

Hunting

A technology of belonging in Northern Cyprus

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Abstract

An anthropological study of hunting in Northern Cyprus based on 17 months of fieldwork. Hunting is theorised as technology, as opposed to technique. This enables a sociotechnical analysis of how hunters, nonhumans, political forms and their spatialization make each other. I examine prehistoric seasonal organisation in Cyprus, in relation to human-animal relations that are not by default exploitative, and their replacement by the ‘hunter-king’ with the arrival of civilisation. Hunting emerges as a defining feature of coercive civilisation, rather than prehistoric society. I examine the later emergence of citizen(man) hunters, as part of European democratic modernity and conduct an ethnographic history of its particulars in Northern Cyprus. I conclude that hunting is delivered as a public service to Turkish Cypriot citizens who claim it. A thick description of schematic and statistical data on Northern Cyprus, Turkish Cypriots, hunters and hunting is then presented to denaturalize these categories, before evaluating them within the context of the TRNC State. I identify human-environmental relations in hunting as part of a process of belonging with other Turkish Cypriot men and the land. I analyse how a hunting establishment holds ‘categorical’ authority built on these living relations, as well as how it reproduces hunting ‘leisure’ space through making adaptations within historical margins embedded in spatialized infrastructure. Including law, mapping, bird breeding, committee meetings and punishment of pests. I examine the deeds of hunting as cultivating an ideal of nature being free, at ease but alert. Embodying this ideal in hunting, yields gifts that one is entitled to. Where receiving gifts from the land as a free person, also justifies oneself as a free citizen, with a natural right to the land as part of a Turkish Cypriot community, as hunter and as national. I conclude that people are spatialized in a world of nationality linked to private and public property. Therefore, it is incumbent upon people to naturalise their ideals as entitlements, because that is the ‘natural order’ that justifies one’s position, in a world that requires that justification.

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1 Theorizing Hunting

1.1 Introduction

Whether in Cypriot or English newspapers, talking to researchers or the wider public, in Cyprus or in the UK, hunting has been described to me as a leisurely activity or a means of subsistence; a primitive practice or a connection to our hunter-gatherer ancestors; an outdated tradition or a display of masculinity; a way of truly being human or a cruel sport. This is a thesis based on Northern Cyprus, the Turkish speaking part of an island in the Eastern Mediterranean. I take on the reality that hunting is a primary human-environmental relationship for a large portion of the population.

This thesis addresses historical and contemporary, local and global relations that make up the hunting of birds and hare, on the northern sliver of this island. Hunting has emerged as an activity that takes places at multiple scales, from the intimate communication between a hunter and their dog, to bureaucratic and democratic institutions inseparable from it.

The aim of this thesis is to detail how hunting is constructed, from a processual perspective, across and between these scales. This is in contrast to either taking hunting as a given technique, or as entirely relative category. This aim extends, to addressing how the processes on which hunting is contingent, such as how hunters communicate with birds or map their terrain, inform social reproduction and organization.

1.1.1 Chapter Summaries

In this first chapter, I address literature and theory that inform my study and make sense of my research questions. I start by summarizing my chapters and the related questions, followed by a brief introduction to my field site (Northern Cyprus) and then move through

concepts pertinent to hunting within the anthropological literature. I end up re-focusing on Cyprus, the Mediterranean islands and addressing 'reciprocity' (as a key theme of social anthropological literature that addresses hunting) in relation to my own focus on the political organization of human-environmental relations and the processes of categorization and classification that are a part of this. This allows me to evaluate the question: What is hunting? through analyzing ways in which it has already been theorized. However, I pay attention not to mystify the political authority that any designation of what something is legitimates. In doing so, I ask: What is a political theory of hunting?

In the second chapter, I present a methodology of my research using select ethnographic cases in which I specify relevant methods. This chapter is a critical reflection on the process of doing this research rather than a schematic list of methods. Out of this reflection emerges the question: What did I learn from my informants and fieldwork?

In the third chapter, I explore the prehistory and ancient history of hunting in Cyprus and the region. I start by rendering the archaeological data regarding hunting in Cypriot prehistory through a social anthropological lens, so as to counter-balance naturalist understandings of prehistoric hunting. This then affords me the ability to not have to submit to asking 'what hunting is' whilst remaining within the shadow of mythologies about prehistoric hunting that justify coercive hierarchy. Instead, I examine seasonal social organisation - heterarchy - in relation to prehistoric hunting and examine how the political forms of ancient civilisation have established a 'hunter-king' hegemony in place of this. This allows me to ask: What is the key political mythology that hunting is entangled with? And: What form of political authority does it justify? As a consequence, hunting emerges as a defining feature of European and Eastern Mediterranean 'civilisation', both ancient and recent, rather than prehistoric societies being naturalized by being defined by hunting (and gathering) as a mode of subsistence.

In the fourth chapter, I outline the arrival of British Colonialism in Cyprus and its intersection with already present ways of life. I examine in detail how these political forms were adapted. Specifically, the adaptation of the ‘right of all free men to hunt’ that had emerged with popular revolution across Europe. I address how this adaptation was then established as the inception of a Turkish Cypriot authority over hunting. This brings into focus my next question: How is hunting politically made in Northern Cyprus? I conclude in this chapter, that hunting is made through an organizational reinterpretation of a multi-class activity into a public service for authorised citizens.

In the fifth chapter, I critically illustrate the key categories of my research; Northern Cyprus, Turkish Cypriots, hunters, and hunting. That is, instead of simply rejecting naturalised premises for these categories, I render anew statistical and bounded conceptions of them through thick description. In doing so I ask: What is a Turkish Cypriot hunter in Northern Cyprus? The answer is that processes of ‘belonging’ emerge as what brings together the constituents of these categories, to then be classified and managed by State authority and naturalist epistemologies. This is in contrast to taking an authoritatively enforced conception of these categories for granted.

In the sixth chapter I ask: What are the social and ritual capacities for governing the making of hunting? I identify a hunting calendar loosely based on environmental seasons and controlled by a ‘hunting establishment’. I then pay processual attention to the day-to-day managerial and bureaucratic processes of preparing, delineating, policing and protecting the ‘margins’ of hunting by this ‘establishment’. I identify this hunting establishment to be a para-State institution that manages territory, seasons and resources within Northern Cyprus *as their own*.

In the seventh chapter, I start with the sports cafe out of which hunting expeditions emerge and begin to answer: How do people move between ‘ordered’ life and going hunting? I

examine the vernacular of hunting and its extension of Turkish Cypriot belonging to encompass the surrounding landscape. I identify this as a part of a broader relational process of cultivating and possessing the ‘living’ gifts of Northern Cyprus, that include hunting but is not exclusive to it. I ask: How is the deed of hunting made in Northern Cyprus? Hunting emerges as practice of producing and reproducing the multispecies and embodied entanglements between people and their land, or in other words continuing historically established human-environmental and land-use relations. These entanglements support the extension and embedding of belonging into the landscape but also beyond the island itself amongst diaspora. Hunting was part of a wider and ‘good’ way to engage with the island and through doing so belong as a Cypriot.

In the final chapter, I consider the intersection of the relations examined so far. Hence, I ask: How are the political, the personal and the deed integrated in hunting in Northern Cyprus? I examine a local conceptualization of a personal and embodied impulse to hunt. I then address how this has resulted in an integration between the personal embodiment and local vernacular of hunting with how people politically organise and go about preparing hunting and preparing themselves through hunting i.e. how ‘ordered’ life and ‘ordered’ hunting extend out of each other. I conclude that this hunting technology conflates an ideal with a natural entitlement, as one part of demonstrating a people’s belonging as Turkish Cypriots and/or in Northern Cyprus. This is relation to an international spatial infrastructure embedded in continuous property regimes that make it incumbent upon people to naturalise their ideals during their free time.

1.1.2 Aims, Objectives and Research Questions

- A. *Theoretical Aim:* What is hunting?
- B. *Research Question 1:* What is a political theory of hunting?
- C. (*obj.*) What is the key political mythology that hunting is entangled with?
- D. (*obj.*) What form of political authority does it justify?
- E. *Methodological Aim:* What did I learn from my informants and fieldwork?
- F. *Research Question 2:* How is hunting made in Northern Cyprus?
- G. (*obj.*) What is a Turkish Cypriot hunter in Northern Cyprus?
- H. (*obj.*) What are the social and ritual capacities for governing the making of hunting?
- I. *Research Question 3:* How does a person go hunting?
- J. (*obj.*) How do people move between 'ordered' life and going hunting?
- K. (*obj.*) How is the deed of hunting made in Northern Cyprus?
- L. *Conclusion:* How are the political, the personal and the deed integrated in hunting?

1.2 The conduct of hunting in Northern Cyprus

Hunting in Northern Cyprus involves men shooting birds and hare with double barrel shotguns firing 12 gauge cartridges. The cartridges themselves have highly varied contents depending whether they were made in a local factory, homemade or imported. I did on occasion observe the use of shotguns that used .410 bore and 20 gauge cartridges. Historically people have hunted in Cyprus prior to the invention and arrival of the shotgun with muskets and homemade firearms. Prior to that, hunting was conducted with multiple forms of net, spear, bow and arrow as well as trapping. Trapping is currently illegal in

Cyprus, however, it still occurs and was historically important, as well as Cyprus being well known for the trapping practice of lime sticking. This is the use of sticks placed in trees covered in a sticky resin, whereupon birds get stuck when they perch on them.

Currently, twelve species (See Table 2) can be legally hunted during different seasons spread throughout much of the year (See Table 1 - Hunting seasons. However, hunting does not take place on every day of the week of these seasons but is restricted to the weekend and the occasional Wednesday. Typically hunters meet before dawn in groups to talk and then embark to where they will begin hunting that day. A day's hunt will usually involve walking for five to six hours followed by a lunch break. A secondary two to four hours hunt may then take place in the late afternoon, stopping at the latest when the sun sets. During this hunt men are clothed in boots, camouflage trousers and a t-shirt, perhaps carrying a jacket for rainy days, a small bottle of water, a cap to shade vision from the sun, a bag and knife for mushrooms, a belt with hooks for hanging game animals, special cartridge belts for carrying ammunition and a shotgun in hand. Following the hunt men will re-group and share food and drinks and often leisurely chat and celebrate in the way men do in many places in the world.

There are a number of different styles used to hunt in Northern Cyprus. Hare and the larger ground dwelling game-birds (including *Alectoris Chukar*, *Francolinus Francolinus*, *Coturnix Cotrunix*) are hunted during the 'Big Hunt' season. This involves the use of dogs, primarily Pointers, which are used to flush out game. Hunters tend to work in groups called *banya* that comb through the land flushing out quarry to then be shot with a shotgun. However, some hunters also prefer to hunt on their own.

During the spring 'Small Hunt' *Turdus* are hunted with shotguns but without dogs. This style of hunting requires visiting the regions of Northern Cyprus that these birds frequent upon their annual migratory arrival, usually areas populated with berry bearing bushes. Again, these birds are flushed out from these bushes with noises, stones and simple human presence

and then shot with shotguns. During the other ‘Small Hunt’, migratory and local *Columbidae* are hunted. As these birds perch in trees dogs are again unnecessary, however apart from searching for them and shooting them, hunters also employ a secondary technique of sitting and waiting in spots where they believe *Columbidae* fly over.

Finally there is the ‘Crow Hunt’ which, according to most hunters, is “not real hunting”. It is a government subsidized means of corvid population control, specifically of Hooded Crows and Magpies. This involves shooting as many corvids as possible and collecting their heads to be handed in, in return for shotgun cartridges. Special licenses are granted for this, to only a few people from each region, via their affiliation with the TRNC Hunting and Conservation Federation. This is the largest non-governmental organization, by membership, in Northern Cyprus and is seen to represent hunters’ interests. The organization also works closely with the TRNC national government to achieve its aims, including conducting this annual cull, technically on behalf of the local government.

Outside of this, hunting that is illegal commonly involves hunting without a license, hunting more than the seasonal quota, hunting animals that are not legal to hunt, or hunting and trapping animals through the use of tools other than a licensed shotgun. To legally hunt requires obtaining a gun license for a shotgun and a hunting license for whoever is going to hunt. Hunting licenses are issued by the Ministry of the Interior. To annually renew a hunting license simply requires paying a meager sum and showing the necessary identification. However, if a person has not renewed their license for a number of years, or is attempting to gain their license for the first time (usually when they turn eighteen) they must first attend training and pass the requisite exam. This training and examination are outsourced to the TRNC Hunting Federation. This training is straightforward and basically covers what is legal and not illegal to do, but contains little about actually practicing hunting. In many senses it is like the theory part of learning to drive. Just as with getting a driving license there are also

criteria for gaining a hunting license, such as being eighteen years of age. Other conditions vary from year to year such as whether one can get a license, such as whether one has had previous criminal convictions. This aside, hunters do receive practical training but informally through shadowing an older male or friend who hunts.

A significant proportion of people who hunt belong to regional hunting associations that organize teams for national shooting tournaments, regional social gatherings, amongst multiple other activities. The majority of these associations are established within a 'sports café' in a village square or main street of a town's suburb and subsidized by the national government. They bear some similarity to working men's clubs found in the UK. Hunting in Northern Cyprus is a hobby of the common working man and these organizations akin to workers unions, albeit to protect their leisure rights. This is in contrast to the simple idea of hunting as an elite sport or means of subsistence. However, in Northern Cyprus, many hunters even reject this institutionalization of hunting and so do not belong to a formal hunting club or the TRNC Hunting Federation and keep their groupings informal, as well as not agreeing with or supporting these organizations.

1.3 Northern Cyprus and Leisure

I conducted fieldwork with people who hunt in Northern Cyprus. Cyprus is the third largest island in the Mediterranean Sea. It covers 9251 square kilometres on land, just under a third the size of Belgium, with a resident population of 1.17 million across all its administrative areas. It sits at the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea, just below Turkey. The autochthonous population are Cypriots, whose first language is either Greek or Turkish. There are also large Greek and Turkish Cypriot diaspora in England and Australia, who outnumber the resident population and whose primary language, in many cases, is now

English. The island has two main political regions that share a border (Figure 1). The political establishment of the southern region is called the Republic of Cyprus and the political establishment of the northern region is called the TRNC (Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus).

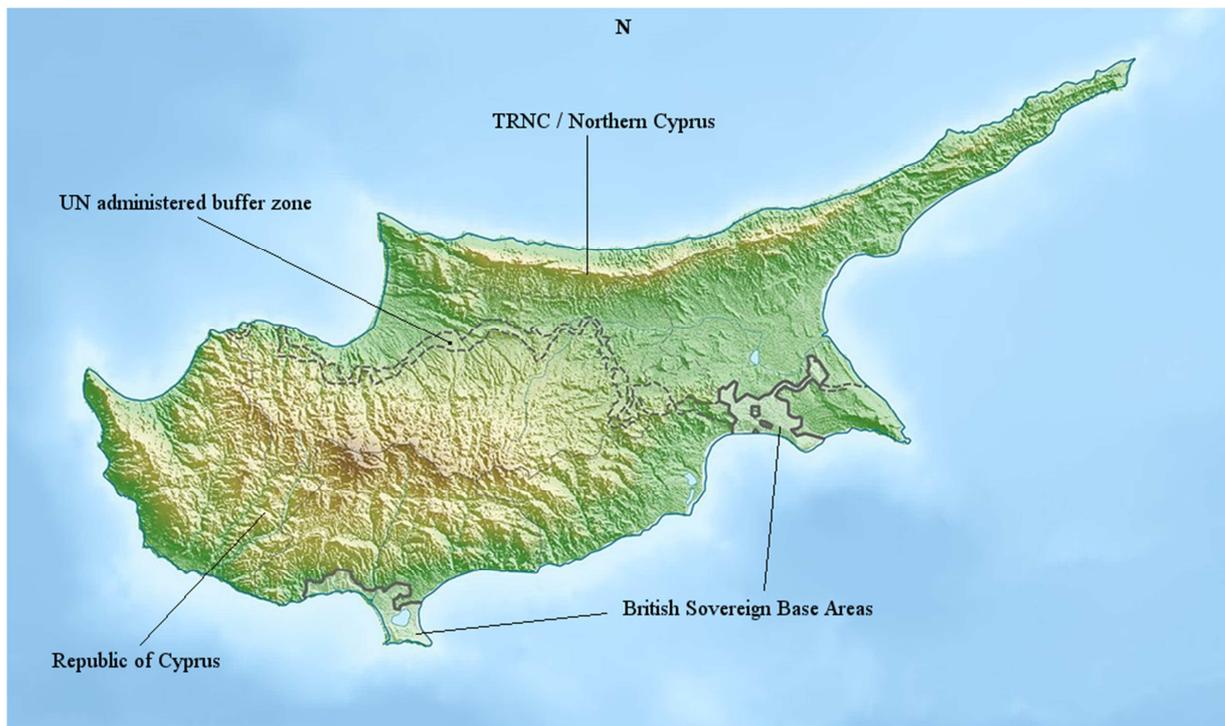


Figure 1 - Geographical and administrative topography of Cyprus.

Kuzey Kıbrıs, or Northern Cyprus as the TRNC is colloquially known, is considered by international political consensus (excepting Turkey) as having been illegally occupied by Turkish military forces since 1974, despite legal precedent (Hakki 2007: 187). In 1974 the Turkish military landed in Cyprus, on the premise of helping Turkish Cypriots and their militia resist unification of Cyprus with Greece. They proceeded to take command of the northern third of the island (ibid 539). This followed on from a complex set of events that:

‘...emerged through Cypriots' encounters with modernity under British colonialism, and through a consequent re-imagining of the body politic in a new world in which

Cypriots were defined as part of a European periphery... and how Muslims and Christians in Cyprus were transformed into Turks and Greeks.’ (Bryant 2004: 2)

Following the events of 1974, populations of Turkish Cypriots in the southern region and populations of Greek Cypriots in the northern region, migrated to the newly designated nationalist territories (ibid 70). Many had already been displaced into ethnic enclaves prior to this during the 1960s (Bryant & Hatay 2011a). This resettling of people across a land and the consequent appropriation of property abandoned by former residents, has left formal repercussions, including cross-border legal disputes over ownership of land. It has also shaped peoples' ways of living in these particular spaces and of belonging in Northern Cyprus (Bryant 2014).

The social anthropological literature on belonging in Northern Cyprus has focussed on belonging with inanimate objects and places. I address a gap in this focus, by examining how people belong with living non-humans and how this is done through human-environmental relations, specifically hunting. Hence, when I ask question L: How are the political, the personal and the deed integrated in hunting? ‘belonging’ emerges as a key dimension.

The conflict and division of Cyprus, or as I term it the formation of ‘Cypruses’ (including the Republic of Cyprus, the TRNC, the UN buffer zone, the British Sovereign Bases Areas amongst others - see Figure 1), has overwhelmingly been the subject of social anthropological as well as other socio-scientific work on Northern Cyprus. While this division is a key part of this thesis, I focus on interrogating what hunting means, through the lens of my informants. I do not engage with the conflict per se, but explore how the division has created a context with which hunting is entwined.

While previous literature rightly engages with the division of Cyprus as a primary dynamic of Cypriot life, I wish to intercede, by pointing out that the social life of Turkish Cypriots is not

entirely subjugated to what is an international dispute. While the division of an island might be a fascinating question for outsiders, people in Northern Cyprus have lives and have been living them, in light of and in spite of it.

I take my anthropological cue from Deeb and Harb's "Leisurely Islam" in this respect (2013). They do not base their ethnography of people in Beirut - Lebanon - on an IR (International Relations) perspective and forgo a fetishized attention to the required literatures and monographs 'of Lebanon'. They focus on their informants, whose individual as well as collective personhood are mixed, mobile and not necessarily 'of Lebanon'. They study what these persons do during their days and evenings, when they are free or at their own leisure. In their informants' words, when they are "relaxing", "comfortable", "changing atmosphere", "de-stressing" and "entertained" (Deeb & Harb 2013: 228).

By contrast, the leisure involved in hunting in Northern Cyprus is more akin to what Deeb and Harb describe as: "the exclusively male informal... hangouts... that previously dominated public leisure [in Beirut]" (ibid 33). Hunting shares more commonality with the idea of leisure that the authors: "rarely encountered... [called] *lahu*, which both incorporates the playful component of leisure and is a more formal term" (ibid 228).

Differences in leisure aside, it is in this unravelling of the peculiarities of how people be free, that Deeb and Harb are then able to think:

'...through some of the possibilities and limitations of... leisure... keeping in mind both the power of the class-sect nexus in Lebanon... [and the] possibility for change...' (ibid 219)

It is this ‘possibility for change’¹ that I am interested in, with regards to hunting. Through Deeb and Harbs’ focus on leisure, they have been able to develop a rich insight into the lived political life of their informants, rather than focussing on the formal categories of politics. In a similar sense, I am assessing what possibilities for wider societal and political change can be analysed, through looking at a leisure activity, precisely because this is a preoccupation of my informants and a way of them being ‘free’.

Hence, I am interested in what space for political imagination and experimentation has been offered, or not, in Northern Cyprus. I focus on how this has emerged within the leisure activity of hunting, in terms of the organisation and enacting of hunting. As such, I am working within the body of literature on ‘lived citizenship and political life’ reflected in Navaro-Yashin’s work on Northern Cyprus, which focuses on how people live with ‘politics’. In her case, living with the remnants embedded in political events (2012).

