Kurdish Studies,
Contributions from Austria

MARIA SIX-HOHENBALKEN,
MEHMET EMIR, EVA KOLM,
EVA STOCKINGER (EDS.)



VIYANO

A Passion for Kurds and Mountain Life: The Werner Finke Collection

AUSTRIAN
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OF SCIENCES
PRESS

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MARIA SIX-HOHENBALKEN, MEHMET EMIR,
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A Passion for Kurds and Mountain Life: The Werner Finke Collection

With the assistance from Eszter Ágota Hárs and Marina Stoilova

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CONTENTS

1. *Viyano* – A Passion for Kurds and Mountain Life. Preface and Introduction 9
Maria Six-Hohenbalken, Mehmet Emir, Eva Kolm, Eva Stockinger

BIOGRAPHY

2. *Viyano* – Werner Finke. A Biographical Sketch 25
Maria Six-Hohenbalken

3. Personal Encounters with an "Empathic Anthropologist" and "Gentleman Colleague" 43
Gabriele Rasuly-Paleczek

THE FINKE COLLECTION

4. Curating Loss – (Im)possible Selections from the Werner Finke Collection 51
Mehmet Emir

5. The Werner Finke Collection from 1967 to the "Dark 80s" 103
Maria Six-Hohenbalken

6. Beyond the Archive. Notes on Working with the Finke Estate 115
Eva Stockinger

7. On Photography and Photographic Documentation in the Werner Finke Collection, the Photographic Materials and their Condition 129
Thomas Freiler

8. "Frozen Images" of Oral and Intangible Kurdish Cultural Heritage. The Audio Data Collection of 1974 to 1978 by Werner Finke 137
Khanna Omarkhali

9. Diary Notes of Werner Finke 161
Maria Six-Hohenbalken

10. Encountering an Event. Finke's Photographs of a Kurdish Wedding at the High Summer Pasture 167
Marina Stoilova

11. The Finke Collection at the Weltmuseum Wien. Ethnographic Objects from Kurdish Rural Everyday Life 179
Maria Six-Hohenbalken

12. Encounters, Reminiscences and Circulations. A Workshop Report 191
Seyda Goyan and Maria Six-Hohenbalken

13. Tracing Inconspicuous Objects in the Werner Finke Collection. Notes on the Kurdish Pottery 199
Eszter Ágota Hárs

14. Women's Working Worlds – Documented by Werner Finke 215
Maria Six-Hohenbalken

TRANSFORMATIONS

15. Shelters and Shepherds in Southeast Turkey: Diversities and Similarities in Kurdish Nomadic Herding Camps between 2005 and 2015 225
Michaël Thevenin

16. Soil Knowledge: Learning from the Relationship between Vernacular Kurdish Earthen Buildings and the Socio-Ecologies of the Wetlands of the Nehîl 251
EJ Williams

17. Mountains Can Remember. The Rise of War and Fall of Species 267
Rojda Tuğrul

18. Afterlives of Images. Art-based Approaches to Processing and Representing Photographic Collections 273
Maria Six-Hohenbalken, Mehmet Emir, Eva Kolm, Eva Stockinger

Authors 279

Index 283

VIYANO – A PASSION FOR KURDS AND MOUNTAIN LIFE. PREFACE AND INTRODUCTION

Maria Six-Hohenbalken, Mehmet Emir, Eva Kolm, Eva Stockinger

PREFACE

Viyano was the name the Kurds gave Werner Finke (1942–2002). It goes back to the Kurdish and Turkish form of Vienna, Viyana, the city from whose surroundings he came. Viyano was his nickname. Even today, some Kurds still remember Werner Finke by this name, Viyano.

Werner Finke spent over 30 years ethnographically documenting the everyday culture of the Kurds in Turkey. Without any academic affiliation or research assignment, he traveled to the Kurdish mountains almost every year and created a comprehensive multimedia documentation on his own initiative as well as an ethnographic collection for the Weltmuseum Wien. Apart from a few smaller presentations and a larger exhibition, his multimedia material has remained unseen to date. Werner Finke hardly ever tried to make his research public. This publication accompanies the digital release of large parts of the collection. In addition to a biographical presentation, the publication offers insight into the extensive collection, contextualizes it in the field of Kurdish Studies, discusses transformation processes in Kurdish everyday cultures since Finke's collecting activities, and shows ways of realizing possible further scientific use.

Werner Finke's travels to the Kurdish regions of Turkey, which began in 1963 and continued until the year 2000, were always characterized by his interest in exploration. As a long-term student, he only published a very small fraction of his documentation and reported on it in a more popular scientific context, thus in the form of small exhibitions and lectures. Werner Finke was never a person who sought publicity, aspired to a scientific career, or liked to be the center of attention. Although some of his fellow students knew about his travels, they never had any insight into the incredible extent of his documentary work.

When Werner Finke's sister handed over his materials to the Institute of Social Anthropology at the Austrian Academy of Sciences after his sudden death, we had no idea at the time how extremely varied and valuable his legacy would be. His extensive photo documentation, including over 25,000 photos, documentary films (around 100), all of which are still only available as raw film material, audio recordings, and his ethnographic collecting activities (over 1,000 objects at Weltmuseum Wien) are brought together and partially analyzed for the first time in this publication. The scope of processing and analysis will take years to complete, therefore this publication should be understood as a first consolidation.

The acquisition of a four-year research project from the Austrian Science Fund enabled us to view and digitize Werner Finke's estate. As part of the project *ZOZAN Approaching mobility via multimedia documentation, art interventions, art-based research and (re)presentations,*[1] the Werner Finke collection—which relates to the documentation of everyday life in the Kurdish regions of Turkey—is not processed on its own, but rather linked in a

[1] Austrian Science Fund: FWF PEEK Project AR 682.

variety of ways to a second collection, namely that of the artist Mehmet Emir, who has documented his Kurdish home region of Dersim for decades. Against this backdrop, art-based workshops are organized in the Kurdish transnation in order to survey the current views of Kurds on these materials, to record their opinions and attitudes, and to illustrate far-reaching transformation processes. In small individual presentations and a final exhibition, these works will be shown to the public together with excerpts from the extensive ethnographic and artistic documentation by Werner Finke and Mehmet Emir (see the article of Eva Stockinger and the article "Afterlives of images" in this volume).

The Werner Finke collection was created at a time when social science research in these regions of Turkey was only possible with great difficulty. Many of these areas were under special control of the military from the 1970s onwards, and in some regions it was impossible for foreigners to travel or undertake research.

The geographical regions of concern, the eastern provinces of Anatolia, faced immense socio-economic transformations and demographic changes within the decades of documentation. The multimedia material of Werner Finke document and scrutinize these changes from various angles. In several provinces in eastern Turkey, the traditional Kurdish way of life was based on animal husbandry and transhumance (a kind of mobile alpine farming, where farmers left the villages with their livestock in summer and lived mobile on the mountain pastures). This way of life was increasingly endangered, mainly due to political reasons. People were forced to give up transhumance, stay in their villages permanently, and adapt their farming methods and lifestyle. From the late 1960s onwards, the eastern Anatolian provinces faced immense emigration rates due to state violence and political upheavals, states of emergency and socio-economic underdevelopment. Therefore, traditional Kurdish mobility (transhumance) changed within these decades into outmigration which further increased the transnationalization of Kurdish communities.

The political history of the Kurdish provinces since the 1960s has been examined from a variety of perspectives in recent decades (Bozarslan, Gunes, and Yadirgi 2021). The repressive measures against the Kurdish population, all-encompassing state control, and major national "development" projects, such as dam construction, have not only led to exorbitant migration flows to the western provinces of Turkey and abroad. The urbanization rates in the eastern Turkish provinces also caused extensive transformation processes.

Area studies from the perspective of Kurdish studies, ethnographic research or uninfluenced objective documentation activities could hardly be realized. In addition, critical publications within Turkey from the 1980s onwards—in the "Dark Ages" as Hamit Bozarslan (2021) calls that decade—i.e., the period of denial of ethnic identity and the fight against oppositional political movements, were banned soon after their publication. Diasporas and scholars abroad were also affected by the states'[2] control that made it impossible for critical scholars to undertake long-term field research in the Kurdish regions.

This was also one of the reasons why Werner Finke hardly published anything and rarely appeared in public. He seemed too connected to the Kurdish people, pursued his passion every year and traveled to the Kurdish mountain regions. In the 1980s onwards, he collected everyday objects of Kurdish and Turkish communities for the Museum of Ethnology (Weltmuseum Wien).

INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXTUALIZATION

The following is an outline of the political developments as well as scientific approaches and methods in order to show Werner Finke's framework of operation (1960s–late 1990s). As it is impossible to go into further detail about the political, socio-economic, and academic conditions, and their rapid developments in the Kurdish regions in Turkey, rather rough lines of development will have to

[2] The various nation states Kurds live in: Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Syria. Although this concern is predominantly related to the Turkish state, the other countries rigidly observed any scientific work and publications from abroad.

suffice here. Similarly, this cannot be a complete outline of developments in Kurdish Studies, which were closely linked to the political situation in the Kurdish settlement areas. It is merely intended to provide insight into the situation faced by an Austrian researcher working on Kurdish topics in order to better assess Werner Finke's ethnographic collection activities. Since we are dealing with a comprehensive interdisciplinary field, which includes not only social anthropology, but also works from political science, Kurdish Studies, Turkish Studies etc., we will only take a look at the most essential areas.

When the student Werner Finke decided to dedicate his dissertation to Kurdish society and its traditional economic and social structures in the 1960s, he could only draw on a few ethnological studies.[3] He was able to refer to the publication by Edmund Leach (1940), who had researched the social organization of the Kurds in Rowanduz (Iraq). In the 1950s, Frederick Barth published his groundbreaking research on the social organization of the Kurds in Iraq, which provided an empirical reference point for his later formulated theoretical approaches to ethnicity (1953, 1954). Fredrick Barth and Henny Harald Hansen were part of the team of researchers on the Dokan Expedition (Iraq), and Hansen published a comprehensive study on the lives of Kurdish women in 1961. In the late 1950s and 1960s, Wolfgang Rudolph (Freie Universität Berlin) conducted ethnosociological research among Kurdish societies in eastern Anatolia and western Iran (1959). Furthermore, there were some contributions from cultural geography in the German-speaking area, such as the research by Wolf-Dieter Hütteroth, who studied alpine farming and transhumance in the central Kurdish Taurus (Turkey) (1959, 1961). Werner Finke may have also had access to the extensive study by the British scholar Paul Stirling on a Turkish village (1965), which influenced generations of social anthropologists who conducted research in Turkey.[4] The Austrian student may have been familiar with the works of Raphael Patai on the situation of women in the Middle East (1967) and on kinship systems (1965). The first works on Kurdish social structures, and in particular on tribal units, were already written in the 19th century; in the early 20th century, above all by French and British colonial officials (e.g., Blau 1862; Sykes 1908). We do not know whether Finke was able to draw on such comprehensive social science and historical works as those by the Russian orientalist and Kurdologist Basil Nikitine (1956) or the equally Russian orientalist Minorsky (1945).

The social anthropologist Ramazan Aras sees different lines of development in the establishment of Kurdish Studies in Turkey (2014). For the pre-republican era (i.e., before 1923), he sees two categories of works: there are the studies by Western missionaries, diplomats, travelers and researchers on the one hand, and those realized by Kurdish intellectuals, researchers and diplomats on the other. The latter were particularly closely linked to the beginnings of the Kurdish national movement (Aras 2014, 106 f.). Mesut Yeğen outlines the first steps of the movement in the pre-republican era. The first decades refer to the founding of the magazine *Kurdistan*[5] (1898), the establishment of the first Kurdish organization *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Cemiyeti* (Society for Kurdish Mutual Aid and Progress, KTTC) by Kurdish notables, intellectuals and bureaucrats in 1908, and the organization *Hêvî* (Kürt Talebe-Hêvî Cemiyeti, Kurdish Student Hope Society), founded by students in Istanbul in 1912, who published monthly magazines (Yeğen 2021, 312 ff.). These initial publications were not accessible in Austrian libraries for the student Werner Finke.

The initial organizations, which emerged shortly before and after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the takeover by the Young Turks, were very diverse in their orientation and political demands, and ideas for an independent Kurdistan were already a topic of debate. The First World War meant a major turning point in terms of political development—the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, the peace conferences after the First World War (Sevres and Lausanne), and the founding of nation states with new ideologies, which enforced a new

[3] His extensive multimedia collection as well as parts of his library related to Kurdish topics are now found at the Institute of Social Anthropology at the Austrian Academy of Sciences.

[4] See also the edited volume by İncirlioğlu and Rasuly-Paleczek (2023).

[5] Published in Cairo 1898–1902 by the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP).

direction for the Kurdish movement. The suppression of national uprisings such as the rebellion of Sheikh Said (1925), or the Mountain Ağri uprising (1930), and finally the mass violence in the province of Dersim/Tunceli (1937/38) ultimately meant that the Kurdish national endeavor in Turkey was quashed for decades. A Kurdish movement, albeit under completely new conditions, slowly re-emerged in the 1960s. The assimilation policy of the Turkish state, designed to create Turkish citizens out of an ethnically, linguistically and religiously extremely heterogeneous population structure, evoked further resistance movements. The Kurdish population—the demographically largest ethnic group—in particular resisted the Turkification policy. This included, above all, language prohibition laws—i.e., the prohibition of all languages except Turkish—which were implemented ever more strictly in the following decades.

As Yeğen explains, the reorientation of the Kurdish movement in the 1960s was also related to the memories of violent suppression of the uprisings in the interwar period, while the political and social developments in the country were yet another factor.[6] The introduction of a multiparty system, increasing urbanization in the 1960s, and the strengthening of left-wing organizations and parties, student circles and a new class of intellectuals shaped the Kurdish national movement (2021, 316 f. see also Bruinessen 2003–04; Bozarslan 2013, Vali 2003). In the early 1960s, it was mainly the *Türkiye İşçi Partisi* (Workers' Party of Turkey, TIP, founded in 1961) that proactively addressed the Kurds and the "Kurdish question", and adopted a resolution in 1970 recognizing the existence of the "Kurdish people"—at a time when the state denied the existence and specific problems in the east of the country. In the mid-1960s, the "Meetings of the East" were launched by young intellectuals together with bourgeois circles as a response to increasing state repression. In 1969, the first legal Kurdish association, *Devrimci Doğu Kültür Ocakları* (DDKO Revolutionary Cultural Association of the East), was founded, which was active in the larger cities in Western Anatolia and in various Kurdish cities (Heinrich 1989, 12ff.). They published on Kurdish topics, protested against human rights violations, and denounced cultural imperialism (Bruinessen 2003–04, 6f.). As early as the 1960s, Kurdish intellectuals were confronted with publication bans. In his work *Doğu'nun Sorunları* (The Problems of the East, 1966), the Kurdish writer Mehmet Emin Bozarslan analyzed the social, political, economic, and cultural problems of the Kurds at the time, denounced the anti-democratic strategies of the state, and called for the admission of the Kurdish language in education and in the media (Aras 2014, 111f.). In consequence, Bozarslan's books were banned and he was imprisoned from 1971 to 1974. State repression was such that only six books in Kurdish were published in Turkey between 1923 and 1970, and all of them were banned (Aras 2014). In 1969, the Turkish sociologist finally published his dissertation on the structural problems of one of the last Kurdish nomadic tribes, the Alikan, in which he discussed issues of state violence and structural violence. He was brought before court for this academic work and eventually sentenced to many years in prison (Bruinessen 2003–04).

These publications in Kurdish were hardly available in Europe in the 1960s and 1970s, and therefore virtually inaccessible to Finke. However, he was able to access some of the works produced in Western circles in the pre-republican era. The libraries at the University of Vienna did not have any collections on Kurdish Studies, and literature searches had to be conducted in the traditional way using the usual tools (card catalogs and inventory volumes). What Werner Finke certainly had access to, however, were the texts translated by Heinrich Barb from the oldest Kurdish historical work *Sherefname,* published by the Austrian Academy of Sciences (1853–59). He was also able to draw on German-language travel reports from the late 19th and early 20th century (such as Moltke 1882), detailed cultural-historical studies (e.g., Lehmann-Haupt 1910), and reports from the British and French colonial periods (e.g., Soane 1926).

With regard to the political history up to the 1960s, the first publications were available in European languages, such as those by the chief

[6] Martin van Bruinessen explains that two major reforms were initiated to "safeguard the Kemalist heritage": 'A new constitution, drawn up by a committee of Kemalist legal scholars' and the establishment of a State Planning Organization (1960), that should organize the Five-Year Development Plans, to overcome disparities (van Bruinessen 2003–04, 4).

of staff of the Iranian Army and later diplomat Hasan Arfa (1966), or the American foreign service officer and later diplomat William L. Eagleton, who published on the short-lived Republic of Mahabad (1963) and the British political officer Cecil Edmonds (1957). Edmonds also published a Kurdish-English dictionary together with Taufiq Wahbī (Wahbī 1966). In the Netherlands, a bibliography was compiled and published in a small print edition that was difficult to access (Rooy and Tamboer 1968), while bibliographies published in Iraq, for example, were hardly available (Nerīman 1977).

In addition to limited access to published material, another great challenge for young Werner Finke was certainly the impossibility of acquiring knowledge of Kurdish at the University of Vienna. Yet he may have attended Turkish courses and then further practiced his Turkish skills on site. Language courses for one of the Kurdish dialects were not available in Austria in the 1960s and 1970s. Kurdish was taught in Paris at the Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (INALCO), in London at the School of Oriental and African Languages (SOAS), at universities and the academies of science in St. Petersburg and Moscow, and from 1971 onwards also in Baghdad (Blau 1992). These were mainly linguistic institutions, some of which could draw on longer traditions,[7] provided a certain stability, almost exclusively in the linguistic field of Kurdish studies, and where Kurds who had fled their home increasingly played an important role. However, the publications were difficult to access and aimed at an academic readership.

It was only in the late 1980s and early 1990s that Kurdish language courses were organized at the non-university level in Vienna. In the diaries of Werner Finke, we find a series of word lists for Kurdish terms (kinship terms, agricultural tools etc.), which show his intentions to learn Kurdish on site. In the first years of his field trips, he tended to fall back on Turkish. He could only prepare himself by using the aforementioned pre-republican publications, the few publications in social sciences, and the ethnological methodical approaches. The university institute (Institute for Ethnology) at the time rather focused on empiricism than on theoretical approaches, and predominantly practiced participant observation as a research method. During his first years of fieldwork, he was already confronted with political developments that made official research impossible and forced him to organize his research in a more "hidden" manner from the outset.

In the 1970s, ethnological studies in Turkey often focused on agriculture, the transformation of traditional agriculture, state modernization programs, household economics, subsistence and market economies, traditional crafts (see Paleczek 1987), and traditional social structures (Barlas 1975). The 1970s also saw the emergence of the village study approach in Turkey, which was pursued by a number of sociologists and examined village economies, social relations and transformations. However, there were hardly any such studies in the Kurdish regions, and the few conducted avoided to mention the respective ethnic group. In the 1960s, the special field of development sociology was established at German academic institutions, and its approaches were also applied in studies in Turkey (e.g., Osterkamp 1967).

Socio-economic developments in Turkey from the 1960s onwards led to urbanization and migration movements. While in 1960, almost three out of four people were still employed in agriculture, this number had already fallen to 66 percent by 1970 (Şen and Goldberg 1994, 14). Five years later, more than 20 percent of the population were already living outside their province of birth. At the same time, cities were growing at a disproportionate rate. In 1980, 44 percent of the Turkish population was already living in provincial and district centers (Struck 1984, 27 f.). Internal migration and urban growth increased sharply in the following decades, lending Turkey a steep urbanization rate of 65 percent in 1997. The city of Istanbul with a population of around 1.3 million in the early 1960s had almost 10 million inhabitants by the end of the 1990s (Şen, Akkaya and Özek 1998, 213f.).

Social challenges, comprehensive transformation processes in agriculture and land use (Yalman 1971), and massive migration to cities accelerated migration studies in Turkey. Migration research received further impetus in Turkey as well as in some European countries as a result of the recruitment agreements with European countries for

[7] Despite very promising beginnings in linguistic and cultural-historical research in the field of Kurdish Studies, there was a break after the First World War. Some of the traditions and institutions were not continued in the same way (see Six-Hohenbalken 2021).

the secondment of labor. In the early 1970s, ethnological and sociological research was possible without restriction in the western and central Anatolian provinces, but this did not apply to eastern Turkey. In the 1970s, the policy of unequal state investment, namely the absorption of resources in the east of the country and increased investment in the western provinces, was identified as a deliberate policy of underdevelopment (Jafar 1976).

After the brief hiatus caused by the military coup of 1971, the orientation of the Kurdish movements continued as an anti-colonial, leftist (from Marxist to socialist orientations) movement, mainly supported by students, intellectuals, lawyers etc. A whole series of parties and organizations were founded, such as the *Partiya Sosyalîsta Kurdistan* (PSK, The Socialist Party of Kurdistan), the *Devrimci Doğu Kültür Dernekleri* (DDKD, Revolutionary Culture Association of the East), *Rizgarî* (Liberation) and *Kawa* (named after the mythological figure of the blacksmith Kawa) (see Yeğen 2021, 321). An important organization for the emergence of various left-wing networks, parties and organizations was the organization *Türkiye Devrimci Gençlik Federasyonu* (Federation of Revolutionary Youth of Turkey), abbreviated as *Dev Genç*. In the 1970s, a number of communist, Marxist-Leninist organizations increasingly operated underground. In the wake of the 1971 military coup, TIP was also banned because of its stance on the Kurdish question (Heinrich 1989, 16). Kurdish organizations were ideologically influenced by TIP and the movement that emerged from it, as well as by the *Dev Genç* movement and the strengthening *Kurdish Democratic Party* (KDP) in Iraq under Mullah Mustafa Barzani. In Turkey, a sister organization (*Kürdistan Demokrat Partisi-Türkiye KDP-T*) was founded in the 1960s, which, due to ideological differences, split up into a more traditional bourgeois-nationalist movement and a Marxist-Leninist movement in the 1970s (Heinrich 1989, 19).

Not only the polarization between right-wing and left-wing parties in Turkey but also the recurring influence of religion and violent clashes caused a military intervention in 1971, after which political activities were restricted. While repeated changes of government reflected the instability in the country, growing foreign debt and rising unemployment ultimately led to the state's insolvency. The International Monetary Funds tried to restore Turkey's creditworthiness, which resulted in social tensions going hand in hand with political radicalization. At a time when living conditions for people were becoming increasingly difficult, and political and economic instability was on the rise, hardly any long-term and critical research work was authorized. A valuable source of research on the cultural geography of the Middle East was the journal *Bustan*, published in Vienna from 1960 to 1971.

Any Kurdish Studies that developed during these decades were not firmly institutionalized. They experienced a number of setbacks and disruptions due to financial and organizational challenges as well as political interference. The few university institutes and research institutions tended to be linguistically oriented or developed their own national methodologies (see Schmidinger et al. 2014). In the 1970s, exile movements of the Kurds in France, England and Germany became increasingly active. Student organizations were founded as the mouthpiece of individual Kurdish movements in the countries of origin; cultural organizations were set up and magazines were founded. More and more works in European languages dealing with political history (e.g., Franz 1977; Kutschera 1979; Vanly 1970), state violence and human rights violations (e.g., Roth 1978; Mc Dowall 1975) were published. In the 1970s, it was the campaigns and publications of the *Society for Threatened People* (founded in Germany in 1968) that addressed the human rights situation in the Kurdish regions.

Due to the unstable political situation and increasing state violence, it was almost impossible to conduct ethnological research over a longer period of time in Turkey—the fate of Beşikçi was too daunting. In Iraq, too, the political circumstances in the 1970s, especially the suppression of the Kurdish movement in 1975, hardly allowed for long-term field research. However, Martin van Bruinessen did succeed in conducting ethnological field research in Iran in the 1970s, which shaped Kurdish Studies for decades to come. His publication *Agha, Sheikh and State* is a comprehensive study of Kurdish social organizations and the relationship between tribe and state—a line of research and approach pursued in the Middle East well into the 1980s.[8] Van Bruinessen studied local

[8] See, for example, Richard Tapper on the Shahsevan in Iran in 1979, Philip Salzman on the integration of Iranian tribes into the state in 1971, and Tapper on questions of tribe and state in Iran and Afghanistan in 1983.

power relations and kinship, religious and political loyalties over a very long period of time. He conducted fieldwork in the Kurdish regions of Iran between 1974 and 1976, and in 1978 submitted his dissertation, which eventually led to the publication of the book mentioned above (1989, 1992). He had originally planned to conduct a field trip to the Kurdish regions of Iraq. However, due to the suppression of the Kurdish resistance, he had to flee with Kurdish fighters to Iran, where he finally continued his field research.

There are only a few social anthropological publications from the 1970s that were based on longer field research. Among them are Peter Bumke's articles on Alevism in Dersim (1974; 1979) or Ayşe Kudat's articles on ritual kinship (1971) and patron-client relationships in eastern Turkey (1975), and Paul Magnarella and Orhan Türkdoğan's work on kinship relations (1973). Increasing attention was also paid to the political history and recent situation of other ethnic groups, such as the Assyrians (Yonan 1978). As a result of the refugee and migration movements to Europe, from the 1960s onwards Kurds also increasingly enrolled at universities, founded associations, and published their works that were also accessible to a wider readership (e.g., Nebez 1969; 1970; 1972; 1975, and Vanly 1968, 1970) and some of which also took a popular scientific approach.

In particular, the field notes and multimedia documentation collected by Werner Finke in 1974 and 1975 in the Uludere and Beytüşşebap region (genealogies, documentation of weddings, recordings of the *dengbej*[9], word lists, detailed field notes) suggest that he had taken a new approach to his dissertation project. Perhaps he was also inspired by the move of Walter Dostal, former professor of ethnology in Bern, to the Institute of Ethnology at the University of Vienna. Dostal specialized in the social anthropology of the Middle East, particularly the Arabian Peninsula, and was especially interested in tribal structures, market economies, and nomadism.

In 1978, Finke worked with Walter Dostal, Gabriele Rasuly-Paleczek and Josef Salat on a project about traditional craftsmanship in Turkey, carried out in collaboration with the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art (Nazan Tapan, Istanbul) and the Film Merkezi of the University of Istanbul. We know from his fellow students that he was a gifted field researcher (see the contributions by Rasuly-Paleczek and Six-Hohenbalken to the biography in this volume), but that he also soon realized that publishing his material collected in the Kurdish villages on mountain pastures seemed increasingly impossible, as the political situation for the Kurdish population in Turkey became increasingly difficult. The general denial of the existence of the Kurds, language prohibition laws, the prohibition of publications in Kurdish and about Kurds was then continued with particular severity in the 1980s. In some regions, the security situation became extremely tense as a result of the general economic crisis in Turkey in the late 1970s, the strikes in Turkish cities, the political polarization in Turkey, the often rival Kurdish movements that increasingly operated underground, and state-tolerated right-wing terrorist organizations (Bruinessen 1992, 45). In the period between 1978 and 1980 around 5,000 political assassinations were documented, mostly committed by members of the fascist "Grey Wolves" (see e.g., Akbayir and Morres 2000; Bozarslan 2021).

Attacks were carried out against Kurdish Alevis, for example in Maraş in 1978, where 111 Alevis were murdered (Vanly 1986, 57). The Turkish Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit imposed martial law in 13 of 67 provinces, most of which were in the Kurdish settlement area, and in 1979 extended it to six further Kurdish provinces based on the alleged increase in separatist activities (ibid, 58). One of the numerous Kurdish organizations that emerged in the 1970s and which had previously called itself *Apoci* or pl. *Apocular* (followers of Apo), renamed itself *Partiya Karkêrên Kurdistan* (PKK, Kurdistan Workers' Party) in 1978 and further expanded the movement. Supporters came from different social classes—i.e., workers, farmers, students and the middle classes. Although militant actions had already taken place in the late 1970s, it took a few more years before the organization committed itself to the armed struggle in August 1984.

The political escalation was closely linked to socio-economic developments. In the early 1970s, the South-East Anatolia Project (Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi; GAP in Turkish) was launched, building a total of 22 dams and 19 hydroelectric power plants. These dams further intensified the

[9] Reciters of oral literature and oral history.

enormous urbanization movements and contributed to the intensification of socio-economic development, which some saw as deliberate acts of underdevelopment of the Kurdish regions as well as proof of assimilation policies (Bilgin 2018, 149).

The 1980 military coup by General Evren was the third in the Turkish Republic, and, like the two before it, aimed to restore the sources of Kemalism. As Vanly points out, each of the three coups occurred at times when the Kurds had briefly gained some rights (freedom of assembly, publications in the Kurdish language, see Vanly 1986, 61f. and 67f.). In these periods, state power seemed too weak to quickly suppress these movements (Vanly 1986, 53). The military coup initiated large-scale waves of arrests and military campaigns against the Kurdish population. Political parties and associations were banned, opposition members arrested, and martial law imposed in eleven Kurdish provinces. In a mass trial in Diyarbakır, hundreds of Kurdish defendants were convicted of terrorism and separatism, and many were tortured in prison (Kaya 1984). It was not only activists who were arrested, but often simple villagers with no connections to the Kurdish resistance. These developments triggered widespread flight, with tens of thousands leaving the Kurdish regions, and few Kurdish organizations being able to survive in this situation. The 1982 constitution severely restricted democratic, political and trade union rights (Chaliand 1984; Kendal 1984; Vanly 1986; 1988a).

Although martial law was lifted in 1987, a state of emergency was proclaimed for several Kurdish provinces. Special units trained by the German military along the lines of the border guard group GSG 9 were stationed in Kurdish provinces. Human rights organizations reported systematic torture. Not only those active in party politics were persecuted, but also intellectuals, writers and scientists were accused of "separatism" or "jeopardizing national security" based on political involvement and critical statements. Turkey's legal prosecution was based on the principle of "national security". The National Security Council—which is not subordinate to the Council of Ministers—was responsible for these "offences" and thus co-determined policies in Turkey. "There, the political system of Turkey has two centres of decision-making: the civilian authority (in the form of the Council of Ministers and Parliament) and the military authority (in the form of the National Security Council)" (Gürbay 1996, 13). For this reason, the charges listed above fell under the jurisdiction of the National Security Council—i.e., the military. It has been estimated that around 250,000 people were arrested for political reasons after the coup in 1980, with some experts believing that around half of them were Kurds (Ammann 2001, 131; Initiative "Menschenrechte in Kurdistan" 1989).

Supporters of the PKK based in Lebanon were able to consolidate after the military coup. In 1984, the organization decided to take up arms against the Turkish military, triggering a cycle of violence and counter-violence in the following years. It was almost impossible for ordinary villagers to stay out of this conflict, which is why many left the country. The PKK was successively supported by a large share of the population in the provinces inhabited by Kurds. This resulted in large-scale military operations, the destruction of thousands of villages to deprive the guerrillas of support, and the introduction of a system of militia units known as the "village guard system" (*koruculuk sistemi*). The resulting, so-called low-conflict warfare claimed the lives of up to 40,000 people (Ammann 2001, 81). Forced resettlement measures, deportation, and expulsion were propagated as consequences and the necessary steps of economic development in the course of large development projects (e.g., GAP), but were also seen as the result of the conflict. In 1999, following the arrest of PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan in Kenya, the PKK ceased armed resistance and propagated civil resistance in the early 2000s.

Political scientists refer to the 1980s as the "Dark Eighties" in Kurdish history, as Kurds in Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria were exposed to incredible state violence (see Bozarslan 2021). In addition to state-imposed violence and politically motivated legal proceedings, amongst many other measurements, a certain "culture of fear" spread among the population. The policy of silencing as well as violence against journalists and academics made reporting and research in this field hardly possible in Turkey. The sociologist İsmail Beşikçi, who continued writing on state violence even after his long-term imprisonment, saw the question of ethnicity, the suppression of a Kurdish identity, and a national movement as the cause of unequal development and believed that the state was practicing "internal colonialism" in the east of the country (Beşikçi 1991).

Due to language prohibition laws, the ban on free media in Turkey, the impossibility of doing research in situ, various Kurdish diasporic institutions and networks in Europe became key players of

independent and critical reporting as well as conducting scientific studies. In 1983, the Kurdish Institute in Paris was established as an independent, non-political organization. The institute has a comprehensive agenda ranging from social and cultural studies, language and literature, arts, information and human rights monitoring to the stimulation of socio-cultural activities. It publishes a monthly bulletin (a kind of press review) and has an extensive publication strategy. With the establishment of the library, the institute has become an extremely important hub for Kurdish research worldwide.

In Germany, *KOMKAR* (Federasyona Komelên Karkerên Kurdistan li Elmanya Federal—i.e., Federation of Workers' Associations of Kurdistan in the FRG) was founded in 1979 by a merger of eight workers' associations (Franz 1986, 92). KOMKAR soon established a network throughout Germany. Branches were also founded in Sweden and Austria. KOMKAR set up a publishing house and a library in Cologne. Organizations like the Kurdish Institute in Paris or KOMKAR made it possible to access Kurdish publication far more easier. Other similar organizations followed in Great Britain, Scandinavia, and the Benelux countries. Some scientific institutions, such as the Berlin Institute for Comparative Social Research, tried to analyze developments in the Kurdish settlement areas. The 1980s were characterized by enormous refugee movements, political violence, human rights violations, mass arrests, and the denial of Kurdish existence—i.e., a political and social situation reflected in the publications. In the last two decades, a plethora of political and social studies were released, in which the "Dark 80s" were analyzed in various comprehensive ways (see the extensive outlines of Bozarslan 2021).

In the 1980s, any fieldwork in social sciences related to Kurdish topics in Turkey was obviously very difficult to realize. A major exception presents the field research conducted by Lale Yalçın-Heckmann for her dissertation between 1980 and 1982 in a mountain village in Hakkari. Her research offers a comprehensive analysis of tribal structures, the kinship system, the village household, and forms of marriage in Hakkari (1991). In the early 1980s, Zülküf Aydin conducted research in two villages in southeastern Turkey on household economics, underdevelopment and capitalization, and the inevitable emigration due to impoverishment (1986). Struck (1984) undertook a study of the rural exodus from the eastern Anatolian provinces. Moreover, the social science research on Turkey conducted in Germany in the 1980s was characterized by the issue of migration, which was the subject of a series of quantitative studies (e.g., Even et al. 1984; Struck 1988). Due to the political situation, publications in the early 1980s were dominated by analyses of political developments (e.g., Chaliand 1978, 1980; Kendal 1984, Khalil 1992; More 1984; Vanly 1988 a, b), with the diaspora organizations mentioned above making significant contributions. Kurds who had gone into exile recorded their years of experience as political prisoners (Kaya 1984). It was only towards the end of the 1980s and after martial law was lifted in 1987 that some social science research became possible again, for example the village study by Oda Ferber and Doris Gräßlin, who accompanied female migrants in Germany to their home village (1988). Peter Andrews' edited volume on ethnic hetero geneity in Turkey (1989) became a standard reference work that provided a sophisticated scientific answer to the nationality question and the ideology of a single Turkish ethnic identity. Andrews meticulously presented the different ethnic groups in Turkey in their historical context and recent distribution. Statistics, distribution maps, and a series of well-founded chapters on the individual ethnic and religious groups as well as on language policies or religious conflicts underpinned this work (e.g., Bruinessen 1989; Kehl-Bodrogi 1989; MacKenzie 1989; Nestman 1989; Lacıner 1989). Due to the impossibility of conducting research on site in the 1980s, there was certainly a focus on linguistics (Blau 1975; 1992), historical work (Blau 1989) and also, to some extent, on the presentation of museum collections and material culture (Eagleton 1988; Stanzer 1988). Schneider (1984) worked on the political situation and refugee movements of individual ethnic and religious groups such as the Yezidis, and Guest (1987) formulated a comprehensive history of the Yezidis in Iraq, Turkey and Syria.

In the 1980s, Werner Finke was still enrolled at the University of Vienna, but on the few occasions when he was involved in smaller research projects, he always undertook his work independently. He was neither involved in academic networks nor active in Kurdish political or diaspora organizations. He had tried to draw attention to the situation of the Kurds with smaller exhibitions organized by a private association. In the 1980s, he began collecting ethnographic objects for the Museum of Ethnology (today's Weltmuseum) (see Article 2 and 11 in this book) as an unpaid freelancer.

He never published anything scientifically in all these years.

In the 1990s, we can note a new impetus in Kurdish studies. On the one hand, there were the Western mass media, which became increasingly aware of the situation of the Kurds as a result of the Gulf Wars in the Middle East (1980–88, 1991), the guerrilla wars in Iran and Turkey (1984–1999), and the use of weapons of mass destruction against the Kurds in Iraq (1988). In Turkey, politics slowly changed towards a more pragmatic attitude (under Prime Minister Turgut Özal, among others), with the economic situation and the beginnings of EU accession negotiations playing a role.

Compared to the 1980s, there was a real boom in publications in the 1990s, as Aras (2014, 116ff.) explains. A large proportion of these publications attempted a political and social science synopsis of the situation of the Kurds in all nation states. Many of these studies were published by European publishers (e.g., Olson 1992, 1996; Kirişci and Winrow 1997; Mc Dowall 1992, Kreyenbroek and Sperl 1992; Yeğen 1999). It should be noted that academic and popular science publishers in Turkey that covered Kurdish topics often had a short lifespan even in the 1990s, and were repeatedly closed down. In addition to own publications, works that appeared in English were also translated into Turkish and published in Turkey, such as Lale Yalçın-Heckmann's dissertation (2002) or Jwaideh's work on the Kurdish national movement (1999).

In 1992, Werner Finke was able to present the comprehensive ethnographic collection he had compiled for the first time, showing a very small selection of his photographs and providing insight into his field of research in a popular scientific way (see Article 2 in this volume). In Alfred Janata, the curator of the Museum of Ethnology (today's Weltmuseum), he had certainly found a supporter for years. With Janata's sudden death in 1993 and the long vacancy of the position, Werner Finke's collecting activities for the museum also came to an end. In the following years, he would continue to travel to the Kurdish regions almost every year, but he neither published anything nor made his collections accessible.

STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

One of the challenges for the editors was to publish a book that would do justice to the collecting activity and multimedia documentation and yet take sufficient account of recent approaches and incorporate the voices of those researched into the publication. As outlined above, the political situation was extremely difficult for decades, making extensive research impossible. Nevertheless, Finke managed to compile a comprehensive documentation in his own way, which collected over many years in a "hidden investigation" and then kept in secret for a long time. It was, therefore, a great concern of the editors not only to make his documentation accessible, but also to present the background, discuss the scientific framework and, on the basis of some works, to show what kind of afterlife this collection could have. However, we are still a long way from being able to offer a precise analysis of this multimedia documentation.

This anthology is, therefore, organized in three large thematic sections:

In the first section, an extensive biographical outline of Werner Finke's life with a clear focus on his socialization within the scientific framework of ethnology in Vienna provides some initial background information. A fellow student and colleague of Werner Finke, namely Gabriele Rasuly-Paleczek, writes about her collaboration with him and gives insight in the working methods of this time.

The second section of the volume refers in detail to Werner Finke's considerable collecting activities. The selection from the extensive material of visual documentation was made by the Kurdish artist and project collaborator Mehmet Emir. Aspects of his selection are introduced together with individual illustrations. As mentioned in the beginning, Werner Finke published very little. A few lectures were found in his estate, which have been compiled and critically annotated for this volume.

The following articles are dedicated to the question of his methodological approach and the reappropriation of material. Eva Stockinger writes about the digitization of Kurdish cultural heritage and the database which is accessible online.[10] She shows ways of approaching the archival material in a participatory way with and in certain public spheres.

[10] See the website www.zozan.at to access the database.

As a curated selection of the photographic collection is available online, it is necessary to approach and evaluate the technical and photographic aspects of the collection. As the editors had no further information about Finke's technical equipment nor about his approaches, the media artist and photographer Thomas Freiler analyzes Werner Finke's photographs from a methodological and technical perspective.

Part of the comprehensive collection are audio recordings realized between 1974 and 1975. These comprise *dengbêj* recitations, songs, sounds, conversations and noises recorded during a wedding. With just little on the recordings about the singer, the editors had no more information available. The Kurdologist Khanna Omarkhali, an expert in oral literature, thus provides an overview of the collection, discusses the significance of recorded oral histories and songs, and analyzes a few examples in greater detail.

Maria Six-Hohenbalken gives an overview of the collection of ethnographica that Werner Finke brought to the Museum of Ethnology and explores what we can learn from the collector's knowledge given on the object descriptions. Furthermore, she provides a brief insight into Werner Finke's diaries.

In the course of the *ZOZAN* project, the team tried to make contact with the people Werner Finke accompanied over the years—those whose lives he documented, photographed and recorded. Fortunately, in the course of this research, the team came across a photographer and collector of ethnographic objects from one of the communities depicted by Finke. The following article was written in close collaboration with Seyda Goyan, who came to Vienna to examine some of Finke's material and related it to his own collecting activities. The two young researchers Eszter Hárs and Marina Stoilova also benefited from the intensive collaboration with Seyda Goyan. Eszter Hárs' article is based on photographs showing pottery from a remote village and corresponding objects at Weltmuseum Wien. Marina Stoilova took a very picturesque photo series by Werner Finke as her starting point, in which he documented a wedding at a large summer camp. In view of the difficult documentation situation for the material, the more precise processing of the photos is dependent on joint work with people from the respective communities, as Stoilova shows.

The third section is presented under the title "Transformations", referring on the one hand to the period of developments in transhumance and the transformation of traditional economic forms in the last two decades—i.e., the time after the collection comes to an end. On the other hand, the editors follow an innovative participatory approach to elaborate forms of representation.

The ethnologist Michaël Thevenin spent over a decade studying various forms of transhumance in eastern Turkey. His material and respectable analyses provide insight into a form of economy that has almost disappeared, showing forms of adaptation that have taken place in the last two decades. The architect EJ Williams looked at everyday architecture in the region around Hakkari and depicts the changes following interventions in a wetland area in and around Nehîl. She pursues macrosociological approaches and takes a closer look at local developments. Many of the villages and summer pastures documented by Finke no longer exist today. The inhabitants moved away voluntarily in the course of the many conflicts or were forced to abandon the alpine pastures and the village. The scientist and artist Rojda Tuğrul uses very recent theoretical approaches to discuss the questions of Anthropocene in these regions.

As mentioned in the beginning, the *ZOZAN* project pursues a participatory approach in order to document the opinions of the viewers of Finke's pictures and to develop suitable forms of representation with as many Kurdish people and artists as possible. Instead of an epilogue, we offer some insight into the results of this participatory work. As further publications are planned in the course of the *ZOZAN* project, this concluding section is also formulated as an outlook on future publications.

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VIYANO – WERNER FINKE. A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

Maria Six-Hohenbalken

Viyano – yes, that was Viyano! We called him Viyano.[11] *What happened to him? As surprisingly as he appeared and stayed with my parents for many years, he was gone. He always stayed with my parents during his visits, collected things and bought things from people. We knew he was taking them to the museum in Vienna. Then he was just gone, he never came back. We didn't know what had happened to him, we had no address or telephone number that we could have asked about.*

(Resident from Beytüşşebap 2023)

It was October 1963 when Werner Finke traveled to the Kurdish regions for the first time. He and his brother Reinhold were on their way to India. In an old Citroën 2CV, they crossed Turkey, parts of northern Syria, Iraq and Iran, before reaching northern India via Pakistan and Afghanistan. Werner Finke was 21 and Reinhold Finke 22 years old. About three years later, Werner Finke began his almost annual research trips to the Kurdish regions of Turkey, which he carried out until the end of the 1990s. These trips enabled him to amass an extremely extensive ethnographic collection, which is now kept at the Weltmuseum Wien. His rich ethnographic multimedia collection on Kurdish everyday culture, kept today in the archives of the Institute for Social Anthropology of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, could not be published during Werner Finke's lifetime.

This short biographical article is intended to shed light on Werner's career as an ethnographer, offer background information on his interest in Kurdish society and everyday culture, and the academic contexts in Vienna.[12]

THE FINKE FAMILY

Werner Finke was born in Mödling near Vienna, Austria on 21 July 1942, and lived all his life in Perchtoldsdorf, a market town bordering Vienna. He grew up in a family with an interest in other societies, art and culture. His mother's side of the family came from Hungary, his father's side from the Czech Republic: a typical family in the Viennese hinterland, revealing the country's Habsburg history in its family composition. Some of the Finke ancestors are likely to have shown great interest in traveling—a great-grandmother and a grandfather had already traveled to South America, while another part of the family was captivated by culture. Werner Finke's mother, Felicitas Finke-Öller, had attended the Max Reinhardt Seminar in Vienna, the most famous acting school in the German-speaking realm. It was only after the birth of her third child—the first child was her son

[11] Viyano was the "Kurdish" name given to him by his contacts and long-standing friends. This invented name is an allusion to the Turkish or Kurdish name for Vienna, Viyana. The ending -o is often used in Kurdish for short forms of male first names (for example Memo for Mehmet).

[12] This article is based on personal documents from Werner Finke's estate and a series of conversations with Werner Finke's sister as well as fellow students, companions, project staff and friends. Special thanks go to Andre Gingrich, Ali Gronner, Karin Kren, Helmut Lukas, Gabriele Rasuly-Paleczek, Jana Salat, Erika Neuber and Sylvia Widhalm, all of whom shared their memories. In addition, I also draw on my own memories, which go back to my time working with Werner Finke on an exhibition.



Werner Finke in a bus parking lot in Istanbul in 1968. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke

Reinhold (born in 1941), the second Werner and the third child her daughter Sylvia (born in 1948)—that she gave up acting and worked as a broadcaster. The father worked as a builder.

Werner Finke attended a Viennese grammar school and transferred to a so-called Matura school, where he passed the external school-leaving examination in November 1961. Although Werner Finke was baptized (Roman Catholic), church never played a significant role in his life, even though he was quite interested in religion.

Being close to nature and animals has always been a theme in the family, according to Werner Finke's sister. There were always pets in the family, an aunt bred dogs, and Werner Finke and his sister started horseback riding at an early age. Although they never had horses of their own, they were always involved in equestrian sports. Werner Finke's interest in nature as well as the techniques and manual skills needed for surviving in the outdoors was certainly also instilled in him during his time as a boy scout. He was active in the scout organization in Perchtoldsdorf from 1953 to 1961—i.e., until he began his studies.[13] According to his sister, this must have been a formative time for his interests and travel activities.

[13] Membership books of the Lower Austrian Scout Association. In later years, he was also listed as an assistant field master, a kind of assistant to the group leader.

STUDENT YEARS IN THE 1960S

In the fall term of 1961/62, Werner Finke enrolled at the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Vienna, with a major in Ethnology[14] and a minor in Biology.[15] He was registered as a student at the University of Vienna without interruption until the summer term of 2001. This continuous enrollment of a total of 80 semesters alone is a record. It also shows that, although he never completed his studies with an academic degree, he was still connected to the subject and probably never really gave up the hope of completing his studies after all.[16]

In his very first term, he attended introductory courses at the Institute of Ethnology, Spanish as a foreign language, some regional courses on East Asia, ethnographic methods lectures, and introductory courses in physical anthropology. In the following spring term, he completed regional introductory courses on the ethnology of India, North America, Africa and Oceania. Finke also enrolled in introductory lectures and seminars in physical anthropology.

In the following two years of his studies, he primarily attended courses offered by the department's professors Josef Haekel (Ethnology) and Emil Breitinger (Physical Anthropology), as well as a few other lectures on specialized subjects. Finke certainly attended some courses with his brother Reinhold, who was enrolled in Theater Studies as a major and Ethnology as his minor.

The enrollment documents also stated whether the students were employed. From the fall term of 1963/64, Werner Finke noted that he was partly employed as a horse groom. In later years, he was to work as a riding instructor until his death, an occupation which was not just a bread-and-butter job but also his passion.

Academic institutional contexts

Werner Finke came into contact with an institute and a field of study that had its roots in the late imperial phase of the Habsburg monarchy in the late 19th century. It was a discipline that understood itself as a natural history subject in its founding phase. In 1912, the first chair for "Anthropology and Ethnography" was established at the University of Vienna. In the pre-war and interwar period, several representatives of ethnography in Vienna had been academically socialized in Germany. Only from 1928 until the founding of two institutes—namely the Institute of Ethnology and the Institute of Physical Anthropology—were biological and cultural anthropology pursued together. Decisive for the development of the subject in Austria was the catholic SVD order (*Societas Verbi Divini*), which also ran a missionary school outside Vienna, where several priests worked as anthropologists—e.g., Wilhelm Koppers (1886–1961), Wilhelm Schmidt (1868–1954), Martin Gusinde (1886–1969), Paul Schebesta (1887–1967) and Joseph Henninger (1906–1991). They founded the *Wiener Schule der Kulturkreislehre* [Vienna School of Cultural Theory], which was theologically guided and speculative (including research into primordial monotheism). Several of the priests were connected to and lectured at the university institute.

Between 1938 and 1945, the institute was not only shaped by National Socialist ideology, but was also a hub for racist research (Gingrich and Rohrbacher 2021). The teaching staff were not just simple followers, but had leading roles in NSDAP institutions, such as Victor Christian (1885–1963), who headed a "research center" in the *SS-Ahnenerbe*.[17] Employees of the institute such as Robert Heine-Geldern (1885–1968) were persecuted because of their origins and had to flee. What is more, progressive thinkers such as Christoph (von) Fürer-Haimendorf (1909–1995) did not return to Vienna after World War II. Some were able to return to Austria after the end of the war, such as Wilhelm Koppers and Robert Heine-Geldern. Others, however, such as Walter Hirschberg (1904–1996), were banned from practicing their profession.

[14] The subject was later renamed cultural and social anthropology.

[15] The curriculum was organized in such a way that students had to take one major subject and at least one minor subject.

[16] If students interrupted their enrollment, they were automatically placed on the subsequent curriculum. The course of study that Werner Finke was enrolled in ended with a dissertation. The subsequent curriculum reforms prescribed a diploma (Master's degree) and a doctorate program.

[17] The Ahnenerbe (SS Ancestral Heritage) was a pseudo-scientific organization, established by Heinrich Himmler, active between 1935 and 1945, and jointly responsible for the mass murder of the Nazis.

After World War II, the aim of the institute's staff was not only to break with Nazi ideologies, but also to critically discuss pre-war ideologies, such as the *Kulturkreislehre*, in order to end them as too speculative and to establish new orientations. In 1957, Josef Haekel (1907–1973), a professor from Austria, took over as head of the institute. In the first three post-war decades, the focus of the institute—both in teaching and research—was on methodology and empirical research activities (Gingrich 2005). The specifically Austrian way of dealing with their National Socialist past prevented theoretical approaches and an ideological examination of the discipline itself as well as its links to National Socialism.[18] Among the teaching staff, field research was evaluated differently. According to Andre Gingrich, Robert Heine-Geldern and Wilhelm Koppers were primarily interested in the constitutional mandate—i.e., creating an independent Austria and breaking with the past. Overcoming this was a personal concern for them. Their own field research was of secondary importance—for Wilhelm Koppers, field research was an issue insofar as it served the question of the extent to which it was useful for cultural studies. Therefore, from a theoretical point of view the institute continued to pursue historiographical approaches, while from a methodological point of view the focus was on conducting field research that represented classical (colonialist-colored) approaches.

Fellow students from that time talk about the challenges they faced in the late 1960s. The institute was moved to a new building in 1965, a place where it is still located today. The main courses were attended by an average of 15 to 25 people. By the end of the 1960s, around 70 students were enrolled; everyone knew everyone else and professors who had long since retired were present at the institute (such as Martin Gusinde or Robert von Heine-Geldern). The chair, Josef Haekel, covered a wide range of subjects; he had officially declared the end of the "Viennese School" and established a number of new subjects and regional areas. Some of these regional specializations led to the establishment of new institutes (e.g., Japanese Studies).

In the late 1960s, the ethnology department in Vienna was still dominated by men who represented either a clerical or national view. Aristocratic student networks were still present as well. Before World War I and in the interwar period, it was mainly aristocrats, people from wealthy families, or members of missionary orders who could afford to go on longer field trips. In 1968, the first student assembly (without professors) took place at the institute; this had certainly not been approved by the institute, especially its aristocratically oriented members. Individual professors and lecturers had built up their networks of students, who preferred exchanges in the form of private meetings, joint visits to wine taverns and excursions abroad (Germany, Poland).

Despite the student movement, which led to protests against reactionary forces, lecture hall occupations and ideological demands at the University of Vienna, the student body at the Institute of Ethnology was not politicized for a long time. A petition by then student representative Ali Gronner to "support the political and economic situation of the South American Indians" in 1969 was criticized by members of the institute. They preferred to continue their pursuit of an "ideology of non-ideology". It was not until the era under Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky after 1970 that more left-wing and critical professors were brought to the university, such as the social anthropologist Walter Dostal (1928–2011). He was called to Vienna from Bern by then Minister of Science, Herta Firnberg, in 1975. Dostal's orientation as a new professor shaped a new generation of students who were influenced by the student movement.

In this period, Werner Finke had been a student at the institute for over a decade (from 1961/62 to 1975) and had already gained a wide range of field experience. He followed the general orientation towards empirical research, methodology and—as was common at the time—a course of study that was not necessarily geared towards a degree. Werner Finke was neither from an aristocratic family nor from a family that could provide sufficient financial support for longer trips. He always had to fund his field research trips to a large extent himself.

[18] It would take several more decades before basic research to shed light on the diverse interconnections of the discipline under National Socialism. Andre Gingrich and Peter Rohrbacher did pioneering work here with their three-volume publication (Gingrich and Rohrbacher 2021).

Werner Finke had opted for a combination of subjects—Anthropology as a major and Biology as a minor—which, however, was not a common combination. Above all, Physical Anthropology was organized within the Faculty of Natural Sciences in the biology curriculum, where students were confronted with lecturers who, as avowed National Socialists, continued to spread racist ideologies even after they had been banned from their professions.[19] For some lecturers, Physical Anthropology was an indispensable minor subject (such as for Walter Hirschberg or Richard Wolfram at the Folklore Department). Field research without a physical anthropological approach was not to be taken seriously, as Andre Gingrich, who worked at the institute, explains. It is not known to what extent Werner Finke pursued his minor subject, whether he continued to attend courses or whether he only attended the subject as a decades-long "carte blanche". We only know about his first research trip to India at the age of 22, where he tried to combine both disciplinary approaches.

The "India expedition"—characterized by an outdated understanding of discipline

Werner Finke's estate contains a diary, some correspondence, and a photo book with photographic highlights. These documents provide insight into the preparation and execution of Werner and Reinhold Finke's trip to India in 1963/1964. When the two brothers set off for six months of field research in northern India, Werner Finke had only studied "Ethnology" for four terms. The brothers were soon planning what, from today's perspective, was a daring but also eccentric project. They were following in the tradition of their professors and lecturers: Josef Haekel and Engelbert Stiglmayr had been on an expedition to India in 1960/61, and in 1964 Haekel again set off to conduct research with the Bihls in India. However, the professors did not seem willing to involve the next generation of students in their research projects, so students were largely left to their own devices.

The journey was daring because the brothers set off for India overland in an old Citroën 2CV with few resources—although they had raised some funds, the majority of the trip was self-financed. The Austrian tabloid "Kronen Zeitung" ran the headline: "A student became a stable boy to travel to India."[20] The departure date was set for 7 October 1963, and the trip was to last around six months. In the end, the Finke brothers left more than a month late on 26 November 1963. The project was also intended to have some media impact, and various print media were contacted. Some reported briefly on the brothers' plan before they left and after their return, including Austrian television. Their destination was the Satpura Mountains in central India, which begin in the east of the state of Gujarat. There they wanted to conduct research among the Naika tribe.[21]

In preparation for the trip, the brothers wrote to various international publishers for recent India-specific publications, contacted the Indian embassy in Vienna, and asked for census data. They meticulously planned the trip and, for example, put together a first aid kit, procured spare car parts, and obtained a list of Citroën service centers worldwide. Applications for funding were submitted to various institutions, but as young students they were unable to provide the necessary proof of the scientific nature of their project. Requests for funding from various Austrian companies (banks, educational institutions, but also an oil company and a canning factory) were unsuccessful. The companies in particular argued that they had provided financial support for several such ventures in recent years and had no financial resources for further expeditions.

However, the attempts to raise money were not the only odd thing about the project; it also seemed peculiar because the two young students intended to carry out ethnological and physical

[19] See the groundbreaking publications by Seidler and Rett (1988), and Gingrich and Rohrbacher (2021).

[20] Kronen Zeitung, 15 September 1963, 7.

[21] Regarding the tribal population of western India, "Dadra is surrounded by the state of Gujarat and Nagar Haveli lies on the borders of Maharashtra and Gujarat. Major tribes here are Dhodia, Kokna, and Varli. Koli, Kathod, Naika and Dublas tribes are scattered over the territory" (Rao 2021, 33).

anthropological studies. The scientific objectives were set out in the funding letters.[22]

In Werner Finke's handwritten remarks, anthropology took up a small part and comprised three points (tribal boundaries and interspersion in Hindu settlements, origin and anthropological measurements), while ethnological projects took up the largest part (cultural evidence, family and clan structures, gender relations, life courses, division of labor, social ranks etc.).

The Finke brothers had also contacted the Institute of Anthropology and Human Genetics at the University of Munich to obtain information about instruments for anthropological measurements. They were recommended to contact the German company ABA, which manufactured anthropometric instruments, and the Munich University Institute, which distributed eye color charts. Finally, the brothers ordered a caliper and a sliding caliper—both instruments were used to carry out smaller body measurements. These travel preparations alone show how present the ominous past of the 1960s still was.

The two brothers only set off on their journey in late November 1963. They traveled to Turkey via former Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. The first notes are about Eskişehir, Selçuk, Konya and the crossing of several Taurus passes. On 14 December 1963, they crossed the Euphrates at Birecik and reached Nusaybin via Urfa, Kızıltepe; on 15 December 1963, they traveled over bad roads to cross the border into Syria, then drove into Iraq via Qamishli. After a few days stopover in Mosul, where they also visited the medical college, they came into contact with the Kurdish population. This first contact must have been very formative for Finke and proved to be decisive for his ethnographic activities over the following decades.

Finally, they drove via Nineveh and Babylon to Baghdad, and crossed the border into Iran at Ghazwin. At the turn of the year, they found themselves in Tehran and applied for a visa at the Afghan embassy. In the meantime, Werner Finke tried to learn a little Farsi and establish some local contacts. On their onward journey, they crossed the desert, where they passed some nomadic Turkmen camps. Here Werner Finke took some ethnographic notes and realized that their travel maps were not quite as accurate as they had hoped. By early February 1964, they were already in Pakistan and continued on their way. Particular attention was paid to the nomad camps and their equipment. They encountered Sikhs and later also followers of Jainism, visited temples and individual religious ceremonies. Finally they arrived in Delhi: it had taken them about seven weeks to get from Austria to India by car. The journey was mainly characterized by the fact that the car kept causing difficulties and they were constantly looking for spare parts and repair options. Furthermore, they did not have visas for all the countries they passed through and usually obtained them in neighboring countries along the route.

After a few days in Delhi, they had the next stopover in Mumbai (formerly Bombay), where they noted down a peculiar event: "In Bombay at the G.P.O. [General Post Office] Meeting with Dr. Stiglmayr—i.e., we saw him. Has big Citroen." Dr. Stiglmayr was obviously the Austrian ethnologist and university teacher Engelbert Stiglmayr, who was in India in 1963/64, 1964/65 and 1966/67 for field research (Kowar 1999, 35). However, there are no other records that they had any further contact or exchange with their university teacher in the field.

In April 1964, they finally reached a community of Naikas and intended to stay there for their planned ethnographic and anthropological research. In addition to ethnographic descriptions, they started to realize the intended physical and anthropological measurements of the

[22] "From an ethnological point of view, the aim is to create as complete an inventory as possible of Naika culture. The study of cultural heritage is intended to go beyond the mere presentation of material and spiritual values and, above all, to make a contribution to the history of India, to show the mutual relations between the tribes and advanced civilizations, which in their beginnings influenced both the primitive people and the advanced civilization, and thus to place the tribal cultures in their rightful place in the eventful history of India. (…) In this way, an ethnological-anthropological overview of a culture that, like all tribal cultures, is doomed to extinction, is to be preserved for science and interested posterity." (Sponsor letter 1968. My translation. Note: the form of expression in the letter has been adopted verbatim). Werner Finke Estate, Archive of the Institute for Social Anthropology, Austrian Academy of Sciences.

Naika.[23] In the mornings, Finke helped with agricultural field work and paid people to take their measurements in the afternoons. Due to the heat and Werner Finke's illness, the further surveying project obviously failed. A month later they were on their way back to Delhi, where they tried to get their car back in shape. The brothers received money from their mother via the Austrian embassy to finance the return journey. The old Citroën lasted until Pakistan, but eventually the crankshaft broke and the car could no longer be repaired. Somewhere in the middle of nowhere, they abandoned their car, gave away all their belongings except for what they could carry, and continued on foot and with the occasional lift until they finally arrived in Tehran. As they had run out of money, they had to sleep on the street and hitchhike most of the way back. The diary ends on 10 June 1964 with a last entry from Erzurum.

Werner Finke's estate includes some lecture notes[24] or excerpts and, in particular, notes from the lecture by Josef Haekel,[25] then head of the institute, who held an introductory course on the ethnography of India. From the transcript it is obvious that racial theories were still taught in the early 1960s. Josef Haekel explained that there was "great diversity in terms of racial relations. The mixing process of light-skinned northern people with darker southern people over the millennia. The anthropology of India is still little developed." Haekel said that there are no definitive results and no individual studies. He also referred to Wilhelm Koppers (who worked at the Institute of Ethnology) and Josef Weninger[26] (1886–1959, Professor at the Institute of Physical Anthropology). Haekel undertook several field studies among the Bhil in India in the early 1960s, while his assistant Engelbert Stiglmayr conducted research on Indian musical instruments. According to Andre Gingrich, neither of them would have dreamed of involving young students like Werner Finke in their research. The professors repeatedly managed to obtain sufficient funding from larger companies, foundations such as the VW Foundation, religious institutions such as the Catholic Church, as well as private donors. Students, however, were not as successful.

For Werner Finke, the trip to India must, therefore, have been challenging in many ways. As a 22-year-old student after four terms of enrollment in "Ethnology", he undertook a journey that seemes very ambivalent. Following in the footsteps of the old professors, he applied approaches and methods that had long since fallen into disrepute elsewhere. Concerning the undertaking of the physical anthropological measurements, the surveying activity, which embodies racism and dominance, is diametrically opposed to "participant observation", the creation of closeness, and learning through participation.

It seems these undertakings showed Werner Finke that he had developed a close affinity to field research and empirical ethnographic work, while physical anthropological ideas and methods no longer played any role in his subsequent travels. In his diaries (see Article 9 in this volume), field notes and often only sketches of his ethnographic journeys to Kurdish regions, there is not a single indication that he made physical anthropological considerations or worked methodically in this direction. On the contrary, he became an advocate of participant observation.

According to Andre Gingrich, the 1960s and early 1970s were also about reinventing anthropology and developing a new self-image in Vienna. Werner Finke was certainly influenced but probably also challenged by the initially rather sparse critical approach to the past in the humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences—a process that only intensified with the emergence of the student movement—as well as the break with old professors and a new start in the discipline in Austria in the mid-1970s. He continuously focused on field research and empirical work, and remained critical of theoretical debates. Werner Finke became known as a field researcher and adventurer during the first decade of his studies. However, he was

[23] The estate also contains a photo book, in which the best photos from the individual rolls of film were apparently selected and processed (about four images per film), the other negatives are not present. Apart from four blank forms that were drawn up for the surveys, there are no documents, publications or explanations on the surveys.

[24] Werner Finke Estate, Archive of the Institute of Social Anthropology, Austrian Academy of Sciences.

[25] On Haekel, see Stachl 2021. Veronika Stachl has taken a closer look at the biography of Josef Haekel during the Nazi era and classifies him as a typical "follower" of National Socialism. Although Haekel was temporarily drafted into the Wehrmacht, he was able to teach at the University of Vienna for many years.

[26] For Weninger's biography and work, see individual articles in Gingrich and Rohrbacher (2021).



The student Werner Finke on a field trip, 1966. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke

not involved in student representation or the student movement; instead, he dedicated his efforts to organizing research trips, acquiring documentation methods, and exploring initiatives to draw attention to his travels through lectures, media reports, exhibitions etc.

Soon after their trip to India in 1965, Reinhold Finke gave a lecture[27] about a trip to North Africa, one of the other trips the two brothers had organized together. Werner Finke had also circumnavigated the Mediterranean on a motorcycle sponsored by the automotive company Puch, and undertook what was possibly the first crossing of the Atlas on a Puch motorcycle in 1965.

In the following years and decades, Werner Finke remained a student of ethnology and worked as a riding instructor to earn money for his travels. As his work at the horse farm was quite strenuous and getting there from his family home always tedious, he also had a second home there at times.

Nevertheless, his job allowed him to be absent for several weeks to carry out his travels. His mother also supported his travels with reliable financial contributions. Furthermore, his job as a riding instructor and his closeness to animals certainly influenced his research. Andre Gingrich was a fellow student of Finke's in the 1970s. As he explains, in the late 1960s and early 1970s there was a hype that "we boys were doing field research for the first time, and if you can't do field research, you won't be a good ethnologist." Field research was the ultimate; literature studies and theoretical approaches were of secondary importance to some. At the time, Werner Finke was one of a maximum of 20 students who regularly undertook extensive, self-financed field trips.

[27] "Western Orient" The Atlas countries Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco (9 November 1965, VHS).

A PASSION FOR THE KURDS AND THE MOUNTAINS— FIRST FIELD TRIPS TO TURKEY

The documentation of the regions inhabited by Kurds we found in Werner Finke's estate begins in 1966. At the same time, he also repeatedly visited places in Central Anatolia on his journey to southeastern Turkey. Moreover, he documented areas in the Black Sea region and southern Anatolia on several occasions on his return trips.

In the decades that followed until just before his fatal accident in 2002, he undertook research and collecting trips to the Kurdish regions of southeastern Turkey almost every year. In the first decade, his diaries were sometimes very detailed; later they were less precise, but always featured extensive visual documentation of Kurdish everyday culture(s). The field notes in the following years reflected Werner Finke's interest with a clear focus on transhumance and material culture. His notes revolved around highly precise visual documentations of tents, campsites, the processing of milk and wool, and knowledge of the natural environment. Over the years, photographs and films partly replaced his diary as ethnographic inventories (e.g., campsites in the mountain pastures, house shapes, roof constructions etc.). Other photographs attest to an aesthetic approach. Initially, the theme of transhumance may also have been decisive for his ethnographic surveys, as when he also produced photo documentation among the Yörük[28] in southern Anatolia, who also practiced animal husbandry and mountain pasture farming.

The first film recordings were made as early as 1967, when he was probably traveling with his brother Reinhold. They depicted scenes of everyday life, such as grinding grain in a mill in the city of Siirt, documented activities in the tent camps and villages, and featured crafts in the city of Beytüşşebab and Mardin. These recordings were 16 mm films in black and white. From 1974 onwards, he also made audio recordings.

In the first half of the 1970s, Werner Finke's sister, Sylvia Widhalm, joined him on two trips. They traveled to the small town of Beytüşşebap in the province of Şırnak and on to Kurdish high pastures. She particularly remembers the residents' questions about medication and Werner Finke's attempts to provide medical care with his first aid kit on high pastures.

