they are depicted pyrrhicists executing the dance (Lonsdale, 1993: 143). The inscription written on the upper part says that "Atarbos, the son of Lysistratos from the municipality of Thorikos

⁵⁰ For more information, please see:
<https://www.theacropolismuseum.gr/en/statue-base-atarbos-base>.

after winning the kyklios⁵¹ and the pyrrhic dances, dedicated these statues when Kephisodoros was archon."

Another artifact showing the pyrrhic dance is a relief⁵² (Figure 21) that represents dancing warriors. It is mentioned on the Vatican Museum website that the relief is dated to the first half of the 1st century BC, and it is made of marble. The relief depicts six nude youths with shields and helmets in the dancing movement and is a significant example of collective activity.

Solo

There are illustrations of vase paintings on the website of the Beazley Archive⁵³ are showing that the pyrrhic dance was performed with music. For instance, a lekythos by Athena Painter dates to 500-450 BC (Figure 22) in New York Metropolitan Museum⁵⁴ depicts a warrior performing Pyrrhic with the accompany of a flute player. In addition to this, the identifications and explanations in Poursat's study (1968) show that most of the time, the Pyrrhic dancer is alone or with the accompany of a woman playing an instrument.

⁵¹ The Kyklios is a theatrical entertainment: Csapo, E. (2006). The Iconography of the Exarchos: Mediterranean Archaeology, 19/20, 55-65.

⁵² For more information, please see:

https://catalogo.museivaticani.va/index.php/Detail/objects/MV.321.0.0?lang=en_US.

⁵³

<https://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/xdb/ASP/recordDetails.asp?recordCount=4&start=0>

⁵⁴

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/247242?sortBy=Relevance&=&deptids=13&=&ft=%2A&=&pg=3&=&rpp=20&=&pos=48>.

Women were also performing solo pyrrhic dance: a red-figure lekythos⁵⁵, (Figure 23) dates to 475-425 BC, shows a woman alone wearing a helmet with a shield and spear.

6.2.3.4 Performances of Pyrrhic Dance

The pyrrhic dance was performed in a variety of settings, sacred and secular, public and private (Lonsdale, 1993: 145).

Locations

Not all locations of the pyrrhic dance can be retrieved. It is possible to find out some information in textual references, epigraphic testimonies, or onomastics (Cairns, 2012: 41). As a matter of fact, a single literary reference or an inscription may often yield details about the pyrrhic dance over a wide geographic region, and the absence of evidence of such activity is not proof against its existence (Cairns, 2012: 41). This is how we know, for example, that a significant amount of pyrrhic activity in Greece could be seen, such as in Megara, Cos, Crete, among other places (Cairns, 2012). Owing to the texts, vase paintings or other artefacts, we also know other places and the circumstances when it was danced. We shall see that the dance was performed in Athens, Sparta, Crete, and Macedonia; however, it was not performed in all these places with the same name or aim (Douka, 2018: 374).

⁵⁵

<https://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/xdb/ASP/recordDetails.asp?recordCount=48&start=0>.

Events

Funerals, marriages, symposia, and sacred celebrations, like those to Athena, Artemis, Dionysus, are among the many settings in which Pyrrhic dancers were performing (Rose, 2013: 90). It is claimed that pyrrhics existed as early as 566 BC in the Panathenaia (Poursat, 1968: 13), where men and youths' choruses participated in pyrrhic competitions (Weiss, 2020: 163). The Panathenaic celebration itself was created to commemorate Athena's battle against giants, and some vase paintings merge depictions of pyrrhic dance and Athena battling (Borthwick, 1970: 322).

In his book, *Arete: Greek Sport from Ancient Sources*, Miller mentions that there is an inscription⁵⁶, dated to 400-350 BC, which includes a list of prizes given in the Panathenaic Games (Miller, 2004: 81). Despite the fact that much of the original text has been lost, there is plenty left to show all of the prizes, and fortunately, it gives information for pyrrhic dancers:

“For the Pyrrhic Dancers in the Boys’ Category: A bull and 100 drachmas.

For the Pyrrhic Dancers in the Ageneios Category: A bull and 100 drachmas.

For the Pyrrhic Dancers in the Men’s Category: A bull and 100 drachmas.”

⁵⁶ IG II2 2311.

It can be understood from this inscription that there three different categories (boys, youths, men) for pyrrhic competition in the Panathenaia.

Furthermore, a relief (c. 375 BC) (Figure 24) from the National Archaeological Museum in Athens demonstrates a naked pyrrhichist moving towards the right and carrying on his shoulders a second pyrrhichist who is holding a shield on his left arm and probably holding a lance with his right arm. In addition to this, behind these two figures, another pyrrhichist follows them, who wears a helmet, has a shield, and probably a lance in his right arm (Poursat, 1967: 103). This representation is about a pyrrhichist of the victorious choir who is carried in triumph on the shoulders of one of his comrades, escorted by the other choreutes (Poursat, 1967: 109). This relief demonstrates that the pyrrhic dance was performed in a competition in Dionysia (Poursat, 1967: 105) probably because of its transformed playful nature which will be mentioned below. In *The Deipnosophists* (14.29), Athenaeus explains how it was performed in Dionysia:

“But the Pyrrhic dance as it exists in our time, appears to be a sort of Bacchic dance, and a little more pacific than the old one; for the dancers carry thyrsi instead of spears, and they point and dart canes at one another, and carry torches. (...)”

A bell crater (Figure 25) that dates back to 440 BC demonstrates a scene of a banquet. The man on the right is playing double-flute

(auloi), the man on the left, *kottabas*, and in the center, a Pyrrhic dancer wearing an Attic helmet, holding a lance, and a shield is leaping to the right (Poursat, 1968: 599). Furthermore, there is also another example regarding the pyrrhic dance in banquets: in *Anabasis* (6.1), Xenophon⁵⁷ notes that a woman performed the Pyrrhic dance at a banquet to commemorate the arrival of troops to the city. Between the 5th and 4th centuries BC, the pyrrhic underwent a kind of change that transformed the martial nature into one that was more playful (Bron 1996: 76). That might be one of the reasons why it is performed by women at symposia, festivals, and banquets. This can also explain why it seems like there are two different traditions, with or without music and aulos' accompaniment. Obviously, the one with music was mainly performed for entertainment purposes meanwhile the one without music was probably used for training.

In Sparta, the dance was appreciated since the 7th century BC and was fundamental to youth's training (Palfy, 2005), so it can be understood that sometimes it acted as a military activity for Spartans. It should be mentioned that it also had a significant part in the religious festivities of the Spartans, and young boys performed the pyrrhic dance at the theater during an occasion named gymnopaideiai (Douka, 2018: 370).

6.3 The Origin of the Pyrrhic Dance

As we shall see, several origins have been given to this dance.

⁵⁷ <https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:abo:tlg,0032,006:6>.

Plato (*Laws*, 7.796b) gives information about the dance and says:

"(...) for instance, the sword-dance of the Curetes here in Crete, and that of the Dioscori in Lacedaemon; and at Athens, too, our Virgin-Lady gladdened by the pastime of the dance deemed it not seemly to sport with empty hands."

The dance would have been performed for the first time by pyrrhichus or Neoptolemus, the two names given to the son of Achilles. It is also attributed to Achilles or to Athena (Borthwick, 1970: 318). Another myth attributes it to the Curetes.

6.3.1 The Eponymous Pyrrhichus, Neoptolemus and Achilles

Pyrrhichus has given his name to the dance because according to some sources he would be the creator. Athenaeus in the *The Deipnosophists* (14.29) tells:

"But Aristoxenus says that the Pyrrhic dance derives its name from Pyrrhichus, who was a Lacedaemonian by birth; and that even to this day Pyrrhichus is a Lacedaemonian name. And the dance itself, being of a warlike character, shows that it is the invention of some Lacedaemonian (...)"

His name pyrrhichus comes from the Greek word "pyr," which means "fire" and "pyrrhos," and refers to his red hair, "flame-colored." The connotation of the fire is matching to the type of dance. As a matter of fact, in the *International Encyclopedia of*

Dance, it is also stated that the word pyrrhic is derived from *pyra* (pyre) or *pyr* (fire) (Palfy, 2005).

The son of Achilles is also called Neoptolemus and it is under that name that the pyrrhic dance is attributed to him. Some writers, including Euripides (*Andromache*, 1135), mention that the dance was discovered by Neoptolemus, who performed it when he defeated Euryalos (Goulaki-Voutira, 1996: 3). In the *Dance* (9), Lucian also claims that such a dance, called Pyrrhichios, was discovered by Neoptolemus, a distinguished dancer who is the son of Achilles. However, it is also claimed that the person who performed this dance for the first time was Achilles after the death of his friend, Patroclus, around a funerary pyre (Goulaki-Voutira 1996: 3; Lonsdale, 1993: 149-251). We can find an illustration of this in Homer's *Iliad* (Book 23): there are funeral games for Patroclus, and a single combat in armor is one of them. Furthermore, the pyrrhic dancers on the sarcophagus of Polyxena (Figure 26, 27) from Kizıldön which dates to ca. 500 BC, can be thought of as a reference to Achilles, who was in love with her, performing this dance in Patroclus' tomb (Rose, 2013: 90). According to one version of the myth, she betrayed his trust about his secret vulnerability and when he was killed, he requests Polyxena's sacrifice at his tomb.

6.3.2 Athena

It has been suggested that Athena might be the creator of this dance, considering her pyrrhic performances. Athena performed the dance after two different occasions, which are her birth and the

triumph over giants (Goulaki-Voutira, 1996: 3). Dionysus of Halicarnassus (7.72.7-8) claims that the origin of the pyrrhic dance is Greek and states that Athena performed it.

We have also seen that the dance was performed at the Panathenaia festival held to honor Athena, she is highly associated with the origin of armed dancing.

6.3.3 The Curetes

There is a convincing case concerning the origin of the pyrrhic dance in Crete: it is the story of Curetes protecting the newborn child Zeus (to hide his cry) as pretending a fight and making loud clashing of swords against shields (Palfy, 2005) and the clashing was the sound of the dance. It is significant to note here that the dance was designed without music so that the origin may be without music.

6.4 Pyrrhic Dance in Anatolia

6.4.1 Antiquity

The pyrrhic dance was omnipresent in mainland Greece, Crete, and Asia Minor (Palfy, 2005). As a matter of fact, there are also examples of this dance in antiquity in Anatolia. For instance, Philostratus (*Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, 4.2) highlights the significance of the pyrrhic dance in Ephesus in relation with the cult of Artemis; however, he does not clarify whether the pyrrhic dance is for men or women (Bron, 1996: 78).

Moreover, Amazons had a strong link to Artemis. According to Diodorus Siculus, Amazons sacrificed to Artemis Tauropolos, and according to Pausanias, the Amazons are believed to have built the temple of Artemis in Ephesus (Bron, 1996: 78). The existence of the Artemis cult in Ephesus by Amazons, according to Callimachus, is related to a ceremony involving an armed dance (Bron, 1996: 78). Also, "the Lydian girls' dance, associated with the importance of the pyrrhic in Ephesus and with the Amazons' dance for Artemis, allows one to imagine an armed dance during the Ephesia, on the model of the Amazon dance"⁵⁸ (Bron, 1996: 78). Artemis was honored by the Pyrrhic dance in her sanctuaries, and it seems to be an integral part of the rituals in the sanctuaries dedicated to her (Bron 1996: 77).

There are archaeological proofs that demonstrate the relationship between Artemis, the Amazons, and the pyrrhic dance. The first example is a fragmentary red-figure cup (ca. 490 BC) which is called the Makron cup⁵⁹ (Figure 28, 29). Owing to the reconstruction of the cup, it is possible to see four women, supposedly Amazons (Mayor, 2014: 152), performing the pyrrhic dance with swords in front of a palm tree and an altar. Artemis is associated with pyrrhic dances and palm trees, and palms often are also related to Amazons (Mayor, 2014: 152). Another example

⁵⁸ The Amazons performed a dance, called the prylin, which is a war dance similar to, even identical to the Pyrrhic dance (Douka et al., 2008: 98).