I accept Navaro-Yashin’s observation that a general sense of melancholia has existed amongst Turkish Cypriots, in relation to their ‘national’ political situation or lack of recognition of it (ibid). However, this does not undermine my point. I am arguing, that it does not foreground the lives of my informants. This melancholia has increasingly turned toward an attitude of many of the people I met, having given up on waiting for the international community, and an ‘all or nothing’ peace process (Bryant 2017). This is reflected in the 2015 TRNC presidential election. A person who has a track record in proceeding with active bi-communal measures not part of the formal peace process (Bryant & Hatay 2011b), all while international peace talks continually crash.

In this vein, my attention to hunting as leisure in ‘rural’ Northern Cyprus, builds on anthropological literature by Bryant and Hatay on urban leisure (2011a). They have analysed

¹ In Deeb and Harbs’ case of leisure this possibility was: “rooted in the idea of a radical equality of intellectual capacity” (ibid). This is not necessarily the same root in my field site. Instead, my work is commensurable to theirs, in paying attention to the “possibility for change”, or not, inherent in people’s free time.

the nostalgia of their informants, for the solidarity and egalitarian life of the 'war-time' ethnic enclave. A solidarity reproduced through contemporary leisure in 'urban' spaces in Northern Cyprus.

Drawing on the points raised, my next research questions are F, G, and H respectively: How is hunting politically made in Northern Cyprus? What is a Turkish Cypriot hunter in Northern Cyprus? And: What are the social and ritual capacities for governing the making of hunting? Before I embark in the following chapters on a historical, statistical and ethnographic exploration of hunting in Northern Cyprus, as an answer to this, I dedicate the rest of this chapter to analysing the concept of hunting itself, starting with a vignette rooted in my field-site.

1.4 Hunting as Natural Category, Artefact, Technique and Technology

I took a day off from studying hunting and meeting my informants and headed to the beach. As I slipped and stumbled over its salty pebbles, I peered and plucked at the flotsam and jetsam that had been brought ashore by the weak tides of the Mediterranean Sea. Washed out text noted their origins in Lebanon, Russia, Turkey, Israel... whole menageries of plastic bits and bobs, bottle caps and bags were washed up. Following the tides high water mark, they had piled up, and then been re-scattered by the shifting breeze. Only that morning I had been chatting with an acquaintance, about the bags of sand and buckets of plastic they had been collecting. They told me they were studying the amount of plastic found across different beaches, including collecting sand samples to analyse for micro-plastic.

These, they told me, were itty bitty tiny fragments of plastic that are in the cosmetic products we humans apply to ourselves, in industrial liquids and chemical cocktails, or were originally the component pieces of larger plastic objects that had gradually broken up in the salty and

sunny waters of the Mediterranean Sea. Having previously volunteered on a marine turtle conservation project in Northern Cyprus I was aware of the negative effects of these sea-faring plastics. Whether a plastic bag mistaken by a sea turtle for a jelly fish, being eaten and giving it fatal constipation, or microscopic plastic pieces accumulating and polluting the sea-life that accidentally consume them and those that then eat them.

I found the handful of plastic pieces I had combed from the little bay to be pretty, but these items had been deemed an aesthetic pollutant and a pervasive and invasive poison to biological bodies. Most annoyingly, they refuse to give up, hanging around for millennia ensuring as much mischief as possible.

It was in assembling my favourite items of these pretty yet persistent plastic pollutants, that another target of my beach combing made me do a double-take: pottery fragments. These were also a common item to be found lurking, on or around beaches and bays. Before the heyday of sugar-cane and sugar-beet, that we are now living through, carob syrup was a popular sweetener and lucrative export of Cyprus. Dotted along the coastline, the ruins of carob houses can still be found. Often every few miles, in places where carob trees would have been and still are bountifully inter-cropped amongst rolling fields of barley and wheat. These coastal carob houses were storage points for carob syrup and olive oils, stacked up in clay jars and amphora. Sailing ships collecting them for export as they hopped along the coastline.

Due to the intensity of this coastal usage of pottery, many bays contain pottery fragments. When I placed them alongside the plastic pieces, the obvious occurred to me. They were both remnants of containers. The amphora these pottery fragments came from, were simply 'old-school' plastic bags and bottles. Despite this similarity, the post-utility or 'rubbish' phase of these two containers, were having dramatically different results, aesthetically and biologically. This got me thinking further about these two sets of historical artefacts. In

particular, about the historical scenarios or different organisational contexts out of which these containers had emerged. What had cultivated, coerced or exploited their continuity or discontinuity?

Pondering on this, other beach combed items came to bear on my thoughts. I had bits of aluminium can and shards of glass bottles. These had also been containers. But again, their invention and continuity had unique historical contingencies in how they had emerged, been used and been shaped, by the social and ecological changes they had taken part in. It struck me: These tangible artefacts provided a way to think about the less tangible subject at the centre of my research; hunting. How is it embedded in multiple contingent histories, organisational contexts and bodily experiences?

One aspect of this is how different people read the continuities of hunting. Between hunting a long time ago (e.g. hunter-gatherers) and hunting today, or hunting here and hunting 'over there' (e.g. indigenous hunting). Different people have drawn on different stories to couple or uncouple different huntings. In particular, stories that draw continuities or discontinuities, between 'subsistence hunting' and 'leisure hunting' (including hunting for pleasure or sport).

The other major aspect of comparing hunting to containering (and both of their related artefacts), is how hunting has been shaped by the different histories that have organised it. To return to the tangible example: The obvious observation is that there is a shared similarity between the clay and plastic shards, as both are artefactual tools that derive from techniques of containering. The other obvious implication is that there are significant differences in what containers have emerged as artefacts in different times and places. Including, the form they have taken and how they have been shaped by and shaped the lives of the people and environments they have been and will continue to be a part of.

The overall implication would at first seem to be that techniques of containering, or in my case techniques of hunting, share a similarity or continuity. It is the organisational contexts that change and reshape these techniques. Tangible as particular historical artefacts or tools, as amphora or plastic bag, meal or sport, sustenance or game. I disagree.

The ‘techniques’ involved in containering vary dramatically, just as they do in hunting. From the perspective of my research, both techniques and organisational contexts are very different at all scales, as are their consequences. There is no natural category¹ for techniques of hunting. True, a common - retrospective - natural category of hunting does seem to exist: “to actively search for, and often kill, another animal” (Ellen in Ingold 1994: 199).

Why not simply focus on the natural category² then? A universally comparative perspective on containering or hunting. I contend, that, whilst natural categories are popularly held as givens, they are arguably very relative. An example familiar to social anthropologists is the relative use of ‘Nature’.

A proposition of my thesis, then, is that techniques (e.g. hunting skills) and organisational contexts (e.g. hunting institutions in which hunters are embedded), tangible as artefacts (e.g. hunted animals and hunters) intersect, to create different ‘huntings’. While there seems to be the common ideal of killing or capturing an animal in some way, this ‘ideal’ as natural category manifests itself in diverse ways. Crucially, to such a degree that the ideal (rarely if ever) is not the outcome of nor takes place during the hunting deed (Willerslev et al. 2015).

I am not interested then in ideals, natural categories, artefacts, techniques or organisational contexts abstracted from each other. Instead, I am focussed on the intersections between these different scales, and ways to think about different huntings and their comparability. Building on Richards’ work, I call this comparative and generalizable intersection the “technology”

¹ Or ‘conventional concept of class’ as Needham puts it (1975: 349), addressed in detail sub-section 1.11.

² In sub-section 1.11 I address the difference between a category, class, and ideal.

(2009) of hunting. This refers to empirically observable manifestations of particular intersections between all these elements as ‘technologies of hunting’.

Richards notes: “Technology is often defined in terms of tools or machines but [here] it is treated as the human capacity to make” (2009: 495). Richards draws on his mastery of the concept of the ‘sociotechnical’ to avoid dis-embedding techniques from tools, and - in the full extension of his quote - organizational contexts. Out of this emerges his conclusion, with regards to his field-site: One way in which the technology of war is made, is through techniques of weaponry, one tangible manifestation of which, is the making of battle dresses, and consequently he notes how dresses make war. Therefore, I am interested in the technology of particular huntings, tangible manifestations of which are hunters and hunted animals.

To refer back to the earlier vignette about containering: The implication is that plastic bags were not destined to be made, or made as containers, or vice versa. Instead, the qualities of a plastic bag - as an artefact of containering - are particular to the historical, social and organisational contexts that produced or reproduced them. As well as their contexts being particular to plastic bags. In other words, plastic bags, from a ‘technology’ perspective, reflect an intersection between the societies they emerge from and their technical capabilities, as well as particular assortments of containering emerging from these intersections. Hence, plastic societies make plastic bags and plastic bags make plastic societies, and this involves whole menageries of containering, that may or may not be present in other places and times. In sum, plasticness is itself a sociotechnical relation. Of ‘more-than-particular’ interest though is the ‘technology’ (rather than technique) of containering that all of this plasticness renders, or in my case the technology of hunting.

From another perspective, hunting is a category that can be used at multiple scales and in multiple ways. It can be used to focus on one part, or aspect, of a collective (human and non-

human) process of making history. This is in contrast to hunting being analytically reduced to a natural category, which is often as ‘technique’, as this renders invisible the relationships of authority and power that a certain natural category of hunting maintains.

Therefore, technologies, techniques and artefacts of hunting (both the categories themselves and what they categorize) are emergent parts of a historical process. This is a process where social scientists on the more sociotechnical end of the theoretical spectrum, focus on the qualities of an artefact as contingent on the social and organisational contexts that give rise to them. In other words, make them, and to varying degrees vice versa¹. I am expanding the focus on these contexts to include the social relations with and of living non-humans.

However, I am not interested in overshooting and abstracting my entire focus to a system-centric perspective either. I am not ignoring the political or economic super-structure, nor the relativity of the affective, personal or cultural experience, but bringing into focus the ‘technological’ infrastructure connecting them. Therefore, in order to qualify this theoretical perspective, my next question A is: What is hunting?

I have introduced the idea that it makes theoretical sense to preliminarily address this question by answering that hunting is analytically (not just theoretically or empirically) interesting when considered as a technology. I will now work through the literature to note how this addresses the gaps I found.

1.5 An Anthropology of Hunting

For the past five years I have had an online search alert setup to notify me when any ‘News’ of ‘hunting’ is published. The impression I have received is that there are three main contexts in which this word appears in online news. One peaks occasionally when there has been a

¹ See Latour & Woolgar 1986; Pickering 1992, 2010.

terrorist attack and terrorists are referred to as being “hunted”. The second are articles referring to “bargain-hunting” and hunting with reference to the stock market. The third refers to the activity of humans hunting non-human animals. I am interested in the technologies intersecting this last context, rather than focussing on the popular ‘ethical’ discourses surrounding it.

Surveying this third context, I calculated that approximately one in 70 persons was a legal hunter in Europe in 2010 (FACE 2011). It is also estimated that 25 million birds were illegally trapped in the Mediterranean basin in 2015 (BirdLife 2015). In between these two numbers I found numerous ‘types of practice’ including hunting, trapping, stalking, coursing, rough shooting, snaring, netting, hooking, chasing, bow hunting, spearing, baiting, culling, to name a few in the English language. Then there are the numerous types of dog, horse, hawk and other animals involved in these practices, as well as the numerous terrestrial, arboreal and aquatic animals targeted. Not to mention the diversity of equipment and the burgeoning markets they serve. I also found that people who conduct these practices can be typified, according to numerous emic and etic criteria, one of these being ‘hunters’. For example, in the case of foxhunting, the horses are emically referred to as hunters, whereas etically the human riders are referred to as hunters (Acton in Kowalsky 2010).

This categorizing of hunting is not a new phenomenon. Going back to the ‘foundations of Western civilization’, the Ancient Greeks developed a whole sub discipline of philosophy related to hunting called ‘cynegetics’. This was the epistemological construction of typological ideals of hunting (e.g. *Cynegeticus* by Xenophon c. 430–354 BCE) Later, in medieval France (*Livre de Chasse* by Phoebus c. 1387-1389) and England (*The Master of Game* by Edward of Norwich c.1406-1413), key texts on ‘venatics’ and ‘venery’ took over this role of developing and epistemologically policing the boundaries of what hunting is. Today, when governance institutions either for or against hunting address it, as well as much

of the non-anthropological literature on contemporary hunting in Europe, it is often from this epistemological perspective. Whether through legal, academic or discursive means.

1.5.1 Cultural and Conceptual Categories

The implication of this, is that one category must be more positively true than the others. As an academic it is my job to tinker with past categories to progressively update them. Social anthropology problematizes and rejects this premise. Methodologically speaking, it does so by rejecting ‘arm-chair’ methods of philosophizing ideals. Theoretically, it does so, by recognising that an academic’s perspective is a perspective, or a textual rendering, informed by the specific questions asked and the specific moment of their asking.

One way of proceeding in light of this, has been to take ‘native’ categories seriously, as a valid theoretical perspective. However, the problem then arises of who, or which ‘native’, has the authority to designate the ‘native’ category. Graeber notes, that this way of addressing categories is stuck in a conundrum, between whether to use “authoritative views” or “native categories” (2015a: 33) and their overlap. He renders this situation as a wider confusion between conceptual categories and cultural categories and between comparing the two. He then effectively rejects this whole confusing and problematic formulation¹ as part of the problem².

Graeber proposes that this confusion can be avoided by starting from the premise that the world is not entirely knowable (epistemic fallacy), nor necessarily coherent. Different people

¹ As Graeber explains: ‘Chances are there’s next to nothing that every single individual you have just defined as “Nuer” will agree on. So, the relativist must appeal to authoritative views. But how are the local authorities to be identified? One cannot use “Nuer ideas” to identify them because that’s just circular again: you need to know who the authorities are, first, in order to know what “Nuer ideas” about authority actually are. So, oddly, if you are a cultural relativist, authority is the one thing about which you can’t be relativistic. Finally, the moment one decides one cannot stand in judgment over the views of someone residing in a different cultural universe (someone who is Nuer, Dinka, etc.), one immediately develops the need for a special supercategory—such as “modern” or “Western”—in which to include those views one feels one should be allowed to disagree with or condemn. This category therefore tends to balloon endlessly...’ (ibid)

² See sub-section 1.11 for further discussion.

know and construct different knowledge; they have different epistemologies. Furthermore, epistemologies are entangled with the capability for different people to have different power over and through others (ibid 23-29).

In line with this, I am not interested in establishing what the most authoritative native category of what hunting is, nor in justifying my own authoritative one. That is an exercise in shoring up one authority over another and thus maintains the established power relations surrounding a given hunting technology. Instead, I am exploring the process of the making of these categories and the tensions and struggles between and within different authorities. Such as that between the hunting establishment in Northern Cyprus and different factions of hunters, that both produce, reproduce and police their hunting.

But categories should not just be understood as theoretical, descriptive or intangible means of communication. They are one part of the amalgamation of different factors leading to how something, such as hunting or a landscape, is made. It is not that a deed is made in the image of how it is idealised. However, depending on the authority, this is often attempted making certain categories more real by certain authorities trying to make the world reflect their category or make it fit. Different authorities try to enforce their category into reality and keep it there, by leveraging whatever strategies and resources they have. This is what I refer to as the preparing, delineating, policing and protecting of the 'margins' of hunting.

In sum, categories are used by people in multiple ways with varying coherency. Hence, I do not focus on representing other people's lives or telling you the authoritative story of who Turkish Cypriot hunters are, but communicating what I learnt through participating and spending time with people who identified as hunters.

1.5.2 Literature on Hunting

So, what does the anthropological literature have to say about hunting, specifically with regards to the regions Northern Cyprus find itself in; Europe, the Eastern Mediterranean and Mediterranean Islands. Dahles, who conducted fieldwork in the Netherlands, notes:

‘As a subsistence strategy (in hunting and gathering societies) hunting has been a major field in anthropological research. As a leisure activity, however, hunting forms a young and rather marginal area of anthropological inquiry although an exciting and innovative one.’ (1993: 171)

This thesis fits with this latter area. The point at which it emerges from the wider anthropological literature is then marked by a number of key threads reflected in - but not limited to - the literature referenced here.

These threads are the “ecological anthropology” of - indigenous - hunting practices (Ingold 2011), the “ethnographic archaeology” of human-animal relations in Cyprus (Keswani 1994), the social anthropology of contemporary hunting as a “leisure activity” (Dahles 1993), and autochthonous literature (Taşcı 2017). Cross-cutting this are regionally defined literatures, including the social anthropology of foxhunting in England (Marvin 2007). There is also an anthropological literature on hunting as a leisure activity by non-indigenous North Americans, as well as trophy hunting as part of a global market (Rentería-Valencia 2015). However, this thesis is regionally focussed on Europe - Mediterranean islands in particular - as the fieldwork took place on the island of Cyprus.

In addition, I draw on the study of hunting in Francophone anthropology (Segalen 1986), as well as literature in other languages, including Spanish (Cruzada 2017a) and German (Gieser 2018). Furthermore, there are countless anthropological works that do not focus on hunting,

but include key observations in relation to it. The reference to monkey darting in Kohn's 'How forests think' (2013: 31–33) being a key example and one that I use in a later chapter.

Literature relevant to the anthropology of hunting - that I also build on - has emerged in other disciplines including in philosophy (Kowalsky 2010), history (Herman 2005), economics (MacMillan 2004) and a focus on hunting of humans by humans (Chamayou 2012). Needless to say hunting is also an important trope in popular literature and by extension film (Spielberg 1975).

These literatures are not mutually exclusive. There is a significant subjectivity to the terms of reference I have used, regarding the specific literatures and categories of them listed. Just as there is with the very word 'hunting' and its translation into other languages and social contexts. For example, depending on native categories, fishing and trapping are or are not considered hunting. In the Turkish language the term *av* refers to activities that are separated into hunting and fishing in English. Furthermore, 'hunt(ing)' is a polysemous word in English, which can refer to multiple different relations and subjects at different scales.

While attention to the construction of a category might seem an obvious statement of interest to make from a social anthropological perspective consider the following. First, hunting is conceived - in tandem with gathering - from the modernist perspective as the foundational 'mode of human subsistence'. Second, the earliest concepts emerging from social anthropology¹ (Bird-David 1999: S67) were deeply embedded in the concept of hunting as a mode of subsistence (ibid 1992).

In spite of the importance of hunting to the study of what it means to be human, there is a fundamental problem with the dominant understanding of it, both outside and inside social anthropology. This problem is rooted in a conflation between the idealised imaginations of hunting and the real acts or deeds of hunting and observations of them. Not in the sense of

¹ The concept is 'animism' being referred is of itself not relevant to the discussion here.

simply recognising that what people think and what people do are different, or what we think they think, and what they do are all different. Instead, I am arguing that, in the academic literature ‘hunting’ has not been recognised as a concept, but assumed to be a given technique or practice.

1.6 Ellen: Modes of Subsistence and Hunting as Technique

In the ‘Companion Encyclopaedia of Anthropology’ (1994) Ellen writes an entry on “modes of subsistence”. Hunting being designated as a primary “technique”, assembled together with others to constitute a mode of subsistence (ibid 199)¹. Ellen argues that:

‘...most of us who have sought to understand human culture have been prepared to accept subsistence practices as basically unproblematic, requiring for their analysis no more than simple typologies and a bit of common sense. No doubt this view owes something to the familiarity of the practices, their concreteness and visibility compared with more esoteric aspects of culture; but it is a position now barely tenable.’ (ibid. 197)

I agree that modes of subsistence, and hunting as a part of that assemblage, have been taken for granted. However, Ellen argues with ‘no doubt’ that this is because of people’s familiarity with them, by comparison to other more ‘esoteric aspects of culture’. But as I noted earlier, the number of hunters in Europe is approximately 1 in 70, and the number of anthropologists that are actually familiar, in the sense of having experienced modes of subsistence that involve hunting², is by my estimation even lower. I am aware that Ellen is not referring to

¹ Ellen argues that there are two main approaches, the ‘assemblage’ versus the ‘social form’ where the former is effectively an argument for modes of subsistence and the later an argument for modes of production. Ellen instead offers a bridge between them through casting ‘modes of subsistence’ as a necessary theoretical abstraction.

² Specifically hunting ‘at home’ for those from Europe.

hunting directly, but people's familiar modes of subsistence. But this is precisely the point. Hunting is actually an 'esoteric aspect of culture' for most anthropologists. It has been 'conceptually' taken for granted, as it is not a familiar technique within the 'mode of subsistence' of most academics. Therefore, as Ellen notes, the parent concept of 'modes of subsistence' has itself not been critically evaluated, but I am arguing that this is precisely because of an 'assumed' familiarity, rather than a familiarity that is then 'taken for granted' as Ellen interprets it.

Ellen then endeavours to not take modes of subsistence (ibid. 197-221) - and by extension hunting (ibid. 199) - for granted. He does this by noting that, to overcome the untenable position of taking modes of subsistence for granted, there are three issues to address:

[sic] the first concerns the critical concepts of technology and environment, without which any analysis of modes of subsistence is impossible, the second the relationship between modes of subsistence and modes of production, and the third the classification of types and the use of particular labels.' (ibid. 197)

Regarding Ellen's first concern, he notes that there has been: "a notable tendency to confuse technology with equipment" (ibid). I agree¹, as I have noted in discriminating between technique, technology, category and artefact. However, I am arguing that hunting is actually better understood as a technology, not a technique per se, as Ellen designates it. Due to its polysemous nature, and a conflation between conceptual and cultural categories, it can then also secondarily be considered a technique amongst other designations.