Werner Finke was methodologically self-taught in many areas—e.g., in photography and filming. He financed the rather expensive materials (raw material for film and photo shoots, equipment for visual and audio documentation) himself. In the first half of the 1970s, not much had changed at the university institute. His fellow student Helmut Lukas still remembers when an assistant working for the student advisory service asked him whether he had a castle or was a count in order to be able to afford his studies and, above all, the field research. Lukas, of course, was unable to provide any evidence of either of these requirements. He was also confronted with the crude ideas of some lecturers, such as Neothomism[29] advocated by Engelbert Stiglmayer. Lukas also remembers that some aristocratic students tried to set up a carpet trade from the Maghreb, which they organized via Paris. Although Werner Finke was already one of the "older" colleagues at the time, he had something in common with Helmut Lukas: they tried to "survive in this situation" at the institute. Slowly but surely, the division of aristocracy versus religion at the institute was transformed into a new two-camp student body, namely traditionalists versus young leftists.

[28] Turkish-speaking Alevi who settled on the southern coast of Anatolia and in the Taurus Mountains. See Gökalp (2000) and Kehl (1988).

[29] A philosophical direction that reestablishes metaphysics based on Thomas Aquinas.

DISCIPLINARY CHANGES FROM THE MID-1970s ONWARDS



1975 a second chair was established and Walter Dostal[30] was appointed as professor. Dostal was an advocate of Marxist theoretical approaches. Five years later, then assistant Karl R. Wernhart took over the second chair from Walter Hirschberg. The resulting reorientation pursued a social science and cultural anthropological outline that complied with international standards.[31] The two professors, Karl Wernhart and Walter Dostal, would shape the direction of the subject for decades. Werner Finke was close to the orientation of both chair holders—with Dostal he had a regional focus on western Asia and the production of visual research documentation (film, photography); with Wernhart he shared empirical and ethno-historical approaches.

Dostal had studied in Vienna, worked there briefly at the Museum of Ethnology, and then taught in Switzerland. He brought the contacts in Turkey he had established in Bern with him and continued the work with the University of Istanbul. The *Tahtakale* research project on traditional crafts and trade in Istanbul was also carried out as part of this cooperation. The team consisted of Werner Finke, Gabriele Paleczek, and Josef Salat (see the article by Gabriele Rasuly-Paleczek). In Istanbul Werner Finke came in contact with *hamals*, the load carriers in the Istanbul bazaars, who were predominantly Kurds. He developed and maintained long-time contacts to several of them and visited their villages of origin in southeastern Anatolia in the upcoming years.

Werner Finke traveled to the southeastern and eastern provinces of Anatolia almost every year. As he did not have a driver's license, he usually arrived in Turkey by public transport; once he even made the journey on his Puch motorcycle. He often bought a donkey on site to reach the summer pastures. Otherwise, he had to rely on traveling companions who could drive a car. His brother Reinhold Finke drove him a few times. In contrast to his brother, Reinhold Finke took a more political and performative approach. In the course of the student movement, student theater groups and independent theater groups were founded in Vienna, which performed plays in cafés and various places in Vienna.[32] Reinhold Finke also wrote radio plays,[33] worked as a director and also film actor.[34] Like Werner Finke, he never completed his studies. It was mainly Reinhold who filmed himself or assisted Werner in filming, while Werner was more interested in photographic documentation.

[30] Walter Dostal (1927–2011) specialized in southern Arabia. He retired in 1996 and was succeeded by Andre Gingrich.

[31] The renaming of the Institute of Ethnology to the Institute of Ethnology, Cultural and Social Anthropology and finally also to the Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology in the 1990s testifies to these new, extensive and diverse orientations; see https://ksa.univie.ac.at/institut/geschichte/

[32] In addition to the Vienna Action Theater, there was also the Torso group, which was founded by Reinhold Finke and had Hilde Berger as one of its members. This theater group specialized in premiering works by Austrian authors. Experimental theater and the search for new locations were pursued, for example Peter Turrini's "Rozznjogd" was first performed in a car cemetery in 1971. See the biography of the actress, author and writer Hilde Berger (www.hilde-berger.at). As an actor he used Rainer instead of Reinhold as his first name.

[33] Mowghli - Mowghli. Directed by Rainer Finke. ORF Lower Austria, 1974.

[34] E.g. Die Weltmaschine [The World Machine] (1981) and Alpensaga [The Alpine Saga] (1976).

Reinhold Finke passed away in 1999. Another traveling companion was his fellow student Markus de Zordo, who joined Finke on collecting and documentation trips to the Kurdish regions from 1980 to 1983[35] (see also the article by Gabriele Rasuly-Paleczek).





Finke's means of transport during field research. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photos: Werner Finke

THE WERNER FINKE COLLECTION AND HIS WORKING METHOD

Werner Finke's entire estate was handed over to the Institute for Social Anthropology at the Austrian Academy of Sciences. His collection of visual materials comprises about 30,000 slides and photos, about 200 8mm and 16mm (raw material) films, and several hours of audio documentation (see Article 6 and 8 in this volume). The estate also contains some diary entries, although it is not clear whether these have been preserved in their entirety. In the course of the upcoming years, the Finke collection will be digitized and made accessible online. This should allow further analysis and scientific work with the collection.

His photographic material, raw film material, and the relatively small amount of written legacy also reveal Werner Finke's working methods. Another source are the inventory volumes at the Weltmuseum Wien, for which he added information on the provenance of his collected objects (see Article 11 in this volume). The existing diary entries of the trips between 1965 and 1988 vary in accuracy. Some journeys from individual years are documented in more detail (almost daily), while others are very rudimentary and more in the form of "jottings" and sketches. Longer word lists of Kurdish terms (material culture, kinship relations etc.) are interspersed with notes on individual negative films. He was certainly looking for a suitable dissertation topic in the early years, but we do not know whether he ever submitted a proposal to any of the professors.

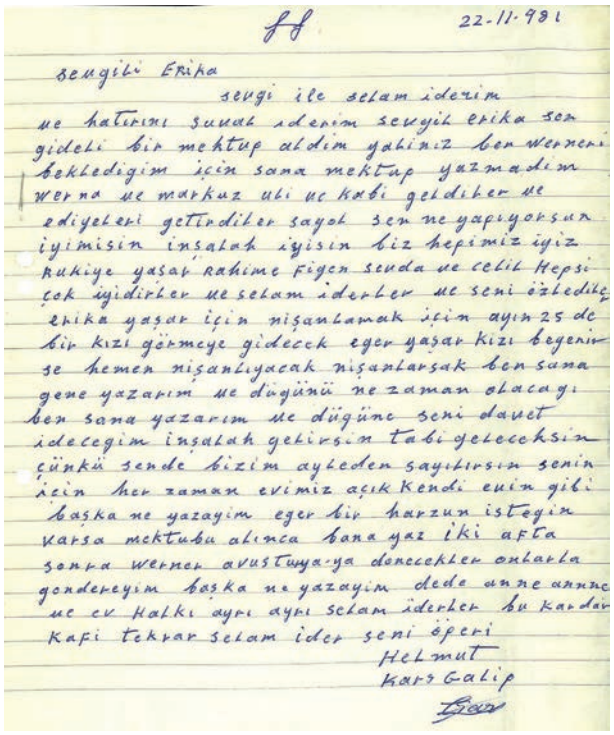
However, we know from fellow students that after a few years of traveling, when also the political situation in the Kurdish regions of Turkey became increasingly volatile, he had to make a decision. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, Werner Finke became aware that he would no longer be able to easily dissertate on a Kurdish topic. In the 1980s, Kurdish existence per se was denied in Turkey; Kurdish languages were banned and academic work on Kurds was made impossible. Werner Finke realized that he would put his confidants in danger by publishing his work. In other words, publishing meant that he would have to refrain from traveling to the region. The diaries, which in some years were only kept in rudimentary form, also bear witness to this dilemma. Some diaries reflect a new vigor, attempts at more precise documentation

[35] The inventory volumes at Weltmuseum Wien list Werner Finke and Markus de Zordo as collectors for the holdings from the Kurdish regions for the years 1980 to 1983.

and probably new starts to realize a dissertation after all.

According to fellow students, Werner Finke's visual documentaries were highly appreciated by Walter Dostal who also produced a series of scientific films in southern Arabia himself. The "ethnographic view" that he pursued in photography and film was typical of the 1970s and 1980s, when documentaries of everyday worlds, handicrafts and material culture were produced.

WERNER VE KARDEŞI GELDILER – "WERNER AND HIS BROTHER HAVE ARRIVED"



22-11-981

Sevgili Erika

sevgi ile selam iderim
ne hatirini sunak iderim sevgili erika sen
gideli bir mektup aldim yahiniz ben werneri
beklediğim için sana mektup yazmadim
werna ve markuz ubi ve kabi geldiler ve
ediyeleri getirdiler sayot sen ne yapiyorsun
iyimisin inşalah iyisin biz hepimiz iyiz
Rukiye yaşar Rahime Figen Seuda ve celil Hepsi
çok iyidirler ve selam iderler ve seni özledile
erika yaşar için nişanlamak için ayin 25 de
bir kizi görmeye gidecek eger yaşar kizi begenir
se hemen nişanliyacak nişanlarsak ben sana
gene yazarim ve dügünü ne zaman olacagi
ben sana yazarim ve dügüne seni davet
idecegim inşalah gelirsin tabi gelecekssin
çünkü sende bizim aileden sayilirsin senin
için her zaman evimiz açik kendi evin gibi
başka ne yazayim eger bir harzun istegin
varsa mektubu alinca bana yaz iki afta
sonra werner avustuwya-ya dönecekler onlarla
göndereyim başka ne yazayim dede anne annne
ve ev halki ayri ayri selam iderler bu kardan
kafi tekrar selam ider seni öperi
Helmut
Kars Galip

"Letter about the arrival of Werner Finke" (private archive Erika Neuber).

The social anthropologist Erika Neuber, who wrote her dissertation on carpets in Cappadocia, also had several exchanges with Werner Finke, in which he willingly shared his knowledge of carpet production in Central Anatolia. From the documents and Erika Neuber's memories, it is clear that Werner Finke had close and long-standing contacts with families from Ürgüp (Central Anatolia), who worked in a carpet cooperative. Werner maintained good and friendly relations, and it was obviously always an event when he came to the village. Erika Neuber undertook extensive field research into carpet production and was in close contact with the villagers. In letters that her host family wrote to her in Vienna from Ürgüp, it was worth mentioning that Werner and his fellow travelers had arrived, "Werner ve kardeşi geldiler—"Werner and his brother have arrived".

From a letter that Werner Finke wrote to Erika Neuber:

> *You can talk about carpets for hours. (...) I can now answer some of your questions with this letter. The carpet cooperative has existed in Ürgüp for several years, but the carpets are rarely sold to buyers in Ürgüp, rather to dealers in Kayseri. The motifs created are partly specified by the traders, but sometimes women and girls from Ürgüp are actively involved in the design or even make it themselves—however, not every woman can do this, as it is very complicated to translate ideas into the right proportions. Motifs created in this way are only reluctantly given up. In addition to the Ürgüp motifs sold in the carpet stores, there are more than ten others that can only be found in houses, bridal chests, and the like. It is the same in neighboring Avanos, also with the Kurds and their motifs, and this can probably be assumed for all villages in general. So there are certainly many more known motifs than is usually assumed. There is still a lot of research to be done! In Ürgüp itself, I have only seen the Gördes knot in use—but I can well imagine that people switched between Senneh and Gördes (...). As far as I could see, the money earned by the women through knotting is used as a kind of "extraordinary household budget", such as for building a house etc. [The host] always gave the money to his daughter Rahime as a gift (I don't know what happened after we left, of course). I will try to find out about your other questions in Ürgüp. (Letter in private collection of Erika Neuber)*

One of the ways Werner Finke financed his travels and research was to buy carpets locally and sell them to interested parties in Vienna. It was not a carpet trade in the grand sense, where he sold to middlemen in Austria. Acquaintances and friends were the buyers, and so he was able to finance his trips and staying there.

MUSEUM AND EXHIBITION YEARS

In 1980 the Museum für Völkerkunde (Museum of Ethnology, now Weltmuseum Wien) finally began to take an interest in Werner Finke's research trips. The curator for the Middle East, Central Asia and North Africa, Alfred Janata, was in contact with Finke. Janata had been a curator at the museum since 1964, served as secretary of the association "Friends of Ethnology", and undertook numerous research trips, including to Afghanistan in 1969, 1972 and 1975. Starting in 1975, he also worked as a lecturer at the Institute of Ethnology at the University of Vienna. Alfred Janata was not only a systematic collector who also published manuals on ergology and technology; he always tried to move beyond the ivory tower, become active as a journalist and get involved in aid committees for Afghanistan. He fulfilled an educational mission as a curator and always pursued a humanistic and political self-image. Janata made it possible for Werner Finke to systematically collect ethnographic material from the Kurdish regions and provided the necessary funds for ongoing purchases.[36]

In the early 1980s, the IDEAS association (Institute for Documentation and Research into Alternative Social Forms) was founded, with Reinhold and Werner Finke probably playing a leading role. Together with several social scientists and people working in the media, they saw it as their task to "familiarize the widest possible public with the problems of differently structured societies."[37]

The first exhibition probably took place in 1982 and was conceived as a traveling exhibition entitled "The Transformation of the Carpet. In the mud house, in the tent and in the home". It referred to the life of nomads in the eastern Anatolian mountains and displayed a tent as well as associated household goods, carpets and clothing. The exhibition was shown in the entrance halls of major banks in Vienna and Lower Austria as well as in public education institutions. The focus was on textile production and, above all, the manufacture of carpets. "The carpet as a mediator to a culture and way of life that is foreign to us here. (…) The exhibition provides insight into the mobile way of life—carpets in a tent, then the furnishings of a mud house, the sedentary Turks, kitchen and living space."[38]



In this and subsequent exhibitions, the different everyday cultures in Turkey were considered—not only Turkish or Kurdish lifeworlds were presented but an attempt was made to pursue a more holistic perspective. In February 1983, the exhibition "Kadin Evin Günesi—The Woman is the Sun of the House" took place at the Hietzing Adult Education Center.[39] The exhibition saw itself in opposition to large events and exhibitions initiated in the course of the "Turkish Year" in 1983. As the press release reads:

[36] Feest (1993).

[37] Press folder for the exhibition "Kadin Evin Günesi – The Woman is the Sun of the House" (1983).

[38] NÖN: Week 8/1982, 9.

[39] The following July 1983, the exhibition was set up in the inner courtyard of Perchtoldsdorf Castle, where a teahouse, a tent and a replica of a house were installed. Finke did not use the proper Turkish writing, thus Kadın Evin Güneşi on the poster for the exhibition.

The focus of the 'Turkish Year' 1983 is the siege of Vienna 300 years ago, i.e. above all the military actions and the battle for the city in the summer of 1683. Accordingly, the exhibitions are dominated by weapons, trophies such as flags and horse tails, armor, memorabilia and portraits of warriors and army leaders, and depictions of battles. The extent to which such demonstrations with a predominantly military-historical focus can and will evoke a genuine understanding of the tradition and religion, culture and social forms of ethnic groups in Turkey remains questionable.

In contrast, the IDEAS-exhibition intended to depict the everyday life of the inhabitants of Anatolia, not without referring to the political challenges of the time. They wanted to produce an informative alternative exhibition that differed from official presentations by refusing to show weapons or warlike depictions. The IDEAS association sought to show the views of those affected in order to contribute to the formation of an objective opinion. "We only exhibited pictures of people who are no longer alive," reports the IDEAS employee. "The reason: the Turkish secret service apparently has its 'eyes' everywhere. Pictures of Kurds who are still alive could result in their premature death"[40] (see Article 5 in this volume).

The exhibition team, Werner Finke and Markus de Zordo, had built an actual walk-in mud house and erected a nomad tent to give visitors an understanding of everyday culture in Turkey. The focus was on the world of women. Around 700 objects, everyday items, clothing, jewelry and tools were on display. At the same time, they set up a small library and organized an extensive accompanying program with discussions on the challenges faced by migrant women in Austria. Werner Finke also gave a lecture entitled "Nomads and settlers in Central Anatolia and Kurdistan". The exhibition was well received in the Austrian press and, due to its gender-specific focus, some women's magazines also reviewed the exhibition extremely positively.[41] In October and November 1984, the exhibition "Draw a circle of thoughts. Tradition and Present of Native American Women in North America" was realized by the IDEAS association. There is no evidence on any further activities of the association or whether there were any more exhibitions after this.

Werner Finke's estate shows that he traveled to Turkey to collect ethnographic objects at least once a year in the 1980s. During this decade, he created the most comprehensive collection of Kurdish ethnographic objects for the Museum für Völkerkunde (now Weltmuseum Wien; see Article 11 in this volume). Finally in 1990, an opportunity arose to present this extensive collection to a broad public for the first time. The Office of the Provincial Government of Lower Austria financed a large-scale exhibition over six months on the premises of Schallaburg Castle, about 100km (60 miles) from Vienna.

A team of ethnologists worked on the preparation of this exhibition under the direction of Alfred Janata as the curator of the Weltmuseum. The team included Werner Finke and Reinhold Finke, Karin Kren, who had already completed a long field research in a Kurdish village in Syria and was working on her dissertation, and the author of this article—Maria Anna Six, who was then working on her thesis on gender relations in Kurdish societies at the time. The team spent over a year to plan the exhibition and produce an accompanying publication. The full funding of the exhibition and the opportunity to present almost the entire collection on over 1,000 square meters of exhibition space were certainly a great opportunity for Werner Finke to show his decades of documentary work to a wider public. It was also the first time that Werner Finke was "forced" to put his wealth of knowledge on paper in the form of catalog contributions.

The plan to realize an exhibition on Kurdish culture in one of Austria's best-known exhibition centers in 1990 was no coincidence. After the poison gas attacks on Kurdish towns and villages in Iraq, and after the large refugee movements of Iraqi

[40] Volksstimme, 17 July 1983, 8.

[41] Articles and reviews of the exhibition were published in all major Austrian daily and weekly newspapers, such as Die Presse (7 February 1983), Falter (11–24 February 1983), Arbeiterzeitung (7 February 1983), Neue Kronen Zeitung (15 February 1983), Volksstimme (24 February 1983), Wochenschau (20 February 1983), AUF Frauenzeitschrift (April 1983), Die Frau (19 February 1983).

Kurds to Turkey and Iran, the Austrian public has become sensitized to related topics. The Austrian federal government initiated comprehensive aid projects on site.[42] Kurdish issues were covered several times in the Austrian media and for the first time an attempt was made to give a more realistic picture of the Kurds, their living conditions and persecution in the Middle East.

Kurdish communities had emerged in Austria in previous years. The migration of Kurds to Austria began in the 1960s—following the labor migration in the course of recruitment agreements with Turkey, and with individual young Kurds who came to Austria to study. The first major migration movements took place in the mid-1970s. Then Federal Chancellor Bruno Kreisky made it possible for the first time to admit a contingent of one hundred Kurdish refugees from Iraq in 1975. Representatives from politics, education and culture founded the association "Friends of the Kurdish People" to support refugees with legal, educational and integration issues. Although the flight of Kurds in the following decade was no longer as widespread as in 1975, the networks founded at the time took care of the refugees. The slowly growing Kurdish communities were diverse and had to deal with very different challenges (asylum applications from Iraqi, Iranian and Syrian Kurds, residence rights for Turkish Kurds, who tended to come to Austria via labor agreements, as they could hardly receive asylum status despite proven persecution). Various associations and initiatives supported the young refugees with scholarship programs for university studies. Some Austrian politicians also supported the political work of refugees in their home country (founding representative offices, highlighting human rights violations etc.) and Austria (founding emigrant organizations).

For a long time, however, Kurds had to struggle with the clichéd images that were still familiar to the public from Karl May novels. Exoticizing and stereotyping perspectives were often difficult to break through. In the early 1990s, public interest was very receptive to the situation of Kurds in their respective countries of origin. The fact that the Museum of Ethnology was able to exhibit the extensive collection and received funding from the Lower Austrian provincial government was, therefore, also a consequence of this public interest.

The exhibition entitled "Kurden—Azadi. Freiheit in den Bergen" [Kurds—Azadi. Freedom in the Mountains] was designed to be multi-dimensional, intended to provide an introduction to the living conditions and history of the Kurds, to show different Kurdish everyday cultures based on the Finke Collection, and to refer to political developments. From the outset, it was an undertaking that also provided much material for discussion. In anthropology, it was a time when various "turns" in the social sciences (including the cultural turn) were discussed, which shook up the self-image of the discipline. Many approaches and questions taken for granted today were not yet sufficiently discussed and implemented at the time. "Who speaks for whom?", "Are we as social anthropologists allowed to talk about 'the others'?", "How can we represent 'the others'?"—these were all questions that also determined the preparatory work for the exhibition. In addition, there were different ideas about exhibition didactics and aesthetics. In the course of preparing the exhibition, research was also carried out into which older artefacts (manuscripts, estates) from the Kurdish regions and scientific collections were available in Austrian museums. The team was also able to work based on the international state of research on Kurdish history and society (Janata, Kren, and Six 1992).

In the course of this project, I was still a student and got to know Werner Finke as the youngest member of the team at the time. He was always willing to share his knowledge and pass on his experiences in a very friendly manner. I still remember his interest in material culture, in questions of how something "works", in the technology and ergonomics of an object, and in the "social life of things" (Appadurai 1988). During these discussions and collaborations, I got a better sense of his interest in collecting and the reasons why he

[42] These included the establishment of an Austrian field hospital in Iran together with the Austrian army, the municipality of Vienna, the Austrian Red Cross and the Austrian Caritas headquarters. A refugee camp was connected to the field hospital. Caritas organized further aid projects for Kurdish refugees in Turkey, northern Iraq, Jordan and Iran. Reconstruction projects in the Kurdish regions of northern Iraq were also financed in the following years, including by the Austrian Red Cross, CARE Austria, Malteser Hospitaldienst, and the Federal Chancellery (see Janata, Kren et Six 1992, 225–226).

collected what for the museum. These were not primarily considerations of "beauty", "uniqueness" or "value" in the Western sense. Instead Werner Finke was guided by what the objects meant to people. He was interested in how people worked with individual objects, made them themselves and, above all, repaired or repurposed them. In the curator Alfred Janata, he always found a companion who shared the same ethnographic interests. Werner Finke was able to tell his own story about each object—stories that were not recorded in the inventory volumes, and stories that he had never written down anywhere. I particularly remember his criticism of Western scientific understanding and, in particular, of attempts to use quantifying methods to depict wealth and poverty. He believed that information about average income, for example, said nothing about wealth or poverty.

For Werner Finke, writing, composing scientific papers, and working with texts was a form of communication he did not particularly enjoy. This is also reflected in his diaries—today his notes could also be described as experimental writing. For him, photos and films were the alternative to writing a diary. Therefore, a text-heavy or abstract exhibition form was not his preferred idea of "captivating" communication. For him, the haptic sense, the reconstruction of space where visitors could experience with all their senses, rather than the written word, was a guiding principle. He also shared this view with his brother Reinhold Finke, who, as a theater and filmmaker, was a great believer in alternative forms of mediation. They preferred museum-like forms of presentation, such as those propagated by the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam at the time. The same guiding principles were also instrumental in the smaller exhibitions the Finke brothers realized with the IDEAS association.

For the "Azadi" exhibition, they recreated a walk-in house in a village, equipped a small store, and installed a village square with a tea house where people could sit and drink tea. Two tents, one inside and one walk-in outside, were set up to give visitors a haptic experience of the different types of housing. An important part of the exhibition was devoted to agriculture and, above all, livestock farming. This was linked to various forms of wool and textile processing as a domestic craft (the production of everyday objects, carpets, felting etc.) and to textile trade.

Visitors could also try out textile skills for themselves at various stations (weaving, knotting etc.). During the weekend visitors could taste agricultural products (e.g. sheep cheese and bread baked on a *sêl,* which is a baking tray over an open fire). Werner Finke organized a procurement trip to bring missing objects and various display materials for the exhibition in Vienna. These objects were exhibited in the reconstructed village store. He even brought a goat's bellows filled with cheese fresh from the Kurdish mountain pasture. Visitors were also supposed to experience the alpine products olfactorily; however, the olfactory experience became too intense as the exhibition progressed and had to be removed.

As a young student at the time, I was very interested in Kurdish history, language and, above all, the political movement, and also supported this by working in NGOs. I would have liked to see much more political education in the course of this exhibition—an approach that neither Werner Finke nor team leader Alfred Janata wanted to pursue to the same extent. This youthful political exuberance was countered by older colleagues with their field experience, who themselves had also seen state violence in different ways. It was only decades later that I learned of individual experiences that Werner Finke had had on his ethnographic research and collecting trips. He never officially traveled as a researcher, but as a tourist or disguised as a local. This allowed him to reach areas that were actually off-limits to foreigners or regions where the police did not like foreigners visiting. He had to constantly reckon with controls and also learned how his confidants had to contend with state violence or rival Kurdish resistance groups. Once, when he was sitting in a tent with locals on the summer pasture, a military unit came into the tent looking for people and shot a Kurdish friend sitting next to him. He also experienced the reservations and stereotypical attitudes towards the Kurdish population when working with Turkish university institutions in the 1970s.

Werner Finke was, therefore, very careful what he said in the Austrian and Turkish public, and always stayed in the background or kept a low profile when it came to political discussions. He did not want to take the risk that he would no longer be able to travel to Turkey, not being able to visit his Kurdish friends and confidants, and no longer being able to travel to the area where, according to his sister, he had "lost his heart". Werner Finke was never interested in pursuing an academic career or working permanently for a scientific institution. He satisfied his mother's ambition to obtain a professional position as an ethnologist following



Werner Finke (middle) with friends in a Kurdish village, 1995. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke

the exhibition at Schallaburg Castle "the Austrian way"—i.e., through her personal connections, with loud reluctance and resistance.

The exhibition was certainly a highlight of Werner Finke's ethnological work. Unfortunately, it had no follow-up. The curator of the museum, Alfred Janata, died the following year and his post remained vacant for several years. In the same year, the management of the museum also became vacant and the fate of the museum remained relatively uncertain for years. There was neither financial nor personal support to continue Werner Finke's collecting activities. We know from the photo collection alone that Werner Finke still traveled annually to the region in the years that followed. However, there is no documentation of this either in the museum or in the form of lectures or exhibitions.

Werner Finke died as a result of a traffic accident on 9 October 2002.

AFTERLIFE

His sudden death posed a particular challenge for his sister and heir as to what to do with the collected materials. The Institute of Social Anthropology at the Austrian Academy of Sciences took over the multimedia estate in 2014, and thanks to the digitization offensive at the Austrian Academy of Sciences and the generous support of the Austrian Science Fund, the estate could now be processed. A great part of the multimedia collection will be open access. The legacy has to be seen as a documentary in process, thus we cannot refer to research results, books, articles or ready films.

As yet another challenge, however, the materials were not prepared for transfer to an archive due to the sudden death of Werner Finke. It was only through painstaking detail work that we successively identified and located the materials. Werner Finke was not a desk clerk and had written little of his knowledge down. He had also strictly adhered to the disciplinary codes of conduct and never mentioned the full names of people he had consulted in his documents. Social media and local contacts made it possible for us to get in touch with the Kurds who knew Werner well and

with whom he had researched, collected and lived over the years.

It was only through these contacts with people in Turkey, with the children of his host family, and his long-time friends that we learned more about his working methods and his collecting activities. The *ZOZAN* team is now in contact via social media, and we learned that Werner had never shown his comprehensive multimedia collection to the Kurdish public. However, every year he brought individual prints of the photographs to give the people "their" photos back. These photos are still kept in individual households and were shown to us as evidence that they had been in touch with Werner Finke. His souvenirs, such as watches and binoculars, are also still kept in households as mementos. In short films sent to us, we were shown, for example, the apartment that Werner had rented for years and some of his memorabilia.

Of particular interest was the family archive of a singer whose music and recitations Werner Finke had also recorded. The family still has the poster for the exhibition "The woman is the sun of the house", which was presented in Vienna in the 1980s.

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PERSONAL ENCOUNTERS WITH AN "EMPATHIC ANTHROPOLOGIST" AND "GENTLEMAN COLLEAGUE"

Gabriele Rasuly-Paleczek

When I was asked to write a contribution about my fellow student Werner Finke for the ZOZAN project, two ideas immediately came to my mind: empathic anthropologist and gentleman colleague. In my opinion, these two terms excellently characterize the impressions I gained from Werner over the years.

I cannot remember exactly when I first met Werner—probably during one of our informal fieldwork seminars that took place in the mid-1970s, when I began my studies in social and cultural anthropology (then called "Völkerkunde"—i.e., ethnology) at the University of Vienna. Back then our institute did not offer any courses that would introduce students to the methodology of the subject. All we had were these informal meetings that took place on Fridays, where teachers and students reported on their field research. At the time, extensive fieldwork in remote areas of the world was the name of the game in anthropology. We—young, budding anthropologists—admired our older colleagues who spent long periods of time in the "field", learned the local language(s), and collected data from hunter-gatherer societies, nomads, or farmers through participant observation and interviews. In other words, they simply lived with the people!!! But there was more. Some of the colleagues we admired developed close friendships with the people they studied and developed a profound interest in their wellbeing. They corresponded to what one might call an empathic anthropologist.

Werner Finke was one of these "empathic anthropologists". In our eyes as young students, he and his later travel companion, Markus de Zordo, were "heroes". Their descriptions of their experiences in the field, whether in "Wild Kurdistan" (in Werner's case) or in the vastness of the Sahara (as in Markus' case) left a lasting impression and encouraged us to do the same. Inspired by the descriptions of Werner and other "emphatic anthropologists", and based on the prevailing attitude at the time that one had to conduct field research in non-European areas to be considered a "proper" anthropologist, I travelled by train and bus from Vienna via Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan to India, my actual destination in the summer of 1975. Without knowing at the time, I was following in the footsteps of Werner, who had undertaken a similar journey years before.[43]

Disappointed by India, whose realities did not correspond to my imagined dream image, I finally decided to concentrate on Turkey, also for pragmatic reasons (lack of money and future prospects).[44] So I started to learn Turkish and enrolled in Turkology as a minor subject to my "Ethnology" studies. In the summer of 1976, I went to Turkey again—this time to locate a rural community for later field research. In the next year, I returned to "my village" to conduct my first field research, a documentation of village blacksmithing.[45] And it so happened that Werner's and my paths would cross again.

[43] In the 1960s and 1970, several Viennese colleagues made trips to India, Pakistan or Afghanistan.

[44] Since I saw no future for myself in academia, I later wanted to work as a counselor for migrant workers from Turkey, something that hardly existed in the late 1970s.

[45] Back then, we identified very much with our survey site and, therefore, referred to it as "my village", "my research region". We often established close personal relationships with the people in the field, which sometimes, as in my case, continue to this day.



Meeting of the project team at "Film Merkezi" Istanbul. First row from the left: Ms. Albek, Nazan Tapan (Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art Istanbul). Back row from left to right: Aziz Albek (director of Film Merkezi Istanbul), a staff member of the Film Institute, Werner Finke, Josef Salat, Gabriele Paleczek, students of "Film Merkezi". Photo: Jana Salat

We were both engaged as collaborators in a project initiated by Walter Dostal[46] together with the "Film Merkezi" of Istanbul University to document traditional crafts and trades in Istanbul.[47] Under the direction of Josef Salat (then assistant at the Vienna Institute) and with the collaboration of Nazan Tapan (Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, Istanbul), we conducted our data collection for the project together with three Turkish colleagues in January and February 1978.[48]

The results of the project were published a few years later as part of the Institute of Ethnology's working papers (Finke, Paleczek, and Salat 1983a). In line with the surveys, we collected ethnographic objects that are now found at the Weltmuseum Wien (formerly Völkerkundemuseum Wien). In 1983 this ethnographic collection was presented to the interested public in an exhibition at the Ethnographic Museum Kittsee, curated by the Vienna project team (Finke, Paleczek, and Salat 1983c).

[46] Walter Dostal began his work at the Vienna Institute of Ethnology in the summer semester of 1975. Prior to that, he had been teaching at the Seminar for Ethnology at the University of Bern. In 1968, together with a group of Bernese students, he undertook a field exercise in Alacahöyük/Turkey to study agricultural implements and their use. The results of this stay were later published as a special edition of the Yearbook of the Bern Historical Museum (Dostal 1971).

[47] This project was part of the research program "Traditional Handicrafts in Islamic Countries" of the Lehrkanzel One of the Institut für Völkerkunde of the University of Vienna (cf. Finke, Paleczek, Salat 1983, 1).

[48] As for details on the project, see the preface by Walter Dostal (1983, 1–3) and the introduction by Finke, Paleczek, Salat (Finke, Paleczek, Salat 1983 b, 4–5).

Today, after so many years, I cannot remember exactly who documented which crafts and trades. After many discussions, the team had decided that we would not work in tandem (one Austrian and one Turkish researcher), as originally planned, but alone. Werner took on several crafts that were closely related to his bread-and-butter job in Austria: taking care of horses at the "Ritzenhof" in the Weinviertel region. In consequence, he focused, amongst others, on the production of riding and pack saddles as well as the production of carrying frames for the *Hamals*[49], carriers of heavy loads in the narrow alleys of the Istanbul bazaar. He established close contacts with them, as was his way, and visited them on later trips to their native Kurdish villages in eastern Turkey (see comments below).

This joint research stay was quite a challenge for me, who—unlike Werner—had little knowledge of Turkish and hardly any experience in the field of ethnographic field research back then. In addition, we had little money at our disposal and faced the generally difficult political and economic situation in Turkey. The challenge already started with the journey: we all arrived in Istanbul by train and stayed in quarters provided by local agencies: Josef Salat and his accompanying wife, Jana Salat, in separate rooms at St. George's College[50]; I in a guest room at St. George's Hospital[51] across the street (both in Istanbul's Karaköy district, just below Galata Tower); Werner stayed in a storeroom of the Geography Department at Istanbul University, not far from the Bayazit Mosque.

The stay of eight weeks was overshadowed by power and heating outages due to the country's economic crisis at the time and by political instability—i.e., the almost daily clashes between right-wing and left-wing groups, which often ended in physical attacks and gun battles. One experience I still vividly remember to this day: we had been given a small room in the Astronomical Institute of the University of Istanbul to write our research reports for our project leader, Walter Dostal, in Vienna [52]. And this is where Werner came in as a "gentleman anthropologist".

After the end of our meetings, in which we informed each other about the progress of our surveys and wrote our reports for Walter Dostal, Werner, who actually had his quarters nearby, did not miss the opportunity to walk me to my accommodation—a walk of several miles, often in pouring rain. As we strolled towards Karaköy, we sometimes heard gunfire in the distance or passed roadblocks set up by various groups controlling the respective neighborhoods. I often had a queasy feeling and was glad that Werner took over my "escort". There were hardly any buses that I could have taken, especially in the evening, and there was no money for cabs. Once the situation was particularly dicey. We (Josef Salat, Werner and I) were sitting in our room at the Astronomical Institute, when the noise of gunfire was particularly close. While Josef Salat and I were quite frightened, Werner radiated an admirable calm and reassured us. Perhaps—but this is pure speculation—he had often faced similar situations in his field research area in southeastern Turkey.

On a spontaneous trip to Turkey in spring 1981, I became acquainted with Werner's extensive ethnographic and historical knowledge in great detail. Actually, I only wanted to give Werner some gifts for friends in Istanbul. However, he and his travel partner, Markus de Zordo[53], persuaded me to accompany them on their trip to collect ethnographica in Anatolia. As I once again suffered from writer's block while working on my dissertation, I agreed, packed a few things and off we went.

In an old car, packed with clothes as donations, medicine and food (provisions for us and coffee, candy etc. for the people in the Anatolian villages), we left Vienna. The route took us through Hungary, former Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria towards Edirne,

[49] Most of the Hamals were seasonal workers who came to Istanbul from the Kurdish settlement areas—e.g., the villages around the city of Malatya, to earn a living for their families.

[50] An Austrian-Turkish high school, one of the oldest Austrian schools abroad.

[51] An Austrian congregation hospital.

[52] Initially, we had been meeting regularly in coffee houses near our survey sites, but there we were often engaged in conversations by Turks who knew some German. These conversations were sometimes interesting, but kept us from our plan.

[53] Since Werner did not drive a car himself, he always needed a driver on his trips—in the past, as I heard from Werner, his brother Reinhold, later mostly Markus de Zordo.



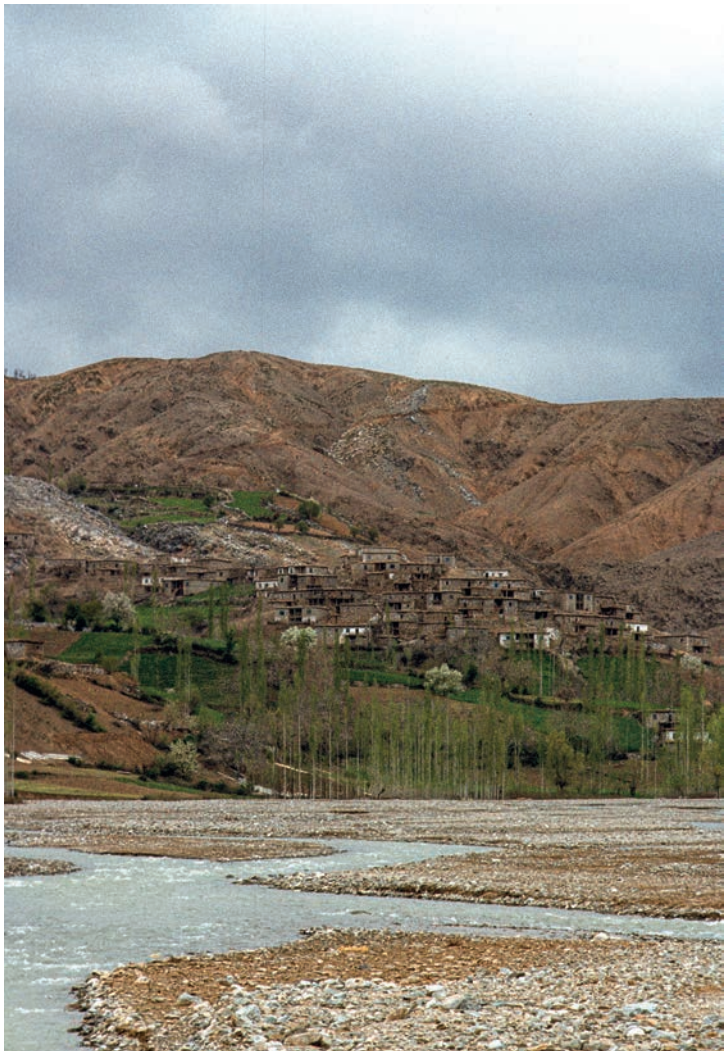
Werner and I in the Sultanhanı Kervansaray, April 1981. © G. Rasuly-Paleczek



Werner photographing a woman working in the fields in Soğanlı, April 1981. © G. Rasuly-Paleczek



Werner on the way to the village of the Hamals, April 1981. © G. Rasuly-Paleczek



The home village of the Hamals, April 1981. © G. Rasuly-Paleczek

where we arrived on 19 April 1981. We traveled very sparingly, lived on canned food we had brought along and slept in the car. When we arrived in Istanbul, I visited my friends, while Werner and Markus took up quarters in an apartment they had rented in Istanbul's old town. After a few days, we continued our journey. I don't remember the exact route, only a few places we visited, such as the Sultanhanı Kervansaray (located between Konya and Aksaray), where we stopped. Werner had contacts there, as in many other places in Anatolia, who acquired ethnographic objects (e.g., carpets, kilims, old copper utensils, embroidery) for him.

Another place where we stayed for several days and even spent the night in a motel was Ürgüp. Here, in Cappadocia, at that time not yet flooded with tourists, we visited not only cave churches and old dwellings cut into the tufa but also carpet weavers Werner knew from previous stays, as well as small villages, such as Soğanlı, where Werner bought wine from one of his former contacts. Wherever we went, Werner documented the people and their daily activities with his camera.

I was particularly impressed that Werner not only had acquaintances and friends in many places, but also knew a great deal about the history of individual localities and areas, thus enriching my knowledge of Anatolia. He showed great interest in the living conditions of his contact partners and wanted to maintain contacts he made, as became clear on our trip. During our surveys of crafts in Istanbul in the winter of 1978, Werner had met several *Hamals* (porters in the Istanbul bazaar) who lived in a mountain village between the city of Malatya and the Nemrut Dağ.

In spring 1981 (a few months after the coup of the Turkish military on 12 September 1980)—as so often in the recent history of the country—there were numerous military activities as well as checkpoints by members of the Turkish armed forces, especially in the Kurdish-inhabited regions in the south and east of Turkey. Buses and cars were



Villagers carried Werner over the river, April 1981. © G. Rasuly-Paleczek

stopped, the passengers and vehicles checked. On our way to the *Hamals'* home village in the middle of nowhere outside Malatya, we were suddenly stopped by soldiers who checked us and asked about our destination. Of course we could not tell the soldiers, who were waving their rifles in front of our heads, our real destination, a Kurdish mountain village, without making ourselves suspicious. So we pretended to be uninitiated tourists who wanted to visit the Nemrut Dağ. The soldiers said that this was not possible because of the snow and the impassability of the road, but they let us go on. Since the road was very bad and it was getting dark, we decided not to continue that evening, but to spend the night on the side of the road in the car. The next morning we continued our drive, through an impressive but heavily eroded, mountainous region, passing small fields, de-branched trees[54], small hamlets with a few scattered stone houses. We could not discover any power lines or other achievements of modern civilization.

The road, an earth and gravel track, was almost non-existent in some places due to landslides. Cars were rare in this area. Therefore, in our old car (I can't remember the make of the car), we attracted the attention of the inhabitants of the few villages we passed. In one village, people suddenly stood at the roadside and saluted us. Werner, as always interested to know the reason for this greeting, inquired from an older man who cleared the whole thing up. The visit of the school inspector to the village had been announced for that day and the villagers, including neatly dressed school children in their black school uniforms with white collars, had mistaken our car for the school inspector's vehicle.

After a long drive, we finally arrived at our destination: the home village of the *Hamals*. This was on the other side of a small river somewhat elevated on a hill. Markus and I stayed with the car while Werner, packed with the gifts we had brought, headed for the village. In this deserted area, of

[54] Werner informed us that the villagers cut the branches of the trees, mostly small oak trees, and in the absence of other fodder, use them as winter feed for their sheep and goats.

course, our arrival had not gone unnoticed, and soon a group of men had gathered at the river, first carrying Werner across and then escorting him into the village.

After several hours, Werner returned to the car and we started our return journey to Vienna. Shortly before Malatya we were stopped again by soldiers, the same ones as the day before. Our confirmation that—as they had suspected—it was not possible to visit the Nemrut Dağ at this time of year, they took with great satisfaction and let us pass without further checks. After a long drive across Anatolia, we left Turkey on 2 May 1981 and arrived home completely exhausted after several days of driving. Despite all the hardships, it had been a very impressive and instructive trip for me, also thanks to the many explanations I had received from Werner during the long car rides.

Werner had a tremendous knowledge about the history and the habits of the people in Anatolia a knowledge and insight that he admittedly passed on to others in lectures or at private gatherings. Unfortunately, however, he never succeeded—for whatever reason—to put his extensive knowledge onto paper—e.g., in the form of a dissertation.

This is all the more regrettable, as much of what Werner and others learned and documented in the course of their research and travels in the last decades of the 20th century has largely disappeared or changed dramatically.

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CURATING LOSS – (IM)POSSIBLE SELECTIONS FROM THE WERNER FINKE COLLECTION

Mehmet Emir

The following selection of photographs by Werner Finke was made by the artist and *ZOZAN* project collaborator Mehmet Emir. His own approach as a multimedia artist and Kurd is reflected in this photo selection. In a talk with Maria Six-Hohenbalken at the beginning, Mehmet Emir elucidates his views, his approach to the Finke collection, and his considerations regarding the rather impossible task of presenting a small selection from more than 25,000 images.[55]

Maria Six-Hohenbalken: When you first saw Werner Finke's photographic collection, do you remember what was most fascinating to you? For you as a Kurd on the one hand and as an artist on the other?

Mehmet Emir: Well, the first time I saw the photos, I couldn't imagine that an Austrian would go to such remote places. I was impressed that someone from that time period was so deeply interested in the daily life of the people in the Kurdish mountains. For me, seeing the images was like going back to my childhood, although the clothes and objects are a little bit different [compared to my village]. The forms of dress differed greatly between villages. We didn't have as many animals as the people in the regions depicted by Finke. Another interesting aspect is the fact that almost the whole village went together to the alpine pasture, and lived there with the animals for three, four months. In this regard, life was moved to the mountains, where you are very close with the animals, and you live in nature. We did not have tents like the ones in Finke's documentation. (...) What struck me since I first saw the photographs was the colorful life and daily chores, even in pictures and not so to speak in motion pictures. But of course, for me as an artist, as one who also takes two-dimensional pictures, they have started to become animated or sparked my imagination.

It was also quite curious to me that these photos were taken by an Austrian, thus an outsider. This aspect is related to the question of whether Finke's perspective is also subject to certain prejudice. When we think of Europeans, after all, they usually visit the cities in Turkey and take rather kitschy tourist photographs. What Finke did, though, was documenting just the ordinary way of life! The more I looked at the photos, the more I asked myself how Werner Finke came to travel there every year and stay for several months at a time. I wonder about his interest in this region at all, his motivation. I doubt he spoke Turkish very well, and in the 1960s the Kurdish communities he visited, except for certain higher-educated people, didn't speak Turkish either. When I saw how he traveled to all these places with a donkey he had purchased there (...) I mean, he visited so many remote places at a time before there were paved roads, and it was unclear whether the people there spoke Turkish or not: yet he dared to make his way through these landscapes to these communities, nonetheless. For me, his courage is admirable.

Finke captured something we Kurds have not really managed to do, that is, to document this time period. There were some individuals who collected photographs and objects on a smaller scale, but to have such a vast documentation from someone

[55] The interview with Mehmet Emir took place on 18 September 2023.

who really traveled there for decades is truly special. Later, I also learned that Finke's travels were not research expeditions funded by an institution or a third party, but that he rather funded them himself, starting when he was a student. But of course, despite all that, he also had a certain ethnographic eye.

Another aspect worth mentioning is that photographing women is rather difficult, and photographing people in general is forbidden in Islam. A photograph creates a realistic image of a person, which is also why naturalistic paintings of persons didn't exist in Islamic Fine Arts. That's why it used to be a problem for Muslims to operate cameras in Turkey for a long time. In the Ottoman, then Turkish big cities, for example, it was the French or also the Armenians who practiced this profession.

The more I looked at the photos, the more I also kind of "traveled with them" through northern Kurdistan. Personally, I came to Austria in 1981. In the previous year, there had been the military coup in Turkey. From 1985/86 almost until 1999/2000, it was actually very difficult to travel at all—even as a Kurd—to these areas. Eastern and southeastern Turkey, that is, the Kurdish region, was always governed in a state of emergency. (...) So until today, when you enter the Kurdish region, the controls begin. The Kalekol, the observation posts, were built in the 1980s, I think, and they are more like castles built on top of mountain ranges. They are the only investments that have been made by the state in the last decades, besides all the dam projects of course, that had started earlier. During my annual visits at home, it was almost impossible to enter other Kurdish areas. And so I was all the more surprised that Finke was still moving freely in these regions in the 1980s. After this period, though, his documentaries became fewer, as the millennia-old tradition of people accompanying their flocks to the mountain pastures for the summer months had diminished.

Just through his journeys and his photographic travels, the more I looked at the photos, I have also always been on the road. I also saw that he had a certain love and friendship with people, and must have developed them further over decades. The photographic collection has also become a source of some nostalgia for me because of the many traditional ways of living depicted. It also features a lifestyle in harmony with the natural cycle. In addition to the demise of this way of life today, the loss of knowledge and experience people had been gaining for hundreds of years makes you realize how much has been destroyed under political and military pressure. This alone brings out a certain longing in me—longing but also anger. And there is this joy that the ZOZAN team can now work with these documentations on Kurdish life between the 1960s and 2000s, when Finke captured certain forms of life selectively in such a huge region.

Maria Six-Hohenbalken: I would argue that nobody knows Finke's collection better than you, as you are in charge of the digitization process. How did you decide which photos to select for this publication? After all, you made a pre-selection from several thousand photos. What were your considerations or themes that you really wanted to see published?

Mehmet Emir: First of all, I tried to pick technically good photos that were also well-preserved despite their poor storage conditions in the past. Then, I tried to choose photographs that are beautiful—beautiful in terms of, for example, the color of the clothes, the face of a person, where you can also see the weather conditions people were exposed to. I was most fascinated by images that show how people from a camp cross a river. I know from experience how cold the water is in these mountain rivers. Of course, the meaning of community is also striking in the images, and how they all walk together, even the dogs that have a hard time going into the cold water and walking across. Women carrying their newborns, also walking through the cold, deep water. My fascination might also be an idealization of this way of life, but on the other hand, I am well aware that this was a very hard life. But it's just fascinating to me, also because that's the life that belongs there. And I see that because I have also lived there myself.

When I select these pictures, I think of my own experience of how you move around in nature. For example, even when you didn't wear good shoes, but you kind of got used to dealing with that. (...). It was important to me to choose images depicting the diversity within Kurdish ways of life. Additionally, to show the varieties of traditional Kurdish culture, as many villages no longer exist and hardly any people still go to the mountains with their animals. There has been political pressure to give up the transhumance lifestyle.

In the past, the mountains were alive because entire villages moved up to the mountains. Today, however, you have to get permission from the local military station. Everything is observed and controlled. In the whole of northern Kurdistan, the military posts are built and positioned within

sight. Then there are drones that always monitor the area, so there is constant observation.

Maria Six-Hohenbalken: When you compare all that to your own photographs, with your photographic eye and your knowledge of Kurdish history: what role did this play in the selection?

Mehmet Emir: My own way of photographing follows a different approach. I focus more on life in my home village. I know all the people in my village and I am a child of this village. So in my case, there was not one person who said that he or she didn't want to be photographed. Everyone was open. If you look at my photographs, you see that the people had no fear or reservations at all. The pictures reflect their relationship to me. In the case of Werner Finke, even though he was accepted into this society and went there often, there is a certain distance. Of course, as an ethnographer, he tried to use photography as a means of documentation.

Nevertheless, I also need to point out the way he photographed in Kurdistan would not be possible in Austria. Although I have been here for so long, I face difficulty photographing people directly in Vienna. There is also confrontation in Austria, because people notice that I am not from here and there is some distance right away. And it's important to me to look people in the eye or face. In Werner Finke's photographs, you can see that the people in the pictures didn't resist his photographing as long as it wasn't too intimate or too close to someone. This was seemingly not as hard as being an outsider who is taking pictures of local people in Europe.

Finke's incentive was not to take outstanding, artistic photographs, but rather to document the lifestyle, daily chores and handicrafts. Occasionally, you can see that he became part of a family, so to speak. You can see this in the way the people look at him, and how people are positioned and photographed. But when Finke was on the road, you can see that there's always a certain distance, and it was probably a healthy distance, because there could have been problems if you got too close to people.

Maria Six-Hohenbalken: And at the beginning of the *ZOZAN* project, did you expect that these photos by Werner Finke would trigger such emotions when showing them to community members in the Kurdish diaspora?

Mehmet Emir: I realized very soon that they triggered certain emotions in me, as they portray certain ways of Kurdish life that have been lost completely. All these factors play a role: all this oppression, the military, and this political pressure. Finke's audiovisual documentation makes this loss very obvious. When you look at people's clothes, for example, it triggers a longing and nostalgia. It reminds people of their families, their displacement, the loss of their homeland, of their language, the loss of their own culture, and of the destruction of their natural environment. When you are in the diaspora, when you are in a foreign land, when you had to migrate, all these emotions are enhanced.

My impressions and the memories evoked by the individual pictures are added in the following selection.

Image credits p. 54–101: CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photos: Werner Finke
Selection by Mehmet Emir



In these high mountain regions, the only way to make a living is by rearing animals. The scenery of herds of sheep and goats with a few colorfully dressed people in between expresses an incredible sense of peace for me.



When we went up to the mountain pasture, my brother and I had to lead the goats and sheep of the whole village, so they could graze above the mountain huts. The sheep were rather disoriented, so the goats set the pace and the direction for the whole herd. Even as children we had to look after 600 to 700 animals; we were the shepherds of the village. I still remember the silence in the mountains, the only sound was the chirping of the birds. Alpine pasture time was very important for the animals, as they had to put on enough fat for the winter.



The view of the tent camp also reminds me of our alpine pasture. In our case, the space in the middle of the alpine camp was empty. Cows and oxen were tethered there, and there was a spring nearby. Around the camp, we can see many paths the animals have created for themselves; many small trails that are the tracks of the herds of sheep and goats. In the morning on the mountain pasture, you were woken up by the braying of donkeys or the barking of dogs. However, the sounds of churning butter, or the rhythmic sounds of the leather bellows filled with milk moving back and forth on a tripod, were like music that encouraged us to sleep on. After the women in my family had finished their daily chores on the mountain pasture, they took their handiwork and climbed up to higher ground together. From there you could see the Munzur mountains and keep an eye on the alpine huts.



I was wondering whether the three men were on their way to the tents, whether they were coming from the town or on their way to another alpine pasture. In our case, the women stayed on the mountain pasture most of the time—only my mother had to keep going back to the village to help her eldest brother and sister with the hay harvest. The men then came to the mountain pasture to collect the cheese and butter produced by the women and sell it in the district town.



All the tent entrances are facing the same way, so from the tents, you can always see who is coming to the mountain pasture. Life takes place in front of the tent entrances. As there is no soundproofing between the tents, conversations are overheard by the neighbors. Everyone knows what everyone else is doing. Plastic has long since found its way into the camps, next to the tripod are two aluminum pots and a plastic canister.



The alpine pasture season is a busy time. The goats and sheep are sheared on the summer pasture (zozan), the wool is washed and hung up to dry before it is processed further.



This black and white photo in particular reminds me of the Dersim region, where I come from. We also built leaf huts with branches and small stone walls. Above all, I remember that snakes liked to hide in our dwellings. The beautiful and idyllic scenery, where people and animals are so close together, is striking.



Children, women and men gathered in front of their leaf huts (a temporary dwelling on the summer pasture) seem to be in a state of joyful excitement because of Werner Finke's photography. They seem to be amazed, happy and puzzled as to what the European is doing on the mountains. We didn't have any tents on the pasture either, but built simple circular walls out of stones, which protected us from rain and bad weather. A large beam was erected in the middle and branches cut from forest trees were draped around it. For small animals such as sheep and goats, a stable was also constructed from stones next to this improvised house. A cît (mobile fencing made of reeds) was built on top of the low walls using wood and leaves. Due to its low height and stability, this cît was no obstacle for a wolf trying to snatch an animal from the stable after outwitting the shepherd's dogs on the mountain pasture. There were wolves nearby both during the day and in the evening. It was always very exciting for us children when we spotted a wolf. But bears also kept tearing up cows that were grazing in the forest.



Each of the men has his own style of dress, and they are proudly presenting the next generation.



The first trip to the mountain pasture is the most exciting journey. The scene of a child on its mother's back, feeling her physical warmth as she crosses a river, a loaded donkey with beds for the camp on the mountain pasture, other pack animals with household goods, a woman carrying a bowl of dough on her back—images like these take me back to my childhood. We didn't have a donkey or a horse, but our uncle had a mule. Every family had either a donkey or a mule, as donkeys and mules are much more sure-footed in such mountainous landscapes. After our uncle had brought his things such as beds, dishes and flour to the mountain pasture, it was our turn. The small children had to be carried up to the pasture on our backs. Some men came to the mountain pasture every evening to be with their families, others stayed in the village after they had set everything up for the women and children. In our case, the daily work on the mountain pasture was only done by women and children. The small animals, such as sheep and goats, were taken to the pasture and supervised by a different family every day. Young men also stayed in the village to help their fathers.



I still remember my childhood when we would bring yoghurt, ayran and butter down from the mountain pasture to the village and deliver them to our working fathers and older brothers, where they were also assigned to various jobs.



The walk from the mountain pasture down to the village didn't take very long, but walking down and back again every day was very tiring. On the other hand, the trip was full of exciting events for us children. People of my generation, even if they live abroad and in the big cities of Turkey, still remember seeing wolves, foxes, hares, ibexes and chirping rock partridges.



When we made our way back to the mountain pasture in the evening, we usually brought fresh vegetables with us. We could tell the time by the shadows cast by the mountains and knew exactly when we had to set off on the way back to the camp. We children were also always on the move together—there were many striking places along the way that we feared and associated with horror stories.



Water always means life. The wooden bridge over the river leads to the houses and a watermill. The flat roofs of the houses served various purposes: vegetables and fruit were dried in the hot sun for winter. The sleeping areas were moved to the flat roof in hot summer months. Without the smog of light, you could watch the Milky Way and observe the stars, if you weren't too tired from the day's hard work. On the roofs, you were very close to the stars. People used building materials that were available nearby. When it rained, the roofs were often not watertight and water dripped into the house. Therefore, in the wet season, the earth had to be constantly pressed down on the flat roof with a special stone roller, visible on the roofs. These houses were cool in summer and could be heated quickly in winter.



The three-story house not only has a balcony, but also two loggias, which are closed off using wickerwork.



Village houses are often built on the slope like terraces, so the flat roofs of the houses below form the living areas for the neighbors above. The women's colorful dresses are an eye-catcher.



A saddled horse or mule can be seen in front of the stable, and there is a rooster on the flat roof of the farmstead. Building materials are sourced from the surroundings. The poplars that grow around the house are used for roof construction. This is one of the few winter photographs taken by Werner Finke, who mainly used to travel and document in the summer months.



Insight into the living room of a village house. The covers of the cushions are embroidered by hand, and the walls are also decorated with homemade works of art. The tapestry shows two peacocks in a palace; such tapestries can be found in many Kurdish households. People often do not know that peacocks are the sacred symbols of the Yezidi. On the right-hand side of the peacock picture is a hand-woven carpet and on the left is a small picture showing Hazreti Ali, who is supposed to lead the Muslims after the death of Mohammed and is adored in Alevi communities.

Mobile sleeping quarters are stacked up next to the sofa. The mattresses are either for guests or the residents of the house.



In the lounge of the house, people sit either on the floor or on a divan. The wooden chests were usually brought into the household by women, as they were used to store the dowry.



The two almost identical mosques are located in front of Lake Van. Ruins can still be seen on the rock in front of it, which may have belonged to one of the numerous castle complexes, as many cultures have left architectural traces in this region.



The Armenian gravestones at Lake Van testify to the multicultural past .



When I see the loaded mule, my mind takes me back to my village. These mules used to carry anything up these paths. Only mules and donkeys could collect dry wood in these mountainous regions. When our villagers had to do certain things in the district town of Hozat, 25 km (15 miles) away, they loaded the animal and marched behind. For us, the district town was the gateway to the big wide world. From there buses traveled to the provincial town of Elaziğ, but there were also "parking lots" with water and food for horses, donkeys and mules. Such a trip to the district town was not just about selling agricultural products, such as cheese and butter, to certain stores. They also visited the coffee houses to meet people from other villages and exchange news. Before heading back to the village or the mountain pastures, you also had a list to work through that the villagers had given you, and you also carried the mail for our villagers, which was deposited for them in these little town stores. To this day, no mailman comes to our village.



Not every household had two oxen. It was very expensive to have enough food for one ox during the winter. That's why people usually only had one ox and borrowed each other's to work the fields.



The photo of the threshing floor reminds me of the time when there was no threshing machine. After threshing, the wheat was separated from the chaff in the old way. The threshed grain was thrown into the air and a light breeze separated the chaff from the grain. For such busy days, people usually waited for favorable winds.



The picture of people harvesting grain reminds me of my time in the village, shortly before I came to Vienna at the age of sixteen and a half. Back then people used to cut the grain using sickles and had to be very tidy. No straw was allowed to be overlooked. That was very important work. You had to be particularly careful with the very sharp sickles, as it was very easy to get lots of wounds on your fingers.



The women on the mountain pasture are churning butter: you can tell by the size of the leather bellows [meşk] that the family had enough animals. The children learned how to make yoghurt and butter by watching the various steps. However, we didn't get to watch the women doing this work very often because they got up very early and by the time we were awake, they had long since finished.



The photo of the woman making butter intrigues me. In our village, women would have never shown these steps and processes to a stranger. Children were following the individual working steps in a playful way.



The women's work is invisible in this picture. Baking bread is always the work that women have to do, whether in everyday life, at weddings or at funerals.



Here you can see a "milking street" where women from a Chaldean village sit on large stones and wait for their animals to be milked. The shepherds assigned their animals to the milkers. We didn't have a milking street on the mountain pasture. The animals found the huts themselves, where they were milked.

Despite the strenuous work, there is still a smile on the woman's face.

Such old wooden milking containers, made from walnut wood by the milkers' husbands, are hardly used any more. Plastic prevails everywhere.







A Ford Transit was not only used to transport people, but also animals. Perhaps it was a last look, a look from the roof of the Ford Transit before they were slaughtered. You could easily tie the animals to it like luggage. The picture also reminds me of when the first van started operating in our village. It was often crammed full of people and also served as a means of transportation. Anyone could place orders with the driver, often ordering flour and sugar by the bagful.



The traditionally dressed man has a woven bag slung over his back. In his hand he holds a plastic container, which he might use to bring ayran or milk to the store. In the past, people used clay jugs for various purposes. But now they only use these big, colorful plastic canisters. For me, it's a photo that shows us the destruction of the environment. Is this modernity or progress?



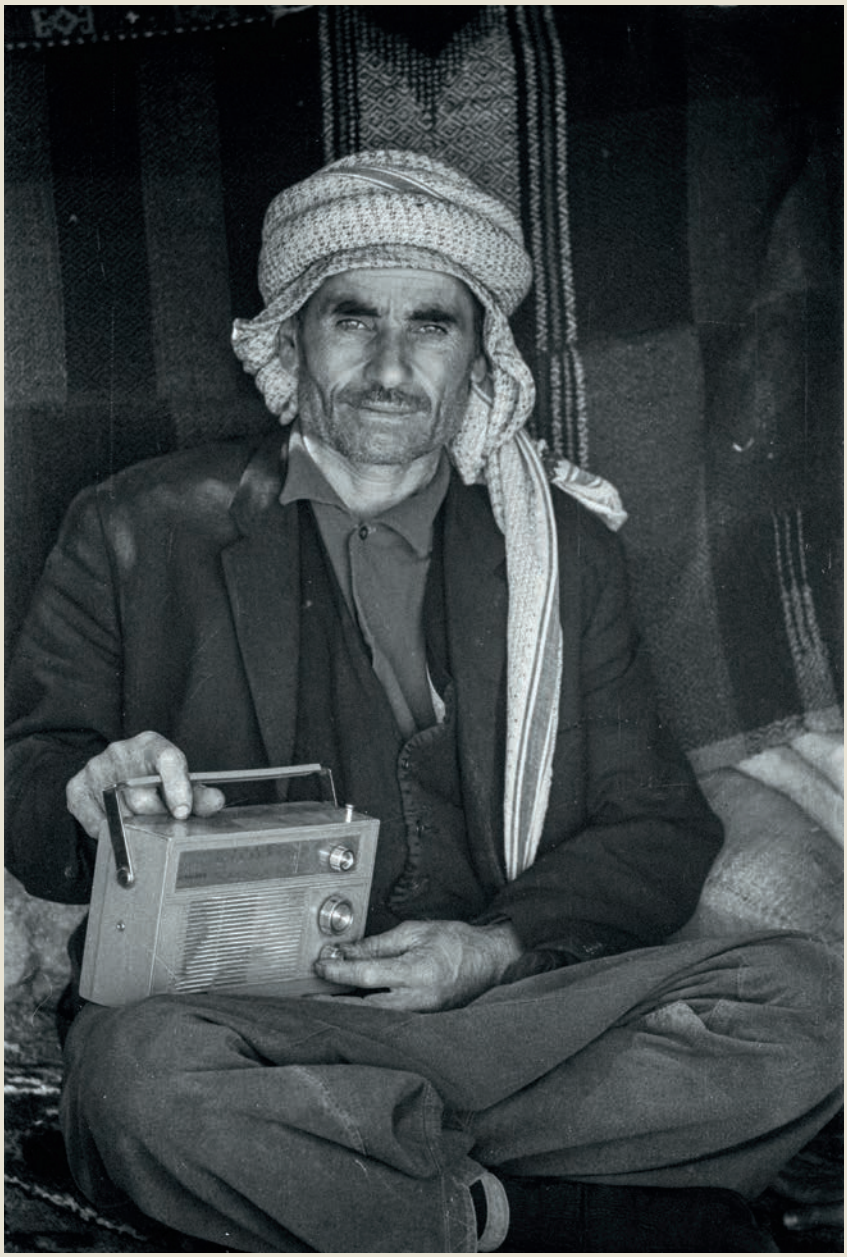
A man transporting crates of tomatoes with his donkey, probably to sell them. I remember how different types of fruit and vegetables were grown near our provincial town and then sold from house to house in the various districts. It was always very exciting for us children to see a donkey in our district and to watch the many women haggling with the farmer over the price of fruit and vegetables. The photo also shows a moped in the background—it is probably Werner Finke's moped. He once made his way from Vienne on a bike and parked it in front of a hotel. It points to the first stages of tourism and does not correspond at all to our current standards.



A vibrant city scene from Diyarbakır



The two old men talking to each other are interesting because of what they wear. One man has a piece of traditional cloth tied around his waist, which not only protects his internal organs from the cold, but also protects him from the heavy work he has to do—just as you see with weightlifters in the modern world. In the background are animals waiting to be let into their stables.



The man appears to be sitting in his tent on the mountain pasture. Despite his secluded life, the transistor radio allows him to keep up with world events or to follow the Kurdish programs on Radio Erivan, which transmitted Kurdish radio programs from Armenia to the mountain ranges in Turkey.



A snapshot: Despite the weight on her back, the woman stands upright and seems content. Despite the blurriness, I can see kindness in the man's gaze.



The two young women, one of them with a milking jug, seem to be waiting for the animals to be milked. Every minute is precious, even in this waiting time the wool is spun into thread.



The young woman at the threshing floor poses confidently under the sun, with her rubber shoes, her blue and red beads worn around her neck and her colorful dress.



The boy and the two girls, dressed in brightly colored clothes, pose in front of a cît (a mobile tent wall). We children used to wear whatever we found. Here, the boys could keep up with the girls in terms of colorfulness.



Life on the mountain pasture is conveyed very well in this picture, where children, men and women proudly present their billy goats. It is interesting to note that the coat colors of the billy goats and the shape of their horns do not represent a specific breeding standard, but rather diversity. Each of these billy goats is valuable!



The traditionally dressed Kurdish men present their rams and have attached their tespihs (prayer chains) to the horns—I wonder if this had some special meaning?



Horses, donkeys and mules are essential as transportation animals; for example, at least two horses are needed to transport a tent. A woman pulls a horse by the reins. Behind her is a girl dressed in colorful clothes. I wonder why the woman is not riding and also what the encounter was like with the photographer Werner Finke, who took a picture of her.



