

### Rural settlements in the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia

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This report marks the completion of one phase of my PhD research in Cilicia, southeast Turkey, which fills an important lacuna in the archaeology of this area. My PhD thesis, which is partly funded by the British Institute at Ankara and the Arts and Humanities Research Council, traces the origins and development of Armenian fortifications and their relationship to rural settlements within the wider context of rural and urban landscape development in the eastern Mediterranean region.

The migration of the Armenian people into Cilicia in the late 11th century AD dramatically transformed the rural settlement pattern. At that time, several Armenian princes agreed with the Byzantine emperor to leave their homelands to the north and accept imperial military appointments in Cappadocia, Mesopotamia and Cilicia. Following the defeat of the emperor, Romanos Diogenes, at Manzikert by the Seljuk Turks in 1071, however, the Byzantines gradually lost control of these territories, allowing the Armenians to establish more or less independent chieftaincies. This culminated in 1198 in the establishment of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, which lasted until the Mamluk conquest in 1375. A dearth of historical sources makes it difficult to establish a definite framework for the political history of this period.

Despite the abundance of archaeological remains, little work has focused on the Armenian fortifications and rural settlements. In his 1987 book, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia* (Washington DC), Robert Edwards argues that the organisation of the Armenians in Cilicia represented the triumph of a non-urban strategy. Rather than directly contesting Edwards' hypothesis, my aim is to investigate first the spatial distribution of Armenian rural settlements, secondly their relationship with nearby fortifications and ecclesiastical institutions, and thirdly the influence of topography on their location.

In the spring of 2012 I visited several archaeological sites, Armenian fortifications and the remains of Crusader era rural settlements that date from the late 12th to the early 14th century. The spatial distribution of these rural sites suggests a pattern of settlement which insures a degree of security between the exposed village and the adjacent fortification. The symbiotic relationship between these two entities will be a main focus point in my thesis. From ancient times and especially in the middle Byzantine period rural garrisons were encouraged to take families and to farm allotted lands. The medieval villages or *burgi*, adjacent to the castle, were carefully adapted to the topography but survive however in a very fragmentary state. The photographs and descriptions of the archaeological remains at Andıl, Babaoğlu and Fındıkpınar support my hypothesis. They are all unfortified communities either immediately adjacent to the fortress outcrop or within a distance of no more than 1km.

### Marking time: Syrian migrants/refugees in Istanbul

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How do Syrian migrants/refugees in Istanbul mark time, and do these practices become modes of *making* time? Through their socialising, labour and, ultimately, their movement Syrian migrants/refugees in Istanbul transform their wait – they make time. Time here is taken as socially constituted through interaction and engagement rather than an assumed measure of change. Through an ethnography of the experiences of Syrian nationals present in Istanbul, I will explore how Syrian migrants/refugees render their presence in transit socially significant. The research focuses on individuals and families who have fled Syria as a result of the current uprising and travelled to Istanbul rather than Hatay province in southern Turkey as well as Syrian nationals living in Istanbul prior to the revolution in Syria. Turkey's position in the Middle East is unique as a European Union (EU) candidate country and as a frontier to the EU space. In 2009, visa rule changes gave Syrian nationals unprecedented access to enter Turkey, ultimately reconstituting EU space and how it is accessed. In exploring the daily lives, imagined futures and legal status of Syrian migrants/refugees in Istanbul, the city's role as a transit space will be examined. Istanbul, rather than the border regions, is the research site as a migratory node into and through which various mobilities occur.

This research project investigates how Syrian migrants/refugees transform their waiting and go from measuring their time in Istanbul to making time. In 'waiting' in Istanbul, some migrants/refugees direct their energy towards reaching Europe while others concentrate on aiding the revolution against Assad's regime in Syria. Simultaneously, some Syrian nationals have been living in Istanbul prior to the uprising in Syria. The research focuses on those Syrian migrants/refugees who came to Istanbul before the start of the revolution due their political activities in Syria or to seek economic opportunities. The aim is to explore these various migratory experiences, their modes of intersection, how the revolution and migration from Syria have altered imagined futures, and the ways in which presence in Istanbul is rendered meaningful.

To answer the proposed research questions, I have started a 12-month period of fieldwork in Istanbul. I am currently undertaking participant observation with Syrian migrants/refugees living in the city. This involves engaging with Syrian migrants/refugees from different backgrounds, religions and regions. I am documenting Syrian migrants/refugees' (both individuals and families) diverse uses and organisation of time, their 'waiting' practices and economic incorporation while in Istanbul, as well as examining Syrian migrants/refugees' discourses of their presence in Istanbul and imagined futures in Turkey, Europe or Syria. This ethnography of Syrian migrants/refugees' practices of 'waiting' investigates how *marking* time is transformed into purposeful projects of *making* time while in Istanbul.