This perspective of hunting as technology and plural, also addresses the manufactured confusion Ellen attempts to unpick. This is with regards to his third concern regarding what a good definitive classification of hunting might be (ibid. 199). I disagree with the authors he quotes, due to them considering hunting from a naturalist perspective as a technique within a

¹ I also agree with his concern regarding the concept of environment.

mode of subsistence. I make an exception for Ellen's reference to Ingold, who specifically designates hunting as a 'mode of intentional social production' rather than a mode of subsistence (ibid. 199). This directly raises Ellen's second concern and my main point of departure.

Ellen effectively outlines the argument for why the concept of 'modes of subsistence' is somewhat redundant in the face of the concept of 'modes of production':

'...no mode of subsistence can be understood except as part of a socially constituted structure, nor can it be approached analytically apart from this context, for it is invariably a consequence of social action which is in part purposive, and has its origins in particular social relations of appropriation. People accordingly produce their own subsistence, while social consciousness is integral to production.' (ibid. 198)

But Ellen then argues, that the concept of modes of subsistence is actually inescapable for two reasons:

'First is that there is no fixed relationship between particular subsistence... practices... and relations of production and distribution...' (ibid.198)

Ellen is arguing, that if there is no distinction made between modes of production and modes of subsistence, there is no distinction between the social and the technical, and if we do not make this distinction we cannot make "effective comparison" and "people will continue to do so implicitly" (ibid. 199). This is my major point of departure from Ellen. I take a joint social and technical (sociotechnical) perspective.

Also, instead of accepting peoples' implicit understanding as a given, as Ellen does, I am interested in addressing why modes of subsistence would be implicitly assumed and what

authority guides them. I do this through challenging the narrative¹ that makes them implicit. Hence, my next questions are C and D: What is the key political mythology that hunting is entangled with? And: What form of political authority does it justify?

To give Ellen credit, he does argue that a mode of subsistence, as an aggregate of techniques such as hunting, is particular to a population (ibid. 198). However, he then argues that we must retain a frame for comparison, through considering the techniques of modes of subsistence in abstract. In this sense, I do not disagree that hunting can be considered a technique and can be conceived at the scale of an assemblage - group of techniques - as part of a mode of subsistence. However, I argue that focussing on hunting as a technique, produces a conceptually thin result.

For example, Ellen offers: “the acquisition and engorging of animal protein” as a definition of hunting, or his preferred one: “active searching (by contrast, say, with trapping or scavenging)” (199) as a theorisation of hunting as technique. I contend that this is conceptually less a case of technique and more a list of causal steps that ‘in reality’ occurs as a policed natural category. This is because, I contend that the differentiation between trapping and hunting at the scale of intimate techniques of the body is a hegemonic² differentiation, not a theoretical one. As Ortega y Gasset notes:

‘Nor can hunting be defined by its particular operations, its techniques. These are innumerable, very diverse, and no one can pretend to be the essence of hunting.’
(2007: 58)

¹ I am using narrative in the sense that Errington and Gewertz refer to it as contested but artful communication that compels history, as wrapped up with myths and as form that shows some consistency across contexts and scales, but can be observed situationally (2004: 261-262).

² One considers there to be a hierarchy of better typologies of how social reality is or should be constructed. This is also something that a few of my informants also suggested, but precisely because they were attempting to construct ‘hunting’ against illegal hunting and trapping, in a way that that supported their actions, purposes and power relations.

In other words, who can say what constitutes ‘active’ as hunting. Is not ‘tree-standing’ or waiting for pigeons to pass over with one’s shotgun not hunting? Or what about when the hunting establishment in Northern Cyprus considers the culling of crows hunting but the people doing it do not consider it real hunting. Furthermore, this frame for comparison refers to a large mass part of activities in life, so it is vague to the point of being meaningless¹. These definitions can be applied to searching on the internet for protein powder or going out to dinner for a steak. A convenient definition for those wishing to provide a depoliticized pretence with regards to hunting.

On a further note, I argue against Ellen’s denial of a pattern in the relationship between particular subsistence practices, such as hunting, and relations of production (ibid. 198). I recognise Ellen’s attempt to address this, by his drawing attention to the particularity of a population (ibid). However, in this thesis I examine the relation between particular, so called, ‘subsistence practices’ and ‘relations of production and distribution’. Contrary to Ellen I propose that there is fixity. But the fixity is precisely in the relationship of hunting and ‘social form’ as technology. Not in either of them themselves, as there is no fixed hunting technique. That is, there is not fixity in terms of similarity between huntings or between political practices, but instead there is in terms of their relationship. This relationship’s unit is what I refer to as the ‘technology’ of hunting.

So, in this sense, it is only relevant to talk of hunting as comparable across populations through appreciating that it is a particular construction of a technology at a given political moment or with a particular sociotechnical history. It is not an ahistorical technique or concept to be studied within a particular political moment². Hence, I avoid the social

¹ It is like saying that hunting for shampoo is comparable to hunting for a hare. It is an attempt to claim universality through comparability, but is actually a particular epistemological hegemony that tries to claim everything. See sub-section 1.11 for further exploration of this.

² For this reason, I reject the idea of simply offering an ethnography historically, geographically or politically contextualized. As I develop in my theoretical perspective, it is important to emphasis the artefact as much as

constructivist argument that Ellen pillories, by accepting history, but in contrast to Ellen, I note the sociotechnicality of history, as well as arguing for the “practical engagement” of theory that he notes is critical. However, instead of assuming people are stupid, I explicitly recognise that concepts are embedded within narratives that are often political justifications. I try and highlight this. This is in contrast to Ellen’s scientific approach.

The binary made between modes of subsistence and modes of production, that Ellen attempts to bridge but maintains, has itself been taken for granted by adherents of Ellen, with reference to hunting e.g. treating hunting for subsistence versus hunting for pleasure as a natural categorical difference. I am noting that modernist ideas of society are built in relation to this unchecked binary of hunting.

Unfortunately, the anthropological literature referencing hunting remains dominated by the idea of subsistence cultures in juxtaposition to modernity. Whether prehistoric hunter-gatherers or contemporary indigenous people who hunt. Thus, any people not identified as such, are simply categorised as hunting for pleasure. Those people that are, are hunting for sustenance with the implication that pleasure is not primary aspect. I have not even evaluated the ethnocentric problems with use of the idea of pleasure wrapped up in this juxtaposition. Instead, I use leisure as a spatialized concept and related concepts of sport, exercise, play, games and ease, taking into consideration their ethnocentric meanings.

I do examine how people attempt to bifurcate hunting, conceptually in the literature between subsistence and pleasure, bureaucratically in governance institutions between legal and illegal hunting, and discursively between real and not real hunting by authoritative ‘natives’. However, I refer to the hunting I study as spatialized as leisure, but not in contrast to subsistence. This is not a natural distinction but a *made* one. It requires continual work to be

the tool. That is the multiple secondary and tertiary relations that have made an item possible and actual as an artefact, not just the primary relations it can possibly create as a tool.

maintained and even then, it remains contested and relatively incoherent in my field-site. The difference is, is that leisure is a historical construct, whereas pleasure is a complex human feeling shared by indigenous people and non-indigenous people, but spatialized as part of a hunting technology.

In sum, the concept of hunting in anthropology has largely escaped undergoing the work that has been done to move beyond an anthropology of primitive savages and “hirsute men” (Falzon 2008). This is not to say that the relatively small discipline of social anthropology should have addressed all things human in all places, all in-depth. However, as I am arguing that hunting is a foundational topic in anthropology, it is critical that in its case it is addressed in-depth.

1.7 Descola and Modern Hunting

A key text that begins this work is philosopher Ortega y Gasset’s ‘Meditations on Hunting’ (2007), first printed in Spanish in 1943. It is an example of a literature that directly addresses hunting conceptually, and addresses it from an autochthonous European perspective. Autochthonous in the sense that it does not ‘other’ hunting through conceiving of it through the lens of the classic Malinowskian ethnographic subject i.e. ‘exotic’ people. However, despite these achievements Ortega is a philosophical idealist. As he asserts himself, he is an essentialist and as such, his entire text is an idealisation. Hence, he ultimately exoticizes hunting ‘at home’ and misses the opportunity to de-exoticize hunting and by extension de-exoticize and demystify the narratives of modernity it is embedded in. By contrast, this thesis takes the opportunity to de-exoticize hunting and in doing so demystify, diversify and upset the narrative of modernity.

A text that heralded this potential turn in social anthropology, was the volume 'Nature and Society: Anthropology Perspectives' (1996), edited by Pálsson and Descola. It presents a host of alternative propositions to the nature-culture dichotomy through, in many cases, examining hunting. Whether with hunters in Europe (Hell *ibid*) or hunters in South America (Rival *ibid*). Multiple different but substantiated propositions are made, with commonality emerging around what the editors propose to be a 'transecological' (*ibid* 19) understanding of the person. One that overcomes the nature-culture dichotomy and in doing so, appreciates the various huntings that have been and are being made. I answer this proposal, by drawing on the recent work of Richards (2009) to do this. He appears as the co-author of the final chapter in this volume, where he co-develops a sociotechnical perspective to transecology.

Pálsson and Descola note that transcending the nature-culture dichotomy is simply one more step in the successful anthropological critique of other dichotomies, including "mind-body, subject-object, individual-society etc." (*ibid* 4) However, of particular interest is their reiteration of an earlier observation by Crumley, that the nature-culture dichotomy is so entrenched that it has dichotomised anthropology itself:

'Anthropology is broad in scope, drawing upon both natural and social sciences, but, as contradiction; "the first part of the story of the human species is couched in evolutionary and environmental terms, the second denies environment a meaningful role in human history" (Crumley 1994:2)' (*ibid* 18).

In this volume, this problem is partially and partly addressed with relevance to hunting by Ingold, through attention to contemporary - indigenous - hunting (*ibid* 25-44). He establishes that hunting cannot be adequately theorised from an individualistic conceptualisation of a person and the related dualistic conception of nature-culture. A transecological perspective is required to fully account for the relationship between person, animal, environment and knowledge involved, to *make* hunting actually take place. Ingold issues a challenge, for a

“genuinely ecological approach” in anthropology (ibid 37). I take on this challenge, through combining an attention to the small embodied interactions between all these components (e.g. animals, humans etc.), during the deeds of hunting, in relation to the deeds of the organisation of hunting. I extend the sociotechnical perspective used by Richards, amongst others, to also take into consideration the ecological and multispecies social worlds that are folded into hunting¹. In doing so, I also extend Nadasdy’s focus on how knowledge is made in ‘Hunters and Bureaucrats’ (2003) to develop a more explicit attention to power and politics in relation to the cross-over in these two roles in my own fieldwork.

Almost a decade later - in 2005 - this volume was followed by ‘Beyond Nature and Culture’ (Descola, 2014). Some of the central insights that emerged from examining hunting in the aforementioned volume are addressed in this following book. For example, the ‘wild-domesticated’ dichotomy. Specifically, as Sahlins notes in the foreword, Descola demonstrates the construction of hunting by - indigenous - people as:

‘a social relationship where by means of reciprocating, cajoling, beguiling, nurturing, seducing, respecting, promising, or otherwise negotiating, the hunter induces the animal cum-affinal-other to provide for his peoples existence’ (ibid. 9).

In other words, hunting amongst ‘subsistence cultures’, in this case amongst the - indigenous - Achuar, is not “restricted to material productivity” (ibid). That is, hunting conceived of as a mode of material subsistence is a very thin perspective. By extension it is then misleading when societies are predominantly defined from this thin perspective as ‘hunter-gatherer’ societies, as the richness of that society is violently naturalised through a thin render.

¹ I do not find my etymological lineage with Ingold in comparing hunting to a technology however, as while he emphasizes sociotechnical relations, he rejects the concept of technology as too historically bounded to a certain kind of ‘western thought’ (2011: 314). Whilst it might be jarring to the reader to accept my definition of technology I have not used it in the way Ingold criticizes. I also do not use his poetic use of craft (ibid chp 23). Instead, as this remains too phenomenologically situated rather than grasping multi-scalar processes.

Descola incorporates the environment as meaningful, through attention to hunting amongst indigenous people, as well as examining hunting amongst indigenous people beyond a materialist perspective. However, the focus of his book is not hunting per se, but hunting as a transitional practice through which to talk about his theorisation of what lies beyond a nature-culture dichotomy. Inadvertently, as the people he talks about when addressing hunting are 'indigenous', he is not focussed on and thus fails to decouple the exoticisation of hunting through its coupling with indigenous people. In sum, they are being conceived of through each other. Whilst it is not a naturalist perspective, it is a coupling that without direct appreciation of hunting beyond the 'classic' indigenous context¹, perpetuates many of the problems of rendering the 'classic' ethnographic subject. Primary amongst these problems, is that Descola leaves modern society - 'the West' - mystified, as an idealised and bloated category. I tackle this issue head on, through addressing hunting in Southern Europe, where it does not conform to this distinction between the West and the Rest, neither generally nor in terms of hunting.

1.8 Southern Europe and Citizen Hunters

Zuppi (2017a, 2017b) and Cruzada (2017b, 2017a) argue that Descola's proposal of 'naturalism' as representing the perspective of people who hold the nature-culture dichotomy 'in the West' is problematic. Through attention to contemporary hunting in Southern Europe, they empirically demonstrate that modern people, or people in 'the West', do not necessarily take for granted the nature-culture dichotomy and in some cases do not subscribe to it. Whereas, they argue Descola monolithically implies that people do. Perhaps a generous way to interpret this, is that Descola is not clear in differentiating - as Ellen calls it in the 'Nature

¹This is oddly in contrast to the questions that started to emerge in the earlier and more comparative 'Nature and Society' volume (1996).

and Society' volume (1996 chp 6) - the European 'taxonomic' museum from peoples lived lives in Europe.

The unfortunate, if indirect, implication of this is that the European 'others at home' (whether the Southern European, the 'rural' inhabitant or the 'less modern') are not represented in narratives of modernity perpetuated by a 'metropolitan'¹ European self-rendering of a civilised naturalism. This is keenly picked up, from the perspective of anthropology on the Mediterranean island of Malta, by Falzon, when he notes the 'Mediterranean man', specifically the hunter, remains drawn as the primitive "hirsute man" (2008: 20).

What then of work on hunting in the rest of Europe? Primary in this canon is Marvin's work on foxhunting. While he does not predominantly focus on the nature-culture literature, his work on foxhunting in England broadly establishes it as a (multi) class² activity embedded in a complex history of human-environmental relations (2007). The wider social organisation of the landed gentry, gamekeepers and rural plebeians is not the same as the situation encountered in environmental anthropologies of 'exotic places', such as Descola's work on sylvan gardens in South America (2016: 7-9). Nonetheless, I argue that the practices Marvin describes, human-environmental relations with, and the historical ecology of, the English 'countryside', are as entangled, intimate and 'alterative' as the human-environmental and human-animal relations described by Descola. From a less magical perspective, they are both about traditional ecological knowledge (TEK).

However, precisely because foxhunting is embedded in a class-based society, by comparison to egalitarian notions of indigenous societies, wider anthropological debates unfamiliar with hunting and rural life in England and Europe, do not fundamentally engage with this

¹ In contrast to cosmopolitan.

² When 'upper class' is invoked, say with regards to the idea that foxhunting is an upper-class activity, this is somewhat disingenuous. A class society, by definition, involves multiple classes in its social reproduction, just as foxhunting involves multiple classes. To ignore the involvement and agency of the lower classes in foxhunting is to deny the agency they have in emancipating themselves from their naturalized invisibility or inferiority in cultural production.

demystification of the ethnographic realities of modernity in ‘the West’ in the 21st century. If they did so, then traditional ecological knowledge would be recognised in ‘the West’ as part of what it means to be ‘Western’. However, this does not conform to the progressive narrative of what modernity should look like, particularly as such knowledge does not explicitly emerge from ‘modern’ epistemological ways of knowing. Hence, the actual practices and processes of class and social organisation, and their relation to the environment, both in England and Europe more widely, remain mystified e.g. Descola’s naturalism (And by extension how they are used as comparative positions - i.e. the West - from which to talk about other parts of the world).

A focus on hunting by common citizens across Europe helps unsettle this simple binary. One between hunting as egalitarian amongst indigenous people, and hunting as a traditional yet disappearing sport amongst the elite in a modernising Europe (and much of the moralizing baggage that accompanies this binary). This is the focus I address, building on the work of Mediterranean scholars of hunting including Theodossopoulos (2003), Ortega (2007), Falzon (2008), Dalla Bernardina (2009), Cruzada (2017b, 2017a) and Zuppi (2017b).

My aim though, is not to reveal that hunting is widespread across contemporary Europe and further afield and is intimately embedded with major political change¹. The wider social science literature (e.g. von Essen et al. 2014) and journalism on hunting in Eurasia (and by Europeans) already note this (e.g. in France: Bacchi 2015; in Croatia: Coghlan & Tatalović

¹ Hunting is considered to be tightly related to wider politics in European society today. This is common knowledge or at least a common site of debate with regards to hunting. This is why it is often considered a site of class war in countries such as the UK and one of the top issues that cuts through political noise (BBC 2017). But this is not limited to the citizens of the UK in any way. Maltese citizens recently partook in a nation-wide referendum on hunting (BBC 2015), that is now leading to continued tensions between the representatives of Maltese hunters and trappers and EU advocates and bureaucrats (FACE 2017). A grenade was launched at the guards of a British sovereign military base in the Republic of Cyprus last year, purportedly by trappers, in retaliation for what they see as British military police incurring upon their sovereign right to wild resources in Cyprus (InCyprus 2017). Last time British military police and Greek Cypriot citizens initiated violent relations, the events of the 1950s and 60s that eventually divided Cyprus took place (Norton-Taylor 2012). Currently, the Hunting Federation of Poland is supporting it’s government in a bitter political battle, against other political bodies including the EU, to go ahead with logging the oldest forest in Europe (Reuters 2017). The list of the explicit politicization of hunting in Europe and beyond goes on.

n.d.; in Albania: Gaedtke 2014; in Lebanon: Qabbani n.d.; in Iraq: Reuters 2015; in Poland Reuters 2017 etc). Instead, I am theoretically interested in challenging the dichotomisation of anthropology, noted earlier by Crumley (1994 in Descola & Pálsson 1996: 18), between a natural science of the first part of the human story and an anthropocentric social science of the second part of the human story. I do this by building on literature that challenges this dichotomy, as I will outline now.

There is a burgeoning anthropology of hunting that focuses on the phenomenological experience of hunting (e.g. Gieser 2018) and human-animal relations in hunting (e.g. Acton in Kowalsky 2010). My contribution is to acknowledge this but go beyond it. Two similar ways this has been done already include francophone anthropology where:

‘...old research themes such as hunting and gathering have been rejuvenated by new approaches (Bromberger & Lenclud 1982). Hunting for instance, as well as being analysed symbolically, can be studied within the framework of sociability, with an emphasis on the difference between social classes, in the manner of Pierre Bourdieu. One can contrast hunting associations rooted in the village community and bourgeois hunting-parties, competing for status and land control (Bozon & Chamboredon 1980)’ (Segalen 1986)

This literature overcomes Ellen’s contention, that there is no fixed relation between ‘subsistence practices’ and ‘relations of production and distribution’, by noting that “cultural differentiation [is] exemplified by... various types of hunting” (ibid). It also overcomes conceiving of hunting through the concepts of subsistence, indigeneity or archaic tradition. This brings me to the second way of moving beyond doing a phenomenology of the deed of hunting in Europe. Marvin’s work goes beyond a reductive focus on the practices of hunting, through contextualizing the activity of hunting within its legal and historical context (2007). My aim is to build on this, but with a different approach.

My approach is to avoid the potential for fetishizing the practice and experience of hunting, by studying it as a part of the wider intersection of social practices it is entangled in, or as I see it, it is made up of. I do this by focussing on the way in which the ‘hunting establishment’ makes possible the leisure of hunting, as ideal and its relation to its deeds, rather than focussing on the deed of hunting; Nor just to contextualise them in relation to media narratives; Nor just to contextualise them in relation to their legal and institutional context. Instead, I map the relations of the leisure of hunting and the relations of the hunting establishment intersecting as hunting technology. In doing so, I accept that the concept of practice itself can be an overly abstracted understanding of relations.

While I focus on the phenomenological particularities of the relations within a given context, under the rubric of technology, I am also paying attention to Richards’ overriding proposition, within which he sets his aforementioned definition of technology. He writes that we make and create ‘technologies’ by “bridging the junction between the power to make (or unmake)” but then adds: “and the social and ritual capacities for regulation through which making is governed” (2009: 495). This is what I am referring to when I ask question H: What are the social and ritual capacities for governing the making of hunting?

I answer this, through focussing on the case of hunting amongst citizens in Northern Cyprus. My focus on hunting as a ‘technology’ allows attention to the resistance (~agency) (Pickering 2010) of the organisational relations not necessarily explicit but present during the leisure space of hunting. Where resistance is the idea that whether or not you theoretically accept the agency of nonhumans or treat spatial infrastructure simply as a medium, they do not simply conform to human ‘will’ (otherwise you are taking a hylomorphic stance on making). The place and deed of hunting does not simply conform to the natural categories of the ‘hunting establishment’. Non-humans, including spatialized infrastructure, because nonhumans exist

physically and socially within this world. Therefore human 'will' has to work with nonhuman resistance, even when extraordinary coercion is applied.