As children, we were always afraid when we met someone we didn't know outside our village.



There were no special shepherd dogs in my village. I am fascinated by the very dynamic photos, in which a woman is surrounded by dogs, probably fighting for hierarchy. A cow also gets involved in the action.



The big shepherd dogs are feared by strangers, but in the tent camp the small children grow up with the animals and show no fear.



Werner Finke often photographed wedding celebrations on the summer pastures; we know from his notes that these lasted several days. Weddings in our region also lasted up to three days: people from the village came to the wedding on the first day. On the second day, guests arrived from neighboring villages and towns. In the past, the guests came with their mules and horses. Outside the village, the children had the task of keeping watch; if guests were seen, they quickly ran into the village and informed the hosts. When there was dancing, the musicians would stop playing and set off with the hosts to welcome the wedding guests with music.

The guests' horses and mules were led to the water trough and then tied to the grass outside the village. The musicians were paid a certain amount by the guests for the musical reception. Then the dance music continued. On the third day, before the wedding came to an end, the bride was taken for a walk with the most beautiful horse. Young women and men were also taken out with the bride. Shotguns were fired into the air to celebrate. I can still smell the gunpowder today. The bride was then brought to the wall of the wedding house—probably the tent in this case.



Baking bread at weddings and celebrations in the countryside is always seen as women's work. At our celebrations, the women took turns washing dishes. Preparations for the wedding feast were made by the groom's parents. But the neighbors helped with various tasks during the ceremony. In other words, no money was spent on staff. Until the 1980s, if you went to a wedding party, depending on the degree of kinship, you brought a sheep or goat as a wedding present. It could also be a kid or a lamb. Then you brought kilos of butter or bags of sugar for tea, which was served for three days, but even after that you had sugar and tea for a long time.

Wedding parties are moments when children also learn to dance; they tend to join in at the end of the dance chain and have fun. No one forces them to take a dance class beforehand. They learn by trying it out. The best dancers always lead the chain. There is no order in which people dance, men and women often dance together hand in hand.

Davul and zurna (drum and funnel oboe) are the instruments that no wedding celebration should be without. In our village, davul and zurna players were also hired for the circumcision festivals of the young.









THE WERNER FINKE COLLECTION FROM 1967 TO THE "DARK 80s"

Maria Six-Hohenbalken

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The Kurdish settlement area extends from eastern and southeastern Anatolia—from the mountainous regions of the Taurus in the north to the high Ararat—toward east to Lake Urmia in Iran and includes the Zagros mountain range (northern Iraq and western Iran) as well as parts of northern Syria. Elevations of over 4,000 meters (13,000 ft) are not uncommon in this mountainous region. Some of these mountains are difficult to access and steeped in legend, such as Cudi Dağ (Şırnak province, Turkey), while others still bear witness to ancient cultures, such as the Commagene cult site on Nemrut Dağ. The cultivated land used for farming and livestock breeding is found, therefore, between 350 and 2,500 meters (1,150 to 8,200 ft) above sea level, while some of the high pastures are located at over 3,000 meters (9,850 ft) above sea level. The different altitudes and climatic conditions result in a wide range of natural and cultivated landscapes.

At the beginning of the 20th century, around 80 to 90 percent of the Kurdish population lived from agriculture. Different interrelationships between land cultivation and herding (sheep, goats) could be observed. Until the 1970s, various forms of mountain pasture farming were practiced in these elevated regions. People remained in villages in the cold season, while the summer months were spent in tents, leaf huts or summer villages on the higher pastures. The distances between the winter villages, which were built of stone or mud bricks and wood depending on the region, and the summer pastures could usually be covered within a day. Field cultivation was practiced in lower altitudes where the winter villages were located. Pack and draught animals were essential in terms of both agriculture and mobility. In the Ottoman Empire, the Kurdish regions were of great importance for the agricultural supply of the population. It was not only the large areas for grain cultivation in the plains and plateaus, but also livestock farming that ensured the population's meat supply. Live cattle were traded as far as Baghdad, Central Anatolia and Syria (Pehlivan 2016).

In the peace negotiations between Turkey and the Allies after World War I, the ethnic and national rights of the Kurds were initially recognized and laid down in the Treaty of Sèvres (1920). In the follow-up Treaty of Lausanne (1923), however, these initial promises were cancelled. The interwar period saw a series of national uprisings (the Sheikh Said Uprising in 1925, the Ararat Uprising in 1930) and finally, at the beginning of World War II, mass violence against the population of Dersim (1937/38). The existence of the Kurds was denied over the next decades and the policy of Turkification gradually took hold in individual eastern and south-eastern provinces.

It took several decades for a Kurdish movement to form. After World War II, a multi-party system was authorized in Turkey and a new constitution adopted in 1961. Various left-wing and Kurdish organizations began to establish themselves. The Kurdish question was partly seen as a question of economic underdevelopment. Moreover, there were increasing tendencies of enormous urbanization and migration processes. Farmers were often no longer able to make a living from subsistence farming and migrated to the nearest provincial towns. In many cases, this was just the first step to further migration to Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir or abroad.

As outlined in the introduction of this volume, the political situation for the Kurds became more



Border to Syria, 1980. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke

difficult and violent from year to year from the 1960s onwards. Upheavals were already organized in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Immense urbanization processes were triggered in Turkey, which often resulted in gradual migration processes, first to provincial towns and then to one of the urban centers (Diyarbakır, Ankara, Izmir or Istanbul). The extensive recruitment agreements between Central European countries and Turkey since the late 1960s proved to be further pull-factors in terms of migration. Not only the polarization between right-wing and left-wing parties in Turkey but also the recurring influence of religion and violent clashes caused a military intervention in 1971, after which political activities were restricted. While repeated changes of government were an expression of the instability in the country, growing foreign debt and rising unemployment ultimately led to the state's insolvency. The International Monetary Funds tried to restore Turkey's creditworthiness, which resulted in social tensions and was accompanied by political radicalization. In the period between 1978 and 1980, Turkey documented around 5,000 political assassinations, mostly by members of the fascist "Grey Wolves" (see, e.g. Akbayir and Morres 2000, Bozarslan 2021).

Socio-economic transformation processes and political developments after the late 1960s gave the mountain regions further political and symbolic significance, as they were both the starting point and place of retreat of Kurdish national movements. In order to break political resistance, individual regions were comprehensively depopulated. The central powers increasingly banned traditional forms of livestock farming, transhumance (alpine farming), as they wanted to deny the Kurdish resistance movements any socio-economic support.[56]

Finke's documentary work can be seen as a contribution to Kurdish Studies and the social

[56] See Ahmetbeyzade 2007, 160: "Pastoralist tribes were denied pasture rights in the summer months. These modalities of power resulted in a mass exodus. Currently millions of Kurds live in the peripheries of the major cities of Turkey." As for the problems of armed Kurdish resistance, the introduction of the village guard system, and the forced migration of the rural population, especially in the border regions, see e.g. McDowal 2007, 420ff.

anthropology of the Kurdish regions, as he succeeded in capturing the time of traditional livestock farming and agriculture before the major transformation processed. He did not intend to contribute to a "salvation anthropology" as was practiced in the 1960s and 1970s.

DEPICTING THE KURDISH ECONOMY IN THE 1960S AND 70S

Starting in the late 1960s, Werner Finke ethnographically documented agriculture in the Kurdish-inhabited regions of southeastern Anatolia. His focus was on agricultural structures, forms of animal husbandry and handicrafts. He also attempted to capture urban life photographically, documenting trade and everyday urban life in particular.

In these ethnographic documentations, he recorded work processes in great detail and traced individual steps, for example in textile production (from sheep shearing to the manufacture of carpets, clothing and everyday objects), milk processing and grain production. Another focus was on various crafts (blacksmithing, pottery, carpentry) and vernacular architecture. Over several decades, this resulted in a rich ethnographic documentation of over 20,000 photographs, more than 100 films (raw film material), hours of audio recordings, and a comprehensive collection of ethnographica (now at Weltmuseum Wien).

The regional focus of his endeavors was southeastern Anatolia (with short one-off trips to the Syrian and Iraqi border areas), and he collected ethnographic information from the following towns and provinces: Ağrı; Batman, Bitlis; Elazığ; Erzurum, Diyarbakır; Hakkari; Gaziantep; Siirt; Sivas, Şırnak; Şanlıurfa; Van. Documentation material is also available from Kurdish peripheral regions, such as Adana, Kars, Iğdır and Hatay. In addition to his focus on rural regions, there is also information on urban life, especially from the cities of Diyarbakır, Bitlis, Cizre, Gaziantep and Şırnak. Moreover, there are also photographs and ethnographica from the central Anatolian province of Nevşehir.

Not all regions were documented equally. The main focus was on the city and surrounding area of Beytüşşebap and Uludere. Most of the audio and film recordings also come from the region around Beytüşşebap. As Werner Finke traveled either by public transport or in later years by car, he usually made the outward journey via Central Anatolia and the return journey either along the Black Sea coast or along the Aegean Sea. A lot of photo documentation was also created on these outward and return journeys.

In the early years of his ethnographic documentation, Werner Finke was certainly not aware that many of these traditional economic forms would be subject to incredible transformation processes and that he often documented the last decades of traditional alpine farming, crafts and trade.

The photographs often convey a particularly idyllic impression. One might almost come to think that he produced a romanticized view of everyday realities with his camera. On the other hand, the majority of the photographs have a very ethnographic character, and the image sections show details of work and craft processes. Concerning images of people, portraits or full-body shots taken in between seem often posed and it is not clear whether this was the photographer's intention or the intention of the people photographed.[57] We know that Werner Finke repeatedly made prints of his photographs and distributed them on his travels in the following year. Some of these prints are still kept in the family archives today.

[57] See e.g. as a comparison the publication of the visual documentation of Peter Bumke's fieldwork in Dersim (Greve 2022).

THE DARK 80S, DEPICTED IN THE PHOTOGRAPHS OF WERNER FINKE



Plastic is increasingly finding its way into the camp, 1986. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke



Temporary tents next to an industrial building, 1988. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke



Once a magnificent tent, near Viranşehir, 1988. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke



Infrastructure project near Viranşehir, 1988. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke



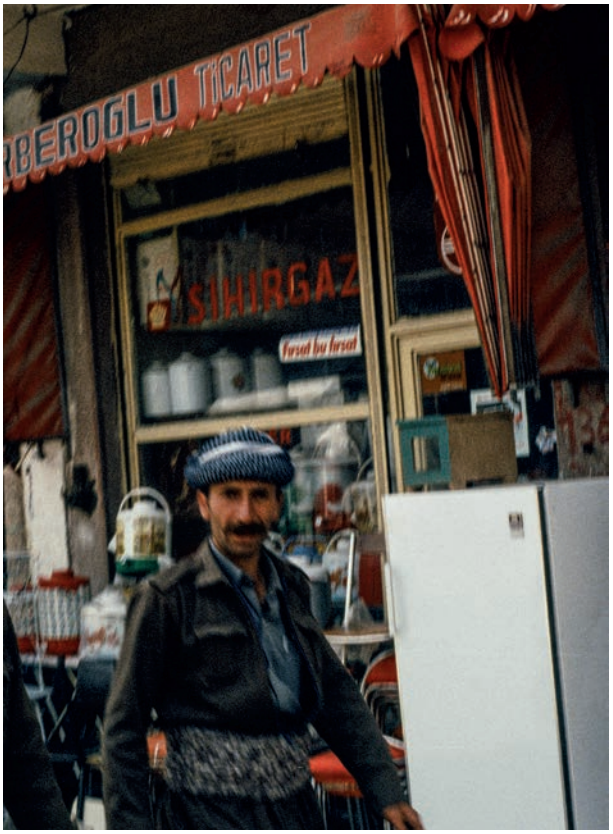
Model villages for the resettled between Cizre and Şırnak, 1988. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke



Pastoralists and military convoy between Siirt and Beşiri, 1988. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke



Motorization on the summer pasture between Siirt and and Beşiri, 1988. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke



Obviously, a Kurdish refugee from Iraq. Kurdish clothes in public were then forbidden in Turkey, 1988. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke



Istanbul as migration destination, 1983. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke



Plastic tent camp, 1995. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke



Migrants in Istanbul opened their small stores, 1983. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke



Surveillance post, 1995. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke



Diyarbakır, 1995. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke

The streak of political turmoil culminated in a military coup in 1980. Political parties and associations were banned, opposition members arrested, and martial law imposed in eleven Kurdish provinces. In a mass trial in Diyarbakır, hundreds of Kurdish defendants were convicted of terrorism and separatism, and many were tortured in prison (Kaya 1984). The 1982 constitution severely restricted democratic, political and trade union rights (Chaliand 1984; Kendal 1984; Vanly 1986; 1988). The political insecurity and state violence, as well as the economic situation, further encouraged migration to the cities and abroad.

Although martial law was lifted in 1987, the state of emergency was imposed on several Kurdish provinces. Special units trained by the German military along the lines of the border guard group GSG 9 were stationed in Kurdish provinces. Human rights organizations reported systematic torture. Not only those active in party politics were persecuted, but also intellectuals, writers and scientists were accused of "separatism" or "jeopardizing national security" based on political involvement and critical statements. Turkey's legal prosecution was based on the principle of "national security". The National Security Council—which is not subordinate to the Council of Ministers—was responsible for these "offences" and thus co-determined policy in Turkey. "There, the political system of Turkey has two centres of decision-making: the civilian authority (in the form of the Council of Ministers and Parliament) and the military authority (in the form of the National Security Council)" (Gürbay 1996, 13). Charges of "separatism" and "endangering national security" thus fell under the jurisdiction of the National Security Council—i.e., the military. It has been estimated that around 250,000 people were arrested for political reasons after the coup in 1980, with some experts believing that around half of them were Kurds (Ammann 2001, 131; Initiative "Menschenrechte in Kurdistan" 1989).

Founded in 1978, the Kurdistan Workers' Party (*Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê, PKK)* initiated its armed struggle against the military in 1984. The PKK was successively supported by a large share of the population in the provinces inhabited by Kurds. This resulted in large-scale military operations, the destruction of thousands of villages to deprive the guerrillas of support, and the introduction of a system of militia units known as the 'village guard system' (*koruculuk sistemi*). This



Out of a train window, 1995. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke

fueled the so-called low-conflict warfare, which claimed the lives of up to 40,000 people (Ammann 2001, 81). Forced resettlement measures, deportation and expulsion were propagated as a consequence and necessity of economic development in the course of large development projects (e.g., water dam projects), but were also seen as the result of the conflict. In 1999, following the arrest of PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan in Kenya, the PKK ceased armed resistance and propagated civil resistance in the early 2000s.

Political scientists refer to the 1980s as the "Dark Eighties" in Kurdish history, as Kurds in Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria were exposed to incredible state violence (see Bozarslan 2021). In addition to state-imposed violence and politically motivated legal proceedings, amongst many other measurements, a certain "culture of fear" spread among the population. The policy of silencing as well as violence against journalists and academics made reporting and research in this field hardly possible in Turkey. Best known in Europe is the fate of the Turkish sociologist İsmail Beşikçi, who worked on socio-economic structures in the east of the country. He saw the question of ethnicity, the development of a Kurdish identity, and a national movement as the cause of unequal development

and believed that the state was practicing "internal colonialism" in the east of the country (Beşikçi 1991). Key factors were the deliberate underdevelopment of the eastern provinces in favor of major investments in Turkey's western provinces, amongst other things to expand tourism (Jafer 1976).

In 1967 Beşikçi completed his doctoral thesis *The social organisation of a nomadic tribe living in Silvan in winter and on the mountains of Nemrut and Süphan in summer*. In 1969, his first book *Doğu Anadolu'nun Düzeni* (Turkish for "The Order of Eastern Anatolia") was published with the subtitle "Socio-economic Foundations and the Structure of Eastern Anatolia". Beşikçi was sentenced to twelve years in prison for these two publications. Due to language prohibition laws and the ban on free media in Turkey, various Kurdish diasporic institutions and networks in Europe (Berliner Institut für Vergleichende Sozialforschung 1991, 1992, 1993) were key players of independent and critical reporting and scientific studies. In the last two decades, a plethora of political and social studies were released, in which the "Dark 80s" were analyzed in various comprehensive ways (see the extensive outlines of Bozarslan 2021).

In the theoretical approaches of ethnology and social anthropology, there was hardly any discussion of mass violence, genocidal processes, or state violence until the 1980s. It was not only a question of how such forms of mass violence could be recorded, documented and communicated, but also that anthropology was mainly concerned with small-scale societies instead of large-scale political processes. It took until the late 1980s and 1990s that more work was done on questions of violence and studies of state terror, such as Michael Taussig's studies on Latin America (e.g., 1986), Nancy Scheper-Hughes' research in Brazil (1993) or Linda Green's field research in Guatemala in the 1990s (Green 1999).

Migration studies were also slow to address the issues of forced migration (Richmond 1988 and Zolberg, Suhrke and Aguayo 1988), with the first social anthropological studies on flight undertaken in the late 1980s and 1990s (e.g., Liisa Malkki's groundbreaking work on Hutu refugees in Tanzania 1995). The disciplines had to react to the short-sighted and apolitical view, but it was in the 1980s that the important "turns" in social sciences—and also in social and cultural anthropology (cultural turn, postcolonial turn)—were initiated.

Regarding Werner Finke's scientific engagement, we could argue that he was never a theorist. His fellow students remember him as an empiricist, a field researcher, in his active time at the university. He seemed to have little interest in discussions about theoretical approaches, focused on empirical work, and was less willing to engage himself in theoretical explanations or scientific writing. He also was never a person who sought publicity.

In the course of preparing an exhibition in the early 1990s, I worked together with Werner Finke and we had several long discussions on the necessity of our own political positioning, the publication of human rights violations and political developments, and the recording, documentation and analysis of political violence. Werner Finke was overly cautious and did not want to go public in Austria with issues of violence, expulsion and oppression of the Kurds. To me, as a budding social anthropologist who belonged to the generation of students caught by the different turns in social sciences, his attitude was often incomprehensible. It was only many years later, and partly as a result of working through his collection and in conversations with Werner Finke's sister, that I was able to understand his attitude as characterized by fear—fear of finding his confidants in Turkey but also himself persecuted and fear that he would no longer be able to continue his documentation work in the Kurdish mountains. He once witnessed an execution by paramilitary units during a stay at a summer camp in the mountains. One of his Kurdish friends was shot in a tent while sitting next to him during a military or police investigation, Finke's sister explained in an interview.

Analyzing his photos from the 1980s onwards, we can actually trace the overall transformation, but also his own change in the choice of photo motifs. In the first years after the coup in particular, he often took pictures out of a car, a train or hotel room, as taken photographs of military institutions or personnel were generally forbidden. Nevertheless, he tried to capture one situation or another by depicting the extensive militarization in individual shots. He also photographed some motifs that symbolized transformation processes, such as black tents pitched on the outskirts of urban areas, from a moving car. At times it seemed too unsafe or dangerous to photograph such processes directly or to take such pictures with him abroad.

Photos of the mountain pastures also became rarer in the collection of the late 1980s—the appearance of tent camps had also changed, with plastic increasingly used to cover the black tents,



Snap shot taken from the car, 1995. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke



Plastic is increasingly used in the construction of tents. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke

and Finke often only captured the camp scenes from a distance.

The increasing number of landscape photos in the 1980s is striking. One might think that these are photos of the former summer pastures, which were no longer farmed. In the 1970s, in contrast, he had depicted the peshmerga from Iraqi Kurdish parties, who transgressed the borders and visited the villages and pasture camps. Finke never depicted fighters of the PKK, battlefields or human rights violations (e.g., in demonstrations).

CONTEXTUALIZING THE PHOTO COLLECTION

Due to the fate of statelessness, Kurdish society has never been able to establish national educational institutions or a national archive. In the last two decades, various institutions in the Autonomous Region of Kurdistan Iraq have undertaken a number of initiatives in this regard (archives, digitization campaigns to make Kurdish literature accessible, collection of manuscripts[58]).

There are no dedicated institutions for the preservation of Kurdish cultural heritage—be it dedicated ethnographic collections or visual documentation—in Turkey, Iran or Syria. Private or organizational initiatives for the collection of photographs, audio and film documentations, testimonies or ethnographic objects were often short-lived, experienced state violence, and were often destroyed soon after their foundation, just as scientific or artistic publications were either prevented or banned for a long time. For this reason, European institutions and initiatives, such as publishing houses, played a major role in the promotion of Kurdish studies for decades. With regard to the digitization of publications, maps, journalistic articles, etc., *the Institute Kurde* in Paris is leading the way, as a number of publications have been published digitally in recent years.[59]

In terms of visual documentation and especially photographs, there were various projects by individuals, such as Susan Meiselas, who compiled the magnificent publication "In the Shadow of History" (1997), which is more than an illustrated book but the result of intensive transnational research in archives and among private individuals (Bouveresse 2015).

Moreover, a number of illustrated books by travelers and photographers recorded insights into Kurdish everyday culture and transformation processes. In the late 1940s, the British military officer Wilfred Thesiger travelled through Arabia and Kurdish regions. Today his estate is preserved at the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, and parts of it have been published (Thesiger 2001) or are accessible in digital form.[60] The American photographer and carpet researcher Josephine Powells photographed nomadic societies between Turkey and Afghanistan for many years, including Kurds who practiced transhumance (Hart 2012). Her legacy is now digitized and publicly accessible at Koç University.[61] However, the ethnic identification of Turkish state ideology takes place, although no entry can be found under the search term Kurds, although Kurdish cattle breeders are obviously depicted in some of the photographs. Another journalistic photo book is that of Engelbert Kohl, who documented Kurdish pastoralists in the mountains in Turkey (1991). An outstanding example for the documentation of religious life is the publication of Ebrahim Alipoor (2020) who depicted the Pir Shalyar festival in Iran over several years.

In recent decades, it has mainly been journalists who published a series of photographic books documenting human rights violations, war and people seeking refuge. Since the 1980s, these living conditions have become part of Kurdish reality, as various forms of state violence have triggered enormous transformation processes, forced migration and urbanization. In the case of the chemical attack in and around the city of Halabja in 1988, for example, it was primarily Iranian war journalists who documented the use of poison gas and the genocidal processes (Iran Photo Foundation 1988). Some of the important crisis documentaries include, for example, Kashi and Hitchens (1994),

[58] E.g., Kurdistan Centre for Arts and Culture, Erbil.

[59] Institute Kurde, Paris. https://bnk.institutkurde.org/?l=en

[60] http://web.prm.ox.ac.uk/thesiger/

[61] https://librarydigitalcollections.ku.edu.tr/en/collection/josephine-powell-slides-collection-2/

Brenneman (2007), Muller and Yildiz (2008), Adlig and Bartier (2008), Meyer (2019) and Ashrafi, Knight, and Kaval (2021).

Werner Finke's photographic documentation is a predominantly ethnographic inventory that depicts Kurdish everyday life over decades. Due to the long-time span of the documentation, the material that is now available in digitized form will allow for comparative perspectives and analyses of transformation processes in the future.

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BEYOND THE ARCHIVE.
NOTES ON WORKING WITH THE FINKE ESTATE

Eva Stockinger

"Photographs and peoples perform histories together."
Elizabeth Edwards[62]



Wedding celebration in the mountains, 1975. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke

[62] Edwards 2011, 89.



Women in festive clothing outside a tent in the mountains. On the left, Werner Finke's brother and frequent travel companion Reinhold Finke is setting up a film camera, 1976. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke

THE COLLECTION: DOCUMENTS OF A LOST LIFESTYLE

After Werner Finke's sudden passing in 2002 his sister Sylvia Widhalm, found herself confronted with countless boxes of photographs and a less-than-ideal storage solution in a garage in Lower Austria. In 2003 she was approached by researchers from the Institute for Social Anthropology (ISA) at the Austrian Academy of Sciences (AAS) regarding Finke's audiovisual collection, which he had been compiling in the course of his ethnographic fieldwork in the Kurdish settlement areas in Turkey between 1966 and 2000, with a specific focus on the regions of Uludere, Hakkâri and Beytüşşebap (see Article 2 in this volume). Sylvia Widhalm then decided to donate the remainder of Finke's extensive research documentation.

In these storage boxes handed over to ISA, we (the researchers at ISA) found around 30,000 images —mostly slide photographs (see Thomas Freiler in this volume)—as well as sixty 8 mm and 16 mm films of raw footage, eleven audio tapes, twenty notebooks and field diaries, several hundred picture postcards, a few vinyl records and music cassette tapes, and a few textiles[63]. Finke's collection of ethnographic objects, commissioned by curator Alfred Janata, had already been purchased by the Weltmuseum Wien (see Article 11 in this volume). At the time of writing in June 2023, we have not finished counting and cataloguing the materials yet. With a few exceptions (for example, Janata, Kren, and Six 1992), Werner Finke's photographs

[63] The textiles were in very bad condition and could not be inventoried.



Children outside a tent settlement, 1980. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke

have not been published, despite their ethnographic and artistic value.

In the course of our research project *ZOZAN,* funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF PEEK Project AR 682), these materials are digitized and processed. Finke's audiovisual documentations of everyday life in urban and rural settings, specifically in the Kurdish mountains, bear witness to the cultural practice and traditional knowledge of a transhumance lifestyle that had become increasingly difficult to pursue (see Thevenin 2011 and Article 15 and 16 in this volume). Finke's photographs depict some of the last years of this way of life in relative freedom in the Kurdish summer pastures (Kurmancî "zozan") of the Kurdish mountains, while our ongoing digitization and long-term storage of these audiovisual materials contribute to the preservation of Kurdish cultural heritage.

The digitization process follows the Open Archives Initiative's mission[64] to make archival materials accessible, interoperable, and searchable online. In collaboration with experts from the Kurdish community, such as Seyda Goyan (see also Article 12 about his ethnographic museum in this volume), we research metadata for the images and describe them using a thesaurus based on the eHRAF vocabulary "Outline of Cultural Materials (OCM)"[65] that we adapted. Most photographs were not in any particular order within the storage boxes, but for several hundred images, Finke's notes and labels explained the location and year the photographs were taken.

At the time of writing, we are about to publish the photographic collection in the catalogue of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. Until the end

[64] Open Archives Initiative. n.d. "Standards for Web Content Interoperability". Accessed 5 May 2023. https://www.openarchives.org/.

[65] Yale University. n.d. "Subjects Covered (OCM)". Accessed 5 May 2023. https://hraf.yale.edu/resources/reference/outline-of-cultural-materials/.



Women sharing a laugh with the photographer, 1976. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke

of the project, we will have as much of the collection openly accessible online[66] as ethical considerations and legal restrictions allow.[67] Furthermore, we plan to actively spread photographs in Kurdish social media networks in order to reach a wider non-academic audience. Part of our research will be dedicated to analyzing the reactions towards the images and any additional content information we can obtain through social media interactions with the community.

THE CONTENT: WHAT IS PICTURED AND WHAT IS ABSENT

Finke's audiovisual materials document a variety of subjects including seasonal migration, food production, material culture, farming, craftsmanship, vernacular architecture as well as village and city life. His unique collection reflects the ethnographer's interest in the natural environment, animal husbandry, skilled crafts, and activities related to social life in the tent settlements in the summer months. The audio recordings document traditional Kurdish songs (see Khanna Omarkhali's contribution in this volume), and the filmic works show step-by-step artisan processes such as felting.

While he also stayed in cities during his extensive travels and fieldwork, the photographs suggest that Werner Finke was more interested in rural life and the vast landscapes of the Kurdish mountains.

[66] The collection will be published under the Creative Commons License CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

[67] The online publication is in compliance with European data protection and copyright laws, but there are also ethical considerations. Some people pictured in the photographs might oppose to the online publication of photographs that show them in what they might consider a negative way. In other cases, for example, pictures of unclothed children swimming or people with weapons, we opted not to publish the photographs online to protect the identity of the individuals.



In later years, Finke photographs from a distance, from moving vehicles or hotel room windows, depicting the increasing military presence, such as here in Diyarbakır in 1995. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke

In conversations with his sister, we found out that he befriended a muezzin in Beytüşşebap, visiting the family almost every year. Despite this close friendship, motifs of religious practice are noticeably absent in his photographs—except for pictures of urban mosques and some documentation of men during prayer in the mountains.

Many of Finke's pictures are close-ups of people, which attest to a great sense of mutual trust between the photographer and his subjects. Being a competent speaker of Turkish and Kurdish languages (according to his sister), Finke was granted access to the local communities' daily activities and joined families in their living arrangements.

From the 1990s onwards, likely due to the increased military presence in the area, the photo documentation suggests that Finke experienced the Kurdish settlement regions from a distance. He shot a large number of photographs from inside moving vehicles and presumably spent less time in the mountains, focusing his activities instead on the carpet trade in Turkey.

The ethnographic and photographic value of Finke's images was evident from the very beginning. We see women in beautifully decorated celebratory garments, thorough documentations of food production and handicrafts, such as weaving or welding; we see animals in rugged terrain, children laughing, men and women working daily tasks together. Finke's audiovisual documentation spans over more than three decades, and his images reveal subtle changes over the course of time: the introduction of plastic containers, nylon tarp for the roofs of the tents (see Michaël Thevenin's contribution in this volume), batteries, and changes in clothing.

But it wasn't until we talked to representatives of the Kurdish community and noticed the emotional response to our archival materials that we uncovered a deeper personal and cultural meaning in these historical documents.



Setting up the tents, 1968. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke

ART INTERVENTIONS: THE JOURNEY OF THE PICTURES

A key aspect in our research project is dedicated to artistic interventions based on two photographic collections. The estate of Werner Finke on the one hand, and the artistic work of photographer Mehmet Emir on the other[68], act as launching points for participatory workshops, held by Kurdish and non-Kurdish contemporary artists. Members from Kurdish communities and interested non-Kurdish participants are invited to engage with the archival materials and develop collective artworks as a result of this engagement. This method of arts-based research allows researchers to uncover information that would not be accessible by traditional research methods. The methodological tools of arts-based research practices "adapt the tenets of the creative arts in order to address social research questions in holistic and engaged ways in which theory and practice are intertwined" (Leavy 2015, 21). The dissemination of such research results has the potential of reaching a non-academic audience: "Because images are memorable, they are also likely to influence the ways we think and act, and can help us disseminate our research findings to a much wider audience" (Holm, Sahlström, and Zilliacus 2018, 313).

The time-consuming tasks of digitizing and cataloguing the photographic collection were prioritized in the first project year. In order to give the invited artists and workshop participants access to selected digital files for their planned art interventions, we created a password-protected website to showcase a selection of Finke's and Emir's photographic collections. We decided to make this content available with restricted access, as Emir's works are copyright protected, and as of 2023, the

[68] Mehmet Emir is a member of the ZOZAN core research team. He is a Vienna-based artist and photographer originally from Tunceli (Dersim), and has created a multimedia documentation of his village of origin over the span of three decades. He published his artistic work in 2025. See also his interview in this volume.



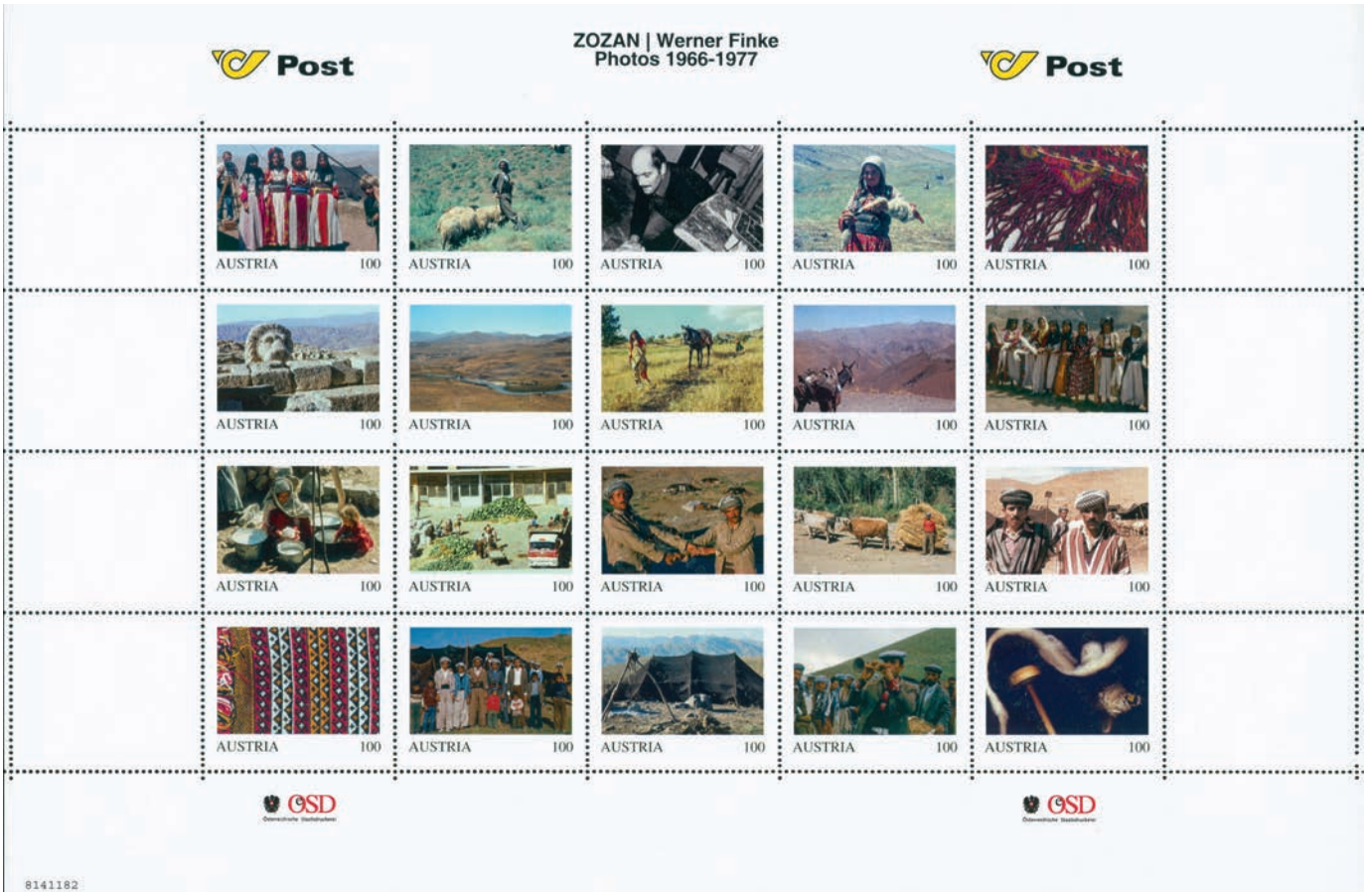
Still from Songül Boyraz' film "Remembering Zozan", 2023. Courtesy of ISA ÖAW and the artist

Finke content has not yet been fully catalogued with quotable reference codes and persistent identifiers.[69] The photo selection for this restricted website was created by following five research focus themes—namely transformation processes—which the research team had previously identified: mobility, material culture, gender, generations, and the environment.

The selection of photographs from the vast collection was subject of many discussions among us researchers. A curated selection was required for all publications—but which criteria should be taken into account, and who should make these decisions? The team decided to try a variety of approaches to comply with a representative cross-selection of the Finke collection throughout the years and motif themes. For this very publication, core research team member Mehmet Emir—himself a photographer with family background from Dersim—pre-selected about 1,100 photographs, and then various voting rounds among the research team concluded the final selection for this book, while keeping in mind themes of transformation, as well as the photographic and ethnographic value of the photographs. In another instance, Kurdish artist Rojda Tuğrul (see more below) chose the photographs for the brochure accompanying her art intervention.

In the course of our four-year research project, a minimum of eight artistic interventions are realized. At the time of writing in June 2023, five of these participatory workshops have already been executed. The first workshop under the direction of photographer Lisl Ponger took place in Vienna on two weekends in May 2022. Participants were invited to bring personal memory items, and reflected on which items are kept in the diaspora, and which are left behind. These items were scanned and then arranged as Austrian mail stamps, together with a collectively chosen selection of photographs from Emir and Finke's collections. In group discussions moderated by the artist, a variety of themes relating to 'Kurdishness' were discussed, including political domination through infrastructure projects

[69] Once this is completed, Finke's photographs will be published and openly accessible as mentioned above.





Two of four sets of stamps arranged by participants of Lisl Ponger's workshop. Courtesy of ISA ÖAW and the artist



Butter making workshop at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna, June 2023. Photo: Mehmet Emir



Women using a wooden tripod and goatskin bag to make butter, 1976. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke



Workshop participant tracing the outlines of a woman in a photograph by Werner Finke at MARKK Hamburg, June 2023. Photo: Savaş Boyraz

such as the construction of dams, forced migration, experiences of political violence, family relations and memory work. The artist suggested mail stamps as a medium to comment on the fact that the Kurdish community is one of the largest ethnic groups without its own nation state. This medium enables the objects to symbolically travel back to their Kurdish origin regions.

The second workshop, led by visual artist Songül Boyraz, took place in Austria's westernmost province of Vorarlberg in June 2022. Members of the Alevi community, and affiliates of the Bregenz Youth Center "Offene Jugend- und Kulturarbeit Bregenz" were invited to look through the photographic materials and audio recordings, and share personal stories and memories in response to this engagement. The discussions were accompanied by Kurdish musicians based in Vorarlberg. In personal interviews conducted by the artist, several women from the Kurdish community shared difficult memories of past violent experiences and nostalgic recollections of life in the summer pastures. The resulting filmic work entitled "Remembering Zozan" was finalized by the artist.

Artistic intervention number three was instructed by interdisciplinary artist-researcher Rojda Tuğrul in November 2022 in Vienna. The participants were guided to create drawings, based on concepts of "Re-Animation" and "On-Touching"—concepts that explore how to experience a new environment through embodiment practices, for example, drawing objects from the collection with the non-dominant hand. Creative writing was also explored and resulted in a participant's essay from the viewpoint of a horse bridle from Finke's collection.

The fourth workshop was held as a semester-long course at the Photography Lab of the University of Fine Arts in Vienna in spring 2023, where photographer Thomas Freiler and a group of art students explored the different photographers' perspectives in the two collections: one being Finke, the Austrian ethnographer, and the other being Emir, a visual artist and himself member of the Kurdish Dersim community. Their artistic research focused on churning, as the production of butter is a common motif in both photographic collections. The students documented traditional and contemporary ways of making butter in a practical workshop with a Kurdish woman (a relative of one of the students), thus depicting a knowledge system and how it is transferred and practiced in transnational settings.

In June 2023, photographer and filmmaker Savaş Boyraz conducted his artistic research at the Museum am Rothenbaum in Hamburg, asking people who had to seek refuge in the last decade about their personal archives. It became evident that smartphones and their storage possibilities increasingly serve as people's personal archives and most important source for memory and remembrance. Participants created drawings based on photographs and motifs from the Finke collection, which the artist will arrange in a tent structure art installation.

Further artistic interventions included a contribution from Iraqi Kurdistan in fall 2023, where artist and university lecturer Dara Rasoul Ola (DARO) developed a comprehensive project with nine artists in Sulaymaniyah elaborating on cultural heritage and knowledge production. Artist-curator Ezgi Erol realized a workshop, reflecting on memory spaces and techno spaces in Graz in November 2023. Curator Melis Kaya conducted a participatory workshop at the Kurdish Institute in Paris in 2024, focusing on the participants' individual stories and memories.

BEYOND THE ARCHIVE: HISTORY, MEMORY, AND MEANING-MAKING

Our arts-based research is based on the hypothesis that photography and visual art production play an important role in collective memory and identity-building, especially among migrant populations with experiences of loss. "Memory, for migrants, is almost always a memory of loss," as anthropologist Arjun Appadurai points out (Appadurai 2003, 21). He continues to emphasize that "[f]or migrants, more than for others, the archive is a map. It is a guide to the uncertainties of identity-building under adverse conditions" (ibid., 23).

When they were confronted with Werner Finke's photographs, members of the Kurdish communities in the European diaspora became visibly touched. Due to their experiences of spatial and temporal loss, the exposure to Finke's documentations brought up difficult and nostalgic memories—memories of a joyful childhood in the mountains, of parental stories, of distance and belonging. "People not only talk about photographs, they talk with them and weep over them," as anthropologist Elizabeth Edwards writes (2003, 89).

It is within historical photography that the materiality of the past meets the present, in what Roland Barthes called an "illogical conjunction between the *here-now* and the *there-then*" (1977, 44). Through creative processes and the inclusion of personal histories, archival materials become updated, and additional meanings are uncovered that go beyond archival description: information that does not fit into the data fields of archival software yet is of high significance to community members, as it refers to the "often invisible and intangible aspects of social life" (Leavy 2015, viii).

While historical photographs may depict past events, they contain information beyond historical traces, and their meanings are continuously negotiated. In this way, photographs "seldom have closed meanings. Rather, meanings are mutable and arbitrary, generated by their viewers and dependent on the context of their viewing" (Edwards 2003, 84).

The participatory workshops lead to the creation of collective artworks that breathe new life into the archival materials, potentially untapping life experiences of Kurds in the diaspora, reaching non-academic audiences. "Art can grab people's attention in powerful ways," as arts-based research practitioner Patricia Leavy writes (2015, 32). Jens Badura et al. pointed out the similarities between artistic and scientific inquiry, as both approaches aim for a deeper understanding of the world and generate knowledge through experiments (2015, 10). In participatory workshop settings, framed as art interventions, artists, ethnographic and visual anthropology researchers as well as participants from "communities of implication" (Adler 2021, 296) collaborate in a multidisciplinary approach in order to co-create artworks, generating new knowledge by "merging art and ethnography": "Co-production means a more comprehensive interaction of these knowledge systems (...). These representations can contribute to a new or at least displaced or shifted heritage configuration" (Holfelder and Schönberger 2021, 310).

In 1995 art historian Hal Foster recognized a trend in contemporary art that would become known as the *ethnographic turn* in contemporary art. While being critical of this development, he attests the possibility of innovative collaboration between artists and communities (1995, 306). In these creative engagements, new representation forms of cultural heritage and ethnographic photography collections are negotiated, with





Left: Men sitting on the roof of a bus, 1967. Right: Barber shop in a rural town, 1995. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photos: Werner Finke

diverse artistic, open-ended approaches, unbiased as to the results. This creative approach to the archive enables the transfer of knowledge: in the case of Thomas Freiler's semester-long workshop with art and photography students, they were inspired by the engagement with the photographic archive and acquired the practical skills of making butter.

On its own, Finke's ethnographic photography collection would have mere historical value in what could arguably be interpreted by critics as "salvage anthropology"—a practice of documenting a presumably declining native culture, mostly for the benefit of a colonial (foreign) regime[70], although we are confident that this was not Werner Finke's intention. His field notes and diaries lead to the conclusion that he initially intended to analyze his fieldwork in an academic dissertation. In the course of time, he increasingly focused on his audiovisual documentations and eventually never realized his dissertation project (see Article 2 in this volume on Werner Finke's biography).

By means of artistic interventions and community involvement through creative reflection, themes of change and continuity, transnational identity, contemporary experiences of Kurdishness, ideas about collective memory, and even the re-learning of practical skills and techniques such as churning, are voiced and added. This engagement with archival materials allows for a deeper understanding of Kurdish culture—an understanding without closed meaning, but an ongoing pursuit that goes beyond the archive.

[70] See Hearst Museum of Anthropology. n.d. "Pushing Back against Salvage Anthropology: In Conversation." Accessed 10 May 2023. https://hearstmuseum.berkeley.edu/pushing-back-against-salvage-anthropology-in-conversation/



Elderly woman with a spindle in front of a tent in the mountains, 1975. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photos: Werner Finke

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ON PHOTOGRAPHY AND PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION IN THE WERNER FINKE COLLECTION, THE PHOTOGRAPHIC MATERIALS AND THEIR CONDITION

Thomas Freiler

The Werner Finke collection, as it was handed over to the Institute for Social Anthropology of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, contains approximately 30,000 pictorial documentary materials. By far the largest part of his photodocumentary estate consists of slides. Photographs in general and particularly the way we deal with them in everyday life give the impression that they serve as a kind of contemporary witness and source of information. As soon as we plunged into this extensive range of pictures that Werner Finke has taken in more than 30 years, however, the questions arising were just as diverse as his collection. Photography, and above all documentary photography—or when it is used and understood in a documentary way—requires additional information, which either has already been added or, as in the case of the present research project, must first be acquired. The resulting views on the collection are multiperspective in nature. This essay addresses the following issues in an overview fashion:

Why do the photographic materials look the way they do to us in the here and now? What materials are we dealing with, and what are the reasons we are dealing with them? Can we even trace how Werner Finke worked and which method of documenting was important to him? As he can unfortunately no longer be interviewed himself, the picture collection will have to answer our questions for him.

CONDITION OF THE PHOTOGRAPHIC MATERIALS

The materials were stored for several years in an unheated, garage-like environment, exposed to seasonal fluctuations in temperature and humidity. Considering the storage conditions, the general state of preservation can still be described as relatively good under such circumstances. Where damage has actually occurred due to contact with water, it is of course massive and has, among other things, completely destroyed the slides. (Fig. 1) With the help of a small, improvised test, I was able to see that five days of contact with water already damaged the emulsion beyond repair. It comes off, folds up, and the dyes liquefy and clump together. Fig. 2 shows a dye water damage and Fig. 3 the result of my test after the slide was finally dried again.

For the earliest pictures from the 1960s, Werner Finke used glass frames, later more and more rarely. Glass frames have the advantage that the slides do not bulge during projection and, therefore, cannot jump out of the plane of focus. Considering the conditions of storage, however, they require a more demanding climatic environment. Between the glasses and the film, there remains only a space of the thickness of a thin sheet of paper. If moisture forms or condenses, the resulting microclimate becomes a breeding ground for fungi and bacteria. The majority of the slides remained unaffected as far as a superficial examination reveals, and fortunately was spared. On some slides, however, small roundish—basically rather in the center of the images—light blue discolorations can be seen. Whether a fungus is responsible for the discoloration or fading of the purple and yellow colors could be examined microscopically. Slides, which consist of a plastic film as a carrier and an emulsion adhering to it, embedded in gelatin, expand and shrink depending on temperature (plastic base) and humidity (emulsion).



Fig. 1. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke

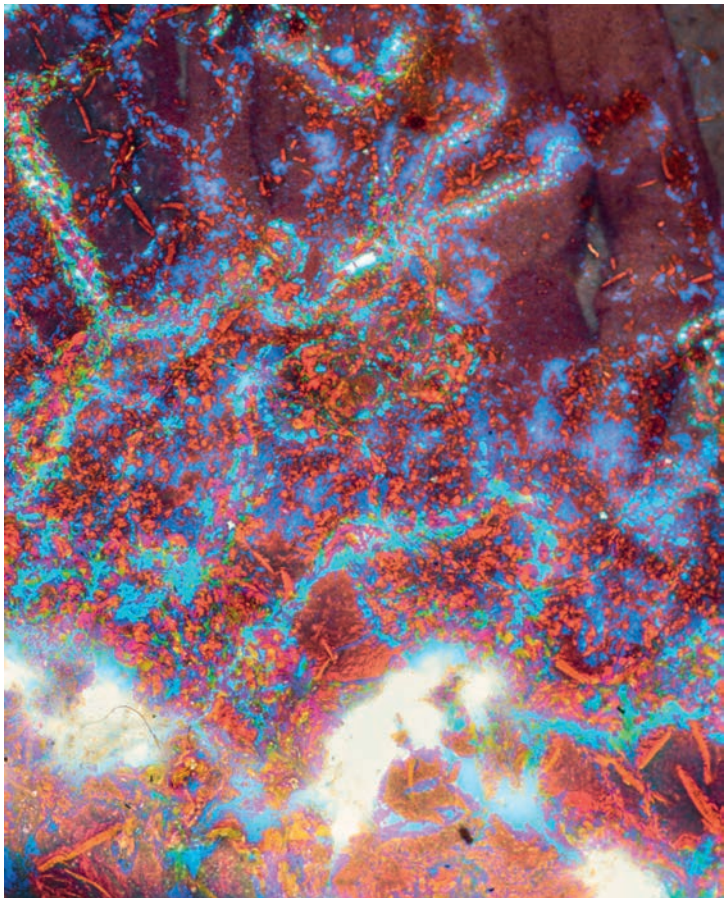


Fig. 2. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke

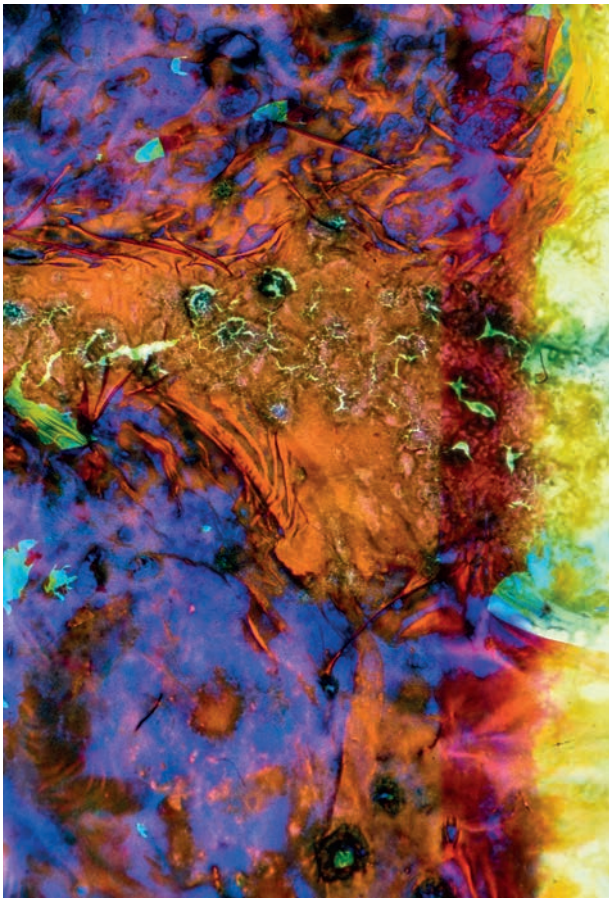


Fig. 3. Test: Thomas Freiler

Particularly the pictures from 1966, mounted in glass frames, deformed in the course of time because of this constriction between the glasses. Glassless frames, on the other hand, offer more space and possibility to adapt to climatic changes, but of course they do not protect as well against dust or mechanical damage.

Many of the slides were stored in plastic slide boxes, which close so tightly that there is more of a risk of damaging them after a long period of time than allowing dust and dirt to find a way inside. A likewise large part of the slides was most likely already in preparation for presentations or simply for temporal and thematic sorting in Leitz slide trays. The latter offer certain protection against dust, but above all guarantee sufficient space and ventilation, so that in case of seasonal climatic changes, the film material can adapt to the environmental conditions.

In addition to water, the greatest risks to the slides are mechanical damage, dust contamination, extreme conditions in general, such as humidity bordering on condensation, as well as high condensation, extreme heat or air pollutants; seasonal climatic fluctuations to a certain extent, and rather slowly in succession age of material. The process is not seriously different from storage in an ordinary living environment.

Apart from a few exceptions, and these are mostly Kodachrome slides, where development and framing was always included in the purchase, Werner Finke framed himself and used very different types of frames, probably depending on the availability of the respective frames.

Especially from the 1980s onwards, Werner Finke often left slide films in their protective sleeves and paper envelopes, in which photo laboratories returned them to their customers after development, but not without labeling them and adding the date and other, further information, which is of great use for allocating back then as well as archiving and reprocessing them now.

When changes and, more generally, aging processes are discussed below, a rough but not detailed nor complete enumeration of the materials and films that Werner Finke used for his documentary work will follow first. Right at first glance, the manifold and varying shifts in color, contrast and density were strikingly advertised. There was also a relatively large number of black and white slides, which is quite unusual today. The by far largest part of the collection consists of color slides—i.e., images taken on color reversal film.

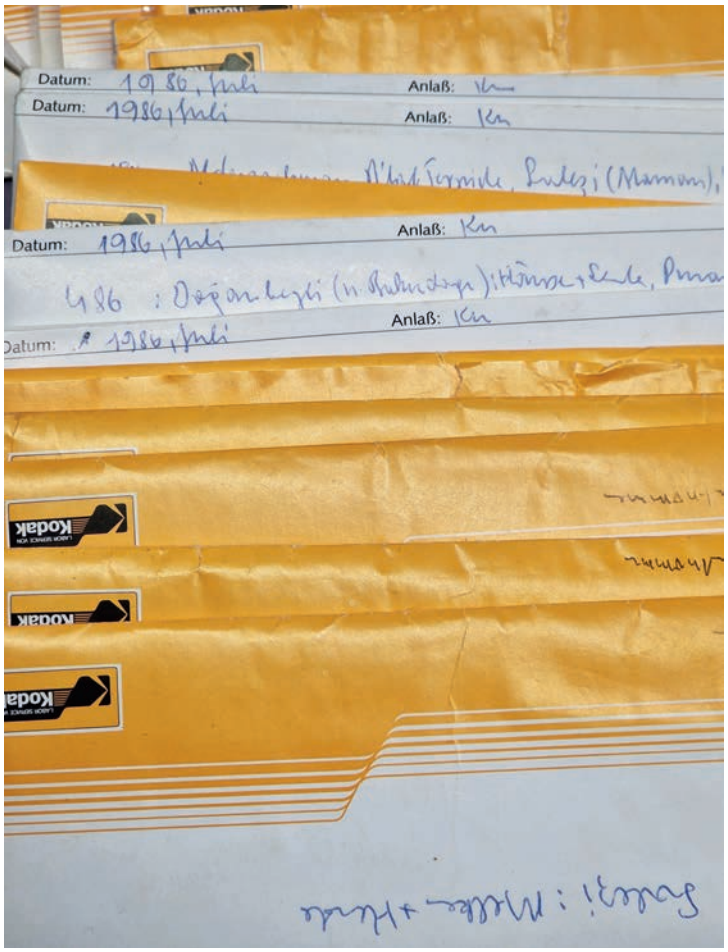


Fig. 4. Snapshot from the Finke estate. Photo: Thomas Freiler

I would like to take this opportunity to express my special thanks to Mehmet Emir who has made the materials available at the Austrian Center for Digital Humanities and Cultural Heritage of the Austrian Academy of Sciences and who opened up many of the slide frames, giving me the opportunity to get to know the film edges for clues as to provenance, manufacturer and variety.



Fig. 5. Photo: Thomas Freiler

USED MATERIALS

Werner Finke started out on his project in 1966 and kept working until his death. In other words, we are talking about a time span of over 30 years. Especially in the first decade, there were decisive changes in the photographic materials and the photographic industry as a whole. Authors like e.g. Gert Koshofer explained these developments (1981).

All the slides of Werner Finke's first trip to the region were made on "ORWOCOLOR UT16" (Fig. 5). There are about 200 preserved photographs; he must have taken at least six films (36 pictures each) with him on this journey.

The designation UT16 refers to a light sensitivity of 16/10° DIN, which corresponds to about ISO 32, a sensitivity value that is hardly imaginable today, when digital cameras come up with sensitivities above ISO 12800. The name of the film "ORWOCOLOR" perhaps reveals even more, as it refers to decisive developments of the postwar period in Germany, especially due to changes in the Agfa Group. The division of Germany into occupation zones meant that Agfa's original photographic paper factory in Leverkusen was now in the western part of the country, while the film production in Wolfen was in the eastern part of the country. When Agfa, Leverkusen entered into a cooperation with the Belgian company Gevaert (henceforth "Agfa Gevaert"), the trademark rights were restructured. Agfa films, which until then had been produced in Wolfen, had to operate under a new name. The result was the company name ORWO, an abbreviation of "Original Wolfen". The "ORWOCOLOR UT16" was the film product available from 1954 to 1964 under "Agfacolor Ultra 16/10°", and was to be produced under its new name in Wolfen until 1972. These films were processed using the Agfacolor process, which differed from the Kodachrome process (last developed with process K-14 process) and also from Kodak's various Ectachrome processes.

Slide films are basically so-called reversal films. This means that the negative development takes place first, but its image must be bleached again. In the further development steps, the remaining light-sensitive components form a positive; a colored and ultimately silver-less image.

At that time, there were changes year after year in both the layer structure of the films and the substances used for this purpose, as well as in the associated development methods. In the case of the films, the search was on for better color sensitization and representation, for higher sensitivity with the same or even improved detail resolution, and in the case of the development for simplifications, shorter times and compatibility among the film manufacturers. It would take until 1978 for the Ektachrome development process, with the version number "E6", to become a sort of final standard for developing slide films of chromogenic development. Almost every year during these years, there were changes in the structure of the films, the substances and development methods used in the process. Those film materials had a very different shelf life and discolored differently in their aging process.

The first twelve years of Werner Finke's documentary work coincided precisely with this period of revolutionary changes in color photography. In 1966 he had only ORWO slide film in his luggage; by 1967 he was using a variety of different film brands. From today's point of view, it is particularly striking to find in the pictures from this year also a larger number of black-and-white slides. These were widely used at the time by copying B/W negatives onto B/W positive film.

Fig. 6 shows a detail from the border area of one of these black-and-white slides; it is easy to see that, in addition to the real perforation, a second one is visible, namely the one of the original B&W negative film. Copying was done in the contact process, as it was also done with and will probably still be done with cinemafilms, which always has a negative from which copies are made for projection. In the case of these slides, the original negative was probably a Kodak film, the positive film is most certainly an "Agfa Ortho", which—because it is orthochromatically sensitive—can be processed under red light and has a high-contrast emulsion on a clear image carrier. B/W slides can also be found in the collection from the years 1974, 76 and 77.

Incidentally, the Agfa UT18 and Kodak films used on the 1967 trip show the characteristically, differing general color changes often described in literature, which is hardly surprising after 55 years. In the following year 1968, Agfa UT16 and ORWO UT16 films are again found alongside films from Kodak, as well as a film from Japan: Sekuracolor.



Fig. 6. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke

Here we found out that films from Sekura were also developed in an Agfacolor process at the time, so they were compatible with the other two brands ORWO and Agfa. This "mix" of different slide films continued in the following years, and in a number of cases neither the manufacturer nor the type could be identified.

As for 1974, in addition to Kodak (Ektachrome and Kodachrome) and Agfa films, which were used over and over again, Fuji and Sakura films were also easily identifiable by the imaged information, and in addition, a color positive film. A positive film is a film that is used to produce a color positive for projection in a very similar way to the method described above to produce black-and-white slides by copying (Fig. 5). These films are developed in a process for color negatives, and this one from 1974 was most likely already developed with the C-41 process, which is still used as standard up to this day. It is very easy to distinguish these films from reversal films because the area outside the image is not black, but white due to the lack of exposure there. Unfortunately, such images yellow relatively quickly in terms of color, similar to color prints.

Why did Werner Finke have the slides produced in this way anyway? They were stored in a Leitz



Fig. 7. Detail of a single frame from a 16 mm film. Photo: Thomas Freiler

diamond magazine. Perhaps there originally were only photographs on color negative material; by copying it on positive film, he was able to make the images projectable, in the same way as with images on black-and-white negative film. The sorting into slide trays suggests that Werner Finke presented these images or intended to do so, and not just stored them as archive.

As far as further changes on the film market are concerned, it was not until 1976 when Fujicolor F II 400 was presented for the first time at the photokina in Cologne. In the course of the year 1977, all other manufacturers also presented films in this new sensitivity class, and in the following year Kodak presented its Ektachrome 400 reversal film for the E6 process. In the same year, 1978, Werner Finke was already using a similar film from Fuji for a documentation of basket weavers and barrel makers in Istanbul. In the following years, he often used high-sensitivity slide films and developed a preference for Kodak films, such as the Ektachrome Elite 400 or the Ektachrome 1600, which he used alongside the classic Ektachrome 64 and the Ektachrome 200 very regularly. In between, there are only single films from other manufacturers.

WERNER FINKE'S PHOTOGRAPHIC EQUIPMENT AND WORKING METHODS

When Werner Finke set out on his trip in 1966, he decided to document it photographically. The camera and films he packed for this purpose can currently only be assumed or deduced indirectly. This is especially true for the camera Werner Finke used at the time. Maybe further research will reveal more clues in the hand-written, diary-like documentary notes, which he kept in each case.

In some years, Werner Finke was accompanied by his brother Reinhold, who, in addition to Werner Finke's photographic documentation, made film recordings. In 1968, a leather camera bag can be seen in some of the shots, which Werner Finke carries over his shoulder. Certain details of this bag, like a double metal rim in the upper part of the bag and a protective ring that is also chrome-plated, where the lens is located behind it, lead to the conclusion that it was a Zeiss Ikon (Fig. 7.). My research and search for images of bags that match the one visible in the film sequences allow me to conclude that it was a Zeiss Ikon Contax IIIa, which is most probable to correspond to the pictures. Although the film evidence is only from 1968, it can be assumed that this camera, or in case of doubt a comparable, was already used in 1966. Indeed, other circumstances support this assumption. The images assigned to the Institute for Social Anthropology of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, which are dated 1966 contain, as already mentioned, almost exclusively slides. A sufficiently correct exposure of slides required a more precise exposure control, which was made possible by the then still quite new exposure metering with the help of a selenium cell. With the exception of a few individual exposures, the slides are always correctly exposed, and the motifs are also sharp. The Contax IIIa is a high-quality camera for its time; in addition to the aforementioned modern exposure meter, it was also equipped with a split-image viewfinder. This kind of viewfinder

makes it possible to focus in a correct manner at all distances. On the second-hand market, cameras of this type are currently being traded for several hundred euros, and all the ones I found online are equipped with a 50 mm Zeiss lens, although the lens was interchangeable.

This lens type could also point to the camera used by Werner Finke, especially considering that the photographs always show the same, recurring perspective. So all pictures were taken with the same focal length. Probably it was a 50 mm lens. This lens, also known as "normal lens", usually offers a sufficient overview of a scene from an observing distance and at the same time requires the photographer to be close enough to be involved. Werner Finke moved precisely in this action space for his photographs, which shows an interest in the events, close enough for the activities to be documented, and yet far enough to capture additional information from the immediate surroundings. Looking at the pictures, one gets the impression that he hardly intervened in the events themselves, neither setting the scenes for the shots nor staging the activities he documented for the shots. This could also explain his preference for high-sensitivity films, which offer more scope for unexpected, different shooting situations. Cropping and image composition are achieved through changing camera positions, and so there is no evidence that a tripod was used by Werner Finke.

He possibly stuck to this method of working without a tripod, especially with one focal length for a very long time. Only in photographs from the year 1986, there is a hint that a zoom lens was most likely used, since two successive images showing a group of men from one shot to the other changes from portrait to landscape format without a noticeable change in perspective. This would suggest the use of a zoom lens—quite reasonable an assumption for the time, as a 35–105 mm zoom lens, which I suspect here, was already widely used by many camera manufacturers.

It is possible that in the course of processing the collection and his materials, hints and information about other cameras used by Werner Finke will be found. It is actually unlikely that over the years he would have refused to benefit from the conveniences of the SLR cameras that conquered the market from the 1980s onward. However, he apparently remained true to his preferred focal length, something between 35 and 50 mm, as a review of his photographs shows. Pictures taken in the later years on the street or from a car do not photo-technically bring the surroundings closer, but leave them at a distance that could only have been bridged by taking them from a scooter, as in 1966, or later from various off-road cars, most of which were already getting on in years, or riding a donkey or horse.

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"FROZEN IMAGES" OF ORAL AND INTANGIBLE KURDISH CULTURAL HERITAGE.

THE AUDIO DATA COLLECTION OF 1974 TO 1978 BY WERNER FINKE

Khanna Omarkhali

INTRODUCTION

The Kurdish cultural heritage has been strongly influenced by the complex political conditions of Kurdish life. Oral tradition is much more than merely highly valued among Kurds; the predominantly oral memorization and transmission of knowledge has perhaps been the only possible way to remember their "history"—though fragmented, local, and tribal—and cultural expression for a long time. Kurds—approximately 35 million people—are still a non-state, ethnic group who mainly live in the modern states of Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria, and in the semi-autonomous Kurdistan Region of Iraq, as well as in diaspora communities. In the course of history and especially at the present time, Kurds have been facing many adversities, most notably war and military conflicts, oppression and exclusion, the persecution of Kurdish religious minority groups, acts of genocide, deportation and forced resettlements, as well as active and partly successful policies of assimilation. These factors caused several internal and international waves of migration, resulting in the formation of significant diaspora communities. For this reason, Kurds face enormous hurdles with regard to the expression and preservation of their cultural heritage.

My contribution to this volume offers a first general description of the audio data material recorded and preserved—along with the rich visual ethnographic collection—by the Austrian ethnologist Werner Finke (1942–2002) and kept at the Institute for Social Anthropology (ISA) of the Austrian Academy of Sciences (ÖAW). I will briefly discuss two major problems in studying this material, namely the contextualization of events addressed in the songs and the problem of generic classification of the poetic oral literature of the Kurmancî-speaking people. Moreover, I will attempt to "re-animate" some of the "frozen images" from once recorded living traditions among the Kurds, mainly in Şirnex [Turk. Şırnak] province in the 1970s, as preserved in Finke's audio collection. For the illustration of this audio collection, I have chosen the following four samples representing various categories of Kurdish oral literature: (1) a song of religious-historical content, praising Sheikh Nûreddîn, (2) a song about Mullah Mustafa Barzani,[71] (3) a beginning of the poem *Zembîlfiroş* ("The Basket Seller"), and (4) a dancing song *Qurmilo*.[72]

[71] Mullah Mustafa Barzani (1903–1979), Kurd. *Mela Mistefa Barzanî*.

[72] *Qurmilo* means "O [the one who has] a tree trunk on the shoulder", where -o is the vocative ending for singular masculine nouns.





Audiotapes from the Finke collection. Photos: Eva Stockinger

Notes on transcription

Kurmancî is spoken by the Kurds in Turkey, Syria, Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Turkmenia, Ukraine, Russia, and in parts of Iraq and Iran (where the majority, nevertheless, speak the central and southern Kurdish dialects). Owing to local conditions, literacy remained a privilege of the elite, and other languages, such as Persian or Arabic, were mainly used for written works.[73] Kurdish and its varieties remained a vernacular language for a long time and was mainly used for poetical expressions until the 20th century. The samples of the texts presented in this contribution, as well as terms and names, are transcribed by me from audio recordings in the Roman alphabet as developed by Bedir-Khan in the *Hawar* in the 1930s and 1940s, e.g. *Zembîlfiroş* (lit. "The Basket Seller"), *stranên evînî* ("love songs"), etc.

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I am very grateful to several people for their insightful comments and assistance in writing this article. I would like to start by thanking Maria Anna Six-Hohenbalken for inviting me to work on the Finke audio collection, giving me an opportunity to get familiar with the material and work on the texts. My special thanks go to Seyda Mihemmed Sofî Reşevayî from Duhok living in Norway, who helped me a lot with contextualizing and understanding the religious-historical song on Sheikh Nûreddîn (p.c. Bergen, Norway, 28–29 January 2023). I am also very grateful to Seyda Goyan, from Goyan, Şirnex province, who helped me to better understand the complexity in generic definitions of various categories of oral literature in Şirnex province (p.c. Vienna, Austria, 8–10 October 2022). My thanks also go to Mona Mirkamali

[73] There were several reasons for that: e.g., these languages were widely considered prestigious, could reach larger audiences; furthermore, they possessed an elaborate vocabulary, adequate for a wide range of subjects, etc.

