

Project director:

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*Suppressing Heritage: The Historical Power of
In-Between Spaces. The Example of Thrace*

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PART I

1a. Original project aims and methodology

The projected study *Suppressing Heritage: The Historical Power of In-Between Spaces. The Example of Thrace* serves to emphasise the conflicting characteristics of historical heritage. In a broader sense, historical heritage is understood as an enduring power which either links up space, time and people, or else blocks these three factors from interacting with each other.

The study takes as its starting point the transitional period in which Thrace was shattered step by step. This period lasted from approximately 1879/1886, namely the decade in which Bulgaria annexed Eastern Roumelia/Northern Thrace, to 1922/23, the turning point when, in the wake of the Balkan Wars, WW I and the Greek-Turkish war (1919-22), Thrace became a three-part region, divided between the current national borders of Greece (*Western Thrace*), Turkey (*Eastern Thrace*) and Bulgaria (*Northern Thrace*). Within less than fifty years large-scale population transfers¹ had changed the ethnic and religious composition of Thrace and transformed Thracian towns, small-town settlements and villages alike into *virtual ghost towns* or *towns of absences* (BAKIRTZIS/OUSTERHOUT). The compulsory Greek-Turkish population exchange brought about by the Lausanne Treaty (1923) had far-reaching effects on the ethnic and religious mosaic of Western and Eastern Thrace, in particular, for the following two reasons:

Firstly, following the removal of Muslims from Greek territory to Turkey, the Northern Greek border regions of Macedonia and (Western) Thrace, then just recently liberated from Ottoman rule and therefore lagging behind a pending modernisation, were swamped by a Greek-Orthodox population mainly stemming from Asia Minor, Anatolia and Eastern Thrace (CLARK; PENTZOPOULOS).

Secondly, due to the Treaty, the Muslims of Western Thrace (Turks, Pomaks, Roma) were granted the right of residence and an official minority status as confessional group in *reciprocity* for the protected status of the Greek-Orthodox minority in Istanbul². The Treaty, however, failed to take into account ethnic, national and linguistic differences and instead kept up the traditional Ottoman organisational structures of *millet*. The Muslim minority and

¹ E.g. a massive influx of Muslims from Eastern Roumelia to the Thracian south (Western Thrace) in the 1880s; the “voluntary” Greek-Bulgarian population exchange in the wake of the handing over of Bulgarian occupied Western Thrace (1912-1919) to the Allies’ administration (1919) and in 1920 to Greece, respectively, finally the Greek-Turkish population exchange due to the Treaty of Lausanne (1923).

² Also the Greek-Orthodox population of the islands of Tenedos/Bozcaada and Imbros/Gökçeada was exempted from the population exchange.

its *millet*-like institutions³ were and still are therefore caught in old communitarian patterns as an island of institutionalised religious conservatism in a sea of modernity (TSITSELIKIS). In the course of the twentieth century, though, they have been steadily transformed into a (nationalistic) ethnic Turkish minority.

The study ends in recent times, with the large-scale population transfers in the wake of the collapse of the Communist Systems in Southeastern Europe in 1989/91 and the upheavals in Yugoslavia in the 1990s. They triggered off an enormous migration of workers within the Balkans, reflected on the one hand by an influx of Muslims from Albania, Kosovo and the successor states of former Yugoslavia and on the other hand by an influx of Rossopontioi from the former USSR. Again, these migration movements had a lasting effect on the habitus of Thracian towns and small-towns, in particular.

Towns and small-towns in border regions as is the case in current Western and Eastern Thrace⁴ reveal historical heritage and material traces of any kind: This is due to the inherent a priori aura of authenticity characterising historical heritage and providing it with enormous power. This power either interlinks time, space and people harmoniously, thus preserving, even fostering the habitus of a town, or else, as is the case more often, turns out to be a stubborn burden when these material traces prove to be “other” – other in their qualities relating to time, space and society, i.e. religion and ethnicity. Thus, they become persistent hindrances to a successful incorporation of that “other” into the (prevailing) national narrative. These considerations enable a better understanding of what the Byzantinists BAKIRTZIS and OUSTERHOUT meant by the aforementioned metaphors *virtual ghost towns* and *towns of absences* used to characterise the urban settlements in the Evros/Meriç valley by the current Greek-Turkish border and ultimately defining all towns in Thrace. In this project study these metaphors are used rather in a more figurative sense. Rather than highlighting the “emptiness”, the “absence” of something in a literal sense, within MCDONOGH’s ethnography of “emptiness”, it refers to a zone of intense competition (mirrored in an unending negotiation of time and space) instead, that betrays the imposition

³ That is bilingual minority schools, jurisdiction of the muftis, and the self-administration of the pious foundations (waqfs).