I also focus on overcoming Crumley's observation of a dichotomy in anthropology (noted earlier) through extending this focus (on the intersection between the leisure of hunting and the establishment of hunting) into a history of their intersection in Cyprus and the region. In doing so, I rethink Dahles objective: "to understand why hunting is not vanishing despite the pressures of modern society" (1993: 171). I consider why hunting in Europe is deeply embedded in modernity and contemporary European socio-political organisation and society. This in itself being a cross-cutting interest in my research questions A through J including: What is the key political mythology that hunting is entangled with? And: How are the political, the personal and the deed integrated in hunting?

1.9 Reciprocity in Hunting

Out of this understanding, a key juxtaposition emerges between ideals, categories, narratives and conceptualisations of hunting (and that hunting is embedded in) and the multiple observable relational processes involved in the making of hunting, that are informed by and entangled with these ideals, narratives and concepts.

The social anthropological literature has tried to reconcile this tension, as one between the cosmology and phenomenology of hunting. This has taken the form of the question of whether hunting is a reciprocal relationship or not, and if not why not, by comparison to other human-animal relations. Take Falzon:

'Mediterranean hunting is less about machismo than about a legacy of people-wildlife interactions within a very specific set of historical-ecological conditions.' (2008: 20)

This conclusion is premised on a distinction between reciprocal and non-reciprocal relations with animals in hunting in Malta. Falzon draws on Hell to define the difference as one between a conception of hunting as:

‘Harvesting, which renders the hunter responsible for management of the quarry population, and hunting as gathering, which rejects any idea of planned management of wild fauna.’ (ibid)¹

Falzon qualifies that the particular historical-ecology of Mediterranean islands (in which he includes Cyprus) has meant that the prevailing tendency in hunting on Mediterranean islands is as gathering, as the birds hunted and trapped are primarily migratory. This leads to their:

‘...appearing ‘out of nowhere’ as they do every spring and autumn, [so] do not lend themselves to the idea of husbandry. Coupled with the endemic marginal production and reliance on wild foods [embedded in the particular historical ecology of Mediterranean islands]’ (ibid)

In other words, Falzon is arguing that hunting in Malta, and other Mediterranean islands, is not reciprocal (at some unspecified scale) because there is no “husbandry” or “managerial reciprocation” involved.

Theodossopoulos work on the Mediterranean village of Vassilikos also notes that hunting there is not reciprocal (2003: 169). He notes that there is a reciprocal human-animal relation of “care” between people and “domesticated” animals, whereas there is a non-reciprocal relation between hunters and the animals they hunt (ibid: 168).

¹ An important caveat, is that Falzon notes that he is aware this seems like a construction of “ideal types”, but that they should instead be considered as prevailing tendencies in “respective geographical strongholds” rather than as concrete domains (ibid). Whilst I concur that the Weberian concept of ‘ideal types’ has emerged later as reflecting its etymological reading, the qualification Falzon gives is precisely what Weber himself intended in defining his concept.

Ortega y Gasset, also coming from a 'Mediterranean' context, would agree with Theodossopoulos as he makes clear: "Hunting is not reciprocal" (2007: 60). He bases this conclusion on the twin ideas present in his definition: "Hunting is what an animal does to take possession, dead or alive, of some other being that belongs to a species basically inferior to its own." (ibid 62). In Ortega's case, he contrasts this to combat, whether between man and bull, tiger and lion or gladiator and gladiator, where both parties have the same intention and similar behaviour, usually to annihilate the other, rather than possess each other (ibid 60-62).

By contrast much of the rest of the anthropological literature on hunting argues otherwise. If we travel with Nadasdy to North America, amongst his indigenous informants there, he emphasises hunting as a reciprocal relationship involving gift exchange. He specifically argues, that this is not simply a metaphorical or symbolic reciprocity, but real when understood from the ontological perspective of his informants (2003).

This popular perspective (see Bird David 1999, Ingold 1980 etc), reflected in Nadasdy's work, of indigenous hunting as reciprocal is critiqued by Knight, as romanticising hunting as sharing amongst 'hunter-gatherer' peoples:

'Hunter-gatherers are often ascribed a "monistic" worldview at odds with the nature-society dichotomy. The centrepiece of this claim is that they view hunting as similar to sharing within the band and prey animals as part of a common sphere of sociality' (2012: 334)

In effect, Knight argues that hunting is not reciprocal with the hunted animal, but instead is reciprocal with its spirit guardian. In other words, hunting is not reciprocal between hunter and hunted (at least from a secular perspective).

Marvin's reply to Knight is that it is without ethnographic context, hence Knight's portrayal of hunting inevitably also treats it as a natural category (ibid 347-348). Marvin is noting that

Knight is simply presenting another ideal just as Knight himself is trying to criticize an ideal. As Anderson in another reply continues (with the critique of Knight):

‘[The] cosmic economy of sharing’ and even that of “trust” convey a strong element of mutuality that does not capture the complexity of human-animal reciprocity.... reciprocity need not be kind. Perhaps the fault here is in framing all of these complex interactions as with the ideologically charged word “hunting” (ibid 345)

There are multiple huntings and when the argument for or against hunting *as* reciprocal is made, the above authors tend to be talking about one hunting they are familiar with, rather than a comparative and substantially theorised concept of hunting. Hence Marvin’s call for an ethnographic case study.

On top of this, there are multiple modalities and scales of reciprocity, not simple presence or absence, which are rarely if ever qualified. Are we talking about reciprocity in a Maussian sense as obligations? And is this taken in a broad and cosmological sense, or is it an understanding of all relationships, particularly personal ones as transactions? Or are we referring to something more ‘communist’? (Graeber 2014: 94-102) Are we talking about generalised reciprocity or balanced reciprocity? Has a ‘giving nature’ been identified? But if so what is its scale?

Anderson argues reciprocal relations should not be conceived of from an individualistic perspective (ibid 345), and so by implication of his aforementioned quote, one should dismiss trying to grasp ‘complexity’ through the concept of hunting. However, while this perspective dismisses hunting as an ideologically charged concept, it continues to use it; Rather than accepting that charge and exploring why and how that is the case. This also leaves reciprocity a broad appeal to cosmology; precisely what Knight (provocatively) points

out when he raises reciprocity with spirit guardians rather than with hunted animals, but is then cut down by Anderson.

I agree with Marvin, that Knight's analysis is basically flawed in its result, by assuming one - imagined - hunting, as representative of all hunting. However, Knight is actually trying to point out, that this is what the social anthropological literature is also doing. I would note that this is both because hunting has been conceptually taken for granted.

As noted earlier, with regards to Ellen and the sources he refers too, hunting is treated as a decontextualized technique, which is then contextualised within a certain cosmology. A recent example is Keane's use of hunting to construct theory around sacrifice, where hunting is monolithically used without any attention to its conceptualisation (2018). Simply talking of 'hunting,' without a comparative perspective, reifies a process as practice¹. Perhaps more problematic though, are the issues I raised about a 'taken for granted concept' of hunting, theoretically under-gridding the differentiation between indigenous, modern and 'the West', as well as the monolithic idea of each.

I contend, as Falzon, Theodossopoulos and Marvin have, that there are in fact specific human-environmental histories embedded with specific ideologies in hunting, just not along those given lines. From the perspective of my fieldwork in Northern Cyprus, specifically with regards to its political history and historical ecology, hunting is not by default a transactional reciprocity. Though, not in Knight's incorrect definition of reciprocity as having to be personal two-way relations, it does also involve exchanges. In terms of reciprocity and not simply the sharing of a relation, hunting in Northern Cyprus is at an institutional scale part of a generalised reciprocal economy.

¹ I appreciate that this appears to be a way to avoid the option of typologizing hunting, but a reified ideal is simply a 'monotheist' typology.

This particular observation is in relation to a theory I develop, that hunting is a citizen's right in relation to the institutional reciprocation that a 'population' acquires as part of a socialist State benefit. This 'right to hunt' being part of a welfare economy setup between 'democratic populations of individuals'. Where the individual is historically a 'revolutionary free man'. In addition, other 'individual' non-human animals have no democratic rights due to a bureaucratic epistemology of governance, but this also varies with regards to how and whether these animals emerge as a 'population' (although it may appear that the environment is 'listened' to through bureaucratic management).

Therefore, where hunting is understood as technology, not reduced on the one hand to a technique and then having to grasp at cosmology on the other, it is not that hunting is not reciprocal on Mediterranean islands. It is the national land, and the hunting space created by the hunting establishment in Northern Cyprus, that is the salient unit within which a reciprocal economy takes place. This then also emerges as different personal - and others scales - relations of exchange (some balanced some not), when considering migratory and non-migratory hunted animals.

In sum, the anthropological literature on hunting does not make distinctions about what form of reciprocity they are talking about with regards to what is being hunted, at what scale, by whom and when. When specifics are given such as when Falzon notes the migratory aspect, there is no comparative emphasis on hunting of non-migratory species on Mediterranean islands. Hence, whilst Falzon tries to draw Cyprus into a comparison with Malta, hunting in Northern Cyprus is actually focused on non-migratory animals and, as such, how migratory and non-migratory hunted animals are differently socially embedded is overlooked. In particular, how people then define their boundaries and reciprocal responsibilities and obligations in relation to whether or not an animal is considered *yaban guş* (foreign bird) or not.

1.10 Cultivating the living gifts of Northern Cyprus

The key point that I take up from Theodossopoulos' work in Vassilikos is "cultivating nature" and my re-articulation of it as what hunting in Northern Cyprus involves (2003). Examining this idea Ortega's work sheds an interesting light. For Ortega, hunting is: "irremediably an activity from above to below" (2007: 61), but at the same time hunting as a 'sporting' ideal is: "supremely a free renunciation by man of the supremacy of his humanity" (ibid 61). This tension, between positioning oneself as superior, but also renouncing this supremacy in the same relationship, is not contradictory however.

Hence, I cover in chapter 7 how a person goes hunting (question I), and question J and K: How do people move between 'ordered' life and going hunting? And: How is the deed of hunting made in Northern Cyprus? In doing so, I noted that my informants expressed and demonstrated their artefactual and social supremacy through entering into a hunter-hunted relation that involved intersubjective, embodied and practical engagement with the local environment. A relationship that exists when both have the ability to emerge successfully from a hunt. In this relationship, supremacy is earned through the cultivation of the hunter and the hunted in hunting, rather than inherited divinely.

To understand this requires understanding hunter and hunted as relational. However, it does not deny discrete distinctions, delineations or 'things' that invoke the idea that everything flows into everything else, in some form of amorphous meshwork. Rather it invokes the idea that it requires successful cultivation to be superior. It requires constructing oneself through cultivating the sensibilities of hunting, but admits the possibility that the animal can also not be dominated.

This is not cultivation in the sense of labour, where there is a necessary outcome or defined transaction. It is the very practical application of skills to cultivate a particular landscape as

part of a *banya* (hunting band). To induce a certain socialised reaction from hare or birds. This is where preparation both of one's self and one's band and the hunting space are also cultivation. However, in the cases where it is labour, it required this work to have to be conducted by people who are not allowed to then hunt (paid hunting labourers including rangers and secretaries), or are unpaid (such as the president of the TRNC Hunting Federation and all other committee members), and by extension can use exploitative relations rather than cultivation. Without this separation of leisure space and exploitative labour the reciprocal economy, or at least the cosmology of it, would cease. Hunting crows by comparison was part of 'cultivating' the land, but punishment of them.

These differences are due how these different animals, fungi and plants are embedded in the political context of how people relate to the land and these inhabitants or visitors, according to their own qualities of either being mobile or immobile, foreign or not foreign, attentive or not, seducible or not.

'Gathering' involved in collecting mushrooms, trapping birds or shooting migratory thrush¹ is yet another variation. This hunting as gathering is a collection of the gifts of the land that were ones right, so gathering as much as possible was fundamentally not morally problematic, as all was ones right. The land was obliged to them. By contrast, hunting of local animals is also the possession of a kind of gift of the land and one's skills, but did involve the development of an obligation on the part of the hunters. Hence, foreign birds, to which one had no obligation of responsibility, can also be obligations collected from a land to which a hunter had already given much² or had skills deserved of a prize.

¹ Song Thrush are a more complex case due to their mixed history as originally being trapped, then hunted in their own season, then hunted in other hunting seasons, often being located around 'foreign' Maronite villages, sometimes not, being associated with having 'been taken away' as trappable or in some hunting seasons, but gained as a hunting right in some seasons, the association with a common local bush etc....

² Bryant has an interesting discussion on how Turkish Cypriot's associate cosmologically in a masculine way not with the transcendent as divine like Greek Cypriots, but with the feminine land as transcendent connected to

Whilst these variations are not clear cut according to defined species and people, the ‘hunting establishments’ own formal making of the hunting space attempted to delineate these variations, as in principle, rather than in technique, they existed. Reciprocity is shifting between co-constructed, contested and collective or singular personhoods that are not perfectly coherent, rather than between two or more coherent individual notions of a person. While this might sound too messy from a naturalist perspective, it actually enables a productive analysis of different contexts and why certain phenomenon happen. For example, why industrial trapping occurs primarily on British Sovereign Base Areas in Greek Cyprus, then to a lesser extent in the Republic of Cyprus and finally artisanally and to a very limited extent in Northern Cyprus.

Hence, not only are the hunter and hunted made through the hunting relationship, there are also different habitats constructed through this process. The distinctions made between two habitats are emergent from the history of socio-material relations my informants conducted. For example, the plains and the village, or being at home, at the cafe or at the hunt, are distinct. They have been anthropogenically emergent from a social history of human-environmental relations.

Additionally, the diversity of activities, experiences, affects, practices and human-environmental relations one can or does partake in are obviously anthropogenically created in distinct categories. Hence, they are just as much a part of this practical engagement and should also be understood as the cultivation of this engagement.

This is a dual process of anthropogenesis then, where social, political and ecological categories do not naturally emerge as givens to people but require continual social-ecological cultivation to be maintained through what Theodossopoulos terms the “practical

via blood, both historically, and through military service, and as I would suggest now through receiving something in return in the form of edible gifts as the shared blood of the land (Bryant 2004: chp 7).

engagement” of “cultivating nature”. This is the idea that nature and culture exist but both are recognised as requiring work to be made and require policing, rather than the Descolian perspective of naturalism; that all ‘Western’ people take their separation of nature and culture as a divine given, cosmologically determined, or natural itself.

1.11 Willerslev et. al. and Cosmology

Critical for consideration then are the whole variety of modalities of reciprocity that are involved in hunting, as well as relationships that would not technically be considered reciprocal. For example, I argue that hunting amongst my informants is a human-environmental relationship that sees certain resident animals as huntable and humans as hunters, where hunting is a practical engagement with the land that yields a gift. Out of this human-environmental relationship huntable animals then emerge as socially significant, engaged as hunted animals in a hunter-hunted relationship that sustains the community as part of the land, but also constructs men’s ‘above’ positionality on the land.

I also contend that the use of the concept of reciprocity has been theoretically muddying the tension between the ideal hunt and the reality of the deed of the hunt. An explicit recognition of this tension and an address of it, is in Willerslev et al. (2015). They note the tension as being between the “ideal hunt” or “moralized ethos of hunting” and the “deed” or “live[d]... ideal” or “everyday practical hunting” (ibid 7,9). As they note, it reflects an older tension framed as the difference between what people say and what people do, or their preferred term, borrowed from Bateson, is that it is a paradoxical ‘double-bind’. They then argue that sacrifice emerges to solve this paradox, to enable the idealise enactment of the hunt. They continue to conclude that sacrifice (at least in their region of focus) is part of domestication

as a cosmologically driven process, rather than an ecological or economic one. I hold a sociotechnical perspective that accommodates both sides.

Through focussing on Southern Europe and Mediterranean islands, by comparison to anthropological theory on indigenous hunting throughout the world, I address the establishment and spatialization of hunting, as well as what hunting does to the hunter in terms of 'cultivating' or 'domesticating' people who hunt. As I put it, in the first instance a process of constructing their ideal of a (Turkish Cypriot) man. In the second instance, Turkish Cypriot men who have good relations with their land and therefore are entitled to it, through appealing to their cosmological ideal of a Turkish Cypriot man.

. From a broad perspective the Mediterranean islands are fascinating in this regard because of the outcomes of the European revolutions for ideas of property and freedom, the importance of a partial pastoral life-world and migratory birds featuring significantly. Together these throw off romantic baggage and enable a theoretical insight into recognising the diversity and intersections of modalities of reciprocity and cosmology, through attention to hunting as technology.

This is not a criticism of the conclusions of Willerslev et al. (2015). They almost uniquely offer one of the few fully formed conceptualisations of hunting. Their strength is in their comparative awareness in finding commonality, as cosmological across different societies in the circumpolar north. However, I focus instead on the gap in attention to taking the familiar institutions of modernity - made of concrete, computers and coffee - into account. In terms of the reciprocity of hunter's institutionalised sustainability programmes and a realist perspective on power relations embedded in this. This is what enables this secondary attention with regards to what hunting, hunted animals and hunters do to each other, and by extension to their institutions and by extension to the wider society they are embedded in. This in contrast to simply focussing on the killing in terms of what hunting does to animals

and how this is part of a cosmology. In this way, it is key to talk of technology as a way of theorising hunting rather than cosmology, as it does not exclude cosmology but also allows the non-human world to be taken into consideration, in whatever form it presents itself: whether as the social world and sexual habits of an animal, or the permanence and permeability of plastic, or the spatiality of printed two-dimensional birds-eye-view maps.

1.12 Moving between spaces and terminology

A ‘conventional’ notion of a class is that it: “must be defined by the invariable presence of certain common properties”. Needham thoroughly demonstrates that there is no logical necessity for this, by borrowing from zoology the idea of a polythetic class. This is the observation that, for example, 3 things can belong to one class, but only in pairs do they share a common property. Needham uses the idea of three societies (ABC) all classed as having patrilineal descent, each with 3 key properties, where A shares only one property with B and B shares only one with C. However, they are all patrilineal despite not sharing key properties. From this perspective hunting is a polythetic class, where properties are techniques. Needham then calls for the idea of a comparative analytical focus on theorising “basic predicates” existing across polythetic classes within history or across contexts, and these must be relational concepts rather than givens so as not to replicate the problems of applying fixed conventional classes or their development in cluster analysis (Needham 1975)

There is more to unpack from Needham’s argument both in favour of it and against it. For example, in terms of what he means by properties or his choice of ‘descent’ (as it is a very historically situated concept to use, which can create fundamental problems with the idea of ‘basic predicates’). However, my interest is not in classification per se. If it were I would not necessarily reject a focus on technique and have suggested a focus on technology instead. But, I may have then got lost in such arguments as one of my informants raised, as to whether

'hunting' for a steak or shampoo is comparable to hunting for a hare. Such an argument is an attempt to claim universality through comparability, but is actually a particular epistemological hegemony that tries to claim everything or universal truth.

Instead, I am talking about the contestation of categories and the relation between ideals and deeds reflected in Willerslev et al. (2015) and the double-bind relation between them. Thus, as Willerslev et al. (2015) argue, sacrificial ritual - space - overcomes double-binds to close the gap between ideal and deed by ritually enacting hunting in its idealised form. However, my theoretical position is to observe that separation of spaces (such as the establishment of hunting as leisure within the hunting space), into ritual and non-ritual or leisure and work, do fundamentally different work depending on the political situation and spatial infrastructure they find themselves in. This is related to how people engage in communication and exchanges including human-environmental exchanges, as I explore in a later chapter. For now, I start with the juxtaposition between ideal and deed, in relation to ritual, non-ritual, work and leisure space, to provide an outline of what I mean when I talk of ideals, deeds, techniques, categories and classifications and other terms in relation to hunting:

One way to look at a ritual is to recognise that its ideal is not real. I recognise that categorizations can be advanced as epistemological orders for attempting to achieve an ideal, but often the recognition that an ideal is not real i.e. it is ritual, is not forgotten.

However, in line with Graeber's aforementioned use of the idea of authority and categories, and his work with Wengrow on heterarchy versus on-going anarchy or hierarchy (2015), I contend the following: In some cases a ritual elite in a position that the ritual provides some privilege too, through temporarily idealising them, contest not the ideal but attempt to establish a permanent or on-going system of ritual. They attempt to develop a natural entitlement rather than a ritual entitlement. This forces the ritual order onto the normal order and maintains their position and entitlement, so that they can continue to benefit from the

class they chose to fix from the ritual order, into being the natural order. In short, the autonomy of daily life suddenly find itself stuck in a never-ending ritual space and all the weird things that result from that.

Therefore, classification as a method can be contestation of the ritual order, but can also be used to justify the incorporation of others and the maintenance of those already incorporated within the ritual as 'real' rather than 'ideal' ways of being classed.

Categorization on the other hand - as I use it - can be the comparing of different ideals across different contexts. This however does not mean an appeal to a universal truth but a recognition of an interconnected world. It does not mean that contestation cannot happen between cultural categories that emerge with rituals and their associated ideals. It means that one set of cultural categories that draws on one ideal can contest or mix and match with another as 'categorical struggle' or 'categorical syncretism'. But it also means one set of cultural categories can draw on its ideal as a real natural category (from which its political and managerial classification system emerges), to try and eradicate or colonize other ideals or natural categories. Therefore, I argue that 'class struggle', that is struggle between classes within one classification system, is the only site of social resistance and contest.