(Berlin), who helped me with some comments on the musical aspects of the chosen songs (p.c. Berlin, Germany, 28 July 2023). I also wish to thank Serhat Resûl Çaçan from Amed [Diyarbakır], for his comments on my transcription of the song on Mullah Mustafa Barzani (p.c. Berlin, Germany, 19 January 2023). Finally, my gratitude goes to Philip Kreyenbroek for his valuable ideas and help in finding appropriate military terms in English translations of the texts.

THE AUDIO COLLECTION OF WERNER FINKE OF 1974, 1976, 1977, AND 1978

The audio collection under study was recorded on magnetic tapes by the Austrian ethnographer Werner Finke during his several fieldtrips to Kurdistan—mainly in the Elkî district [Turk. Beytüşşebap] of Şirnex province in Turkey—in 1974, 1976, 1977, and 1978—and digitized by the team of the *ZOZAN*[74] project. Although Finke left some notes on his audio collection, this additional information on each recording is highly sporadic, incomplete, and in often hardly readable handwriting. In many cases, however, the names of the performers and songs with further brief notes are mentioned.

The material presented in the collection is mainly in Kurmancî Kurdish with some very rare recordings in Turkish. Some conversations between the Kurds and Werner Finke are also recorded in Turkish, as Finke's command in Turkish seems better than his Kurmancî. While there are many motifs and traditions shared by both Kurds and their direct neighbors—Arabs, Persians, and Turks (e.g., the Persian story of Farhād and Shirin, stories on Rostam, or the stories about the Turkic hero Köroğlu, etc.)—the material presented in the collection could be characterized as exclusively Kurdish. It contains narrations from what could be called "Kurdish oral history"; its poetic imagery, repetitive formulas, and melodies (*miqam*) are typical of Kurdish oral literature.

In his notes, Werner Finke left the names of some performers and singers:

Xalit[75] performed several religious songs (perhaps, called *qesîde*s)—e.g., on Muhammad Mustefa (Cizîrê), Sheikh ʿAbdul Qādir Gīlānī,[76] and others. The two songs on Sheikh Nureddîn and a version of *Zembîlfiroş* ("The Basket Seller") are also performed by him (see their Kurdish texts and English translations below).

Tîtan[77] also mentioned in the transcripts as Tîtan Özkhan/Özkan, is the performer of several historical heroic songs—e.g., on Cehver Agha[78] (a heroic song that seems to be widespread and popular in the region), Ismail Seydelî (Gevdan), love songs—e.g., Siwaro, Kirîv—Lawikê Simokî, on the young woman Edûlê. From the notes left by Finke, we know that he was in the house of Tîtan on 8 September 1976 and made several recordings there—e.g., of the text of Lawikê Simokî.

Salih is the performer of several historical and heroic songs—e.g., on Adil Beg, Ismaîl Agha, Cehver Agha, Hesenê Fatimê, and Hecî Reşîd Beg.

Ibrahîm Çîn is the performer of several songs—e.g., on Cehver Agha, and *Nêrî*. This song is also a very popular and frequently sung in the region.

[74] *ZOZAN* Investigations on Mobility through Multimedia Documentations, Art Interventions, Art-Based Research and (Re)Presentations—FWF PEEK Project AR 682.

[75] His name is written as Halit in Finke's notes. It seems that he wrote down some names in the Turkish alphabet he knew, which does not have the letter "X". I would suggest that the name of the performer might be pronounced as Xalit—a known male name among Kurds.

[76] ʿAbdul Qādir Gīlānī (Arab. *ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī*), a Sunni Muslim mystic and name giver of the Qadiriyya *ṭarīqah*, one of the oldest Sufi orders.

[77] His name is written by Finke as Titan, with a short vowel "i".

[78] Werner Finke gave the following comment to this recording: "Shah Ismail has shot Cever Agha in Iran."



The singer Tîtan with Werner Finke. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke

Ebdî[79] is the performer of the songs on Arni, on Bedir Khan Beg (1803–69), who was the last ruler of the Botan Principality (*mîrgeha Botanê*).

Xurşit performed wedding songs, together with Tîtan and alone—e.g., Lawiko Lohr.

Women performers are merely the exception; one or two dancing songs were performed by women, while all the others are male performances.

The audio material from this rich collection shows various samples of Kurdish oral literature from the region, mainly of poetic nature. The categories recorded and presented in this collection are love, dance, and wedding songs; it also contains performances of poems of historical and heroic narratives[80] of various kinds, as well as of religious and religious-historical content.

If we contextualize the historical narratives recalled in the songs from the collection, we will see that they refer to events that happened in what is now Iraq (e.g., see a song on Sheikh Nûreddîn below), Iran (e.g., a song on Cehver Agha), and Turkey (e.g., a song on Abu Bekir). In Finke's notes, locations are mentioned (e.g., Van, Botan, Cizîrê, Iraq, Iran) that might refer to the events in the songs. It is not always clear whether the text was composed or recorded there. Only in one case, it is explicitly noted: recorded in Sivas. Chronologically, the events the texts allude to go back at least to the 18th century but also cover modern history from the 20th century onwards.

There are often solo performances, but sometimes two or three singers also sing together, usually one following or repeating another singer, e.g., in performances of what could be classified as *bêrîte* or *stran* (see below on terminology).

[79] His name is written by Finke as Abdi.

[80] Perhaps they are called either *stran* or *kilam* in the region, while in Serhed region they would be exclusively called *kilam / kilamê mêranî / şer û mêrxasî*; see below on terminology.

One of the songs on Sheikh Nûreddîn performed by Xalit and accompanied by tambourines refers to the intra-tribal conflict of a tribe called Muzîrî (or Mizûrî, *eşîreta Muzîriyê*)[81] in the outskirts of Duhok, Iraqi Kurdistan in the 1950s. It is a good example of how the correct contextualization of historical events the text alludes to helps to understand and analyze it (for the more detailed historical context of the narrative, transcript from the audio recording and its English translation, see below).

As briefly mentioned above, literacy was known in Kurdistan as a skill of the elite valued by the majority. Referring to Street 1984, Allison correctly notes that "literacy" and "orality" do not exist in isolation from each other in Kurdistan, but rather constantly interact with each other (2013, 35; Street 1984). Many motifs may travel from a written text to an oral tradition (e.g., see Feqiyê Teyran), while the orally transmitted texts were often the basis for written texts (e.g., the epic *Memê Alan* formed the basis of Ehmedê Xanî's *Mem û Zîn*). The collection of Finke contains a beginning of the poem *Zembîlfiroş* (lit. "The Basket Seller"), performed by Xalit—the first sample of Kurdish so-called 'urban', non-court poetry. The story is about a young, handsome but poor basket-seller, who became the object of interest of a princess; staying faithful to his wife, he rejected the princess (for the transcript of the text and its English translation, see below).

The collection also has a variant of a recording by Tîtan of the well-known epic on Dewrêş, son of Evdî, about the young man falling in love with Edûle, the daughter of a tribal leader (*agha*) named Zor Temîr Paşa. The core of the story emerged in the region of the Milan confederation with the center at Viranşehir in the late 18th century. Dewrêş, son of Evdî, dies a hero in the fight.[82]

Taking a closer look at the various samples of poems from the collection, we might assume that tribal and religious leaders had their own "court" poets and storytellers, who were supposed to compose poems in honor of their patrons. Aside from prominent Kurdish tribal, religious, and military leaders, the Kurdish oral tradition—perhaps thanks to the efforts of such "court" poets—remembered a certain Xelo who killed at least six people, "avenging" the killing of a domesticated wild goat under the name of Nêrî Belo of Mehmet Beg (Mehmet Beg Mîrê Botanê), the hereditary Kurdish ruler (*mîr*) of Botan Principality (*mîrgeha Botanê*), who ruled perhaps in the 18th century, before Bedir Khans. Within this context, the collection has a reference[83] to the song called Nehri that is performed probably by Ibrahîm Çîn. It may refer to the known in the region song Nêrî[84] Belo that refers to events probably going back to the 18th century and it tells the story of a kid of a mountain goat (*pezkûvî*) that was captured by Mehmet Beg when he went hunting. Mehmet Beg names this ibex—Nêrî Belo—and issues an order (*ferman*) forbidding anyone from harming it. He domesticates the goat, which lives in his palace and walks on the streets of Cizîra Botan. After a while Mehmet Beg dies. A certain Birahîm Paşa (Ibrahim Pasha) and his five cousins (*pismam*—sons of the paternal uncle), and a friend named Xelo go hunting. Birahîm Paşa violates the order of Mehmet Beg. His friend Xelo warns him, "this is both the will and the gift of Mehmet Beg for Cizîra Botan, don't do something like that!" However, he ignores the warning and kills Nêrî Belo. Xelo then kills Birahîm Paşa, marking the beginning of a blood feud between him and the five cousins of Birahîm Paşa. In this conflict, Xelo manages to kill all five cousins as well. The song is also known in different versions and under the name "Efeno û Hejale". According to one group of

[81] For a designation of the concept of 'tribe' (and sometimes 'the union'/'confederation of tribes'), the terms *eşîre* and *êl/îl* are often used. The tribe can be divided into 'clans' or 'lineages' that are called in various regions: *babik, binemal, ber(ek), qebîl*. According to Martin van Bruinessen (1992: 52) the description of a Kurdish tribe is as follows: it "is a socio-political and generally also territorial (and, therefore, economic) unit based on descent and kinship, real or putative, with a characteristic internal structure." Traditionally, every tribe is associated with a particular territory (or territories) and vice versa. According to a member of the Mizûrî tribe interviewed by Savaş Boyraz while working on his film "Face to Face / Invisible Landscapes", there was a village called Mizûrî in Barzan region, later divided by the border. The north of the river Rêzan remained on the Turkish side. I thank him for sharing the film with me. P.c. Savaş Boyraz, Berlin, 18 February 2023.

[82] For more on the variants of the epic with some variants translated into English, see Sträuli 2017; Allison 2001.

[83] From the notes of Finke: "Nehri Jägerlied (Sohn von Mehmet Paşa Cizre) Jagd auf Bergziege Steinbock".

[84] Nêrî lit. 'he-goat'.

variants, there was a wild goat named Nêrî Belo; according to another group of variants, there were two wild goats under the name Efeno and Hejale. The song is often performed as *payîzok* or *serêlî* type of songs.[85]

Finke also recorded a song of the performer Ebdî on Bedir Khan Beg (1803–69), the last ruler of Botan Principality (*mîrgeha Botanê*).

While the two songs mentioned above refer to events that go back to the 18th and 19th centuries, another historical song from the collection refers to events from the mid-20th century about the military leader Mullah Mustafa Barzani (1903–79, Kurd. *Mela Mistefa Barzanî*) of the Barzani uprisings. It is an interesting example of Kurdish oral history as well as of the memory and perception of interregional historical events that might have affected the Kurds (for the historical context, transcript of the text and its English translation, see below).

Finke was one of only a few ethnographers who not only collected examples of material culture but also realized the importance of intangible heritage. Aside from various categories of Kurmancî poetic oral literature, his collection includes interesting audio recordings made during Finke's ethnographic observations. Several recordings were made when Finke observed a wedding ceremony. The recordings include various rhythmical songs with lyrics and dance music, but also follow the process of taking a bride from the parents' house (*gava bûk ji mala bavê wê dibin mala zavê*), the arrival at the village, going to the bride's tent, a single dance in front of the tent, a collective dance of the men, conversations in the tent, collecting presents for the bride and groom (*xelat dayîn bona bûk û zava*), and calling out (*şabaş*) the collected amount. Finke recorded even the sound of chopping the meat during the wedding party.

There are several recordings concerning the preparation of the felt and the long felt mat (called *taq* in Şirnex, and *kulav* in Serhed)—e.g., from Finke's notes: plucking,[86] weighing, foot rolling,[87] conversations during foot rolling process, felt folding, doormats with felt,[88] a sales conversation with the foot roller, etc.

One recording has the sound of a process of milking a cow by a Kurdish woman.[89] Another one has the sound of *meşk*[90] shaking while making butter and the sound of emptying the *meşk*. Sometimes the recorder was not switched off and there are recordings either of silence or of distant sounds.

In many songs of realistic, historical background, some expressions occur that could be defined as aggressive, discussing various conflicts, be they political, tribal, social, or individual—e.g., in the song on Mullah Mustafa Barzani (see below), the composer/performer allows himself such expressions as "Now Russia is, as I said, the bastard, son of bastards" (*Êdî Rûsiya wa mi go bîçî kurê bîçan e.*). In another example of the song, the composer/performer attributes such expressions to the tribal leader (*agha*), who is accused in the blood feud and killing of Sheikh Nûreddîn as:

Şeytanê şeqî tu yî	The crackling Shaiṭān [that is who] you are
Yê ji qehra peqî tu yî	The one who exploded from anger [that is who] you are
Darkê tenura tu yî	The stick in the oven (*tenûr*) [that is what] you are
Seyê kolana tu yî …	The street dog [that is who] you are …

Kurdish songs are usually composed without refined embellishment that might be typical of Kurdish written literature. Performers recompose their narratives anew from memory in the course of the performance (the Parry-Lord oral-formulaic theory, see Lord 1970), drawing on a large stock of formulaic expressions that are known to a particular "genre" of Kurdish oral literature. Songs of a historical background are also interesting subjects of research for the linguistic, cultural, and historical

[85] I am very grateful for this information to Seyda Goyan. P.c. by telephone, February, 13 2023.

[86] Note of Finke: with the film 3 beginning.

[87] Note of Finke: with the film 10.

[88] Note of Finke: perhaps film 14.

[89] In his notes: 3 September 1976, 5:30.

[90] A form of butter churn made from animal skin. Women fill it with milk and shake it back and forth until it turns into butter.

material they represent. In one of the songs presented in the article (on Mullah Mustafa Barzani), for instance, there are two weapons mentioned in Kurdish: *Birno* and *xedare* rifles:

Kurda dest avête darê birnowane	Kurds grabbed their Brnos (i.e., rifles)
Girtibûn qevda xedarane.	[They] had taken the handles of the *Xedare*s (Kalashnikovs).

The factory in Brno, Czech Republic, produced the rifles that Kurds used to call *birno*. *Xedare*, on the other hand, was used as a name of any automatic rifle, often—but not exclusively—referred to a Kalashnikov.[91]

SOME CHALLENGES IN STUDYING THE MATERIAL

Not mentioning many others, I would like to focus here on two obstacles in studying the material from the audio archive.

Studying decontextualized narratives

The material presented in the archives is decontextualized and preserved as "screenshots" of living tradition. As many of the historical songs are local in nature—e.g., they might describe intra- and inter-tribal conflicts in a particular village or area, or clashes between the state and the Kurdish people, or even love and heroic stories, etc.—they are to be analyzed in their historical context. One should find the information on the historical events alluded to in the narratives: who are the figures in the songs, what was the reason of the fight, who composed the song and what is their tribal affiliation, etc.

As Kreyenbroek (1999) was right to mention, a typical characteristic of Kurdish oral tradition is its allusive character; the audience is supposed to know the events, and the poem is only referring in a very allusive and brief way to the events. The text usually does not provide any information on the reason of a conflict. In the course of time, the performers often began explaining the context in the beginning of their performance. The case might even be more complicated because the narratives and motifs often travel not only through time but also geographically (e.g., see the song on Sheikh Nûreddîn below).

The categories in Kurmancî Kurdish poetic oral literature

The classification of poetic categories in Kurdish oral literature is still an unsolved problem for several reasons: (1) *emic* and *etic* terminology and categories usually do not match, (2) *emic* terms of a "genre" may and do regionally vary, showing high inconsistency of terminological use, (3) the boundaries between different poetic "genres" are often flexible, with features typical of one "genre" also applying to others.

Kurdish oral literature includes many different "genres" determined by form, content, and the mode of performance. Alan Dundes suggests using three criteria in classifying genres in oral literature, namely *texture*, *text*, and *context* (1980, 20–32). A comprehensive description of the categories in Kurdish oral literature in all the regions where Kurdish is spoken is beyond the scope of this article. Below, however, I will give an overview of possible terms that could have been used by the performers of the songs recorded in the collection. As I cannot verify the information below with the singers Finke recorded, and there are practically no notes left regarding the emic local terminology of the songs, I worked with some Kurds from the region. Werner Finke sporadically mentioned only the following terms in his notes: marriage song, war song, *stran*, *şeşbendî*, and a name of the dance *bablekan*. As *stran* appears only once in all his notes, it does not help much to classify all other entries "correctly"—i.e., from the perspective of local singers.

[91] It is known in Russian as *Автомат Калашникова*.

The main generic distinctions used by Kurds describing Kurmancî Kurdish poetic oral literature, both at a local level and in scholarly collections serve as indications of content (Kreyenbroek 1999; Allison 2010, 42)—e.g., *kilamên / stranên tarîxî* ("historical songs"), *stranên evînî / xoşewîstî / evîndarî* ("love songs")[92] etc. Many interviewed Kurds from the region mentioned other important components in local generic distinction: the mode of performance and the melody. They agree that from the melody (*miqam*) one might differentiate which "genre" is performed, and to which type of the *kilam/stran* the song might belong[93]—e.g., while war and conflict are the main thematic focus of historical songs (*kilamên/stranên tarîxî*; *kilamên/stranên mêranî*, *egîtî*, *mêrxasî*, *şerê/şeran*), this might be also thematized in other "genres", such as *bêrîte/şeşbendî* and *payîzok/serêlî*; considering their melody (*miqam*) and way of performance, the listeners usually know to which *emic* "genre" the song belongs.

The classification of genres in oral literature seems to be clearer (*kilam*—long poetic narratives in the form of the *dengbêjî* tradition of various types and *stran*—shorter lyric songs of different types) in Serhed region. The situation in the Şirnex province appears to be more complicated, mixed, and partly influenced by other regional traditions; in consequence, the original borrowed terms have been blurred and are used inconsistently. In a nutshell, oral poetry sung in Kurmancî may be classified based on different criteria: theme (e.g., love songs), context of performance (e.g., wedding songs), function (e.g., lullabies), or even melody (*miqam* of types of performance, *dengbêjî*, *stranbêjî*, *bêrîtebêjî*, *serêlîbêjî*, and others).

There is a general distinction between the relatively long narrative poems and the shorter lyrical songs (Kreyenbroek 1999; Allison 2010, 43); this division is generally preserved, for example, in the Serhed region. If we imagined an *emic* hierarchy in oral, non-predominantly religious[94], poetic literature among Kurmancî speakers, the *dengbêjî* tradition would undoubtedly enjoy the highest and the most-prestigious position. *Dengbêj*s are the most respected "singers" in the community and are perceived as transmitters of collective Kurdish memory and oral history; usually they do not perform any other categories of poetry.

Seyda Goyan describes the *dengbêjî* tradition as a "voice of history" (Kurd. *dengbêjî … yanî dengê dîrokê ye*) (2019, 295). Indeed, the main corpus of the repertoire of a *dengbêj*[95] (lit. "[a person who] tells [with] the voice") consists of songs mostly based on real historical, heroic, and romantic narratives—i.e., a type of Kurdish epic tradition (perhaps, not as long as we might expect from the known epic traditions, such as the *Šāhnāme* of Ferdowsi, etc.). Michael Chyet (2003) gives a definition of the *dengbêj* as follows: "reciter of romances and epics". Roger Lescot, one of the first authors who worked on Kurdish oral literature, gives the following definition of the *dengbêjs*:

> *These professional poets, who over the course of years furnished their memories as apprentices of certain old masters, assumed the task of conserving the traditions of the past and, if some new event were to occur, the celebration of the heroic deeds of the present. […] They sometimes faced each other in competitions which were held regularly until quite recently. Every emir or chief of an important tribe maintained one or more of these bards, whose songs, because of the contemporary allusions they might contain, sometimes also had political connotations. Thanks to their unlimited repertoire and matchless gift of improvisation, these men transmitted, from the remotest centuries until today, poems with thousands of verses. (Lescot 1977, 798).*

The main corpus of the repertoire of *dengbêjs* is *kilams*—a term mainly used from the Serhed region to Amed and sometimes even further. It is also used in the Caucasus, where most people who escaped persecutions from the Ottoman Empire and found refuge in tsarist Russia were from the Serhed region. In other regions—e.g., in Behdînan and Botan, Şirnex [Şırnak], Silopî [Silopi], and Sêrt

[92] In contrast to Persian classical literature, any love story described in Kurdish oral and written literature refers to heterosexual love.

[93] Also Seyda Goyan, p.c. Vienna, Austria, October, 9 2022.

[94] "Non-predominantly religious" refers, for example, to *qesîdes* that might be of religious historical context and would thus be excluded from this classification—e.g., Yazidi or Yaresan religious poetic literature.

[95] *Deng* 'voice', *-bêj-* is the present stem of the verb *gotin* 'to say, to tell'.

[Siirt]—however, the term *stran*[96] is often used for the same type of songs, which is often seen as "wrong" by people from Serhed.

*Dengbêj*s usually perform the following types of songs:

a) historical and heroic songs with the main theme of real inter- and intra-tribal conflicts, as well as conflicts with the government. There are different terms used for these types of songs, namely "'heroic songs" (*kilamên mêranî*, *egîtî*, *mêrxasî*), "historical songs" (*kilamên tarîxî*), "war songs" (*kilamên şerê/şeran*). In Botan they might be called *lawik*, while in Şirnex, Silopî, and Sêrt, the terms *stranên ser şerê* ("songs on the war") and *stranên mêranî* ("songs of courage") are used.
b) "love songs" called *kilamên / stranên evînî*, *evîndarî*, *xoşewîstî* based on real events.
c) While the first two types are included in *dengbêjî* tradition by all singers, sometimes, "mourning songs" (*kilamên / stranên şînê*) or "nostalgic songs" (*kilamên / stranên xerîbiyê*) could also regionally be included in this classification.[97]

There are also religious poems in the collection that are widely called *qesîde*.

Moreover, there are also genres predominantly composed and performed by women—e.g., "mourning songs" and lamentations (*kilamên / stranên şînê*), also called *lawij(ok)* and *lavij*; "nostalgic songs" (*kilamên / stranên xerîbiyê*); lullabies (*lorî*, called in Şirnex, Silopî, and Sêrt *hayê hayê*). These types are unfortunately not represented in the collection.[98]

Many of the other shorter, lyrical songs (*stran*) presented by both men and women are found in the collection (e.g., dance songs, wedding songs, *bêrîte/şeşbendî*, *payîzok/serêlî*), e.g.:

dance songs — *stranên reqsê*: with various songs for different types of dances—e.g., *stranên govendê*, *milanê*, *şêxanî*, *bablekan*, *sêpê*, etc.

wedding songs — *stranên / çêrikên dewatê*. A special group of songs related to the bride is called *nêrîng/narînk* in Colemêrg (Hekarî [Hakkari])—special songs sung, for example, when the bride leaves the parents' house (presented in the collection).

bêrîte — songs that could also be of love and war. In Botan and Şirnex, they are usually called *bêrîte*, in Serhed, in Amed [Diyarbakır] they are called *bêlimte* or *bêlûte*, while in Colemêrg they are called *şeşbendî*. They could be sung by two or three people simultaneously, while two or three others repeat it, and the tempo may differ.

autumn songs — *payîzok*, *serêlî*, or *lawij*—according to some informants the hardest genre to perform because of the difficult voice vibrations required for its performance. In Goyan, Behdînan, and in the outskirts of Amêdiyê, the term *serêlî* is used, while in the areas of Silopî, Cizîrê, and Dihê *payîzok* is used; in Hekarî province, they might be called *lawij/lawje*. It could also contain heroic and love narratives, but its focus is often the description of the nature.

heyranok — another genre often composed and performed by women in the region, exclusively comprising love songs called *heyranok* or *stranên evînî*.

work songs — *stranên pelayiyê* (agricultural songs), *dankutanê* (songs performed during a process of wheat pounding called *dankutan*), *destarê* (*destar*—a hand mill made of stone, while grain grinding special songs are performed), etc.

There are also lyrical songs composed on either political or religious leaders (see, for example, the song on Mullah Mustafa Barzani below), or on local events, which are generally shorter than the long narrative poems; they are much more difficult

[96] *Strîn* 'to sing'.

[97] Goyan refers to these songs as *stranên dengbêjiyê yên mêrxasiyê, stranên dengbêjiyê yên evîndariyê* and *stranên dengbêjiyê yên şîn*. Cf. Goyan 2019, 295–297.

[98] There are many other genres not even mentioned here because they are not presented in the collection—e.g., the prose narratives told by *çîrokbêj* (fable stories) or *serhatîbêj* (real stories).

to contextualize and more allusive in nature. These songs might be classified as *stran* by people from the region.

As in many other traditions, the training to become a performer is intense. A person should grow up in the tradition, first unconsciously imbibing the tradition by observing it, then starting consciously to learn the language of a particular genre, its poetic imagery, formulas, and the modes of performing (Lord 1970). There were professional and semi-professional performers who may travel in close or distant locations. Usually, performers are named after the "genre" they mainly perform. They might know other forms of verbal art as well, but primarily perform one "genre". A generally used term, for example, is *stranbêj*, while more specifically the terms *qesîdebêj*, *bêrîtebêj* or *serêlîbêj*, etc. could be used. The performers whose songs are based on historical-heroic and romantic narratives are called *dengbêj* in Serhed, the Caucasus, and sometimes also in the region where Finke conducted his recordings. In Serhed they are also called *kilambêj*, while in Botan they might be named *şa'êr* ("poet"). In Şirnex and Colemêrg (Hekarî), they are often called *stranbêj*, sometimes also *dengbêj*.[99]

Melody and musical accompaniment

Performances of oral literature could be either with or without musical accompaniment. While the *dengbêjî* tradition, including nostalgic and mourning songs, is usually performed without musical accompaniment (the music may be heard in the pauses), songs with lyrics are often accompanied by music. The same can be seen in the collection of Finke. The more important—from an emic perspective—the text is (e.g., historical narratives), the less musical accompaniment is present. Where music and rhythmical singing are important (e.g., in dance songs), the text is often in the back—see, for example, the song *Qurmilo* below.

Tone and pitch also play important roles in the Kurdish *emic* generic classification of the region. Some of the recordings were certainly accompanied by movement and dance, and their dresses or costumes might be interesting to be analyzed as well. In some recordings, the listeners helped the singers by beating the rhythm with their hands. Some instruments accompanied performances of poetry; for wedding and dance songs often *dhol* (a double-headed drum) and *zirne* (a double reed woodwind instrument) were used; for songs of religious(-historical) context, *def* (tambourine) is used.[100] In the notes of Finke, some interesting comments regarding the tambourine (*def*) are left. He mentions a 20-years old frame tambourine (*def*) made of sheepskin, with rings attached to its frame. He also described the way *def* was held and played: with two hands, beaten with four fingers on both hands.[101] He unfortunately left very brief notes: "? Spiel mit H2O, in 5 Gm (?) getrocknet Trommel"—i.e., the *def* was played with the water and dried in 5 gm (?).[102] It might relate to the practice when water is used to soften the skins of the tambourines and then dry them. It might also relate to the process of stretching the skin over the frame of the yet-to-be-done *def;* they make it wet in order to get more flexibility from the skin.[103]

[99] Many people explained the use of this term to me because of their contacts with the people from Serhed, while they would call them *stranbêj*.

[100] It is interesting to mention that *def* is often not perceived as a musical instrument by many Kurds.

[101] From the notes of Werner Finke: "Rahmentrommel aus Schafshaut, 20 Jahre alt,? Spiel mit H2O, in 5 Gm (?) getrocknet Trommel" or "Trommel mit beid. Händen gehalten, mit 4 Fingern beid. Hände geschlagen, Trommel auf??? An den Enden sitzen die Rahmen aus Ringen, die an einem ???" [Finke Estate, jottings on audio material, ISA, AAS]

[102] Gm: gram, *a metric unit of weight equal to one thousandth of a kilogram*.

[103] There is a practice of playing the water drum (called *jibara*) used in North America and Africa, which is—as far as I know—the result of modern influences, and might be found among Kurdish musicians in Iran, yet was not used by the Kurds in Turkey in the 1960s.

SAMPLES FROM THE COLLECTION: TRANSCRIBED KURMANCÎ TEXTS AND ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

The religious-historical song on Sheikh Nûreddîn

As the first sample from the collection, I chose the religious-historical song on Sheikh Nûreddîn in the performance of Xalit that was obviously once composed and transmitted orally. Unfortunately, no notes are left regarding how the performer would categorize this composition. It strongly reminds one of the performances of *qesîdes* by dervishes. Seyda Mihemmed Sofî Reşevayî[104] in Norway (originally from Duhok), recalls how *seyîds*—as people called them—visited his village and performed *qesîdes* of religious and religious-historical content with the accompaniment of a tambourine (*def*) on the roof of a house, while other villagers listened to it from their own roofs. After their performance, they used to visit the local mosques and prayed with the people (*nivêja bi cimeʿet*). People used to give them gifts, usually food, clothes, etc.

It is a metric piece accompanied by a *def*. The opening stanza has a 10/8 rhythmic pattern with a slower tempo in comparison to the rest of the piece. From the second stanza onwards, the piece takes a 6/8 rhythmic pattern with a higher tempo. The transitions between the stanzas are always filled with a short solo rhythmic performance of percussion and, between some stanzas, also with the singing of a non-semantic vibrato on tone A (the tonic) over about two bars. The vibrato ends on a tone one step higher. The melodic range of the whole piece comprises about one octave (A, B, C, D, E, F, G), of which B has a microtonal character (one quartertone lower). There is one place in the song where we may hear a microtonal modification of E (one quartertone lower). However, it is not clear if the singer used this feature intentionally or by mistake.[105]

Searching for the context of the narrative, I found that the basis for the song was an intra-tribal conflict that occurred in the outskirts of Duhok between two lineages (*binemal*) that belonged to one tribe called Muzîrî or Mizûrî in the 1950s. This is an old Kurdish tribe inhabiting the northern areas of Iraqi Kurdistan, mostly settled in the Arbil and Duhok provinces.

These two *binemal*s were 1) the lineage to which the sheikhs of the village Birîfka (Mala Şêxê Birîfka) belonged, whose leader was Sheikh Nûreddîn[106] and 2) the lineage with the tribal leader (*agha*) of the Muzîrî tribe from the village of Pêde. People recall that the Muzîrî tribal leader and his lineage were powerful at the time, while the other lineage had a high religious status in the community. The son of the tribal leader[107] fell in love with a daughter of Sheikh Nûreddîn. According to the narrations, the sheikh refused to give his daughter to the son of the tribal leader. The young man abducted the sheikh's daughter. The members of both lineages demanded that they should deliver the young people to their own families, so that they could be punished in order to "purify" the lost honor of the families.[108]

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[104] The interviews with Seyda Mihemmed Sofî Reşevayî were conducted by Khanna Omarkhali in several sessions by telephone in October and November 2022, and personally in Bergen, Norway, on 28 to 29 January 2023. Seyda Mihemmed Sofî Reşevayî was born in Reşevayî in ca. 1963. He comes from a religious family; his father and grandfather finished religious schools; his grandfather studied in Mosul and used to teach *fiqh* at the mosque. Seyda Mihemmed Sofî Reşevayî studied Muslim theology in Duhok for six years and four more years in Baghdad. According to him, all Kurdish material that used to be part of the curriculum was excluded during the Saddam Hussein regime. He and other Kurdish students would read and study Kurdish materials individually and mostly in secret.

[105] I thank Mona Mirkamali for the comments on the musical aspects of the chosen songs (p.c. Berlin, Germany, 28 July 2023).

[106] I mention his name as it appears in the *Qesîde* itself. All others I mention without name, as some of the participants of the event that formed the basis of this narrative are still alive; the reason of the intra-tribal conflict was the abduction of a girl and loss of honor.

[107] Because of the sensitivity of the issue and the relatively modern history, I decided to leave out the names here.

[108] One of the elements of the 'code of honor' among Kurds is the notion of *namûs*, where men must defend their family and women at all costs, and protect them from both physical and oral assault. Personal *male honor*, besides following the accepted rules of moral conduct, should be acquired through publicly demonstrating the ability to defend their family and property, and especially the women close to him (chiefly, his mother, wife, unmarried sisters and daughters) from real or imagined violations, which is regarded as their honor (*namûs*); this is often shown during conflicts by demonstrating one's power over another (cf. Omarkhali 2021, 190).

The tribal leader, according to the narrators, did not want to start a blood feud, so he tried to stop his people and prevent a bloody conflict. An attempt at mediation failed. The first killing, however, initiated an intra-tribal blood feud with a chain of further killings of male members in both families between the 1950s and 1980s. According to the people of the region, this blood feud ended in the deaths of about 80 men—"good men" of high social status and good reputation were chosen to be killed from both lineages. An interesting remark made by Seyda Mihemmed Sofî Reşevayî[109] demonstrates how inter- and intra-tribal conflicts might affect the work of the Kurdish military forces (*Pêşmerge*). Mullah Mustafa Barzani had representatives of both lineages among his *Pêşmerge*. After the conflict had started, it became impossible to work with both lineages at the same time (e.g., as part of the *Pêşmerge* forces).

Transcription and translation of the poem on Sheikh Nûreddîn performed by Xalit and recorded by Werner Finke (Inv. No. 18-001)

Transcribed Kurdish text[110]	English translation
… [Weysî] el-Qerenî	… [Waysī] al-Qaranī[112]
Ji gombedê derket dere	Came out from the dome
Sadeq Weysî el-Qerenî	Waysī al-Qaranī, the faithful one
Dost û birayê pêxember[111] *e*	The friend and the brother of the Prophet
Sultan Weysî el-Qerenî	Waysī al-Qaranī, the ruler
Rehîm Ellah, kerîm Ellah	Merciful God, generous God
Sadeq Weysî el-Qerenî.	Waysī al-Qaranī, the faithful one.
Gelî yar û birane,	Dear friends and brothers,
Feqe û şêx û melane	Faqîhs,[113] sheikhs and mullahs
Şêx Nûrî qudbê Sultan e	Sheikh Nûrî[114] is the pole star[115] of the ruler
Çû bi şerê bêy û bi şeytane.	[He] went to the war [against] the beg and the shaiṭān.
Şeytana kir tekbîre	Shaiṭāns considered
Wan mel'ûna kir tekbîre	Those damned [ones] considered
Gazî kirin seyêd Mîre	[They] called the dogs of the Mîr (i.e., ruler)
Beyreqêd xo wê vedane	[They] stretched their flags
Beyreqêd wan jî du kitane.	And their flags [were] from two cloths.
Biçin ser Birîfkane	Let [us] march the Birîfkas[116]
Birîfka bikin wêrane!	Let [us] annihilate the Birîfkas!
Maşellah Şêx Nûreddîn	*Mashallah*[117] Sheikh Nûreddîn
Kulî dergahê te me.	[I] am the *kulî*[118] at your gate.

[109] Personal conversation with him in Bergen, Norway, 29 January 2023.

[110] The poem is performed in four minutes. Werner Finke Legacy AT-OeAW-ISA-WF-018-069

[111] The performer pronounced *pêxumber*.

[112] Here an historical Awais bin Bashir (Arabic: عَامِر أَبْن أُوَيْس, Uways ibn ʿĀmir ibn Jazʾ ibn Mālik al-Qaranī), also spelled Uways or Owais, a Muslim who lived in the lifetime of the Prophet Muhammad, could be named.

[113] People who are trained in Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*).

[114] Nûrî is a short version of the male name Nûreddîn (lit. 'the light of the religion').

[115] I.e., a great chief.

[116] I.e., the people from the village Birîfka, in Iraqi Kurdistan near Duhok.

[117] *Mā shāʾallāh* lit. "what God has willed", in the sense of "the will of God has happened". Here it is used to express a feeling of beauty and uniqueness regarding Sheikh Nûreddîn.

[118] It is now generally regarded as an offensive term often used for low-wage laborers of South Asian or East Asian descent.

Ewiya bikiriye hewar	They cried for help
Rakirî heft sed hezar	[They] raised 700 thousand [people]
De'm[119] *biçin ser Şêxê Kûbar!*	Let us march on the sheikh, the well-bred one!
Wis-wisa kiriye hewar	Thus, they cried for help
Wî rakirî heft sed hezar	They raised 700 thousand [people]
De'm biçin ser Şêxê Kûbar!	Let us march on the sheikh, the well-bred one!
Li hev qelas kiriye hewar	How they cried for help
Rakirî heft sed hezar	[They] raised 700 thousand [people]
De'm biçin ser Şêxê Kûbar!	Let us march on the sheikh, the well-bred one!
Şeytanê mezin go: "Ez nayêm, nayêm	The Great Shaiṭān[120] said: "I will not come! I will not come!
Serê min yê girtî tayê	My head is in pain
Pişta min yê girtî bayê	My back is in pain
Qedemên min yê li pey min nayê	My legs are not going
Min haj nîne ji wê belayê!	I am not informed about that misfortune!
Naçim ser Şêx Nûreddîn	I will not march on Sheikh Nûreddîn
Şêxê xwe û dê û babayê.»	[My] own sheikh and of my parents."
Maşellah Şêx Nûreddîn	*Mashallah* Sheikh Nûreddîn
Kulî dergahê te me.	[I] am the *kulî* at your gate.
Şêx Nûrî sivik rabûye	Sheikh Nûrî rose slightly
Dure paşîn lez kiriye	Later [he] hurried
Qîrîn batin wêv dayiye.	[He] screamed inside himself.
Ha Şêx Ebdulqadir Geylaniye	Thus, Sheikh ʿAbdul Qādir Gīlānī[121]
Hindek 'ewliya aniye	Brought some *awliyāʾ*[122]
Ewiya bi wesf wesf girtiye.	[They] stood to (i.e., prepared for the fight).
Şêx Nûrî sivik rabûye	Sheikh Nûrî rose slightly
Dure paşîn lez kiriye	Later [he] hurried
Qîrîn batin wêv dayiye.	[He] screamed inside himself.
Ha Şêx Ehmedê Bastewiye	Thus, Sheikh Ahmad Basṭāwī
Hindek 'ewliya aniye	Brought some *awliyāʾ*
Mel'uno ev rêz girtiye.	The damned [ones] closed the way.
Şêx Nûrî sivik rabûye	Sheikh Nûrî rose slightly
Dure paşîn lez kiriye	Later [he] hurried
Qîrîn batin wêv dayiye.	[He] screamed inside himself.
Hay Sultan Memduhê Vîlahiye	Hey, Sultan Memduh Vîlahî
Hindek 'ewliya aniye	Brought some *awliyāʾ*
Eblîsa ev nav girtiye.	*Eblîses* (devils) closed the way.

[119] I.e., *de em*, i.e., 'let us'.

[120] Perhaps, the tribal leader is meant here.

[121] Persian ʿAbdul Qādir Gīlānī, Arabic *ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī* was a Sunni Muslim mystic, theologian, and name giver of the Qadiriyya *ṭarīqah*, also widespread in Kurdistan.

[122] The *awlīyāʾ* (plural of *walī*) is often used by Muslims to indicate an Islamic 'saint'. The *awlīyāʾ* can also be translated as "friends of God", and was used to designate early Sufi mystics. Miracles were attributed to many of them later.

Hay li geliyê bi Rîwanê	Hey, in the valley Rîwan[123]
Qîrîn batin rahêlanê	[They] rose an inner scream
'Ewliya darîşanê	*Awliyāʾ* swarmed over them
Şeytan kirin astenganê.	Put the shaiṭāns into the obstacles.
Maşellah Şêx Nûreddîn	*Mashallah* Sheikh Nûreddîn
Kulî dergahê te me.	[I] am the *kulî* at your gate.
Felekê bazdayiye	The fate has flown (i.e., has left him)
Heqê te kerem derketiye	Your destiny has come to pass[124]
Şêx Nûrî sivik rabûye	Sheikh Nûrî rose slightly
Bi navtenga wî ref girtiye	[They] seized his waistbelt
Qeyd û musat wî kiriye.	They put shackles on him and tied him.
Hay li edebxanê de	Hey, [he was] in the toilet (i.e., in this dirty world)
Çûbû cenetê rûnişiye.	[Now he] went to the paradise [and] sat [there].[125]
Maşellah Şêx Nûreddîn	*Mashallah* Sheikh Nûreddîn
Kulî dergahê te me.	[I] am the *kulî* at your gate.
Felekê go: "Şêx Nûrî, navê şêxê xo ji me re bêje, ka kê te nure kiriye?"	Fate asked Sheikh Nûrî: "Tell us the name of your sheikh, who gave you the blessing [to become a sheikh]?"
Bi navê şêxê Evdilqadir Geylaniye	[He] is under the name of Sheikh ʿAbdul Qādir Gīlānī
Li hewara min hatiye.	[He] has come to help me.
Wekîlê nefsa xwe bî	Be responsible[126] for your own *nefs* (i.e., ego-soul)[127]
Babetê ruhê te bî	Regarding your *ruh* (spirit)
Ciyê te edebxane bî!	Let it be in the toilet (i.e., the world)!
Ez im, w'ezê ez im	I am, and I [am who] I am
Xudê horiyan w'ez im	The Lord of the *Houries* [that is who] I am
Babê sofiya w'ez im	The father of the Sufis [that is who] I am
Babê mirîda w'ez im	The father of the Murids[128] [that is who] I am
Şêxê terîqê w'ez im	The sheikh of the *ṭarīqah*[129] [that is who] I am
Xudê jê razî w'ez im!	[The one] with whom God is satisfied [that is who] I am!
Tu yî, tu yî, tu yî	You are, you are, you are
Şeytanê şeqî tu yî	The crackling shaiṭān [that is who] you are
Yê ji qehra peqî tu yî	The one who exploded from anger [that is who] you are
Darkê tenura tu yî	The stick in the oven (*tenûr*) [that is what] you are
Seyê kolana tu yî	The street dog [that is who] you are
Mane ereşqa tu yî	Who stays in the bad conditions [that is who] you are
Ne'let lêbariye tu yî!	[The one] who had been cursed [that is who] you are!

[123] It seems plausible to assume that the name was corrupted while transmitting the text and the known place *geliyê* Roma —i.e., Roma valley, where people from the Muzîrî tribe live, was named by the performer in Turkey as *geliyê Rîwanê*.

[124] *Heq* (lit. "truth"), *kerem* (lit. "mercy").

[125] Which means that Sheikh Nûreddîn was killed in this fight and left the world, named in the poem *edebxane* 'toilet'; it was a blessing that he found his place in paradise.

[126] Lit. representative.

[127] It seems that this passage is addressed to the tribal leader —i.e., the *agha*.

[128] *Murīd* (Arabic 'he who seeks') in Ṣūfī mystical parlance, the novice or seeker of spiritual enlightenment by means of traversing the Ṣūfī path in obedience to a spiritual leader (*murshid*, *pīr*, or sheikh). Cf. Bosworth 1993, 608–9.

[129] In the 9th and 10th centuries, *tarīqah* (Arabic 'road', 'path') referred to the spiritual path of mystics, Sufis. Later, *tarīqah* came to mean the Sufi order.

In order to understand the context of the historical narrative, as mentioned above, we need to know the events the text alludes to, which is usually either known to the listeners or explained by the performer briefly before singing. Such types of texts do not usually provide much factual information, but arise emotions, usually praising the patron and blaming the enemies.

The historical song about Mullah Mustafa Barzani

Another example is a non-metric historical song composed and performed in the traditional style, with the accompaniment of *def* in between the stanzas. It begins with the accompaniment of a *def*, in a 2/4 rhythm with a slightly increasing and then again decreasing tempo. The prelude stops after a while and between some stanzas the *def* plays a tremolo. The melody consists of 5 tones (B, C, D, E, F), of which E has a microtonal character (one quartertone lower).

Aside from the main figure in the song, Mullah Mustafa Barzani (1903–79, Kurd. *Mela Mistefa Barzanî*), the following figures are also mentioned: Jalal Talabani (1933–2017, Kurd. *Celal Talebanî*), and probably Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin (1878–1953, Russ. Иосиф Виссарионович Сталин). Mullah Mustafa Barzani was a military leader in the Barzani uprisings from 1932. Banished from Silêmanî (Sulaymaniyah), he and his brother returned to their home village in 1943, which led to the eruption of another local rebellion. In 1945 he took refuge in Iran with a large number of his followers, who in the following year were the backbone of the armed forces of the Kurdish Republic of Mahabad. After the collapse of the Republic, he and his 500 soldiers fled to the USSR (Bruinessen 1997). In 1958, when a military coup overthrew the Iraqi monarchy and established a republic, President Abdul Karim Qassem promised the Kurds cultural and political rights, pardoned Mullah Mustafa Barzani and invited him and his soldiers to return to the country. In his absence, the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) had made him its president. Growing alienation between the Kurds and Qassem's government led to a guerrilla war in 1961, which escalated throughout the 1960s. In the meantime, Qassem was overthrown and succeeded by an Arab nationalist Baath Party government in early 1963. The war strengthened the Kurds' sense of nationhood and developed a strong independent power base in the north of the country. It culminated in a peace agreement with the government in March 1970, by which the Kurds formally achieved autonomy. In 1971 Iraq signed a friendship treaty with the Soviet Union. When Baghdad reneged on several promises in the four years of preparation for autonomy, Barzani, who had received promises of considerable CIA support via Iran, led a final offensive in 1974–75. When the shah reached a major agreement with the Iraqi government, headed by Saddam Hussein, and gave up his support of the Iraqi Kurds, Barzani's movement collapsed. Mulla Mustafa with tens of thousands of followers took refuge in Iran (Bruinessen 1997, 240, 388).



Barzani Peshmerga, 1974. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA OAW, Photo: Werner Finke

Transcription and translation of the song recorded by Werner Finke

Transcribed Kurdish text[130]	English translation
Êy felekê, te çima li me wa kir? *Te serê tirka li me rakir, dilo* *Serê tirka li me rakir* *Bavê kurda li wa tirka rakir, hey lo.*	Hey fate, why did you do so with us? You raised Turks against us, oh heart [You] raised Turks against us The father of the Kurds rebelled against Turks, oh.
Dilê min, dewran e *Girtibû ji Suriyê, Eraqê* *Nav tirkane* *Belê bavo, Eraqa rejîman, nav de Surya ye.*	My heart, [it] is the time[131] [It] was closed from Syria, Iraq Among the Turks Yes, oh father, the regime of Iraq, Syria is in [it].
Wey li kurda bûye ferman e *Serokê me hemiya Bavê Luqman e* *Hege hûn nizanin, ew Mele Mustefayê Barzan e.*	Oh, the *ferman* (i.e. order) is on the Kurds Our leader is the father Luqman[132] If you do not know, it is Mullah Mustafa Barzani.
Dewran e, li me dewran e *Kurda dest avête darê birno wane* *Girtibûn qevda xedarane* *Ne wilo bavo, çiyayê Sipî bûye axirzeman e.*	[It] is the time, the time is upon us Kurds grabbed their Brnos (rifles)[133] [They] had taken the handles of the *Xedare*s (Kalashnikovs).[134] Oh father, the White Mount (*Çiyayê Sipî*)[135] has become the end of the times.
Ya rebî, dilê min dibê oy *Çiyayê me derketî, çiyayê Kurdistanê* *Çiyayê Metîna, çiyayê Amêdiyê* *Wey zanî law, mi go, ji xûna kurda wê sor bûne li deştê.*	Oh my God, my heart says oh The mountain we climbed on [is] the mountain of Kurdistan Mount Metin,[136] Mount of Amadiya[137] You know, son, I said, the plain turned to red with the blood of Kurds.
Dewran e, dewran e, dewran e, *Îro cenabê kurda wê geran dewletê ecnebiyane.*	[It] is the time, [it] is the time, [it] is the time Today the leaders of Kurds travel in foreign countries.
People from the audience: "*Hêy wax, hêy wax, hêy wax!*"	

[130] The poem is performed for 2 min. 66 seconds. Werner Finke Legacy AT-OeAW-ISA-WF-018-092.

[131] *Dewran* lit. 'time; destiny, fate'.

[132] *Bavê Luqman* ('Father Luqman') probably refers to Luqman the Wise mentioned in *Surah Luqman* (Qur'an 31) as a person who was granted exceptional wisdom. In this Surah, Luqman gives his son valuable advice.

[133] The factory in Brno, Czech Republic, produced the rifles that used to be named by the Kurds as "Birnos".

[134] *Xedare* was used as a name of the automatic gun, some say they were Kalashnikovs.

[135] *Çiyayê Sipî* (lit. 'White Mountain') is a peak in Amêdî, Duhok Governate, Iraqi Kurdistan. It is situated near the village of Kêtînkê.

[136] *Şaxî Metîn* or *Çiyayê Metîn* is a mountain of 1,925 meters in Amêdî, Iraqi Kurdistan. It is situated near the village of Bamarni.

[137] Kurdish: Amêdî is a town in the Duhok governate of Iraqi Kurdistan.

Bû halê me kurdane[138]	[So] became the state of us, Kurds
Êdî Rûsiya wa mi go bîçî kurê bîçan e.	Now Russia is, as I said, the bastard, son of bastards.
Iran jî mi go hevalê wan e	Iran, I said, is their friend as well
Êdî Partiya Mele Mistefa tu cara nabî hevalê wan e	Now the party of Mullah Mustafa will never become their friend
*Hevalê Celal û *Yoso Sarrisan e.*	[Friend of] Jalal[139] and Joseph Vissarionovich.[140]

"The Basket Seller" (Zembîlfiroş) poem

For this contribution, I also chose a version of "The Basket Seller" (*Zembîlfiroş*) poem from the collection of Werner Finke, performed in its incomplete form by Xalit. The poem features the same rhythmical melody and accompaniment of tambourines as the poem on Sheikh Nûreddîn. The rhythm is 6/8 and the piece is accompanied by a *def*. The melodic range comprises about one octave. The melody begins with tone B (one tone higher than the tonic) and ends with A (the tonic).

It is about a young man—the so-called *Zembîlfiroş* (lit. "the basket seller")—who a ruler's wife falls in love with. He, being a faithful husband and a pious person, rejects her advances.

Žaklina Musaėljan (Moscow 1983), who wrote her doctoral dissertation on the written poem *Zembîlfiroş* and its 'folklore' variants, argues that there are two groups of variants of the poem: in one group of variants, *Zembîlfiroş* is originally a poor but talented basket maker and seller; in another group, he is a prince, son of the king, who should inherit the father's throne, but decides to pursue an ascetic way of life.[141] In the version below, 'the basket seller' is the son of a king, who should inherit the throne of his father but rejects it consciously, abandons all possessions, and becomes a *dervish*.

[138] I want to thank Serhat Resûl Çaçan for his advice and comments on identifying some passages.

[139] Perhaps Jalal Talabani (1933–2017, Kurd. *Celal Talebanî*) is meant here.

[140] Perhaps Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin (1878–1953, Russ. Иосиф Виссарионович Сталин) is meant.

[141] Scholars do not agree on the author of the written poem Zembîlfiroş (lit. "the Basket Seller"). Some believe that its author might be Mela Batê (Zhaba 1860s), while others (e.g., Musaeljan 1978, who wrote a doctoral dissertation on the written poem of Zembîlfiroş, including its oral variants), do not agree with his authorship.

Transcription and translation of the poem "The Basket Seller" (Zembîlfiroş), performed by Xalit and recorded by Werner Finke (Inv. No. 18-001)

Transcribed Kurdish text[142]	English translation
Neyle nûr, sed neylenûr!	Attainment of the light, hundred attainments of the light!
Bikeyn medhê Zembîlfiroş!	Let us praise the basket seller (*Zembîlfiroş*)!
Bikeyn medhê Zembîlfiroş!	Let us praise the basket seller (*Zembîlfiroş*)!
Zembîlfiroş wey kurê mîr e	The basket seller is the son of the king
Kurê paşayê Merqed zemîn e	The son of the ruler of the Merqed[143] land
Navê bavê wî Muhammed Şahîn e	His father's name is Muhammed Şahîn
Navê kurê wî Muhammed Emîn e.	His son's name is Muhammed Emîn.
Ne yabo, çendî we emîn e!	Hey father, how faithful [the basket seller] is!
Ser textê babê xo rûne	Sit on the throne of your father
Bi xerc û xeraca bistîne	Gather taxes [from the people]
Peşîman li guneha tu nîne.	There is no regret in sins.
Ne yabo, çendî we extiyar e!	Hey father, how old is [the king]!
Tu bicemînî bi zêr û male	You used to collect gold and property
Tu xilas nabî ji qiyametê.	You will not escape the day of reckoning!
Şaşik û zîna bihatî xarê	[He] took off his headdress and dismounted.
Hesp û zîn havêt mezadê	He auctioned off his horse and saddle
Belav kir feqîr û jarê	He gave it all away to poor and needy [ones]
Yabo, ez wê bibim derwêşê!	[He said:] "Oh father, I will become a dervish!"

The dancing song "Qurmilo"

This metric song, which is often performed during weddings, is here performed by two singers, while the listeners accompany the singing by clapping to the 2/4 rhythm. The melodic range consists of 5 tones (G, A, B, C, D). Here we see that the words play little role, and there are many repetitions. *Qurmilo* means 'O [the one who has] a trunk of a tree on the shoulder', while *darmilo* means 'O [the one who has] a tree on the shoulder'.

[142] The poem is performed in 50 seconds, and is incomplete. Werner Finke Legacy AT-OeAW-ISA-WF-018-069

[143] In some other attested variants of the poem, the place is named Ferqîn.

Transcription and translation of the song "Qurmilo" recorded by Werner Finke

Transcribed Kurdish text[144]	English translation
Qurmil, qurmil, qurmilo, qurmilo	Qurmil, qurmil, o qurmil, o qurmil
Qurmil, qurmil, qurmilo, darmilo	Qurmil, qurmil, o qurmil, o darmil
Qurmil, qurmil, qurmilo, qurmilo	Qurmil, qurmil, o qurmil, o qurmil
Qurmil, qurmil, qurmilo, darmilo	Qurmil, qurmil, o qurmil, o darmil
Bivir ser mila, qurmilo, qurmilo	The axe [is] on the shoulder, o qurmil, o qurmil
Bivir ser mila, qurmilo, darmilo	The axe [is] on the shoulder, o qurmil, o darmil
Bivir ser mila, qurmilo, qurmilo	The axe [is] on the shoulder, o qurmil, o qurmil
Bivir ser mila, qurmilo, darmilo	The axe [is] on the shoulder, o qurmil, o darmil
Çûbû Musilê, qurmilo, qurmilo	[He] went to Mosul, o qurmil, o qurmil
Çûbû Musilê, qurmilo, darmilo	[He] went to Mosul, o qurmil, o darmil
Çûbû Musilê qurmilo, qurmilo	[He] went to Mosul, o qurmil, o qurmil
Çûbû Musilê qurmilo, darmilo	[He] went to Mosul, o qurmil, o darmil
Kirîbû kilê, qurmilo, darmilo	[He] bought the kajal, o qurmil, o darmil
Kirîbû kilê, qurmilo, darmilo	[He] bought the kajal, o qurmil, o darmil
Kirîbû kilê, qurmilo, darmilo	[He] bought the kajal, o qurmil, o darmil
Kirîbû kilê, qurmilo, darmilo	[He] bought the kajal, o qurmil, o darmil
Tê bibirê banê, qurmilo, qurmilo	You would take it to the roof, o qurmil, o qurmil
Tê bibirê banê, qurmilo, darmilo	You would take it to the roof, o qurmil, o darmil
Tê bibirê banê, qurmilo, qurmilo	You would take it to the roof, o qurmil, o qurmil
Tê bibirê banê, qurmilo, darmilo	You would take it to the roof, o qurmil, o darmil
Agrî berdanê bi qurmilo, qurmilo	[They] would set the fire on, o qurmil, o qurmil
Agrî berdanê bi qurmilo, darmilo	[They] would set the fire on, o qurmil, o darmil
Agrî berdanê bi qurmilo, qurmilo	[They] would set the fire on, o qurmil, o qurmil
Agrî berdanê bi qurmilo, darmilo	[They] would set the fire on, o qurmil, o darmil
Qurmilê darê qurmilo qurmilo	Qurmil of the tree, o qurmil, o qurmil
Qurmilê darê qurmilo darmilo	Qurmil of the tree, o qurmil, o darmil
Qurmilê darê qurmilo qurmilo	Qurmil of the tree, o qurmil, o qurmil
Qurmilê darê qurmilo darmilo	Qurmil of the tree, o qurmil, o darmil
Şitlê beharê qurmilo qurmilo	The spring seedling, o qurmil, o qurmil
Şitlê beharê qurmilo darmilo	The spring seedling, o qurmil, o darmil

[144] The track is named "Werner Finke Kurdistan 1977 Seite1 1–4 Tr 3", the song is performed from 03:50–07:24. Legacy Werner Finke: AT-OeAW-ISA-WF-018-087.

Şitlê beharê qurmilo qurmilo	The spring seedling, o qurmil, o qurmil
Şitlê beharê qurmilo darmilo	The spring seedling, o qurmil, o darmil
Ser milê yarê qurmilo qurmilo	On the shoulder of the beloved, o qurmil, o qurmil
Ser milê yarê qurmilo darmilo	On the shoulder of the beloved, o qurmil, o darmil
Ser milê yarê qurmilo qurmilo	On the shoulder of the beloved, o qurmil, o qurmil
Ser milê yarê qurmilo darmilo	On the shoulder of the beloved, o qurmil, o darmil
Qurmil hêy hayê qurmilo qurmilo	Qurmil, hey hey,[145] o qurmil, o qurmil
Qurmil hêy hayê qurmilo darmilo	Qurmil, hey hey, o qurmil, o darmil
Qurmil hêy hayê qurmilo qurmilo	Qurmil, hey hey, o qurmil, o qurmil
Qurmil hêy hayê qurmilo darmilo.[146]	Qurmil, hey hey, o qurmil, o darmil.

CONCLUSION

Werner Finke's collection is unique and valuable for many reasons. The material presented in the collection contains numerous interesting examples of the Kurmancî Kurdish oral poetic tradition as well as sounds from Kurdish culture. For the survival of any text of oral literature, its genre is crucial. As a result of fundamental changes in Kurdish society—wars, displacements, migrations, urbanization, increased role of technologically mediated tradition, to name but a few—some categories (e.g., *qesîdes*, traditional and work songs) are slowly turning into a thing of the past, and are not widely—if at all—performed. Therefore, this collection provides rare material and an opportunity of a diachronic study on the poetic categories of Kurmancî Kurdish oral tradition. The collection also provides a chance to analyze the transmission of categories and songs that have been performed in the area and elsewhere from the 1970s until now. Based on a diachronic analysis of the material, parameters of change and stability might be formulated. Given that collective memory has its limitations and there is a "stream of tradition" (Leo Oppenheim 1964; "der Strom der Tradition" as also referred in Assmann 2007, 91–93) that only preserves what is relevant at a time and place with regard to community material, one might better understand why some themes have lost significance in "Kurdish collective memory". They have consequently either been forgotten or have begun to be replaced by newly composed—more relevant to new realities—material, still created within the framework of traditional norms but responding to the interests of new listeners. Moreover, the analysis of the collected oral traditions will give us a better understanding of the socio-cultural realities of the Kurds in the region in the 1960s and 1970s.

Cultural heritage is, among other things, a social institution, usually closely linked to people's national identity. The absence of a Kurdish state, geographical divisions, and poor opportunities of cultural communication result in a lack of continuity in the public debate on cultural protection. The preservation of cultural heritage turns out to be even more complicated among Kurds (Akman 2011, 12–13). Migration and its consequences interrupted the natural inter-generational flow of cultural memory and knowledge. The lack of sufficient information on their own culture raises various challenges for the young generation of Kurds in diaspora communities, which may lead to an increase in cultural instability. Today there is a far stronger awareness among Kurds when it comes to issues related to Kurdish history and culture. Despite of the fact that some Kurdish political leaders saw the dengbêjî tradition as an obstacle to the development of a unified Kurdish national identity (mainly because this tradition often reflected local intra- and inter-tribal

[145] People laughed, probably, because the singer did not know what to add, and added "hey hey".

[146] The song continues.

conflicts), it is certainly able to contribute to the development of a national identity of the people Furthermore, it is essential in the preservation of the Kurdish intangible cultural heritage, which is crucial especially for a *stateless people* in terms of strengthening and developing their national identity.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

axa	tribal leader – *agha*
babik	see *binemal*
ber(ek)	see *binemal*
bêlimte	see *bêrîte*
bêlûte	see *bêrîte*
bêrîte	love and war songs; called *bêrîte* in Botan and Şirnex, *bêlimte* or *bêlûte* in Serhed, in Amed (Diyarbekir), and *şeşbendî* in Colemêrg (Hekarî)
bêrîtebêj	singer of *bêrîte*s
binemal	'clan' or 'lineage'
birno	the factory in Brno, Czech Republic, produced the rifles that Kurds called *birno*
çêrikên dewatê	see *stranên dewatê*
def	tambourine, often made of sheepskin; might have rings attached to its frame
dengbêj	lit. "[a person who] tells [with] the voice", a professional performer of *kilam*s, also called *kilambêj* in Serhed, in Botan *şa'êr* ("poet"), in Şirnex and Colemêrg (Hekarî) also called *stranbêj*
dihol	a double-headed drum
eşîre	tribe, sometimes also the union of tribes
êl	see *eşîre*
hayê hayê	see *lorî*
heyranok	often composed and performed by women, exclusively comprising love songs
îl	see *eşîre*
kilam	a term mainly used from Serhed region to Amed; long poetic narratives, mostly based on real historical, heroic, and romantic narratives—i.e., a type of Kurdish epic tradition. In Behdînan and Botan, Şirnex, Silopî, and Sêrt, the term *stran* is often used for the same type of songs
kilambêj	see *dengbêj*
kilamên mêranî	heroic and historical songs
kilamên mêrxasî	see *kilamên mêranî*
kilamên şerê/şeran	see *kilamên mêranî*
kilamên şînê	"mourning songs" and lamentations
kilamên tarîxî	see *kilamên mêranî*
kilamên xerîbiyê	nostalgic songs
kulav	see *taq*
lavij	see *kilamên şînê*
lawij	see *payîzok*
lawij(ok)	see *kilamên şînê*
lawje	see *payîzok*
lorî	lullabies
meşk	a form of butter churn made from animal skin. Women fill it with milk and shake it back and forth until it turns into butter
mîrgeha Botanê	Botan Principality
namûs	the notion of honor, where men are expected to defend their family and women at all costs, and protect them from both physical and oral assault. Thus, it could be understood as publicly acknowledged demonstration of the capability of a person for (self-)defence
narînk	see *nêrîng*
nêrîng	group of songs related to the bride, e.g. when the bride leaves the parents' house
payîzok	autumn songs; their focus is often the description of the nature. Because of the difficult voice vibrations required for its performance they are often considered the hardest genre to perform. In Goyan, Behdînan, and in the outskirts of Amêdiyê, the term *serêlî* is used, while in the areas of Silopî, Cizîrê, and Dihê *payîzok* is used; in Hekarî province, they might be called *lawij/lawje*

pêşmerge	the Kurdish military forces
qesîde	songs of religious and religious-historical content, often in the form of a panegyric, composed in praise of a patron (a ruler, a sheikh, etc.)
qesîdebêj	a singer of *qesîde*s
serêlî	see *payîzok*
serêlîbêj	a singer of *serêlî* (*payîzok*) songs
stran	usually short lyric songs of different types
stranbêj	a singer of *stran*s. In Şirnex and Colemêrg (Hekarî), the term might be used for *dengbêj*s as well
stranên egîtî	see *kilamên mêranî*
stranên evînî	love songs
stranên evîndarî	see *stranên evînî*
stranên dankutanê	songs performed during a process of wheat pounding called *dankutan*
stranên destarê	songs performed during a process of grain grinding
stranên dewatê	wedding songs
stranên mêranî	see *kilamên mêranî*
stranên mêrxasî	see *kilamên mêranî*
stranên pelayiyê	agricultural songs
stranên reqsê	dance songs: with various songs for different types of dances—e.g., *stranên govendê*, *milanê*, *şêxanî*, *bablekan*, *sêpê*, etc.
stranên şerê/şeran	see *kilamên mêranî*
stranên şînê	see *kilamên şînê*
stranên tarîxî	see *kilamên mêranî*
stranên xoşewîstî	see *stranên evînî*
stranên xerîbiyê	see *kilamên xerîbiyê*
şabaş	calling out the collected presents for the bride and groom during the wedding
şa'êr	lit. "poet", see *dengbêj*
şeşbendî	see *bêrîte*
taq	the long felt mat, called *taq* in Şirnex, and *kulav* in Serhed
terîqe	*ṭarīqah* (Arab. 'road', 'path'), in the 9th and 10th centuries, referred to the spiritual path of mystics. Later, *tarīqah* came to mean the Sufi order
xedare	was used as a name of any automatic rifle, often—but not exclusively—referred to a Kalashnikov (Russ. *Автомат Калашникова*)
zirne	a double reed woodwind instrument

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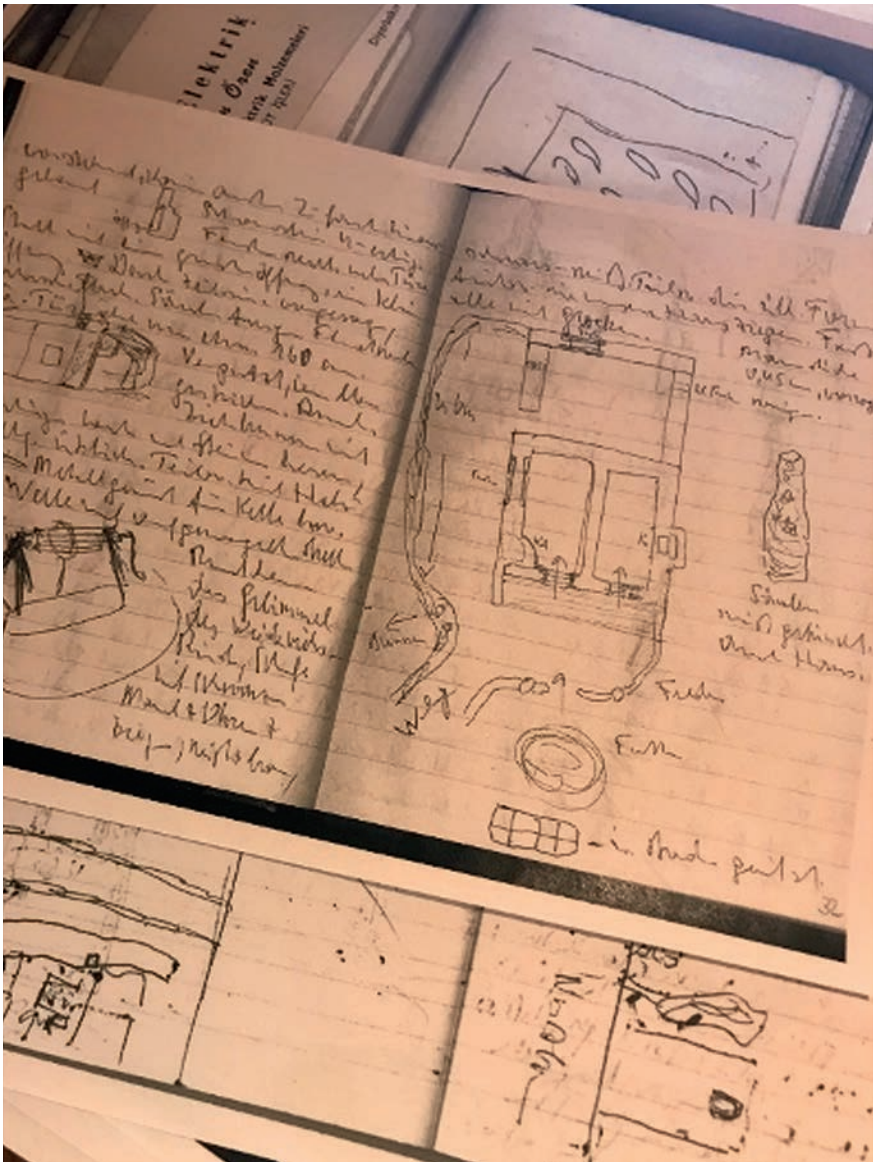
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DIARY NOTES OF WERNER FINKE

Maria Six-Hohenbalken



Diaries of Werner Finke. Archive ISA, Austrian Academy of Sciences.
Photo: Eva Stockinger

In addition to multimedia recordings, Werner Finke's estate also includes written notes.[147] These more or less detailed notes are dated from the period between 1966 and 1988. In the first year, the notes are rather sketchy and more like quick jottings. There is a long diary from 1967, which was probably written in collaboration with his traveling companion and brother Reinhold Finke. Between 1968 and 1975, there are no written records of any kind in his archival estate. From 1974 to 1978, a small notebook was also kept, in which the film documentations were roughly noted. From 1975, however, a relatively extensive diary is available, which will be discussed in more detail. In the following year, Finke had a special documentation project, namely film recordings of felt production in Mardin, for which there is also a short hand-written documentation. From 1977, we have a "scratch book" in the collection, which mainly deals with manufacturing processes in various crafts. The blacksmith and coppersmith trades in Siirt were documented in more detail and various steps in textile production recorded. The notebooks from 1978 to 1980 contain more detailed information about Ürgüp, Kahta, Diyarbakır, Siirt, Bitlis, Lake Van, Çelikköy [Kezburan] and Zincirli.