⁵⁹ This cup is attributed to Makron.

given by Mayor is a red-figure pyxis (475 to 425 BC⁶⁰) (Figure 30) which depicts a female dancer with a helmet, spear, and shield. It can be seen clearly that she is performing a pyrrhic dance in front of an altar and a statue of Artemis. Female pyrrhic dancers on the vases have been interpreted by some scholars as Greek maidens attending initiation rites at Greek Artemis sanctuaries, modeled on Amazon dances (Mayor, 2014: 152). These vases show a relation between Amazons, Artemis and pyrrhic but not necessarily in Ephesus. As a matter of fact, other locations with such an association can be observed on the west coast of Anatolia such as Aphrodisias, Colophon, Teos, Clazomenae, and Xanthos (Cairns, 2012: 42).

6.4.2 Ottoman Period

During the Ottoman Empire, it is commonly believed that a dance similar to the Pyrrhic dance, called Kılıç Kalkan, was performed when the city of Bursa was conquered after a long siege in 1326. There are some legends concerning when the dance was performed. On the website of Bursa Kılıç Kalkan Folk Dance Association⁶¹, it is mentioned that due to this long siege, some soldiers from the Ottoman army started to play with swords and shields outside Bursa Castle, to demoralize the Byzantine soldiers in the castle and to give morale to the Ottoman army soldiers who were bored of waiting. Another version is that when Bursa City was taken from the Byzantines on April 6, the Ottoman army began to

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<https://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/xdb/ASP/recordDetails.asp?recordCount=2&start=0>.

⁶¹ <http://bursakilickalkan.com/>.

gather in Bursa and the young people in the military started their training here. In order to make the training with swords and shields enjoyable young soldiers turn this into figures describing the events of military service in the accompaniment of rhythm.

It should be noted that there is a significant difference between Kılıç Kalkan dance and pyrrhic related to gender issues. We have seen that pyrrhic dance was performed by women during some occasions. However, when we look at Kılıç Kalkan dance, we know that it was not performed by women during the Ottoman period and also today. The reason for this situation is could be related to the fact that the meaning of the dance has changed as well as the circumstances that it was danced.

We have seen that the dance was performed by Greeks. Later on, the dance was performed by Romans as well. For instance, according to Hesiod's Theogony, Augustus' burial concluded in a sequence of pyrrhic dances performed over his pyre (McGowan, 1984: 33).

Unfortunately, between antiquity and the conquest of Bursa, there is a lack of information concerning the existence of the dance. It is almost impossible to find the exact reason for this gap. It does not necessarily mean that the dance disappeared. Since there is no specific information about the existence or absence of this dance, we can only suggest some hypotheses to explain its resurgence of the dance after many centuries. For instance, the dance might

have in fact continued, after the Antiquity, but there is no visual document or accessible text. Another hypothesis is that the dance did not continue to be performed but reappeared. It is possible that such dance belongs to the collective memory and in one way or another was still known through all this time. It might have also been a kind of instinctive activity for warriors. Lastly, the dance might have been influenced from elsewhere where it was performed, such as Georgia, China, Iran, India, among others but this part needs further research and attention. All these war dances, from the pyrrhic to the Kılıç Kalkan dance have in common to be performed with arms and this is the thread between them, the way it was performed being less significant.

However, we have an example of survival of the pyrrhic dance through time with sword or stick dance in modern Cretan dance as the *soústa* and the *pentozalīs*. There is also the *serra*, which is a dance from the Pontus area. These dances are believed to be descendants of the pyrrhic dance (Palfy 2005).

6.5 The Kılıç Kalkan Dance Today in Turkey

6.5.1 Characteristics of Kılıç Kalkan Dance

Turkey has many rich folk dances that differ according to regions. A dance similar to Pyrrhic dance is still performed, and it is called the "Kılıç Kalkan" (Sword-Shield) dance. After the siege in 1326, this dance continued to be performed, especially in Bursa and possibly in some other cities too. It is played by hitting swords and shields, and it has no music; however, the sound of swords and shields can

be considered as the music of this dance like it was for the Curetes in Crete. On the Bursa Tahtakıran⁶² Kılıç Kalkan Folk Dance Association website, it is indicated that this dance, which started in 1326 in Bursa, turns into a folk dance that civilians also repeat on special days and became a symbol of Bursa. It is highly possible that the dance has spread to other regions of Turkey from there.

Notwithstanding, under the name of Kılıç Kalkan dance, there are various sword and shield dances which are performed in Urfa, Muş, Elazığ, and Siirt; however, some may be different from others (And, 1959: 44). For instance, it is performed in Muğla and Kütayha with a sword in each hand (And, 1959: 44).

6.5.2 The Symbolism of Kılıç Kalkan

In his book, *Dances of Anatolian Turkey*, Metin And provides essential information about the Kılıç Kalkan dance. He emphasizes that the genuine dance is "a veritable grand ballet in six parts". These six sections are: (1) enlisting the warriors and seeing them off; (2) making of the vow after the volunteers have been obtained; (3) honing their scimitars and fighting in battle with the enemy; (4) the ceasefire after the battle; (5) some complex actions during the ceasefire; (6) trying to recapture weapons by specific strategies and meanwhile, more fighting (And, 1959: 44). When we look at the videos of Kılıç Kalkan on the internet, these

⁶² He is the founder of Mustafa Tahtakıran the Bursa Kılıç Kalkan Folk Dance Association, who transformed the dance into a folk dance and increased the recognition of the it.

parts that Metin And mentions can be seen clearly most of the time.

To conclude, we have seen that pyrrhic dance was performed at various events, could be religious or competitions. Although it is not possible to say anything definite about the origin of this dance as there are sources that give different information, the Curetes story seems more acceptable among others since the story actually goes back to earlier periods. Ancient texts and archaeological records allow us to track the concept of sword-shield dance back to antiquity. Thus, it might be precise that the Kılıç Kalkan is a descendant of ancient Greek pyrrhic dance.

CHAPTER 7

SAFEGUARDING INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE IN TURKEY

I believe that safeguarding practices should not consist of only usual activities such as archiving or making publications; there should also be activities that will contribute to the sustainability of intangible heritage, such as promoting them in the media or involving the community, among others. By doing this, it will be possible to ensure the transmission of intangible cultural heritage to the following generations.

Safeguarding such a fragile thing as intangible heritage, which is changing and sometimes in danger of disappearing, is challenging. Thus, there is a need for effective methods which will build solid bridges among generations. Even then, it is difficult to guarantee that the intangible cultural heritage will not be endangered. The best we can do is providing a safe environment that will keep it alive. To achieve this mission, Turkey has made remarkable efforts. This chapter concentrates on safeguarding activities concerning the

intangible cultural heritage in Turkey. After looking at what is done in general to safeguard it, we shall see in detail what is explicitly done for safeguarding the elements that I chose as my case studies and lastly my proposals for the future.

7.1 Folklore Studies During the Early Republican Period

Safeguarding intangible cultural heritage in Turkey has actually started very early with the idea of folklore studies. Late Ottoman intellectuals such as Namık Kemal, Şinasi, Ziya Gökalp and Selim Sırrı, studied on the subject of folklore and in a sense served as a "key" for later institutionalized Republican period folklore studies (Öztürkmen, 1998: 19).

There are many activities and studies concerning the folklore during early Republican period and later on. For example, the "Türkiyat Araştırma Enstitüsü" (Institute of Turkic Studies), founded in 1924, can be considered as important in terms of shedding a scientific light on folklore studies of this period. This institute coincides with the will of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk to develop the research on the fields of Turkish language, literature, art, history, ethnography and to announce them to the scientific world (Kasımoğlu, 2018: 30).

Shortly after the establishment of the Republic, folklore studies among many others were emphasized. One of the most important steps for folklore studies is the establishment and work of the Halk Bilgisi Derneği (Folklore Association). It was established in Ankara

in 1927, and was the first folklore research center of our country. Although it existed only a short time, it made a great impact in its field in terms of folklore studies across the country (Şakiroğlu, 1988: 857; Öztürkmen, 1998: 56).

In 1932, at the request of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the “Halkevleri” (Community Houses)⁶³ and the “Türk Dil Kurumu” (Turkish Language Association) were established. Kasımoğlu states that the Halkevleri, whose numbers reached 400 until 1945, were divided into nine branches such as the Museum, Language, History and Literature and Fine Arts among others. The task of compiling folklore were under the responsibility of the branch of Language, History and Literature, and most of the results were published in the journals of the Halkevleri (Kasımoğlu, 2018: 32). Last but not least, the “Köy Enstitüleri” (Village Institutions), which were aiming to improve underdeveloped Anatolian villages in terms of education, also contributed to the folklore studies, albeit indirectly (Öztürkmen, 1998: 65).

Last but not least, the “Türk Folklor Araştırmaları” (Turkish Folklore Studies)⁶⁴, which is a folklore journal, was published between August 1949-1980.

⁶³ The English translations of Halkevleri and Köy Enstitüleri may not give the exact meaning as in Turkish.

⁶⁴ <http://www.halkbilimi.com/dergi-sayi/tfad>

7.2 Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage Today in Turkey

I did a small survey⁶⁵ (See Appendix B) on how much intangible cultural heritage is known and what people think about whether this heritage is known enough in our country. In this survey 25% of the participants are under the age of 18, 22.50% are between the ages of 18-25, 30% are between 26-40, 22.50% are over 40. Among them, 47.50% know what intangible cultural heritage is, but 52.50% do not. It is possible to say that as there is not a big difference between the numbers, the concept of intangible heritage has reached more people than I expected. Finally, when I asked the participants whether this heritage is sufficiently known in our country, 5% stated that it is well known, 95% said that it is not known enough. It can be seen that people who are actually familiar with the concept of intangible heritage do not think that it is known enough. The reason why the majority of people think that it is not known enough in Turkey may be due to the different backgrounds or ongoing and evolving activities of spreading and safeguarding the heritage.

7.2.1 Inventories and ICH Institute (Ankara)

Two national inventories, "Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) National Inventory of Turkey"⁶⁶ and "Living Human Treasures (LHT) National Inventory of Turkey"⁶⁷, help to safeguard intangible

⁶⁵ This survey was completed by 40 people who have different levels of education.

⁶⁶ To learn more about this inventory, see: <https://aregem.ktb.gov.tr/TR-279417/somut-olm-kult-miras-turkiye-ulusal-envanteri.html>.

⁶⁷ To learn more about this inventory, see: <https://aregem.ktb.gov.tr/TR-12929/yasayan-insan-hazineleri-ulusal-envanteri.html>.

heritage. Inventory studies in provinces are carried out under the coordination of the Provincial Directorate of Culture and Tourism. By establishing an official list, they aim to raise awareness about intangible heritage, among many other purposes. The difference between the two inventories is that the ICH National Inventory of Turkey comprises the elements, while the LHT National Inventory of Turkey records and safeguards the practitioners themselves. In the ICH National Inventory of Turkey, 297 elements are registered, and in the LHT National Inventory of Turkey, 45 practitioners are registered. These inventories are updated from time to time.

Moreover, the Association of Intangible Cultural Heritage Institute⁶⁸ was founded under the leadership of Öcal Oğuz in 2012, in Ankara, to ensure the participation of civil society in cultural heritage activities and to support individuals and organizations working on this issue. It conducts research, organizes seminars, creates an archive, and makes publications, among many others.