⁴ Though the project director is aware of Northern Thrace (former Eastern Roumelia) which is part of Bulgaria, she has decided to focus on Western and Eastern Thrace only, in order to avoid being overtaxed with the performance of systematic research in a too wide area, which finally would be at the expense of the quality of the proposed research as a whole. Therefore she decided to focus on Xanthi/İskeçe, Komotini/Gümülçine, Alexandroupoli/Dedeagac, and Didymoteichon/Dimetoka (all situated in Western Thrace), and on Edirne/Adrianoupoli, Kırklareli/Saranta Ekklesies, and Tekirdağ/Raideostos (all situated in Eastern Thrace).

of urban (historical) power (i.e. habitus) and the persistence and holding power of historical heritage, as well. Starting with the considerations expounded above, the project originally focussed on four aims (including main methodological approaches):

(1) Analysing the Thracian urban habitus: The theoretic considerations expounded by the sociologists P. BOURDIEU (habitus field theory; transformation from cultural (symbolic) into economical capital), R. LINDNER (habitus of the city) and P. NORA (transformation from “milieu de mémoire” into “lieu de mémoire”) have been instructive to this project study in its analysis of the Thracian urban habitus with respect to the following two lines of inquiry

(a) an in-depth study of the development of a multicultural structure over a longer period of time and its shaping influence on the habitus of transitional areas (*in-between spaces*) such as Thrace. Among the people in its innumerable small counties and Thracian (small) towns, in particular, there prevailed for centuries an incorporated, thus intimate understanding of the natural shaping characteristics as (inter-)linking landmarks.⁵

(b) acquiring a better understanding of the step by step process in which the time and space appertaining to the (ethnic/confessional) “other” is incorporated into the currently prevailing national narrative, following the models of transforming *cultural/symbolic capital* into *economical capital* (BOURDIEU), or as NORA puts it, the transformation of *milieu* into *lieu de mémoire*.

(2) Theorizing and reading historical heritage in the palimpsest of time and space:

As a logical consequence of the argument expounded in 1) (b), Bourdieu’s and Nora’s models emphasise the need of both a definition of the number of possible manifestations of “cultural capital/milieu de mémoire” and an explanation of the mechanisms that foster their transformation. Modified to suit the particular context of the many Thracian in-between spaces, two foci have been formulated for the study as follows:

(A) Finding ways and methods with the help of which the often interwoven and complex structures inherent in historical heritage or the palimpsest which masks historical heritage can be described or deconstructed. Here the subdivision of historical heritage into

⁵ Natural characteristics such as rivers, mountains and gorges are symptomatic, all landmarks which function rather like people and cultures interlinking patterns/paths both inside the region of Thrace and outwards as bridges to a wider world. This is clearly testified by rich architectural semiotics, namely the dense network of (Roman, Byzantine or Ottoman) stone bridges throughout Thrace, the strings of small-town settlements on both sides of the rivers Nestos and Evros and in the mountain massif of Rhodope, and by a well thought out Ottoman infrastructure particularly evident in towns and small-town settlements close to the Aegean coast (e.g. Genisea, Komotini, Traianoupoli).

organisational, social, ideational, functional and material heritage as proposed by H. HEPPNER (2003) has proved useful when structuring the colourful heritage-thesaurus, the researcher has been confronted with while conducting fieldwork in Thracian towns.

(B) Precisely described and assigned to one of the above-listened categories, heritage hints at its authentic and original function within urban, here mainly pre-modern, Ottoman narratives. Thus heritage necessitates an understanding of the changeful social histories incorporated in the course of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. For this reason, attention is directed towards the following issues:

(1) often intentionally hidden *motives* that can be derived from the *Zeitgeist* (e.g. war, dictatorship) and/or from a profit orientation directed at economics and/or tourism, either for an (nationally/ideologically modified) incorporation of heritage into the respectively Greek or Turkish national narrative, its circumlocution, or, on the contrary, its annihilation from the cultural memory of a group and their material space;

(2) instances in which heritage has been staged either as having *developed naturally* or as having been *fabricated, dictated or concealed* (HEPPNER; 2007);

(3) the multi-channelled machinery established and controlled by the capitals Athens or Ankara respectively and perpetuated mainly (a) by their local political representatives⁶; (b) by their effective religious strongholds Mount Athos/Salonica (Greek-Orthodox Christianisation) and by Saudi Arabia (Islamisation), respectively; (c) on a local level by the locally state-appointed muftis and their “symbolic” counterweights, the community-elected muftis not recognised by the Greek state; finally (d) by the nonetheless influential and state-controlled preservationists (archaeological service, ephorate). Through all of the aforementioned channels, either Hellenising/Byzantinising or Turkenising/Anatolising/Sunnitising features or on the contrary, retrograde/retrogressive pre-modern re-Ottomanising features are imposed more or less successfully and visibly on Thracian towns, and small-town settlements. The outcome is a predominately one-sided shaping of an area, which may not only crucially contribute to the unravelling of the ambiguity inherent in historical heritage and affect the *habitus* of a town, but may also trigger off controversies, such as the one between *social* and *monumental* time (HERZFELD) suggesting a dichotomous if

⁶ That is mainly by the Turkish Consulate in Komotini and the “Department for Cultural Affairs” in Xanthi as outpost of the Greek Foreign Ministry.

not mutually excluding juxtaposition of the time of social life, the time of people who resist the time of state, bureaucracy and officialdom.