On this journey, Werner Finke was interested in the blacksmith's trade. There are a number of terminology lists with the technical terms of the processing steps. These are often just individual keywords to indicate the work steps. In between there are some general descriptions or references to changes from earlier years. The entries from 1981 are rather an address book, in which he took notes. There are no notes from 1982, while his documentations from 1983 to 1985 mainly refer to the western Turkish provinces, such as Ayvalık, Aydın and Bursa. From the years 1987 and 1988, we primarily have information on photographs.

It is not yet clear whether there are any more written notes available, as occasionally the heir still finds additional material. The existing records are exclusively handwritten notebooks that were kept more or less chronologically. Sometimes there are only small books, mostly with "jottings". To make matters worse, Werner Finke's handwriting is very difficult and sometimes impossible to decipher. Furthermore, it seems that he deliberately did not always write out all the names of places and people, used abbreviations or was very cryptic with some entries. It was obvious that he wanted to protect his informants as well as himself and was, therefore, very brief in his entries. It also appears that he increasingly moved away from written notes and used the camera to replace his notebooks. More revealing are his ethnographic entries, which he wrote on the index cards for the collection items at Weltmuseum Wien, and which are valuable documents for future work on the material (see Six-Hohenbalken's contribution in this volume).

Two diaries (original is in German) will now be discussed exemplarily. The notes from 1967 represent the beginning of a long period of documentation, as well as the first contacts with people "in the field", which he intensified in the following years. Obviously he was figuring out future research topics for his dissertation. The second exemplary records date from 1975, when he devoted himself intensively to the social structure, namely the tribal units, their distribution, the oral history of fusions and fissions of confederations, and their geographical distribution. We know from the few social anthropological works (e.g., van Bruinessen 1992; Yalçın-Heckmann 1991) how difficult such an undertaking was at the time (and still is today) and how politically explosive it was to write about tribal structures in eastern Anatolia even in the late 1960s (see İsmail Besikçi's dissertation 1969). With the years Werner Finke's notes became increasingly shorter, more fragmentary, and the camera became his notebook.

[147] AT-OeAW-ISA-WF-Diaries.

FROM THE DIARY 1967

Werner Finke and his brother Reinhold traveled by train from Vienna via Serbia and Bulgaria to Istanbul. After a short stopover, they proceeded further by train via Kayseri, Sivas, Malatya, Elâzığ to Tatvan, from there by ferry to Van and by bus to Hakkari. Their original plan to borrow horses for a trip to the mountains did not pan out due to the limited travel budget. However, they learned they could buy a donkey in the small town of Beytüşşebap, which would enable them to travel to the mountainous regions. In Beytüşşebap they came into contact with Muezzin Halit, who proved to become one of their most important contacts in the many years that followed. Initially the brothers joined a caravan and eventually continued alone. They reached the village of Küçükçay (see article 12 in this volume), walked on to Uludere, came to Karaköl (on the Iraqi border), and finally continued traveling via Şırnak, Cizre and Siirt, where the entries in the notebook finally end.[148]

Sat, 19 August 1967 (page 31 ff.)[149]

At about half past five, a zoma [tent camp] comes into view, and an hour later we are there. Halit sent us to Ibrahim Ataman, who is currently in Elbistan. But we are taken in anyway. By now it's dark and miserably cold. We estimate that it is 10° C [50 F]. As we only have shirts, everything else is in Beytüşşebap, we are freezing miserably. Then they bring us blankets. We sleep in an open tent, which is actually just a roof. There are reed mats all around, through which the wind blows. But the sheep's wool blankets are warm. My feet hurt a lot and I sleep through until 6 a.m., in the men's section (kind of Selamlık, day room).

Sun, 20 August 1967

We get up at 6 a.m., everyone is already up. The night was cold. We have cheese, yogurt, bread and tea for breakfast. During the day we take photos and film. The women are very shy, they run away when a lens is pointed at them, but the children are all the more pushy.

In the morning at around eight o'clock, after lunch at around 1 p.m. and in the evening at 7:30 p.m., there is a men's meeting in the tent where all sorts of things are discussed. Imam Abu Zeid is very helpful and understanding.

Mon, 21 August 1967

We get up like yesterday, the daily routine is similar. The Ataman are a clan of about 500 people, (…)

Thu, 24 August 1967

[They make their way to Derihane]…

From the top, there is a good view of the fields and the village. The path is rather difficult, narrow and steep, and leads through forest and bushes. We decide to spend the night there. The donkey is given hay that has already been cut.

Fri, 25 August 1967

Through Derihane: The houses are on the sides of the valley, in the middle are the fields and the river. There are irrigation channels. The roofs are flat, the stone houses are built with clay mortar and have several floors. The stables are usually at the bottom. The path along the river is good at first, then very stony. It goes steeply uphill, there are small waterfalls. The donkey slips and falls several times. We have to pick him up. It's hot after a while. (…) We reach a river spring around half past ten.

Sat, 26 August 1967 (page 36 f.)

We get up at 6 a.m. Breakfast. Photography and filming. The village is Küçükçay. (…) A house consists of an anteroom and a main room, a fireplace and a cooking area. There is a canal on the road (a ditch about 40 cm wide and 10 cm [15 by 4 inches] deep in the middle).

The grinding stones are quite small, grains are only ground (pearl barley). Further ahead (in the village) is the baking oven, which is apparently common property and made of clay. The bread is made in the form of thick, small flatbreads (15–20 cm [6 to 8 inches]. They are coated with egg, moistened with water on the other side and always stuck together. When they can be loosened (from the clay oven), they are done. In the gardens there

[148] Transcribed by Verena Baldwin, to whom many thanks are due.

[149] AT-OeAW-ISA-WF-Diaries.

are melons, cucumbers, pulses and tomatoes. The tomatoes are cut up and dried on the roofs.

The people with caps turn them around while praying, with the visor facing backwards.

The bride price is between 2-10,000 TL. (...)

We leave for Uludere at half past ten. In three villages in a row along the river, everything is similar, there are grapes in the gardens, canals, and still unripe figs. (...)

Mon, 28 August 1967 (in Karakol) (page 39f.)

At five a.m. The onbaşi [corporal] drew a sketch of the route yesterday. At first [we lost the] path right away, but after an hour we got it back. The forest becomes thinner in places. The path leads mainly uphill on ridges. The donkey is panting. It's hot. We found the first fork well, but took the wrong path twice at the crossroads. (...) We orient ourselves with a map and compass. There are no people, the path is visibly less frequented. At 3 p.m. we set off back to the way crossing, the third attempt is promising as there are many tracks (including some from a wolf and a bear). We have no water and continue until 6:30 p.m., when we break off because of the darkness.

Tue, 29 August 1967 (page 39f.)

We set off at 6 a.m. without breakfast. The path leads into the valley, along the valley floor. (...) At around 9 a.m., I discover a spring. (...) A soldier patrol tells us that we are on the wrong path. But it doesn't matter, as the direction to Cizre is correct. After an hour we see people in the field, one of them goes with us because the village is close. We stop by the herd, eat bread and goat's milk, and a little later wine.

In addition to the fields, there are also permanent stone houses for the cattle in winter. The village consists of leaf sheds (sketch see diary). Such leaf sheds have facilities such as tents, these [were] also available in the past, but "not necessary", as we are told (probably a sign of decay).

Likewise, people are no longer aware of their tribal affiliation or it cannot be determined. Butter churning, the skin [bellows] is hung on the house beam, there is no tripod. (...) The copper dishes are tinned, water jugs are made of clay like amphorae (sketch see diary) (...)

Sat, 2 September 1967 (page 48f.)

Just after the end of the mountain is the confluence of the Dicle and Mendişane rivers. There is a ferry across the Dicle. In the village, threshing is done with threshing sledges. The horses are tied to a removable peg with a ring. The straw is placed in a ring. The horse is steered by children or the animals are driven. The threshing sledge is expensive and lasts for around six to ten years, after which it is purchased from the city (Cizre). The inside of the sledge has two rollers with blades approx. 30 cm [12 inches] (sketch) on the roller, each of which is rotated by 90 degrees. (...) At noon we are at Cizre on the other bank of the Tigris. (...) Relatively modern terraced houses with an estimated two to three rooms per apartment. There is a lot of swimming in Dicle and there are many vegetable gardens on the banks. The old buildings made of natural stone are often surrounded by walls, with a courtyard (there is a cooking area made of clay under the roof), portals with Arabic inscriptions (Qur'an!), sometimes colorful or with mirror decoration or tiles and round portals. The windows are often barred. Most of the beds are now on the roof and are surrounded by reed mats.

The diary was also started from the back, where Finke had recorded terminology lists (partly in Turkish, Kurdish and German with entries on clothing, fruit/vegetables, animals), tribal names, records of kinship systems and sketches.

FROM THE DIARY OF 1975

The recordings begin on 21 June 1975 when he arrives in Istanbul and continue until mid-August 1975. There are three notebooks, some of which were begun from both sides and in which a number of tribal genealogies are also noted. The impression is that Finke kept jottings, which were then written in fair copy, and in some cases he may have kept two parallel diaries (on the same evening of one day and again the morning after). He recorded the genealogies of tribes and their individual lineages, and in between there are references to mergers, fissions of tribes or lineages, confederations and the founding of individual lineages. Importantly, he also noted that individual

lineages had different religious denominations—i.e., in addition to the Kurdish Sunni parts, there were also Yezidi and Christian lineages and tribes.

The field notes of 1975 begin in Hakkari, from where he then traveled on to Beytüşşebap. In between the more kinship-related information, there are also several notes on the material culture and then again very rough technical details of equipment. Sketches of objects and rough plans of village structures are also often included, as well as notes about audio recordings and photographs. He probably also worked with questionnaires to document material culture, as there is a brief reference to the fact that the questionnaire does not cover all dimensions and would need to be revised.

Amidst the sociological and technological notes, the information about audio recordings of dances and wedding songs, there are two pages where he describes the course of a wedding from 16 July 1975, where he follows the course of a wedding (p. 48 ff.).

> *First day: Only dancing and singing by the men and women at night. The arriving men are greeted with shots of welcome. The next day is the actual wedding. There are songs and dancing between the men, while the women look after the tent. The catering takes place in front of the tents. (…)*
>
> *[Arrival of the bride] The mother-in-law rides along. On the left and right are men with guns, which they also fire. There is dancing in front of the bride's tent and shots are fired. (…) After a while there is dancing around the dowry, which is brought on the packhorse. The bride is lifted onto the horse. Dance, she rides with her mother-in-law, shots.*

Finke did not indicate which families the bride and groom come from—i.e., between which families they are married. In the photographic documentation, a wedding is photographed in great detail. It also seems that he may have been somewhat overwhelmed with parallel written notes. What emerged from this setting, however, is a comprehensive photo and audio documentation of a wedding celebration, as the following article shows.

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OVERVIEW DIARIES

1963/64	India
1965	Morocco, Tunisia
1966	notes only
1967	obviously together with Reinhold Finke, long diary
1968–74	missing
1974–78	Photo/film documentation
1975	quite detailed, Werner's writing—3 parts
1976	Kece—film production film description (not Werner's script)
1977	scratch book, textile production/purchasing, manufacturing processes: forge/coppersmith Siirt other processes—also information about films
1978–80	also quite detailed, but often keywords and various writings
1980	films, various settings and crafts described
1981	address book and notes
1982	missing
1983–85	actually only until 1984—Ayvalık, Aydin, Bursa, in the west—Yörüken?
1987–88	photo notes

ENCOUNTERING AN EVENT. FINKE'S PHOTOGRAPHS OF A KURDISH WEDDING AT THE HIGH SUMMER PASTURE

Marina Stoilova



Wedding gathering at the summer pasture, 1975. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke

"Something is definitely happening here" is what my colleague and I simultaneously exclaimed when we first encountered the above image in Werner Finke's photographic archive. It shows a large-scale landscape of a mountain slope across which a procession of people are passing. At the time we were just starting out in our role as student collaborators in the *ZOZAN* project, where we are responsible for indexing and describing the content of the photographic material in the collection. With my untrained eye and limited knowledge about the Kurds back then, I was unable to recognize the nature of the event unfolding in front of me in the photo series that followed. But I immediately recognized that it was an event—something out of the ordinary logic of the everyday documentation of the Finke archive.

The event turned out to be fragments of wedding festivities, which, at least partly, took place on the high summer pasture (Kurdish: *zozan*[150]) of Beytüşşebap in 1975. We can probably speak about at least two weddings (as visible through the images of at least two different brides) that took place in the same time period, though the possibility that it was one wedding event with the element of a direct-exchange marriage cannot be excluded[151]. The photo series depicting them consists of around 160 photos—it is difficult to pinpoint the exact number, as the photos seem to be out of order and other images have slipped up in between. In fact, I initially considered a much smaller portion of the photos as part of the event but, by sifting through the photos together with members of the Kurdish community, I realized that the random cooking scenes or images of men posing with weapons, which I thought had nothing to do with the wedding, are in fact also parts of the celebrations and the preparation for them. This is a feature of how this event is represented in the archive—it is distorted and mixed up—and it takes the knowledge of those closer to the worlds where the event took place to recognize its components.

This photo series is a part of a bigger documentation effort. As Six-Hohenbalken elaborates in the previous article, Finke's field diaries from 1975, which contain field notes and jottings as well as ethnographic descriptions, are especially detailed and include an elaboration on wedding proceedings at *zozan*. It is quite probable that these notes and the photographic documentation both originated from the same event. According to the notes, the wedding took place around July 16, 1975, but neither the exact location nor the identity of the bride and groom and which lineages they belong to are specified. There are, however, multiple records of names of lineages and confederations which demonstrate that Finke was interested in the tribal structure of the people he encountered.

Additionally, in the archive there are two sound recordings from the same year containing wedding music that could have been made at the depicted event. These recordings are a rich source not only of the specificity of music, played at wedding events, but also in terms of preserving the wider soundscape of a wedding on *zozan*—sounds of people and animals that move, work and celebrate are layered onto each other and contrast with the silence of the still photographs (see the contribution of Omarkhali in this volume).

The photographs are thus meant not only as photographic representations of the event but foremost as an element of ethnographic documentation which Finke most probably intended to use for his dissertation. Interestingly, 1975 is also the year that Walter Dostal arrived in Vienna and took a chair at the Department of Social Anthropology. As we know, Finke was inspired by Dostal, who was urging him to finish his dissertation (see Article 2 in this volume). It is thus possible that precisely because of Dostal's influence, 1975 marks a time of renewed effort for Finke to

[150] All Kurdish terms are based on Feryad Fazil Omar's dictionary *Kurdisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch (Kurmancî) 1992*. Additionally, all specific terms of kinship affiliations and marriage forms are used as cited in Yalçın-Heckmann (1991).

[151] A direct-exchange marriage (*pê-guhurk*) is a form of marriage in which "the marriages of at least two couples are made conditional on one another" (Yalçın-Heckmann 1991, 237), meaning the marriage arrangement includes a mutual decision of the two families involved that they will exchange two brides. In the most common case, one man's sister is wed to the brother of the man's bride (sister exchange). Often the two couples are then "engaged and wedded at (approximately) the same time," either the same day or on two consecutive days (ibid, 237–238). Such marriage arrangements are often made in order to achieve more egalitarian relationships between the bride-giving and the bride-taking families and to avoid the need for the payment of a bride-price, and it can even be a way to resolve existing violent conflicts between groups (ibid, 240–241).

conduct his fieldwork, which would explain the rather detailed ethnographic documentation. The dissertation was, however, never finished, so the photographs and the hard-to-decipher field notes remain uninterpreted—we do not know how Finke intended to use them and it is especially hard to reconstruct the event through them. The event exists fragmented in the archive, its visual traces separate from its sounds and its possible meanings.

Ultimately, the biggest distortion of the event is its depersonalization. Some aspects of it (as time and place) are possible to reconstruct, and others (as the nature of the event, the order and the meaning of the rituals taking place) could be analyzed with the help of literature and documentations on Kurdish weddings or through the memories and knowledge of members of the community. But in the end, we know nothing about the actual people in the photos and about the meanings they gave to the photographed events. As Hastrup (1992, 9) puts it, "[w]hile one can take pictures of ritual grooves and of the participants in the ritual, one cannot capture their secret on celluloid. This has to be told." She underlines, by using Sontag's (1979, cited in Hastrup 1992, 9) notion of the souvenir, that the photographs that emerge from the ethnographic observation of ritual events transform "the reality of the total social event [...] into a two-dimensional image."

And nevertheless, these photos are probably the only existing documentations of this particular event. The images in the archive remain the only way to "remember." In this article I try to describe and analyze the visual traces left from these wedding festivities in Werner Finke's archive, reconstruct some of the components of the event, and analyze some specificities of its nature. By following the path of my untrained eye (or "my eye in training") in "seeing" and understanding the event, I also aim to discuss some of the challenges that working with archival memory presents.

A KURDISH WEDDING AT THE HIGH SUMMER PASTURE

Not much is known about Kurdish weddings taking place at the summer pasture—there are hardly any ethnographic accounts on them and it is inconclusive how often weddings were held at *zozan*, rather than in the villages. Most ethnographic documentations of marriage customs in rural and urban contexts focus on kinship and tribal relations, specifically paying attention to the ways in which marriage arrangements uphold social order and structure the relations between and within households. It is important to note that, for most of the 20th century, the traditions and lifestyles of the population in Turkey were documented and depicted without directly specifying whether the people observed were Turkish, Kurdish or of any other ethnicity. The traditional life in the villages of eastern Anatolia also became a topic of interest to the emerging genres of Turkish cinema, which thematized the hardships of life and manual labor as well as gender relations in society. The 1983 drama film "A season in Hakkâri," by director Erden Kıral, shows scenes of a wedding in a snow-covered mountainous Kurdish village, depicting the taking of a fully covered bride from her birth family into her new home, and then to a small community dance in the center of the village, followed by scenes of the bride waiting for her bridal night alone in a room[152] (Kıral 1983).

Over time, scholarly discourses started paying attention also to migration and aspects of transnational Kurdish marriages (e.g., in Ferber/Gräßlin 1988, Savelsberg 2004), to problematize aspects of arranged and forced marriages (Savelsberg 2004) as well as to look at Kurdish wedding celebrations, with special focus on dance, in the context of identity representation and resistance to political violence (Nyberg 2012, Fernandez 2022).

A further challenge in obtaining information to contextualize the photographed weddings is the broad diversity of wedding rituals and understandings about them among the Kurds. It cannot be assumed that what has been observed and

[152] The cited film falls in part into what Naficy (1991, as cited in Six-Hohenbalken 2002, 292, 296) terms *accented cinema* —a genre of film (quite often made from the exile or the diaspora) in which documentation of realities and fiction come together. Such films can be a source of ethnographic documentations.

documented in other regional and social Kurdish contexts is similar in nature to the events Finke photographed in 1975.

With the help of two extensive documentations on wedding rituals—by Hansen (1961), who describes marriage customs and wedding celebrations in villages on the other side of the Turkish-Iraqi border, and by Yalçın-Heckmann (1991), who describes tribe relations and the importance of marriage in upholding those in the region of Hakkâri—as well as the interpretations of two members of the Kurdish community, one of whom was from the photographed region, I tried to identify and reconstruct the visible components of the event. However, some of these observations remain rather speculative and serve as an important reminder about the limited possibility of images for revealing the nature of the event.

Hansen writes that when she speaks about *the wedding*, it is "the day of the handing over of the bride to the groom" that she refers to. She underlines that in the Islamic context, and the Kurdish context specifically, the drawing up of a wedding agreement—in other words, the engagement—is the civil and religious element of the marriage, whereas the wedding celebration itself is a family (and community[153]) festival that is a secular and private action (Hansen 1961, 121–122, 127). This is supposedly the precise moment of the *wedding day* that Finke depicted as a central element of the photographed festivities. In the procession, the bride, covered in a big henna-colored orange scarf hiding her entire body, is riding a horse and being escorted by her community from her family's tent camp to the camp of her groomsman. While the original order of the photos is hard to reconstruct, this scene seems to be more or less the beginning of the wedding festivities photo series.

The only participants that are undeniably recognizable in their role are the two brides (*bukê)*, through their clothing. I was unable to identify either the grooms (*zava*) or any of the hosts of the celebration, who are usually the bride's parents during the fetching of the bride from her home and the groom's parents for the remainder of the celebration (Yalçın-Heckmann 1991, Hansen 1961, 130–131). According to the field notes, the bride was picked up from her village and escorted by her future mother-in-law (see Article 9 in this volume). It is, however, hard to decipher the woman in question from the photos. One photo depicts a man in an official Kurdish attire, kneeling on the ground in a tent and shaving his face—an act that could suggest some special role for this man in the celebration. He could possibly even be the groom; however, none of my interlocutors could confirm this.

A large proportion of the photos show the wedding guests dancing. Men and women form separate dancing half-circles and are depicted holding hands and moving in synchrony, while musicians accompany them with Kurdish instruments: *zirna* —a woodwind instrument, similar to an oboe, and *duhûl*—a bass drum. According to my interlocutors, the musicians invited to Kurdish weddings were usually travelers who moved around and were called upon to play at celebrations. The music performed at weddings, while regionally diverse, was mostly described as monotonous and repetitive but was also largely shaped by the improvisational skills of the musicians themselves.

The photographer appears to focus on the traditional garments of dancing men and women, often centering those in the most colorful and aesthetically pleasing clothes in the middle of the composition. However, in wider shots of the dancing people, we see that it's not only people in traditional garments who take part in the dancing.

Several photographs seem to depict ceremonial events focused on the bride. They show groups of women inside a tent, gathered in circles around the bride, whose face is still mostly covered with the orange veil. These photos are visibly darker than other tent images—it is possible that for these moments the entrance of the tent was covered to achieve more privacy, or alternatively, that the photographer was standing outside the tent and catching a glimpse from there. In some photos, the women are sifting through colorful fabrics and garments, spread in front of the bride—possibly wedding gifts or components of the bride price.

[153] In the context of the forms of social organization among the Kurds, *community* may refer to several different things —the *mal* (household, consisting of those living and subsisting together), the lineage as it intersects with other lineages, or the tribal group (Strohmeier and Yalçın-Heckmann 2010, 202–203). As we cannot exactly know who attended the wedding celebration, I use the term community throughout this article to speak about the people depicted, assuming that they are all, to some degree, socially connected.





Wedding celebration at the summer pasture, 1975. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photos: Werner Finke

The community member who helped me contextualize these images suggested that the women could be singing to the bride as part of a welcoming ceremony, where she is being introduced to the new community. Such gatherings around the bride to assess how she will fit into the family are also described as integral to the women's wedding celebration by Hansen (1961, 130–131).

A further series of images show scenes depicting the preparation of food and eating. Two to three older women are photographed cooking using large pots while the wedding celebrations unfold around them. All food and tea serving, however, features only men. This allocation of labor according to gender seems to correspond to the documentations of Hansen, who explains that while women prepare the food for the men, they leave it outside the location men celebrate at and the men then serve it themselves (ibid, 128). Again, only men are photographed when eating, kneeling or sitting on carpets inside the tents. The photographer did not capture the mealtimes of the women, or was possibly not given access to them. In another entirely male dominated part of the ceremony, men are gathered, seemingly some distance from the tent camp and posing with different kinds of automatic firearms or shooting in the air. A number of images depict people posing alone or together to be photographed. In the most common case men of all ages pose together, though occasionally women are also seen posing for photos. Children always seem to be around and are positioned in the foreground but are not necessarily posing or aware of the photographer.

Hansen underlines that all wedding festivities that she observed in rural and urban Kurdish contexts were segregated by gender, and men and women celebrated in different locations (ibid, 128). Mostly, Finke's photos feature either men or women, whereas children of any gender seem to be present almost everywhere. The following photos, depicting a big group of women and a big group of men standing on either side of a tent, show an attempt to follow the principle of gender segregation also in the tent settlement, at least symbolically. However, men and women walk together in the wedding processions. Occasionally a man can be seen dancing together with the women, and one photo reveals two half-circles of dancing men and women directly next to each other, with the two groups standing back to back; people pose together for photos regardless of gender; and we see one curious man peeking into the tent where women have gathered around the bride. This suggests that there was no strict segregation of gender on the high pasture and the male and female spaces were close enough to occasionally merge. Living on the high pasture seems to require a more fluid handling of such rules. Finke's own presence challenges gender dynamics: he is seen trespassing some social boundaries—e.g., in photographing inside the women's tent or from the middle of their dancing circle. Finke, as a foreigner standing outside the social group, likely fell into the so-called *unmarriable* category and was thus probably granted more access than a man from the community would have. However, ultimately we do not know the extent of this access and what he was, and was not, allowed to see and know about.

One of the final images from the wedding series is one that depicts a scene of presenting the gifts given to the bride and groom. A large group of mostly men and children is gathered in a circle, while a man counts the money and gold received by the newlyweds and, according to my interlocutor from the community, probably declares the amounts to the crowd and who has gifted them. This concluding moment of the celebration is usually stressed as particularly important (Hansen 1961; Yalçın-Heckmann 1991)—giving money and gifts is an essential aspect of reproducing social relations in the arrangement and celebrations of marriage. Finke, however, only captured it in one photo, from a distance and outside the circle—his position of an outsider is particularly visible here.

Finke's photographs create a type of a visual narrative—one that is for sure fragmented. Harper (1987, cited in Lederbogen 2003, 231) calls this a *visual ethnographic narrative* in which photographs represent frozen single moments of an action sequence. The story of the action sequence that emerges is a story on its own, not simply an illustration of some pre-existing textual narrative. It is, however, never an objective representation of the event itself, but rather tells of the event as the photographer witnessed it.

It is interesting to ask what is missing from this narrative, which aspects were hard to capture in a still image, what moments the photographer was forbidden to take a photo of, and what he did not know about or did not deem important or meaningful enough. By comparing the visual narrative emerging from the photos with the existing ethnographic literature on Kurdish weddings, there are a few aspects that are obviously missing—the

intimate (and gender-specific) ritual of the henna night, the long and complex social process of arranging a marriage, the aspects of negotiation of the bride price, and so on. In this sense, the archive, based on still photographs captured by an outsider for the community, can never provide us with a logical and coherent representation of an event.

CAPTURED MOBILITIES

What is interesting to me, however, besides how much the archive cannot possibly do in terms of remembering, is the one thing that these archival photographs do quite well—namely, they manage to continuously document and trace multiple modes of mobility.

The act of photographing is in the end a way of *capturing* it—it *freezes* fragments of a moving reality in still images so as to preserve the memory of them, to show that something has taken place. Movements are, however, still vividly recognizable; they leave visual traces. The photo series contains several markers of mobility—from the mobile dwellings on the mountain slope to the moving bodies of animals and people who walk through their landscapes, work, dance and perform ritualistic actions. In the following part, I attempt to highlight a few such aspects and to discuss the ways in which the archive presents possibilities and limitations for showing and hiding mobilities.

By recounting the continuous history of the study of migration within anthropology, Hage (2021) reminds us that the early anthropological interest toward kinship and patrilocal societies is, in fact, the beginning of a long-standing scholarly tradition in studying migration and mobility, and he asks whether it is "possible to understand something as an exogenous patrilineal patrilocal system [...] without seeing it as a theory on population movement" and thus on migration and mobility (ibid, 4). The wedding as the *rite of passage* that marks the upholding of the patrilocal principle is thus a series of ritualized acts of movement, which simultaneously involve spatial, social and symbolic mobility.



Escorting the bride, 1975. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke



Escorting the bride, 1975. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke

A wedding on the high pasture, as part of the annual movement of pastoral people, is even more inherently mobile. The visual narratives of the two wedding events photographed by Finke in 1975 focus on the movement between the tent settlements of the brides and the grooms and show different aspects of the movement of people and objects that occur around such events.

A motive that seems to be central in Finke's photographic representations is the moving bride—her body on the horse, she moves in time and space, accompanied by a procession, where supposedly a big part of her lineage also becomes mobile with her. She moves into a new (temporary) home; she is moving into a new part of her life and acquires a new social status.

According to Strohmeier und Yalçın-Heckmann, in Kurdish societies the "processes of the enlargement and the splitting of households is closely tied to an ideology of patrilineal solidarity" where "the male members of the household are to stay together as long as possible" while women leave the house of their parents and move away through marriage. This relocation may vary in distance and could take the bride from the neighboring house to another village or even another country (Strohmeier and Yalçın-Heckmann 2010, 206; translation from German is mine). However, it is precisely this mobility of the woman that makes the "production, revitalization and care of social contacts and relations" possible (ibid, 206–207). Thus the wedding is, in its essence, a ritual ensuring the social order is maintained, and the mobility of the bride is what enables the continuation of social relations between communities. She becomes this *liminal subject*, whose movement is the basis of the social structure of her community.

However, we only catch a glimpse of the bride when she is covered, led to her new home and welcomed there. She is entirely missing from the celebrations: we do not see her dancing or partaking in these celebrations in any other way. Hansen describes this as rather normal, as she claims the bride in the Kurdish society is not expected to take part in the celebrations and it is frowned upon if she shows any excitement or disapproval for her marriage arrangement and for her future family. Thus, it is normal that she remains indifferent and hidden the entire time (Hansen 1961, 117). While she possesses extraordinary agency, in the course



Transportation of the dowry, 1975. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke

of the celebration her presence dynamically alternates between visibility and invisibility; throughout the event, she becomes (increasingly) absent from her own celebration. This contrasts strongly with contemporary transnational Kurdish weddings, in which—in a highly socially mediated fashion—the bride seems to feature as the most important and representable focal point.

While it is essential to recognize this agency of the bride as an actor within her community, we should also consider the possible violent nature of this ritualized mobility. In a film the artist Songül Boyraz created within the *ZOZAN* project, several of the interviewed Kurdish women living today in Vorarlberg, Austria, tell stories (their own, or these of their mother's or grandmother's) of the violence they were subjected to as they were forced to marry at a young age—often to men they did not know—and to relocate their homes and lives (Boyraz 2023). It seems that here the archive falls short in representing such possible violence. Its visual memory is only on the surface: it is spectacular and romanticizing, but gives no context as to what is truly happening for the photographed brides. This only underlines the importance of contextualizing archival material with actual human stories, as Boyraz does in her film.

The bride moves with some of her material possessions. The image above shows three men loading a wooden chest, presumably containing her trousseau, which usually consists of clothes, household fabrics, utensils and jewelry that she and her female relatives have crafted for her throughout her life in preparation for her wedding, or that have been purchased as part of the bride price[154] (Yalçın-Heckmann 1991, 244). The mobile

[154] The trousseau (*çehiz*) is different from the bride price in that it is the gift that the bride's family gives to the new family. It is paid in goods and valuables during the wedding. According to Yalçın-Heckmann (1991, 244) it usually contains items created by the bride herself, or with the paid or unpaid work of her relatives. The bride price is, in contrast, the amount the groom's family pays to the bride's family as a part of the wedding arrangement. It is paid out in money, valuables, goods or stock. The amount of both the bride price and the trousseau depends on the social status of the family, as well as on the local customs (ibid, 245–246).



The bride and wedding gifts inside a tent, 1975. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke

ritual of the wedding thus mobilizes objects as well. It predisposes the creation and movement of goods between different localities.

On another photo we see the inside of a tent where all the women have gathered around the bride, looking through a spread of colorful fabrics—most probably presents. The eyes of the onlooker are immediately drawn to the one object that seems out of place. On top of the pile of fabrics is a fashionable leather handbag. In the darker and mystical atmosphere of the photo, among the women dressed in traditional clothes and veiled, the presence of this particular wedding present seems unexpected. Similar reactions are provoked by photos where we see a traditionally dressed, presumably tribal, representative sitting on a plastic chair in front of a tent or a young man in modern clothes holding a small camera against the photographer.

All those images represent fractures—where objects and symbols of different origins and seemingly from different times are brought together to remind us of the simultaneity of different realities and lifestyles for the community members living in different spaces. They remind the onlooker about the larger context of the time when the photos were taken, but also about the scale of the community, dispersed between different localities.

Life at the summer pasture presupposes separation—while the work-able population goes up in the mountain for the summer months, small children and old people remain in the villages. The wedding is a special event for the community as it gathers many community members and brings their different lived worlds together. This is especially visible through the clothes they wear. In the line of dancing men, we see some clothed in fashionable costumes and others in traditional attire, with different haircuts and shoes. My interlocutors from the Kurdish community were often able to read status symbols in both the traditional and the modern attires. They explained that however the people are dressed, they still have their own ways of conveying their status and position in the community. It was easy for them to decipher—by the clothing and haircuts, and the body positions and gestures towards the camera—who might live in a village, who might have come from Diyarbakir, and who most probably lives as far away as Istanbul. The photos of men with different attires posing together, holding hands or affectionately embracing, give the impression that these people, while living

in different places, are in fact close kin and that their reunion is a happy occasion.

With this, the archive becomes a documentation of a dispersed community and makes us witnesses to histories of migration in their complexity—depicting not only outmigration but also acts of returning and staying in touch. The presence of such community members at the wedding photographs puts the rest of the archival images at the *zozan* in a new context—it highlights the absences and reminds us of the implications of the annual move of a part of the community that has probably left behind another type of home and family members while being on the summer pasture.

One other aspect of movement that is not immediately obvious is the mobility of the photographer. Finke travelled annually to the mountain summer pastures in southeast Turkey, and his movement through space is what presupposes the existence of this archive. Some shots from different perspectives, however, remind us that in order to take these photos, he needed to be moving all the time during the wedding festivities—climbing up and down the mountain slopes to reveal the wedding procession in its entirety, to capture the scope of the event taking place. He moved alongside the participants in the festivities but also crosscut their trajectories, standing in the middle of the dancing circle or at the threshold of the dark tent full of women. As argued above, by falling into the unmarriable category, he might have had more access to women's worlds than most men of the community. He transgressed boundaries—from international borders to the boundaries between different communities and tribes, as well as the implicit social lines of hierarchies and gender. In following the dynamically changing perspectives of his images, we sometimes see him in the center of events but oftentimes also remaining in the periphery, looking from the outside. It is important to ask to what extent his mobility on the field structured how the events were depicted and how we see them, what he chose to approach, and what remained far from him and thus invisible for us as beholders.

Finke's collection itself has not remained motionless. We tend to imagine archives as these tranquil, quiet places, covered in dust, where everything is to remain exactly as it once was. But archiving images and objects—extracting them from their lived reality and bringing them across the world—is a movement on its own, and one that is for sure not void of colonial history. The digitalization of Werner Finke's archive and the attempt to rethink and reimagine its content in art-based workshops with both Kurdish and non-Kurdish artists and participants (see the contribution of Stockinger in this volume) set in motion the ideas, memories and representations within the archive, fragmentize them, and some of these gain lives of their own.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Today, visual representations of Kurdish weddings are more popular than ever, as they circulate in the form of videos and montages in social media platforms, where they are being watched and shared by thousands from the transnational community. They become ways of staying in touch with family members around the world, as well as instruments to represent the pertaining Kurdish identity in front of the world. Simultaneously, new media, films and artistic practices from the diaspora increasingly criticize traditional marriage practices from a feminist perspective.

Weddings are visually spectacular—they attracted my gaze before I knew what the images were even about. In the previous year and a half, I observed these images cropping up again and again in *ZOZAN*'s arts-based workshops, where they naturally caught the attention of participants and artists, became motives for stamps and postcards, and were singled out by the project team as cover images for event invitations and publications. A photographed wedding seems to possess some kind of representational power. And this should not surprise: a wedding is ultimately an event where a community chooses its own representation and celebrates its reproduction, its perseverance into the future—such images show all of its members gathered together in their nicest, most colorful clothes and displaying their best behavior.

I return to my initial excitement at discovering *the wedding event* in the archive. I began with the claim that something out of the ordinary logic of this archive was emerging from these photographs. Compared with the rest of the photographic material from the period 1974 to 1976, which focuses on the everyday labor lives on the summer pasture, the images from the wedding celebration stand out with their heightened potential to show

mobilities. This is not to say that the everyday ethnographic snapshots are void of movement—just that they seem to move *at a slower pace*, show a moment in time for the communities photographed, and address social change rather indirectly, for example in their contrast with the later material from the 1980s and 1990s.

For the wedding celebration, people and objects are brought together and set into movement through time and space, and within social structures—this renders fractions and absences, continuity and social change, visible.

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THE FINKE COLLECTION AT THE WELTMUSEUM WIEN. ETHNOGRAPHIC OBJECTS FROM KURDISH RURAL EVERYDAY LIFE

Maria Six-Hohenbalken



From the exhibition Kurden – Azadi. Freiheit in den Bergen [Kurds – Azadi. Freedom in the Mountains], Schallaburg, Lower Austria 1992. Photo: Karin Kren, Maria Six-Hohenbalken

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The Weltmuseum Wien (formerly Völkerkundemuseum/Vienna Museum of Ethnology) hosts one of the largest collections of ethnographica from Kurdish-inhabited regions to date. A small part of the approximately 1,200 objects relates to travel and research activities from the end of the 19th century, while around 1,000 ethnographic objects were collected by Werner Finke in the 1980s and early 1990s. Comparable collections in Europe and the United States focus on textiles, such as the (former) Kurdish Museum in New York (textiles and commodities), the Victoria & Albert Museum (collection of carpets from the 19th century), the Horniman Museum in London (collection of garments from the Kurdish regions in Iraq, collected by C. J. Edmonds in the 1920s) and the Center for Anatolian Ethnography and Textile Studies in Istanbul (textile collection of Josephine Powell). The historic objects of the Viennese collection are already described in part and reflect the research intentions of the time.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire, which never had colonies but tried to establish trade relations especially in Asia, was highly interested in research expeditions. At the turn of the 19th century, the collectors were specifically interested in weapons, religious objects, textiles, and commodities. Josef Wünsch (1842–1906)[155], Josef Troll (1844–1919)[156], and Felix von Luschan (1854–1924) laid the groundwork for the Kurdish collection in Vienna. The independent travelers Wünsch and Troll as well as the Austrian physician, anthropologist and archeologist von Luschan, later based in Berlin, organized expeditions from the 1880s onwards. The Czech teacher, Josef Wünsch, presented his collection from the Ottoman Empire to the museum in Vienna in 1884, and to the Naprastek Museum in Prague. Von Luschan had participated in various archeological expeditions to Asia Minor, Syria, Lycia, and Kilika, collected material culture[157], conducted photographic[158] and physical anthropological research. This older part of the collection in Vienna depicts the common stereotypical images of "the Kurds" at the time, focusing on topics like resistance, militancy, and tribalism. The collection corresponds to a great part to the classic "Oriental" gaze, as analyzed by Edward Said (1991).

In 1980 Alfred Janata, curator for Western and Central Asia at the Museum of Ethnology in Vienna, initiated the systematic collection of Kurdish everyday culture. At the time, Werner Finke had already been a collaborator of the research program "Traditional Handicrafts in Islamic Countries" (see Rasuly-Paleczek's contribution in this volume). Together with the Film Merkezi at Istanbul University and the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art in Istanbul, the Austrian team (Werner Finke, Josef Salat and Gabriele Rasuly-Paleczek) and their Turkish colleagues documented traditional crafts in Istanbul in January and February 1978.[159] An ethnographic collection created by the Austrian team was brought to Vienna to the Museum of Ethnology and exhibited in 1983 (Finke, Paleczek, Salat 1983 c).

This was the beginning of a long-lasting cooperation between the museum curator Janata and the collector Finke.

[155] More information on the ambitious travels of Wünsch were analyzed in Six-Hohenbalken 2021.

[156] Born into a wealthy upper-middle class family in Vienna, Josef Troll organized four extensive trips to Asia between 1884 and 1892. He collected about 1,100 ethnographic objects from Turkey, Syria, Iran, Iraq, Uzbekistan, and southern Siberia for the museum in Vienna and https://www.weltmuseumwien.at/onlinesammlung/?query=all_persons%3AJosef%20Troll [accessed: 3 January 2019].

[157] After his death, his wife Emma von Luschan presented a selection of ethnographic objects collected during his archeological expeditions in the Kurdish-settled areas to the museum in Vienna. For a comprehensive presentation of his academic works, see Ruggendorfer and Szemethy 2009. Only the Luschan Collection differs somewhat from the Wünsch and Troll collections, as he had also collected objects of everyday culture, such as commodities and textiles, in and around the excavations in Zincirli.

[158] Staatsbibliothek Berlin, bequest Felix von Luschan. No 3, Reisebriefe aus Lykien, Pamphylien, Mesopotamien etc. 1881–1883, "Ethnographische Reisebriefe an seinen Vater".

[159] For details on the project, see the preface (Dostal 1983, 1–3) and the introduction by Finke, Paleczek, Salat (Finke, Paleczek, Salat 1983 b, 4–5).

HISTORY OF THE FINKE COLLECTION

The ethnographica collected by Werner Finke in 1980 were exclusively objects he had acquired together with his fellow student Markus de Zordo from the various traditional crafts in the bazaars of Istanbul. De Zordo would remain his travel companion only until 1983; today both are registered as collectors in the museum's inventory books.

From 1981 to 1993, Finke collected everyday objects almost exclusively from the Kurdish provinces of Turkey. In total, Finke brought 896 objects to Vienna, accumulated year after year. Finke traveled from Adana to Hakkari and from Kars to Uludere, also visiting villages inhabited by Kurds in central and western Anatolia. In the museum's inventory, the origin of the objects is in most cases assigned to a province; in some cases there are also locational details.[160] The museum's acquisition activities ended with the sudden death of the curator. The curatorial position remained vacant for an extended period of time, before there was a change in the management of the museum, followed by the restructuring of the Austrian federal museums, which is why acquisitions were stopped altogether. In 1986 and 1987, the Weltmuseum Wien acquired around 250 slides from Finke's photo documentation. The comprehensive multimedia collection (photos, slides, documentary films and audio recordings) of Werner Finke is stored at the Institute for Social Anthropology, Austrian Academy of Sciences.

COLLECTION DESCRIPTION

The collector himself drafted the museum's inventory descriptions; the applied systematization was based on the museum's thesaurus[161], which is also a guideline for this article. In the following, the collection will be briefly summarized; the systematics were largely adopted for this purpose. Single object descriptions of the inventory are presented as examples of the ethnographic knowledge Finke had.

In order to depict the rural life and different forms of transhumance, Finke collected various objects representing "**construction forms**". In consequence, the collection includes a complete tent from Beytüşşebab, including a cît[162] as well as the special ropes for the transport of a tent. Furthermore, he collected individual building and house elements, such as an old window from Cizre, an old lock of a house or a door knocker. From Bitlis there is a clay knocker, which points to the (also visually documented) brick production, and a stone roller to consolidate the flat roofs of the village houses.

Concerning **handicrafts**, Finke collected tools and equipment from the blacksmith Eldemir in Siirt in 1986, encompassing cutting tools, an anvil, blowers, tin shears etc. and individual products, such as decorative nails, buckles for saddlers, blades for the threshing cart and wedges. From a coppersmith in Siirt, he purchased parts of the tools and end products in the copper bowl production. From a turner in Batman, he acquired smaller objects, such as a dough walker and parts of a hanging cradle as well as a walking school from the carpenter in Beytüşşebab.

A particularly large number of objects was purchased in the category of **household goods**, collected between 1986 and 1988. The collector's special interest was not in new, particularly beautiful or expensive items, but on the contrary in objects that had often been used and had already been repaired several times. The collection includes a water scoop from Midyat, water cups

[160] The following location information is given in the inventory of the museum: Adana/Kösreli; Adıyaman, Adıyaman; Ağri(?)/Bardaklı; Anatolia/Nahirkiran; Batman/Hasankeyf, Bitlis/Kotom, Küçüksu; Bitlis/Tatvan, Diyarbakır, Diyarbakır/Çermik; Diyarbakır/Diyarbakır; Diyarbakır/Karacadağ; Elazığ; Erzurum/Oltu, Gaziantep, Gaziantep; Hakkâri/Hakkâri; Hatay/Sekerek; Iğdir, Iğdır/Kars; Iğdır/Tuzluca, Kars, Malatya; Mardin, Mardin/Midiyat; Şanlıurfa/Hasankeyf; Şanlıurfa/Urfa; Siirt/Siirt; Siirt/Siirt; Şırnak/Basisk; Şırnak/Basisk; Şırnak/Beytüşşebab, Şırnak/Beytüşşebab; Şırnak/Cevizli, Şırnak/Uludere, Sivas, Urfa; Lake Van, Central Anatolia/Nevşehir;

[161] The curator Janata was also the co-author of a textbook on ergology and technology (Hirschberg and Janata 1989).

[162] Inner and outer mats, see Thevenin in this volume.



From the exhibition Kurden – Azadi. Freiheit in den Bergen [Kurds – Azadi. Freedom in the Mountains], Schallaburg, Lower Austria 1992. Photo: Karin Kren, Maria Six-Hohenbalken

from Şanlıurfa, barbecue skewers from Gaziantep, plates made of sheet brass and new plastic plates bought from the market in Urfa.

Finke was very technologically and often rather detailed in his object descriptions.[163] Here is, for example, the inventory entry about a coffee pot:

(Kahve cezvesi) made of galvanized copper sheet. Truncated cone-shaped vessel pressed from one piece; ring-shaped groove below the lip. Dotted with various motifs, large flowers engraved and hammered. Laterally attached a beak opens to the front; inside three pouring holes in the vessel. Top side dome-shaped lid mounted on hinges. Dome in several paragraphs, at the top bird figure made of cast brass, galvanized, screwed on. The side of the vessel has a tubular stem that widens towards the bottom. Stamped in the bottom: H. Mehmet Külekci, Lüx Imalet, Sanliurfa. Purchased on the market in Urfa, new. D1 6 cm, D2 8.1 cm, L 21 cm, H 19 cm (Inv. No. 169.720).[164]

Finke tried to depict the different lifeworlds and generations. He bought a new child's cradle (Inv. No. 169.727) as well as different toys at the market in Şanlıurfa, and he collected an entire cradle set, which was about three to five years old, acquired in the village of Basisk (today Kuştepe) in the county of Cizre in 1988. Other household items include baskets made of straw in beading technique, used mainly for sweets at weddings (bought at the market in Gaziantep in 1988, Inv. No. 169.730), furthermore a bread turner, a bread plate from Şırnak, pistachio and sugar tongs, hand mills, a number of clay pots, clay bowls and lids (which had been produced by the women from the village of Engezor [Engesur] near Tatvan, but were no longer manufactured when purchased).

The objects in the category of **clothing** include various shoes (1981, Inv. No. 163.224), including homemade brownish rawhide (*çarık*), for which Finke noted *Old footwear of the Kurds in the summer, today replaced by rubber shoes. From*

[163] The object descriptions in the museum inventory, made by Werner Finke himself, are not published and are given here in Italics.

[164] All descriptions of the museum inventory are in German and were translated by the author.

Beytüşşebab, approx. 50 years old (1986, Inv. No. 168.103). He also brought to Vienna gaiters, socks and gloves made by women in Beytüşşebab (1983, e.g., Inv. No. 164.431).

The collection of men's clothes includes a set of complete and several parts of traditional clothing from different regions, thus jackets and trousers, called *şel şebik,* which he described as follows: *Pants and jacket made of angora goat hair, brown, plain weave [...] work of a tailor from the city of Cizre, who works in* Beytüşşebab *in the summer* (Inv. No. 163.674). Here again he also bought used or older garments, such as *şel şebik, blue as previous—repair patches on jacket lined inside with white construction wool fabric* (Inv. No. 163.675), or individual pieces such as a *jacket, Şebik, brown and white striped, sleeves in two parts, equal width to cuff. Part of the male costume of the Hertoşi* [Ertuşi] *Kurds. Fabric made by Christian Assyrians on the Iraqi-Turkish border. Jacket sewn by hand by the women, about 20 years old* (Inv. No. 163.677). There is also a number of shawls *(Şütük* and *Şal) made of sheepskin and goat hair in plain weave, worn mainly by women.* For some objects, Finke learned their place of manufacture, for example, for a belt shawl for women made in Iraq and purchased there (Inv. No. 163.678).

Regarding traditional women's clothing, Finke tried to depict all its diversity. The objects were between 5 and 15 years old at the time of purchase. Often seen in his photographic documentation is the traditional black veil cloth (*Posi*), which has silver stripes and multicolored tassels. *The cloths are produced in Iraq and also bought there (Duhok). Part of the festive costume of women ("wedding cloth"), gradually replaced by everyday headscarves. Approx. 10 years old, unbuilt* (Inv. No. 163.699). Object descriptions are also often more ethnographically detailed, such as *women's jacket (jeket) red velvet, tailoring from Cizre, worn by nomadic women spending winters around Cizre* (1985, Inv. No. 167.269), or the information about a black overdress embroidered with floral elements *(Aba*) of the Kurdish women of the Dideri [probably Dûdêran] tribe, who belonged to the Ertuşi confederation and had their winter location near Idil and Cizre (purchased 1987, Inv. No. 169.054). Other belts (*Kuşak*) in the collection came from the market in Tuzluca (on the Russian border, Inv. No. 171.904); body bandages (*Selama*) made of spun sheep wool in the Christian village of Kösreli (*Hisana*) near Silopi were acquired by Finke in a Kurdish village. In addition to a number of baby clothes from various regions, he also acquired a *taç,* (a headdress for the circumcision ritual, Inv. No. 171.924) in Tuzluca.

Finke paid special attention to the shepherds' culture and their products. He recorded the processing of felt on tape and collected felted shepherd cloaks (*Kece*), partly decorated with black geometrical patterns and produced in the Christian village of Gezneh (Cevizli) close to Beytüşşebab (approximately 30 years old, when collected in 1985, Inv. No. 167.256).

In 1983 in particular he brought several pieces of **jewelry** (mostly silver) to Vienna. These were mainly collected in the regions where he had been traveling regularly or was often passing through (Central Anatolia). A strangler with a breast chain (*Ziriok*, Inv. No. 165.642) and a number of other pieces of jewelry were purchased from Kurds south of Lake Van, as well as in Diyarbakır, Bitlis, Van, Mardin, and Zakho. A few of these objects were around 80 years old, others around 40. He also collected jewelry hardly worn at the time, such as women's ankle bracelets of Lake Van (village of Gezneh (Cezvizli) near Beytüşşebab) purchased from Nestorians (at the beginning of 1983 about 70 years old, Inv. No. 165.688). In 1990 he added bangles, finger rings, earrings, neck pendants, which came either from the Persian-Turkish border, from an Armenian household or a market in Diyarbakır (partly tourist art) to the collection.

A main focus in the collection are **agricultural implements** and tools or objects that played a significant role in livestock breeding. Concerning farming tools, there are hoe knives, sickles (Inv. No. 166.089, acquired in Beytüşşebab, approx. 40 years old), garden hoes, pushers, harvest rakes, sowing funnels, well winches, worm forks, grain sieves, plowshares (Inv. No. 168.113, purchased from the blacksmith in Siirt, then approximately 20 years old), toothed harrows with drawbars, scythes, dengel anvils, various hatchets from Siirt (Inv. No. 166.084, manufactured in Siirt, approx. 30 years old, acquired in Beytüşşebab in 1984). Once again, these were predominantly objects that had been in use for a long time, and some of them showed traces of repair. Objects particularly interesting even to collectors in the 19th century are "harvest fingers" (*Kaynaq* from the village Basisk near Cizre, Inv. No. 169.763), which were either made of wood or leather and put over the fingers as protection during harvest work with the sickle. A rather impressive agricultural object is a threshing cart (Inv. No. 169.055): *(Cercere), two wooden*



From the exhibition Kurden – Azadi. Freiheit in den Bergen [Kurds – Azadi. Freedom in the Mountains], Schallaburg, Lower Austria 1992. Photo: Karin Kren, Maria Six-Hohenbalken

rollers are set with 39 steel blades. Cutting edge half-moon formed. It is made by craftsmen, today only rarely in use. L ca. 140 cm, W ca. 115 cm, H ca. 85 cm. From the village of Basisik (Kuştepe Köyü near Cizre) by Abdullah Tanriverdi, ca. 20 years old.

Important items for livestock breeding are shepherd's staffs and sticks (*Gopal*, e.g. Inv. No. 169.725), slings to ward off wolves, shackles for large animals, and, for example, a gag for lambs (*Bisink*, Inv. No. 168.077) *made of wood. A thin piece of branch is stripped of its bark, and a notch is made at each end to hold a piece of cotton string in place. The gag is pushed into the lamb's mouths above the tongue and attached to the head with the string so that sucking on the mother's udder is no longer possible. Made by children. From Beytüşşebab. Age: new L 8.3 cm, D 0.6 cm.* From this and other object descriptions, it is rather obvious that Finke had a very detailed insight and understanding of the farmer's work life, the annual cycle, the details in livestock breeding etc.

Special attention in his collection and visual documentation was paid to milk processing. In the collection there is a homemade tin canister with a wooden handle: *Teneke, made of tinplate and wood. Made from the cheese containers, see No. 81 Astekin. On the top, parallel to a side edge across the middle, a round piece of timber is fixed with nails. Mainly used as water transport container, also for milk. From Diyarbakır, age: new L 24 cm, W 24 cm, H 35 cm*. (Inv. No. 173.812). Furthermore, there are also various containers, some made of plastic, kettles, storage bags for cheese and yogurt. In these years it was necessary for a family of seven or eight to own 40–50 sheep and goats in order to make a living (Janata 1992, 54), while wealthy families owned up to 1,000 sheep and goats. Any surplus in young cattle and dairy products was continuously given away, while butterfat and cheese were sold at local markets for additional money. Werner Finke acquired a wide variety of items for milk processing. Soured milk was enjoyed as fresh yogurt or dried and processed in animal bellows (prepared by alum, tan, fat tanning) into butter by continuous churning. In order to preserve it for months, the butter was again boiled and stored as butterfat. Furthermore, thickened buttermilk was formed into small balls, dried in the air and preserved. The collection includes funnels, kettles for boiling milk, milk vessels and a bellows for making butter (Inv. No. 168.095).



From the exhibition Kurden – Azadi. Freiheit in den Bergen [Kurds – Azadi. Freedom in the Mountains], Schallaburg, Lower Austria 1992. Photo: Karin Kren, Maria Six-Hohenbalken

With regard to animal breeding, not only different everyday objects (such as horseshoes for riding and pack animals), but also some specific, artistically made objects found their way to the museum in Vienna. Women produced colorfully decorated halters for horses, which were only used for festivities—e.g., a heavy wool yarn halter with velvet fabric and different braided bands made by the Jirik Kurds (probably Jirkî) of the Ertuşi confederation, Inv. No. 169.060.

One focus in the collecting activities and exhibitions Finke organized was on women's lifeworlds with a specific glance on textile production. Besides the production of the black tent canvas out of goat hair, women were constantly active to produce bags, rugs, kilims and other "mobile" mobiliary used on summer pastures. Different single and double bags (for transport with mules or horses (Inv. No. 165.035 a, b, produced by the women of the Kurds south of Lake Van), saddle bags, blankets and also decorative pillows were produced in weaving technique, besides kilims, which were used as partitions in tents (Inv. No. 163.431, *Berik*) or as wall hangings in the house. The collector generally acquired utilitarian objects that had already been in use for a longer period of time, had been reworked or repaired several times, Finke brought, for example, various women's backpacks of different ages into the museum. Provision bags (Inv. No. 165.036 of the Goyan tribe south of Lake Van), floor coverings (*Mes*, Inv. No. 165.048), carrier bags (*Parzin*, Inv. No. 163.407-8) were produced on horizontal looms, which were easy to assemble and dismantle, to be taken to the summer pastures. Interesting is a "wedding sack" (*Sandika buke*, Inv. No. 169.781), as the mobile counterpart of the "wedding chest", collected from the Dideri of the Ertuşi confederation. A number of different woven and knotted carpets and tapestries originating from different regions of Eastern Anatolia (Hakkari, south of Lake Van, from Diyarbakır, also from Christian villages) as well as goat hair in different stages of production, spindle, fabric samples were integrated to the museum's collection.

The transport of agricultural objects, which were themselves intended for local transport, proved to be technically challenging. In particular, a wooden drying sledge for hay (collected in 1989; Inv. No. 171.411, *Parğil*), originating in the Lake Van area and made by the farmers themselves, was about three meters in length. Organizationally challenging were a few objects older than 50 years that

certainly were difficult to handle in terms of export licenses and customs, for which Werner Finke was also partly issued a separate letter by the museum. In the collection, therefore, are just two antique objects, namely a round shield (Inv. No. 173.857 from the village Kulp northeast of Diyarbakır) and a saber with scabbard (Inv. No. 173.858 from the same place). Similarly old pieces in the Weltmuseum Wien are from the Wünsch and Troll collections from the late 19th century.

Werner Finke was not particularly interested in religious topics throughout his documentation work, which holds also true for his collecting activities. There are only some **religiosa**, such as wall hangings, amulets, decorative plates with inscriptions, talismans (*Boncuk*; Inv. No. 169.784, and other newer items purchased at a mosque stand in Urfa). Especially interesting are his comments on an amulet container (Inv. No. 169.800, 1988, *Pasevan*), namely, *The container is worn with straps on the upper arm and used mainly for bridal bitters*[165] *and messengers. From Diyarbakır, about 80 years old*, and also Chaldean Christian regalia (*Papazin Resmi elbisesi*, Inv. No. 171.420) made of cotton cloth, embroidered with wool. It was found in a cave near the village of Dize in Zab Valley, probably a Chaldean (Kildani) regalia, and testifies to the ill-fated history of Christian minorities in the region, he also documented visually.

ETHNOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND INFORMATION

In the legacy of Werner Finke there are only a few overview informations of the regional and tribal backgrounds. The following text was probably written during the joint collecting period of Werner Finke and Markus de Zordo and is from the "Collector's File" in the archives of the Weltmuseum Wien.

On the origin of the objects [between 1981 and 1983]

All the objects offered to the museum come from the village of Beytüşşebap, the seat of the Kaymakam, and two villages in the surrounding area. (...) While most of the surrounding villages belong to the Ertuş tribe—here with the Mamchur [Mamxûran], Gevdan [Gewdan], Jirki [Jirkî] and Kaşuran [Qeşûran] tribes, which are joined in summer by a few nomadic tribes (Spirti and Keçan in particular)—the bulk of Beytüşşebap's population is made up of members of two tribes whose centers are now in Iraq. Both moved to their residential areas today in the 19th century.

The descendants of the Silevaney [Silêvanî] come from the area of Dohuk near Zahko, and the Zibari [Zêbarî] from the area around the city of Zibar. Both parts of the tribe were able to assert themselves economically and in terms of power politics against the overlordship of the Geravians [Giravî], who today inhabit only one village—Zetkar—south of Beytüşşebap. The original nomadic way of life has been abandoned in favor of a semi-nomadic one, with the emphasis on cattle breeding in accordance with the inhospitable conditions. As arable farming is only sufficient for subsistence in rare cases, it has to be bought from the surplus of livestock. Fat-tailed sheep, goats and a few cattle dominate. Today, both tribal groups are divided into two main groups (Kabile), each with clan elders (Kurd. Serok). The Silevaney group (today Ataman) exclusively inhabits Beytüşşebap and a hamlet two kilometers from Beytüşşebap; the Zibari group (today Bilbesi) lives in two villages and a hamlet about 15 kilometers south of Beytüşşebap. (...) Each tribal group moves to their summer locations (zoma) in about April, which are maintained until autumn (about mid-September). While the Bilbesi [Bilbas] move directly to the village, the Ataman gather in an autumn camp.[166]

[165] Person charged with asking for the hand of a woman from her family.

[166] From the "Collector's File" in the archives of the Weltmuseum Wien: "On the Origin of the Objects of the Finke and Finke-De Zordo Kurdish Collections." Translation by the author.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Werner Finke's approach was very practical. He wanted the everyday worlds of the inhabitants to be represented as comprehensively as possible. Finke assembled his collection at a time when the inhabitants of the Kurdish regions of Turkey were struggling with enormous transformation processes. Large dam constructions, the monetization of agriculture, increasing armed conflicts in the mountains between the army and the armed resistance, the destruction of over 4,000 villages —all this evoked an immense emigration to the larger cities of Eastern Anatolia, to the Turkish metropolises or abroad.[167]

Werner Finke's aim was not an activist political agenda supporting the Kurdish national movement or seeing himself as a voice of the Kurdish movement. Nevertheless, he was very interested in understanding the local cultures and societies. His descriptions of the collected ethnographica show a very detailed, almost meticulous interest in the material culture of the different regions. Finke's detailed knowledge of the manufacturing processes, the regional differences and his ethnographic view of everyday culture certainly also met the interest of the curator Alfred Janata, who made this collection possible in an acquisition history that lasted over a decade. Only once, in 1992, was it possible to display a great part of the collection in a comprehensive exhibition in Lower Austria, which was curated by Alfred Janata, Werner Finke, Reinhold Finke, Karin Kren and Maria Six (see Article 2 in this volume).

The material culture of the Kurds has still been hardly documented to this day. As a non-state nation divided among four nation states, the Kurds have had to struggle with different cultural-political strategies. The reasons for the lack of corresponding research are manifold and based on strategies of denial of Kurdish existence, the concealment of cultural differences or appropriation. State archaeological museums established in the Kurdish regions often also house a small collection of more recent ethnographica. Ethnic affiliation or the question of ethnicity is generally left aside.

As a result, in the individual nation states it was impossible for Kurds to deal discursively, analytically and creatively with their own past and everyday culture (above all, there was and still is a lack of suitable Kurdish institutions, such as museums, archives). In Turkey, Kurds were confronted with the ideology of the CHP (Cumhuriyet Halk Partısı), which imagined a unified nation state built on Turkish nationalism, populism and secularism. The creation of a unified nation was opposed to everything that was not Turkish, Turkish-speaking and Muslim. The imagination of the nation-state under the AKP had other omens. However, both ideologies meant uneven, asymmetrical power relations for minorities, in which identity processes took place and which shaped the Kurdish movements.

In the respective nation states, "hegemonic othering" also took place. While the individual Kurdish movements had to react, there was also hardly any room for discussing internal diversity. Discourses of identitarian "selfing" often took place in diasporic spaces and later through and in new media. To date, there is no state museum in Turkey dedicated to Kurdish history or culture. It is private initiatives or individuals (see the article on the ethnographic museum by Seyda Goyan in this volume) who deal with cultural history. Of course, this also raises the question of what is "worth collecting" and "worth preserving" for a foreigner and what differences can be discerned from "native" collecting activities. Collections such as Werner Finke's, therefore, allow for a number of possible disputes. Such collections are not only a project for the preservation of cultural heritage, but also offer many other opportunities for explorative and creative engagement with one's own past (see Article 2 and 19).

[167] "[…] within one decade or so, the army and gendarmerie destroyed around 4,000 villages and hamlets, obliging millions to migrate to the cities in the Kurdish regions or the country's metropolis Istanbul and other major cities, such as Ankara, Izmir, Adana or Mersin (Jongerden, 2007)." (Bozarslan 2021, 277)

APPENDIX

The following table shows in which regions Finke made purchases for the museum each year. In the object descriptions, the place names are not given uniformly; the villages are sometimes given with the Kurdish, sometimes with the Turkish name, and sometimes with both, since in the course of the Turkification policy, the Kurdish village names were abolished and new Turkish names were imposed. In the period of collection, the exact Kurdish spelling was not commonly known, thus Finke hardly applied the Bedirxan transcription in use today, but specified in his own phonetic notation.

YEAR	LOCATION
1980	Istanbul
1981	Şırnak/Beytüşşebab, Urfa
1982	Şırnak/Beytüşşebab
1983	Vansee, Şırnak/Beytüşşebab, Batman/Hasankeyf, Erzurum/Oltu, Siirt/Siirt; Diyarbakır, Şırnak/Cizre; Cevizli, Central Anatolia/ Nevşehir
1984	Vansee; Diyarbakır; Şırnak/Uludere, Mardin, Siirt/Siirt; Şırnak/ Beytüşşebab, Şırnak/Cizre; Malatya
1985	Şırnak/Beytüşşebab, Vansee, Şırnak/Cizre; Elazığ; Iğdir
1986	Şırnak/Beytüşşebab; Vansee; Siirt/Siir, Iğdir
1987	Sivas, Kars, Hakkari/Hakkari; Hatay/Sekerek; Iğdir, Gaziantep; Şırnak/Basisk; Adıyaman, Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa/Urfa; Şırnak/Cizre; Mardin/Midiyat
1988	Şanlıurfa/Urfa; Gaziantep; Şırnak/Basisk; Adıyaman; Siirt/Siirt; Şırnak/Cizre; Lake Van
1989	Bitlis/Kotom, Küçüksu; Şırnak/Beytüşşebab; Hakkari/Hakkari; Kars, Sivas
1990	Diyarbakır/Diyarbakır; Iğdir/Tuzluca, Diyarbakır/Karacadağ; Hakkari/Hakkari; Bitlis/Tatvan, Şanlıurfa/Hasankey; Anatolia/ Nahirkiran; Ağri(?)/Bardakli; Adana/Kösreli
1991	Şanlıurfa/Urfa; Kars/Kağızman
1992	Diyarbakır/Diyarbakır; Şırnak/Cizre; Adıyaman; Diyarbakır/Çermik; Iğdır/Kars (provinces)
1993	Diyarbakır/Diyarbakır

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ENCOUNTERS, REMINISCENCES AND CIRCULATIONS. A WORKSHOP REPORT

Seyda Goyan and Maria Six-Hohenbalken



Women working together at the summer pasture, 2022. © Seyda Goyan

INTRODUCTION

On his numerous trips to the mountainous regions of southeastern Anatolia, Werner Finke often bought a transport animal in one of the small towns in eastern Turkey to carry his personal belongings, camera, and fieldwork equipment. He walked with a donkey through the Kurdish mountains, from one summer pasture and one village to the next. In the 1960s and until the 1980s, this was often the only way to reach the people in their summer quarters.