Focussing on categorization does not mean having no ideals or no categories per se. It means starting from the premise that ideals can be contested within a context, although one class or culture does not have to subject another to one's own ideal. At the same time one can compare and propose the truths of categories across contexts according to the principle of whether or not they enable the constituents of those categories to participate in contesting them. In brief, non-coercive cross-cultural critique can happen (according to this principle) as all is not relative, but not from the perspective of holding a universal truth.

Thus, rituals can prepare you for life without elite management in ‘normal’ life. But elite management is historically real, so ritual has in many instances become a space of seeming to be free ‘everyday’ life or as a temporary reprieve from it in the form of leisure space (Whereas I contend that managed space is far more ritualised). So, rituals in a coercive management context are all about establishing ideals as naturally real, by comparison to guides within a context, and contestable categories across contexts.

In short, classification and categorisation are very similar. However, categorisation is about working across ideals and classification is inherently political to a context. Both can either be done to others to colonize them or alternatively can be used to learn about others. However, categorization also allows for critique without colonization.

Furthermore, categorization as an academic or non-academic practice, and classification by extension, means either (a) picturing a universal or global truth, or (b), a means for finding bits of truth. Where ‘bits’ are general and dynamic (not universal) principles¹ for how relations are made, and also not the idea of a partial account of an entire system.

Thus, my theoretical position speaks to questions H through L but specifically I, J, and K respectively: How does a person go hunting? How do people move between ‘ordered’ life and going hunting? And: How is the deed of hunting made in Northern Cyprus?

I recognise that the different terms including types, ideals, categories, classes etc. bleed into each other, otherwise I would be making a totalising comment in a categorical sense. But, for my research, at this point, that is how far I have come and am able to contest. I look forward to contesting more as anyone should, that is fundamentally what I am establishing as important, but not to be coercive in doing it. This position is what Graeber calls being an: “ontological realist and theoretical relativist” (2015: 31), that is one that recognises that

¹ For example, a principle is not that increased diversity is better. A dynamic principle is that diversity is a key consideration in relation to the sociotechnical context.

reality is contested and therefore partly incommensurable theories can together draw out generalisations. Rather than a theoretical perspective that claims to be unearthing a universal, natural, incontestable, coherent 'the truth', in spite of empirical reality being incoherent and contested.

2 Studying Hunting

2.1 Introduction

This is not a detailed documentation of my methods (see Appendix A for Fieldwork Report) nor is it meant to be a technical manual on ethnographic methods.¹ Instead, I address the when, who with and how of data collection, followed by the methodological dimension of writing up of this data.

I take my cue from Ingold, in seeing fieldwork as a process of learning from being with the people and places of my fieldwork (2017), and my writing up - as a single author - focussing on sharing what I have learnt. This is in contrast to it being an exercise in authoritatively representing other people. I agree with Hart and reject considering myself: “a self-appointed people’s representative in the double sense of writing them up and acting as their advocate” (2004: 4). In this light, my fieldwork reflects Hart’s candid description:

‘...it is time that anthropologists owned up to doing much more than fieldwork in arriving at their idiosyncratic perspectives on the world. What else do we do? We write, teach, read widely, attend lectures, join discussion groups, criticise, make comparisons, watch television, listen to the radio, go to the movies, read newspapers, exchange messages! travel, surf the web! Some of us actually count numbers, develop abstractions, study international languages, acquire historical perspectives, attempt scientific analysis, write poetry, make films and even sometimes think and reflect. We tell stories. What is mainly missing from the standard account is how these stories have shaped the trajectory of anthropology...’ (ibid)

¹ However, here are some literature that specifically addressed methodology that have informed my work (Alexiades and Peluso in McClatchey 2002 on prior informed consent; Clifford & Marcus 2009 on writing; Crapanzano 1984 on life histories)

Hence, this thesis is a retelling of an old anthropological story: the relationship between man and hunting. This chapter lists some of these methods I used to go about this and what I learnt from using them. I draw out key methodological learning points that emerged from this intensive surge of attention to a variety of sources over a given period and given topic.

2.2 Timeline

This thesis is based on 5 years of research including 17 months of fieldwork in Northern Cyprus, spread over three trips. The first trip, of 3 months, provided the basis for my Masters dissertation, on colonial narratives related to the historical ecology of Cyprus. This took place over the summer of 2014, during which I evaluated historical documents in the TRNC National Archives, took part in the *Karga Av* (annual corvid culling season) in May (Table 1¹), and established rapport with members of staff from the TRNC Hunting Federation.

The second trip took place over 2 months, during the main hunting season, in the winter of 2014. On this trip I took part in the *Büyük Av* (Big Hunt), which focuses on hare (*Lepus Cyprius*) and partridge (*Alectoris Chukar*) (Table 2). During this trip I also established rapport with more people who hunted from different parts of Northern Cyprus and with different backgrounds. I primarily did this through following up people I had met at the Hunting Federation headquarters, and through leads I had picked up from having grown up in Northern Cyprus. During this visit I was able to establish a deeper rapport with members of the hunting club I had gone corvid culling with during my previous trip. In doing so, I identified them as the group I could rely on during my main field trip.

¹ Hunting takes place on Saturdays and Sundays within these months, as well as on some Wednesdays in some seasons. Additionally, every year the exact dates and how early or late in a month a season starts shifts. Furthermore the 1st Precise Hunt and the Big Hunt have merged in some years since my fieldwork.

Table 1 - Hunting seasons

Month	1 st Specific Hunt	Big Hunt	Crow Hunt	2 nd Specific Hunt
October				
November				
December				
January				
February				
March				
April				
May				
June				
July				
August				
September				

My third field trip took place from May 2015 to May 2016. I took part in a number of activities on a weekly basis. This included regularly attending the Hunting Federation headquarters, where I talked with hunters and staff coming in and out, as well as encountering a variety of activities that the Hunting Federation staff were involved in.

I also took part in *av korucu* or *AvKor* (hunting ranger) activities. These were directed from the Hunting Federation headquarters, whilst their physical base was in Dikmen bird breeding facility. It involved shuttling these birds around, being on call for the 24-hour poaching hotline, policing illegal hunting, but primarily errand running for the Hunting Federation president. Finally, being at the headquarters enabled me to establish rapport and a friendship with the main secretary, Hayriye, who became one of the gatekeepers to my field site. She helped me navigate how the organisation of the Hunting Federation worked, the quirks of its staff and members, as well as assisting me in accessing their bureaucratic record.

Table 2 - Legally hunted species

<i>Lepus Cyprius</i>	<i>Alectoris Chukar</i>	<i>Francolinus Francolinus</i>	<i>Coturnix Coturnix</i>
L	L	L	L
			
<i>Columba Palumbus</i>	<i>Columba Livia</i>	<i>Streptopelia Turtur</i>	<i>Scolopax Rusticola</i>
M	L	M	M
			
<i>Turdus</i>	<i>Phasianus colchicus</i>	<i>Corvus Corone</i>	<i>Pica Pica</i>
M	M	L	L
			
<p>Key:</p> <p>Latin Name</p> <p>Colour = Hunting Season (See Table 1)</p> <p>L = Local, M = Migrant</p>			

However, attending the headquarters was my secondary option during the working week. I used it when no other leads or pre-organized events emerged. Primarily my daily fieldwork practice came to involve attending a specific event that I had been invited to, or that I had found out about beforehand. If nothing was in my diary, then I would spend each morning ringing different people I had met to see if they were available that day for me to take part in their daily activities, have a coffee and conversation with them, or conduct a recorded semi-structured interview. If these avenues failed to provide me with an activity for the day, during

the working week, I would then attend the Hunting Federation headquarters or drop in on various hunting clubs' cafes. I would also ring and establish which people were happy for me to go hunting with them that weekend.

Aside from the three months of the summer I was there, the rest of the hunting seasons cover most weekends and some Wednesdays of the year, with a break of a few weeks here and there (Table 1). During these breaks I attended hunting clubs' festive events, spear fishing and clay-pigeon shooting tournaments, amongst other activities.

On top of this I attended many activities not directly associated with hunting, that were attended by my informants or friends, or that provided relevant intersecting insights on hunting in Northern Cyprus. These included watching football matches, attending weddings, going bird watching, environmental journalism training, a social anthropology conference, family barbecues, mountain hikes, talking to strangers during hitch-hiking, village festivals, walking from one end of the island to the other, assisting other researchers and so forth. Appendix A details a selection of these events, some taking place over a day some over months, for which I collected the indicated data.

The main limitation of my timeline was following a pre-given format. This was in terms of picking one long period of time for my third and main field trip, at an arbitrary time with regards to my field site. Hunting in Northern Cyprus is not a year-round activity as such - let alone a daily activity - and occurs far more intensely during certain parts of the year, such as the winter. Furthermore, hunting along with many other activities does not take place during the hot summer months, with Turkish Cypriots generally withdrawing during this time. This made the summer an unusually tenuous time to start my 'main' fieldwork on hunting in Northern Cyprus.

Another issue, from a more technical perspective, was underestimating the benefit of the basic life skills expected of a ‘modern man’ in Northern Cyprus, or at least one wishes to go hunting. Aside from absence of familiarity with handling, listening and being in close proximity to exploding gunpowder, which luckily, I adjusted too immediately, I had no training to drive a vehicle. Obviously seeing as I conducted my fieldwork, it was not critical, but after two previous fieldtrips moving around via hitch-hiking, its consequences no longer generated methodologically helpful results. If anything, they were negative, as I was seen to rely on others rather than be able to look after myself¹. A secondary aspect was that I would arrive at a government minister or business person’s office, dusty and soaked in sweat² from having walked much of the way in the sun³. This in itself did not bother me as such, however methodologically speaking it did not help people take me seriously or treat me quite as an equal, but more of a conundrum.

In conclusion, I have learnt not to create an artificial separation between a rapid preparation, a purely fieldwork-based period and a purely writing up based period. This is an artificial triptych with no methodologically sound grounding, just an exoticization of ‘long-term’ fieldwork (This is in not counter to the method of long-term fieldwork).

Instead, I learnt that following an emergent timeline and relying on my own familiarity with the field-site would have been significantly better. My early, impulsive pilot trip was a correct step in that regard, as it meant I attended two Big Hunt seasons. However, as I did not conceive of it at the time as my ‘real’ fieldtrip (due to the tripartite system), I did not pay as

¹ One could argue not having to rely on a car is more self-sustaining, but that would miss the point.

² Due to the medication I take I also sweat far more than the average person.

³ Luckily my comparative foreignness enabled me to overcome such situations by playing the ‘cultural innocent’ role. If I had been of Turkish (not Turkish Cypriot) origin, for example, and had conducted myself so, I would not have been engaged with due to being comparable to poor migrant labour. The conservative formality of many Turkish Cypriots is such that in an urban or business space you are expected to conduct yourself in a certain way, which will make you who you are. Contravening these norms is interesting from an anthropological perspective, but by the third fieldtrip demonstrating one has learnt something about holding and conducting oneself in a particular way is then more methodologically interesting. By this point it is about establishing more parity and respect rather than remaining ‘culturally innocent’.

close attention to recording data as I could have. From a methodological retrospective it would have done me better to match my timeline to my field-sites timeline, as this would have better structured the emergence of my ethnography. This is particularly poignant when considering that I was not studying ‘a village’ but ‘hunting’.

2.3 Collaboration and Anthropology at Home

I grew up in Northern Cyprus from age 11-15. Since then, excepting 2017 and 2018, I have visited every year. From aged 14 until 21 I spent the major portion of my summers volunteering on a marine turtle research and conservation project there. Out of this I became friends with people who were and people who have become key individuals involved in wildlife conservation in Northern Cyprus. I mention this because it is these friends with whom I have lived and worked, that I approached to collaborate with me, as well as the Hunting Federation.

In this light, I felt myself to have failed in the first few months of my third and main fieldtrip, with regards to my main potential collaborators. My potential collaborators did not want to collaborate beyond their interests, despite me attempting to first explain my research before considerations of what could be done were made¹. This is an outcome I did not understand or gain proper analytical perspective on until recently, due to my personal feelings about the situation at the time. Now, I have learnt that what I expected was not a common purpose around which to collaborate and therefore an impossible collaboration.

In spite of this, emergent collaborations happened instead. One example of this is the completion of a multidisciplinary pilot study on the effects and efficacy of corvid culling. Or from my perspective how the social worlds or societies of people and crows shape each other

¹ Part of this was giving a talk at a local university (Near East University) introducing my research to interested persons who were invited.

through hunting as culling (Heinemann et al. 2018). This is an on-going study but so far has involved the Hunting Federation, two local geneticists, my mentor from the aforementioned conservation volunteering, Prof. Wayne Fuller, and myself. We are now putting together a full study on the back of this collaborative pilot.

A second and different kind of collaboration was with a local photographer (Johan Duchateau) and my hunting band. I directed this collaboration of photography during a hunting expedition, staged profile pictures and posed portraits. In each case everyone received something from the photo, whether models or photos, as well as having their input on how they wished to appear or make others appear.

In sum, doing ‘anthropology at home’ holds some specific issues in terms of one’s expectations and navigating pre-existing friendship networks. My conclusion is that one should tailor one’s expectations, not objectives, to the particularities of one’s pre-existing networks when doing anthropology at home.

However, in terms of collaborative ethnography (Lassiter 2005) with my primary informants, I did not as such attempt this. This was not out of not wanting to. Instead, I have learnt that, for me, a doctoral research project is an intensive period of learning, if not self-development, rather than a practitioner-based project.

That is not to say I did not have interlocutors including some of my informants, my girlfriend at the time, Gabrielle, who spent 6 months with me during my fieldwork, my supervisors, and fellow peers. However, they were not collaborators in the sense noted. Instead they supported me, whether consciously or not, taking a different and equally valid route, that of not simply deconstructing but constructing counter-narratives.

2.4 Participant Observation

(Factor One) In Northern Cyprus the language is Turkish, although many Turkish Cypriot's can speak some English and some are fluent. I learnt Turkish whilst attending a local school during my teenage year there. However, living abroad for many years meant my grasp of the Turkish language was limited at the beginning of my fieldwork. This means I could participate and conduct conversations but missed nuance and lacked vocabulary. That said, I speak Turkish with a Turkish Cypriot accent and in the local 'slang' style of speaking. This requires less vocabulary and means I can grasp nuance peculiar to this style. Furthermore, the ability to speak Turkish and speak it like a Cypriot, but not have Turkish Cypriot *aille* (family), was somewhat novel and appreciated. However, as fieldwork continued my 'hunting' Turkish rapidly developed, although my reading and written Turkish remained undeveloped.

(Factor Two) The deed of hunting is a fairly silent activity in terms of fully formed words and involves being on the constant move for extended periods of time, in which abstract questions cannot be asked and notes cannot be taken.

(Factor Three) Once I had established rapport during my fieldwork and people started to realise I would be 'hanging around', they got used to me. I started to meld into social contexts, occasionally interjecting to get in on a joke or add my own observation on the matter.

These three factors combined, meant that participant observation was both necessary and key in being able to appreciate the social and sociotechnical contexts I found and placed myself in. Upon returning for my main field trip I brought a handheld video camera, a small body mountable video camera and an aerial drone equipped with a video camera. These also became key to my participant observation. The head mounted camera gave me a more

specific role during hunting forays, that seemed to justify my role not just as an observer, but also as a participant without a gun, as the camera acted as a substitute during the early months of my main fieldtrip. In addition, it was a reminder to my informants, that having me along on a hunting foray and related events was all contributing towards a film about something they loved: hunting. In this sense, filming was something that I was contributing to our relationship, rather than taking away. In this light, I often, with permission, would also set down my small camera on a versatile tripod at social gatherings, barbecues and so forth. Analysing this footage, of going out hunting also made it concretely apparent how much time each activity took, and how very little and occasional the few seconds of an encounter with an animal constituted

Alongside this, I carried a smartphone, using it to GPS log certain routes, but primarily as a means of written note and photo-note taking. When I noticed something important on the move, I would tap a quick note and/or take a photo; whether of a particular mushroom, landscape feature or shop window. Furthermore, I often used my phone instead of my notepad, especially when making observations over longer periods of time. I would often tally and list throughout a day, whether number of shots taken versus animals killed on a hunting day, number of hunting vehicle passing through key road intersections whilst hitchhiking, or simply noting, listing and photo-logging the diversity of plants encountered¹.

2.5 Semi-structured Interviews

People who I spent more time with I did not interview at first, whether the people I went hunting with or the people from the TRNC Hunting Federation office. Instead, I built rapport

¹ When walking from one end of Northern Cyprus to other I took geocached photos of, and counted, empty shotgun cartridges, as well as collecting them for later potential analysis of their age, through attention to rust. This was a form of large scale transect.

and took notes during different conversations, until towards the later quarter of my fieldwork when I sat down individually with them and then conducted a formal semi-structured interview. I did not want to rush each person or group but waited, until I felt our relationship had reached a point that we were both ready to sit down and record an interview.

In comparison to this, I learnt to take a more pragmatic approach with people and requested a recorded interview within the first 10 minutes of our meeting. During my fieldwork I noted that many people that I formally met through following up suggestions and contacts, I would only manage to meet two to three times at most. Outside of set contexts such as village squares or cafes or the Hunting Federation headquarters, I was in effect cold calling people.

Hunting is already a topic, in Northern Cyprus, that does not lend itself to abstract conversation, as a mobile activity. Furthermore, most conversation would take place as some form of metaphor filled story with joking witty banter, that did not talk directly of what was being talked about. Therefore, I either encountered people finding it difficult to answer my questions when I did my first interviews, or they followed 'the given line'¹ to more nuanced questions. Hunting is usually talked of in terms of stories of hunting trips amongst friends and groups of other men you have been hunting with. Thus, eliciting these via 1-2-1 semi-structured interviews was not often successful. After field testing my semi-structured interview questions throughout my fieldwork, I established that the most reliable approach with people at first was to conduct a life history. This gave informants something not directly about hunting, to talk about, but something contextualized.

Getting this context required tact in getting a person to bring our photos and talk about them, or alternatively, I would suggest I attend a hunt with them or some other related activity such

¹ This is the discourse agreed and promoted by the Hunting Federation. While I am interested in what people say in response to formal questions - which would be the answers a questionnaire driven study would have accumulated - they are just one small facet of understanding the messiness of the practice of and surrounding hunting.

as visiting the shooting range. This also required some belligerence as I was asking them, as a relative stranger, to be brought into their 'free' personal space, with close friends. Furthermore, having no vehicle often meant I could not make it on my own to hunting trips, which would oblige them to collect me. Use of taxis sufficed in some cases but was often too problematic, as where one goes hunting is not necessarily on a road. That aside, I relied on thinking on my feet and the generosity of my informants to welcome me into their free time.

2.6 Archival Research

When I established no meetings or events in the working work, I focused on collecting archival material, including different government department statistics, colonial records, newspaper archives and Hunting Federation archives. This involved stepping in and out of different offices, chasing down annual statistical books, combing through the reams of papers stacked in no particular order and requesting endless items at the viewing desk of the national archives. By far, the majority of this material has not explicitly made it into this thesis, however it has provided me with a rich awareness of the historical and political ecology of Cyprus, as well as the development of the Hunting Federation through its bureaucratic records. In terms of this latter archive, it ranged from heaps of books logging each and every phone call to the hunting hotline, to old letters between different members and branches of the Hunting Federation, to international conference admission slips, receipts, logs of crows killed etc. In terms of the former archives it was also varied, from British colonial officers rambling on about goats to old newspaper cuttings advertising safari hunts in Kenya. Finally, I archived online news both from across Europe (including a monthly newsletter amongst a network of fellow hunting scholars¹) and Northern Cyprus related to hunting, as well as

¹ See www.anthrohunt.net for network and www.bitly.com/Cynegetics for newsletter archive.

institutional social media post and appearances on TV of members of the hunting establishment.

2.7 Ethnography

I have learnt to make decisions on when to write should be based on the rhythm of the field site, one's own life and one's theme. On the occasion of this thesis I decided on the strategy of leaving writing until I returned. Writing this ethnographic thesis was based on substantial rather than fleeting fieldwork. Substantial does not necessarily mean continuously in one geographic location i.e. a village. It means, as noted earlier by Hart, I saturated myself in a whole menagerie of data and relationships around a theme. This then requires turning a whole multifaceted and irregular experience into a regular and coherent text. Through writing this thesis, I learnt one unique element of ethnography is that it embraces the reality of *writing this* experience, as not just an analytical process, but a part of the experience as well.

During the two-year period, in which I have written this thesis, in and around teaching and organising conferences, a few learning points have emerged. First has been learning that an ethnography is not a dictionary of a thing or a culture or a people, but an analysis and a reflection on a number of intersecting relationships that one has found salient according to a set of criteria that emerge from one's own interests in what one wants to learn. This involved clearly narrativizing, and enriching through thick description, these relationships, to express why they are interesting.

Second is the question of who one imagines one's audience is when one writes. I have noticed I spent a lot of time imagining a cross between my informants and social scientists as my audience, and sometimes a mythical 'public'. This made my writing process very laboured, and whilst I believe a genuine aim, a problematic one. This realization came to me

through starting to learn about embodied writing (Perl 2004) which I intend to keep training in.