(3) Locating in-between spaces in Western and Eastern Thrace:

THER describes *in-between spaces* as transitional areas being located between central areas (e.g. capital city; provincial capital) and characterised by cultural/religious, linguistic and ethnic ambiguities. He does not restrict his definition to the geographic literal sense of the terms *in-between* (spaces) and *central* (areas), but intends *in-between spaces* to be understood in a figurative sense as marginalised spaces and people located on the fringes of the prevailing nations and states. THER's considerations are open to a variety of interpretations, proving useful when analysing the conglomerate of Thracian in-between spaces and opening up many possible "readings" of these spaces: Geographically understood, Thrace is composed of many small unities or counties (be it n. Evrou, n. Rhodopis, n. Xanthi or, in Turkey, f.i. the county of Vize or the county of Tekirdağ...) with distinctive identities, differing from each other in varying degrees (*for a further development of this approach see point 1b., (B) (I), pp. 8f.*).

(4) Placing the theory of historical heritage on a solid foundation by embedding the research results on Thrace into at least four research contexts as follows:

- (a) in a local-regional network, i.e. in the Greek and Turkish and, with reservation, Bulgarian (*cf. footnote 4; and part II, point 1.d*) parts of Thrace;
- (b) in a broader Southeastern European context, with an emphasis on Greece and Turkey, which fosters the project's aim to link the two preliminary research studies on Istanbul (FWF P 15803-G04) and Salonica (FWF P 18508-G14), respectively, with the recent research project on Thrace under a transitional and historical comparative viewpoint (*cf. part II, point 3.a*); 4. d)(2)-(4) and point 5.);
- (c) as intended by the project director and additionally advised by reviewer A, the scientific potential of the study on Thrace requires clarification in order to facilitate an argumentation of wider relevance and to enable comparison with other cases in a wider (Eastern-)European context;
- (d) as emphatically recommended by reviewer B, the important social and political implications of the project's theme should be kept in mind, in particular with respect to (1) the project's focus on the variety and forms of identitarian politics increasingly attracting

attention from the European Commission; (2) the command of a wide and partly non-academic audience (*cf. part II, point 2.*).

1b. Report on the project development up to the present (October 2010)

Following comments and suggestions from all three reviewers, the first project year was determined by suiting the original project's conception to a more socio-anthropological orientation. This demanded an extensive bibliographic reworking including *appropriate (socio-/urban-)anthropological leaders* such as one, for instance, by Anastasia KARAKASIDOU/Fotini TSIBIRIDOU and one by Seta M. LOW, *theoretic literature* expounding the theory *from the cognate fields of socio-anthropology*, such as (human-)geography, sociology and urban planning, and *fieldwork-based studies* as well as *local publications* such as museum guides, exhibition catalogues, collections of (historic) postcards and local newspapers. As a result, the project director concentrated her research during the first project year on four fields to which she had already contributed early central findings (*cf. part II, point 1. a)-c*).

(A) Expanding the project's significance to a more international level by embedding the study in socio-anthropological sciences:

The crucial comments of the anonymous reviewer B on the original project proposal, namely his or her emphatic advice to interlink the project more deeply with anthropology and social sciences and to pay closer attention to U.S. anthropological literature, helped the project director to clarify her arguments. As afore-mentioned, at the onset of the present project period, she reworked her bibliography in order to gain an overview over crucial socio-anthropological studies (partly titles recommended by the reviewer), in particular those by Yannis HAMILAKIS and Penelope PAPAILIAS both offering valuable insights into the historically sedimented habitus of the Greeks and commemoration in Greece. In order to become more sensitive to socio-anthropological questions regarding the Thracian area, in particular, she additionally worked through some articles by Olga DEMETRIOU and Fotini TSIBIRIDOU on Komotini and Western Thrace in general and the monograph by Bruce CLARK dealing with the effects of the large-scale population transfers caused by the Lausanne Treaty in Western and Eastern Thrace on social memory and commemoration in Greece and Turkey. Finally, in a third step, she took a close look at both the study by Sarah GREEN on *boundary-crossing identities and marginality on the Greek-Albanian border* and the article by Laurie Kain HART explaining the materiality in the Macedonian town of Florina from the

perspective of provincial anthropology in order to discern contrasts to and parallels with her own study and to cope with the “otherness” of Thrace. During her research stays in Western Thrace (altogether nine weeks, i.e. three weeks each in summer and autumn 2009 and spring 2010), she applied to her original theses based on BOURDIEU, LINDNER, NORA, HEPPNER, on oral history and on autobiographical-narrative interviews, methodological strategies with a more specifically socio-anthropological approach, such as participant observation and network analysis aiming at uncovering the in-between spaces (micro-environments) within in-between spaces.