7.2.2 Intangible Cultural Heritage Museums

There are at present two types of museums regarding intangible heritage: ICH Museums and Living Museums. In these museums, the elements are usually exhibited, and sometimes practiced and reinvigorated by museum guides. Such museums usually make its visitor not just a spectator but an actor since they take active parts in activities. Hence two different names are giving to museums

⁶⁸ <http://www.sokumenstitusu.org.tr/>.

having in fact the same concept. ICH and Living museums mostly focus on community involvement while they are making their exhibitions and organizing activities. Ethnography museums are similar, because they usually represent cultural values of a country and have similar concept of exhibition. However, it can be considered that the Museums of Ethnography have a complementary, but different meaning. On that point of view, the name of the Kenan Yavuz Ethnography museum of Bayburt, which will be mentioned later, may be questioned, since it is an ethnographic museum, but it is at the same time a Living Museum.

7.2.2.1 Intangible Cultural Heritage Museum: The Case of Ankara

Owing to the contributions of Gazi University Turkis Folklore Center and Ankara Development Agency, Ankara ICH Museum (Figure 31) in the historical district of Hamamönü was opened on June 15, 2013, and it is considered the first and until now the only museum in its field in Turkey⁶⁹. Including the ones inscribed in the list of UNESCO, many elements, especially traditional games, are exhibited and performed in this museum, such as Karagöz, shadow theatre, and Arts of the Meddah, public storytellers, among many others. It can be seen clearly that the museum is trying to keep Turkey's intangible cultural heritage alive with safeguarding activities. It should be noted that there is no other museum under the name of ICH Museum in Turkey yet but there are many ethnographic museums.

⁶⁹ <https://ankara.ktb.gov.tr/TR-152965/muzeler.html>.

7.2.2.2 Living Museums

There are good and successful museums in Turkey that are proper for the concept of Living Museums (Yaşayan Müze) (Figure 32, 33), Cappadocia Living Heritage Museum (Kapadokya Yaşayan Miras Müzesi), Living Cultural Heritage Museum in Boyabat (Yaşayan Kültürel Miras Müzesi).

One of them located close to Ankara, the *Beypazarı Living Museum*⁷⁰, which is considered the first practical cultural museum, was established in 2007. Later, the Living Village (Yaşayan Köy) was opened in 2016, which is the first open-air museum of practical activities in Turkey and shows the way of life very well. Thanks to the exhibitions, activities, and events taking place there, visitors can experience various cultural heritages of Turkey.

Another one is a private museum located in Bayburt, *Kenan Yavuz Ethnography Museum*⁷¹ (Figure 34, 35), which has both tangible and intangible treasures of ethnographic values, and these assets are kept at the center of all activities and programs as it is stated on the website of the museum. Even though it is called an Ethnography museum, it also has the characteristic of a living museum since there is an interaction. There are open and indoor exhibition areas, amphitheater, library, meeting room, among

⁷⁰ To see the website of the museum: <https://ankara.ktb.gov.tr/TR-259777/beypazari-anadolu-acik-hava-muzesi--yasayan-koy.html>.

⁷¹ To see the website of museum, see: <https://www.kenanyavuzetnografyamuzesi.org/en/>.

many others. Activities such as competitions, festivals, concerts, and many more take place to attract people's attention and raise awareness.

7.2.3 Educational Programs

Intangible cultural heritage was added to the curriculum of schools under the name of folk culture. Even though it is a good step, unfortunately some problems may occur in schools. Because it is an elective course, it may be ignored sometimes, or due to insufficient course hours, it may not achieve the expected success. I believe that children or their families may be more interested in other elective courses such as science, theatre, games, and foreign languages. In addition to this, it is stated by the Ministry of Education⁷² that the implementation of elective courses in schools would be flexible. Thus, each school administration decides ten courses in the elective list based on their own capabilities, and students select their lessons from this list. For that reason, the number of children who are reached is limited.

In some universities, there are also departments under the name of Turkish Folklore and in some departments, such as archaeology and tourism, there are courses related to the intangible cultural heritage of Turkey. In addition to this, the field of Intangible Cultural Heritage is in the list of YÖK's (Council of Higher

⁷² <https://ttkb.meb.gov.tr/www/haftalik-ders-cizelgeleri/kategori/7>.

Education) 100/2000 PhD Scholarship⁷³. This program undoubtedly has contributed significantly to the increase of studies and research in the field of ICH.

7.2.4 Research Centers

There are also Intangible Cultural Heritage Application and Research Centers in some cities of Turkey, such as Ankara and Isparta. Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli University has a Turkish Folklore Application and Research Center⁷⁴, and their projects include Intangible Cultural Heritage Museums, scientific research, symposiums, book publications, corporate editor of the National Folklore Magazine, and cooperation with non-governmental organizations among many others. Another example from Süleyman Demirel University in Isparta, is the SDU Intangible Cultural Heritage Application and Research Center⁷⁵, and it records rare works with scientific publications, documentaries, and multimedia works.

Lastly, there are Winter schools (approximately 3-4 days) organized annually by different institutions such as the UNESCO National Commission of Turkey, Ministry of Industry and Technology, Development Agencies, among others. These programs generally appeals to adults, especially undergraduate and Master's or Ph.D. students, who are interested in intangible cultural heritage. Informative presentations about intangible

⁷³ It is a scholarship given to meet the needs of Turkey's people with doctorate degrees in priority areas determined by the YÖK.

⁷⁴ <https://hacibayram.edu.tr/thbmer>.

⁷⁵ <https://kulturelmiras.sdu.edu.tr/>.

heritage such as UNESCO, future plans, sustainable developments are discussed with participants from organizations and academia.

7.3 Existing Safeguarding Activities for Case Studies

For this part, I did small surveys to find out to what extent specific elements of the intangible cultural heritage are known or unknown to the public. For each element, the group of participants participated to the survey are the same. They are around 40 participants consist of different age ranges, different education levels, different backgrounds.

7.3.1 Safeguarding Flatbread in Turkey

The survey for flatbread (See Appendix C) demonstrated that many people are aware of this tradition. 85% of participants said that they have heard of flatbread making and sharing culture and most of them (80%) learnt it thanks to their family or family elders. When I asked them to evaluate their knowledge about it, most of the attendees said that they do not know how to make it but they have seen it while it was made. Also, 57,50% of the participants said that flatbread is made at their home and 35% said that they purchase it from markets or restaurants. Lastly, when I ask if they think flatbread making and sharing culture is known enough in Turkey, 70% of the attendees who knew about it said yes.

It is possible to find more about the flatbread making and sharing culture on the website of Ministry of Culture and Tourism (General Directorate of Research and Education) concerning how this

heritage is practiced today. Firstly, while making flatbread all the generations are included so they learn how to make flatbread and this heritage is transmitted into young generation. The most experienced and skilled people are responsible for kneading, and baking the dough, while young people and children participate in other production processes such as supplying baking materials. Practitioners most likely teach children and the young generation how to make them while they are preparing the bread so they help this heritage to be transmitted. This situation can also be considered as a significant safeguarding activity.

There are some activities organized by various facilities to safeguard bread such as documentaries, projects, videos, among many others. For example, there is a documentary named "Authentic Turkish Bread" and it was published by TRT in 2005. Important books regarding bread include these by Artun Ünsal (Nimet Geldi Ekine: The Story of Turkish Bread, 2003), Sıtkı Çelebi (The History of Bread, 2005), and Emine Gürsoy (The Book of Bread, 2014). Such books give valuable information about the history of bread and its significance. Furthermore, a project that supports local agricultural products, including making flatbread is provided by the Agriculture and Rural Development Support Institution.

Museums play a key role in safeguarding. There are museums entirely dedicated to bread or having an exhibition about it. For instance, in cooperation with the Ankara Provincial Directorate of Culture and Tourism and the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, the

"Bread Museum" was established in 2007, by the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality General Directorate of Public Bread. It includes a special section belonging to the flatbread tradition. Furthermore, in 2008, Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality established the "Emine Göğüş Culinary Museum" where tools for making flatbread are exhibited.

Last but not least, these kinds of bread which were consumed by low-income people in the society are now sold in big markets as an indication of longing for local values under the name of "nostalgia". They are bought by people living in the urban area and are served in the menus of big restaurants (Beşirli, 2010: 164). It can be said that flatbread became fashionable, which is also beneficial since it encourages to the safeguarding of this tradition.

7.3.2 Safeguarding Dede Korkut Epics in Turkey

Today, Dede Korkut epics are known in Turkey; however, it is not possible to claim that they are well known by everybody. Thus, I decided to repeat my survey (See Appendix D) for Dede Korkut epics since I wanted to have an idea of the knowledge that people have about them. Among them 92,50% said that they have heard about Dede Korkut epics, and most of them (74,36%) learned them in school. Since I did not expect participants to know all of the epics, it was no surprise to me that 70% of the participants chose the option "I know some of the stories". The last question was if they think Dede Korkut epics are well known in Turkey: 20% of participants said they are well known, but 80% including the ones who did not know about it at all said that they are not known

enough. I believe that even though these epics were told to children in schools, people tend to forget them in time, therefore, it is normal for many to think that the epics are not known enough in Turkey.

In the Nomination File of the Dede Korkut epics, it is possible to see how and where these epics are practiced. For instance, in some areas of Turkey, such as Erzurum, Malatya, Kars, and Ardahan, they are still utilized as tales and for values. Malatya is claiming a relation with Dede Korkut. Especially in Malatya, the city which has applied for the element of Dede Korkut epics to be recorded in the Inventory, values and tales of these epics are held alive in their cultural memory. On the website of Malatya Provincial Directorate of Culture and Tourism⁷⁶, it is stated that a comparative scientific study of the stories and legends of Malatya and Dede Korkut Stories was presented by Hakan Güllüoğlu⁷⁷, folk culture specialist, sent to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

Dede Korkut Culture and Art Festivals take place every year in Bayburt, and the festival starts with the visit to Dede Korkut tomb in Masat Village. It is usually organized in July and lasts 5 to 6 days. There is significant participation of folk dance citizens and other interested people from various countries including states such as Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan.

⁷⁶ <https://malatya.ktb.gov.tr/TR-220546/turk-destani-dede-korkut-unescoda.html>.

⁷⁷ Hakan Güllüoğlu is a, I cannot give a reference to him since it is unavailable.

There are many attempts to keep this heritage safeguarded in places other than the cities where it is still practiced. For instance, Dede Korkut epics are widely used for school activities such as music and plays. Additionally, there are some animations for children telling the epics of Dede Korkut, and these cartoons are broadcast on television. Some theatre groups also perform these epics from time to time. Furthermore, a tent for Dede Korkut to tell the stories is set in the Ankara Intangible Cultural Heritage Museum during Hidrellez⁷⁸ celebrations.

However, although Dede Korkut epics and their significance are mentioned in primary schools and also high schools, the survey shows that people tend to forget about Dede Korkut epics and their importance.

7.3.3 Safeguarding Mangala in Turkey

Survey participants (See Appendix E) (57,50%) said that they were familiar with the name Mangala but they do not know what it is or, if they knew it was a game, they do not have any idea how it is played. Thus, I showed the picture of the Mangala board to the people who knew about it, and some of them (56,41%) said that they have seen it somewhere but still did not know what that is. The ones who were familiar with Mangala said that they knew about it thanks to media (30%), parents and family elders (17,50%) and school (10%). Lastly, at the end of the survey, I asked people if they think Mangala is well known in Turkey,

⁷⁸ Hidrellez which takes place in the 6th of May celebrates the arrival of spring.

97,50% of people said no; however %42,50 did not know the game at all anyway.

Some safeguarding steps have been taken for the Mangala and today, it is slowly getting attention from the public day by day; however, it still did not reach everybody as the survey mentioned above shows. The reason for this may be related to the people living in different cities or from different backgrounds. Big city dwellers may be less familiar with such kind of traditional games when compared to people from rural areas.