My third learning point has been not to make everything coherent for the sake of it but make it coherent according to a perspective that is empirically grounded but attempts to challenge other perspectives via the counter-narrative that emerges from it. This has been tempered by another final point of learning. That has been to let go of an egotistical approach to writing and theory. However, at the same time not to shed the responsibilities and possibilities of an anthropology that can grasp the world in light of the particular, rather than the particular, in and of itself; an anthropology that seeks to develop social theory that has purchase on the world. How I do this is reflected in the theoretical approach I detail in the previous chapter, with regards to focussing on studying the processes of authority that maintain and construct categories, practices or artefacts. This is in contrast to the idea of authoritatively designating an ideal and ignoring the contestations, coercion and conversation that may or may not have gone into it.

2.8 Numbers

Throughout this thesis I have combined a number of quantitative data-sets, some collected by me and some cited from other sources. I have conducted no complex statistical analysis as such, but where I have in terms of using population estimates I have noted the limitations and strengths of doing this. Beyond national census data I used two primary data-sets not of my own collection, to generate approximations, including how many hunters there are in Europe or how many of each of a species are killed during a hunting season. In the case of the former dataset, I have noted the limitations and strengths and method within the thesis. In the case of the later I unearthed a survey (n=942) conducted by a consultancy with the help of from the

TRNC Hunting Federation. This data had been collected as part of a professionalization push by a former president who had attended training with hunting organisations in the US. However, upon his departure the data lay dormant and only some basic graphical representations were ever made public. I interviewed some of the people who collected the data and assessed their questionnaire and survey method to be reliable. In fact, and better than I would have been able to do without their resources, labour and rapport. However, I compared the results with my own more limited questionnaire surveys and conclusions drawn through qualitative methods, and they tallied.

Finally, the data they collected has been largely unanalysed, leading me to be able to analyse it further from combining different questionnaire results to generate approximations. For example, data was available for how many animals of each species on average people had reported to have shot in one season. I then combined this with the relevant estimate of how many people were hunting that season, how often etc. I do not treat these results to be conclusive, but instead, as explained in the relevant chapter, as intellectual exercise to make a point about what it means to generate population data.

2.9 Ethical Considerations

Throughout my fieldwork I always introduced my research project to potential informants and then asked for prior informed consent before recording data. On follow up occasions I would then also ask if they were happy with me taking notes or recording anything in other media. When on the few occasions they requested I did not I either did not proceed or if they requested during or after an event I removed those records. On one occasion I audio recorded an event with people moving in and out, after having talked to the main and lone person to start with. But, as more people arrived I assessed that it was no longer ethical to retain that

recording, as many people had been unknowingly recorded, so I immediately deleted it when I realized.

In writing up my thesis I have used the actual names of my informants as I asked each of them individually. More importantly it was exacted on me by my informants that they be included and named within my writings so that they could identify with my work. There are informants who did not fall into both of these categories. In their cases I have kept them anonymous, through leaving them unnamed. However, in some cases I have mentioned certain activities and opinions that I have criticised or the informants has been named but may wish to change their opinion. This is to be expected as no representation stands outside of time. However, I have still included peoples name in those contested cases when they said them within the capacity of being a publicly accountable figure with the related power. Furthermore, they gave me consent to do so and explicitly ask that I represent them in my work.

Having promised my informants that some form of publicly sharable document would be produced from my research when it was completed, it is imperative that I return as soon as possible to do so. Furthermore, in addition to photos mentioned earlier, I am putting together an initial edit of a short film based on the 40+ hours of footage I shot during my fieldwork. I hope to screen this with my informants and get their feedback.

3 A History of Hunting in relation to Cyprus

3.1 Introduction

I identify two historical periods¹ and the accompanying technologies of hunting. These technologies reflect historical changes in social organisation and contextualize the situation in which I encountered hunting during my fieldwork. I also broadly identify hunting practitioners of these two periods, as well as the emergence of a more recent one.

The first historical period is marked by the arrival of people in Cyprus up until the Hellenization of Cyprus. During this period hunting is neither a mode of subsistence practiced by simple hunter-gatherers nor a gradually disappearing mode of subsistence amongst an increasingly complex and centralised agricultural society. Instead, I purposefully take considerable space to illustrate the absence of any progressive historical trajectory, in terms of social organisation occurring according to a progressive shift from hunting and gathering to settled agriculture. Instead, hunting (as defined by archaeologists) emerges as one amongst multiple faunal and floral strategies that increase and decrease in diversity, that are made, lost and remade in relation with multiple social organisational strategies that increase and decrease in diversity, that are made, lost and remade. I use the term heterarchy to describe this period's social organisation, meaning societies that seasonally adapt their social structure. For the purposes of practically writing with the literature on the archaeological record I retain the term strategy in relation to hunting, but do not assume it to be a strategy of exploitation.

¹ I have primarily used normative archaeological categories for the 'prehistoric' time periods covered, for ease of communication, as it would require a further round of analysis and explanation to render better ones. However, as the reader will see and as I am aware these are not homogenous or discrete time periods, or necessarily best defined by the labels given. But, they are adequate for generalizing about overall continuities and changes in hunting technology.

The second historical period is marked by the Hellenization of Cyprus and the emergence of imperialism across the region. For the purposes of practically writing with the vast literature and records from this period I focus on a select number of key technological innovations. Ones spread out across this period and spread out across Europe and the region. Innovations that establish historical precedents for what I found during my fieldwork. Hunting emerges as increasingly separated from other faunal and floral strategies. It is increasingly reified and restricted both theoretically and materially to those who are free in free places i.e. masters in the wild, whilst the environment and animals are coerced into performing either as free animals in wild places or domesticated animals in civilised places. I categorize this hunting technology as practised by hunter-kings and associated elites within the wild. I conclude by raising the idea that this ritualised space of hunting establishes its leaders as a natural elite rather than as a ritually or seasonally temporary one, and the implications for how the ‘hunting power’ of elites was practised on their subjects.

Finally, I identify the emergence of a new hunting technology with the revolutionary move towards citizenship for the masses. I preliminarily categorize this hunting technology as practised by everyman-as-king in the form of the ‘citizen hunter’.

3.2 Epipalaeolithic-Neolithic Seasonality and Heterarchy

The first humans to arrive in Cyprus are recorded at the tail-end of the Palaeolithic, around 13,000 years ago and: “whether permanently or not, humans continued to frequent the island” (Vigne et al. 2011: 256). Before these people arrived, terrestrial mammalian fauna was limited to five endemic species: Cypriot mice, genets, dwarf elephants, dwarf hippopotami and shrews (ibid). The dwarf elephants and hippopotami appear to have hugged the marshy

coastlines and this is where human hunting of terrestrial mammals first took place in Cyprus (ibid).

These people were: “highly mobile fisher foragers accessing the [Mediterranean] islands” (Wopschall 2014: 137). The coastal rock shelters that these visitors returned to on each visit, such as Aetokremnos on the Salt Marshes of the Akrotiri Peninsula, included large caches of dwarf elephant and hippopotami bones. Current evidence suggests that these two dwarf ungulates were already in decline when humans first arrived, before going extinct (Vigne et al. 2011: S256). This decline being due to the drying out of the pools and water features they depended on. This brought on by Cyprus undergoing climate and other environmental change: “at the very time that people [also] began to exploit its faunal, floral, aquatic and other resources.” (Knapp 2013: 7)

Early on in the fossil record of Aetokremnos there is evidence of a seafood and avian diet (Vigne et al. 2011: 256), alongside the hunting of dwarf elephants and hippopotami. In addition, the archaeological record shows that people introduced boar to the island, although the indications are that they were barely hunted at that point (ibid).

A number of changes took place during peoples visits to certain parts of the island in the later part of this Epipaleolithic period. Changes visible at sites including Asprokremnos, that was near-coastal, but further removed from the sea than the aforementioned Aetokremnos. During this later period the quantity of boar being consumed rapidly increases (Vigne et al. 2011: 257) and a system of ‘wild’ cereal cultivation (Vigne et al. 2012) and stone building construction were brought from the Anatolian peninsula (ibid 8445). However, this was not a unilateral expansion in innovation from a central civilisation. Instead, to put things in a multilateral perspective: “colonization suggests well-developed maritime capabilities” (ibid 8445) between many places in the region. Cyprus itself being home to many of the earliest

records of innovations such as stone wells (Hadjicostis 2009) and human-feline relations (Vigne 2004).

Furthermore, these Epipalaeolithic people worked with and behaviourally managed the boar that their ancestors had introduced earlier. These boars were hunted with spears and stone tipped arrows, along with the newly introduced dog they had brought with them¹. These boar hunting and management strategies were already in existence on the Anatolian peninsula and were most likely brought with these people on their migratory visits to Cyprus (Vigne et al. 2009: 16137).

In summary: “the evidence from Cyprus makes a strong contribution to the picture of a long span of increasingly intensive and skilled control of wild boars” (Vigne et al. 2011: 260), started by a mobile community of people originating in Anatolia. These were people who returned to known locations with known residences and did not simply subsist on local aquatic and avian life or endemic terrestrial species. They cultivated² cereals and boar and eventually built long-term shelter for their on-going seasonal visits. Fossil evidence suggests that the products of these hunted animals, in particular the easily carvable ivory of the two aforementioned dwarf species, were transported out of Cyprus, perhaps to gift and trade (Wopschall 2014: 123).

The next part of the Epipalaeolithic populating of Cyprus begins in earnest at the site of Shillourokambos, not far from the coastal Aetokremnos, but further inland and away from the marshy salt flats of the Akrotiri peninsula. Again, these people were not residentially static but shifting and mobile within Cyprus.

1 In the later part of this period.

2 Cultivation does not mean domestication in the genetic sense.

Over the next 2000 years these pre-pottery¹ Cypriot sites² “show a progressive shifting of all the material culture toward a local Cypriot model.” (Vigne et al. 2011: 258, 263) What they lacked in pottery,³ they made up for in the large group of terrestrial mammals they introduced to Cyprus including foxes, cats, Mesopotamian deer, goats, sheep and cows (ibid). These animals constituted a central part of Cypriot material and social culture. Not only were the secondary material products of these animals (e.g. bone, milk, wool, leather, sinew, intestines, dung, blood, meat, fat, horns, fur, etc...) used in a myriad of ways, the living animals were themselves socially tangible⁴ and offered social relations to work with. This was a way of life defined by the shifting pattern in its human-animal relations and social organisation. In other words, multispecies technologies.

During the lifespan of Shillourokambos’ inhabitation, a series of these shifts can be inferred. At first, there is an increase in boar hunting, an animal that has now become autochthonous to the island and was in abundant supply. Then there is some low-level hunting of the small ‘wild’ goat that had been introduced, as well as evidence that cattle were present but barely figured in terms of numbers. (ibid 258, 263)

As time passed a new smaller pig was introduced that was already ‘domesticated’, whilst ‘wild’ boar populations were maximally hunted and continued to be the dominant species in the faunal spectrum⁵. On the other hand, ‘wild’ deer and ‘domesticated’ sheep had now been introduced, although with little signs of technical material use, along with cattle (ibid). The suggestion is that deer and cattle started out as part of a socio-symbolic relationship rather than as coercively exploited resource (Keswani 1994).

1 Pottery is a key marker of particular material cultures. See earlier chapter for key reflection on this.

2 The first 1500 of which Shillourokambos is active, followed by sites such as Khirokitia.

3 Pottery is a key marker of particular material cultures. See earlier chapter for key reflection on this.

4 There is no need to interpret this as a return to classical ideas of animism from an ontological or cosmological perspective. Instead, it is a fact that animals have social worlds and that people’s social world are entangled with them.

5 I use the concepts of domesticated and wild throughout this chapter, when I have borrowed them directly from archaeological sources definition by those terms. This does not mean I agree with this binary or spectrum, as will become self-evident. However, for the sake of communication at this point, I will use them.

This way of life also consciously brought with it two other hunters of sorts, in the form of predators; the fox and the cat. They were also not simply brought as coercively exploitable resources. We know the cat to be capable of pest control, but its earliest remains in Cyprus are part of a special burial designating some social importance to it beyond simply framing its introduction as exploitable resource on which subjective ‘cultural fluff’ was then propped. I also do not assume that pest control was necessarily part of a coercive relationship. Hence, to say an animal was brought to the island for reasons of material subsistence¹ and base one’s whole way of thinking about a society in this way, is to appear to remove the political dimension of these people by reducing them to a natural category. In fact, a political category is imposed on them by assuming relations to be exploitative by default.

Moving into the middle period of the inhabitation of Shillourokambos, cattle started to be well-managed for meat but only for a brief time, whilst sheep populations seemed to have suffered from environmental stress or mismanagement. Goats on the other hand, were being increasingly hunted, but ultimately people started transitioning to ‘domestic’ goats. The hunting of pigs had almost ceased, whilst ‘domestic’ breeding continued. (Vigne et al. 2011: 258, 263) All the while, deer were being seasonally hunted but with a different method. This involved targeting whole groups in one go and then only making use of specific parts of the animal’s carcass (ibid 266).

In the later part of the inhabitation of Shillourokambos, cattle are again of negligible importance demographically, whilst both ‘domestic’ goats and sheep were being extensively used for meat, wool and milk, as well as new bone objects and technologies. These sheep were a newly introduced breed from the Anatolian peninsula. Pigs were being used as a

¹ As already addressed in the first chapter, this naturalist perspective emerges with a view of all relations, material or otherwise as transactional. It is part of the idea of an experimental process, a relationship, as self-vindicating. That is that one receives knowledge, then applies it toward achieving an aim, and if the knowledge is ‘fit’ the aim is achieved. This is a romanticized view of the experimental process, of human-environmental relations and of knowledge as transactional transmission (Ingold 2011; Hacking in Pickering 1992).

seasonal resource for specific parts of the year but had become a less common animal 'domestically', as well as little to no hunting of them taking place. (ibid 258, 263) Seafood was a substantial part of these people's diets. Harpoons, hooks and sinkers were used to catch fish, stone anchors for their boats, as well as people collecting and trapping molluscs and other creatures (Howitt-Marshall 2016; Knapp 2013: 57, 69).

Returning to land, what we see during this time at the Shillourokambos site is a: "summary of the techno-economic and socio-symbolic characteristics of ungulates through the different... phases of Shillourokambos" (Vigne et al. 2011: 263). These were phases in which hunting was focussed on 'wild' boar, then moved onto focussing on deer, with a transitional phase involving 'wild' goats, as well as many smaller shifts in between and across places. On top of the earlier hunting of dwarf ungulates.

Moving onto the Neolithic, a review of the archaeological evidence across sites in Cyprus concludes that, human-animal relations involved a: "diversified faunal strategy using a suite of domesticated and wild animal resources" (Knapp 2013: 305). Specifically:

'Deer continued to be the key staple in the islander's diet... at times amounting to as much as 70% of the faunal remains on certain sites... we should not view these archaeological sites as the bases of fully sedentary people.' (ibid 12)

Back at the coast, settlements akin to fishing villages had emerged. These were sites that included people who travelled and traded between Mediterranean coasts, adapting the aforementioned fisher-forager lifestyle of the Epipalaeolithic (ibid 79-80). Part of these seasonal routes potentially included the complex heterarchical society that built the Hunting Temple (Wengrow & Graeber 2015) in the nearby Göbekli Tepe region. A society with the archaeological markers of a complex, large-scale and seasonally dense and urban society.

However, one that was neither fixed in a state of on-going hierarchy or being bands of simple hunter-gatherers, nor reliant on settled agriculture.

In terms of plants, people in the Neolithic in Cyprus foraged: “wild plants such as olive, flax, fig, grape and pistachio” (ibid 17). A situation where cultivated ‘wild’ and farmed ‘domesticated’ varieties were intermixed, including “emmer wheat and barley for cereals; lentil, chickpea and pea for the pulses; and fig, almond, pistachio, grape, pear and olive for the fruits” (ibid 17).

During this period, the different faunal and floral strategies taking place in Cyprus co-existed, with some shift from deer to boar during the latter third. Hunting in Cyprus in the Neolithic was a primary part of people’s ways of living, as a part of a shifting selection of human-environmental relationships.

These people, discussed so far, had political form and intention, and multiple ways of life and faunal strategies were available. These were mixed and matched and used differently by different people on different parts of the island, with hunting being a very present part of people’s lifeworld. Human-animal relations were not part of apolitical modes of subsistence, determined by optimal foraging strategies. As Scott notes, by virtue of Clastres:

‘modes of subsistence are not just grades on some evolutionary scale-from hunting and gathering to swiddening, foraging, agriculture, and so on-but rather that the choice of a mode of subsistence is in part a political choice.’ (Guilman & Guilhot 2014: 111)

As Knapp notes with regards to Cyprus:

‘From a social perspective and acknowledging the rationality and intentionality of purposive behaviour of these would-be islanders in establishing a home away from

home, it seems evident that they primarily travelled with animals that they could manage' (Knapp 2013: 11).

However, this does not mean that 'management' or the organisation of human-animal relations was exploitative¹. The concept of exploitation is ubiquitous in the archaeological literature. It is used to define human-environmental relations with both inert dead materials and animate living animals or plants. Both are placed under the same category of 'resources'. I do not accept this definition as it is assuming that people conformed to a contemporary obsession; that is selfishly competing with others for one's own benefit, where nonhumans are simply means towards this end, rather than ends of beings in themselves.

This ethnocentrism derives from the idea that across the Epipalaeolithic and Neolithic in Cyprus, people produced innovations in their human-environmental relations that were strategies for nutritional subsistence. This is true, but should not be taken to be a natural truth or 'the truth'. Strategies are not evolutionarily superior to each other in any natural sense. Instead, they emerged in tandem with different social, organisational and multispecies contexts. People were not competing to emancipate themselves from their environment and exploiting it as an attribute of their evolutionary fitness. Different faunal and floral strategies were also not competitively replacing each other. Instead, they had accumulated overtime as new capabilities at hand for people to bring into play.

What changed is that the capabilities afforded by human-environmental relations got re-contextualised in different times and places, whilst other capabilities no longer present in the Neolithic have sunk into the background. In other words, knowledge is produced with an ecology. Rather than the idea that knowledge is produced about an ecology and then applied to it, with the most optimal strategies inherited. This latter idea creates a paradoxical problem

¹ Countering the ideological connotations of the common idea of 'management'. I do not use it to be understood to mean coercive management. Instead, I would prefer to use the idea of stewarding from commons theory, however, for purposes of communication and use of the archaeological literature I have not done so.

in accounting for how improvisation occurs and knowledge is made (Ingold 2011; Ingold in Descola & Pálsson 1996: chp 2). In other words, hunting should be studied as technology not abstracted as a technique. Otherwise, the paradox between how knowledge is made and how it is transmitted and then applied, with in Optimal Foraging Theory related theories remains unresolved.

3.3 Chalcolithic as a Mosaic of Variability

In the Chalcolithic period, sandwiched between the Neolithic and the Bronze Age, changes emerge that entirely shift what hunting meant in Cyprus in the following period. Importantly, these changes did not happen in parallel with changes on the nearby continent but in relation to them:

‘The longevity and obvious importance of the [hu]man-deer relationship in Cyprus represents a situation that is unique in [this period of] the archaeological record of the Near East.’ (Croft 1991: 63)

Whilst ‘domesticated’ animals took centre stage on the nearby continent, hunting of deer, as the primary form of faunal inhabitation in Cyprus, extended all the way through the Neolithic, the Chalcolithic and into the Bronze Age. Whereas in the ‘Near East’, it had already started to tail off during the Neolithic. This should not be read as people in Cyprus having remain ‘stuck in time’¹ as I will demonstrate.

The different situation in the Chalcolithic, that carried through into the Prehistoric Bronze Age, appears to be more heterogeneity in the mix of faunal and floral strategies as well as social forms. This heterogeneity was not an increased diversity as such, though new innovations can be said to have occurred, but more of “a mosaic of variability”, across both

¹ In social anthropological theory this is not generally accepted as a viable perspective on a society.

space and time. Radical changes ebbing and flowing, picking up more traction in some places at some times and then again in other places and other times (Knapp 2013: 188):

‘The passage from the [Neolithic] to the Early Chalcolithic may be seen as a fairly rapid, indigenous process, one in which there was widespread abandonment, dislocation or fissioning of settlements (ibid 195)... where fissioning is a factor that served as an important check on the excessive accumulation of power by anyone individual or group (ibid 243)... [also] a declining importance of deer in the subsistence diet ..strikingly new (often gender-based) symbolic and ideological conventions’ (ibid 195)

Deer remains drop from as much as 86% at the beginning of the Chalcolithic, to 41% in the late Chalcolithic, but rise and fall differently in different places. Even so hunted deer still remain the primary anthropogenically processed faunal remains in the archaeological record. What did change was that there was: “a growing reliance on herding and agricultural practices”, in terms of the evening out the frequency with which the diversity of faunal and floral strategies were practised, with wild flora still being a core part of the diet and hunting still being key (ibid 196).