(B) Giving the study a more socio-anthropological design

(I) Placing more emphasis on the space, stating more precisely the area under study:

Not only Hart’s case study on Florina entitled *Provincial Anthropology, Circumlocution, and the Copious Use of Everything*, but also the project director’s own first close personal contacts with Western Thracian in-between spaces and “native” insiders led her to pay more attention to socio-anthropologically informative spaces and fields of research, such as the weekly markets (*dimotiki agora; bazar*) in Xanthi and Komotini, considered among locals and residents to mirror aspects of the whole county (n. Xanthi or n. Rhodopi, respectively). This and a colleague’s proposed division of the town of Komotini into innumerable communities (similarly described by DEMETRIOU; 2002), reminded the project leader of two hints in HART’s article which were crucial to her own study on Thrace: (a) Hart points out the polycentred character of towns (based on a strong self-organised and self-administrative community-oriented structure, in some instances not even sufficiently interlinked with the municipal organisation), and the lack of a political core (cf. similar HEPPNER; 2006); (b) furthermore, she emphatically argues that rural life cannot be understood as existing independently from towns. For towns offer rich fields of exploration, such as the weekly markets. They provide education and training for the youth from rural areas and also offer refuge in times of war.

In a further development of the project’s aim (3), as outlined here on p. 6, and in order to analyse the mutual mechanisms and historical powers, sometimes even the rivalry existing between towns and small-town settlements within one and the same county (e.g. n. Xanthi, n. Rhodopi, n. Evrou), the project director was required to broaden or marginally shift the

originally indicated area of investigation from “central”⁷ or county towns such as Xanthi, Komotini and Alexandroupoli (Edirne, Tekirdağ, Kırklareli)⁸ to more peripheral, originally considered “marginal” spaces. These spaces include:

- (1) towns and small-towns such as *Genisea* (n. Xanthi), *Maroneia* (n. Rhodopis), *Didymoteichon* and *Soufli* (n. Evrou), which historically were of high importance due to their once geostrategically attractive position (e.g. as stations located on trading routes), but which in recent times have sunk into oblivion;
- (2) selected villages in the mountainous hinterland of Xanthi and Komotini and selected villages in the Nestos river valley
- (3) and, finally, sacred places such as the many *tekkes* throughout the (Western) Thracian area serving either as (possible) catalysts or still active, symbolically charged zones *per se* of *in-between spaces*, i.e. witnesses of the intersection of cultural practices (*milieu de mémoire*) or, on the contrary, serving as haul from the ongoing process of time and space that incorporates the “other” into either a Sunnitised or Greek-Orthodox (national) narrative. Sacred places are being transformed from a (transnational) *milieu* into a (nationalised) *lieu de mémoire* (or sightseeing destination for Turkish or Greek religious tourism; e.g. Rousa; Kütüklü Baba Tekkesi, cf. LOWRY 2008; 2009).

(II) Introducing Hamilakis’ conception of “monumentalized” time to the project study:

In his study on *Antiquity, Archaeology, and National Imagination in Greece*, HAMILAKIS introduces a further dimension to Herzfeld’s conception of *social* and *monumental* time. Hamilakis makes a distinction between (a) the multiple and dynamic times enacted by the material traces of the past (regardless of whether they become monuments or not) which have both social and historical significance, and (b) the “monumentalised” times (as opposed to monumental): the static fixed time that attempts to erase all other times and do away with the diverse (social) histories of these material traces, and the multiple social memories they recall. This conception emphasises the ability of materiality to represent multiple strands of times, though it is aware of the political and discursive processes that strive (and often succeed) to achieve fixity and bring about a singular temporality (HAMILAKIS; 105).

⁷ Here to be understood with respect to the size of the towns.

⁸ The towns which are located in Eastern Thrace have been placed in brackets intentionally, because the project director has focussed on these places only recently, i.e. in the second project year still in progress. So she cannot as yet compare the summarised findings from Western Thrace to those of Eastern Thrace.

Hamilakis' arguments are crucial in multiple ways to the project study on Thrace, and a further development of the project aims (1) and (2) outlined on pp. 4ff.: *Firstly*, because he places materiality, analogous to "historical heritage" in the project study, at the centre of his research when emphasising the significance of its topography, physicality, visibility, tangible nature and embodied presence, all characteristics taken together provide the objective reality of nature. Due to the "longue durée" quality of materiality, analogous to the "habitus" in the project study, emphasised by HART and FINNEY, too, monuments and material traces are endowed with a particular aura of authenticity, giving them extraordinary symbolic power. *Secondly*, he uses a carefully developed model mirroring a process he calls "sanitisation": This procedure is not only characterised by focussing on the social biographies of material heritage (monuments, traces) when tracing the step by step incorporation (*purification, rebuilding/re-creation, designation/demarcation as archaeological sights, exhibitions*) of the material traces of the "other"⁹ into the national narrative; it also sheds light on a crucial (often intentionally hidden) problem of the "empiricist tradition" in Greek archaeology and preservation, i.e. the absence of discourse due to a lack of archaeological journals for discussion. Instead, the formation of opinion is influenced by journals of record (*archaiologikon deltia*; recently the semi-public¹⁰ bi-lingual encyclopaedia on Ottoman Architecture in Greece, edited by the Ministry of Culture and the directorate of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Antiquities; 2008, and the encyclopedia on preservation and restauration of Ottoman monuments in Greece by STEFANIDOU (2009), where only one(!) single Ottoman monument in whole Western Thracian area is analysed) and the oral presentation of individual studies, almost entirely based on the (micro-)analysis of material. In accordance with ZOIS, HAMILAKIS calls it an "archaeology of monologues" that constructs a new national, sometimes phantastically re-created past from a biased selection of aspects while wiping out, destroying or at least damaging "unwelcome" traces, instead of preparing exact records of the past (cf. also BAYDAR). This aspect has been discussed in detail in the project director's recently published article on *cultural policy, research and science in Western Thrace* (cf. part II, point 1.a)). *Thirdly*, Hamilakis points out the gap between the local amateur archaeologist or preservationist,