The Mangala Game Association⁷⁹ was founded to promote the game in Turkey by organizing activities. In order to make the game known, many social events are arranged such as tournaments between schools, for young generations to have the opportunity to learn this game and transmit it in the future. Moreover, a short film⁸⁰ about the history and significance of Mangala was created with the contribution of Ministry of Culture and Tourism General Directorate of Cinema. In this documentary film, there are many people such as Prof. Dr. Klaus Schmidt, Dr. Muazzez İlmiye Çığ, Prof. Dr. Nurhan Atasoy, Prof. Dr. Öcal Oğuz, Mangala Game Association President Serkan Aziz Ceyhan, among many others. Here, it is important to note that the Mangala game can be bought both online and from many stores including bookstores and toy

⁷⁹ To see the website: <https://www.mangaladernegi.org/>.

⁸⁰ To see the short film about Mangala:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vFelC4tGmr4>.

stores in Turkey. There are also websites and applications for mobile phones that people can play Mangala.

Mangala is getting serious attention from scholars too, as the number of studies about it is increasing. Besides, there are some websites regarding the Mangala game. The game has also been added to the school's curriculum as an elective course.

7.3.4 Safeguarding Kılıç Kalkan Dance in Turkey

As I did with my previous case studies, I repeated my survey (See Appendix F) for the Kılıç Kalkan dance. I wanted to have an idea if people are aware of this dance and, if so, how do they know about it. It was nice to see that 80% of people are familiar with this dance, and participants heard about this dance thanks to their families, school, and internet/social media. Most of the participants (52.50%) said that they had watched this dance before; however, only a few participants know how to perform this dance. Lastly, I asked if the Kılıç Kalkan dance is known enough in our country, and 80% including the 20% who did not hear about it before do not think that it is the case. As a result, it can be said that even though most of the participants are aware of it, they did not have a chance to practice or learn it, so I believe that this is one of the reasons why participants think that the dance is not well known in Turkey.

Because the Kılıç Kalkan dance is on the list of the Intangible Cultural Heritage National Inventory of Turkey, Turkey has some safeguarding practices. For example, there is Bursa Tahtakıran Kılıç

Kalkan Folk Dance Association⁸¹, and on the website of this association, it can be understood that the dance is performed at festivals and on international occasions. Furthermore, there is a Kılıç Kalkan Museum in Bursa which was opened in 2012. A documentary film (Legendary Heritage Bursa Sword and Shield Folk Dance Documentary) was also created about the history of Kılıç Kalkan dance.

On the website of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (General Directorate of Research and Education)⁸² about Kılıç Kalkan dance, it is mentioned that these kinds of dances (war dances and dances with weapons) depend on skill, mastery, and aesthetic beauty as well as strength, physique, and endurance. In addition to this, it is indicated that due to their difficulties, swords and shields have been replaced by a stick in some regions.

When we look at all the safeguarding activities that are used for intangible heritage of Turkey, it can be seen clearly that some similar methods are used. For my case studies that are inscribed in the list of UNESCO, the common strategies includes academic studies such as articles, books and seminars, social events such as festivals and tournaments, as well as promotion in media such as documentaries, movies or cartoons. However, even if there are some activities related to it, it is not possible to say the same for Kılıç Kalkan dance case study because fewer studies and researches have been done on this subject than on the other case

⁸¹ <http://bursakilickalkan.com/en/>.

⁸² <https://aregem.ktb.gov.tr/TR-12728/halk-oyunlarinin-oynanma-gelenegi-inanis-efsanesi-oykus-.html>.

studies. In addition to this, these elements are also represented in museums or in some cases, a whole museum is dedicated to one element to ensure their sustainability. When we consider those activities, it is possible to say that the safeguarding methods effectively follow the requirements of 2003 Convention.

7.4 Suggestions for Safeguarding Intangible Heritage in

Turkey

This part consists of my suggestions for safeguarding intangible cultural heritage. Such projects are ambitious and they will need an official frame. Firtsly, I will present a cultural center, secondly, a summer school, and lastly, a website project.

7.4.1 Cultural Center

Community involvement is undoubtedly critical to the survival of the intangible cultural heritage of Turkey. Thus, it is necessary to attract the attention of the public. Since my aim is to make intangible heritage well-known, I propose establishing a national cultural center. For this project, I was inspired by the National Intangible Heritage Center in South Korea⁸³ (Figure 36, 37). It is an institution for preserving and transmitting the intangible cultural heritage, and its primary duties include not only preserving but also sharing and promoting it by analysis, archiving, exhibits, events, instructional activities. In this institution, there are beneficial organizations such as ICH Experience Education, ICH Career Exploration Camp and ICH Workshop for Citizen.

⁸³ <https://www.nihc.go.kr/eng/index.9is>.

Considering these features, I believe that such implementation in Turkey would be beneficial and effective in terms of safeguarding and raising awareness about intangible cultural heritage.

The new center should be in a big city such as İstanbul, Ankara, or Antalya, because I hope that this place will be a gathering spot for both the local community and tourists, not only to interact but also to experience the heritage itself. Many activities and events will be held at this center to maintain people's interest, such as exhibitions, workshops, restaurant, shops. In the restaurant, there will be food and beverages related to Turkey's intangible heritage; for this issue, it would be useful to get help from the Intangible Cultural Heritage National Inventory of Turkey since it includes many food and beverage practices.

Furthermore, a multimedia zone would also be beneficial, a meeting room for national and international meetings committed to the safeguarding of cultural heritage, and a library with materials on cultural heritage studies, especially those about intangible heritage. These features will allow all segments of the population to be attracted to the field. Lastly, even though this center mainly targets adults, there will also be special programs for children, such as workshops and small-scale educational programs to enable them to experience and embrace their heritage. The reason why I prefer this center to be mostly focused on adults is that there are already projects that target young generation and I believe that adults also need to know as much as possible on this subject because they will also help pass these traditions on to their peers and future

generations. In this way, I believe that cultural transfer will accelerate and spread to a wider audience.

Apart from the exhibitions inside the center, I also propose to create traveling exhibitions to provincial cities and towns to increase awareness and share intangible cultural heritage with communities. Undoubtedly, time would allow for the creation of international connections. To achieve this mission, I propose these exhibitions to travel to neighboring countries on mutual exchange basis in order to receive exhibitions from those countries to display in Turkey.

7.4.2 Summer School for Children

My next project should have a significant influence in reducing the disappearance of heritage, since it will focus on children. I propose establishing an interactive intangible cultural heritage school in Turkey that will take place over the summer to enable young generations to learn about and explore their heritage. This program can also be carried out within the cultural center that is mentioned above. It can be hardly expected that children always focus and remember to what is being told in school; they need a different type of education. To make this project an entertaining yet educational kind of activity, it would be better to organize it as a camp which will take place in different cities of Turkey consecutively. The efficiency of such activities is undeniable since it is very effective for children to produce something through practice because it is more permanent and instructive. To avoid any

problems regarding children and their concentration, the duration of this summer school should not be more than 2 weeks.

It is also significant to bring children with different backgrounds and provide an environment that will enable them to interact and share their knowledge with each other.

A significant point for this summer school is that the education will be given by the practitioners and bearers themselves. After a short training for practitioners on how to educate children effectively about intangible heritage, they will be able to lead and inform children properly. I believe that with this project, it will be possible to bring practitioners of intangible heritage together.

Last but not least, in place of summer school or during holiday, organizing online workshops and courses for children about intangible heritage will be effective to spread it. These activities can be conducted by local communities and NGOs. I think that such activity will be helpful for those who are not able to participate in the activities outside. In this way, it will be possible to reach all children who do not have time or opportunity.

7.4.3 A Comprehensive Website for ICH of Turkey

My last suggestion is to create a comprehensive website for the intangible cultural heritage of Turkey. Like UNESCO and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (Research and Education General

Directorate), there will be detailed inventory information about the elements and multimedia such as their photos and videos. In addition to this, creating a digital archive that provides information on what people are looking for with keywords will be beneficial. This archive will allow users to reach every detail of Turkey's intangible heritage. I believe that this project will have a significant impact on the popularization of intangible cultural heritage.

Furthermore, it will be better to have a thematic and geographical map on this website. It will show the elements within the cities of Turkey. For instance, the map will show which element is practiced in which city or is common to several ones. Likewise, while looking at the city more clearly, it will also be possible to see in which districts on that city the elements are present. It will also show the institutions and organizations implementing the elements, if any. I believe that such a map would be beneficial for those who are curious and interested in intangible heritage. Furthermore, this map will be beneficial for travelers too: when people go to a city, they can easily learn what to see and where to see it.

Since Turkey is a rich country in terms of cultural heritage, I believe that there are still some intangible cultural practices that we are not aware of, and sometimes it may not be possible to reach everybody. Thus, I also suggest to create a blog on this website where everybody can share about their culture; we can invite people to talk about their culture on this blog. If both the website and the blog can be advertised effectively, maybe thanks to this blog, we can be aware of intangible cultural heritage that

people keep alive by transferring them to each other, but in a closed circle. In a way, it will be possible to make participants one of the culture transmitters.



CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

Turkey has a rich cultural heritage and undoubtedly it goes back to the past. It is important to make sure that this richness will be transferred to future generations. To achieve this mission, there is a need for public awareness. Turkey can, fortunately, benefit from the a growing interest given by many countries to the intangible cultural heritage.

8.1 Background of the Intangible Cultural Heritage

There are many processes such as Recommendations, and Proclamations towards the Convention of 2003. This Convention has a crucial importance because it is legally binding the State members who engage themselves to respect the intangible cultural heritage. UNESCO receives so many applications every year from states around the world that it is not always possible to evaluate all of them. This situation shows how countries care about their heritage and strive to protect it, especially Turkey, which is

considered as one of the countries with the most applications to UNESCO.

8.2 Case Studies

Three of the elements from the Representative list of UNESCO and adding new potential candidate have been presented there. All of them have connection with ancient practices. this thesis demonstrates how far back in prehistory or antiquity these elements go.

Flatbread most originated in the pre-Neolithic period in Anatolia and Near East. It can be clearly traced back to the Hittites, when it had a sacred value as we can still see today in Turkey. Flatbread recipes and baking techniques and its social and cultural significance vary from country to country.

The themes of Dede Korkut epics can be traced back to the antiquity. Although it is not possible to find out who Dede Korkut was or who wrote the epics, we have shown in our study that the epics are related to the tradition and lifestyle of the Oghuz Turks and for that reason they are very important since they present details about the past of today's Turks. Malatya and Bayburt are two cities that are claiming a relation to Dede Korkut. In Malatya, the values and tradition of Dede Korkut are still practiced and in Bayburt, there is a tomb which is said to belong to him. Moreover, in spite of the time difference, many of the epics, such as the Homeric and Dede Korkut Epics, have themes and subjects in

common. Several concepts in these epics can be traced back to Antiquity.

The Mangala, a strategy game, is considered one of the earliest games in history. It is known by many names in Turkey. Mangala's history begins with a possible presence in the Neolithic Period in Göbeklitepe; however, due to lack of precise information, this issue should be treated with skepticism until it is proved. In any case, no doubt that it was existing in the Roman Asia Minor and continues through the Ottoman Empire to the present day.

The pyrrhic dance, whose origin is controversial, was performed at various events in ancient Greece antiquity, and owing to the ancient sources, vase paintings, and other artifacts, it is possible to have documented information. It is proposed in this thesis that the Kılıç Kalkan dance has a link with the pyrrhic and that it can be considered as a descendant. Since the Kılıç Kalkan dance is not inscribed in the list of UNESCO, I have suggested the domains ("performing arts" and "social practices, rituals, and festive events") and the possible countries (Georgia, China, India, and Turkey) which would share that elements. However, further research is needed since many countries seem to have a similar dance with different styles.

8.3 Safeguarding Practices

We have examined what is done today in Turkey as safeguarding procedures and what major steps are taken so far. Undoubtedly,

national inventories, academic programs, research center, ICH, and Living museums play a crucial role in safeguarding intangible cultural heritage.