In many respects, the Chalcolithic peoples of Cyprus were similar to their Late Neolithic counterparts. However:

‘In contrast with the *household-based* society of the Late Neolithic, the preparation, storage and consumption of food, including feasting, have been argued to represent *communal* activities during the [Early] Chalcolithic. [Whilst] in the following Middle Chalcolithic period... such factors are thought to be more indicative of *individual* practice’ (ibid 196, my emphasis)

One outcome of this was increased ceremonial activity involving domesticated animals (Keswani 1994: 272). In addition: “social, economic, perhaps even ideological changes, unprecedented in prehistoric Cyprus” emerge (Knapp 2013: 197). These are reflected in the: “harmonising (or integrating) [of] the sexual characteristics of men and women, if not other genders. [Furthermore,] the variability amongst Chalcolithic figurines also suggests that they are representations of individual people.” (ibid)

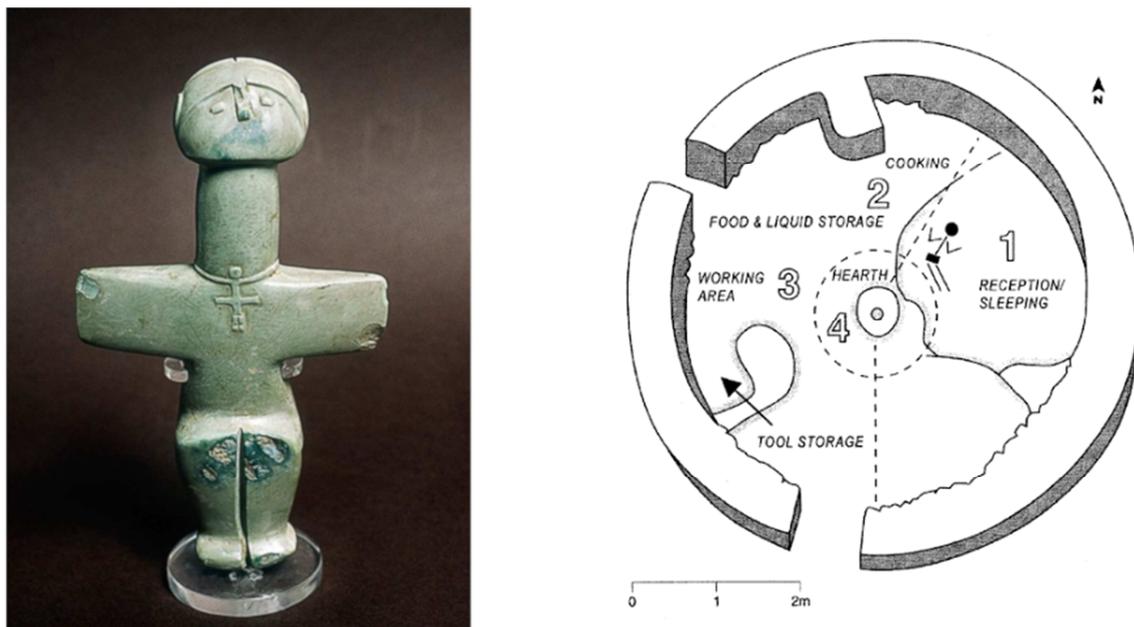


Figure 2 - Chalcolithic Figurine (left); Chalcolithic House (right)

In other words, during the Chalcolithic an explosion in individualised artwork (Figure 2) neither reflects the female-centric nature of the more widespread ‘Venus figurines’ on the European and Near Eastern continent, nor the binary and fractured gender (Illich 1983) that would later emerge with the Hellenization of Cyprus, reflect in figurines from that period (see later section). In parallel with this ‘Cypriot’ approach to gender, another development (Figure 2; Knapp, 2013: 205) was also taking place:

‘One of the most distinctive developments of the Middle Chalcolithic... [was] the organisation and further development of domestic space in the Chalcolithic house... a

renewed permanence in settled village life, one that now revolved more around individual households than the community at large. This [was] perhaps best expressed in the relocation of storage and food preparation or consumption activities to the inside of structures.’ (Knapp 2013: 207)

In short, a ‘definitive materialisation of an ideology of the house’ rather than communal domestic-like space. This amongst many other: “practices may be seen as the harbingers of an increasing orientation around the individual in society” (ibid 206) However:

‘We are not dealing with the contemporary, socially conscious, fully interiorised notions of the modern individual, but rather to possible ancient Cypriot notions of the self. To experience oneself as a living individual is a basic feature of human nature... [but] individuals always have a social or political dimension.’ (ibid 241-242)

This individual focussed - in an ancient Cypriot context - means of producing, or organising life was the opposite of the binary and fractured gender that emerged later. The proliferate figurines from the time pointedly suggest that the masculine and feminine binary did not form a core ideology around which life was organised. Instead, as noted, it reflected an ancient Cypriot way of being individual and without gender being fractured.

During the Late Chalcolithic and the early phases of the Prehistoric Bronze Age this Cypriot dynamic came to a definitive end as part of what seems to have been the ending of a period of intentional isolation (ibid 478-480). Instead: “contacts with Anatolia, the Aegean and perhaps even the southern Levant increasingly come to the fore” (ibid 245)¹. This: “increased external contact [and] clear indicators of intensified agricultural production ... reflect some level of structural change in Cypriot society” (ibid 247).

¹ What the trade that was involved in these contacts meant is clarified by Wengrow who notes, with specific reference to foreign trade in the Mediterranean Prehistoric Bronze Age, that it was “not just the more obvious prestige goods [that were] involved in exchange relations, but also the quest for raw materials and the acquisition of intangible types of knowledge” (in Parkinson & Galaty 2009: 308).

This is not to imply the increased importance of agriculture or relations with neighbouring peoples caused this change. As I have noted, differing relations with neighbours and fauna and flora had shifted in multiple directions over the prior millennia. Instead, it is a question of why now?

The late Chalcolithic marks the beginning of a mosaic of social organisation marked by the ritual use of domestic animals. As Willerslev et al. (2015) argue, ritual sacrifice of domesticated animals can reflect a continuation and idealisation of the hunting deed, but a movement away from the conducting of the deed of hunting itself. I would suggest that it also reflects a shift toward more anthropocentric human-animal relations, specifically those concerning something divine.

This latter part of the chalcolithic is also marked by some centralisation of power. However, it was still limited to some parts of the island's political mosaic and was not institutionally coercive. (Knapp 2013: 251-254) This shift did not simply pass, in terms of the entanglement between hunting and social organisation, beyond the development of sacrificial rituals. A potential resistance to, or innovation in light of this shift did occur. This is reflected in a recent discovery of a hunting lodge in the Cypriot Troodos mountains, unique to that period and uniquely just for hunting (Knapp 2013: 246). The implications of this are not easily determinable. There is a suggestion that some people decided to revive heterarchical seasonal hunting or conversely this is the first indication in Cyprus of hunting as part of an elite ritual space, perhaps for leisure. Perhaps a confluence of both¹.

However, during the late Chalcolithic and moving into the prehistoric Bronze Age people:

¹ Further analysis of indications of attendee's status at this site could be valuable, as well as indications of how the animals' corpses were dealt with.

‘...practised a diversified faunal strategy, using a suite of domesticated and wild animals... that provided a buffering mechanism against resource failure, obviating the need for communal or large-scale storage’ (ibid 305).

3.4 Pre-Proto Bronze Age Labour Intensification

With the Pre Bronze Age beginning in earnest in Cyprus 4,400 years ago, archaeological evidence in relation to fauna and hunting shows a rapid decline in the exploitation of deer and boar and an evident rise in the importance of cattle, sheep and goat, as part of a significant change in the way people integrated animals in to their ideology (Keswani 1994). This is a transition from mixed faunal strategies to the emergence of a focus on human and animal labour-intensive strategies. This increased labour input, however, started to lend some humans an upper hand in human-environmental negotiations and seasonality, in the sense that political negotiations were still connected with human-environmental relations, except that both were becoming less negotiations and more exploitations (ibid 1994; 1997)

In parallel, the following Proto Bronze Age has changes of yet a different level and scale. While: “monumental architecture, burial practices showing clear distinction in status...[and] extensive regional and inter-regional trade especially with Levant and Aegean” (Knapp 2013: 348) were not new innovations (Wengrow & Graeber 2015) as Knapp implies, their context in relation to other innovations was, including: “Cypro-Minoan script, intensified and widespread production and export of copper, newly built fortifications, weaponry and warriors depicted in pottery” (ibid 2013: 348).

Despite this, Cyprus in this period was not a centralised and unified entity under coercive sovereign rule. Cypriot ways of life existed, in marked isolation (Knapp 2008), by comparison to other Mediterranean islands, until the forthcoming Hellenization. The dynamic

was one of the development of a form of a shared ‘foreign office’ of the day, to deal with neighbours beyond the island (Keswani, 1997). Neighbours were undergoing colonisation and fixed centralisation, with the requisite changes that paralleled this, such as hunting becoming a leisure activity of the elite, along with the emergence of slave labour.

What marks the development of the Cypriot shared ‘foreign office’ of the day was already reflected in the earlier mosaic of Cypriot life. It was pragmatic. Instead of having a central despotic king or authority, Cyprus maintained its political independence on the borders of empires. Its population was a political mosaic of families, households, villages, towns and regions. No longer heterarchical, with seasonal shifts in social organisation, but with localised hierarchies. These political bodies coordinated together when it came to dealing with outside trade and foreign relations, particularly in the export of its highly prized copper ingots in return for crafts and resources from the region, both tangible and intangible. (Parkinson & Galaty 2009; Sabatini 2007; Keswani, 1997)

Hunting persisted into the beginning of Hellenization, but it had now also become part of the new mythologies of the region. Hunting, in the later part of the Bronze Age in Cyprus, starts to emerge from a combination of ideological shifts associated with politics of the time, as well as anthropogenic changes in the landscape. The next section addresses the primary innovation in hunting technology that emerges from this.

3.5 A King’s Sport

With the arrival of Hellenization in Cyprus and its coercive and on-going hierarchical organisation, or what we call civilisation (Wengrow & Graeber 2015), hunting and human-environmental relations emerge anew. Is it even hunting anymore? Or was what came before,

not theoretically or empirically appropriate to be called hunting? This is not a frivolous query, but fundamental to understanding what hunting is today.

As I outline in this section, hunting throughout its different forms since the arrival of civilisation, increasingly becomes part of an 'idealised setup'. This was to the point that habitats, people, dogs and other animals were not just *made* over decades, centuries and millennia, as they were negotiated before, but coerced into theatres to perform a duty e.g. the 'countryside' or a 'breed' of dog. Hunting setups in which certain ideals of freedom and civilisation are played off of ideas of noble or brute savages. Whilst on the other hand, other faunal strategies relating to 'wild' animals became marginalised, and 'hunting' in these cases does become akin to a mode of subsistence amongst the plebeian masses. This includes varieties of trapping, poaching, and fishing. It is important to note, from a historical perspective, the 'technique' aspect of these practices is not the part that generates the differentiation, despite contemporary legal discourse around hunting suggesting otherwise.

Additionally, simply because I argue that hunting becomes part of an 'idealised setup' with 'marginalised siblings', does not mean that I deny that the people involved are not experimenting with multispecies lifeworlds. Instead the question of what is new, is less a question of what is added or taken away, but what and how something is reorganised and what emerges from this. A part of this being whether a self-vindicating or emergent perspective on experimental relations is applied. So, what is this new hunting technology that now emerges?

It is reflected in stories, art, literature and other imagery from across the Near East, Europe and later Bronze Age Cyprus (1750-1700 BC). These materials tell the story of the 'hero' man versus the 'beast'. Emblematic of this emerging entanglement is the oldest recorded piece of literature, from 2000 BC, in the form of the 'Epic of Gilgamesh' (Sanders 2018). It

is the entanglement between elites and hunting beyond subsistence, in the form of the hunter-killing as a specific artefact and practitioner of this ‘technology’.

In Cyprus, this dynamic can be understood as one in which new forms of society, that emerged in the Bronze Age, necessitated and promoted by new expressions of older faunal and floral strategies (in relation to the new social organisation they were a part of). Fauna and flora, and related strategies, that could work with the exploitative and coercive social relations emerging between people. However, coercive authority necessitates a certain application of power. Hence, I argue that an initial and vital part of the process of this coercion is ‘hunting power’. Where hunting power is the process of seduction and possession. This comes before the more explicit phase whereby excess human labour is applied to maintain fauna and flora in an exploitative relationship. This excess human and animal labour emerging from an exploitation of humans and animals by humans.

As Knapp notes:

‘the concentration of people in Cyprus’s new [permanently settled] towns centres required more intensified animal exploitation... [as well as] lots of evidence of storage in pithos jars, pounders, grinders, presses with one site having a storage capacity of 50,000 kg of olive oil...Deer continued to be hunted (4%) while equids were used as draft animals...’ (2013: 14)

However, in certain *special* cases in Cyprus the incidence of ‘wild’ deer and boar consumption are radically higher. Knapp notes that this “may indicate the dietary preferences of a social elite” (ibid). Furthermore, there is also a “high incidence in the southwest of deer, that may suggest more limited landscape clearance than elsewhere” (ibid). It is in this same wooded southwest area that archaeological evidence and the writings of an Ancient Greek

philosopher, Aelian, indicate that deer were specifically hunted there as part of an elite practice well into the 1st millennium BC (ibid 15).

3.5.1 Sexist Gods, Cynegetic Power and the Master of Animals

After the end of the Chalcolithic in Cyprus, and moving into the Pre Bronze Age, we get a sudden shift from non-binary gender idols (Figure 2), to the Horned and the Ingot god and female figurines of the time (Figure 3; Bomford Collection; Knapp 2013: 368–371, 391, 460). Both male, one with the raised arm ready to smite and the other with the horns showing male fertility as important, a reflection of the importance of these attributes in socio-cultural life.



Figure 3 - Naked female figurine standing on ingot. Note breasts, facial jewelry and long hair (1); Horned god (2); Idol of an early precursor to the goddess Aphrodite. Note breasts, birthing-hips, holding an infant, facial jewelry (3); Ingot god (4)

In the Horned god's case you have the first divine representation in Cyprus in the form of a male god with bull's horns, displaying their power in association with cattle, an indicator of the prioritisation of domesticated human-animal relations (Dissinger 2010). This is reflected by people in Cyprus radically increasing their use of cattle upon moving to a more urban

centric way of life (Knapp 2013: 14, 284). Many of the deities in the region also take on a bull related deity with the arrival of ‘civilisation’.

On the other hand, you have the Ingot god. Ingots - basically massive coins - precede coinage as the way that local rulers would seek favour, protection and alliance with other societies and empires and their hunter-kings. This is seen in the Cypriot trade of copper to the Assyrian kingdom (Sabatini 2007), successors to the regional innovators of coercive civilisation, the Sumerians (Öcalan 2007) and authors of the first text about a hunter-king, ‘the Epic of Gilgamesh’.

Finally, during this period in Cyprus the indications so far, have been that hunting was becoming an elite activity, with the aforementioned elite use of deer, special forest areas and perhaps even elite hunting lodge. It is these changes that set the scene for the emergence of the consequent god, the Master of Animals. A pastoral caretaker and arbitrator for the masses, between the domesticated and the wild, the civilised and the savage. Or as Philosopher Chamayou puts it, between the hunter-king, “flock” and the “wolf-men”.

Chamayou, focusses on the idea of there being a “hunting power” involved in warfare and killing, or as he terms it, borrowing from Ancient Greek philosophy, a “cynegetic power”¹ (2012). His argument is that cynegetic power is the less theorised partner to its biblical antithesis ‘pastoral power’ - a Foucauldian concept (ibid 6). Cynegetic power as that wielded by “hunter-kings”, over “beasts” and enemies, whilst pastoral power is that wielded by a leader over their “flock” of people. Pastoral power is represented by the cultural idea of the “shepherd-king”, epitomised by the biblical Abraham, who is opposed to Nimrod the hunter-king (ibid) (i.e. Gilgamesh). Chamayou’s key point is that cynegetic power has become the key partner, rather than opposition to pastoral power, in order that the shepherd-king can hunt

¹ The term cynegetics refers to the study and craft of hunting in Ancient Greece, and etymologically derives from ‘leading with a dog’.

down and kill “wolf-men” and “diseased sheep” amongst his flock (ibid chp 3). He then applies this insight to different historical cases to analyse them, including drone warfare (2015), Jew hunting and the inquisition (2012: chp 11), hunting of indigenous people (ibid chp 4) and so forth. His book ‘Manhunts’ is a philosophical and historical exploration of the practice of manhunting throughout history, and the role that it has come to fill in propping up the pastoral power of the State (ibid)¹.

Returning to Cyprus, this became explicit in the merging of the Phoenician god of warfare and hunting (Melqart or Reshef) and the Ancient Greek hero Hercules, who mythologically spent much of his time hunting down and protecting people from ‘beasts’. The ‘Great God’ of Cyprus, the Master of Animals was born. From around 500 BC he is found depicted in Cyprus in the form of colossal statues, one arm raised in a smiting position depicting forceful power (Sabatini 2007: 7-9) and the other holding a lion, one of the ‘great hunters’ of the animal world. (British Museum 2016: rm 72).

Furthermore, as the early Mediterranean Empires surrounding Cyprus, such as the Phoenicians, started to collapse at the end of the Bronze Age, Cypriot society re-constituted itself economically and politically in tandem with the Aegean and Anatolian peoples of these empires. This resulted in an array of separate city kingdoms. Despite this:

‘The Master of the Animals is common in sanctuaries around the island’s central fertile plain. It also appears on the coins of the city-kingdoms... a divine image common to Greek and Phoenician speakers alike. He was a god who crossed ethnic boundaries, representing the forces of nature that affected all the islanders.... He

¹ My intersection here, in comparison to Chamayou, is that I am interested in the messy array of characters and institutions that hold a hunting technology together, not just the chasing and killing of ‘other’ characters or management of people. But, the labour of making and maintaining of hunting power by sets of people and their institutions. Hence, I consider in coming chapters the bureaucracy and phenomenology of the hunting establishment in its making of leisure, rather than focusing on the act of killing in and of itself.

made the countryside safe for humans to live in, but also protected cities.’ (British Museum 2016: rm 72)

Unsurprisingly then, the Master of Animals is also related to the other ethnically transcendental presence: coinage. He was placed on coins that crossed and engaged with different sovereignties. Where coinage is, in its first instance, the means with which to appropriate or acquire private property. As Graeber notes, coinage at this point in time in this part of the world was part of an economic trick, whereby imperial taxes on people had to be paid in this coinage (2014: 319) . But, the way a person acquired them was through having to sell their livelihood, labour, hunted and fished acquisitions and farming products, to ruling elites and their hungry armies (ibid). Hunting in this instance had actually become a mode of survival.

The importance of this is that the Master of Animals invokes the countryside (and absence or urban ‘civilisation’) as wild and antagonistic, even scary for common people, by contrast to rendering it as personally negotiable. Thus, the very payment of the Master of Animals as a coin, as tax, is part of a pastoral function of power, made through a sacrifice of a person of their property; of personal labour; of personal animals. The flock contributes towards its protection. In doing so, one negotiates with (in both senses) the Master of Animals to provide oneself protection from the wild, whether wild animals or wild ‘animal-like’ people and the actions of their wild resistance to their increasingly forced acquiescence. The Master of the Animals does not protect the forest, but people from the wild forest. Primarily by paying off their own hunter-kings and institutions from turning their appetites back on their flock. Instead, the Master of Animals coin keeps hunter-kings fed and watered to continue being the wolf to ‘other’ foreign flocks. In other words, paying tax is paying to not be killed, because the other choice is to contest the king and likely be killed. Hence, paying taxes originates in

having been seduced and possessed, to have been hunted by a hunter-king. By Graeber's definition, the birth of structural violence (2015b: 36).

During the latter Hellenization and Romanisation of Cyprus, mosaics continue to reflect similar themes to those on the continent. One aspect of this was the introduction of the cult of Dionysus. It: "appeared on Cyprus in Hellenistic times, after around 300 BC" and: "merged easily with local deities, especially the Master of Animals" (British Museum 2016: rm 72). Dionysus was the: "god of nature and pleasure. He was believed to have a large entourage of countryside spirits such as maenads, satyrs and nymphs" (ibid). Hence, wild nature was to be revered as much as feared in the Hellenised world.

Colossal masks of Dionysus were placed in forests in Cyprus, to which offerings were given. This was the association between pleasure and the spatialization of the 'revered wild' as a place, as Nature; Nature as separate and needing a male mediator, to either protect one from it (Master of Animals) or for them to use seductive methods to coerce it and make its pleasure appropriable (Dionysus). Dionysus is about transfiguring the power of the environment into the human domain and vice versa, through idols, rituals and inebriation. In part, through allowing a person into and back out of the ritual realm of Nature. Where this transfiguration is literal in the form of by Dionysus minions. They are transitional beings that can inhabit both worlds i.e. maenads, centaurs, Pan etc. The point being that those initiated into the cult can enter Nature to experience its vitality as pleasurable under the correct supervision.

3.5.2 The Cynegeticon

The works that make up the Cynegeticon (including the Cynegetica and Cynegeticus) now start to emerge. This is a compilation of texts from Ancient Greek and Graecophile Roman philosophers, poets and physicians including Xenophon (Cynegeticus), Oppian, Plato,

Grattius, Homer and Aelian amongst others. In this canon we have documentation of the philosophical and textual formalisation of hunting as pleasure, time-off from war, sport, and treatise on what it is about and what its proper categories are. It constitutes the original thesis on hunting in the Southern European region. Examining it one discovers extensive documentation of the social primacy of hunting. Its authors also being the teachers of their kings or generals. Teachers in naturalism and taking rationalising ideals as real. For example, Alexander the Great was taught the philosophy of hunting and encouraged in it by his teacher Aristotle, who researched hunting as part of this canon.