⁹ To be understood in a broader sense as referring to the wiping out of the history of any age, not only of the "other" understood as Muslim/Ottoman traces.

¹⁰ Semi-public, because this book is distributed only within the Greek state and can be ordered only by telephone (neither by e-mail nor fax). Even in Greece few know of its existence; it is not available in bookstores and can only be ordered by selected scientific institutions (such as history departments with a Southeastern European research focus...).

who has access to material (in situ) on the one hand and the highly educated, academically trained professional, mostly archaeologists state-controlled by the Ministry of Culture, who do not have this first-hand knowledge but who are well-informed about methods of interpretation. As expounded in the above-mentioned recent article by the project director this tension existing between conflicting interests and degrees of professionalisation can also be observed in Western Thrace on different levels, i.e. between official and local, partly professional, partly amateur town planners and Greek and Turkish amateur archaeologists and preservationists, between archaeological services boosted by local, Greek-Orthodox religious authorities in Western Thrace in opposition to local Turkish professional city planners and architects not officially employed by the Greek state but boosted by the Muslim religious authorities (f.i. the monthly periodical *RODOP RÜZGÂRI* and BİÇAKÇI's book on Ottoman Architecture in Greece).

(III) Analysis of the interview data: Following the arguments outlined by Hart and Hamilakis, the interview data, informative and autobiographical-narrative interviews previously conducted by the project director during her fieldwork in Western Thrace, has been categorised as follows:

(a) Autobiographical-narrative interview data, namely the biographies *per se* gained from conversations with local inhabitants, are subject to national development, function as gauge for the incorporation of the time and space of the "other" into the national narrative: Thus, narratives of dispossession and urban and rural property transformation, the obvious and unconcealed transfer of capital to (Greek) migrants and/or local elites, strategies for appropriating the reconstruction of materiality, the continuous spatial transformation including conquest, massive population influx, the setting of "inner" boundaries (cf. "surveillance zone"¹¹) and the rearrangement of topography¹², in brief, all the above-mentioned tactics and strategies, an obvious devaluing and submerging of history and of the cultural memory of the presumed "other", have produced key traumas and romances in the

¹¹ This is referring to the implementation of a "surveillance zone" in the Rhodope mountains (1936-1996), an area delimited to the north by a border separating Greece from other countries and to the south by an "internal" frontier separating the Greeks living in that zone from the rest of their country (LABRIANIDIS).

¹² Namely by building spacious parks and administrative complexes, mostly realised at the expense of the material culture and memory of the "other" (cemeteries, mosques, hammam) or even by destroying space-structuring natural characteristics such as the river which for centuries shaped the habitus and memory of Komotini.

history of families and shed light on “inner worlds” of ethnicity and nationalism, namely on subjective elements of memory, value, sentiment, myth and symbol.

(b) Tracing a “sanitised” materiality: As expounded above, the sanitised character of material traces and heritage emerges from a series of factors. Thus, particular attention has to be drawn to urbanites, namely Greek (town) planners, municipal bureaucrats and architects, members of the state-controlled organs and agents (f.i. archaeological service, journalists, university-trained historiographers, museum curators, teachers, representatives of cultural (minoritarian) associations and programmes) on the one hand and residents (as mentioned in point (III)(a)) who all, though in different ways, experience the town through social relations and processes connected with politics, economics and planning.

(c) The additional reinforcement of the cultural (and educational) policy favoured by the state or the provocation of a resistance to it: This aspect is deduced from recorded conversations with local religious authorities (metropolitans, muftis) who often have great influence on preservationist decisions regarding monuments, churches, monasteries, tekkes, mosques and minarets, in particular. Additional conversations that reveal the emergence of an opposition to the cultural policy advocated by the state were conducted with amateur preservationists, amateur archaeologists, passionate amateur collectors and photographers, freelance journalists, freelance Turkish/Muslim architects, artists, intellectuals and Turkish/Muslim owners of art galleries and antiquarians. Further conversations were recorded with local (private) sponsors and Turkish-Thracian diaspora communities and associations in Munich and Witten, Germany.