However, it is not yet possible to reach everyone even if it cannot be denied that there is a great effort to safeguard ICH in Turkey. My survey regarding the ICH itself shows that 52,50% of participants are not familiar with this concept and 95% (including the 52,50%) think that it is not known enough in Turkey. It is possible to say that this situation is also valid for my case studies. The results of the survey also show that people do not think they are well known even if some are familiar.

In the case of Kılıç Kalkan dance, it should be indicated that there are not enough sources published, such as books and articles about it. Thus, I believe that nominating Kılıç Kalkan dance will contribute its promotion and help increase awareness of it since the young generation will be targeted mostly.

Unfortunately, local museums for intangible cultural heritage are not promoted enough. For example, with few exceptions they do not have their own website or social media account although the power of social media is undeniable nowadays. Because of this situation, it is not possible for the young generations to be aware of their existence or to get the necessary information about them. However, promoting such museums is essential to prevent the disappearance of ICH. In addition to this, I believe that

ethnographic museums would be effective in terms of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage if the part of their exhibition related to the ICH could also involve some interactive strategy, which means that they will become at least partly Living museums. Such museums would be used for promoting intangible cultural heritage.

In addition to the existing safeguarding strategies, I propose to establish a cultural center in a big city which will be a place where everybody can socialize as well as get familiar with their own heritage. This center will include exhibitions/traveling exhibitions, restaurants, shops, and workshops, and special programs for children. These activities will allow visitors to experience closely the heritage itself. Moreover, I also propose to establish an interactive intangible cultural heritage school in Turkey, which will be held during the summer to allow the young generation to learn and experience their heritage. I believe that this schools will definitely reduce the process of disappearance of intangible cultural heritage. The importance of the younger generation in safeguarding intangible cultural heritage cannot be denied because they are the ones that will pass these cultures on to following generations. Lastly, I propose to create a comprehensive website concerning intangible cultural heritage, which will provide people to access all the necessary information concerning the ICH and enable participation of the local community. It will also include inventory information, a thematic and geographical map, and a blog.

8.4 A Last Word

Throughout my thesis, I tried to show the link between past and present for the intangible cultural heritage of Turkey. It is possible to follow this link despite gaps sometimes such as in Mangala and Kılıç Kalkan dance. Thus, I believe that some further studies could fill this gap, and I hope that my thesis will be helpful for those who want to explore the roots of their heritage.

I think that there are more cases which could be studied in the same perspective by searching their origin in the far past. It would emphasize how much the ICH of Turkey is rooted in the past. This thesis is a first step in that direction and undoubtedly, it offers a new outlook on these elements by linking them to the past of Anatolia.

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FIGURES



Figure 1. Religious vessel from Çorum, Eskişehir
(<http://www.alaca.gov.tr/eskiyapar-hyg>).



Figure 2. Terracotta woman baking bread
(<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/241310>).

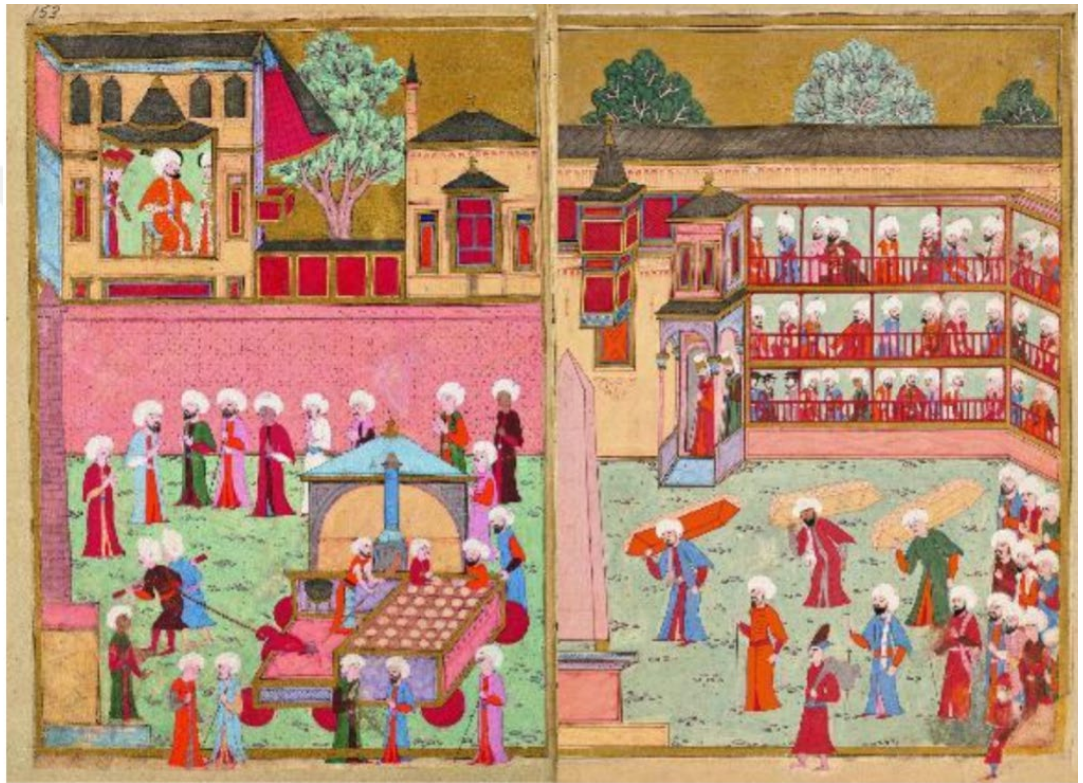


Figure 3. Bakers in Surname-I Hümayun (Akmehmet, 2015).



Figure 4. Baking flatbread in Sac in Turkey (Pasqualone, 2018).

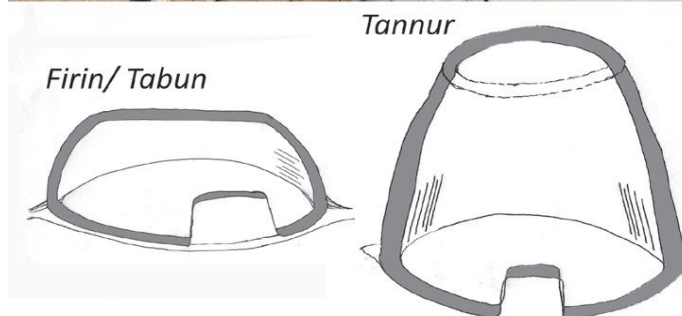


Figure 5. Examples of bread oven types (Fuller & Carretero, 2018).



Figure 6. Tannur type ovens for baking flatbread
(<https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/flatbread-making-and-sharing-culture-lavash-katyrma-jupka-yufka-01181>).



Figure 7. Flatbread making in Turkey
(<https://aregem.ktb.gov.tr/TR-202366/ince-ekmek-yapma-ve-paylasma-kulturu-lavas-katirma-jupk-.html>).



Figure 8. The tomb of Dede Korkut in Bayburt
(<http://www.bayburt.gov.tr/dedekorkut>).

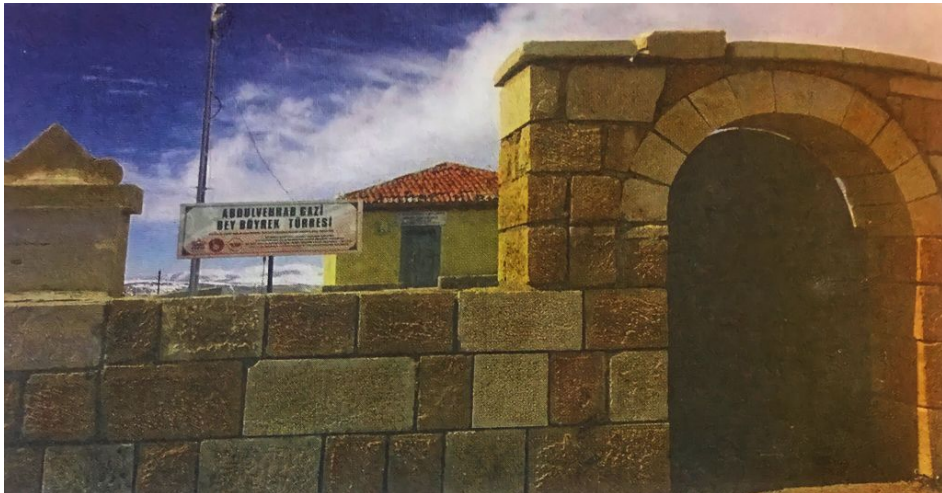


Figure 9. The tomb of Bamsı Beyrek (Üçüncü, 2015).



Figure 10. Slab from Göbeklitepe (<https://www.tzv.org.tr/#/haber/4561>).



Figure 11. Mangala slab from Ephesus, Arcadian (Schädler, 1998).

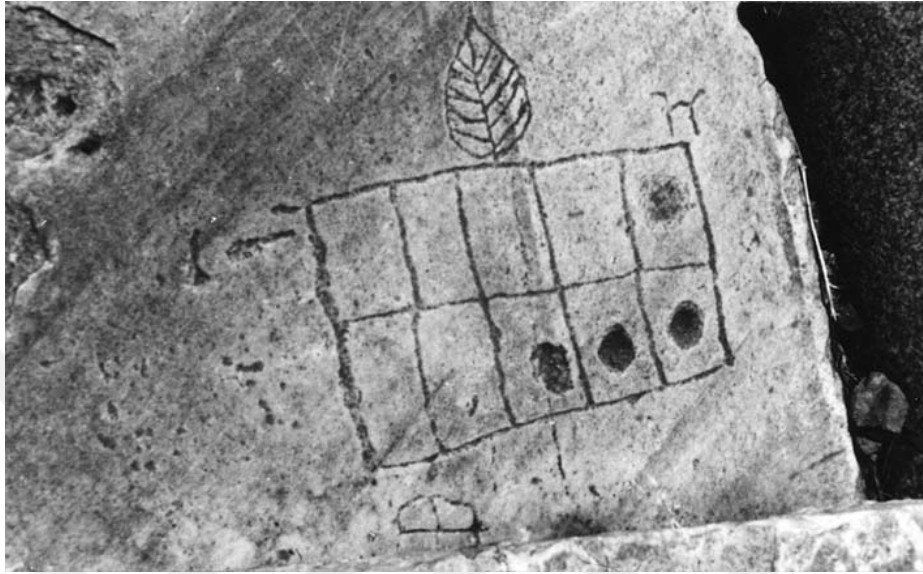


Figure 12. Mangala slab from Aphrodisias, Theatre (Schädler, 1998).

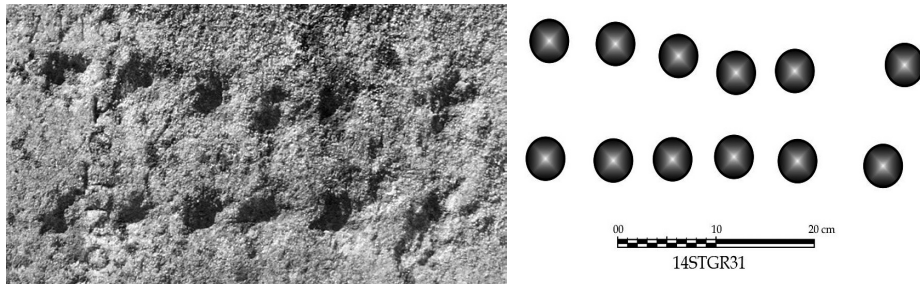


Figure 13. Mangala slab and its drawing from Stratonikeia (Durnagölü, 2015).