Analyzing Werner Finke's hardly readable notes, the ZOZAN team attempted to retrace his walking routes in 1967 and 1976 on Google Maps. In the middle of a very rural mountainous area, Google Maps revealed the entry for an ethnographic museum, which immediately got our full attention. Through social media and YouTube, the ZOZAN team learned that it was a private museum that had opened only recently. The Museum of Cultural Artifacts is in the Uludere district of Şırnak and houses a comprehensive ethnographic collection.

We contacted the collector and museum director, Seyda Goyan, who was straight away fascinated by Werner Finke's multimedia collection. After several months of virtual contact, Seyda Goyan came to Vienna to screen the documentation of Werner Finke's multimedia materials. It did not take long for him to find images of his hometown and family house in the Finke collection. Thanks to his knowledge and commitment, the ZOZAN team was also able to establish contact with people on site, where Werner Finke had undertaken research and been collecting for decades. A visit to Weltmuseum Wien, where Seyda Goyan inspected parts of Finke's collection, led not only to reminiscences about the past, but to longer ethnographic talks about transformation processes in handicrafts (see Article 13 in this volume).

The following outlines are the result of long conversations and discussions, which ultimately assumed a workshop character. Seyda Goyan is an expert on several occasions for the ZOZAN project. He is not only a collector of ethnographic objects, but has also collected Kurdish oral history and music for decades, and is active as a musician and photographer. Therefore, he has multiple interests in the Finke collection and brings in his own experience and knowledge of life in the villages and transhumance, which his family practiced for a long time. Finally, we also approached Seyda Goyan as a photographer and asked him to select photos from the Finke collection, which he juxtaposed with his own pictures. In this way, he shows processes of change that relate to the last two decades, but also presents similar ethnographic views of everyday culture.

IN CONVERSATION WITH SEYDA GOYAN

Seyda Goyan began collecting Kurdish oral literature and oral history in 1992. He was an amateur and initially very overwhelmed with how to collect, document and preserve objects. His collecting activities, which had to be carried out quite covertly due to political repressions in the 1990s, finally resulted in a series of publications (2007, 2013 a, b). When he lived in the city of Batman, he made it to his hobby to record Kurdish folklore and save it from oblivion. Seyda Goyan remembers that he met with neither understanding nor recognition from those around him at that time. People often made fun of him, saw it as a curiosity and hardly supported him. He often collected objects from derelict, abandoned houses or bought them from the owners. He also purchased some expensive items, such as silver jewelry, at the market. Some owners he contacted then thought that he wanted to sell the objects he had collected, which is why they were often reluctant to donate him the object for the museum. It took a lot of persuasion and their presentation in form of a museum before residents started recognizing the importance of his collecting activities and supported him. In his opinion, this is due to an inferiority complex of the people, because they could not save the remnants of the past and wish to make peace with the past.

When asked how he came to collect ethnographica, he outlined how his passion for collecting had begun in his childhood. He grew up in a very religious home. His father was the imam of the village and Seyda Goyan was expected to follow in his footsteps. Even in his childhood, this implied that secular music and folklore were not very popular at home, and his father was against wedding music, entertainment and communal dancing. However, there was a famous singer in his mother's family who sang classical Kurdish





Impressions of the Seyda Goyan museum, 2023. © Seyda Goyan





Impressions of the Seyda Goyan museum, 2023. © Seyda Goyan

music and could also be heard on Kurdish radio in Iraq. This sparked an interest in secular music and a passion for folklore and Kurdish oral literature.

Seyda Goyan describes this passion as a "sickness of my heart" and explained the difficulties in devoting himself to it in the decades that followed. When he began collecting in the early 1990s, the political situation was too difficult, as it was prohibited to practice or present the Kurdish language, music and culture in public. His family was always worried about him when he was out recording Dengbej songs or collecting stories. Eventually, he was arrested for his interest and collecting activities, accused of being a member of a banned organization and given a prison sentence. It was not until many years later that he was able to publish the epics and songs he had collected.

For Seyda Goyan, ethnographic collecting was not so different from recording oral literature and songs. He was always interested in a comprehensive recording of Kurdish culture, be it through objects, audio or visual documentation. Although he and his family were forced to move to the city of Diyarbakır, he always remained in contact with his village of origin, where he eventually set up the ethnographic museum. It is the first ethnographic museum dedicated to Kurdish everyday culture in Turkey. Seyda Goyan displays an extensive collection of Kurdish everyday culture from the Uludere region, ranging from textile products (carpets, tapestries, kilims, ribbons and fabrics), furnishings, various crafts (iron and woodworking), household items (with a particular focus on pottery), objects used for cattle breeding and alpine farming, agricultural tools, various types of clothing (old and new men's costumes, women's garments and traditional headdresses) to jewelry.

Seyda Goyan has also become a role model for his collecting activities in the region and is regularly contacted by locals who have started collecting Kurdish ethnographic items of their own. Interest in this private institution has already spread beyond regional borders: public officials, politicians, schools and university institutions are enthusiastic about his museum. Teenagers are particularly interested in the collection, as are old people who feel like they are in a "time machine" and have a particularly emotional reaction to the objects from the past on display. Some television stations have reported on his museum and his collecting activities.

ETHNOGRAPHIC OUTLINES

Seyda Goyan supported the ZOZAN project by going through Werner Finke's multimedia documentation and contributing his extensive knowledge; he recognized individual villages and areas, summer pastures and the people depicted. He shared with us his knowledge of alpine farming, village life and handicraft production (see Article 13 in this volume).

As for the introduction of plastic to everyday life, he remembers that it began in the late 1970s when Kurdish traders started selling plastic canisters and transportation items in the villages. This was of course a relief to cattle breeders, as the light and robust containers were preferred for moving and working on the summer pasture. Plastic canisters were also the container of choice in everyday village life, especially for the arduous task of women to fetch water from the village well. This meant the end of village pottery, which was run exclusively by women—and the pottery was finally closed down in 1986.

Changes in traditional livestock farming were greatly accelerated by the armed conflict (see Article 4 and 5 in this volume). Some families had up to 2,000 animals and moved with them to the pastures. An average size of 200 to 300 animals ensured that a family of ten could make ends meet. The summer pastures in Seyda Goyan's village were about a three-hour walk away. Not all the villagers went to the pastures: specialists in various fields, such as the potters who practiced a domestic craft, stayed in the village. Due to armed conflicts in the 1990s, their decision to abandon the herds and move to the city was not always voluntary. Prior to these conflicts and their extremely comprehensive transformation processes, 270 out of 300 village households still ran an alpine pasture. Today only ten families in the village and the surrounding area still manage to go walk up to the summer pastures.

This rapid change made Seyda Goyan all the more determined to capture the old traditions and preserve them in one way or another. Political tensions and economic constraints evoked changes in social life. Up until the 1970s, the land and pastures were shared with unwritten customary laws still in place. Seyda Goyan describes how people lived together in the village: out of the original



Kurdish women at the Lalesh high plateau, close to Beytüşşebab, 1975. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke

300 households in the village, the inhabitants belonged to twelve different tribal units. "It would have been a disgrace" to lock your house, Seyda Goyan describes it as a sign of distrust of the other villagers. He described the cooperation with other villages, including those inhabited exclusively by Christian women, as extremely cooperative and non-confrontational. Out of the 37 villages in Uludere, three were inhabited exclusively by Assyrians. Two of these villages were still operated until 1998.

Seyda Goyan himself assembled a photo documentary about his own villagers on the mountain pastures as well as the few fully nomadic groups in the region, whom he accompanied on their routes. Some of these groups travel long distances with their herds, such as between Batman and Hakkari, where it takes them around two months between March and May to master the route.

In Uludere, people have only practiced transhumance, in which cattle breeders stay in the mountainous high plateaus for about six months and only return to their villages at the onset of the cold season. Black tents and leaf huts were used, the latter even preferred because the transportation of the tents—two mules were needed for each tent—was no longer necessary. On the grazing areas of the high plateau, stone rondels of about half a meter in height were erected. A post was set up in the middle of the rondel and branches draped around it. In the following year, these branches were used as fuel.

The village or alpine community organized one or more shepherds, depending on the size of their flocks. These shepherds often traveled great distances from their homes to be employed by the cattle breeders for a season. They either received money or were paid in sheep (between ten and 15 animals per season). The animals of the individual families were rarely marked with ear tags or paint. The shepherd could distinguish between the individual animals and always assigned them to the right individual or household for milking. They were also very experienced in veterinary questions.



Women in Kurdish costumes with traditional head covering, Uludere 2022. Photo: Seyda Goyan



Milking scene at the mountain pasture, 1975. Then still a 'kok' a wooden milking bowl was used. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke



Milking scene at the summer pasture close to Uludere, 2017. Photo: Seyda Goyan

WORKSHOP OUTCOMES

An enlarged reprint of this photograph hangs in the corridor at the Institute of Social Anthropology of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, where the Finke collection is kept and the ZOZAN project is carried out. It shows Kurdish women in their beautiful festive costumes; however, our ZOZAN team hardly knew anything about the background of the photo. When Seyda Goyan visited us at the Institute for the first time, he was incredibly enthusiastic about the photo right away. A few days later, thanks to his networking on social media, we learned that the photo was taken on the Lalesh mountain pasture on the high plateau of the Ataman tribe, near Beytüssebab. This was the beginning of Seyda Goyan's involvement with the collection and the start of our collaboration.

The ZOZAN team asked Seyda Goyan to choose some pictures that appealed to him the most and where he also recognized people, villages or landscapes. Finally, we asked him to select a photo from the Finke collection and connect them to his own recent photographs and make them available to us.

Seyda Goyan also showed a small selection from the Finke collection to people in his area. This provided the ZOZAN team with a wide range of information, not just memories of past times and working methods. Some people recognized themselves in the photos, gave us insights into how the photos were taken back then and sent us recent pictures of themselves. During these encounters, we also learned more about Werner Finke's travels and activities on site.

With this first glimpse into the increased circulation of the photos and the examination of one's own past, we would like to offer an outlook on the kind of "virtual mobility" that we hope to achieve through the digitization of the collection.

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TRACING INCONSPICUOUS OBJECTS IN THE WERNER FINKE COLLECTION. NOTES ON THE KURDISH POTTERY

Eszter Ágota Hárs

A REVERSE ETHNOGRAPHIC ENCOUNTER

This article was inspired by a visit to the depot at Weltmuseum Wien (World Museum Vienna) in October 2022. As members of the *ZOZAN* team, we had the opportunity to see selected ethnographic objects in the museum collections that had been acquired by the ethnographer Werner Finke (at that time, Museum für Völkerkunde).[168] We were joined by Seyda Goyan (artist name), a collector from the Kurdish regions and expert on Kurdish artifacts. Seyda immediately recognized the Kurdish jugs on the shelves, pointed to a smaller jug and remarked something unexpected: it was specifically from his village in the Uludere region (informal conversation, 2022). Indeed, according to the inventory of the museum, this vessel was recorded as the work of the women from Uludere—(Kilaban)—Goyan Kurds (Inv. No. 165.996, 1984).

> *Jug (ibrik), clay, made in piece technique. Wide mouth, casting tubular starting approximately from the center of the body, reaching its mouth. Connected to the neck by a clay bridge. At the widest part of the neck, there is a small piece of pointed clay on the left and the right side. Work of the women from Uludere—(Kilaban)—Goyan Kurds, is also traded. Unused, about 9 years old. H. ca. 23 cm, ø bottom ca. 14 cm, middle ca. 16 cm, top ca. 10.8 cm. (Inv. No. 165.996, 1984 translation by the author)*

As Seyda Goyan pointed out, it was actually not a water jug but rather a toy for children. He explained that one woman made it for her children. When other kids saw their friends playing with it, they asked their parents to buy one for them. It was a good opportunity for the potter to make some money by manufacturing more of the small



Jug from the Werner Finke collection, Turkey, Uludere. Photo: KHM-Museumsverband, Weltmuseum Wien, Inv. No. 165.996

[168] We are grateful to Weltmuseum Wien and to the curator Tobias Mörike for granting us access to the depot and the collection's inventory.

jars (Goyan 2022, 4). This 'narrative that found me' (Götsch, Palmberger 2022) in the museum depot triggered my own thoughts about pottery in the Werner Finke collection.

The collections at Weltmuseum Wien include, among other artifacts (see Maria Six-Hohenbalken in this volume), 24 ceramic objects collected by Werner Finke.[169] The artifacts are stored in the depot at Weltmuseum Wien (K1. A09 and K1.37) and are currently not on display in the permanent exhibition. These objects were collected in the Kurdish regions of the southeastern Anatolian



Waterjug from the Werner Finke collection, together with Markus De Zordo. Turkey, Kurds. Photo: KHM-Museumsverband, Weltmuseum Wien, Inv. No. 163.207

province of Şırnak[170] (there is no location given for Inv. No. 165.991 and 165.992 in the inventory). The museum acquired these objects between 1981 and 1990 (ibid.). While in some years (1981, 1986, 1988), only one item was purchased, the museum bought five in 1984 and thirteen ceramic objects from Werner Finke in 1990.

In the Weltmuseum Wien's inventory, the ceramic objects are listed among the following categories:

Amphore (amphora): Inv. No. 165.993 and Inv. No. 165.994, both originate from Diyarbakır, Diyarbakır
Buttergefäß (container for butter): Inv. No. 171.897 originates from Bitlis, Tatvan
Deckel (lid): Inv. No. 171.879 originates from Bitlis, Tatvan
Glücksbringer (lucky charm): Inv. No. 169.785, information missing
Henkelkrug (jug with handle): Inv. No. 165.995 originates from Diyarbakır, Diyarbakır
Kanne (pitcher): Inv. No. 165.996 originates from Şırnak, Uludere
Pfeifenkopf (pipe bowl): Inv. No. 168.104 (info missing), 168.075 originates from Şırnak, Beytüşşebap—these objects are noted as possibly originating from Ottoman times
Schüssel (bowl): Inv. No. 171.881 and 171.882, both originate from Bitlis, Tatvan
Topf (pot): Inv. No. 171.883, 171.884, 171.885, 171.886, 171.888, and 171.889, all originate from Bitlis, Tatvan
Topf mit Deckel (pot with lid): Inv. No. 171.887 originates from Bitlis, Tatvan
Topf mit zwei Henkeln (two-handled pot): Inv. No. 171.880 originates from Bitlis Tatvan
Wasserbehälter (water container): Inv. No. 165.991, Inv. No. 165.992 (information missing)
Wasserkanne (water jug): Inv. No. 163.207 originates from Şırnak, Kilaban
Wasserkrug (water pitcher): Inv. No. 169.773 from Şırnak, Basisk close to Cizre, Inv. No. 171.890 from Bitlis, Tatvan

All of these objects are classified as household goods, except for the two pipe bowls, which were classified as "smoke products", and the lucky charm, which was classified as "religiosa".[171] This small selection already reveals the diverse domestic use of ceramics in the Kurdish communities of southeastern Anatolia.

[169] He collected the object with Inv. No. 163.207 together with Markus de Zordo.

[170] Inv. No. 163.207; 165.994; 165.996; 168.104; 169.785, Diyarbakır (165.991; 165.992; 165.993), and Bitlis (171.879; 171.880; 171.881; 171.882; 171.883; 171.884; 171.885; 171.886; 171.887; 171.888; 171.889; 171.890; 171.897).)

[171] Weltmuseum Wien, inventory.

The vessels acquired by Werner Finke for the museum are unglazed, even though his photographs clearly show glazed pottery as well. Investigating the artifacts in relation to the photographic collection of Werner Finke—which is maintained and currently digitalized by the Institute for Social Anthropology of the Austrian Academy of Sciences—illustrates the coexistence of different pottery traditions in the Kurdish regions. Although it would certainly be interesting to explore the variety of Kurdish ceramic traditions, including glazed pottery, this article focuses on the local pottery from the village in Uludere where our informant originates from (see inv. No. 165.996 and 163.207). What can we learn from this object about social life in the past? Without extensive fieldwork in the region at the time when pottery manufacture was still practiced, the best point of departure is the object in its present context. The artifact itself thus serves as a source of research questions (Carroll, Walford, and Walton 2021, 5).

My first idea was to search the extensive image documentation of Werner Finke (see Eva Stockinger in this volume) to find out more about the past of these objects: in other words, about the production and use of pottery in Kurdish society. Going through the archive images, I was looking for evidence of the pottery production process, its use and trade as well as information of how Finke obtained these objects. Where does pottery appear in this collection? In which part of their life cycle are the objects documented and what information was recorded about them? Unfortunately, although Finke documented many forms of domestic and agricultural activities and artisanship, I could not find any photographs about the production of ceramic objects in his extensive photographic documentation (see Eva Stockinger in this volume), only of its use. However, from the different sources available, it is possible to shed light on the local pottery tradition of a Kurdish village.

Combining ethnographic knowledge on Kurdish pottery with photographic material from the Werner Finke collection would not enable us to develop a consistent story about these jugs; it would rather be an exercise in collecting fractions of the life cycles of the objects. This article does not commit to more than opening up questions as they unfold from this encounter with the object(s), such as: What kind of stories and ruptures does a ceramic object embody? What can we learn about pottery in the Kurdish regions? What kind of memories arise in someone who culturally identifies with the objects? What can we learn from the observations of our interview partner about Western knowledge production, and specifically, museum practices? Based on intense discussions and an interview with Seyda Goyan as well as available literature, this article aims to call attention to pottery and ceramic objects in Kurdish history and culture.



Jug from the Werner Finke collection, Turkey, Southeast Anatolia, Diyarbakır. Photo: KHM-Museumsverband, Weltmuseum Wien, Inv. No. 165.994

ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO POTTERY

Pottery production has enjoyed increasing ethnographic attention since the resurgence of ethnoarchaeological studies in the second half of 20th century (Rice 2015, 129; Heitz and Stapfer 2017, 25), when non- or preindustrial pottery was noticed as a disappearing phenomenon in the rise of globalization.

Early accounts on pottery originate from amateurs, such as Western explorers, and military, religious or administrative personnel of colonial institutions, or of professional anthropologists encompassing a wide range of theoretical orientations (Leeuw and Pritchard 1984, 11; Rice 2015, 129). Evolutionary theorists, for example, studied pottery as "a major marker of human progress" (Rice 2015, 8). Most ethnographic literature on pottery until around 1950 focuses on pottery manufacture, generally limited to a small region and without archeological purpose (Leeuw and Pritchard 1984, 11).

Ethnoarcheological studies—i.e., archeologists studying contemporary material culture—go back to as early as the 1900s (see Longacre 2022, 1). As of around 1910, they accepted the challenge of systematic data collection for defining prehistoric cultures (ibid., 3). According to Longacre, American archaeology after the 1920s was guided by Boasian anthropology with its 'historical particularism' (ibid., 3). Starting in the 1950s, among the growing ethnographic literature on pottery (see Leeuw and Pritchard 1984, 11–12), several works of ceramic ethnoarcheology were published (Longacre 2022, 4; see Leeuw and Pritchard 1984, 13).

Current anthropological and archeological approaches, influenced by such concepts as "mobility", "practice" (Heitz and Stapfer 2017, 17), and the "material turn" (Heitz and Stapfer 2017, 13), investigate pottery as "a point of direct interaction between the people and their environment", a technology—focusing on the producer's choices and decisions, as objects with life cycles and objects surrounded with complex beliefs, taboos, and rituals (Rice 2015, 127). Anthropologists and archaeologists identified different ways of being mobile as connected to pottery: for instance, distances traveled for clay collection (Rice 2015, 130), the use of pottery by non-sedentary people (ibid., 8), or transporting products for trade (ibid., 193). Such mobilities, embedded in regional economic ties, have important implications for questions of ethnicity as well as inter-community relations.

A recent publication points out that the Kurdish-inhabited regions, and especially the province of Diyarbakır, were an important center of (long-distance) trade and manufacture in the Ottoman Empire (see Yadirgi 2017). However, the same scholar also emphasizes the lack of research and archival material on the economy of Kurdish regions. In engaging with the discussion started by Yadirgi to critically reevaluate developmentalist discourses on the economy, smaller-scale research could add valuable insights by tracing the history of such marginalized topics as home craft, manufacture and regional trade of ceramics. Inquiring about pottery in Kurdish society will expand our knowledge about social and economic relations, as well as gendered roles and expertise.

KURDISH POTTERY IN ETHNOGRAPHIC ACCOUNTS

Pottery is rarely mentioned in ethnographic literature about Kurds. Due to the turbulent modern history of the region (on this topic, see Bozarslan, Gunes, and Yadirgi 2021), the anthropology of Kurds has been mainly focusing on themes such as nationalism, ethnic exclusion, state-formation in the Middle East, regional violence, trauma, memory, diaspora and transnationalism (Houston 2017, 2).

Besides the short descriptions of Kurdish pottery (Hansen 1961; Janata 1992), early ethnographies from Syria and Palestine (Einsler and Guthe 1914; Rogers 1875) can serve as reference points for comparison. Besides pottery, ethnographic accounts of the Kurds mention the use of mud for architecture (see Watson 2010, 236, 277 and; Hansen 1961, 23).

From earlier ethnographic accounts of Kurds, Henny Harald Hansen's work in today's Autonomous Region of Kurdistan Iraq seems the most relevant for my case for the following three reasons: first, as the region of Uludere lies close to the Iraqi border, I would assume that there are numerous similarities. Second, Hansen conducted her fieldwork in 1957, not long before Finke was traveling in the Kurdish regions of Turkey. And third, as she notes in the introduction, being a woman was an important factor

enabling her to study women's cultural patterns in a Kurdish community (Hansen 1961).

Some theorists maintain "[...] that pottery originated as—and continued to be—part of women's work in the kitchen" (Rice 2015, 10). In some of the Kurdish regions, pottery was undoubtedly a women's activity (Hansen 1961; Janata 1992). Nevertheless, other sources mention pottery manufacture in Kurdish regions by male potters in Mardin and Diyarbakır (see F. E. Daşdağ 2013; E. Daşdağ 2021). In the Uludere region where the vessels discussed here originate from, as both the interview and the museum's inventory entry suggest, pottery was predominantly made by women (Goyan 2022; "Inv. No. 165.996" 1984).

The lack of documentation on pottery production in the Werner Finke collection presents a challenge for researchers. Possible explanations for this gap include factors like the gendered spaces of Kurdish pottery production and Werner Finke's field visits, which focused on seasonal summer visits or stays in the summer pastures rather than the villages. However, further research is needed to provide a comprehensive understanding.

POTTERY TRADITIONS IN A KURDISH VILLAGE

Telling the story of these ceramic objects feels like trying to assemble pieces of a broken jar. It's impossible to complete, as some parts crumbled to dust under the weight of time. Fractions of ethnographic literature mix with fractions of an interview, combining distanced perspectives with subjective memories, and the gaps in both. This results in an assemblage of many different, often contradicting and sometimes mythicized narratives.

When questioned about pottery production in his village, Seyda Goyan brings memories of his childhood, remembering his aunt making pottery, but not recalling everything about how the process of pottery making was organized. Likewise, the information in the museum inventory as well as any insights we can elicit from the Werner Finke collection are far from complete. With that in mind, the following paragraphs aim to present pottery making in Kurdish regions, focusing on the practices in Uludere.

In some Kurdish regions, especially in rural areas, pottery production used to be a women's job. In market towns, however, it was practiced by men (Janata 1992, 49–50). As for Iraqi Kurds, also Hansen observes that household pottery was done by women (Hansen 1961). Seyda Goyan, who grew up in the Uludere region—from where Werner Finke collected some of the pottery (Inv. No. 163.207, 165.996)—confirmed that women took care of pottery.

Seyda Goyan's village was comprised of approximately 200 families, and in each of them, one or two women were engaged in pottery. There was no special time or season for making pottery. The production process starts with obtaining the necessary resources. In the recently published extensive interdisciplinary work on ceramics, Rice (2015, 130) observes that the collection of clay and the distances traveled to obtain it vary from one community to the next.



Pottery ware in a Kurdish village, date unknown. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke



Pottery ware in a Kurdish village, date unknown. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke

Although women were the skilled potters in Seyda's village, men were not excluded from this process. As Seyda Goyan tells, in his village in the Uludere region, it was the job of the potters' husbands to gather clay in the mountains (Goyan 2022). There is a "very special soil [by the village]. White and red, reddish soil" near the village, he adds (Goyan 2022). He also explains that the color of the vessels makes it easy to recognize in which village a piece of pottery was made.

After the men had gathered enough clay and carried it from the mountains to the village, the women removed little stones, mixed it up with water and made a pastry, making it ready for processing (Goyan 2022). Rice notes that the preparation of clay for manufacture might also include techniques of foot-treading, etc. (Rice 2015, 133). Once the clay was ready, the Goyan women let it rest for a day or two (Goyan 2022). Anyway, Seyda Goyan does not remember the exact steps in the manufacture of the vessels but recalls that women were making pottery on their own (Goyan 2022).

The museum's inventory entry of one vessel specifically notes that it was made by the Kilaban Goyan Kurds, formed in piece technique (Inv. Entry 165.996, 1984). In case of the object Inv. No. 163.207, the inventory entry of the museum notes: "[…] made without the potter's wheel by the women" (Inv. Entry 163.207, 1986).

In her account of the Iraqi Kurds, Hansen describes this technique as the use of clay coils for raising vessels from the bottom (Hansen 1961, 63). In both the examples of Hansen and Seyda Goyan, the female potters made their vessels by means of this construction technique, without the use of a potter's wheel (Hansen 1961, 63; Goyan 2022, 1).

According to Alfred Janata, the curator for North Africa, West and Central Asia at the Vienna Museum of Ethnology (today Weltmuseum Wien), this kind of household pottery produced by women ("Frauenkeramik") is characteristic of the Kurdish pastoralists of southeastern Anatolia (Janata 1992,49). In his words, it "preserves early Neolithic traditions" of rural areas, which spread between Morocco and Afghanistan (Janata 1992, 49–50, translation by the author). As opposed to this "women's pottery", Janata mentions the manufacture of pottery with the help of a wheel in the Kurdish regions, which was a male profession, characteristically in market centers (ibid.).

Just as in the account of Seyda Goyan, the process of pottery production remains similarly



Stone house in a Kurdish village, 1967. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke

hidden in the photographic documentation of Werner Finke. In this photo above, we can see two women with large ceramic pots, which were probably used for storing water or food. Unfortunately, though, the shot was taken from too far away to investigate it in more detail. It is worth mentioning here that in Hansen's account of Iraqi Kurds, the jars were made on the flat roof of the house (Hansen 1961, 64).

Hansen mentions the use of dung cakes as fuel for burning the pots in the Iraqi Kurdish community (Hansen 1961, 64). In most parts, cattle dung was used as fuel (Janata 1992, 46), a common practice when burning pottery (Rice 2015, 172, 183). Hansen does not mention where and how the dung is collected, and whether this job is done by women or men. In the case of Palestinian pottery, an early ethnography shows that the women used to do this job, sometimes having to travel long distances for it (Einsler and Guthe 1914, 251–52). As for the Iraqi Kurds, the burning of the pots lasts for three hours (Hansen 1961, 64). This was different in the case of Seyda Goyan's village. In his account, the potters used wood for burning.

> *And they bring woods. They lay down on the jars carefully. They put so many woods so you can't see the jars because of the woods, only after they're burnt. The light of the burning may be two-three meters. That high. In the morning, they burn, 20 hours in that. Yes. It was such a heat, the jars [...] get colors of ... It was so hot, they get... yellow. (Goyan 2022)*

When questioned about the use of pottery in the village, Seyda Goyan recalls that each household had 10 to 15 jars for storing different products, such as water, ayran, or grain. Moreover, he explains that the ceramic jars were also taken to the high plateau in the summer. This had to be done with great caution, he says. For this reason, they loaded some of the donkeys only with the jars, nothing else. (Goyan 2022, 4).

Werner Finke documented some instances when ceramic jars were used on the high plateau. As the following photos show, the jars were important elements in the semi-nomadic lifestyle when Werner Finke took these photographs in 1967.

How can such heavy vessels be incorporated in this mobile lifestyle of pastoralists? Paraphrasing an archeological work on early pottery in China by



Zozan scene: a woman carrying a jug, 1967. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke



A woman selling pottery ware, date unknown. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke

Wu et al., Heitz and Stapfer point out that pottery was already produced by prehistoric semi-mobile and mobile societies before sedentarism ever appeared (Wu et al. 2012, 1697 quoted in Heitz and Stapfer 2017, 12). It is worth paying attention to how mobile Kurdish life and pottery intertwined and, therefore, to reconsider pottery artifacts as part of Kurdish mobility.

In the interview, Seyda Goyan reports on the continuous competition between the potter women (Goyan 2022, 2). The inventory entries of the museum confirmed that the pottery objects of Goyan Kurds were made for trade (Inv. Entry 165.996, 1984). Just as in the case of Iraqi Kurds (Hansen 1961, 63), Seyda Goyan tells us that the pottery of the Goyan Kurds for sale was manufactured by a group of expert women in the village (Goyan 2022).

> *The soil of the […] jars is only in my village. There were 22 women, [who] made jars, different types … bigger and small, 22 […]. And they sold it up to Hakkari and Sirnak, Silopi, Cizre, Jizir. […] I mean it's the round Silopi and Hakkari with the villages. All these jars [were] made in my village. Maybe these jars in the Weltmuseum, maybe there's one of my aunts. It could be my aunt, because around my museum, my home, there were four women around my house who made only jars. (Goyan 2022)*

In this short excerpt, Seyda Goyan emphasizes the relevance pottery used to have for his village. He points out the economic importance of pottery, which connected the village with others through trading on a regional level. In other words, pottery was important not only in terms of material culture but also as part of socioeconomic dynamics, organizing Kurdish tribal relations.

Seyda Goyan remembers the selling of jars better than their production. The husbands of the potters packed the ready-made jars on donkeys and traveled distances of about 80 miles (130 km) to the local markets of Cizre, Hakkari, Sirnak, Silopi and Jizir to sell them, a journey that took about a month (Goyan 2022, 1, 3). Moreover, Seyda Goyan reveals that the term selling does not exactly describe this kind of trade of the Kurds. The pots were exchanged for grain, or more precisely, they exchanged the jars for the exact amount of grain that fits into them (Goyan 2022, 3).

Rice points to the theories about the emergence of pottery as serving exchange between pastoralists and sedentary agriculturalists (Rice 2015, 12). Without further inquiry into this, I would like to also highlight the inter-community relevance of pottery in the Kurdish case. Rice further points out certain approaches claiming that pottery had developed in areas of resource scarcity (Rice 2015, 11). In the interview with Seyda Goyan about Uludere, these two points are met in a way that fits the economic structures of the Kurdish regions.

> *In Uludere territory, they have no flat [land] for agriculture. It's mountainous. They exchange, yeah. That's our exchange. Especially, in Silopi. Silopi it's not mountainous, it is flat. (Goyan 2022)*

As we can see, he points to the geographic diversity of the Kurdish regions and explains that pottery is an important resource in a territory where agriculture is not possible. Therefore, uneven resources are exchanged between the settlements with different geographic conditions, resulting in different resources and products. He highlights the absence of money in this exchange, the value is given by the conditions of the region.

WERNER FINKE, THE MIDDLEMAN?

Some of Finke's photos show jars lined up on the side of a stone house. Moreover, other photos depict the exchange of the jars. In these photos, Werner Finke captured how the vessels are prepared for being transported to be sold elsewhere. Observing the vessels closer, we can recognize the line around the arm, similar to that on the object in the collection at Weltmuseum Wien (Inv. No. 165.996).

This might have been the moment Finke purchased one of the vessels he later brought to the museum. A photograph from 1967 shows Finke's donkey carrying the vessel through the Kurdish landscape. I assume it was Finke's donkey, as he took several photos of his donkey carrying his luggage, and we can see Finke's bag with an Austrian flag as part of this luggage. Probably a donkey like this has then already transported jars for sale on the market?

Following the life cycles of the vessels, we could assume—in the broadest sense—that the routes of these objects continued even beyond regional



Jugs placed in front of a house, 1967. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke



Loaded donkey, 1967. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke



Typical posture carrying a jug. © Seyda Goyan

Kurdish economies, when they were purchased and brought to Vienna by Werner Finke. In other words, can we consider the ethnographer as a middleman for the museum? Can the researcher entering the field become part of social life there? Can Western institutions become part of the economic structures based on Kurdish pottery production? Should we view the transition of these objects from Kurdish territories to Western museums merely as interrupting their natural life cycle and placing them in a foreign context? Alternatively, could this transition also be considered as a potential part of their life cycle? Taking an object-centered approach seriously, we could ask how pottery organized life through different forms of movement (Heitz and Stapfer 2017, 21–22).

In this way, pottery has not only been part of Kurdish mobilities with regard to the collection of clay and fuel as well as the mobile use of vessels for fetching water, or the regional economic relations of exchange. The specific circumstances of Finke buying the vessel and carrying it by donkey might be seen as part of this context as well. In other words, the journey of the jar, in a way, extends Kurdish mobilities to Vienna. While it is crucial to acknowledge the colonial history of museum collections, we should also remain receptive to evolving perspectives. At the end of our museum visit, Seyda Goyan turned to the curator of the collection and, being touched by the precise and long-time of preservation of the objects, said, "People should see how you care for it!" (informal conversation). In this narrative, Vienna becomes a place for preserving Kurdish cultural heritage. As Susan Meiselas notes, most documentation about Kurds that survived, survived in the West (Meiselas 2008, XVII).



Plastic containers, 1980. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke



Ceramic jug in the house of a potter, 2023. © Seyda Goyan



The house of the pottery master, 2023. © Seyda Goyan

HOW THE PRACTICE OF POTTERY DISAPPEARED

Finally, let us consider Seyda Goyan's perspective on the disappearance of pottery making in his village and the abandonment of the jars by people. As Seyda told us, he was going through the houses of the region and bought up the jars lying on the ground or in the basements of houses. Currently, he has 60 jars in his ethnographic museum (photo Seyda Goyan Museum). The visual representation in his ethnographic museum shows the importance of ceramics for local identity.

Seyda Goyan remembers the moment when pottery manufacture disappeared in his village "[…] The end of the jars began in 1977. I remember it, I was [a] child, a truck full of plastic jars [arrived] […] they came to my sitting room in Uludere. All the people came to buy … Yeah. After [that], it continued. When the plastic came, that job [of the potters] slowly, slowly was going to [end]. Till 1980, it's finished." (Goyan 2022).

The replacement of pottery objects by plastic ones in the Kurdish villages in the 1970s and 80s, which Seyda Goyan recalls, is not unique to Kurdistan. As Rice points out, we can see the same happening around the world: the use of ceramic water jars and cooking pots started diminishing and being replaced by cheap plastic and metal containers (Rice 2015, 129).

However, the capitalist development in southeastern Anatolia was acted out in the framework of Kemalist modernization, "a top-down transformation of society according to the Western model" (Yadirgi 2017, 193) which was part of a larger process of national homogenization, including many symbolic and physical acts of violence on the Kurdish population.

An interesting development unfolded when Seyda recently reported to have identified one of the potters, who made one of the objects in the museum (Inv. No. 163.207). The pottery master's name is Fatwa Pîroz; she lived in one of the neighboring houses to Seyda's ethnographic museum. She unfortunately passed away in 1988, seven years after her work was sold to the museum. We received a photo of her house and one of the vessels created by her. I wonder what she would say if she could see her work in the museum.

CONCLUSION

This article is based on two different ethnographic encounters—a Kurdish person recognizing pottery from his region in a museum in Vienna, and Werner Finke's encounter with the Goyan

Kurds—events that enable us to discuss Kurdish pottery. Starting from the object and trying to trace back its life cycle, I focused on the mobilities involved in the creation, use, and trade of the objects, ending with considerations of the museum as a place of extended mobilities.

It becomes evident that Kurdish pottery calls for thorough scholarly investigation, and it should be approached in a multilocal approach, following the connections between individuals, communities, places of collecting resources, places of production as well as places of market economy and exchange. As we have seen, an ethnographic collection does not cover the entire material culture in the area of collection, but is rather filtered through the perspectives and positioning of the researcher in the field. In this case, the process of pottery production remained hidden from the ethnographic eye; only via the objects one could trace their stories.

In the process of writing this article, I came to appreciate pottery as a technology, producing mobile objects, objects embodying soil, homeland, and identity, which then move across space and time. In the case of the Goyan Kurds, pottery is a gendered technology, an expertise of women. Moreover, pottery is seen here as a knowledge tradition, encompassing the relation of a people with their environment, and becoming part of relations of trade and value between different communities. I approached the objects here together with the photographs in the Finke collection, which resulted in complementing and contrasting outcomes. The pottery in the Werner Finke collection evokes chaotic, contradicting, and mythicized narratives.

While this article only provides some reflections and questions from the perspective of an anthropology student at the beginning of her professional career, rather than being able to present any big findings, there is one imperative I can formulate together with my interview partner: the ceramic objects in the Werner Finke collection should be made visible and approachable to Kurds and everyone else, as it is such encounters that can spark the start of a conversation.

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WOMEN'S WORKING WORLDS – DOCUMENTED BY WERNER FINKE

Maria Six-Hohenbalken



Women spinning wool, 1975. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke

Werner Finke's ethnographic approaches and documentation methods followed a particularly classical understanding of the discipline. Participatory observations, a focus on material culture and the collection of everyday objects reflected methodological and epistemological considerations taught from the 1970s until the late 1980s. Austrian ethnologists were hardly different from other European institutions in their approaches. The cultural turn in social sciences was successively taught in Austria since the late 1980s, which holds true also for feminist anthropology. It seems, however, that none of these new perspectives changed Werner Finke's mode of operation in the 1990s.

As the Austrian social anthropologists Barbara Grubner and Patricia Zuckerhut outline, "[…] we cannot speak of there being Gender Studies in the feminist-anthropological sense at the Viennese department before 1989, though there were some activities such as workshops and conferences in this field outside the university" (Grubner and Zuckerhut 2004, 269). By the end of the 1980s, there were two important publications (Arbeitsgruppe Ethnologie Wien 1989; Kossek, Langer, and Seiser 1989) which laid the groundwork for the subsequent dealing with gender issues in the form of lectures, publications, and the integration in the curriculum. Grubner and Zuckerhut further explain that dealing with gender topics could be divided in the following categories, thus the "Study of Women, which includes critiques of androcentrism within the discipline as well as research focusing on women with explicit formulations of feminist interests; (…) the Anthropology of Gender (…) and the Anthropology of Differences" (Grubner and Zuckerhut 2004, 269 f.). While important conceptual works came out in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Moore 1988; 1994), looking at the worlds, tasks and social roles of women seemed a rather pioneering approach in the 1970s and early 1980s. Finke did not give up his positivistic approach but had a specific focus on women's worlds in the 1970s and early 1980s.

Up until the late 1980s there were only a few contributions from social sciences, which primarily focused on the life of Kurdish women. After the work of Henny Harald Hansen in 1961, a milestone towards a gender-specific approach in the Kurdish realm, hardly anything comparable was released for more than two decades. Hansen was a cultural anthropologist and member of the Danish Dokan Expedition, an archeological expedition in Iraq in 1957. In this socio-economic study, she focused on household structures, the female environment, domestic industry and women's activities, life cycle, material culture, and religious life. In the 1980s, two books were published in Germany that were influenced by the incipient Migration Studies. Gesa Köhler and Dorothea Nogga-Weinell (1984) portrayed three Kurdish women who migrated from Turkey to Germany. In these biographical accounts, we also learn more about the hard life of Kurdish women in rural regions before their emigration. Oda Ferber and Doris Grässlin (1988) completed a research stay of several months in Dersim (Turkey), a village of origin of Kurdish migrants in Germany, as part of their studies in educational sciences for migrants. The goal was a village study and a sociological account of the transformation of village lifeworlds. In her dissertation, Lale Yalçın-Heckmann followed a gender sensitive approach in studying tribal structures and the kinship system in the province of Hakkari (1991).

Furthermore, the films of Yılmaz Güney, which received special attention in Europe, such as *Sürü* (The Herd, 1978) and *Yol* (The Way, 1982) impressively depicted the situation of Kurdish women. Both films were semi-documentary in character and analyzed the social conditions and constraints in Kurdish society caught between traditional values and the political persecution of Kurds in Turkey (Mönch-Bucak 1992).

These few studies and cinematographic accounts could have been exemplary for Werner Finke when he undertook his regular ethnographic trips to the Kurdish mountains between the late 1960s and 1990s. Finke never followed a feminist theoretical approach or initiated a discussion in this regard, but his empirical focus was on women's working worlds.

Aside from the comprehensive visual documentation and museum collection, two examples should be highlighted to show Finke's approaches in the following section: firstly, a brief presentation of an exhibition and secondly, an insight into an unpublished talk, depicting women's lifeworlds.

EXHIBITIONS AS A COUNTER NARRATIVE

Werner Finke often organized smaller exhibitions together with his brother or fellow students. These took place partly in adult education centers and other public facilities. In February 1983, the exhibition entitled *Kadin Evin Günesi—Die Frau ist die Sonne des Hauses [The Woman is the Sun of the House]*[172] based on a Turkish proverb, was opened in an adult education center in Vienna. The presentation was organized by an association founded by ethnologists, in which Werner Finke had played a leading role.

In the same year, various Austrian institutions dedicated their contributions to the commemorative year of the Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1683. In these numerous exhibitions, military-historical themes predominated (those concerning the display of weapons, trophies, battle depictions, etc.), and the temporal focus was on the time of the Ottoman and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Nevertheless, there was hardly any mention of any further contacts between the empires' successor states Austria and Turkey.

In contrast to these institutional developments, the curators of the exhibition *Kadin Evin Günesi* offered a counter-narrative to the prevailing historical images of Turks in Austria and the martial military-historical approach mentioned above. Firstly, they wanted to focus on contemporary Turkey, depicting current lifeworlds and the everyday life of rural women in particular. Secondly, they wanted to stand against the historical picture of the "Turks" as only males and warriors. This image was still upheld in Austria, decades after the workers migration from Turkey to Austria. The curators created a village house and pitched a tent as used by cattle breeders on summer pastures. The visitors could enter both to "grasp" and experience the spaces. Photos and text panels referred to the lives of Turkish and Kurdish women and their fields of work. The exhibition was designed to shed further light on the life of women, their social position, and their many contributions to the household economy.

CARPETS OFF THE MARKET

The following outlines are taken from an unpublished lecture by Werner Finke on the occasion of an exhibition for the International Conference on Oriental Carpets in Vienna at the Museum of Ethnology, [today Weltmuseum Wien] in 1986. The Kurdish exhibits were almost exclusively from the area south of Lake Van along the Iraqi border, and probably came from Finke's collection, which he had given to the museum (see Article 11 in this volume).

In his lecture *Carpets Off the Market: Turkish Kurdistan South of Lake Van*, Finke focused on woven and knotted products that hardly ever reached the market.[173] In consequence, there was no specific literature about them. In other words, he pointed out how research had failed to include these products, as the carpets did not draw the same attention as the usual oriental carpets for the global market. The regional focus of his presentation was on the area south of Lake Van: a high mountain region with peaks reaching 4,000 meters (13,000 ft) and steep, narrow valleys. The examples of carpets and woven goods were from pastoralists who practiced transhumance and spent most of their late fall, winter and early spring in (stone) houses. From late spring to summer and early fall, many moved to alpine pastures at up to 3,000 meters in altitude (9,800 ft), where they lived in tent or leaf hut camps or summer villages often organized by kinship groups. In addition to a small amount of agriculture due to the lack of arable land, cattle breeding was of decisive importance thanks to extraordinarily good pasture conditions.

According to Finke, the conditions for the production of excellent wool with natural luster, great staple length and high strength were met. Production was almost exclusively for their own needs, and commissioned in a small radius if sold at all.

[172] The correct Turkish spelling would be *Kadın Evin Güneşi*. For better readability for German-speaking audiences, it seems that the spelling has been adapted to German.

[173] The lecture was held in German. Werner Finke legacy. Archive of the Institute for Social Anthropology, Austrian Academy of Sciences.



The wool is hung up to dry after washing. Tent camp near Beytüşşebap. CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke

Customer wishes did not influence the format, motif selection or coloration, though. It was not only their isolated location that caused their production to be "outside" the market for so long. The woven and knotted products followed an understanding of use value and had only secondarily a significant aesthetic value for the producers and consumers, which differed from the aesthetic collector's understanding. Nevertheless, transformations (in colors, motives etc.) already became apparent, as there were different attempts—also by the state—to change this textile production from subsistence economy to market production.

The following section features a selection of Finke's lecture that dealt with the female forms of production. The accompanying photographic material was selected from Werner Finke's rich collection.[174]

A production of yarn from sheep's wool and goat's hair is one of the most important tasks of women. She is skilled in it from an early age and develops a high level of mastery, which is evident in the production of even the finest yarns.

Obtaining the wool and making the yarn

Before shearing, the animals are washed, this can be done with or without soap, but in any case, only in summer, when the temperature on the high pastures is appropriate. For the lambs there are separate festivities, the sheep and goats are sheared informally—often at greater intervals. This is the last time the man appears in the course of wool production: usually he shears the animals. He is assisted by his wife and children (...). The fleece thus obtained is washed again and hung up to dry. Now begins the pre-sorting of the wool according to the different qualities, with a first loosening of the pile.

The actual parallelizing of the hair takes place on a card in board form, which has a double row of pointed ice thorns on one side, over which the wool

[174] Original in German, translated by the author (source: Archive of the Institute for Social Anthropology, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Estate Werner Finke). Parts of this talk were integrated in the more essayistic article (1992) "Die Herde. Mehr als Fleisch, Wolle und Milch" [The Herd. More than Meat, Wool and Milk].





is pulled evenly with both hands. The woman sits on the board part of the card. The wool loosened in this way is wound in loosely twisted strands and the wool is thus ready for spinning. For this purpose, a ribbon spindle in the form of a rod is used. Except for the iron hook at the top, which takes the wool to be spun, it is made of wood, the whorl is domed and fitted on top of the rod. This picks up the spun yarn and also serves to set the spindle spinning above the spinner's thigh. From the loosely twisted strands that the woman winds around her lower torso, the yarn is now pulled in the movement of the spindle. The resulting yarn has a Z twist.

The girls begin very early to learn spinning with thick wool, the often unusually fine yarns later testify to the mastery achieved by the woman. Although the production of the yarn is one of the daily tasks of the woman, it is made in view of planned fabrics.

Thus, the thickness and quantity of the yarn are predetermined with regard to specific products. The wool remains undyed until work on the piece is



The wool is spun using a hand spindle. Scenes from tent camps near Beytüşşebap, 1974. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photos: Werner Finke

imminent. Today, dyeing is mostly done with synthetic dyes, but due to the strong inflation, many women are again resorting to natural dyes, especially walnut, tansumakh, onions, gall apples or parts of acorns. Likewise, a certain earth is used. Here, more detailed studies would have to be carried out. Alum is used as mordant, sometimes urine.

Weaving tools used

Two very similar types are in use. Both are horizontal devices, where the shedding is done by pulling or pushing away the separating rod. The only difference is that the first type connects warp and breast beam by means of round bars. These bars can be replaced according to the length of the fabric. In the second type, the warp and breast beam are each held by two pegs driven into the ground, and the warp is stretched between them, usually by two or three women together. Then, from the stretched warp, every other thread is lifted by means of yarn attached to the heddle bar, thus achieving a crossing of the threads, and at the same time the separating bar is pushed in. Thus, the natural shed is formed. This second type allows almost any length of the fabric and is easy to assemble from a few pieces —ideal for the mobile life of semi-nomads in the warm season. Carpets and kilims are made on the first type and almost exclusively in winter, because the heat in summer tears the hands of the weavers, mainly due to the sharp wool and sweat. (…)

About textile products

All products not made on weaving machines should be excluded here, such as knitwear and crochet, ropes, nets, felts. Likewise, those products manufactured in village production, but practically exclusively on the order of professional weavers, such as the fine suit fabrics made of Angora goat hair and the so-called "Siirt blankets". Likewise, the "Van kilim" will not be particularly mentioned here, although its main area of distribution is in the region discussed. It is already sufficiently represented in literature. What remains are the groups of ribbons and belts, flat weaves and knotted products.

The first group is made on a loom, the warp of which is stretched by two pegs driven vertically into the ground. With the fixing of the heald rod, the warp is turned in the direction of work, that is, parallel to the ground. The tapes are made in plain weave as entry reps with coarse wool as belts for saddles, with fine corrugation as halters, tent and cradle tapes. Mostly they are one or two-colored, with tassel decoration on the edges, the tent and cradle bands often with more elaborate patterns. Knotted parts are inserted especially in the halters, which are almost always made of synthetic wool. Floral patterns and polygons with fillers are prevalent, brocading is also very common, usually already during the manufacture of the fabric.

The second group includes the sacks and bags, simple fabrics, usually striped, used as floor coverings and the canvas tents, which occur in plain weave and as entry reps. Carrying and saddle bags are usually made in pairs, which means that the webs that make up the bags must be quite long, similar to the tent webs, which often reach 15 m and more. The weaving device with the beams attached to pegs is the most suitable for these various formats. (…)

The saddle bags for riding horses are especially carefully made, also in pairs, with a slit in the bridge between the bags to fix them over the rear pommel of the saddle. The ends of the warp threads are braided into long, round plaits and end in tassels, looped several times by colorful corrugated or metallic threads. The outsides of the bags are brocaded or decorated with knotted ornaments similar to the halters, usually also made of synthetic wool. The women's hooded backpacks are similarly carefully made, with long braids, tassels, brocading, and knotted ornaments. In both of these product ranges, there are particularly fine specimens made in great color harmony. Their prestige value is very high and, accordingly, the workmanship is very careful. There are also very simple models. Here you can also find commissioned work for particularly famous weavers, but this is usually limited to the village.

In addition to the above-mentioned forms, there are also shoulder bags, soap and money bags, and salt containers for the sheep. Especially the soap bags are often very attractively worked. A special product are blankets made from two strips of three-ply twill, mostly red, with blue and yellow in stripes and cubes. These blankets are almost exclusively made to order by the Goyan[175] *Kurds and also reach more distant villages.*

[175] Here Finke refers to the Goyan tribe, which settles in this region.



Remarks on material, motifs and age of textile products

(...) The motives are taken almost exclusively from carpets and fabrics from the own family or the tribe or village, but varied accordingly. However, own creations are not so rare, also illustrations and motives from newspapers or matchboxes are used. The colors and individual motifs are usually changed from the original. Special importance is hardly attached to them, work effort or the aesthetic assessment decided by the weaver. The overall appearance of the carpet, however, then again fits into the village tradition.

Under the difficult living conditions in mobile dwellings as well as the damp clay and stone houses, the fabrics are usually not granted a very long life: they are designed as commodities and consumer goods and are not, and in some cases cannot be, spared: the result is that carpets are old at ten



The wool from sheep and goats is processed into strips of fabric for tents and transport bags. A transportable loom is used for working on the summer pastures. *CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photos: Werner Finke*



Carpet weaving was usually practiced during the winter months in the villages. Here, the woman is working on a loom in a tent on the summer pasture. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 ISA ÖAW, Photo: Werner Finke

years, beyond that damaged at the edges and the finish, the pile is worn away and patches are common. Carpets older than thirty years are rare. Exceptions are those made for the bridal dowry, which are often treated more carefully and used less frequently.

About the characteristics of the carpets

Predominant are oblong formats, as needed for the tents and houses, plus small formats as wall hangings or prayer rugs. (…) The predominant color is red, in new carpets increasingly also brown, also common are blue, black, green and pink. Orange and yellow are mostly used only for small motifs. Natural white, on the other hand, is common. While older carpets have only small uniform color areas, in more recent and new products large uniform areas are predominant, filling motifs and decorated main motifs are becoming increasingly rare. (…)

Finally, it is worth mentioning an attempt by the government to introduce commissioned work. Weaving tools and wool are provided, format, motifs and colors are up to the weavers. Payment is made by meter rows knotted. Unlike the original production, the wool is made in factories. The goods are collected and sold to America. This leads to an increased production, but not necessarily to an improved one, as many examples show. However, it can improve the economic situation of many families. Albeit at the expense of the already hard-working woman. (Translation by the author).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Werner Finke was extremely fascinated by the creativity of Kurdish women in the diverse world of textile production. The different work processes—from preparing the wool, dyeing and further processing—were always visible in everyday village life:

> *(…) at all other possible and (for us apparently) impossible occasions spinning is done, so that spinning is almost always an additional occupation to the usual work. So there is hardly any rest for the hands. (…) The skill of the women in spinning is astonishing, some yarns are so fine that their production by hand seems almost improbable (…). The longer the spinning continues, the stronger the thread becomes. That is why already in old representations one sees how the women, standing on the flat house roofs, let the spindle turn down [through a hole in the roof] to the ground. (Finke 1992, 70).*

In this article, Finke further stated that women manufacturers were also particularly respected for their knotted and woven products. "Their prestige value is very high, and the women who produce such work are especially esteemed and often make special pieces for other women: 'wage labor' to order, so to speak. In most cases, however, it is only a kind of 'exchange of work'; the woman who orders the work then has to do other work for the weaver." (Finke 1992, 76).

In local economies, yet another prestigious but long abandoned field of work for female specialists was pottery as produced at home, which is elaborated by Eszter Hars (see Article 13 in this volume).

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SHELTERS AND SHEPHERDS IN SOUTHEAST TURKEY: DIVERSITIES AND SIMILARITIES IN KURDISH NOMADIC HERDING CAMPS BETWEEN 2005 AND 2015

Michaël Thevenin

INTRODUCTION

The following article complements the ethnographic overview proposed elsewhere (Thevenin 2011; 2014; 2018) of the shepherd shelters[176] observed in Turkey east of the Euphrates between 2005 and 2015, with the aim of elaborating a possible typology. The article focuses on the three *pastoral circulatory territories*[177] (PCT) as scrutinized during my studies (see map).

For this reason, I distinguish the PCT in the regions of Ağrı, Iğdır and Kars, which constitute the Ağrı Subregion (Ağrı Alt Bölgesi) in line with the NUTS 2 (Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics) division, adopted by Turkey as part of the EU pre-accession process (Bazin and de Tapia 2012). This region as well as the observed pastoral movements and the encountered populations in particular are part of the demographic engineering taking place before, during, and after the Armenian genocide (1915–1916) as well as the founding of the Turkish nation-state (1923) and the socialist republic of Armenia (between 1920 and 1936).

The other two PCT described occupy the southeast of Turkey. The long-distance pastoral movements observed in these territories have been identified by historians and geographers as a pastoral phenomenon dating back to the arrival of Turkish tribes in Anatolia in the 14th century (Woods 1999). In the period before World War I, seasonal movements set out from the Syrian Jezirah and the Nineveh Plain in Iraq and radiated throughout the eastern Taurus massif to the Armenian plateau (Lake Van and Erzurum regions). Today, these movements can be separated into two groups: in the west we have seasonal movements between the wintering areas in a triangle linking Urfa, Diyarbakır and Elazığ, and the summer pastures of Bingöl, Erzurum (Serrafetin, Bingöl, and Palandoken Mountains) and Sarıkamış. This ensemble will be called the *tribal diagonal* in reference to the work of Oliver Aurenche, Marcel Bazin, and Serge Sadler (1997, 49; 75), who likewise designated an ancient axis of Kurdish migration movements from Aleppo in Syria to Erzurum, and which, according to the French researchers, constituted the origins of the populations of the *Cafer Höyük* village. The PCT of the *tribal diagonal* groups together the movements of mainly, but not exclusively, herders of Beritan, Karahan, Kejan, and

[176] The Shawak herders, who frequent the summer pastures of Munzur and Erzincan, and the Dirijan herders of the Yazıhan region, who move every summer to the massifs of the northern end of the Malatya district, will only be mentioned in the context of a comparative study.

[177] I borrow the concept of "territoire circulatoire" from the sociologist A. Tarrius (1993) who uses the term to define social and economic territories of circulation and migration, which go beyond the norms of sedentary life and indigenous legitimacies. For the purpose of this article, the term *pastoral circulatory territory* includes the seasonal movements of semi-nomadic or nomadic herders in logics of networks, directions, complementary territories and interterritoriality that goes beyond, but does not extricate itself from, the physical and hierarchical markers of traditional state cartography.

Shawak tribal identity. The second group is located further east, moving from the Upper Tigris Basin (Batman, Siirt, and Cizre regions) to the peaks and highlands around Lake Van. The nomadism and semi-nomadism of this PCT concerns mostly, but not exclusively, herders of Alikan, Duderan, Mamedî, Soran or Garisan tribal identity (Thevenin 2011; Gültekin and Tan 2017; Alkan 2020).

These three PCT share a common history of closed borders in the twentieth century, resulting in the reduction of rangelands and herders being cut off from their traditional wintering areas in the 1930s. Today, these territories differ from each other based on their adaptation, particularly in terms of material. Changes have occurred both in their respective regions and in the practices of herders. The following paper seeks to demonstrate that certain variations observed in the shelters in camps, whether traditional or modern, allow us to recognize the territory concerned as well as breeding practices (sedentary, nomadic, local or regional) and sometimes the group identity of their owners. Differences are obviously observable in Turkey between Kurdish herders and their Yörük western neighbors, but also in the case of the Bakhtyari in Iran, and the Arabs in Syria and Iraq. They constitute the external ethnic boundaries (Barth 1998). But above all, and this is interesting here, there are intra-ethnic differences, between the Kurdish populations of Turkey and Iraq on the one hand, and within the Turkish national borders between Kurdish-speaking herders on the other.[178]

In the first chapter, I will lay the foundations of the typicality of the emblematic shelter of nomads in these regions, namely the *black tent* (Feilberg 1944), by making a tour of the singularities observed among the Kurdish herders of Turkey and Iraq. However, as the black tent is no longer widespread on the *zozan* (mountain pasture in Kurmancî), I will describe the cases of the shepherds of the Sarıkamış mountain pastures to the west of Kars in a second chapter. These herders and their shelters, far from the black tent, will offer a counter-example to shed light on the multifactorial reasons that shape the choice of herders.

METHODOLOGY

This study is based on observations made in the course of an extensive and *multi-sited* ethnography (Marcus 1995), carried out during several stays in this region: firstly, as a personal project outside the university framework between 2005 and 2013; secondly, for a Master's degree in Anthropology at the University of Paris 5 (2013–2015); and finally within several archaeological missions, notably the AMIDA[179] research project (related to the old name of the city of Diyarbakır), directed by Martine Assenat and Christian Leduc, led by the University Paul-Valéry-Montpellier 3 and the CRISES Laboratory (2014), and the ANR GEOBS program (2013–2015) directed by Damase Mouralis. All in all, the study comprises 13 stays of an average of 15 days, which sometimes allowed repeated observation of more than 33 camps of semi-nomadic communities of twelve different tribal identities, and four villages practicing agropastoralism.

My visits of the camps were preceded by intense localization work on the satellite maps of the Google Earth site. The periods of transhumance and summering were privileged. This corresponds to a time ranging from April to September. The winter and fall seasons were not included in the study. I devoted 24 hours to each breeder family I met and kept in touch with them in order to be able to meet them again during the next visit. A good reason to do so was to hand over photos taken before, which enabled me to carry out a comparative study by evaluating the changes that had occurred in the meantime. The short phases of observation

[178] The case of Turkmen breeders in eastern Turkey has not been studied yet. The only Turkmen herders who also claimed this identity that I encountered during my investigations were Alevi villagers in the Hanak region, in northeastern Turkey, practicing local semi-sedentary agropastoralism (Thevenin 2018), and Kurmancî-speaking semi-nomadic herders of the Tirkan tribe (claiming an origin from the Oghuz Bigdili tribe) summering on Mount Karacadağ in the Diyarbakır region. As for the association of the latter, the black tent sports the classic attributes of Kurdish tents in this region. Here, the differentiation focuses on Turkmen identity (see https://turkmenasireti.wordpress.com/2017/10/31/karacadag-turkmenleri-esira-tirka-turkmen-asireti/)

[179] See //www.mshsud.org/projets/amida/

in situ made it possible to constitute a vast photographic corpus (part of which will illustrate this article), and to keep logbooks.

In the field, I conducted semi-directive interviews in Kurmancî. My questions were exclusively and systematically devoted to determining the seasonal movements of my interview partners, their connection based on a group identity reputed to be nomadic and described by twentieth-century authors, their production and their type of movement (semi-sedentary, semi-nomadic, quasi-nomadic or nomadic; horizontal or vertical, pendular or ellipsoidal[180]), and finally to observe their material culture. The trips were completed through multidisciplinary bibliographical research, and enquiries in Turkish newspapers. These outlines stopped in the summer of 2015, due to fighting between the Turkish state and the PKK, which put an end to this series of investigations. Indeed, in the summer of 2015, I witnessed the closure of the summer pastures, curfews in the villages and the destruction of mountain roads by bombs.

1. THE BLACK TENT: A COMPARATIVE STUDY IN THE KURDISH LINGUISTIC SPACE

The traditional mobile habitat of the Kurdish herders of Turkey (called *konê raş* in Kurmancî) is the black tent we find from Tibet (Manderscheid 2001) to Mauritania. Carl G. Feilberg tells us that

> *D'une manière générale, la tente des Kurdes se caractérise par les traits suivant : le grand toit noir en poils de chèvres qui, des nombreuses pointes au faîte, retombe en larges pentes sur les grands côtés et les pignons ; les parois se composent presque toujours de clayonnés (…). La disposition intérieure est simple. Des tapis et des nattes jonchent le sol ; une cloison de roseaux, çît, sépare l'appartement des femmes de la pièce de réception réservée aux hommes.*[181] (1944, 86).

As this description dates from the mid-20th century, the first question relates to developments I observed during my fieldwork in Turkey, but also in Iraqi Kurdistan. Armenia will be set aside, as the traditional habitat of konê raş was totally abandoned at the end of the 1980s by the Yezidi herders in favor of tents of military origin and caravans (Thevenin 2021a). In Azerbaijan, the tradition of summering shelters was the semi-spherical tent called *alaçiq* (Thevenin et al. 2021).

1.1. Strips and tarps

The canvas is a rectangular velum (technical term for roof-cloth). Until the end of the 20th century, it was mainly composed of strips of fabric made from the hair of black goat, assembled and sewn together (Frödin 1948; Hütteroth 1959; Beşikçi 1969). Today, other materials have appeared and the canvas can sometimes be supplemented by modern materials or completely replaced by them. In these cases, goat hair strips are often lined with nylon tarpaulins to provide waterproofing during rainfall, or to maintain the temperature in the tent. Here, a variety of uses have been observed. On the southern slopes of Mount Ararat, the goat hair velum is lined underneath with a second one made of blue nylon tarpaulin, sewn to each other and directly connected to the traditional strips (photos 01a and 01b). On the mountain pastures of Mount Tendurek, the tarpaulins cover the goat hair velum (photo 02). Some families have chosen to attach the tarpaulins permanently to the traditional canvas, while others have placed them more superficially. In the latter case, the breeders retain the advantages of the old velum (ventilation and breathing during hot weather), while providing the

[180] For a typology of seasonal movements, see Carole Ferret (2014).

[181] "Generally speaking, the Kurdish tent is characterized by the following features: the large black roof made of goat hair which, from the numerous peaks to the ridge, falls in wide slopes on the large sides and gables; the walls are almost always made of wattle (…). The interior layout is simple. The floor is strewn with carpets and mats; a partition of reeds separates the women's apartment from the reception room reserved for the men." (Feilberg 1944, 86). My translation.







benefits of the new materials (waterproofing, heat retention, wind proofing during rainy and cold weather). This practice was also seen in the Kurdistan Regional Government—Iraq (KRG).

This workability is particularly well described in a documentary (*Hagbay Binar* program) in Iraqi Kurdish Television entitled *Tarza u Tâwl* (Hail and the Tent)[182]. This report was shot on the summer pastures of the Sakran Valley in the Choman district. As the theme of the film is a camp in a storm, the daily life of the camp is widely described and the use of nylon tarpaulins a highlight. In one emblematic scene, when a storm breaks out, a man literally climbs onto the traditional velum of the tent to install a nylon tarp on its top (3'30"). Similarly, two other shots film a group of men and a woman attaching a tarp directly to the ends of the canvas (7'55"). If the traditional velum can be totally covered by tarps, it can also be partially covered. In this case, the tarps are placed only in the reception area (called *diwanxané*) to protect them from the elements. Thus, the domestic space retains its ability to release smoke from the fireplace.

Sometimes the storage space can also be protected if this space is used for cheese making. The tarpaulins are then used to prevent the goat hair that escapes from the strips from falling into the containers. In other cases, the new materials have completely replaced the goat hair belts. In Turkey, the Lake Van PCT is distinguished by its *mosaic* tents, whose velum is made from second-hand pieces of urban fabric sewn together (photo 03), which I have described elsewhere (Thevenin 2011 and 2014). Again here, the velum is lined on the inside with tarps or nylon bags. As for the PCT of the *tribal diagonal,* while the black tent retains a heritage value among Beritan herders, it is now rare in campsites, supplanted by other modern shelters with metal hoops and waxed white cotton canvas (Thevenin 2014). Sometimes the traditional structure is retained, but the canvas is made from a modern waxed white cotton material, custom-made and adapted to the original structure of the tent (observation made at a Beritan herder's family

[182] See Tarza u Tâwl Youtube https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h0HwepLyJ9c&fbclid=IwAR1Z9biedRC9S5xosMYEZ2Sh11l9Mw2amNKyRAmvJPGmKeuw2YrKbgHCyWY

on the summer pastures of Çat village, south of Erzurum town (photo 04 a, 04b). Thus, if the framework has been kept, the velum has evolved as also Peter A. Andrews noted that "the concept of the structure is more important than the perishable material in which it is realized" (1999, XXX).

1.2. The fireplace

These new materials are directly related to the internal organization of the tent as it becomes difficult to maintain an open fireplace inside the shelter when using them. Although a small fireplace may still be present, for example, to heat a teapot, the vast majority of breeders have adopted metal wood stoves. The smoke is vented to the outside through pipes and the stove is installed in the space dedicated to household chores and the storage space (photo 05a, 05b)[183]. When there is no wood stove, the main hearth is installed outside. In the *Karahan* herders' camps observed on the *tribal diagonal*, which are composed solely of single-pole *teepee* tents (Thevenin 2014), the family hearth is outside the dwellings, hidden by a semi-circular wall of branches. This development was also observed in a camp of Dudiran semi-nomadic herders on the summer pastures of Çatak (*Zozan Derasina*) dominated by the Damla Dağı (photo 06a, 06b).

In other camps, the traditional oven called *tandur* was taken along to bake bread. It can serve as a communal oven for all the groups in the camp. It can be installed on the ground surrounded by a low wall of dry stone, or be buried in the ground (photos 07a, 07b). On the mountain pastures of Tendurek, in the sub-district of Diyadin, a private buried *tandur* was observed inside the enclosure of the family tent (photo 08). The *tandur* was located at the entrance of the tent, under the end of the traditional velum which itself could be covered with a tarpaulin. On Karaca Dağ Mountain (Qerejdax in Kurdish) near Diyarbakır, some herders of Kejan tribal identity insert small chimneys into the stone enclosure of their shelter. These low











[183] Here, the question is whether the new materials imposed the use of stoves on breeders. Given the additional bulk that this implies, and the habit of nomads to avoid too much load (the recent abandonment of the traditional velum is a good example), I will rather lean towards this hypothesis.