Further remarks on the course of the first project year:

As indicated in the original work and time schedule, the extensive fieldwork and first analysis of the collected material was completed by an additional extensive literature research in Salonica and in Austrian research institutions in Vienna. While in the original schedule the project director planned a research stay in Berlin and/or Freiburg/Breisgau, Germany, in order to peruse sources regarding the German occupation of the Dimetoka/Didymoteichon-line in WW II, an informative e-mail correspondence with the special archives convinced the project director to postpone this research to a more advanced stage of the study.

Second project year

The second project year currently still in progress has been dedicated to the planning and carrying out of fieldwork in Eastern Thrace. In the planning phase Dr. Andreas KÜLZER from the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna and his recently published *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* (TIB 12; 2008) on Eastern Thrace were of tremendous help. Due to the extensive fieldwork in the urban and rural mosaic of Western Thrace and, in particular, due to the successful but careful shift from (main) county towns to much smaller and more neglected, but culturally often more ambiguous towns as described above (cf. B (I), pp. 8-9), the project director considered a similar shift concerning the Eastern Thracian area of study. Two arguments were crucial for her final decision to marginally shift from towns such as Edirne to smaller towns and to include also the important county of Vize on the Black Sea coast: Firstly, the emphatic advice by Külzer not to attach too much importance to large towns such as Edirne which is considerably built over and therefore more difficult to analyse than smaller settlements. Instead, he recommended more attention should be paid to the small semi-urban settlements (probably more authentic while also defined by the aura of “emptiness” described by the project director on page 4) in the Ganos mountains all along the Marmara coast (e.g. *Avdimio/Ücmakedere*), extending to *Ortaköy* and *Silivri*. Secondly, also the project director’s own stays and personal experiences in Eastern Thrace, most recently in September 2010, led her to shift from county towns (e.g. the originally planned county town of Kırklareli) to small-town settlements for the following reasons:

(1) (the county of) Gelibolu and European Çanakkale hinterland, where the project director was confronted with an ambiguous landscape that is subject to an enduring competition based on time and space between (a) the remembrance and commemoration of the Dardanelles battles during WW I which have had long-lasting effects on both the habitus and the topographical shape of that area by interlinking it with a solidly European perception, and (b) a deeply religious conservatism and traditionalism manifested in the considerably high density of pre-modern (dating from Ottoman times) and moreover recently established or preserved and still active tekkes that are being advertised by slightly oversized signs, possibly indicating the ambition to re-incorporate the area into the Turkish national narrative by way of a religious conservatism;

(2) the county (town) of Vize on the Black Sea coast, which differs from other Eastern Thracian counties by its open-mindedness and vividness;

(3) *the county town of Tekirdağ* struck the project director as being a strongly essentialistic (Turkenised/Anatolised/Sunnitised) town of “emptiness” (here in a more literal sense: without any book stores!), nonetheless shaped by the countless spectral relics and ruins of (wooden) yalis and town residences, often neglected to such a degree that traces in space and time had become anonymous, if not invisible in an attempt to wipe out the cultural memory of “other” groups (Greek, Armenian and Jewish merchant families).

Further remarks on the course of the second project year:

According to the original schedule, the project director tried to establish contacts to Bulgaria. Initially, she had planned to go to Sofia in February/March 2010 in order to present her interim findings at the Academy of Sciences, to which she already had well-established contacts. But due to a reorganisation of the Academy setting off a wave of dismissals, her Bulgarian colleagues advised her to give a presentation of her findings at the University of Sofia at a later date, instead. This new contact has already been established and the project director will go to Sofia in spring 2011.

Comment on the institutional context

The project study is being conducted at the Department of History, in the section for Southeastern European History, KFU Graz, Mozartgasse 3, 8010 Graz, Austria, where the project director has a fully equipped office. The institutional integration of the habilitation project is manifested

(a) in the *university institution*, where the project is being conducted, due to a curriculum that places more emphasis on modern Turkish and Greek studies and has for many years demonstrated a special interest in cultural-anthropology, recently supplemented by an additional focus on socio-anthropological research strategies. Concerning the independent university courses based on the foci of the habilitation project study, please also see *part II, point 5.a) and b)*;

(c) in fostering the teaching staff exchange with university institutions in Southeastern Europe and in Turkey (Istanbul University) and by way of the Erasmus programme and the Joint Master’s Programme *History of South Eastern Europe* (cf. www.jointdegree.eu). Two professors specialising on Western Thrace from the Macedonian University in Salonica, Greece, the socio-anthropologist Mrs. Fotini TSIBIRIDOU and the historian Mr. Konstantinos

TSITSELIKIS will hold lectures within the frame of the project director's own courses planned for the academic year 2011/12 (cf. *part II, point 4. a) and b), point 5. b)).*

Expected far-reaching effects of the project study

Implications for other scientific fields:

1) Due to the reviewer B's comments on the original project proposal, his or her suggestion to embed this project study more deeply in socio-anthropological sciences and to place more emphasis on U.S. anthropological research, the project study will be more interdisciplinary in its approach. This has crucial effects:

(a) on the quality of the study itself, because research based on socio-anthropological methodology, i.e. based on strategies that are *per se* interdisciplinary and of a composed methodology, encourages the disclosure of a wide range of aspects therefore guaranteeing more transparency concerning individual phenomena hitherto concealed by a one-sided approach;

(b) It is expected that the project study will serve as a catalyst to other disciplines such as ethnography, political sciences, human geography, archaeology... to which many aspects of this project study may serve as a source of inspiration for further research in Thrace, in particular.