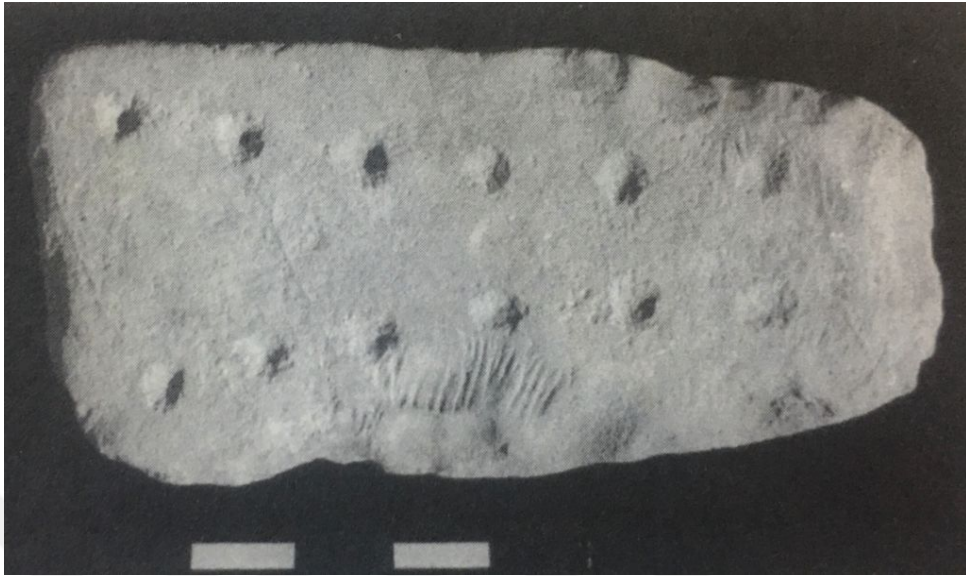


Figure 14. Mangala slab from Ain Ghazal (Selvi-Bener, 2013).



Figure 15. Surname-i Hümayun miniature showing people playing Mangala (Küçükyıldız, 2011).



Figure 16. A 16th century coffeehouse miniature showing people playing Mangala (Küçükyıldız, 2011).



Figure 17. Two women sitting on the sofa and playing Mangala (Küçükyıldız, 2011).



Figure 18. Two women in Turkish costume seated on a divan and playing mankala. c.1740/2 (https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_2010-7057-1).



Figure 19. Hydra showing Pyrrhic dancer (Poursat, 1968).



Figure 20. The Atarbos Base showing Pyrrhic dance
(<https://www.theacropolismuseum.gr/en/statue-base-atarbos-base>).



Figure 21. Relief showing Pyrrhic dance
(https://catalogo.museivaticani.va/index.php/Detail/objects/MV.321.0.0?lang=en_US).



Figure 22. Lekythos showing Pyrrhic dancer
 (<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/247242?sortBy=Relevance&=&deptids=13&=&ft=%2A&=&pg=3&mp=&rpp=20&=&pos=48>).



Figure 23. Lekythos showing solo Pyrrhic performance
 (Poursat, 1968).



Figure 24. A statue base showing Pyrrhichists
(https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:0508_-_Archaeological_Museum,_Athens_-_Pyrric_dancers_-_Photo_by_Giovanni_Dall'Orto,_Nov_10_2009.jpg).



Figure 25. Bell crater showing Pyrrhic dancer in a banquet
(Poursat, 1968).



Figure 26. Polyxena Sarcophagus
 (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Polyxena_sarcophagus#/media/File:Polyxena_Sarcophagus_Now_in_Troy_Museum_7938.jpg).

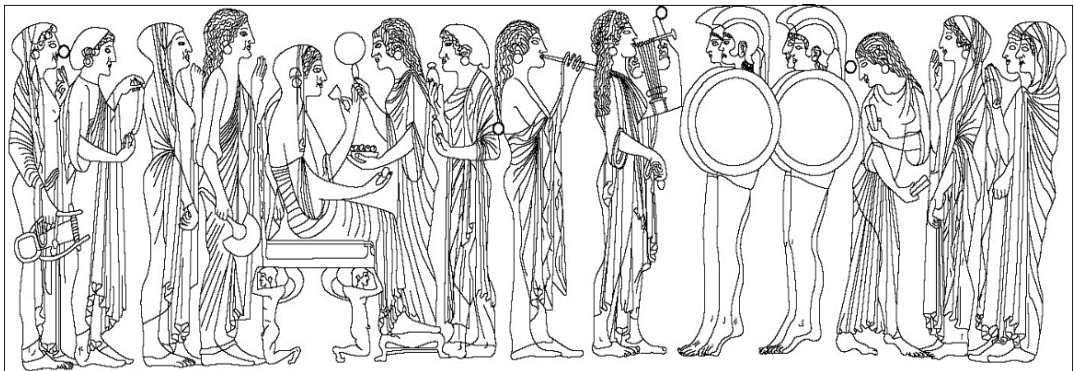


Figure 27. Drawing of side C of the Polyxena Sarcophagus, by K. Clayton (Rose, 2013).

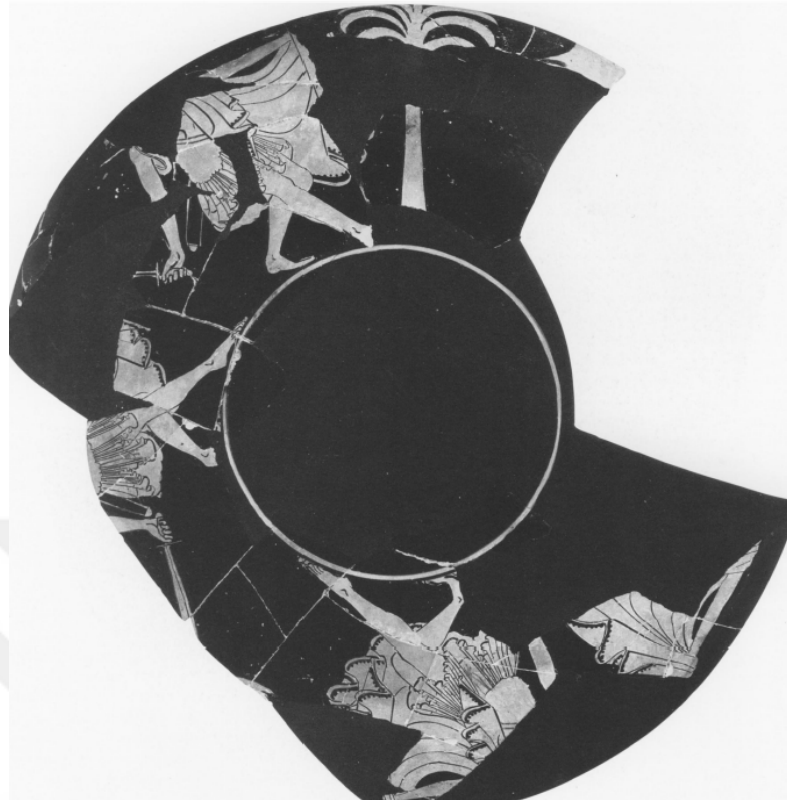


Figure 28. Exterior of Makron cup (Bron, 1996).

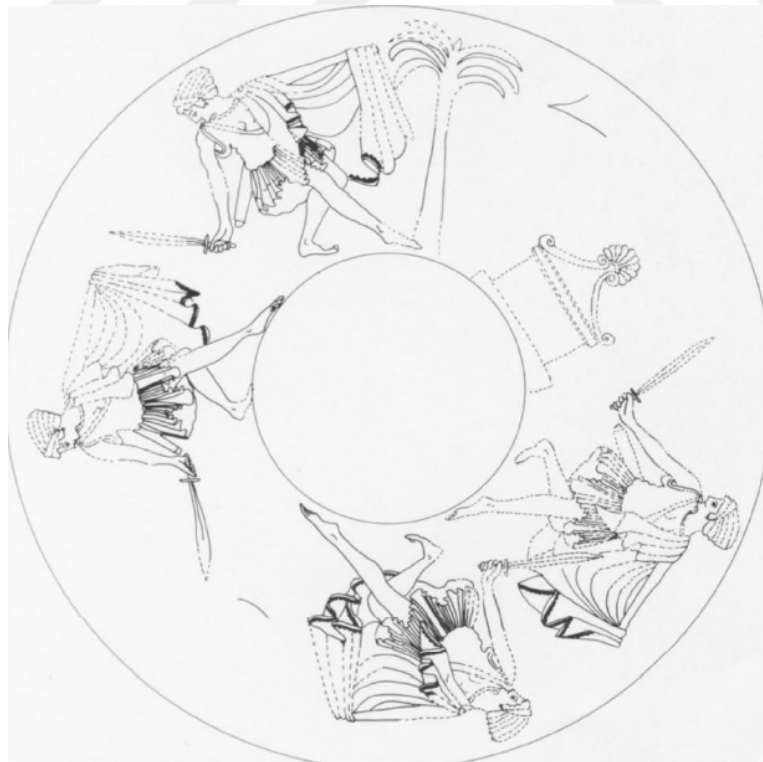


Figure 29. Reconstruction drawing by C. Bron showing Pyrrhic dance Drawing (Bron, 1996).



Figure 30. Pyxis showing Pyrrhic dancer in front of an altar and a statue of Artemis (Bron, 1996).



Figure 31. Ankara Intangible Cultural Heritage Museum (<https://muzeler.org/somut-olmayan-kulturel-miras-muzesi>).



Figure 32. Beypazarı Living Museum
(<https://ankara.ktb.gov.tr/TR-260339/beypazari-yasayan-muze.html>).



Figure 33. Beypazarı Living Museum
(<https://www.sabancivakfi.org/tr/sosyal-degisim/yasayan-muze>).



Figure 34. Kenan Yavuz Ethnography Museum
(<https://www.kenanyavuzetnografyamuzesi.org/>).



Figure 35. Kenan Yavuz Ethnography Museum
(<https://www.kenanyavuzetnografyamuzesi.org/>).



Figure 36. National Intangible Heritage Center, South Korea
(<https://www.hisour.com/national-intangible-heritage-center-jeonju-south-korea-51179/>).

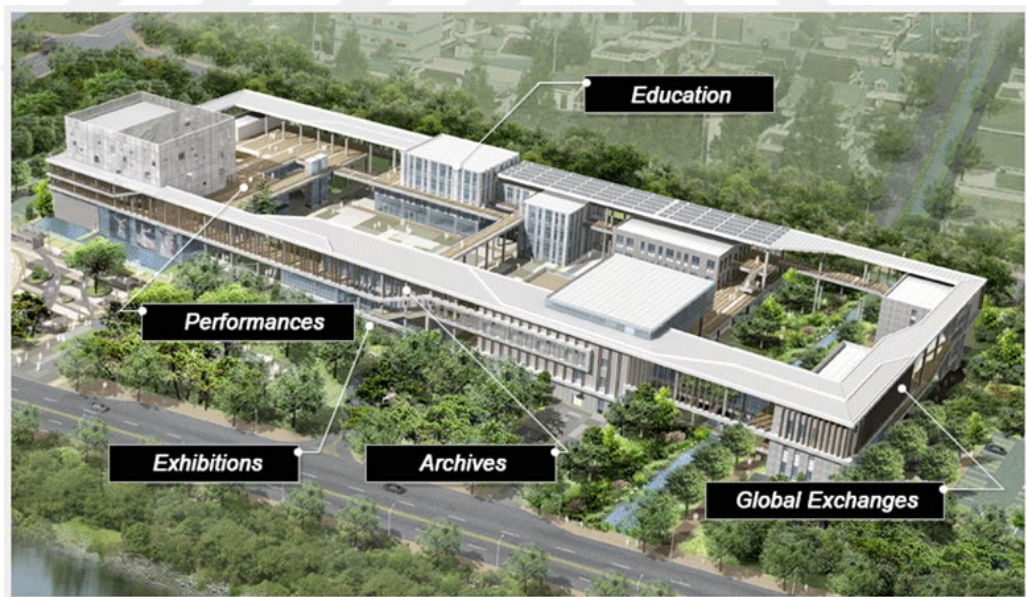


Figure 37. National Intangible Heritage Center, South Korea
(http://m.nihc.go.kr/english/html/content.html?menu=01_05.html).