Michaël Thevenin
06a


06b


Michael Thevenin
07a


07b


Michaël Thevenin
08


09a


Michaël Thevenin
09b


Michaël Thevenin
10a


10b


Michaël Thevenin
10c


11a

walls, which can partially or completely surround the living space, are covered each summer by a velum (photos 09a and 09b). The installation of small chimneys inside the shelters is not uncommon (they exist in the summer pasture shelters of the Hormek villagers of Varto, and in the summer pasture hamlets of the Turkish villagers of Sarıkamış), however, it was unique during my investigations among Kurdish breeders who present themselves as *koçar* ('nomad' in Kurmancî)[184].

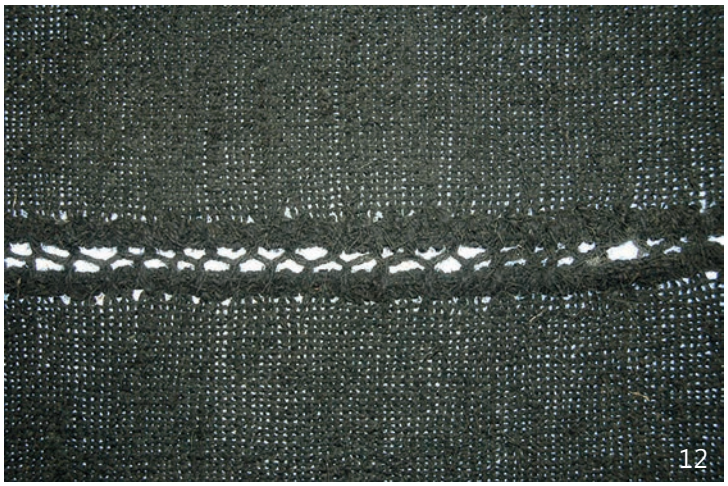
1.3. The strips

The seams of the strips

The strips of goat hair velum are sewn together horizontally and form seams. In Turkey, the seams can be simple or form a hem, or even can be loose (photos 10a, 10b, 10c). Among the Beritans, bands


11b

[184] The origin of the word comes from the Turkish 'göç' (migration in modern Turkish)


12


14


15a


13

can be united at the top of the velum by cut sticks. This system is also used to hang the fabrics that serve as the outer wall of the canvas (photos 11a and 11b). In Iraqi Kurdistan, they can be in the form of a honeycomb (photo 12). In addition to the aesthetic aspect and its ability to let sunlight inside the tent, this last type of sewing brings more elasticity to the velum. In Turkey, this elasticity is sometimes obtained by a thin strip of goat hair of about 15 cm (6 inches), sewn at the back of the tent on the ends of the canvas. This thin strip is used to attach the ropes used to affix the velum tensioning cords. When this strip is worn out, only a narrow strip is changed (photo 13). In Iraq, there are also strips made from two strips sewn together at their ends. This was not seen in Turkey, where the strips are always one piece. Among the herding families in the village of Dugoman in the Peshdar plain of the KRG, the vertical seams connecting the two strips together are doubled and occasionally decorated with small colored beads (photo 14).

The width of the strips

Among the Kurdish herders of Khorassan in Iran, the ethnologist Mohammad-Hossein Papoli-Yazdi observed in 1991 that the width of the strips was a distinctive sign of identity between the tribes (1991). In Turkey or Iraq, nothing of the sort has been observed. In the KRG, the strips can be between 90 and 110 cm (3 to 3.5 ft) wide and are still made, although this is becoming rare, by nomadic women. In Turkey, in Ağrı County, they measure between 30 and 40 cm (1 to 1.3 ft) wide and are now a manufactured material, produced in rolls and sold by traders in town (photos 15a, 15b). Today, the different widths of the strips depend on the manufacturer. On the mountain pastures, these manufactured products are added to the old traditional material when it still exists. Thus, on the southern slopes of Mount Ararat, the canvas of a black tent was composed of 32 strips of four different types, whose width varied between 24 and 60 cm (07 to 3 ft) for an average length of 940 cm (30 ft). The back of the canvas was composed of the widest strips (about 60 cm / 2 ft) made of modern fabrics (photo 01a). On one side, two goat hair strips of different textures were added to adjust the old strips with the new material. The older strips were 25 years old and had threads of goat hair tied together at their ends to form braids.


15b

The braids

In addition to their aesthetic contribution, the braids allow the channeling of rainwater to run out of the velum at their end. According to my observations, these braids can be found on the black tents of Kurdish herders in Turkey as well as those of the KRG. In both regions, they can be of various sizes, varying from about 10 cm to more than 30 cm (0.3 to 1 ft) (photos 16a, 16b, 16c). Generally, the new strips do not have braids. This fact is common to all the black tents observed in Turkey. Thus, the presence or absence of braids at the ends of the strips allows us to identify the seniority of the material.



16a



16b



16c


Michael Thevenin
17


ichaël Thevenin
18a


Michael Thevenin
18b


18c


19a


hevenin
19b


Michaël Thevenin
19c


20a


20b

1.4. Ropes, poles and masts

During the assembly of the tent, the canvas is first spread on the ground. A series of woven ropes made of wool or synthetic material are attached to the ends of the canvas, ranging from one meter to five or six meters (0.3 to 16 or 19 ft) in length. The length depends on the terrain and the space available. The latter may vary depending on whether there are other shelters near the tent. Long ropes can also be used as a drying rack for clothes and washed wool (photo 17). These ropes are attached to the canvas with goat hair or synthetic cords sewn onto the canvas (photos 18a, 18b, 18c). The ropes are then connected to poles planted in the ground parallel to the canvas, and generally on three sides, as the entrance of the tent does not have any. These wooden poles can be reused year after year and sometimes over two generations. On the summer pastures of Lake Balık, north of the town of Taşlıçay in the department of Ağrı, a semi-nomadic herder spontaneously told me that his poles are 65 years old.

Once the canvas is held at its ends, it is then lifted from the ground in order to slide the long central wooden masts (*Istun*) of up to three meters (10 ft) in height. In Turkey, the central masts of Kurdish herders are mostly organized in a row of masts aligned on the same plane, composed of two to four masts depending on the length of the tent, and two to five rows of masts depend-ing on its depth. As the central masts are not planted, they can be moved by their base according to the needs of floor space. They can also be enhanced by stones, or sometimes cross between them (photos 19a, 19b, 19c). This option combined with the choice of the length of the ropes makes it easier to tension the canvas after the peripheral poles have been planted. Some breeders have opted for central masts with two branches (thus replacing two masts by one), but this system is rare (photo 20a, 20b). This set of masts is of approximately equal height. In Khorassan, Papoli-Yazdi describes an identical organization, but with a notable difference: "Le mât qui se trouve au centre du velum (...) est plus haut que les autres de façon à donner une certaine pente [The mast in the center of the velum (...) is higher than the others so as to give a certain slope (my translation)]" (Papoli-Yazdi 1991,129). In Turkey, the first row of masts at the entrance is always tilted forward, forming a kind of canopy. The degree of inclination of these masts varies among breeders (photo





21a, 21b). In addition to the central and inclined masts, breeders add small movable poles, placed at the entrance of the tent, which are moved according to the degree of opening or closing of the interior space that is desired. Sometimes there is only one row of central masts, with the velum falling on either side of it. This is the case among the Kurdish and Turkmen semi-nomadic herders frequenting the mountain of Karaca Dağ, but also in the tents that serve as sheepfolds in winter. This type of structure is similar to that observed in Iraqi Kurdistan where it is widespread.

The upper end of the central and sloping masts protrudes from the canvas, which is a characteristic of Kurdish tents already observed by Karin Kren (1994). Indeed, among the Kurdish nomads of Turkey or Iraq, there is no ridge bar crowning the top of the masts, in comparison to the Bakhtyari or Yörük (photo 22). In Turkey, the top of the masts is thinned out by about 15 cm (6 inches) in order to slide and maintain a knot made from a rope that connects the other masts and which we will be discussed.







Sometimes, the top is cut in the middle to allow the passage of a goat hair braid made from one of the ridge strips of the canopy (photos 23a, 23b). This braid will connect the mast to the velum and support its weight. In Iraq, in the region of Rania, among the breeders of the Peshdar plain, this braid is the object of a particular treatment. The strands of goat hair are not knotted, but left free and hanging, giving the tops of the poles their typical pompom appearance. This pompom is called by the breeders in a pictorial way *Porî Tawl* (lit. *'the hair of the cloth'*) or simply *gufka, gufik* (pompom). In addition to its aesthetic value, this pompom avoids the flow of water along the poles in case of rain (photo 24). In Turkey, breeders sometimes add a piece of felt to the top of the mast, wedged under the velum, to prevent water from flowing (photo 25).

The central and inclined poles are not planted in the ground. They are held upright by the tension of the velum, but also by a system of ropes that runs through the fabric in its depth and connects the aligned poles of each row to each other (photo 26). There are as many transverse ropes as there are masts in a row. The tension can be adjusted by means of a forked stick, placed under the rope and angled as required. The cross ropes of the poles are attached to the outside of the tent on wooden poles stuck in the ground. This rope system is not systematic. Local variations are sometimes found. In some of the tents observed among the *Mehmedi* tribal herders (Mamadî, Mahmudî) encountered on the slopes of Mount Nemrut above Lake Van (where 40 years ago, the nomadic *Alikan* herders described by Ismail Beşikçi in 1969 were found—Beşikçi 1992), the transverse rope system is absent. Only the inclined masts are attached to ropes. The central poles are only maintained by pressure exerted by the stretched velum. Furthermore, the perimeter poles are not simply planted in the ground, but buried in bags filled with soil, which are themselves buried in a trench of soil, and this is only at the back of the tent (photo 27a–c).







There is no rope, only strips sewn directly onto the velum for the poles to slide in. On both sides and the front, stones or stone walls are used to maintain the tension of the canvas. The tent canopy of these breeders is generally modern. It is made of a one-piece cotton canvas lined with a nylon fabric, with occasional traces of repair characterized by pieces of fabric sewn onto the canvas. The goat hair velum was abandoned in the late 1990s because it was "too heavy and complicated to produce". This system of bags filled with stone hung against the exterior walls was also observed in the winter camps of herders in the Batman and Diyarbakır regions. It was used for sheepfolds (photos 28a, 28b).

In the KRG, the canvas is raised on its ends, at the entrance of the tent and on the lateral sides, by forked corner poles called *câlagâ* in the Rania region. These are smaller and thinner than the central poles, but longer than the peripheral poles (photo 29). The ropes are passed between the forks and then attached either to other smaller poles or to branches wedged under stones. The end of the canvas is thus maintained at a height of about 1.5 meters (5 ft) above the ground. In Turkey, the velum can be lowered to one meter (3 ft). This difference affects the height of the outer walls of the tents.


27a


27b


27c


28a


28b


29

1.5. The çît (outer and inner walls of the black tent)

In both Turkey and Iraq, unlike the Bakhtiari tents where "*l'ouverture sur trois côtés ou en longueur est l'un des aspects caractéristiques de la tente traditionnelle* [the opening on three sides or lengthwise is one of the characteristic aspects of the traditional tent (my translation)]" (Digard 1981, 160), the black tent of Kurdish nomadic herders is not open to the four winds, even in summer. In the case of the Kurdish herders in Turkey, it is usually closed on three or four sides. This depends on the altitude of the summer pastures. Hermeticism is pushed to its climax in some camps located on the high pastures of the city Hakkari. On a summer pasture located at 3,000 meters (9,800 ft), only a small opening in the fabric walls allowed access to the interior of the tent. In Iraq, on the lowest summer pastures (1.500 m / 5,000 ft) the tent can be completed by an open shelter of branches called *kpir* which then acts as a *diwanxané*, while the velum will shelter the domestic space and the storeroom, which must remain preserved from the glances of guests. This type of temporary shelter has not been observed in Turkey, even at low altitudes. The choice was rather to open the tent completely at the entrance, and sometimes partially on the lateral sides.

The outer as well as inner walls were traditionally composed of several mats made of knotted plant stems tied together and held upright by planted poles. From Central Asia to Morocco (Feilberg 1944), among Kyrgyz and Kazakh nomads (Mateeva and Thompson 1991), Karakalpaks (Richardson and Richardson 2012), but also among Lors (Mortensen 1993), Shahsevans (Kistler 1999), Turkmen (Akpınarlı and Ortaç 2002), Kurds and Arabs (Frödin 1944; Beşikçi 1969; Jarno 1984; Cribb 1991; Thevenin 2021b), these mats traditionally become part of mobile dwellings (yurts, *alaçiq* and black tents). They are used as a protective wall against wind, dust, animals, and outside eyes, and separate spaces under the velum. They also serve as enclosures for animals, and in Central Asia as insulating material for the floor inside the tents and a draining rack to release whey when pressing cheese. These mats are manageable, mobile and rolled up for traveling. Among Kurdish nomads, they are made of reeds (*Phragmites australis*) and threads, and are used only as outer and inner walls of black tents. Their production is part of a set of shared seasonal tasks, which constitute a traditional form of reciprocal labor exchange involving women in the nuclear and extended family.

Throughout this study, I prefer the term "cane screen" to refer to these material products, following Stella Mateeva and John Thompson's proposal (1991).[185] Kurdish-speaking herders use the words çît in Kurmancî-speaking regions (in Turkey, Armenia, and northern KRG), and çîẍ (چیغ) in Sorani regions (southern KRG). For Central Asian peoples, cane screens are named *chiy,* çiğ (Mateeva and Thompson 1991; Richardson and Richardson 2012), or *Chiya* (Muhamedzhanova 2011). The word originates from the plant called *chiy* in Central Asia (*Lasiagrostis splendens*) which was originally used to make mats. Although reeds (*kamush, qamish* in Kurdish), or other woods such as wicker, or willow branches (Sommer 1996) replaced the plant, the word has remained.

In the Lesser Caucasus, if the use of this material was still attested among Kurdish nomads in the 1950s, cane screens disappeared with black tents during the last years of collectivism.[186] These objects do not seem to be very remarkable among the Iranian Bakhtyari whereas Jean-Pierre Digard barely mentions them (1981). Papoli-Yazdi does not mention them in Khorassan (1991). In Anatolia, cane screens are present, although reduced to the simplest form, among the Yörük *Karakeçili* herders (Diler, Gallice, and Lacarrière 2017), and the Kurds of the *Soran* group (personal observations), while among the Yörük Sarikeçili (Bazin 1987) and the *Beritan* Kurds, cane screens are absent. This can also be observed among the Kurdish herders of *Dirijan*

[185] For anglophone authors, the museumification of mats in reed stems seems to have reached a consensus around the term reed screens (Cribb 1991; Mateeva and Thompson 1991; Bier 1992; Richardson and Richardson 2012; Stone 2013). However, Mateeva and Thompson admit that the term cane screens would be more apt in English to describe the protection walls made from cane stems.

[186] This double disappearance raises questions, both as to its reasons, but also regarding its late arrival in the Soviet period. It can be hypothesized that the combination of scarce traditional materials for black tents (goat hair), the availability of other lighter and mass-produced ones (military tents), the work of women outside the domestic framework, and Soviet rationalism contributed to this process. This emerged late because of the durability of these materials.

tribal identity in the Malatya region, and among the mobile herders *Alikan* and *Duderan* in the Lake Van region. In the northeast, the use of this material has become less common. John L. Sommer outlined the cane screens of the Kars region based on observations made probably in the 1980s:

> *These Kurdish people in Turkey take the long slender branches of pollarded willow trees, remove the bark, straighten and dry the bark-stripped branches, wrap them with unspun dyed wool and bind them together with woollen cords so as to yield surprising patterns reminiscent of certain Oriental rugs and even kilims. These slender branches, stripped of their bark, average a robust nine millimetres in diameter. … They are long and narrow, and the one Kurdish reed screen I had known best had been more the twenty-five feet (758 cm) long and four feet (129 cm) wide.* (1996, 8).

Today, in Turkey, the interior walls of black tents are often made of stretched fabrics, and for the exterior, modern materials such as nylon tarpaulins or a nylon-lined cotton fabric assembly are used (photos 30a, 30b, 30c). Quite often, dry stone walls are still used, especially on the Kohran summer pastures above Iğdır. These low walls can be arranged in different ways around the living space, on four, three, two, or one side. Sometimes they occupy a corner of the tent, usually the storage space (photo 31). The decoration of the cane screens, when they exist, is limited to the interlacing of the threads of the warp.

In the region of Iğdır, Ağrı or Doğubayazıt, warp threads woven from goat hair square the çît, forming successions of rhombuses on the cane screen (photo 32a, 32b, 32c). This type of interlacing was already present in 1936 when John Frödin photographed the Kurdish settlements on the slopes of Mount Süphan (1948, 8). In contrast, none of the tents observed had cane-screen decorated with colored motifs as can be seen in Iraqi Kurdistan, or among the Arab herders of the Nineveh Plain in









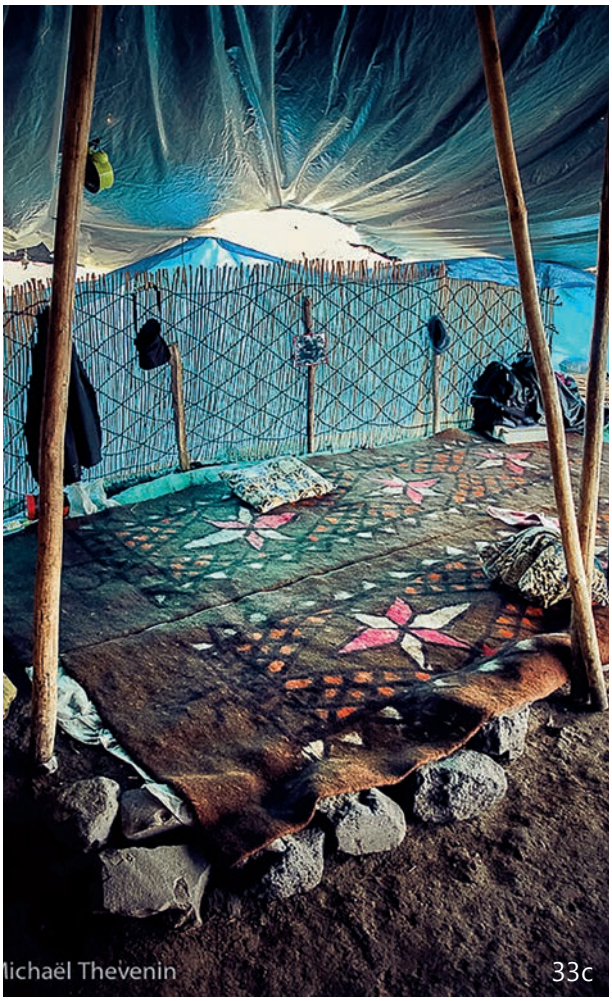












Iraq (Thevenin 2021b). In these regions, the outer çîx are about 30 cm (1 ft) taller due to the use of *câlagâ*. In Iraq, when interior walls exist, they automatically separate the *diwanxane* (the reception area), the domestic and the storage space. In Turkey, the separation with a stretched fabric is mostly used to distinguish the storage from the rest of the space. Thus, the reception area and the domestic space are rarely hidden from each other.

Sometimes, separation is materialized by earthwork, made of earth and encircled by dry stones, which enhances the *diwanxane* (photos 33a, 33b, 33c). In this space, stuck to the storage area for clothes and bedding, the carpets and cushions are placed. Earthwork has not been seen in Iraqi Kurdistan. Sometimes the outer walls are embellished with natural plant decorations. In Turkey, on the summer pastures of Lake Balık, the grass had been included in the decoration of the *diwanxane*; in the KRG, small planters have been set up outside at the foot of the çix (photos 34a, 34b).

These variations around the black tent are added to a diversity of shelters observed during my stays in eastern Turkey. Whether crossing the Bingöl massif south of Erzurum (Thevenin 2018) or following Alikan herders on the road to Bitlis or Kexkulari nomads (Thevenin 2011), this diversity accompanies or supplants the traditional shelter.

2. SONXALI SUMMER PASTURES

Sometimes the choice of a shelter can be surprising and has more complex reasons for mixing constraints related to the smaller local history and the national history, and to the gendered dimension of the guarding. On the high pastures of the districts of Sarıkamış and Selim not far from Kars, for example, I meet Çeljuk, Halil and Firat, three Kurmancî-speaking brothers who guard their village's 400 cows for three months at an altitude of 2,585 m (8,500 ft) on the summer pasture named *Sonxali*. They live in a very basic shelter: a cage-like structure made of wooden boards covered by nylon tarp (photo 35). A modern tent in the shape of a teepee with a white cotton canvas and a single central mast (which I will call 'teepee tent') serves as a storeroom next to the hut. This choice of shelter is all the more surprising as their camp literally faces a summer hamlet composed of hard shelters (wall and frame) occupied by a Turkish-speaking agropastoral village community (photo 36).


34a


Maria Stanisky 34b


ël Thevenin 35


Michaël Thevenin 36



When the eastern mountains were closed during the war between the PKK and the Turkish army, the Sarıkamış and Selim highlands apparently hosted nomads coming from Tunceli, Elazığ, Iğdır or Diyarbakır regions. In 2015, these were occupied by breeders of Karahan identity coming from the Çermik region, and by the local villagers. In the early 20th century, these mountain pastures were still part of the territory occupied by Russia. This was a border area, as evidenced by the old fortress, now in ruins, overlooking the village of the three brothers. This is where the famous battle of Sarıkamış took place from 22 December 1914 to 17 January 1915: the Turkish armies commanded by Enver Pasha, eager to retake Kars, and having been occupied by Russia since 1877, suffered a heavy defeat. The Kurdish writer Ereb Şemo talks about this region in his biographical novel *The Kurdish Shepherd* (Şamilov 2016) and indicates the presence of Kurdish nomads at the very beginning of the 20th century, presumably coming from the Arax valley.

The mountain pasture of the village where the three brothers come from is located at the end of a trail. Going up the trail, we can see two hamlets, both made up of solid houses with enclosures made of imposing stone slabs (photo 37). The hut of the brothers stands in the middle of the ruins of the old hamlet of their own village. Thus, the abandoned hamlet of the Kurdish villagers faces an occupied hamlet of a Turkish village, each established near a spring and dominated by a small peak.[187] As the families of the village of the three brothers do not walk up any more, and these last ones are alone on the pasture, no renovation was envisaged to improve their living conditions. The brothers do not ask for it. As their work obliges them to be outside all the time, they consider a hard shelter to be unnecessary. The abandonment of the hamlet seems to have occurred before the 1980s. There were clashes between the villagers and people were murdered in the hamlet. Afterwards, it was decided to abandon it. These murders seem to have been the paroxysmal events of an old dispute between the two lineage groups that inhabit the village.

According to a former inhabitant, today living in France, the village was inhabited by Armenians in the beginning of the 20th century. After the genocide, it was occupied by a nomadic Kurdish group that settled there. A few years later, another nomadic group, coming from the plain of Yerevan where they could not move any more, also wanted to settle down against the will of the first ones who reproached them for their great numbers. This led to a series of deadly conflicts throughout the 20th century. Thus, the great history (the Russian-Turkish conflict, the Armenian genocide), the history of the village (the conflict between the two lineage groups, the abandonment of the summer pasture hamlet, but also emigration), and the now exclusively male herding of the communal herd (absence of women and children) combine and contribute to a very basic and comfortless habitat: a shelter without hearth and home, in short.

2.1. Nomadic and non-nomadic

The diversity of summer pasture habitats can also be explained by a process of cultural *schismogenesis,* defined as the result "of a conscious reciprocal differentiation" (Graeber and Wengrow 2021, 312) that is still to be questioned in the intra-regional context. For example, some mobile herders choose this type of shelter to differentiate themselves from their neighbors. We have seen the case of the width of the strips on the black tents among nomadic herders in Khorassan. In Turkey, the specificity of the summer camps of the Hormek tribal identity families on Mount Bingöl (semi-sedentary Alevi families summering on mountain pastures surrounded by camps of nomadic or formerly nomadic Kurdish herders) may be an example of this

[187] The peak is particular for housing a cemetery.

phenomenon (see Thevenin 2018). The example of the Karahan herders on the Sonxali summer pastures may also be enlightening here.

The term *koçar* (nomad) never appeared as a primary or exclusive identity among Kurdish villagers or herders during my stays in Turkey. At most, it designated a way of animal husbandry anchored in the habits of the group and the material culture attached to it (the black tent, amongst others). However, when this practice of mobility gives access to an added value for the herders (prestige, territory, heritage etc.), a *koçar* identity can become primordial and redefine the local identity hierarchies.[188] The herders of the Karahan tribe I interviewed, for example, refused to be *koçar* in my presence, even though they had adopted a herding strategy of long mobility (moving more than 300 km (180 miles) by truck to the Palandoken or Sarıkamış mountains where they rented pastures, sometimes stopping for a month on intermediate pastures in Karlıova —photo 38; living in tents for five months of the year). Their summer camps are mostly composed of teepee tents. These herders once had black tents, which were taken out during their summer vacation when the herd was kept a few kilometers from their village on available grasslands (seasonal horizontal movements of the plains), but these have been completely replaced. However, this habit has given these herders know-how of mobility that is reflected in their mountain camps.

For this reason, nothing can a priori differentiate them from *koçar*, and for the Western visitor, the amalgam with the figure of the nomad is quickly made. I hypothesize that their refusal to use the term *koçar* is mainly based on the reaction of sedentary villagers who traditionally practice agropastoralism centered around their village. The adoption of a long mobility strategy is a recent


38

development for them. In fact, their activity has adapted to the climatic changes of recent years, which require them to leave the pastures of the dry plains to go and look for fodder resources on the available highland pastures. In addition, among these Zaza-speaking herders, their Zaza identity has more meaning today than their mobility strategy.

Finally, and this is what seems interesting to me here, the Karahan herders share the same PCT as the Beritan herders we discussed elsewhere (Thevenin 2011; Thevenin 2014). Among Beritan, nomadism is claimed in a logic of patrimonial and territorial politics. Thus, the *koçar* designation takes over the contours of the nomadic herder problems linked to the status of nomads in Turkey as associated with the settlement law of 1934. This law, which was supposed to regulate the different forms of migration and settlement within the young Republic of Turkey, was replaced in 2006 by the *iskân kanunu* [Resettlement Act] No. 5543. However, this amendment did not modify the definition of nomad.[189] This law recognizes

[188] In Iraqi Kurdistan, Kurdish nomadic herders define themselves first and foremost by their national (Kurdish) and religious (Muslim) identity, their group identity (lineage and tribe) and by their profession: sheep or cattle breeders. The 'nomadic' qualification of their breeding practice is solicited in specific situations: in the context of interest shown by the interview partner facing them; when it is a question of appealing to the imaginary and folkloric dimension of the nomad's figure; in the land tenure register, when it is necessary to recall, during territorial claims, the customary use of the summer pastures by nomads; finally, within the framework of positive stereotypes, such as the values of hospitality, a healthy life, fresh air, and courage (especially that of women whose self-sacrifice at work is a major component of nomadic identity, unanimously recognized by the Kurds). Negative stereotypes also exist (lechery, immorality, lack of education) and are regularly found in jokes in which nomads are the heroes.

[189] Article 3 of the new law in fact stipulates that the nomad (Göçebe) remains one who has no sedentary agricultural activities, who lives with nomadic livestock without depending on a fixed and permanent residence, who migrates between the mountain pastures (yaylak) and winter quarters (kışlaklar) of the country according to nature and climatic conditions, who has maintained this way of life since ancient times, who has kinship relations with each other and carry out their livestock activities in groups, and who are Turkish citizens.(see https://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2006/09/20060926-1.htm)

the existence of a population whose livestock breeding practice requires the seasonal mobility of a kinship group, but nevertheless, it freezes nomads in a backwards-looking vision of nomadism as it could be lived and perceived at the beginning of the 20th century.

This development has had negative consequences for them. In the 1970s, for example, a sedentarization project was implemented in the city of Siirt with nomadic families from the Alikan group who wanted to settle down. They had to suddenly get rid of all their animals, and live inside apartments with their whole family in the city. As they had no other profession and were not used to living in apartments, after some time, sheep appeared on their balconies (Güneydoğum Derneği 2012). The same issues were described recently in Siirt by Gültekin and Tan (2017). During my investigations, I observed the same problems in the city of Batman. The small town of Batman has become an urban center of more than 400,000 people within a few years, where rural populations and nomads displaced by the conflicts between the state and Kurdish nationalism have agglomerated. According to the two environmentalist associations of the city (the association *Buka Baran* and the Batman Environmental Volunteers Association—*Batman* Çevre *Gönüllüleri Derneği* met in March 2015), the sedentarization of nomads was a major problem for the city (right behind the management of the Syrian refugee camp). According to these associations, more than 60,000 *koçar*[190] lived in the suburbs of the city where they still practiced livestock activities, which was not without consequences for the health situation in these districts' neighborhoods. These populations were not grouped around associations. The tribal structures were inactive, which posed problems for city representatives who could not find anyone representing them.

For both associations, these populations needed to either "fully sedentarize" or return to nomadic life (Thevenin 2015). A semi-nomadic activity was not envisaged by these associations, nor by the authorities, even though it is mostly practiced, chosen or desired by the herders, whether in eastern Turkey or in Iraqi Kurdistan. In this context, the law is outdated and stigmatizing. At the same time, however, it also serves as an anchor for the construction of a specifically nomadic identity, modern and resurgent in Turkey, and which notably includes the choice of shelters. The maintenance of the black tent, particularly among certain Beritan herders, in an admittedly modernized version (whether with canvas, peripheral walls or accompanied by a teepee tent), carries with it this desire for a primary nomadic identity that prevails today in the herders' *habitus*.

OUTLOOK

The diversity of shelters encountered both within the camps and between the different camps have their origins in the families themselves: depending on the financial situation, opportunities and individual choices, the history and identity of the family (resumption or cessation of long-distance pastoral mobility), the presence or absence of wives, children, and employees working for the family—all of these factors influence the ways in which people live and shelter on the mountain pastures. This diversity is also reflected in the type of pastoralism and mobility practiced: village agropastoralism, semi-nomadic and nomadic herders specializing in the breeding of small ruminants, family herding or shepherds keeping the collective herd. The scarcity or availability, complexity or manageability of a certain type of equipment also plays a role. In this way, the move away from making the black goat hair strips by nomadic women opened up possibilities. Some families can buy new strips in town or change the material, while others use the old velum as long as possible by tinkering with it or improving it with new cloth. Sometimes old black cloth is bought back from other nomads when they get rid of it, either because they stop breeding or because they adopt more modern shelters. In contrast, the ease of access and maneuverability of nylon tarpaulins and their massive use on the pastures is a basic phenomenon that affects all the families met and the three PCT studied.

[190] These associations seemed to designate transhumant herders, whether nomadic or semi-nomadic.

The accessibility of pastures is another differentiating factor. If the mountain pastures are close to the villages and have an access trail, the herders will be able to bring heavier equipment. If they are on less accessible terrain, families will be more inclined to use light and malleable equipment, favoring synthetic materials. In addition, the security of these areas has an impact on their regular use, and therefore on the potential investment in terms of permanent construction (hard shelters, low walls, frames etc.). Suppose the high pastures are regularly closed by the Turkish army because of the presence of the PKK, this will result in camps that must be refurbished after each period of prolonged absence. But this cannot be the only reason.

In fact, during my investigations, the summer pastures of Erzurum were not the grazing grounds of any known nomadic herding groups of the Lake Van PCT, whether they were of Duderan, Alikan or Soran tribal identity. Similarly, no Beritan or Karahan encampments were seen or reported on the *Berçelan zozan* above Hakkari. According to my observations, the loss of the use of a mountain pasture for a nuclear or extended family does not imply the possibility of leaving its traditional PCT. I hypothesize that it would be necessary to extract oneself from the zone of influence of its group, network and its customary alliances. Apart from the mobility of salaried shepherds, which is in fact trans-regional and constitutes a circulatory territory in its own right, the families of breeders only leave their PCT on the occasion of specific regional geopolitical crises or during significant historical events (new state borders, war, etc.) which then affect all the groups.

In addition to these household differences, there is a regional differentiation that I could summarize in the three PCT defined during my stays. The PCT of Lake Van was particularly affected by the struggle between the PKK and the Turkish army. In numerous testimonies of nomadic breeders, it is reported that their equipment was destroyed or burned during the dark years in this region. The appearance of the mosaic tents could be connected to this geopolitical situation. But for the breeders I met, the use of these new materials has a pragmatic reason as well: they are more available than black strips and make the velum easier to transport to the more difficult-to-access mountain pastures. Tents with newly manufactured strips were mostly seen in the PCT of the Iğdır and Ağrı region. Seasonal travel is shorter there, and the summer pastures are generally more easily accessible. Single-pole teepee tents were primarily seen in the tribal diagonal PCT and to the west of it. While they are also present in the PCT of the Iğdır and Ağrı region, they never constitute an entire camp as was observed among the Beritan, Karahan, or Shawak herders of the tribal diagonal. This is the case for the Ararat and Lake Balık massifs, where they serve as secondary tents attached to the black tent (photos 39a, 39b, 39c). This type of tent, their presence and their diffusion, require reflection.









40a


Michaël Thevenin
40b


Michaël Thevenin
41a



Michaël Thevenin
41b

In the case of the PCT of Lake Van, when asked about the absence of tepee tents in the camps of his lineage group, a herder told me that this shelter is not the tent of the *koçar* (this type of tent is not typical for koçar). Likewise, for the Beritan breeders' cooperative, whose nomadic identity and the black tent are part of the heritage register, the teepee tent appears on the logo in the background of the traditional tent, but also in the camps where it is commonly used (photos 40a, 40b). In the landscape of local identities in Munzur, the teepee tent symbolizes the only mobile herders of the region: the Shawak (Thevenin 2011). From a purely geographical point of view, the further we move away from the PCT of Lake Van, the more the teepee tent is present. However, it does not appear to extend beyond the PCT of the tribal diagonal. The summer camps of the Kurmancî-speaking herders of Dirijan tribal identity in the Malatya region seem to have mostly tents with traditional structures covered with modern materials as their main shelters. The predominance of tepee tents on the tribal diagonal axis, if confirmed would need further investigation.

One possible avenue is their use by seasonal workers on the GAP-irrigated fields in the nomadic winter regions (Urfa, Ceylanpınar). Many of its seasonal workers are from Kurdish rural and nomadic families (Aslan 2013), which perhaps explains the phenomenon of diffusion of this shelter on this axis. These territorialized tendencies, verified in the field during my investigations, remain to be confirmed by more data. Among other things, they need to be analyzed and related to trade networks and their territorial location, especially those producing and selling teepee tents and new goat hair strips, but also those related to the marketing of dairy products and sheep meat.

Likewise, the question remains whether there is a link between the types of shelters used and the type of small ruminant breeding production (more oriented towards dairy production or more occupied with lamb production)? Is this productive orientation linked to their nomadic identity in these regions? Another aspect is the use of modern tents by NGOs. Indeed, it is not uncommon to see shelters bearing the logo of an international organization such as the Turkish Red Crescent (Kızılay) or the Pakistan Red Crescent Society (photo 41a, 41b) in camps. A biography of this type of tent would be needed. Their link with the tragic events that have affected Turkey, such as the recent earthquake in the southeast of the country,

seems a priori-logical. How do they end up in nomad camps?

The territoriality and circulation induced by these networks would make it possible to learn more about the diversity of shelters encountered and to validate a typology, only just grasped for the time being, which could then be linked to the PCT.

LIST OF PICTURES BY CHAPTER, IMAGE CREDITS: © MICHAËL THEVENIN

Strips and tarps

Photos 01a / 01b – Goat hair velum lined underneath with a blue nylon tarpaulin. Zozan Eli, Topçatan village summer pastures, Mount Ararat, Doğubayazıt region. 2014.

Photo 02 – The tarpaulins cover the goat hair velum. Mount Tendurek summer pastures, Diyadin region. 2014.

Photo 03 – Mosaïc tent, Zozan Derasina, Çatak region, 2015.

Photo 04a / 04b – Modern waxed white cotton material, custom-made and adapted to the original structure of the tent. Çat village summer pastures, Erzurum region. 2010.

The fireplace

Photos 05a / 05b – Metal wood stoves. Lake Balık summer pastures, 2014 (a); winter camp, Diyarbakır region, 2007 (b).

Photos 06a / 06b – Family hearth hidden by a semi-circular wall of branches. Karahan Breeders camp, Palandoken Mountains summer pastures, Erzorum region, 2011 (a); Zozan Derasina, Çatak region, 2015.

Photos 07a / 07b – Common tandur. Siirt breeders camp on the Hakkari summer pastures (a) 2011; Batman breeders camp, Lake Van summer pastures, 2007 (b).

Photo 08 – Familial buried tandur. Tendurek Mountain summer pastures, sub-district of Diyadin, 2014.

Photos 09a / 09b – Small chimneys into the stone enclosure of their shelter, Karaca Dağ summer pastures, Siverek region, 2015.

The strips

Photos 10a / 10b / 10c – The seams.

Photos 11a / 11b – Beritan's velum with cut sticks, Karliova region, 2008.

Photo 12 – Honeycomb seams. Kurdistan Iraq, Rania region, 2013.

Photo 13 – Thin strip used to attach the ropes, Ararat Mountain summer pastures, Doğubayazıt region, 2014.

Photo 14 – Vertical seams decorated with tiny colored beads. Rania region, Kurdistan Iraq, 2013.

Photos 15a / 15b – Strips sold by traders in town (Diyarbakır, 2007 and Doğubayazıt 2014).

The braids

Photos 16a / 16b / 16c – Braids.

Ropes, poles and masts

Photo 17 – Long ropes, Bingöl Mountain summer pastures, 2011.

Photos 18a / 18b / 18c – Ropes and canvas.

Photos 19a / 19b / 19c – Not planted central masts. Bingöl mountain summer pastures (a), 2010; Korhan zozan, Iğdır region, 2014 (b); Çat village summer pastures, Erzorum region, 2010 (c).

Photos 20a / 20b – Central masts with two or three branches. Berçelan zozan, Hakkari region, 2011 (a); Serafettin mountain summer pastures, Solhan region, 2015 (b).

Photos 21a / 21b – Konê raş, Lake Balık summer pastures, 2014 (a) ; Lake Van summer pastures, 2011 (b).

Photo 22: The top of masts.

Photos 23a / 23b – Central masts and ropes. Tendurek summer pastures, 2014.

Photo 24 – *Porî Tawl* or *gufka, gufik,* Rania region, Kurdistan Iraq, 2013

Photo 25 – A piece of felt to the top of the mast.

Photo 26 – The system of ropes.

Photos 27a / 27b / 27c – Mamadi's breeders camp, Nemrut Dağ summer pastures. 2013.

Photos 28a / 28b – Winter Sheepfolds, Batman region (a and b), 2007.

Photo 29 – *Calaga*, spring camp, Peshdar region, Kurdistan Iraq.

The çît (outer and inner walls of the black tent)

Photos 30a / 30b / 30c – Inner wall in fabric, Serafettin mountain summer pastures, region of Solhan, 2011 (a and b); Lake Van summer pastures, 2011 (c) .

Photo 31 – Dry stone wall and earthwork. Karaca Dağ mountain summer pastures, Diyarbakır region, 2015.

Photos 32a / 32b / 32c – Successions of rhombuses on the cane screen. Karaca Dağ summer pastures, Diyarbakır region (a), 2015; Bulanik summer pasture (b), 2015 ; Berçelan zozan, Hakarri region (c), 2011.

Photos 33a / 33b / 33c – Earthwork inside the tent. Lake Balık summer pastures (a and b) 2014; Korhan summer pastures, Iğdır region, 2014.

Photos 34a / 34b – Plants and tents, Lake Balık summer pastures, 2014 (a); Dali Alana summer pastures, Choman District, Kurdistan Iraq, 2018.

Sonxali summer pastures / Outlook

Photo 35 – Basic shelter, Sonxali summer pastures, district of Sarıkamış, 2014.

Photo 36 – Summer hamlet, Sonxali summer pastures, district of Sarıkamış, 2014.

Photo 37 – Enclosures made of imposing stone slabs, Sonxali summer pasture, district of Sarıkamış, summer 2014.

Photo 38 – Karahan spring camp in Karliova, Bingöl Region, 2008.

Photos 39a / 39b / 39c – Teepee tent with black tent: Serafettin summer pasture (a), 2015; Lake Balık summer pasture (b), 2014; Güzeldere Geçidi pass, Baskale region, 2011 (c).

Photos 40a / 40b – Beritan Logo Cooperative, Diyarbakır 2007; Beritan camp, Bingöl Mountain summer pastures, 2010.

Photos 41a / 41b – NGO tent, Lake Balık summer pastures, Ağrı region, 2014.



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SOIL-KNOWLEDGE: LEARNING FROM THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VERNACULAR KURDISH EARTHEN BUILDINGS AND THE SOCIO-ECOLOGIES OF THE WETLANDS OF THE NEHÎL

EJ Williams

On arrival by plane to Hakkari–Yüksekova Selahaddin Eyyubi Airport, I was driven by friends and colleagues, passing through a number of military checkpoints, and away from the airport on the city outskirts. We travelled off the main road onto a secondary dirt road and arrived on the vast expanses of the golden-brown, green-blue of the wetland plains of the Nehîl. Encircled by high mountains, here we spent time walking around the plains near to the village of Zizan [Turk. Dedeler], with the early evening light changing the yellow-brown late summer colors to shades of pastel purple and orange, the air mild, crisp and clean. We chatted about the surveillance of checkpoints, a military helicopter passing over, the mountain ranges and flashing red lights, the shrinking wetland ecology, the rough headstones in the village cemetery, discussed our planned trips, and talked about our contact C who we would be meeting in Zizan. Handling the different types of soil of the plains, I reflected on the deeper meaning of soil and our connections and interactions with it. Munir Fasheh writes on the collective meaning of survival, solidarity, and resistance in Palestinian activism: "community [...] rests on three pillars: local soil, local culture, and local economy. They are the source of the community's inner strength and the basis of its regeneration [...] Every child is nurtured by the land soil and the cultural soil. However, these two local soils would be mere slogans without local economy. The three form the fabric of community" (Fasheh 2012, 97).

The material I am sharing here is part of a larger project from a research trip that I made in the autumn of 2019, to learn from vernacular earthen building techniques and typologies, specifically the earthen flat roof construction, which is found in these mountainous regions of Bakurê Kurdistanê, known as Türkiye. It became clear early on in the trip that what and how I had planned to investigate would be turned on its head, and the premise that architectural investigation can be separated into a specific discipline, is flawed. Architectural narratives and understandings should not be separated from the socio-ecologies they are related to. These earthen buildings cannot be understood without looking at their complex, adaptive and interconnected relationships with the sociological and ecological elements of the Nehîl. In bell hooks' writings, hooks describes conversing with the architect LaVerne Wells-Bowie on black vernacular architecture: Wells-Bowies explains that "the way space was designed shaped relationships and interactions" and continues proposing "space as cultural geography" (hooks 1995, 152–153).

Having grown up under apartheid rule in South Africa and to parents who were political activists, I have always been aware of the hidden-missing-left-out, the holes that exist in the narratives of mainstream education and culture. As a student and now as a practicing architect, I have continued to be concerned by these hidden-missing-left-out narratives within the dominant understanding of how we all, not just architects, produce and use space, and how we take part in the discussions about our built environment. I see a problem in these dominant and prevalent architectural narratives as they are centred on a feeble Western/European canon, a body of highly valued knowledge, culture, and beliefs, based on European colonialist and capitalist centred interests, and are the basis for Western culture, and education systems (Osayimwese 2021). Concerned with the pursuit for growth, these beliefs, and the systems

we work, think, and live in, have the effect of irreversibly damaging the planet, the ecology, as well as causing social divisions (Behrens III et al. 1972). bell hooks writes on the importance of working on black vernacular (h)stories, "[…] recording these memories seems absolutely essential, because in today's world we are led to believe that lack of material privilege means that one can have no meaningful constructive engagement with one's living space and certainly no relationship to aesthetics" (hooks 1995, 149). As architects I see it as our responsibility to work on other (h)stories[191] which can resonate between people resisting class struggles, allowing unheard voices to be told, and which form a common language of solidarity and hope.

DRAWING AND LISTENING

By sharing knowledge and experiences with people living in and around the Nehîl, I have used mappings and drawings to listen to living memories of ways of life, building practices, farming practices, stories of vegetation, animal life, the surrounding areas, trade, mythologies, and cultural practices. These tools and methods can reveal what has been and is hidden-missing-left-out, and how these vernacular building typologies were once and still are intrinsically integrated with intelligent, complex socio-ecologies, which have succeeded in sustaining themselves for hundreds of years and are critically at risk of disappearing.

The views I present here took place as a series of conversations, exchanges of oral (h)stories, and my own personal observations in the five settlements that I visited. I started by listening to living memories and ways of life and drawing and mapping them. The architect and ethnographer Suzanne Hall explains "drawing means to listen" (2019, 60). Hall adds that through precise architectural drawings we communicate measurements, instructions, realities, and that these drawings have the possibility to convey the social. Drawing is a form of seeing, and seeing can be understood as a slower, immersive process of listening (Hall 2019, 60). As architects the practice of drawing and mapping is connected to instructing and control, and by using the practice of listening, to draw and map, I have tried to counter my position as the architect. The mapping included with this article brings together many traces of (h)stories and narrations, from the exchanges, personal observations, and researched material, in an attempt to represent the realities and connected socio-ecologies of the Nehîl as encountered in late 2019. Further to this, I see the mapping as a tool and a form of communication with myself, my colleagues, contacts, and others, which can be continuously worked on, changed, and added to.

With regard to working on other (h)stories that are excluded from dominant narratives, I find it useful to take from Shawn Wilson's writings, "an Indigenous paradigm comes from the fundamental belief that knowledge is relational, is shared with all creation" (2008, 56) and therefore, cannot be owned or discovered. Indigenous research methods should reflect these beliefs and the obligations they imply. Indigenous research methodology means talking about relational accountability. As a researcher you are answering to all your relations when you are doing research. Thinking about being the "studier" (Wilson 2008, 16–17), I am aware that I cannot get away from my own subjectivity and the danger of comparisons to my own culture. How do I ask questions and find answers in a more inclusive way? How do I include all voices? How do I communicate and include the hidden-missing-left-out? How do we share? How do we learn from life, and learn from struggling to make sense?

Despite all good intentions, I realized on the first day that I had arrived with a catalogue of lists, items and questions which needed to be answered and filled in to compose a complete picture, and that this would not work. The way in

[191] The use of (h)stories is a proposition for a new way of recording, transferring, telling, passing on, that is not steeped in frameworks of the canon, nor a fixed binary gender. It is a play on and reference to histories, stories, oral stories as an alternative, with a silent (h), something developed out of all these. Placing first-hand oral stories at the fore; stories that are not fixed in time nor place, fluid in their tellings and retellings. (hi)stories, hystories or herstories, etc, would be too gendered, relate to a past and a hierarchy of knowledge production.

which I understand one thing relating to the next, and how I understand the world, with which references, what is important and what fits into which structures and systems, was immediately interrupted and at times did not make sense to our contacts. I do not think that the problem was one of language translation but of cultural translation, a way of understanding the world. This is when "listening" became very important. I do not speak either Kurmancî or Turkish and relied on translation over a couple of parties when exchanging with local contacts who also often spoke a strong regional dialect of Kurmancî. As a consequence, there are a number of tellings and re-tellings, and in addition, further help with translating video footage from HH in Berlin. Oral traditions are important in this region as one of the only means of passing down narratives of past events, memories, interpretations, folklore, tales of life, significant happenings and cultural traditions between the Kurdish peoples, and keeping them alive. There is a great oral tradition called *dengbej*, a style of singing, often unaccompanied by music, which is used to pass (h)stories on and down through generations. Some of these tellings and re-tellings are from the direct memories of our contacts, and others might come from tellings and re-tellings from local oral traditions of dengbej. In the following sections, when re-telling the oral (h)stories I use a format of indented text and two fonts to weave together the different voices of contacts and colleagues, and try to place them, where possible, separate to my own personal narrative and observations.

WETLANDS

The wetland plains of the Nehîl are surrounded by the high mountain ranges of the Cîlo and Sat mountains in the Colemêrg [Turk: Hakkari] region. The region borders two nation-states, Iran and Iraq, and has always been crossed by countless trade routes, and where people have been displaced multiple times in the last hundred years (Türkyilmaz 2020). As a cause of these violent displacements, the remaining Kurds in this region have suffered from having their cultural and social geography transformed many times over, and in recent decades suffered extensively from aggressive oppression by the Turkish state, which has denied their collective rights (Genç 2022). Against all odds, the Kurds are a people living a culture of resistance and trying to keep their traditions and ways of life, on all levels, alive. bell hooks argues that "[...] we have to think deeply about the cultural legacies that can sustain us, that can protect us against the cultural genocide that is daily destroying our past. We need to document the existence of living traditions, both past and present, that can heal our wounds and offer us a space of opportunity where our lives can be transformed" (hooks 1995, 162).

In recent years the intense increase in militarization and the drainage of these wetlands has meant that people and animals are ever more, living around things that are blocked off, disconnected, and that collective livelihoods, and *embodied-knowledges* (Haraway 1988, 575–599), including *soil-knowledge*, are becoming lost. This is an area where the displacement of peoples has become more extreme in the last thirty years, a place of massacre and mourning, an interchange of trade routes, a place of folklore, secrets, and extreme beauty.

> While conversing with two elderly members of the community, MC and RE both tell us stories of the endless and awesome beauty of the region. The incredible numbers of animals and birds, wild pigs, and the diverse landscapes of plants before the wetlands were drained for the airport. Both MC and RE in their individual interviews interject to explain the origins of the Nehîl, telling us that it had not always been a wetland. The formation of the wetland is said to have been caused by a landslide from the north-west, blocking a river-throughway leading to the Zap River.
>
> Elderly members of the community, MC, RE, C and B, tell us of folklore from the surrounding area and the wetlands. Of people in hiding and disappearing in the high grasses, sinkholes, mythical creatures, springs, islands and ancient settlements in the middle of the wetlands, gold hidden by Armenians and Jews in treasure troves during the massacres, and other treasure troves in the rock formations near settlements. In the 1990s tens of thousands of refugees and animals flooded into the region from over the

> mountains as a cause of the Iraqi wars. RE tells of the huge numbers of sheep, about twenty thousand, to be seen at the time.
>
> A fire was started on the Nehîl which was reported to have been accidental. Hundreds of flocks of birds flew away, the sound of wild pigs squealing could be heard, and there was a terrible stench of flesh burning for days. Not just animals, but displaced peoples and guerrillas were hiding and living in the high grasses and reeds. RE explains that it was like an apocalypse. Then a second fire was started, and the locals believed this was done deliberately, as with the first one, as a means of spatial control, creating a space easy to surveil; nothing remained. After this the government took the opportunity to drain the wetlands to accommodate the construction of the airport, and with this came increased military presence and greater surveillance of the wider area.

Lying to the south-west of Gever is Hakkari–Yüksekova Selahaddin Eyyubi Airport. The construction was started in 2010 and opened in 2015 (Wikipedia 2022). Gever [Turk: Yüksekova] is the main city on the Nehîl, with many small villages on the plains, and others encompassing the wetlands at the foot of the mountains. Three main roads lead out of the city, to the city of Wan [Türk: Van] in the north, Iran to the east and Şemzînan [Turk. Şemdinli] to the south. The settlements I visited lie in the central and southern part of the Nehîl-Gever, Serdeşt, and Zizan, the three being ancient Assyrian settlements (Wilmshurst 2000), Xirvateng, and Şaglord in the Cîlo mountains. All around the Nehîl, on the main roads near the numerous military bases, the airport and on each road leading in or out of Gever, one has to pass through checkpoints and state one's reason for traveling further. There are signs of military bases nestled in the mountains all around the Nehîl, with helicopters and aircraft regularly flying over, and at night the red cat's eyes surveilling the plains are revealed.

> Since the early 1990s people have not been allowed to enter freely into the mountains as this was the period that the conflict intensified. Part of this program was to force village tribes into taking part in the village guard program, and in 2016 this program was intensified further. From 2013 to 2015, during the peace process negotiation years (Wikipedia 2022), the Turkish government took the opportunity to increase and strengthen their military structures and presence in the region (Akıncı and Tan 2016, 142–149). In 2015–2016 the Turkish military conducted "security operations" in Gever / Yüksekova, in which after severe and long-lasting curfews, and a large number of "unlawful deaths and excessive use of force" (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights 2017), large amounts of the city were attacked, buildings damaged and destroyed, and then bulldozed (Human Rights Association, Turkish Human Rights Foundation 2016). The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Right (OHCHR) not only documented numerous cases of enforced disappearances and torture but also the destruction of housing and cultural heritage, amongst a list of many other severe curtailments of the people's rights (2017).

While crossing the bridge over the river in Gever, M and IB explain how the city was divided in two, the Kurdish-held area and the Turkish-held area. The river through the city centre and particularly the main bridge on Hayattin Kesici Cadessi road formed the border to the area controlled by the Turkish military. The attack on the bridge and the surrounding areas as well as the subsequent mass demolition of properties was key to gaining control.

EMBODIED-SOIL

The agricultural village of **Zizan [**Turk. **Dedeler]** lies in the centre of the southern part of the Nehîl. It was the first place I set foot in after leaving the airport. The village is connected by three main roads with a small cemetery to the north of the village, it borders a large expanse of existing wetland plains to the south, east and west, and is surrounded by mature birch trees. Its red soils are evident in the few mounds surrounding it and from the exterior walls of the buildings showing the sun-dried earthen brick under fading plaster. The village consists of traditional detached earthen buildings, **xanîyê ax,** stone walled buildings, **xanîyê kevîr**, and contemporary concrete buildings often replicating

traditional forms. Many of the traditional earthen flat roofs, **banîyê ax**, are in obvious disrepair with grasses visible in the eaves, and dotted around are many roofs covered with plastic sheeting, weighed down with plastic bags or soda bottles filled with water, to protect them from the weather.

C is an elderly man, a Hajji, who tells us how he worked the fields, growing, harvesting, and selling the grasses and reeds of the plains for animal feed, and building construction materials. He leads us to a barn to show us the different elements that make up a xanîyê ax, as in his house they have been plastered over and are no longer visible.

Walking down through the village I notice that the *xanîyê ax* are usually of rectangular form, one-storey high, and with some, you can see the beams sticking out over the walls to support the eaves. The *xanîyê ax* come in many lengths, often made up of multiple rooms, either with interior doors joining rooms internally, or with doors to the exterior walls, separating the rooms from each other. There were a few buildings with rounded walls that we did not visit. I observe that many buildings are in need of re-plastering, making visible exposed timber lintels for windows and doors, and the simple timber construction of the window and door frames. Window reveals are often angled inwards and have small window openings, whereas the modernised, newer buildings are constructed with larger windows.

S tells me that the most common trees in the area are cedar, juniper, oak, walnut and birch. Timber has become very sparse in recent years as a result of people not being allowed to live with the land, paired with mismanagement and overuse. The main timber production comes from larger forested areas around Şemzînan [Turk. Şemdinli]. Standing in the barn, C points to the ceiling, listing the four different reed grasses that go into the construction of the *banîyê ax,* **delaf, pelex, qamiş** and **qêre**. The first layer of construction is round slender beams, called **kawîte***,* spanning the width of the building, usually made of juniper. In the opposite direction and on top of the kawîte, smaller branches called **perdîk** are laid. The third layer is *qamiş* reeds, which are laid as close to one another and as neatly as possible, as this is the visible ceiling, then *qêre* reeds, are placed on top, again in opposite directions. The grass *pelex* next and then *delaf*, which are embedded in the final soil layer.

The walls are constructed from a local sun-dried earthen brick, called **kerpîç,** made of soil, **ax**, and straw, **ka**. They are thick, interwoven, double-brick layered walls. C points to the strip foundations and base of the walls. The base of the wall can be built from *kerpîç* or stone, **kevîr**, and sits on a stone foundation. C describes the measurement of the height of the base of the wall, pointing to the clearly visible thicker part, which sticks out about a thumb's width from the inside wall, and measures to his knee. To level out the base, a timber slat, **beşt**, is used on which the wall construction is started. At the top of the wall, two *beşt* are used to finish it off and to level it out for the roof, and these are connected together to form a ring-anchor. *Beşt* are also used for the lintels of openings. The interior plastering is a paler colour than the bricks, almost white, and made of a lime plaster, **seyadin**. People used to use a whiter, chalk soil which was good for the *seyadin,* but it is hard to come by now. This whiter *seyadin* is considered more beautiful, and protects from insect infestations. Repairing small cracks in the building's lifetime is easily done with a bit of *seyadin*. This construction, C tells us, holds well with earthquakes, and does not have the same destructive impact in contrast to many of the badly constructed concrete buildings. We head out to look at the outside of the building, here C shows us how the *delaf* sticks out over the walls, used in the eaves and roof construction.

After the visit to the shed, C takes us to his house to drink tea. The house is rectangular in shape with a corrugated metal hip-roof and is orientated south-east. We enter from the south-west into an entrance hall, which then leads into the main sitting room with a large, glazed area that serves as a type of conservatory. Typical for the region the seating arrangement follows the walls with cushion seating on the floor. In the middle of the house is a corridor with rooms to all sides, the kitchen and bathroom to the north-west of the house, and three other rooms, one of these is a second sitting-living-sleeping room which he shows us into. Looking at the window-reveal in the second sitting room, I calculate that the thickness of walls is about seventy centimetres deep.

C explains that many of the houses which look like concrete from the outside are in fact original *xanîyê ax*, which have been extended using concrete brick construction (and some sort of concrete plastering). This second sitting room and the room adjacent to it were the original *xanîyê ax*. He points to the ceiling of this room constructed of *kawîte* and *beşt*. He has kept the *banîyê ax and* added the pitched metal roof over the whole house as it makes the upkeep easier. He tells us how he recognizes that the rooms of the original house have much better thermal properties, both in summer and in winter, than the newer parts of the house constructed out of concrete.

To the south lies **Serdeşt [**Turk. **Karabey]**, the last village on the Nehîl, through which the road out to Şemzînan passes and then on to the Iraqi border. RO is a primary school teacher and lives here with her parents and siblings. The main village is arranged in a grid form of concrete one-storey, rectangular row-houses, with bathroom extensions visibly jutting out to the back of the house and pitched corrugated metal roofing.

The main village was moved onto the Nehîl by the local authorities after a severe avalanche about twenty years ago, with only a few houses and buildings remaining at the foot of the mountains. Chatting about the new houses, RO's family tells of how these concrete houses are very cold in winter and hot in summer, in contrast to the old *xanîyê ax,* but that they all have electricity and running water.

As with every visit and meeting, we were introduced and tea was offered, and then often we were served a full meal upon arrival, regardless of the time of day. In the main sitting room the ceiling is constructed with *kawîte* and *beşt,* replicating the feeling of the vernacular housing style. From observations in many of the buildings I visited in the different settlements, I worked out that the dimensions of the *kawîte* are about fifteen to twenty centimetres in diameter, with forty centimetre spacing. They are approximately four metres long, the width of the building, and the length of a room is about six metres long. RO's family house has a second more private sitting room behind the bathroom, with a wood/coal stove in the middle of the room. The latter is a typical sitting room I saw in many of the houses I visited, a multi-functional room, additionally used for cooking with cushion seating on the floor. The kitchens and bathrooms are placed in the centre of the plan. After drinking hot sweet black tea, we set off to see the wetlands behind the village. A few streams run past the village and through it, the land here becomes a deeper green, with sheep spotted around in the fields. Walking around the village we see a cage of striped black and white partridges, **parçik**, behind someone's house.

A man comes out and sheepishly tells us that the *parçik* are not for eating, he is just keeping them and will release them into the wild again. A couple of young boys bound up to us, one telling us excitedly that he makes **salep** ice cream for his friend. We start chatting to them and walk down onto the plain to ask them more about the *salep* orchid plant. They explain that they harvest it from around the foot of mountains in spring. However, in the last years they have noticed that there are fewer and fewer growing. The roots get sold off to people who then take them to the main cities to sell. *Salep* is a very expensive, highly sought-out orchid root with strong perfumed flavours, bright purple flowers, and is used in desserts and a popular hot milky drink.

After later returning to the house, RO's mother, AN, told of how women have different work from men, they use different parts of the Nehîl, collecting herbs, making dairy products, and looking after the housework. In the spring women journey in groups to the mountains to pick herbs, but this has become more difficult, as access to the mountains is heavily controlled. The herbs are used in many dishes, the most obvious one being the crumbly strong-smelling delicious sheep's cheese, **penîrê wanê**, which each household offered us their own version of with meals. The cheese is stored in vats buried in the ground during the winter. Men take care of the livestock and crops in other parts of the Nehîl, which women rarely visit. Wheat is a crop grown all over the Nehîl and the local staple of flatbread, **nanê tendûr**, which is served with every meal, has a delicious deep flavour compared to what you get in the cities. In RO's village, the *nanê tendûr* we ate was of a dark flour called spring flour. On the other side of the plains the flour is lighter in colour and is called autumn flour.

On Sunday we decide to make a trip to **Şaglord [**Turk. **Gürkavak]**, as it is the only day when it is tolerated for people to travel to the mountain villages. It is an exiled village in the Cîlo Mountains, east of the village Pinyanişî [Turk. Kamışlı]. Passing through the checkpoint behind Pinyanişî, we climb into the mountains, with a view opening up behind us over the Nehîl. As we ascend, the surroundings are dry with low-lying vegetation, and soon we see a river along the side of the road, and the banks become greener. We pass high security military grounds along the deserted road and come to the small hamlet of Saglord, which sits in the folds of the mountain leading up from the main road. A stream runs along the village and there are a few ruins of xanîyê kevîr, as well as three buildings still standing. There is a house at the foot of the road, a little way off from the main village, which is evidently in use. A derelict green mosque, square in form with a corrugated metal hip-roof and one wall which appears to have been blown out to the back, and a derelict xanîyê kevîr with a pitched corrugated metal roof. After a picnic of grilled vegetables and meat, flat bread, and tea, amongst dense bushes, wild fruits, and walnut trees, we walk around the village, examining the different vegetation, bear excrement with visible red berries in it, and the buildings on the slopes and terraces, leading to the orchards above. There are piles of newly cut grass in the orchards, and the trees look kept.

M and IB recount how families from the mountain villages have been forced to resettle in the cities over the last decades. Generally, on Sundays, people are allowed up into the mountains for picnics, or to tender gardens and orchards in their exiled villages. M points out one of the houses with an unusual renovation, a derelict old xanîyê kevîr, evidently fixed with concrete and with a concrete pitched slab roof. When the village was exiled, the military took this building over. The new concrete slab roof is a common construction method used by the military.

Next we came across a long, rambling ruin of an impressive old *xanîyê kevîr*, with fairly high outer walls to one side, as if it had had two storeys. It sits with its back attached to the terraced hill. The long form is similar to the *xanîyê* ax. Looking from the terrace above onto the building ruins, there is one slender room between rooms, which does not appear to have any doors or openings and is the width of a single bed and the breadth of the building.

Together we speculate that this could have been a secret room people often talk about, with access only from the ceiling. Further down on an exterior wall corner, M shows me how some of the *kevîr* are cut particularly straight and clean. It is said that this is the work of Armenian stonemasons. He explains that it is common practice for old derelict Armenian houses to be taken over or for people to reuse the *kevîr* of ruined houses to build or repair others.

At the foot of the southern mountains, on the edge of the Nehîl is the village of **Xirvateng [**Turk: **Karabağ]**, which ascends into the mountains to two plateaus. It appears to be the only village around the wetlands that has its own plateaus within near reach. Walking around we found an old derelict kevîr mill towards the bottom of the village, with a stream running underneath the building. The building is constructed out of rounded kevîr with a pitched metal corrugated roof, has a large door opening and a couple of small openings for the machinery. Inside are the large metal and stone parts of the old mill, lying around in disuse. The village is a mixture of *xanîyê kevîr*, *xanîyê ax* and concrete single-storey buildings. On our first visit to the village we meet G who tells us that his father built the mill, and we arrange to come back for another visit in the next days as it is getting late to talk to his elderly father, RE. On the second trip we meet with RE, a hajji, farmer, and miller, we sit with him outside, amongst huge piles of corn cob sheaths, as he peels and converses with us, while his family brings us black tea.

RE starts by telling us that his father's generation moved here from the Iraqi Kurdish side in around 1923–1925. He was born in Iraq around 1920–23. When they moved to the village there were not many people living here, however, he continues, there is plenty of water, enough for about sixty houses. He helped build many of the houses in the village, including the mill. There is a road that leads up to the plateaus above, which is accessible by tractor where crops and sheep are farmed in the warmer months. RE says it is a rich village. When digging on the plateaus for crops, and also on the Nehîl, they have found old ceramics and remnants of large glazed ceramic pipes. There are ruins of two other mills in the village, one further up on the mountain and another below. When they came here from Iraq there were no villages on the south-eastern side

of the mountains around the Nehîl. Their village gets very little sun as it is in a valley in the northern mountain side. This was a village of seyids, sheiks from Şemzînan, which they know not just from stories but also from the many tombs and graves that they found. S tells me that G uses the Kurmancî names for the months, which is unusual, even in the local dialect.

The stone mill was built about seventy years ago, around 1949, and the machinery came in the mid-1940s, from Erzîrom [Turk. Erzurum], towards the Black Sea. It weighs about three tons and they had to use a crane to lift it. Oil barrels were used to make the propellers, which sat underneath the building, and the flow of the stream running underneath the mill powered the machinery. All the local villages would come to mill their grains here. Today the electric mills burn the grain in the milling process, which RE says he can taste. They benefitted a great deal from the mill, it was a very busy time, there would be tractors full of grain lining up to be milled. In twenty-four hours they could produce seventeen to eighteen vessels, sometimes twenty. Other mills would only manage five in twenty-four hours. His father had a man from Gever who worked for him because there was so much work.

For the construction of buildings *kevîr* would be collected in the mountains. They would work through the seasons. Break and gather the *kevîr* in autumn, which was very hard work, then pull them down in sledges in the winter snow (they would wear flat snow shoes to get through the thick snow), and construct the buildings in spring. The foundations are *kevîr* strip foundations, knee-high deep. The lower room for the machinery is a little more than the height of a person. His son-in-law added the existing pitched corrugated metal roof to protect the building from further damage, as originally it was an earthen roof.

Every year there is less and less snow. In autumn the Nehîl dries up and the grasses are very high before the harvest. In winter there used to be a lot of ice on the wetland plains and people would occasionally fall in accidentally and drown. The Nehîl used to have everything, wild horses, bears, pigs, geese, all sorts of birds, wolves, and people collected eggs and caught young birds. It was very beautiful, it was a paradise. He adds, it was so beautiful, you didn't want to come back, you didn't want to speak about it, and you would want to cry. We didn't realise the richness of it, we were stupid and young.