(c) The study might also influence research on nationalism: For, by focussing on space, territory, place, time and materiality, rather than on the history of a single nation as emphasised in the original project proposal, an understanding of hegemonic cultural strategies, forced evictions and the resulting loss of diversity will be deepened. These experiences are not limited to a number of Southeastern European regions, but lie at the root of many a modern nation. A critical analysis of nations and nationalism cannot afford to ignore these phenomena.

2) The comparative perspective on (Western and Eastern) Thrace from both a regional level and a broadened level, when including the preliminary research studies on Istanbul and Salonica, sheds light on the process and multiple strategies of a nationalist incorporation of the time, space and people (identities), of the history, materiality and geography of the "other" into the hegemonic ethnic core. This finally points towards a future key topic of interest for the European Commission.

For further effects of the study please see *part II, point 2.a)-c).*

PART II

Additional details**1. Scientific Publications:****a) Papers in editorial work (non peer-reviewed):**

Ulrike TISCHLER-HOFER, Unsere Steine, Eure Steine... Kulturpolitik, Wissenschaft und Forschung zwischen Kuppeln, Korn und Kanonen. Der Sonderfall Westthrakien (Nordostgriechenland), in: Ulrike TISCHLER-HOFER/Renate ZEDINGER (eds.), Kuppeln Korn Kanonen. Unerkannte und unbekannte Spuren in Südosteuropa von der Aufklärung bis in die Gegenwart. Innsbruck (Studienverlag) 2010, pp. 19-56.

b) Papers in scientific reviews (peer-reviewed):

Ulrike TISCHLER-HOFER, Methods and Sources of Tracing Historical Heritage in Western and Eastern Thracian Towns: A Comparison, (in preparation; will be submitted to the *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*).

Ulrike TISCHLER-HOFER, Reading Historical Heritage in the Palimpsest of Time and Space in Turkish Eastern Thracian Towns: A Provincial Anthropological Approach, (in preparation; will be submitted to the *Annual Review of Anthropology*).

c) Reviews (peer-reviewed):

Thede KAHL/Cay LIENAU (eds.), Christen und Muslime. Interethnische Koexistenz in südosteuropäischen Peripheriegebieten. Berlin 2009 (Religions- und Kulturgeschichte in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa vol. 11), *Südost-Forschungen* 68 (2009), pp. 569-574 (forthcoming). In her review the author (Tischler-Hofer) focussed on those chapters dealing with Western Thrace (Introduction; Domna Michail; Johann-Bernhard Haversath, Vermund Aarbakke; Hermann Kandler).

P. Nikiforos DIAMANDOUROS/Thalia DRAGONAS/Çağlar KEYDER (eds.), Spatial Conceptions of the Nation: Modernizing Geographies in Greece and Turkey. London 2010, *Südost-Forschungen* 69 (2010) (in preparation).

d) Research reports/ oral presentation of the project and interim research findings before an expert audience:

Justus-Liebig University Giessen, Germany, by invitation of Prof. Dr. Markus Koller, Dept. of History/Eastern European History, January 18th, 2011.

University of Sofia, Bulgaria, Austrian Library, by invitation of Dr. Roumiana Preshlenova and Director Prof. Dr. Emilija Staitscheva, March 2011.

2. Popular science outcomes:

a) “Monumente Lesen/anıtları okumak” (power point performance/installation), a contribution to the exhibition „Bridges to East: Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall and European Point of View to East” on the occasion of “Istanbul 2010: Avrupa Kültür Başkenti/European Capital of Culture” presented at the Austrian Culture Office in Istanbul (24.9.-30.12.2010); by invitation of the Austrian-Turkish exhibition team aiming at the presentation of Austrian research focused on South-Eastern Europe.

b) Interview on “tracing the past in Western Thrace”; portrait of five minutes to be broadcast on the Austrian radio Ö1/ORF series “Betrifft Geschichte” /“concerns history” (scheduled for spring 2011, exact date not as yet confirmed).

c) Draft for a further special Ö1/ORF radio series “Betrifft Geschichte” (A proposal for five broadcasts of each five minutes focusing on a variety of aspects concerning recent history of Thrace has been submitted).

3. Project-oriented participation at international symposia

a) Invited lectures:

XI. International Congress of Thracology, Istanbul, November 8th-12th, 2010, University of Istanbul.

b) Others lectures:

Proposal for a paper “Neo-millet in Greek Western Thrace: The institution with far-reaching consequences” to be delivered at the symposium “Continuity and Change in Southeastern Europe”, February 4th, 2011, Harvard University (application submitted).