APPENDIX A

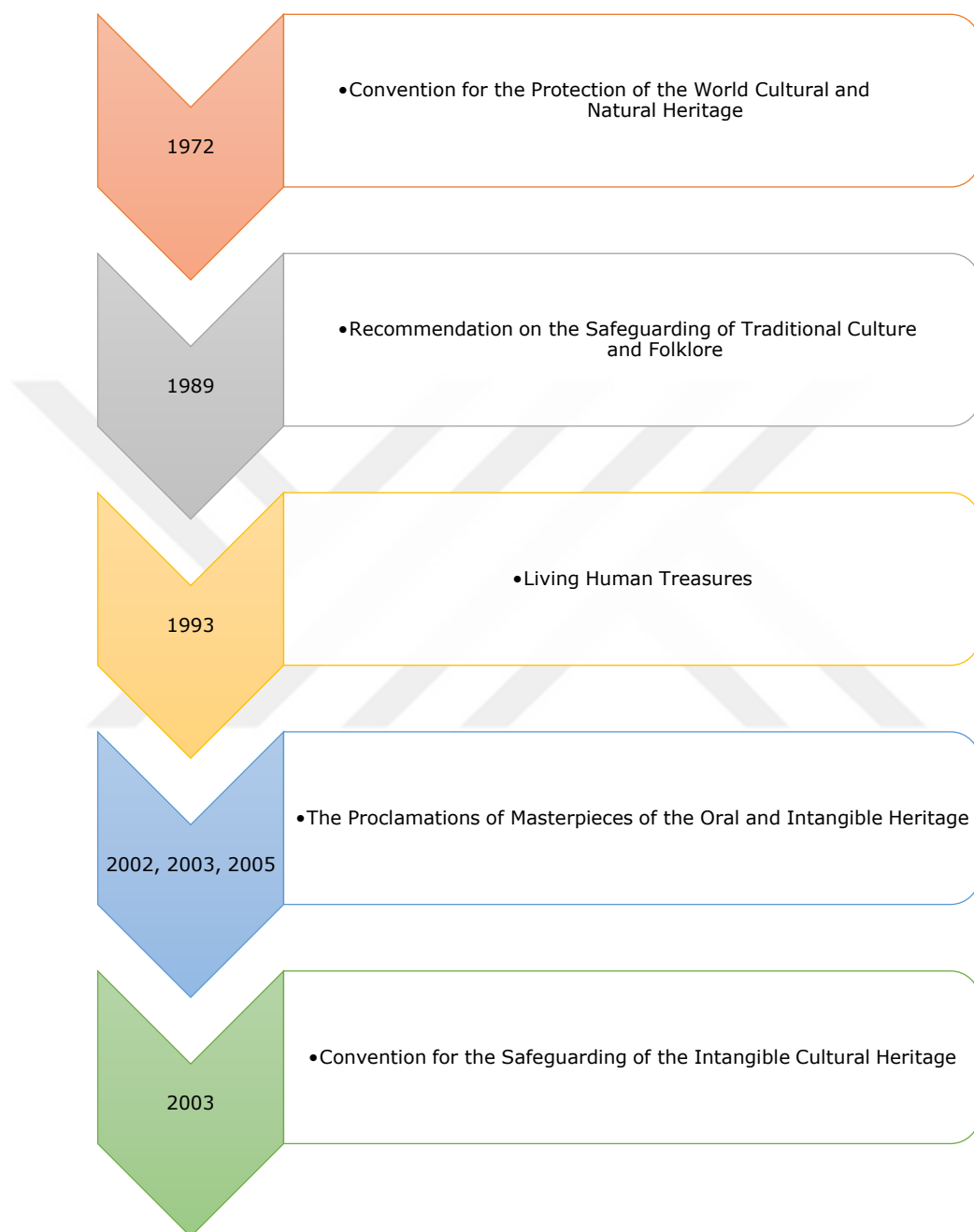
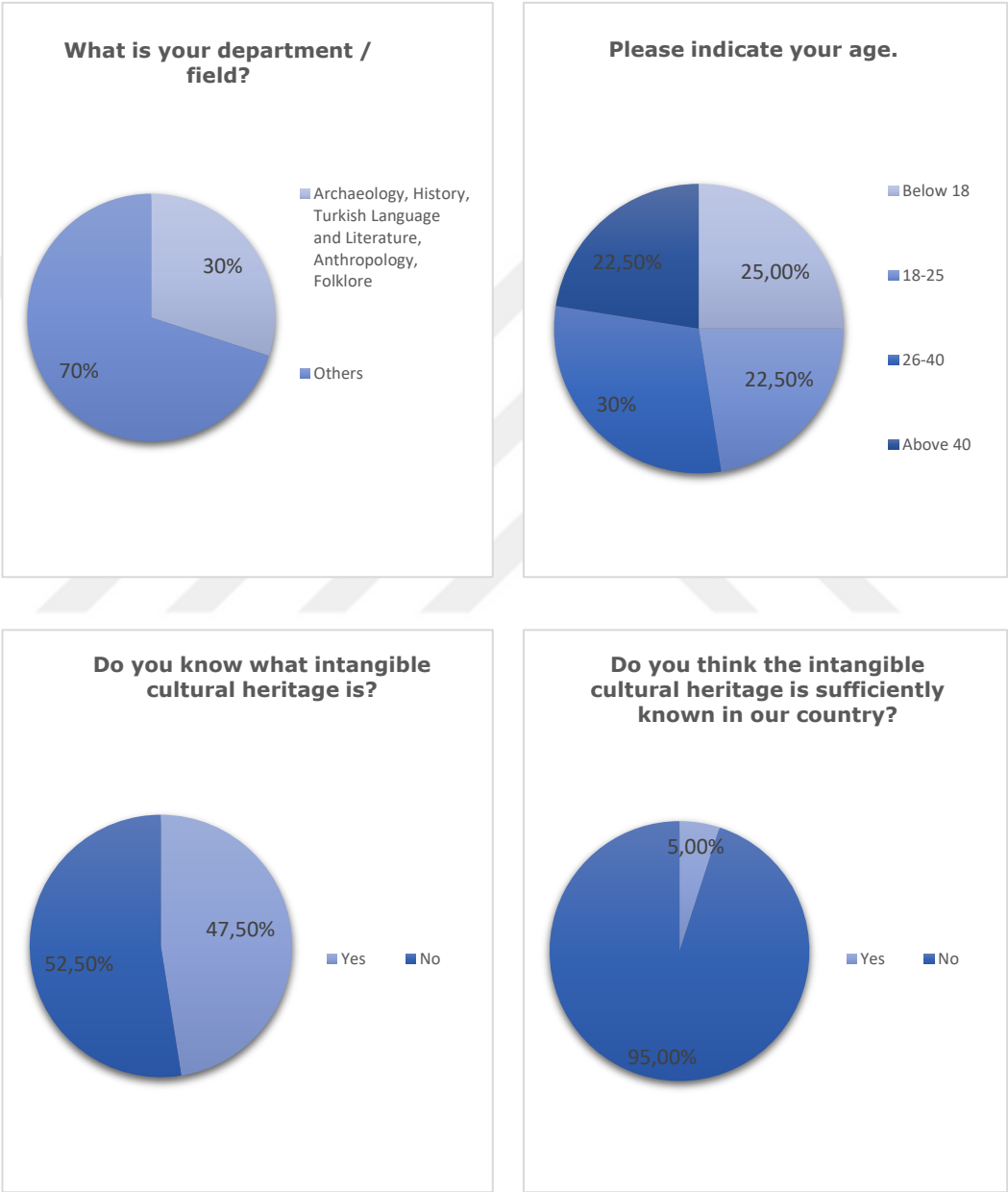


Table 4. Processes towards Safeguarding Intangible Heritage.

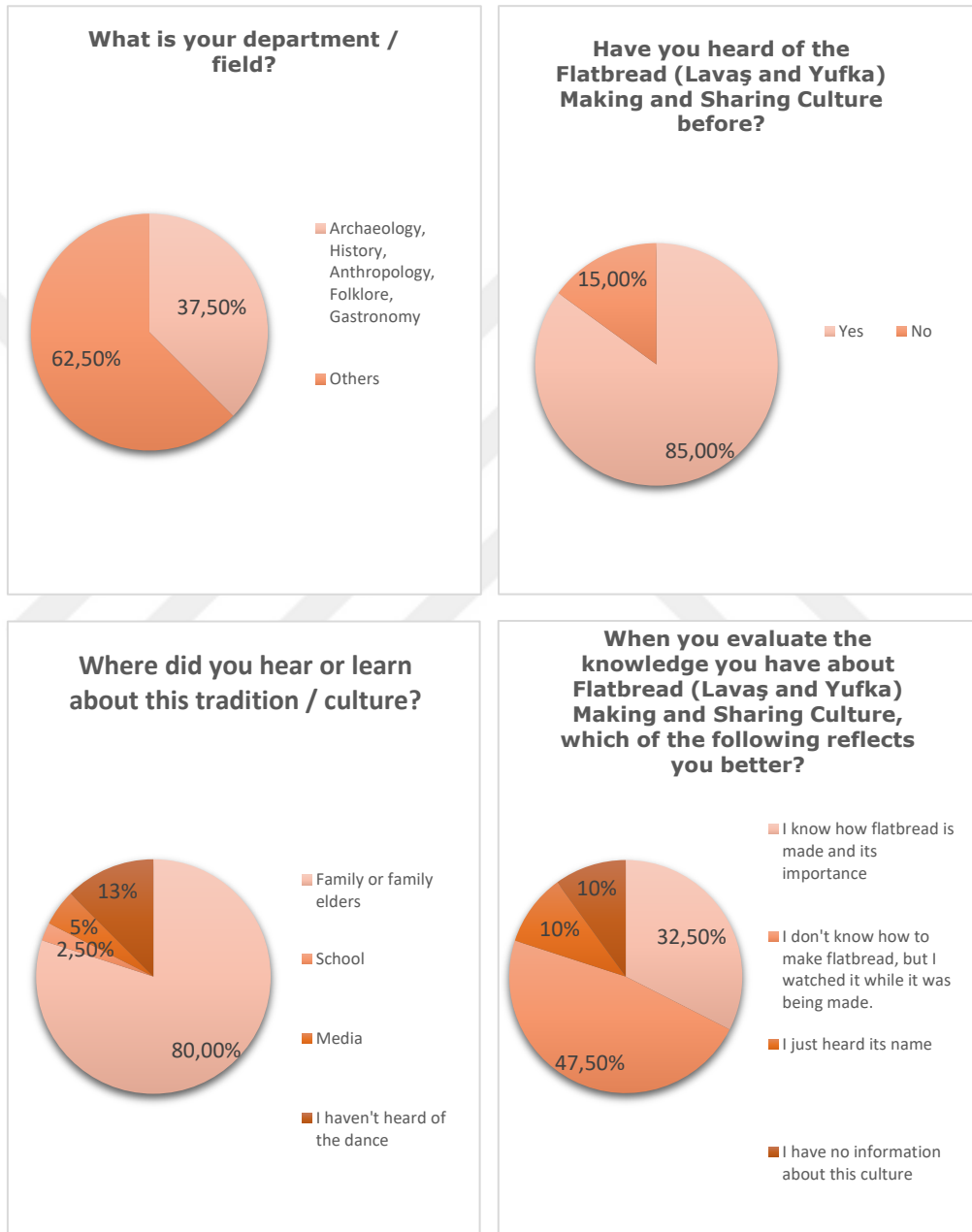
APPENDIX B

ICH SURVEY



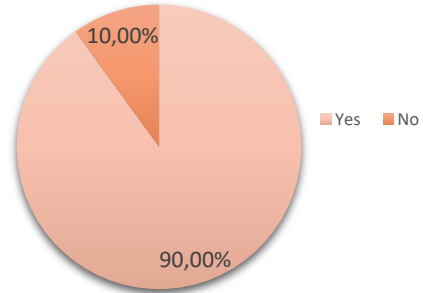
APPENDIX C

FLATBREAD MAKING AND SHARING CULTURE SURVEY

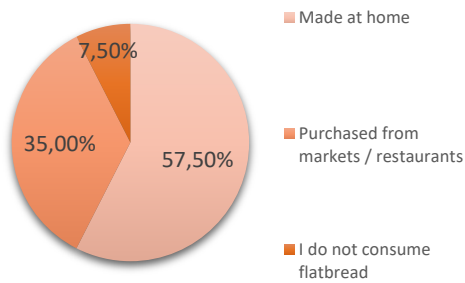




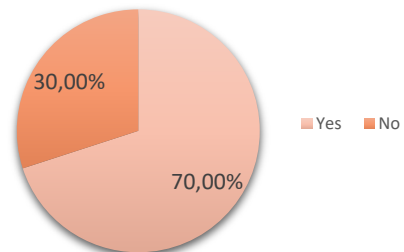
Do you know that the image above belongs to the Flatbread Making and Sharing Culture?