The city of **Gever [**Turk. **Yüksekova]** lies in the centre on the northern edge of the wetlands. The city is mainly made up of cube-formed concrete buildings of varying heights, with high rises in the military housing area to the north, similar in form to TOKİ housing[192] (Wikipedia 2022) and dotted with a few old *xanîyê ax* that are almost completely destroyed. Pitched metal roofing is regularly used here, and many of the roofs have solar panels for heating water. As the trip comes to an end, snow arrives on the mountains around us. People start heating more intensively, and the hazy smoggy air, early in the mornings and late at dusk becomes thick and toxic from the use of cheap fuel.

M and IB's original family homes were on what was the "Kurdish" controlled side of the city, and separated by the main bridge on the Hayattin Kesici Cadessi road. Both their houses were heavily destroyed in 2016, leaving them homeless. As compensation M's family was relocated to a piece of land on a steep arid hill on the outskirts of the city, which has no infrastructure nearby, no roads nor services. They received no compensation for the destruction of their original home, nor help with the costs to rebuild. His family recently finished off their new home, however, they still don't have running water nor electricity, and there are no adequate roads leading to the precarious lot.

IB's family came from the mountains a few generations ago and their original house was located on the hill beneath the former community canteen. This *xanîyê ax* was completely destroyed and lies in ruins. After the 2015–2016 conflicts the community centre that was

[192] TOKİ (Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı), i.e. Mass Housing Development Administration. These are social housing programs for low and middle-income people who could not afford a house in the current market conditions.

situated in the middle of the city on a hill, with 360-degree views, was taken over as a military base, now surveiling over the city. IB's family's second *xanîyê ax*, a little further from the city centre, was also completely destroyed and their adjacent concrete house heavily damaged. They had just finished rebuilding the concrete house before we arrived. *IB* explains that as with the old houses, the new concrete ones also have secret treasure troves built into them. There are still raids in which anything of worth is taken or destroyed. Keeping the original *xanîyê ax* and building a new concrete one next to it, or attached to it, is common practice. It is well known that the concrete houses are not anywhere near as good thermally or in earthquake situations as the *xanîyê ax*, however, people often feel the pressure to have a house that looks modern. M and IB noticed that when the military first attacked the city, people in the *xanîyê ax* managed to get out and escape with less severe injuries than those in concrete buildings, with heavy concrete falling on them. In the second phase of attacks the military brutally demolished everything, using tanks, easily rolling over the old *xanîyê ax*, and with quick ease almost completely destroying large areas of the city.

On our second trip to ***Zizan*** we met C who led us through a thick jungle-like area of tall grasses. This awe-inspiring hour-long trip felt incredibly long and felt very disorientating, as the grasses were about three metres high at times and you could not see out of the enclosing grass walls around us. C moved swiftly, climbing up and down over large mounds, over the roots of the *pelex* grasses, picking up and feeling plants, confidently changing direction to find the next spot to explore. Every now and then, we would pass a clearing of very low-lying plants, a few snail shells, frogs jumping about, and an intense smell of mint.

This mint-smelling plant is not for human consumption C tells us, this is only eaten by animals. As we follow him, stumbling over the jungle-like landscape and trying to find our way, C plucks out the different grasses we pass, holds them up for us to see and tells us how they grow, what their properties are and what they are used for. He says the grasses do not grow as high anymore, they used to be over three metres tall in late summer, and C demonstrates how in the past the *qamiş* and *qêre* were as thick as his fingers, very strong and beautiful. They are not as good for the construction of roofs as before. Local people used to gather seeds and the women would sow them in addition to the natural means of fertilisation and dissemination. For construction purposes the grasses are harvested in the early summer and dried out in order to be ready to build houses before winter.

C starts off by showing us *qamiş*. It is the highest growing reed with strong hollow stems and is used to make **bilûr** *(ney/flute)*. C demonstrates with his hands how it is important to lay the *qamiş* right next to each other to create a strong and pleasing looking ceiling from below. *Qêre* is a type of bulrush, similar in height yet a lot stiffer than the *qamiş*, and easier to break. C demonstrates how it blows over in the wind and then bounces back, stiff as before. It absorbs a lot of moisture and is used on top of the *qamiş,* laid out in the opposite direction.

The next layer is made of the long flat grass *pelex*, which is twisted from thick green bundles by hand, into braids, and laid out over the qêre, extending out over the inclined eaves. The *pelex* layer works as a thickly woven separation layer between the *ax* layer and the ceiling construction, preventing the soil from falling down. Additionally, the *delaf* and *qêre* layers direct water away from the exterior walls. C says that if the *pelex* is not built into the eaves properly, within three years you notice it from the state of the *seyadin* of the outer walls. The grass absorbs excess humidity and insulates. *Pelex* is also used to weave baskets, mats, mattresses, and cushions. Traditionally these mats were used to sleep on and to cover seating or work areas in the house. It grows in mound-shaped forms, visibly sticking out of the earth. The mounds and their dark roots full of peat, are harvested and dried out in late summer to become fuel for burning in the long winter months.

The fourth grass is *delaf,* which has a sturdy structure, and is covered in many layers of overlapping sheaths. When broken open it has an elastic cellulose structure, reminiscent of synthetic insulation material. C explains that when the plant is wet from the rains, it does not fall over, which illustrates its water-resistant properties. It is used as a moisture and water-resistant

layer, and insulating layer, under the *ax* and in combination with *pelex* in the eaves.

The final layer is the *ax* and *ka* layer. In order to ensure the *banîyê ax* is watertight and to get rid of any excess water on the flat surface, the final exterior surface is rolled out after rain or snow, using a cylindrical stone roller called a **gundûr**. This is essential as the *banîyê ax* pushes the excess water off the roof and seals it. *Banîyê ax* need to be maintained every autumn before winter.

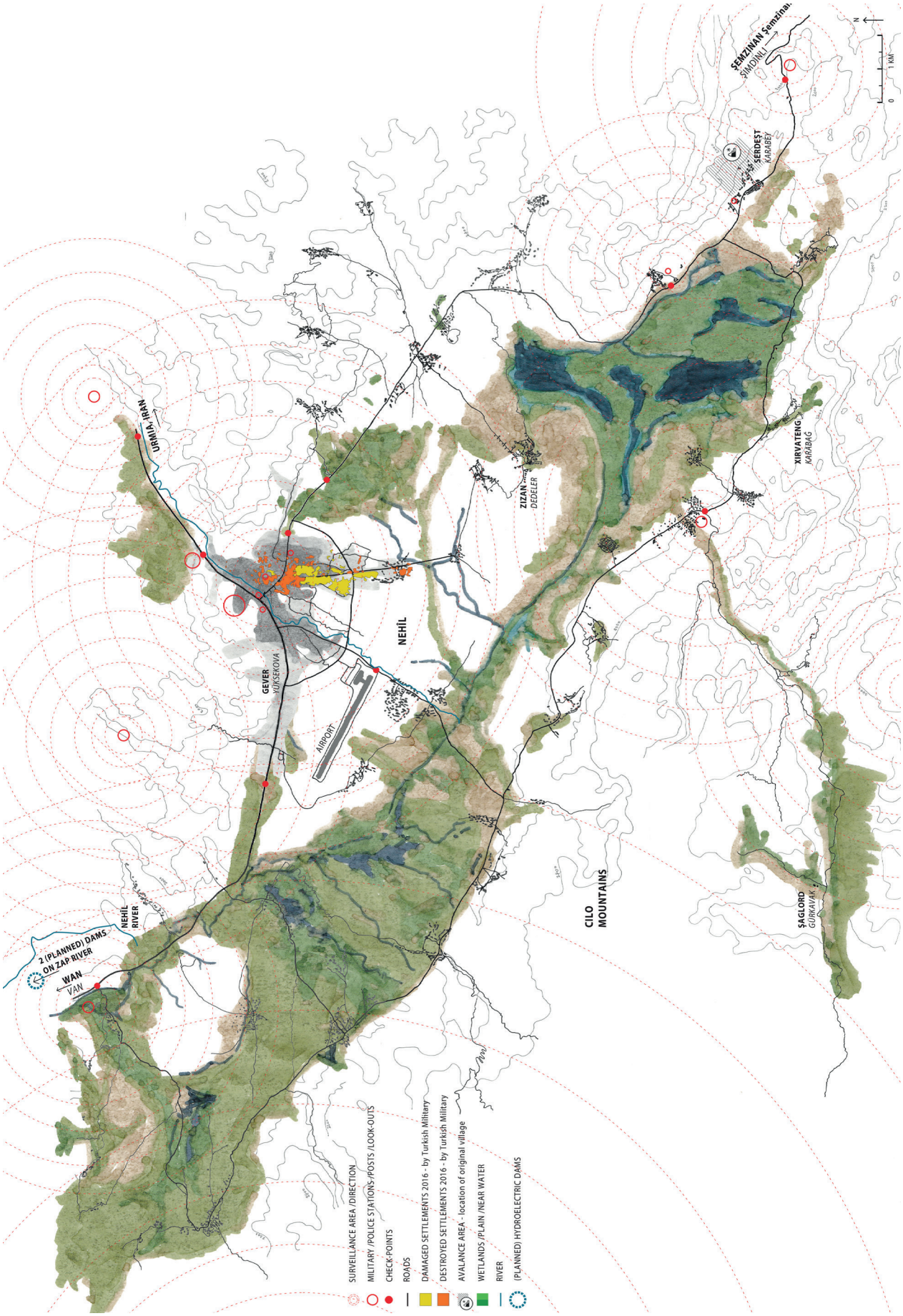
On our way back to the village we pass a man repairing a *banîyê ax*. We climb up to talk to him and see what he is doing. He had already re-done the eaves with visible protruding *delaf* grass and was busy shoveling soil over it and evening it out.

He digs his shovel vertically into the roof, showing us the rule of thumb for the depth of the soil layer. More and more people use a layer of plastic-nylon waterproof sheeting underneath a new soil layer in order to minimise the upkeep or people simply add metal sheeting over the old roof. With new roofs *beşt* are often used as the ceiling layer, on top of the *kawîte*, and then a plastic-nylon waterproof sheeting under the soil. The man showed us the *gundûr* which he will use to seal the roof once it rains.

The *banîyê ax* structure, from what I can see from the facade, looks like it is about forty to fifty centimetres deep. The *gundûr* is used to consolidate the standing water, both off the flat surface and into the deep earthen structure, packing it and pressing out the moisture, forming a type of *seyadin* which seals it. Historically the standing water would have been directed into a plaster channel, draining off to one side. There are a few loose *kerpîç* lying to the side of the building which we pick up to examine.

C explains that the *kerpîç* are made in late spring and are stronger when they dry out over the summer, taking ten to twenty days, and thirty days if they need to dry in spring. *Ka*, is used as a binding agent and is mixed with *ax*. The mixture is left for a day and can then be used to make the *kerpîç*. Between five hundred to six hundred *kerpîç* can be produced per day, and up to a maximum of one thousand. The casts are made from timber frames, which fit two *kerpîç* at a time. The full *kerpîç* size cast is about twenty by twenty centimetres, and the half *kerpîç* size cast about ten by twenty centimetres When bricklaying, two ropes and a weight are used to keep the form of the walls straight in either direction. To apply the *seyadin* to the walls, a small flat wooden trowel with a handle is used, called a **kefik**. C tells us how they used to go to the mountains to fetch *kevîr* for building houses. They would use a tractor to fetch the *kevîr*, and the cost of a house would be between fifty thousand to one hundred thousand Lira. He says the *xanîyê kevîr* were and are very expensive.

Socio-Ecologies encountered in late 2019 on the Nehîl attempts to trace together these many layers of information from the exchanges in late 2019 on the Nehîl, to illustrate and somewhat overlay the space they exist in, their locality, scale, and distance in relation to one another. All life here is bound to the cycles of the waters of the Nehîl, which gives and takes life with its ebbs and flows, marks the ever-changing spaces in between, a main point of intersection, and creates a "vast field of interconnection" (Cruz 2018). The mapping of the socio-ecologies is a kind of diagram of that period of time we spent there, tracing the conduits, man-made or natural. The mapping is now literally fixed in time on printed paper. In reality, however, all these elements and boundaries are always fluctuating, moving, adjusting, and changing, with day and night, times of year, with the waters, geological and climatic influences, and with how the people, plants and animals live their lives with the Nehîl, negotiating their space, some more than others.

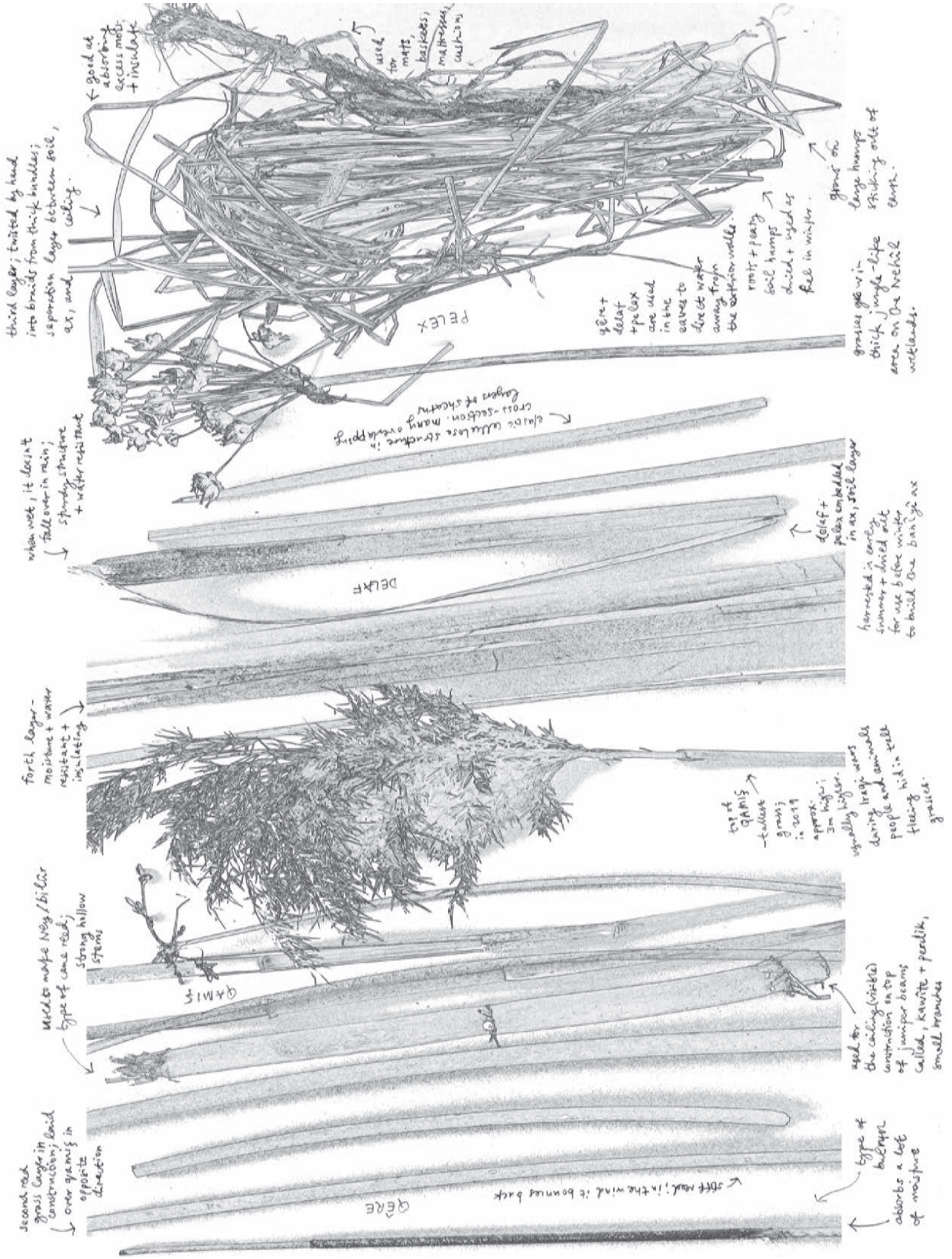

ŞEMZINAN Şemzinan.
ŞIMDINLI
SERDEŞT
KARABEY
XIRVATENG
KARABAG
ZIZAN
DEDELER
URMIA-IRAN
NEHİL
GEVER
YUKSEKOVA
AIRPORT
NEHİL RIVER
2 (PLANNED) DAMS ON ZAP RIVER
WAN
VAN
CILO MOUNTAINS
ŞAGLORD
GURKAVAK
N
0
1 KM
SURVEILLANCE AREA /DIRECTION
MILITARY /POLICE STATIONS /POSTS /LOOK-OUTS
CHECK-POINTS
ROADS
DAMAGED SETTLEMENTS 2016 - by Turkish Military
DESTROYED SETTLEMENTS 2016 - by Turkish Military
AVALANCE AREA - location of original village
WETLANDS /PLAIN /NEAR WATER
RIVER
(PLANNED) HYDROELECTRIC DAMS

AMNESIA AND NOT-FORGETTING

In Wilson's writings on Indigenous methodologies, he refers to Tafoya's premise (1995) "that it is not possible to know exactly both the context and definition of an idea at the same time. The closer you get to defining something, the more it loses its context [...] Knowledge itself is held in the relationships and connections formed with the environment that surrounds us" (Wilson 2008, 99, 87). These exchanges in 2019 opened up channels of rich background information about earthen construction, illustrating its interconnectedness with the Nehîl, with life in and around it, and the importance of all the connected elements' reciprocal, indispensable relationships with each other. We can attempt to reconstruct this type of construction from recorded instruction and documentation, or analyse and compare it to other types of construction, but the information on how to build these buildings, what they are, is incomplete without the knowledge of place, without the socio-ecological. The described shelter making, space making, place making is a creative practice which requires the use of sensory abilities, not just to plan, but also to make from, and with these materials. This is a type of making which demands a process of being immersed in manual, bodily performance, being-in-touch with place, to create with passed down traditions and techniques. It is something between necessity (Oliver 2006, 11), and an artistic creative practice. In German, one term for architecture is *Baukunst*, translated as the art of building. For the person practicing it, it alters the relationship of the body (hooks 2009, 37–38), in bending, smelling, tasting, touching, listening, breathing, looking, moving, with the plants, waters, elements, cosmic shifts, animals, soils, peoples. Added to this, working with the communal, what is ours and yours, gives a sense of agency, responsibility, and specific engagement, which has space to be creative, artistic, to create well and to care for all. Support in the communal nurtures identity and is culture forming.

Bodily engagement is what is at the core of soil-knowledge. Soil-knowledge is the knowledge of how to construct and repair these soil houses in combination with the knowledge of living with the soil, with the creatures and elements in and around the soil, care of everything that comes out of and goes back into the soil. This knowledge changes as conditions change and requires a deep understanding of the inherent circulation between socio-ecologies. If the soil, grasses, or water are not there, or are not healthy, there is no building. Soil-knowledge is the knowledge embodied in the grasses, soils, and waters, and we acquire this knowledge through bodily interaction with these elements in space and time (Haraway 1988, 575–599). It requires awareness and sensory abilities to watch them, feel them, break them open, see how they behave. This deep understanding is similar to how Fasheh describes his mother's deep understanding of geometry from her practice of dressmaking, despite no formal education and being illiterate (Fasheh 2012, 1–3); or from the example of Taimina solving a complex unsolved mathematical problem by crocheting a spatial model (Haraway 2016, 76–78). As in these examples, with vernacular building, there are not necessarily fixed measurements, nor are parts necessarily quantifiable or exact, and are not easily translated onto paper. There is a need for bodily performance. The knowledge is held within and is formed through working with what is there at a given time.

The settlements and people of the Nehîl were once deeply connected through fluid ways of life, they were mobile and semi-nomadic, traded with each other, used one another's mills and ovens, amongst many other exchanges. In the last 30 years, however, the Nehîl has become disconnected and people's ways of life have drastically changed, resulting in harder economic realities. This development is a consequence of the forced removals, exile, demolition, and blocking off of access to land, people and families, commons and natural resources, and opportunities to trade. When borders are aggressively enforced and controlled, they shut down circulation, shut down life and make areas unlivable (Cruz 2018). This has happened in the name of extreme security, the so-called Kurdish problem. As an effect of these security policies, people are forced off the land, out of subsistence farming and traditional healthy homes, and into a system of financial dependency on concrete, which has a monetary value, is based on wage labour, and which people have no direct access to, connection to, or direct control over. The bounty and abundance of the Nehîl's ecology has been depleted, and both soil-knowledge and embodied-knowledge of how to live and work with it, are being lost, are becoming missing-hidden-left-out. Paraphrasing from Rolando Vasquez, this


QÊRE
QAMIŞ
DELAĞ
PELEX

is how modernity causes a condition of amnesia, a situation on which power depends; we need to practice not forgetting as the possibility of justice and hope (2012).

If the soil, grasses and water are not there, or are not healthy, there is no building. It is important to mention that these earthen construction techniques are not regularly used to build new buildings anymore. These techniques are mostly used for repair and upkeep, and are regularly hacked due to the depletion of resources and knowledge. Consequently, most construction is based on concrete even though it is widely recognised that concrete houses are not comparable, thermally and micro-climatically, to earthen houses, and that there is a greater danger to human life with the collapse of poorly built concrete structures in earthquakes, and when under military attack. And yet despite the odds and harsh conditions we see that people are resistant to forgetting, to giving up on their identity, ancient skills, interconnectedness, and (h)stories badly damaged earthen houses, as shown in the examples of building a new concrete house right next to the original earthen house and keeping both. Engaging in the bodily, ongoing, and repeated sensory interactions of building with the vernacular, in repairing, building and rebuilding, is being concerned with survival and the essential (Oliver 2006, 12), and counters amnesia and practices not-forgetting.

The properties of earthen buildings have long been documented, and when produced in a local and responsible manner, negligibly contribute to the climate emergency. It is a material of hardly any cost, locally, readily and naturally available, non-pollutant, uses a minimum of energy and water, requiring no or very little extra structure, earthquake-resistant and at the end of its life disintegrates back into the earth. It forms the most healthy buildings, naturally regulating climatic and thermal properties through natural structures of capillaries in the earthen material, which allows humidity to escape.

As with addictive colonial crops (Katz 2003, 20–26), which dangerously changed ecosystems and pushed people out of autonomous economies, concrete has become an addictive construction material. It is one of the most pollutant building materials, heavily contributing to the climate emergency, with high carbon dioxide emissions (United Nations Environment Programme 2017). It is associated with the ill health of buildings, and binds people into reliance on a material and technology controlled by capitalist economies. People on the Nehîl have often had their homes and livelihoods violently taken from them and have been forced into an economy off the land, stopped from producing food for themselves, but also I would argue, into an economy of a reliance on concrete.

Within the context of missing-hidden-left-out narratives and practices in the Western/European canon of architectural history, as a practicing architect I see an urgent and compelling need for architects to face, consider and engage with our role in the climate emergency and displacing people. The pursuit of growth damages the planet and in addition causes social divisions as an effect. We need to consider alternatives to the current practice in which we "tend to assume that there is always more to build" (Minkjan 2019) and we need to take part in producing new narratives and references. In times like these, I propose that we need to connect to local soils and their potentially nurturing properties. Munir Fasheh paraphrases from the Arabic writings of Shams Tabrizi: I told him my heart is made of mud, he said, his heart is made of iron, I told him with the first rains, the mud will become flowers, and you will rust (Fasheh 2021).

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1 Socio-Ecologies encountered in 2019 on the Nehîl. Image credits: © EJ Williams

Fig. 2 Grasses of the Nehîl used in the Banîyê Ax Construction. Image credits: © EJ Williams

LIST OF SETTLEMENTS AND CONTACTS

Zizan [Turk: **Dedeler**]
Coordinates: 37.505932°, 44.356884°; AMSL 1,700 m
C – elderly man, used to harvest and sell grasses and reeds used for animal feed and building materials, lives in the village
R – inhabitant repairing his roof

Serdeşt [Turk: **Karabey**]
Coordinates: 37.448300°, 44.414100°; AMSL 1,750 m
RO – elementary school teacher
AN – mother of RO
B – father of RO
H – partridge keeper
Group of boys from the village

Şaglord [Turk**. Gürkavak**]
Coordinates: 37.4252846°, 44.1864338°; AMSL 1,800 m

Xirvateng [Turk. **Karabağ***]*
Coordinates: 37.4314497°, 44.3440624°; AMSL 1,900 m
G – farmer, son of *RE*
RE – master stonemason, farmer and miller

Gever [Turk. **Yüksekova**]
Coordinates: 37.566667°, 44.283333°; AMSL 1,950m
M – lives in Gever, translator of local Kurmancî dialect
IB – lives in Gever, translator of local Kurmancî dialect
MC – poet from Gever
S – from Istanbul, has been working in and visiting the region since 2010; my main translator to English
HH – Syrian Kurd, living in Berlin, translator of Kurmancî video footage

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MOUNTAINS CAN REMEMBER. THE RISE OF WAR AND FALL OF SPECIES

Rojda Tuğrul



Rojda Tugrul, Mt. Zagros, drawing, 2019. Courtesy of the artist

A mighty one, sitting, front legs crossed, calm and confident. Watching these fellas from the branches of a bush. She thinks they are fellas as she does not feel any danger would come from them, though her assessment is backed up by her willingness to fight. From a distance she has seen them passing through many times. She even stalked them once… This time with a different experience, as the otherworldly eyes exchange glances. They are astonished. She does not look like she is particularly thirsty for blood, not at all. There is a mixture of emotions in the air: fear, disbelief, excitement. Also, an uncanny trust… She stays calm and confident. The four of them keep walking. No word is heard in this loud encounter. They keep walking, that morning in blue time in Zagros.

In spring 2020, my path crossed with a former PKK fighter in Glasgow's East End, Scotland. After an eerie journey from somewhere in Iran to Birmingham, then to Glasgow, he left everything behind for good. It turned out that his departure followed his decision to withdraw himself from the organization that he had been part of for four years. The decision of leaving is not an easy one and he may still not be able to lead a free life afterwards. Understandably, he was wary about meeting me—I could be anyone and might wish him harm. But everything went smoothly when we met in Alexandra Park. I remember leaning the conversation towards eco-logical dynamics in the mountains, even though he was keen to tell me more about his experiences of conflict. I was curious to know more about what sort of climate conditions there had been, what the mountain habitat was like in a more-than-human zone that has not been exposed to "the global developments" of our era—arguably outside of this Anthropocene time, despite the shadow of the war. Without any expectations, I asked whether he had any interesting experiences with animals—we were communicating despite my limited Kurdish. It took me a while to understand what exactly he was talking about, which eventually would cause me to be torn between dismissing his words as rumors and falling into wishful thinking.

The speculative anecdote above evolved after our conversation. I was not expecting to hear about his encounter with a tiger while passing the Turkish-Iraqi border with his group of people. This wasn't the first time I heard rumors of big cats living in this area—in Mt. Zagros, particularly at the intersection of Iran, Iraq, and Turkey—but I also knew there had to be some truth to such wild rumors. This approximately 250 miles (400 km) of rocky mountainous border are the most remote and wild region in Türkiye, hostile to human inhabitants and difficult to be policed (Scott 2009), which makes it a good place for animals to take refuge. Rethinking the potential of land to hold a tiger haunted me forever and eventually pushed me on a journey I had not anticipated.[193]

THE RISE OF WAR AND FALL OF SPECIES

The PKK (*Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê/Kurdistan Workers' Party*)—a leftist militant and political organization—was founded in 1978 and has been involved in armed conflict with the Turkish state since 1984 in order to prevent the colonization of Kurdish-inhabited territories. After the Turkish military coups of 1971 and 1980, hundreds of Kurds were tortured, abducted or went missing (Özdağ 2013). These events led to a period of conflict between various Kurdish groups and the Turkish state. While some of these groups dissolved over time, the PKK survived and kept clashing with the Turkish state as an armed and illegal organization, demanding equal rights and autonomy for Kurdish people. This atmosphere of war came with immense destruction in the region, and led to the evacuation of villages, mass forced migration, the weaponization of nature, and constant the bombardment of the mountains (Baser, Emanuellson, and Toivanen 2015).

[193] In the course of the past ten years, I have been artistically exploring the effects of ongoing war on ecological and cultural heritage within the socio-political framework of Kurdish territories. My artistic and scientific practice concerns the notion of identity in relation to space and time.

The last tiger (*Panthera tigris virgata*) in Turkey was reportedly shot in 1970, in Uludere, Şırnak—a town on the Turkish-Iraqi border where most of the heavy clashes between the Turkish government and the PKK took place. The pelt of that tiger was taken to Istanbul by a businessman named Ali Ustay and is currently on display in his private museum.[194] According to Turhan Baytop, three years after that incident, another tiger pelt was seen and photographed by a botanist in Şırnak Uludere (Baytop in Can 2004). In his report from 2004, Özgün Can states

> *some military personal [sic] had presented rumors about the presence of large cats in the region. (Can 2004) Moreover, during the interviews with local people, the mammal team collected rumors about big cat sightings and met local people that claimed to hear roaring from different sites. In addition, it was reported that there was a local tiger pelt trade in the region; three to five tigers were killed in each year and the pelts were sold to rich landlords in Iraq until the mid-1980s. This is corroborated by Nihat Turan (1984), who obtained his information from local hunters in the region. Baytop (1974) similarly reported that one to eight tigers were killed each year in the Şırnak region. (ibid.)*

According to the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), the last Caspian tiger was killed in Golestan National Park in Iran in 1953, and it was subsequently listed as an extinct species (ibid.).[195] That was around when the Russian government began turning the Caspian area into farm and agricultural areas, which eventually initiated the cleansing of the tiger population in the early 20th century. Hypothetically, some of them were displaced to regions further south and southwest, where there are small inland bodies of water, but which are under the control of the PKK today. In a seemingly disparate context, I encountered a lecture by the eminent neuroscientist John O'Keefe, who discovered place cells in the brain and was later awarded the Nobel Prize for his work. I believe this paper would be incomplete without incorporating O'Keefe's account of animal spatial navigation in *The Hippocampus as a Cognitive Map (1978)*. In this book, he explores the remembrance of places past, spatial behavior, and maze learning, delving into the anatomy and physiology of the brain. He details hippocampal zones and concepts such as place cells, grid cells, cognitive maps, episodic memory, semantic memory, spatial memory, and spatial navigation. His discovery pertains to a specific type of neuron in the hippocampus—a structure deep within the temporal lobe—that becomes active when an animal enters a particular location in its environment. O'Keefe and Nadel describe this phenomenon as follows:

> *Briefly, a cognitive map would consist of two major systems, a place system and a misplace system. The first is a memory system which contains information about places in the organism's environment, their spatial relations, and the existence of specific objects in specific places. The second, misplace, system signals changes in a particular place, involving either the presence of a new object or the absence of an old one. (O'Keefe and Nadel 1978, 2)*

The animals' phenomenological experience—a subjective sense of interacting with the stimuli reaching all sense modalities, the capacity to respond to navigate themselves in a time of chaos is as striking as it is surprising. As an interesting side-effect of war, an unexpected consequence, the mountain areas that are mainly controlled by the PKK may become the new home for species that are thought to be extinct. Looking at the disappearance of felines—large and small wild cats—in the mid-1970s, it is almost impossible not to link this to the emergence of the war in Kurdistan. Moreover, it is equally difficult to ignore the subsequent decline of many other species. It is obvious, when looking at the rise and fall of animal species in parallel to this conflict, that the region suffered an enormous ecological trauma.

In November 2013, a significant event occurred: a leopard was shot by a shepherd in the province of Diyarbakır.[196] For the first time in 39 years, a one-year-old male leopard appeared in the news—with its death. If any large, wild felines live in Kurdistan today, it is likely to be in the far

[194] http://www.ustay.com/projectdetail.aspx?id=56 [accessed January, 20 2022]

[195] See herein also Firouz 2005, 66–67.

[196] "Shepherd Kills First Anatolian Leopard Sighted in Turkey for Years", Hurriyet, 3 November 2013, https://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/shepherd-kills-first-anatolian-leopard-sighted-in-turkey-for-years-57317

north, along the mountainous and forested borderlands to Turkey, Iran and Iraq, where the Zagros Mountain range starts and covers much of southeastern Turkey. The far north is where all wishful thinking about the tiger myth is centered, too. The appearance of this leopard was a sign to elaborate on the power of the Zagros Mountains where those species' former habitats had been destroyed environmentally and sociologically.[197] The appearance of this leopard was a big surprise, triggered many questions that are hard to answer, and caused speculations hard to formulate into possible scenarios.

How can these so-called extinct species reappear, 39 years after its extinction? This occurrence took place during the peace process when clashes and bomb attacks between Kurdish fighters and the Turkish military were stopped between 2012 and 2015. The re-emergence of leopards, rare felines thought to be extinct, in urban landscapes raises huge questions about the different temporalities that might exist within a war zone. Does land have the capacity to retain its previous frame and recall its habitants after an immense intervention such as long-term war? Do mountains remember? (Bobbette 2019)

SOME INCIDENTS OF RECALL AND ADAPTATIONS

Over time we are observing the appearance of species that were forced to abandon their mountain habitats due to the destruction of their environment during years of warfare. After a catastrophe that disrupts the land's capacity to self-organize, it responds with diverse participatory intra-actions among its entities (Bold 2019). Glasgow's River Clyde provides an interesting example in this regard. When various animal species returned to the river in the 1970s, they revived an ecosystem that had suffered the loss of river habitat for 200 years, since the times of the industrial revolution. This recovery reflex of the river took place without human intervention (Dodd and Colin 2013). After the end of the river's industrial exposure, its phenomenological relationship with the rock, soil, climate, forests and clouds helped it to recover from previous disruption. Thanks to the phenomenon's different speeds of remembering practice, the river was able to recall long-departed species, as the minerals and microorganisms from other phenomena remind the previous body (de la Cadena 2010).

Eventually, a river tends to perform its stream, bed, species, identity to be able to keep up with other intra-acted phenomena. Bronislaw Szerszynski emphasizes different speeds of remembering practices within the world's phenomena: for example, solids such as rock, have long-term "conformational memory"—unlike fluids, they retain their shape, even when surrounding matter is removed. But here we can be more precise about the specific ways that solids such as rocks remember and forget across different timescales (Szerszynski 2018). In river basins, for example, the interaction between water and rock in processes of erosion and sedimentation helps water falling on the land to remember how to travel to the ocean, generating complex fractal networks that drain in optimal ways (Rodriǵuez-Iturbe and Rinaldo 2001).

While thinking about the memory of the River Clyde (Lyons 2018), the heart-breaking interventions into Mesopotamian rivers have found interesting ease and hope: the Turkish government announced dozens of "Security Dam Projects" in 2008, with the dams built along the Turkish-Iraqi border and in a few valleys in the central region of Northern Kurdistan. This intervention was the second-biggest intervention in the rural area of Kurdistan after the 1990s. The construction of the security dams would in effect block the PKK militants' entry paths, hinder and restrict their movements, and disrupt logistical support from locals. These political interventions into the land

[197] It is a deliberate attempt to link the Zagros Mountains' destruction to the sociological realm. The possibility of ecological loss is mirrored by a loss of knowledge in society. Along with various animals and plants, mythological and anthropological histories are inevitably affected. Witnessing the affiliation between a biological entity and a mythological figure prompts us to rethink different positions of phenomena within the geography. This article highlights the entanglement of various seemingly disparate phenomena in a space that is in the process of breaking down as a result of long-term armed conflict.

dramatically redefine—even destroy—the ecology and sociology of the region. Almost no area around the rivers (in Turkey, Iraq, Syria, Iran, and Kuwait) remains unaffected. In consequence, animals, birds and a variety of plants are disappearing. Historical sites, remains of ancient Mesopotamian civilizations, are damaged and destroyed, and historical knowledge vanishes. The flooding of the antique city of Belkis in Gaziantep and the imminent destruction of Hasankeyf are heartbreaking examples. Many ancient villages are already lost and underwater (O'Sullivan 2018a).

It is almost inevitable to think of the catastrophe of Chernobyl in 1986 and its regeneration process over decades, too. Today, the area's deer, wolves, rabbits, and various micro-macro flora and fauna have been detected in Chernobyl, where human beings still are not able to live. The processes of self-organizing and re-vegetation are no easy feats for the planet after such disasters. The Earth is facing yet another battle through catastrophes, while engaging in self-repair, summarizing the total of the negotiations, and compromising with many mutated or congenitally deficient species and plants. Perhaps the process of self-organizing and recovering is multiplied and layered in Earth's understanding of time (de la Cadena 2015). Perhaps Earth remembers to self-organize after the catastrophe in Chornobyl, without forgetting the reflex of self-organizing within deeper time—for instance, the second Ice Age, so that we witness time within time, memory with memory.

We could take another look at the villages in Kurdistan within that frame, too: the countless armed conflicts destroyed the region in many respects and caused the evacuation of villages as well as forced migration, as part of the government's counterinsurgency campaign intended to deprive the PKK of logistical support, especially during the 1990s. The overall death toll reached between 32,000 and 45,000 people (Baser, Emanuelsson, and Toivanen 2015, 132). Kurdish people who refused to work as armed guards for Turkey also had to migrate to the western parts of the country or abroad. Over 3,000 villages were evacuated, and three million people were forced to migrate (ibid.). Those who refused to leave their villages were killed. In order to prevent people from returning to their villages, most villages were set on fire.

Inhabitation by returning wild animals after the evacuation of the Kurdish villages may be seen as an example of the notion of self-organizing. As a result of this forced displacement, many of the abandoned villages in the region became new habitats to returning wild animals. The number of rock partridges, wild boars, squirrels, foxes, gazelles, Eurasian eagle-owls, hyenas, porcupines, and chevrotains significantly increased in these regions. Similarly, the flora, insects and weather conditions in the region were significantly affected as returning animals recall their symbiotic companions to themselves. Some of the villages were not even familiar with some species. It is impressive to witness how the land can indeed make new memories. Different species, plants and insects appear because Earth passes through this self-organizing process. It recalls fauna and flora, and calls new fauna and flora, to compensate the damage that took place in the early 1990s.

CONCLUSION

As an interesting aspect, due to the war its heavy clashes in 1980s and 1990s, there was no interest in or infrastructure for tracing the ecological transformations that were taking place in this region. The area controlled by the PKK predictably became a refuge for many wild animals that had formerly been endemic elsewhere. The war has complex effects on phenomena on Earth. We witness the connections between war and seemingly disparate incidents. In terms of time and place we as human may be challenged in tracking these connections when it is not happening simultaneously or in a lifetime long. Self-organization and the memory of the planet may operate in different timescale (O'Sullivan 2018). The intertwining relationship between the long war and ecological changes is complex. These incidents, war and ecological waves, take place within this Earth-time in parallel to war-time as their frame of reference. While clashes between the Turkish state and the PKK attracted major attention, the cleansing of the tiger took place at the same time (Jullien, Fijałkowski and Richardson 2011). The ghostly existence of felines in the Kurdish mountains offers insight into the capacities of the mountains. Mountains remember and call the tiger, and so does the tiger remember where to go and how. The phenomenological identities (mountain, tiger) function like

receptors; the practice of remembering enables them to respond to signals and reunite.

In the context of war, transformed identities reanimate, intra-act, and travel. They travel in circular motions, like rotating planets revolving around each other, each affecting the other. This research process suggests changes that occur in silence, too. We witness change in a moment of great unknowability and are faced with indescribable parts of life that flow in "our" time. The unknown is part of everything. Resistance, therefore, also comes from learning how to live with the unknown, while simultaneously pushing boundaries in order to find what is tangible. All of these are woven together, not in competition with knowing, but in a pluriversal relationship to it. In the context of war, one cannot live with either the known or the unknown, and yet one continues to live.

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AFTERLIVES OF IMAGES. ARTS-BASED APPROACHES TO PROCESSING AND REPRESENTING PHOTOGRAPHIC COLLECTIONS

Maria Six-Hohenbalken, Mehmet Emir, Eva Kolm, Eva Stockinger

Globalization gave rise to an "era of disparition" where time is instantaneous, concepts of space/place changed, and people are forced to become mobile (ranging from economic to enforced migration and war). Within the framework of this "mobility", people are challenged to (re)construct collective identities and memories (see Bellaigue 1999). Marianne Hirsch argues that the "diasporic aesthetics of temporal and spatial exile (...) needs simultaneously to (re)build and to mourn" (2012, 245).

Related to these dynamics, the *ZOZAN*[198] project adopted an innovative approach to the question of (re)presenting images from two multi-media collections: By bringing together the Werner Finke and Mehmet Emir[199] collections—both depicting Kurdish everyday life from the perspective of the Austrian ethnographer Werner Finke and the Kurdish artist Mehmet Emir—we are able from the outset to compare internal and external perspectives. Furthermore we are applying ethnographic and artistic approaches.

THEORETICAL APPROACHES

The following theoretical considerations were fundamental to the design of participatory arts-based encounters with the Kurdish transnation. In an endeavor to critically approach the colonial past of European museums, collections, and research institutions in the last two decades, researchers, curators and artists have been discussing different ways of "restitution" with regard to materials as well as the display of visual and art collections. For this reason, they started and are continuously further developing new and innovative processes of (re)formulating these relations. As Alan Barnard and Jonathan Spencer argue, "This is part of a wider concern with "appropriation", what has been called "the politics of representation", which deals most broadly with the ability to exercise control over the content and context of images and interpretations" (Barnard and Spencer 2003, 383). Also important to the setup of the *ZOZAN* project were Dagmar Brunow's outlines that we have to get "away from a single metanarrative [...] that is based on referentiality, realism, and facts that repress heterogeneity, towards a more particularised and multicultural construct of plural pasts" (Brunow 2015, 15 referring to Zimmermann 2008).

In the *ZOZAN* workshops, the team explores and negotiates creative directions and issues of public outreach, based on the various "turns" in social and cultural sciences. They seek to elaborate on questions of (re)presentation as well as negotiations of identity and memory in transnational realms, while avoiding the traps of stereotyping and

[198] The project "*ZOZAN* Approaching mobility via multimedia documentation, art interventions, arts-based research and (re)presentations" is funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF), PEEK Project AR 682.

[199] Mehmet Emir (born 1964) is a multimedia artist. Since 1981, he has documented his region of origin, Dersim (Tunceli, Turkey). For his photographic collection, an edited volume is in preparation.

orientalization in presenting the "other". Arts-based workshops dedicated to a selection from both collections are like interventions. The selection relates to topics such as memory, gender relations, material culture, nature and the environment, and generational issues. As spaces of discourse, the arts-based workshops enable the mediation of cultural memory, allow for multiple constructs of plural pasts, and produce (communal) art works as well.

Discourses on questions of belonging, identity, memory and representation in the Kurdish transnation have been highly politicized to this day, driven by various Kurdish (party) politics and related to the countries of origin (Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Syria). In order to meet the challenges of the increasing (re-)nationalization of Kurds from various nation states in the Middle East and their integration into multicultural European nation states, the *ZOZAN* project is conceptualized as an arts-based negotiation of belonging and (multiple) identities, of cultural heritage and memory. Therefore, the workshops are realized in various countries and social settings to grasp transnational flows.

Edward Said critically discussed questions of representation and asks, "How does one represent other cultures?" What is another culture? Is the notion of a distinct culture (or race, or religion, or civilization) a useful one, or does it always get involved either in self-congratulation (when one discusses one's own) or hostility and aggression (when one discusses the "other")? (Said 1978, 325). Concerning the importance of visual material in this regard, Howard Morphy and Marcus Banks stated that "Visual images provide the most readily accessible representations of other cultures." (Morphy and Banks 1999, 25).

"CONSTRUCTING THE FIELD"

ZOZAN follows Avtar Brah's approach of "cartographies of diaspora" (Brah 1996). The Kurdish diaspora with its approximately two million people has established vibrant social and academic communities and art scenes—e.g. in France, Great Britain, the Scandinavian countries and Germany. The *ZOZAN* team organizes various workshops with experienced artists (Kurds and non-Kurds) and participants, creatively working with the existing multimedia collections, elaborating on questions of mobility and belonging, cultural roots, Kurdish history and questions of representation. The participants trace various, multi-layered orientations of past and present Kurdish belongings and identities. The complex nature of negotiating processes of selfing and othering, communalities and differences, and the display of material and visual cultures is made accessible via art work and the collaboration of artists and researchers.

The *ZOZAN* project follows the new paradigms of the "pictorial turn"[200]. In other words, it does not intend to come to a conclusive explanation of visual representation. It rather operates on the assumption that images and pictures are a source of friction and an occasion for discomfort in a broad variety of intellectual investigations. The representation of the self in both the present and the near past is closely connected with memory regimes and memory work. In the context of the first and subsequent generations of exiled people, Hirsch analyzed how memory work is constructed differently: "For survivors who have been separated and exiled from a ravaged world, memory is necessarily an act not only of recall but also of mourning, mourning often tempered by anger, rage, and despair" (Hirsch 2012, 243). Hirsch further argues that the post-memory, meaning the memory of incidents not personally experienced, has a certain diasporic aesthetics.

In setting up arts-based workshops, we consider the role of historical documentaries in contributing to an actual, positive knowledge of the past. At the same time, we keep in mind Brunow's critical approach that representations are highly coded, that memories in a transnational space are multidirectional and that "travelling modes of memory"

[200] In the present time, the meaning of images became a new central point of research. They are essential instruments in producing rationality, but are fundamental in communicative and rhetorical references. They are in a certain way "living" subjectivities and "endowed with will and power". (International Lexicon of Aesthetics). It is still disputed, what images are, how they are related to language, what kind of repercussion they have to the single spectator and the whole world (Mitchell 1992).

come into being, although memories are vicarious or prosthetic (Brunow 2015, 5f.).

As for the organization of our *ZOZAN* workshops, we set some ground rules and common standards: participants and artists with and without Kurdish background watch a selection of topics and materials (photographs, films) from the Emir and Finke collections. The workshops set out from topics of mobility (refuge, displacement, migration) and we propose to the artists to further elaborate on issues of memory, gender relations, material culture, nature and the environment, and generational issues. The discussions we encourage end up in forms of artistic (re)presentations which reflect the various arising disputes. The workshops focus, amongst others, on the interpretation of the existing visual material, the evoked memories, and aesthetics of representation.

THE *ZOZAN* ART INTERVENTIONS[201]

The first *ZOZAN* workshop took place in Vienna and was held by the well-known Austrian photographer Lisl Ponger. Her work concerns stereotypes, racism and the construction of the gaze, located at the interface between art, art history, and ethnology in the media of photography, film and installation. The workshop participants discussed a range of topics that are still evident for the Kurdish regions but have a long history—e.g., the water dam projects, the question of extractivism (oil and other natural resources), nature and the environment, and also the painful Kurdish history and the increased renationalization. The workshop participants designed post stamps from this stateless nation, making use of images from both collections as well as personal memorabilia and collective artworks, drawn during the workshop.

The second workshop took place in Vorarlberg, the westernmost federal province of Austria, where several Kurdish and Alevi communities have been established in the course of workers migration since the 1970s. The workshop was organized under the direction of Vienna-based artist Songül Boyraz. During her one-week residency in the Bregenz area, the artist held discussions with members of the Kurdish community in Vorarlberg on topics such as their homeland, identity, memory, and displacement. The artist interwove reactions to both multimedia collections, conversations and video interviews with further archive material and her own family biography to create a film of twenty-eight minutes.

The third workshop took place in Vienna under the direction of the artist Rojda Tuğrul. The artist spoke to dispossessed people, people with experience of dispossession, and people carrying the memories of dispossessed ancestors. Initiating a modest exercise of imagining different worlds within the world we live in, she encouraged the workshop participants to explore the multimedia materials with their senses and contribute drawings, photos, texts, oral history, video and audio recordings, following approaches of "re-animation" and "on-touching".

The fourth art intervention took place at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna under the direction of Thomas Freiler as part of a methodology seminar. Thomas Freiler invited art students to artistically approach the image archives of Finke and Emir. They explored photography in the context of digitization and archiving as well as the significance of an ethnographic archive for the communities being researched. The students organized an event in the form of a re-enactment, in which a Kurdish woman showed them how to make butter the traditional way in Kurdish villages.

In Hamburg's *Museum am Rothenbaum—Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK),* the fifth art workshop took place under the direction of artist Savaş Boyraz together with cultural scientist and educator Duygu Örs. They engaged the participants with politics of representation and subjecthood in an archival context. Spreading over two weekends, the participants were encouraged to look into their personal and ancestral pasts by bringing out images, objects and stories that accompany them. The workshop questioned whether individual and collective pasts can actually be

[201] For each workshop a brochure was published (see the online version: www.zozan.at)

re-imagined and re-arranged in an artistic context. Boyraz then brought the drawings of the participants together and created a "tent of memories", a replica of a black nomad tent, on which several of these drawings are depicted.

In Graz, the second-largest city of Austria and home to a diverse Kurdish community, the sixth workshop took place under the direction of the artist Ezgi Erol. She invited the participants to engage specifically with the Mehmet Emir collection and to analyze selected photos by means of various methodological approaches. Erol enabled the participants to bring in their family backgrounds to transgress the borders of "we" and "them". She created a space where the connection between the Kurdish regions and Austria crystallized. A key point was the technology of Austrian companies with which huge dam projects are carried out in Austria and Turkey. The participants also worked out the similarities between the memories of their own family biographies from the years 1937/38 onwards, which were all characterized by extreme experiences of violence.

The seventh workshop was organized by Dara Olah in the Kurdish Autonomous Region of Iraq, in Sulaymaniyah. Together with ten artists, the group elaborated on environmental issues, water problems due to dam constructions, sustainable developments, the loss of cultural heritage, and vanishing knowledge systems. As almost all the material of the Finke and Emir collections are from Kurdish regions in Turkey, the group of artists figured out various parallel developments for the Kurdish environment in Iraq. It was this specific focus on nature, environment, climate change, and loss of cultural heritage and knowledge that inspired the participants in their individual artworks. Applying different techniques and forms of representation, they produced sculptures made of stone and textiles, various printing techniques, and installations.

The eight workshops took place at the *Institute Kurde*, an influential diasporic institution founded in Paris forty years ago. Curator Melis Kaya worked with the participants on individual and collective forms of remembrance. They created memory boards that symbolize their own history, human rights violations, and political developments in different countries. Using the comprehensive archive and library at the *Institute Kurde*, the participants were able to dig deep into history and remembrance.

All these artistic workshops were guided by considerations on visual art and whether it can encompass highly fluid and dynamic memory and identity work. The *ZOZAN* team experienced how visual art can elaborate on more integrative discourses, bringing together Kurds from different nation states. Artwork can be set in dispute with the ideologies and multiple ways of belonging within residence communities. People in diaspora or exile have to deal with different concepts of space/place and temporalities. We have seen that artworks can offer guidance in constructing post memories, analyzing historical narratives and multiple constructs of plural pasts. Art production transcends or communicates ethnic/national boundaries, builds bridges and stresses communalities in the respective residence societies, contributing in this way to an afterlife of the multimedia collections.

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Said, Edward. 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon.

AUTHORS

Emir, Mehmet, Institute for Social Anthropology & Austrian Centre for Digital Humanities, Austrian Academy of Sciences

Mehmet Emir is the in-house expert for digitization of materials at the Austrian Academy of Sciences. He works with the Austrian Center for Digital Humanities and Cultural Heritage, the Institute for Social Anthropology, and at the Library, Archive, Collections: Information & Service. He studied Contextual Painting at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna with a focus on photography and is engaged in various multimedia projects. Mehmet Emir's works have been shown in exhibitions in London, New York, Istanbul and Vienna. He is also a columnist for the biweekly newspaper Augustin and a musician. The photo book "Zımeq 1983–2019. *Fotografien aus meinem kurdischen Dorf in Dersim. Köyündem fotoğraflar*" [Zımeq 1983–2019. Photographs from My Kurdish Village in Dersim] is published in 2025.

Freiler, Thomas, Academy of Fine Arts Vienna

Thomas Freiler is an artist working with and on photography, and teaches at art academies and universities; his lectures and publications focus on the theory and history of photography. As Senior Artist, Thomas Freiler has also been heading the Photo Laboratory at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna since 2006 and habilitated in the field of Photography.

Hárs, Eszter Ágota, Institute for Social Anthropology, Austrian Academy of Sciences

Eszter Ágota Hárs is an MA student currently employed at the Institute for Social Anthropology, Austrian Academy of Sciences, where she works on indexing digitized ethnographic collections. She is also writing her master's thesis at the Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Vienna. The title of her thesis is *Imagining Homeland. Photographic Encounters in the Kurdish Diaspora*. Her research interests include the anthropology of migration and mobility, transnationalism, memory, visual anthropology, and arts-based research.

Kolm, Eva, Institute for Social Anthropology, Austrian Academy of Sciences

Eva Kolm is a part-time employee at the Austrian Academy of Sciences for the ZOZAN project. She graduated in Social and Cultural Anthropology from the University of Vienna and is a trained curator for communication in museums, a supervisor and coach as well as a teacher of German as a second language. She has been working at the interface of culture and education with a focus on exhibitions and history education for 30 years. In 2020, she also started working for the OeAD—Austria's Agency for Education and Internationalisation.

Omarkhali, Khanna, Department for Iranian Studies, Freie Universität Berlin

Khanna Omarkhali teaches Kurdish Studies at the Institute of Iranian Studies, Freie Universität Berlin. She completed her PhD at the Department of Religious Studies, Saint Petersburg State University in 2006. From 2006 to 2017, she was a researcher and in charge of Kurdish Studies at the Institute of Iranian Studies in Göttingen. In July 2017, she habilitated in Iranian Studies at the Georg-August Universität Göttingen. Her main research covers Yezidism, religious minorities in Kurdistan, and orality and scripturalisation in the Middle East. Her works have been published in several languages and include *The Yezidi Religious Textual Tradition: From Oral to Written. Categories, Transmission, Scripturalisation and Canonisation of the Yezidi Oral Religious Texts* (Harrassowitz 2017); with Philip Kreyenbroek: *Yezidism: Between Continuity and Transformation* (Harrassowitz 2021); *Religious Minorities in Kurdistan: Beyond the Mainstream* (Harrassowitz 2014).

Rasuly-Paleczek, Gabriele, Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Vienna

Gabriele Rasuly-Paleczek was an assistant professor at the Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Vienna until her retirement. In 1999/2000, she had been a post-doc fellow at Yale University, and a visiting professor at the University of Southern California, Los Angeles for the fall term of 2012. She conducted extensive fieldwork in rural Turkey as well as among Afghan refugees in Pakistan and Turkey. Rasuly-Paleczek published several papers and books on rural Turkey as well as on local politics and identity issues in Afghanistan and the current situation of Afghan refugees in Austria. Her work includes co-edited with Robert L. Canfield: *Ethnicity, Authority, and Power in Central Asia: New Games Great and Small* (New York, London 2011, Routledge) and co-edited with Emine Onaran İncirlioğlu: *Commemorating Paul Stirling 25 Years After He Passed Away*, ASSA Sondernummer 1/2023.

Six-Hohenbalken, Maria, Institute for Social Anthropology, Austrian Academy of Sciences

Maria Six-Hohenbalken is a senior researcher at the Institute for Social Anthropology, Austrian Academy of Sciences and a lecturer at the Department for Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Vienna. Her fields of interest are political violence, migration and transnationalism, refuge, memory and arts-based research. She is the co-founder of the *Vienna Yearbook of Kurdish Studies* and has published on topics of migration and refuge, on violence and memory, e.g., co-edited with Ralph Buchenhorst and Fazil Moradi: *Memory and Genocide. Of What Remains and the Possibility of Representation* (Routledge 2017) and co-edited with Monika Mokre: *(In)Visibility of Flight. Images and Narratives of Forced Migration* (transcript 2024).

Stockinger, Eva, Institute for Social Anthropology, Austrian Academy of Sciences

Eva Stockinger is a project member at the Institute for Social Anthropology, Austrian Academy of Sciences. She graduated in Theater, Film and Media Studies as well as Social and Cultural Anthropology from the University of Vienna and has a professional background in media content management as well as art exhibition organization. She currently works in collection management, visual anthropology, ethnographic archives, and digital cultural heritage.

Stoilova, Marina, Institute for Social Anthropology, Austrian Academy of Sciences

Marina Stoilova is a master's student in Social and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Vienna and a student collaborator at the Project "ZOZAN—Investigations on mobility through multimedia documentations, art interventions, art-based research and (re)presentations" at the Institute for Social Anthropology, Austrian Academy of Sciences. She is interested in the anthropology of war and violence, the decolonization of knowledge production in archives and museum collections, the anthropology of the digital, and digital humanities. She is currently conducting research on socially mediated videos of Kurdish wedding celebrations and their meanings for young members of the Kurdish diaspora in Austria.

Thevenin, Michaël, URMIS (Research Unit on Migrations and Societies), University of Paris, and IFPO (French Institute of the Near East)

Michaël Thevenin is an anthropologist and photographer. His fields of interest are pastoral practices and livestock trade in the northern part of the former Fertile Crescent (Turkey, Armenia, and Iraqi Kurdistan). Through these two approaches, his research attempts to highlight both the logic of the geopolitics of sheep (logics of networks, identity, heritage and cultural issues, globalization, violence, and inequality) and those of pastoral circulatory territories as key social and territorial phenomena in his fields of study. He has published numerous articles and held several photographic exhibitions on these issues.

Tuğrul, Rojda, Academy of Fine Arts Vienna

Rojda Tuğrul is an interdisciplinary artist and researcher with a focus on the notion of identity in relation to space and time. Her research projects explore the effects of war on ecological and cultural heritage within the sociopolitical framework of Kurdish territories. Rojda examines the transformation of the sociopolitical landscape in these regions as a reflection of changes in society's culture

and collective psyche. Her work also delves into the politics of art, the autonomy of artistic representations, and the power of images. She holds a master's degree in Veterinary Studies and completed the PhD in Practice program of the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna.

EJ Williams

EJ Williams is an architect and researcher who recently joined the public sector in Basildon, UK as its Principal Design Officer for Housing Growth. EJ's field of interest includes feminist methodologies, critique of architectural knowledge production, collective and affordable housing, healthcare buildings, participative planning, earthen construction, resilient construction materials and practices, and new imaginings for spaces for solidarity. EJ has extensive international experience in leading and delivering construction projects with a focus on residential, healthcare, participatory, and cultural projects realized in France, Germany, Greece, Morocco and the UK. EJ has published and co-edited, most recently with Doina Petrescu and Constantin Petcou, *LiveAct: 10 Questions for the Here and Now* (Dec 2023), documenting research on cultures for resilience, with contributions on Kurdish earthen vernacular. EJ was a LINA fellowship recipient in 2023–2024, and became a Public Practice Associate from spring 2024.

INDEX

Adana 105, 181, 188
Ağri 12, 105, 181, 188, 225, 233, 235, 239, 245
Agricultural implements 44, 183
Akbayir, Hamide 15, 20, 104
Alipoor, Ebrahim 112, 113
Ammann, Birgit 16, 20, 109, 113
Andrews, Peter A. 17, 20, 229, 249
Ararat 103, 227, 233, 245
Aras, Ramazan 11, 12, 18, 20
Arts-based research 120, 125, 273
Audio recordings 9, 19, 33, 105, 118, 124, 138, 142, 165, 181, 275
Aydin, Zülküf 17, 20
Azadi (exhibition) 39, 40, 42, 179, 182, 184–185

Banîyê ax 255–256, 260, 264
Barth, Frederick 11, 20, 226, 249
Batman 105, 181, 188, 192, 196, 226, 237, 244
Bêrîte 140, 144–146, 157–158
Berliner Institut für Vergleichende Sozialforschung 110, 113
Beşikci,İsmail 14, 16, 20, 109–110, 113, 162, 165, 227, 236, 238, 249
Beytüşşebab 33, 181, 183–184, 188, 196, 198
Bitlis 105, 162, 181, 183, 188, 200, 241, 248
Blaschke, Jochen 113, 120
Blau, Joyce 11, 13, 17, 20
Boyraz, Savaş 124, 125, 141
Boyraz, Songül 121, 124, 175, 178
Bozarslan, Hamit 10, 12, 15, 16, 21, 104, 109–110, 113, 189, 202

Carpet 36–37, 40, 41, 71, 105, 119, 172, 180, 185, 195, 217, 220–222, 227, 241
Chaldean (Kildani) 82, 186
Chyet, Michael 144, 159
çît/ çîx 61, 181, 238–240, 248
Cizre 105–106, 141, 163–164, 181–184, 188, 200, 207, 226
Clothing 37–38, 105, 119, 164, 170, 176, 182–183, 195
Costumes 146, 176, 195, 197–198

Dara, Ola (DARO) 125
De Zordo, Markus 35, 38, 43, 45, 181, 186, 200
Delaf 255, 259–260
Dengbêj 15, 19, 144–146, 156–158, 195, 253
Dersim 216
Diary 29, 31, 35, 134, 161–165
Dairy products 184, 246, 256
Diwanxané 228, 238, 240–241
Diyarbakır 87, 104–105, 108, 109, 145, 162, 176, 181, 183–188, 195, 200–203, 225–226, 237, 242, 269
Dostal, Walter 15, 28, 34, 44–45, 168

eHRAF "Outline of Cultural Materials 117
Ektachrome 133–134
Elazığ 75, 105, 163, 181, 188, 225, 242
Erzurum 31, 105, 181, 188, 225, 229, 241, 245, 258
Ethnographic collection 112, 137, 180, 192, 212
Erol, Ezgi 125, 276

Ferber, Oda 17, 169, 216
Film documentation 112, 162, 165
Film Merkezi 15, 44, 180
Finke, Reiner (Reinhold) 25–29, 32–35, 37–40, 116, 134, 162, 187
Finke, Werner 25–42, 43–49, 103–114, 115–128, 129–136, 127– 160, 161–166, 167–177, 179–189, 191–196, 199–214, 215–223, 273–278
Franz Erhard 14, 17, 21
Freiler, Thomas 124, 126, 129–134, 275

Gaziantep 105, 181–182, 188, 271
Gever / Yüksekova 251, 254, 258
Goyan, Seyda 19, 117, 138, 144, 147, 187, 191–198, 199–211
Gräßlin, Doris 17, 169, 216
Gunes, Cengiz 10, 21

Hakkari 17, 19, 105, 116, 145, 163, 165, 169–170, 180–181, 185, 188, 196, 207, 216, 238, 245, 251, 253
Hamal 34, 45, 47–48
Handicrafts 36, 44, 53, 105, 119, 180, 192
Hansen, Henny Harald 170, 172, 174, 202–207
Hatay 105, 181, 188
Horses 26, 45, 75, 94,98, 163, 164, 185, 220, 258
Household goods 37, 63, 181, 200

Hütteroth, Wolf-Dieter 11, 21, 227

Iğdir 105, 181, 188, 225, 239, 242, 245
Institute Kurde, Paris 112, 276

Janata, Alfred 18, 37–41, 116, 180, 184, 187, 202–205
Jewelry 38, 175, 183, 192
Jwaideh, Wadie 18, 22

Kadin Evin Günesi (exhibition) 37, 217
Kars 105, 181, 188, 225–226, 239, 242
Kaya, Melis 125, 276
Kaya, Şerafettin 22, 109
Kehl-Bodrogi, Krisztina 17, 22
Kendal, Nezan 16, 22, 109, 114
Kilamên / stranên tarîxî ("historical songs") 144–145, 157
KOMKAR 17
Konê raş 227
Koruculuk sistemi (village guard system) 16, 109
Kren, Karin 25, 38, 116, 187, 235, 249
Kreyenbroek, Philip 18, 22, 114, 139, 143–144, 159
Kudat, Ayşe 15, 22

Lacıner, Ömer 17, 22
Leavy, Patricia 120, 125

Magnarella, Paul 15, 22
Malkki, Liisa 110, 114
McDowall, David 22, 104
Meiselas, Susan 112–114, 209
Morres, Monika 15, 20, 104
Multi-sited ethnography 226
Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art (Nazan Tapan, Istanbul) 15, 44, 180

Nehîl 251–260
Nevşehir 105, 181, 188

Pastoral circulatory territories 225–248
Pêşmerge 148, 158
Pir Shalyar festival 112
PKK *Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê* 15–16, 109, 227, 242, 245, 268–271
Ponger, Lisl 121–122, 275
Pottery 19, 105, 195, 199–212

Qamiş 30, 238, 255, 259
*Qesîde*s 139, 144, 147, 156, 158
Qurmilo 137, 146, 154–156

Rasuly-Paleczek, Gabriele 11, 15, 18, 25, 34–35, 43–48, 180

Salat, Joseph 15, 25, 34, 42, 44–45, 180
Şanlıurfa 105, 181–182, 188
Siirt 33, 105–107, 145, 162–163, 181, 183, 188, 220, 226, 244
Şırnak 33, 103, 105–106, 137, 144, 163, 181–182, 188, 192, 200, 207, 269
Sivas 105, 140, 163, 188
Social life 118, 125, 195, 201
Soil-knowledge 251, 253, 262
South-East Anatolia Project (Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi; GAP) 15, 16, 246
Sperl, Stefan 18, 114
Stirling, Paul 11, 21, 23
Stran 138, 140, 143–146, 157–158
Strohmeier, Martin 170, 174, 178
Struck, Ernst 13, 17, 23

Tahtakale Project 34, 42, 49,
Tapper, Richard 14, 23
Tîtan (singer) 139–141
Transhumance 10, 11, 19, 33, 52, 104, 112, 117, 181, 192, 196, 217, 226
Tuğrul, Rojda 121, 124, 267

Uludere 15, 105, 116, 163–164, 181, 188, 192, 195–197, 199–204, 207, 211, 269
University of Vienna 12–15, 17, 27–28, 37, 43–44
Ürgüp 36, 47, 162

Van 73, 74, 105, 140, 163, 183, 185, 188, 217, 220, 225–226, 236, 239, 245–246, 254
Van Bruinessen, Martin 12, 14–15, 141, 151, 159, 162, 165
Vanly, Ismet Cherif 14–16, 23, 109

Weltmuseum Wien 116, 162, 179–189, 192, 199–207, 217

Xalit (singer) 139, 141, 148, 153
Xanîyê ax 254–259
Xanîyê kevîr 254, 257, 260

Yadirgi, Veli, 10, 21, 113, 202, 211
Yalcın-Heckmann, Lale 17, 18, 24, 162, 168, 170, 172, 174–175, 216
Yonan, Gabriele 15, 24

Zembîlfiroş 137–139, 141, 153–154
Zozan (summer pasture) 59, 168–169, 177, 206, 226, 229, 245, 247
ZOZAN (project) 9, 19, 42, 43, 51–53, 117, 139, 168, 175, 192, 195, 198, 199, 273–275

Werner Finke spent over 30 years ethnographically documenting the everyday culture of the Kurds in Turkey. He traveled to the Kurdish regions almost every year and created a comprehensive multimedia documentation and an ethnographic collection for the Weltmuseum Wien. Apart from a few smaller presentations and a larger exhibition, his multimedia material has remained unseen to date. This publication accompanies the digital release of large parts of the collection. In addition to a biographical presentation, the publication offers insight into the extensive collection, contextualizes it in the field of Kurdish Studies, discusses transformation processes in Kurdish everyday cultures since Finke's collecting activities, and shows ways of realizing possible further scientific use.

Maria Six-Hohenbalken is a Senior Researcher at the Institute for Social Anthropology at the Austrian Academy of Sciences.

Mehmet Emir is a technical specialist at the Institute for Social Anthropology and at the Austrian Centre for Digital Humanities at the Austrian Academy of Sciences.

Eva Kolm is a project collaborator at the Institute for Social Anthropology at the Austrian Academy of Sciences and a project coordinator at the OeAD.

Eva Stockinger is a technical specialist at the Institute for Social Anthropology at the Austrian Academy of Sciences.

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