4. Course of cooperations:

a) Fotini Tsibiridou, Assistant Professor, social anthropologist, Dept. of Balkan, Slavic and Oriental Studies, University of Macedonia, Salonica, Greece. Together with Ulrike Tischler-Hofer, Mrs. Tsibiridou will give a series of lectures on Thrace at Graz University, Dept. of History, focussing on social and cultural anthropological methodology (confirmed for the winter semester 2011/12 within the teaching-staff exchange programme; see also 5.b)).

b) Konstantinos Tsitselikis, Assistant professor, Dept. of Balkan, Slavic and Oriental Studies, University of Macedonia, Salonica, Greece. Mr. Tsitselikis has also been invited by Mrs. Tischler-Hofer to give a series of lectures on the concerns of minorities in Greek Western

Thrace at Graz University, Dept. of History, with a special focus on questions concerning the integrative process of peripheral areas in Southeastern Europe (confirmed for the summer semester 2012 within the teaching-staff exchange programme; see also 5.b)).

c) Regular cooperations are fostered with the Institute for Byzantine Studies at the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna, namely with Dr. Peter Soustal, author of the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* on Western (and Northern) Thrace (TIB 6), and with Dr. Andreas Külzer, author of the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* on Eastern Thrace (TIB 12), further with the Center for Southeast European Studies, Istanbul University, namely with Prof.Dr. Mustafa Sayar.

d) Continuous international networking:

(1) recently, at the Congress of Thracology in Istanbul;

(2) by fostering contacts to Dr. Vassilis Dalkavoukis, ethnologist and cultural anthropologist, Democritus University of Thrace, Dept. of History and Ethnology, Komotini, Greece. Dalkavoukis prepares teachers for the Secondary Education Institutions. In this context, he studies monuments in order to discuss the relations between centre and periphery, national and local history, different perceptions of the landscape defined by monuments, the "palimpsest" of the monuments and the place;

(3) by recently established contacts with the project team of "History Takes Place" (financed by: ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin and Gerd Bucerius, cf. www.history-takes-place.de) with the aim to organise a summer school on Thrace's urban and semi-urban scene integrated into the (summer school) activities of "History Takes Place".

(4) by recently established contacts with Dr. Aylin Orbaşlı, an independent consultant, working with and advising on historic buildings and areas often in the context of tourism development. She trained as an architect and has specialised in conservation and heritage management in Turkey and Near East. Cf. www.aylinorbasli.com/index.htm

5. University courses/lectures:

a) university course "Interdisciplinary Balkan Studies", Vienna University: lectures on De-Ottomanisation processes in Balkan towns with special emphasis placed on towns in Western Thrace, January 15th, 2011, Univ. of Vienna, Austria.

b) university courses "The Pending Modernisation in Greek Western Thrace", Graz University, Dept. of History/Southeastern European History, winter semester 2011/12 and summer semester 2012.

Publications relevant to the interim report (summary)

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Gülsüm BAYDAR, Teaching Architectural History in Turkey and in Greece: The Burden of the Mosque and the Temple, *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* vol. 62, no. 1 (Mar. 2003), pp. 84-91.

Ismail BIÇAKÇI, Yunanistan'da Türk Mimarî Eserleri. Istanbul 2003.

Pierre BOURDIEU, Die feinen Unterschiede. Kritik der gesellschaftlichen Urteilskraft. Frankfurt/Main¹ 1987.

Bruce CLARK, Twice a Stranger: How Mass Expulsion Forged Greece and Turkey. London 2006.

Olga DEMETRIOU, Streets Not Named: Discursive Dead Ends and the Politics of Orientation in Intercommunal Spatial Relations in Northern Greece, *Cultural Anthropology* vol. 21, issue 2, pp. 295-321.

Idem, Space and Power in Komotini from the 1870s to the 1990s: Re-constructing national urban space. Paper presented at the 6th Conference on Urban History: Power, Knowledge and Society in the City, September 4th-7th, 2002, Edinburgh [unpublished draft].

Patrick FINNEY, The Macedonian Question in the 1920s and the Politics of History, in: K.S. BROWN/Yannis HAMILAKIS (eds.), *The Usable Past. Greek Metahistories*. New York, Oxford 2003, pp. 87-103.

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Yannis HAMILAKIS, The Nation and its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology, and National Imagination in Greece. Oxford 2007, esp. pp. 99-112.

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Andreas KÜLZER, *Ostthrakien*. Vienna 2008 (TIB; 12).

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Setha M. LOW, The Anthropology of Cities: Imagining and Theorizing the City, *Ann. Rev. of Anthropology* 25 (1996), pp. 383-409.

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Dimitri PENTZOPOULOS, *The Balkan exchange of minorities and its impact upon Greece*. Paris 1962.

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Aimilia STEFANIDOU (ed.), Η συντήρηση και η αποκατάσταση των οθωμανικών μνημείων στην Ελλάδα. Thessaloniki 2009.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

f.i.	for instance
HJB	Historisches Jahrbuch (Historical Yearbook)
i.e.	id est (that is)
n.	nomos (county)
p./pp.	page(s)
TIB	Tabula Imperii Byzantini
WW I	First World War
WW II	Second World War