How do you usually reach Flatbread (Lavaş and Yufka) ?



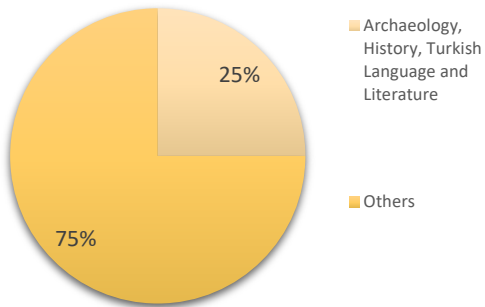
Do you think the Flatbread Making and Sharing Culture (Lavash and Yufka) is known enough in our country?



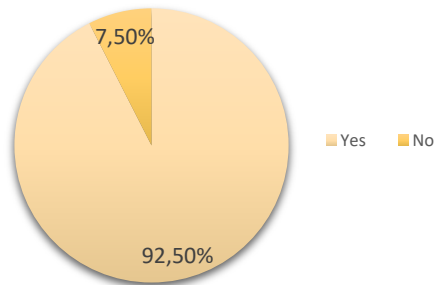
APPENDIX D

DEDE KORKUT EPICS SURVEY

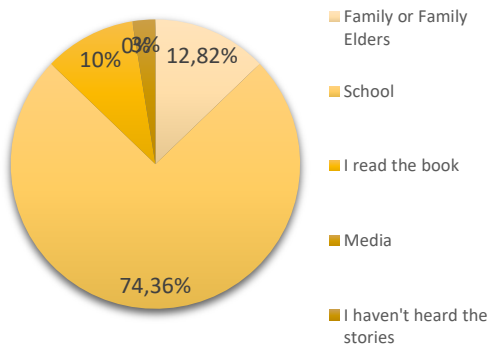
What is your department / field?



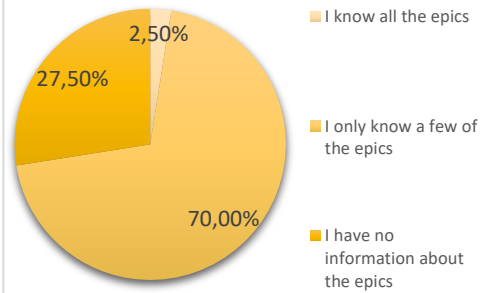
Have you heard of the Dede Korkut Epics?



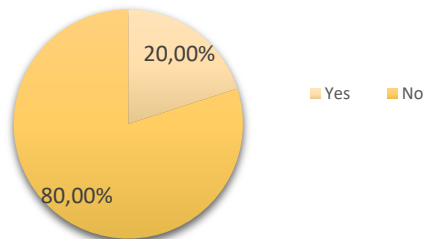
Where did you hear or learn of these epics?



How much do you know about the Dede Korkut Epics?



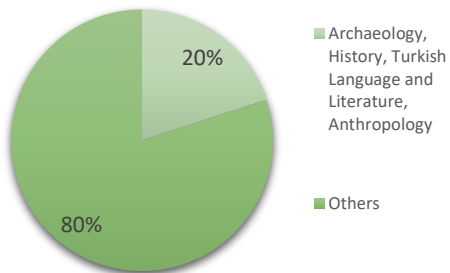
Do you think Dede Korkut Epics are known enough in our country?



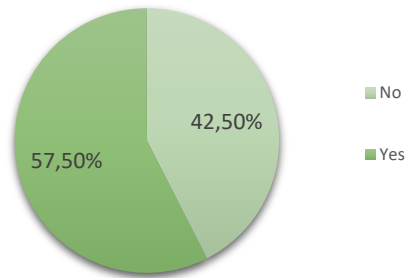
APPENDIX E

MANGALA SURVEY

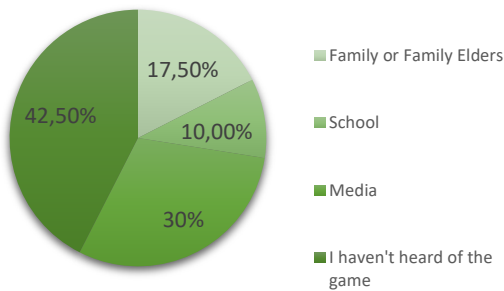
What is your department / field?



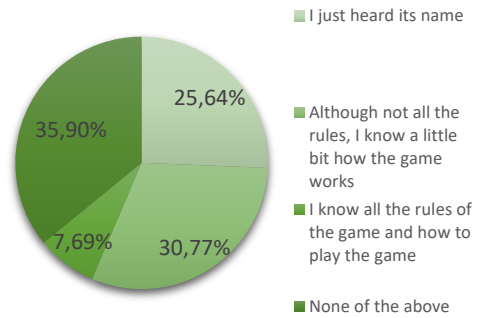
Have you heard of the mangala game before?



Where did you hear or learn about this game?

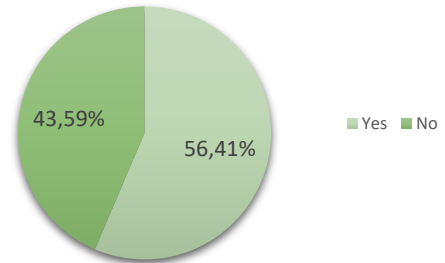


How much do you know about the mangala game?

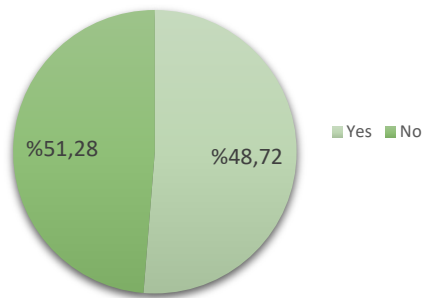




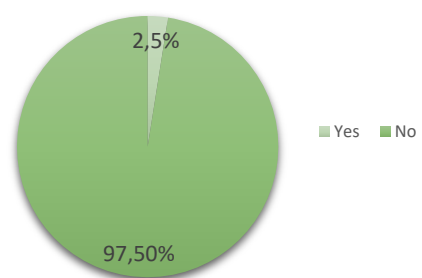
Have you seen the image above before?



Do you know that the image above belongs to the Mangala game?

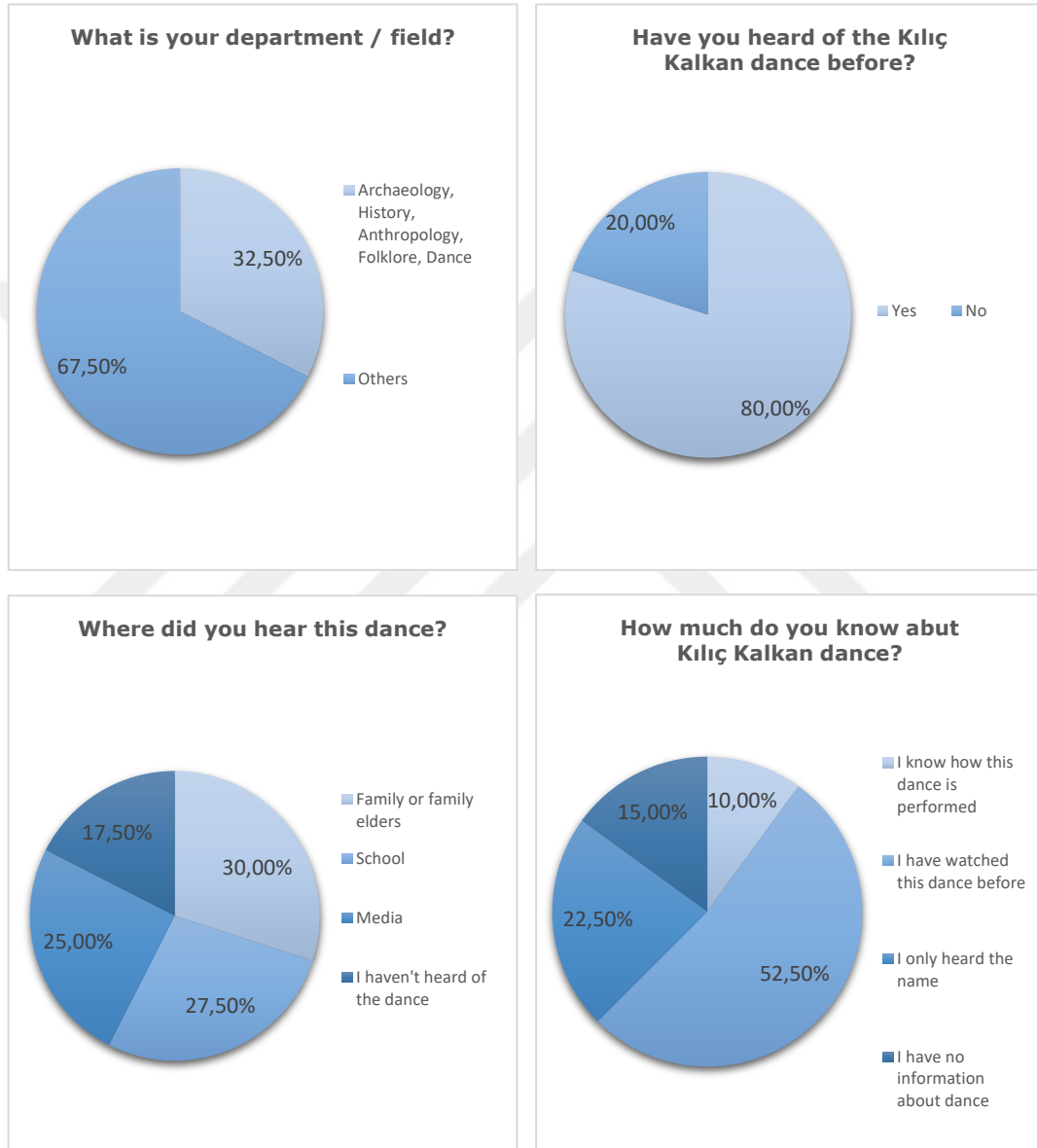


Do you think Mangala game is known enough in our country?



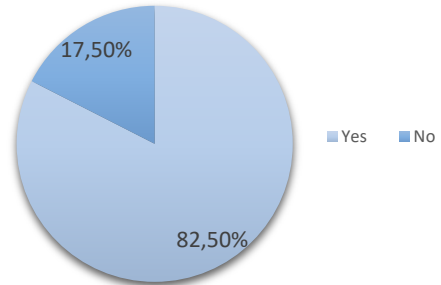
APPENDIX F

KILIÇ KALKAN DANCE SURVEY





Do you know that this image belongs to the Kılıç Kalkan dance?



Do you think Kılıç Kalkan dance is known enough in our country?