Historian Cartledge notes:

‘Hunting wild game was not just an optional pastime in ancient Macedonia. It was integrated organically into the education and elevation of the aristocratic elite. It was therefore a relatively short step, I argue, for Alexander [the Great] to go from hunting for game to hunting for undying glory, and to aim to achieve that goal by trekking to the very ends of the earth and hunting down many thousands of human beings and wild animals *en route*.’ (2004)

Hunting by the Ancient Greeks and in the Near East was, as a rite of passage, related to training for war (Dunn 2014: 6). However, there are a number of facets that make up this conclusion. Hunting is (i) divided into three different forms, (ii) associated with war as training to be a heroic man, (iii) a pleasure activity when not at war, (iv) an activity that was good for one’s health but also necessary for nurturing healthy heroic men from boys, and (v) taking place in the mountains and forests. A sixth element of hunting’s entanglement with ‘status’ also exists but becomes more established in the latter part of the Roman period.

Starting with the division into three forms; Oppian echoes all the different authors of the *Cynegeticon* when they repeat a variation on there being three types of hunting; on land, in

the air, in the water (Mair 1928: xxxiii). Xenophon categorises it as hunting, fishing and fowling, and later Roman writers: “*venatione, piscatu, aucupio*”. (ibid) The authors then proceed to explain the particularity and unity of each form of hunting. While there is distinction and unity in this sense, attention is not paid to categorising or prioritising ‘techniques’ in and of themselves.

For example, Xenophon notes how scent dogs, chasing dogs, nets, beaters may all be employed in hunting hare (Xenophon 6.5 in Mair 1928: xxxvii). Oppian also notes how hunting deer can involve leg breakers, javelins, and driving them into the sea (9.19-20 in Mair 1928). Or for that matter, he also comments on predator animals such as the fox who are hunted with lassos, nets and packs of dogs. The list continues including Xenophon mentioning boomerang-like throwing sticks on Crete, hawks, bows and arrows, Homer beating, Plato and Vergil slings, Oppian lime-sticking (Oppian 4.449-453 in Mair 1928: ixix) and Aristoph the use of live decoy doves (Dansey 1831; Mair 1928; Sweet 1987).

Whilst these are mentioned, what is emphasized is what hunting does to the hunter. In short, what differentiates good hunting and what makes it important to these scholars is what it can do to people. This emphasis emerges as a commentary on the health of the body that sets up hunting as formalised training for the elite in Ancient Greece and then its institutionalisation as leisure for the elite in Roman times. This contributes to the construction of a difference between hunting for ‘soulful’ nourishment and hunting for nutritional nourishment:

‘Galen explains: in hunting “with dogs and all other kinds”, exertion and pleasure combine. “The motion of the soul involved is so powerful that many have been released from their disease by the pleasure alone” ...’ (Harris 2010: 188)

This is constructed further with hunting being theorised as not just bodily exercise and soulful nourishment, but contributing toward the further development of a healthy spirit:

‘The best philosophers and the best doctors among the ancients have frequently stated how beneficial exercise is toward health, and that it must precede eating... the best athletics of all are those which not only exercise the body but are able to please the spirit, and I think that those who discovered hunting with hounds and other forms of hunting, mixing work with pleasure, delight, and love of honour, were wise men and understood human nature well. The spirit is able to be so stirred by hunting that many are cured of diseases by their happiness alone and many who are disheartened are won over. There is no physical condition so strong that it can overcome the condition of the spirit. The soul is so much more significant than the body.’ (Galen in Sweet 1987: 96)

Hence, a dichotomy between body and soul/spirit is also implicit, where the spirit is seen to be more powerful than the body, resonating with the Roman laws emerging at the time of Galen. One that pitched the mind/spirit as owner of the body. This dichotomy finding its roots in the slavery that emerged with coercive imperialist empires (Graeber 2014: 203-207)¹ and also shares a history with the intensive domestication of animals. In other words, developing one spirit through hunting developed appropriate control over one’s body, with the body akin to Nature. As a part of this soulful nourishment and its mastery over the body, the location for hunting is Nature:

¹ “The same logic has come to be applied even to our bodies, which are treated, in such formulations, as really no different than house, cars or furniture. We own ourselves, therefore outsiders have no right to trespass on us.... To say that we own ourselves is, oddly enough, to cast ourselves as both master and slave simultaneously. “We” are both owners (exerting absolute power over property), and yet somehow, at the same time, the things being owned (being the object of absolute power). The ancient Roman household, far from being forgotten in the mists of history, is preserved in our most basic conception of ourselves... just as lawyers have spent a thousand years trying to make sense of Roman property concepts, so have philosophers spent centuries trying to understand how it could be possible for us to have a relation of domination over ourselves... popular solution... is mind...body, and that the first holds natural dominion over the second – flies in the face of just about everything we now know about cognitive science. It is obviously untrue, but we continue to hold onto it anyway, for the simple reason that none of our everyday assumptions about property, law, and freedom would make any sense without it.” (ibid)

‘The fierce desire for hunting seized many. For no one once captured by the attractions of the lovely hunt would willingly give it up; sweet bonds hold him fast. How pleasant is sleep upon the flowers in the springtime! Again, how wonderful is a bed spread in a cove on a summer’s day! How delightful for hunters is a repast among the rocks! What pleasure for them in gathering honey-sweet fruit! Cool clear water flowing from a cave, what glorious drink or bath does it furnish! And in the forest, what welcome gifts the herdsmen who watch over the goats bring in pleasing baskets!’ (Oppian 2.31-44 in Mair 1928)

This is hunting for leisure as ‘being in nature’, bifurcated from civilized city life and transactional relations. Incidentally elite hunting brought all the related factors together into this space:

‘The Greeks (and Romans) went into the mountains for several "practical" reasons: military expeditions, religious ceremonies, hunting, and scientific investigations.’
(Sweet 1987: 159)

These mountains, or what is sometimes now called ‘Nature’ or what people in England call the ‘countryside’, was a space where activities involving cynegetic power were learnt.

When war was not being practised in this space it left it open to other activities including hunting, as well as all the paraphernalia of war now lying idle, suggesting for itself new possibilities and in turn hunting equipment suggesting itself for war. As Sweet notes: “In times of peace the horse was used in hunting” (ibid 94), as well as the bow¹ (ibid 177), the slingshot (Plato, *Laws* 7.834 in Sweet 1987: 172), amongst other demonstrations of this entanglement (Leonidas, *Greek Anthology* 6.188 in Sweet 1987: 172).

¹ These were not straightforward substitutions. The bow, for example, was around for a long time in Ancient Greece for hunting, before it was used in War. For hundreds of years it was rejected for use in war as a cowardly weapon.

3.5.3 Pleasure Parks

Hunting was an elite institution, by comparison to trapping, fishing and ‘hunting’ as part of the ‘everyday’ life of the ‘masses’ in Ancient Greece and Rome. Its institutionalisation was as part of an entanglement with socio-political organisation, setting a precedent for elite hunting in Cyprus and the elite institutions that emerged from a Christianized Roman Empire over the next two millennia. I will now cover a few key innovations during this period that relate to Northern Cyprus and rotate around the common theme of the making of spaces or ‘ideal setups’ for hunting for pleasure.

I have already mentioned Roman civilisation, however the influence of hunting in the Eastern Mediterranean on Rome went beyond Ancient Greece, primarily through its military expeditions. For example:

‘Scipio's Macedonian expedition brought him not only military experience, but also, at his father's bidding, hunting lessons from the region's royals. As Rome came into contact with inhabitants of the Greek and Near Eastern city states it was gathering to itself across the second century BC, it also absorbed their passion for hunting.’ (Dunn 2014: 6)

An important shift occurred later in Roman hunting that would ultimately shape sports hunting across Europe and be brought back to Cyprus with the succession of colonial encounters it underwent. This shift was one where hunting carried considerable cachet and earned plaudits. It was under the ‘peaceful’ Emperors, that its popularity amongst elites soared as it was demonstrated that it did not have to serve as preparation for war. Hence, it maintained: “the elitist roots with which it was associated in the Hellenistic and Near Eastern courts.” But: “upper-class Romans sought to transform it into a demonstration of status.” (ibid)

With the further embedding of social hierarchy with hunting, it mirrored ideas of how people understood class. To be free in Rome meant actively working to own one's own body or be granted it by its owner. This exhibited itself in the Roman aspect of hunting which involved not always killing a hunted animal, and either letting it free or placing it within a park. In both senses the animal was understood to now be 'free' in the Roman Empire, as it had been captured, assimilated and then given its freedom. In essence freedom was not wildness, that is, subject to the shackles of 'savage' nature. 'Real' freedom was something achieved through private property regimes, not before them.

Hunting in Rome also developed along another tangent that was accessible to the plebeian. This was as *venatio* which blossomed under Hadrian as the spectacle of hunters chasing animals in the arena, before the gladiatorial contest, as 'hunting for the masses'. As Debord notes, the history of social life can be viewed as the: "degradation of being into having...from having to appearing" (2002: 9). Key in this logic being that emperors could demonstrate to the plebeians who had the power over nature and man to make this appearance occur in an amphitheatre; an idealised hunting setup. These were both: "...still *venatio*. But how different it seemed from the idealised, mythological images of the Greek Meleager (hunting hero) spearing the bull in the wilds, with which men still chose to plaster their sarcophagi." (Dunn 2014: 6)

Later, with the division of the Roman Empire into East and West, the Byzantine Empire emerged in the Eastern Mediterranean. Wealthy families choose to cover their sarcophagi and burial chambers with paintings of the Elysian Fields. The Elysian Fields were how the afterlife as a state of leisure was imagined in the Byzantine Empire. These fields are depicted as none other than hunting parks in which wild animals roamed and people relaxed in nature and hunted them at their pleasure. (Museum of Byzantine Culture Thessaloniki 2016: Rm 3)

Coming back to Cyprus: over the next thousand years multiple travellers refer to hunting in Cyprus. Many of these refer to hunting, in particular by the Ibelin kings of French Lusignan origin, and their hunting entourages. As one visitor notes from between 1336-1341:

‘The king of Cyprus and all the bishops and prelates of his realm, the princes and nobles and barons and knights, chiefly live, and daily engage in spear-play and tourneys, and especially in hunting... they spend all on the chase. I knew a certain Count, Hughes d’Ibelin, who had more than five hundred hounds, and every two dogs have their own servant to guard and bathe and anoint them, for so must dogs be tended there. A certain nobleman has ten or eleven falconers with special pay and allowances. I knew several nobles and knights in Cyprus who could keep and feed two hundred armed men at a less cost than their huntsmen and falconers. For when they go to the chase they live sometimes for a whole month in their tents among the forests and mountains, straying from place to place, hunting with their dogs and hawks, and sleeping in their tents in the fields and woods, carrying all their food and necessaries on camels and beasts of burden.’ (von Suchen in Cobham 1908: 20)

Cyprus was to the king and his elites a pleasure park in and of itself to seasonally roam with his extensive ‘tribe’ of people, albeit one coercively under his rule year-round. Throughout the Franco-Anglo world at the time, this approach to hunting was common and continued until relatively recently with one major aspect unmentioned. This was the specific demarcation of many forests and places as only for hunting and not accessible to plebeians, in particular the animals not being accessible. The most famous example in the English language being the mythological story of Sherwood forest and its deer.

The Franco-Anglo royalty wrote an equivalent of the *Cynegeticon* - ‘*Livre de Chasse*’ by Gaston Phoebus c. 1387-1389 and its derivative ‘*The Master of Game*’ by Edward of Norwich c.1406-1413 - as well as countless associated tapestries including the Bayeux. It was

with the defeat in 1066 of the Anglo-Saxons¹ by the Normans that this became specifically pronounced in England, whereby land was legally demarcated for elite hunting as outside² the common law i.e. Forest Law (Loyn 1991: 378-382).

With the fall of the Kingdom of Cyprus under the Ibelin Lusignan kings, came brief interludes by the Genoese, Mameluks and Venetians. Cyprus then fell under Ottoman rule in the 1500s. The Ottoman Sultan's conducted elitist hunting, primarily in enclosed game reserves in a similar style to their European Royal neighbours, with dogs, nets, spears or falcons. Though it should be noted that:

‘...after Suleyman I, participation in royal hunting parties was clearly not a personal choice, let alone an obsession, the next three sultans nevertheless regarded it as a duty, a regnal obligation that they complied with.’ (Artan 2008: 302)

Non-lethal hunting was also involved, as practiced since the Roman Empire. A visitor to Cyprus notes in an observation of hunting by the Ottoman Governor or Pasha of Cyprus in 1792:

‘When the poor animal [-hare-] was just ready to become a prey to its enemies, the governor rushed forwards... took it in his arms; and, delivering it to one of his officers, gave him orders... to shut it up in his park, where he maintains a great many prisoners of the same kind.’ (Mariti 1808: 59-60 in Cobham 1908)

This type of hunting as a sport was led by the elite as part of a hierarchical team in which local Cypriots, including specially trained huntsmen, would play the role of an assistant, such as netter or dog handler. On the other hand, people in Cyprus had been trapping hare and birds throughout the Ottoman period, and prior to it. Mariti notes in his diary from the same

¹ Saxon means ‘people of the hunting knife’ (Lewes Castle & Museum 2017).

² The word forest originally meant ‘wooded area kept for hunting’ with the etymology of *foris* meaning ‘outside’ with regards to the Common Law.

time as this hare hunt, that small birds were captured in great quantity and roasted and eaten or parboiled and pickled and sold in great barrels to Western Europe (ibid).

3.6 *SattelZeit*

However, hunting and access to ‘wild’ resources by or usufruct rights of the plebeian and peasant masses were becoming and had been severely curtailed, particularly in Western Europe. Drawing on Mersel, Knoll notes that this was not simply about:

‘...spending leisure time adequate to nobilities’ status, nor training for warfare, the supply of courtly kitchens with meat or even the protection of peasants from wild game... [instead] hunting practice is related to space. Moving through a region while hunting, the monarch occupies the space and by doing so, displays his power over people living there. (2004: 9-10)

Knoll develops this by noting that this theory needs ecologizing. Simply put theorising whilst recognising that hunting power was not simply a human-human relationship of the king impressing his dominion on other people through hunting. More than this was that hunting infrastructure and all its human and non-human actors constituted a unique environmental management policy that interlinked multiple areas with different land uses and inhabitants, across a monarch’s realm. Along with laws, classes of people and so forth (ibid). Hence hunting was a complex spatial multispecies infrastructure.

This is this embedded in a longer continuity in hunting, since the arrival of ‘civilisation’, as the conversion of the common world, perceived as wild or open access, and all its perceived ‘vitality’ being coerced into owned property. The results on the ground of this at this time involved elites trampling over people’s land, large parts being cordoned off including wild resources with which common culture and subsistence were bound up, the restriction in

mobility of common people in the face of complex demarcations and forbidding the killing of animals that devoured the crops that common people grew. All in the face of a lethal threat if impinged upon or the payment of coin. This ultimately contributed to a restlessness amongst common people. Some initial signs of this emerged in the Magna Carta reintroducing some of the rights that had been curtailed by the Forest Law.

However, the time for transition and transformation in hunting as a technology of power, it's *Sattelzeit* (Knoll 2004: 12), is only marked later when popular revolution by people across Europe started to emerge. The prime example being the French Revolution of 1789. Hunting was deeply implicated. One of the key rights declared in the 'The Declaration of the Rights of the Man and of the Citizen of 1789' was the right of citizens of the republic to wild resources as free men. And as such, following the events of 1789, people went out and celebrated by hunting and killing the game that had been trampling their land. In doing so, setting in motion the seasonal tradition of large portions of the citizenry exerted their right of being free men. Or as Ortega y Gasset poetically put it, which has inspired many Anglo-American hunters since though, (with the opposite conclusion to my own):

'In all revolutions, the first thing that the "people" have done was to jump over the fences of preserves or to tear them down, and in the name of social justice pursue the hare and the partridge.' (2007: 40)

A similar transformation in legal rights emerged with multiple other flash points and transitions across Europe (Knoll 2004), though in particular ways and at particular paces. In Germany in 1848 (ibid 16), in Portugal in 1974 (Proper in Ortega y Gasset 2007: 23) and more recently in the US (Herman 2005)¹. Out of this melee a whole new recognition,

¹ A recent example from the US providing further informative insight, is where elitist and common hunting federations united in leveraging support for the current sitting President. However, recently, there are strong signs of a split forming along property regimes lines, as the common land available to common hunters is privatized and sold off (Sieglar 2017a, 2017b).

integration and contest between different histories of illegal, legal, elite and marginalised hunting have emerged and still are. This is mirrored in hunting's trajectory in Northern Cyprus (covered in the next chapter) upon its liberation from British colonial monarchy and upon Turkish Cypriots' establishment of a right to self-determination.

In summary, a common aspect across all these regions during this transition is that at some point or another, in varying forms (the UK being one of the outliers on the spectrum reflected in it still being a monarchy), a new hunting technology was produced. One entangled in a new political history. This was what Herman calls 'hunting democracy', as he explains:

'...every white male... possessed in theory, political and legal rights that only kings and aristocrats had enjoyed in earlier centuries. Among them was the right to hunt.... a tradition of hunting as a democratic sport.' (ibid 22)

Therefore, I argue that the new political situation did not emancipate anyone as such nor the non-human environment, but simply made everyone a private individual king during their free time. Hence, I depart from Ortega and his followers' conclusions who perceive that to be 'freedom'.

An important outcome of this transformation in hunting was the continued way in which, since the arrival of 'civilisation', a core relationship of it has been how environmental relations are related to women. Monarchical (elite) hunting as a sport had not been restricted to men, but kingship and ruling was primarily associated with elite men. In other words, the patriarchy had not stopped women with status from hunting as sport, at least as far back as the Ancient Greeks (Plato in Sweet 1987: 142; Xenophon *ibid*: 173). As Sweet notes one needs: "bear in mind the time, the place and the social class of the women involved" (*ibid* 143).

However, with the emergence of popular revolution the right to a 'pastime' (that is something outside labour) including hunting, was democratised. Hunting was a primary demand, due to its importance amongst the elite that had just been ousted. But gender amongst the citizenry was fractured, with men conducting visible labour (rather than domestic and shadow work), leading to hunting amongst the citizenry being fractured along the lines of gender. Hence, those who laboured had the right to leisure and the right to being a citizen(man). One reason so many people that hunt in Europe today are men is because women were not at first considered proper free people - citizens - when hunting became a popular right. With the economisation of sex this is again changing.

4 The Inception of Turkish Cypriot Hunting

4.1 Introduction

When Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley and officers of the British empire disembarked at the port of Limassol in 1878, Cyprus came under their administration and ‘protection’. It had been part of the Ottoman empire for over three centuries (Hook 2015). A record from shortly after, of a British gentleman hunting in Cyprus, notes that Cypriots were selling woodcocks, red-legged partridges, and hares in the market, for consumption by those with the wealth to buy them (Baker 1879: 28). His observations conclude that the average Cypriot was not subsisting on these animals, so much as subsisting on the payment they received for them. This was not hunting for sport that yielded these animals (ibid 28-29).

With the arrival of the 20th century, the first major British legislation was passed regarding the protection of wildlife; ‘Game and Wild Birds Protection Law’ (1911). However, the British Governor still maintained a prerogative to allow whomsoever he wished to violate this law. In particular, this protection was put in place to limit access to the hunting of the sole ‘big game’ in Cyprus: Moufflon (wild sheep). Or from another perspective, this was to allow the Governor and his ‘chums’ to keep the hunting of Moufflon to themselves, as a prized activity amongst British colonial officers (Hook 2015). By comparison trapping and other forms of access to wild faunal resources were not considered hunting per se, not in the idealised sense discussed in previous chapters. This became more explicit under British colonialism, when these non-sporting activities became legally marginalised in the first half of the 20th century, and ultimately illegal in the second half.

However, Cyprus and other islands are key bottles necks in the Mediterranean, that many birds either pass through or spend one part of their migratory season residing on (Bijlsma

1987). As such trapping, primarily through lime-sticking of birds, was part of a seasonal ‘gathering’ (Falzon 2008: 20). A protein windfall leading to such dishes as roasted or pickled blackcaps amongst other small birds; *ambelopoulia* (Figure 4; Birdlife 2018). This practice is historically reflected throughout the archaeological record of Cyprus, including in imagery from just after the Bronze Age in the form of the widespread comb motif (Figure 4; Vlachou in Coldstream et al. 2012: 346, 367). This being a motif of a form of bird trapping device so crucial that it became a popular symbol across Cyprus.



Figure 4 – *Ambelopoulia* (left); *Comb motif* (right)

However, I am primarily interested in the inception of what is considered hunting today, specifically legal hunting, and its formal institutions; the ‘hunting establishment’. The hunting establishment is the term I use to refer to the association of people that wield the hunting technology I encountered during my fieldwork. This is primarily the president, committee members and staff of the TRNC Hunting Federation, relevant government officials, hunting club leaders and their committees, as well as the specific lawyers, magazine writers, hunting outlet owners, and local cartridge (bullet) factory owners that work intimately with them. In addition, as I expand on in a later chapter, the spatial infrastructure constitutes the cross-over between the hunting establishment to the hunting space

In this chapter, I focus on how this association emerged and was established (In a later chapter I address how it works). To address this, I am going to I dart back and forth through 20th century Cyprus, largely structuring the chapter around two key interviews from March 2016 with my informant İrfan Paralik, the founding leader of the contemporary hunting establishment (Figure 5; Duchateau 2016).

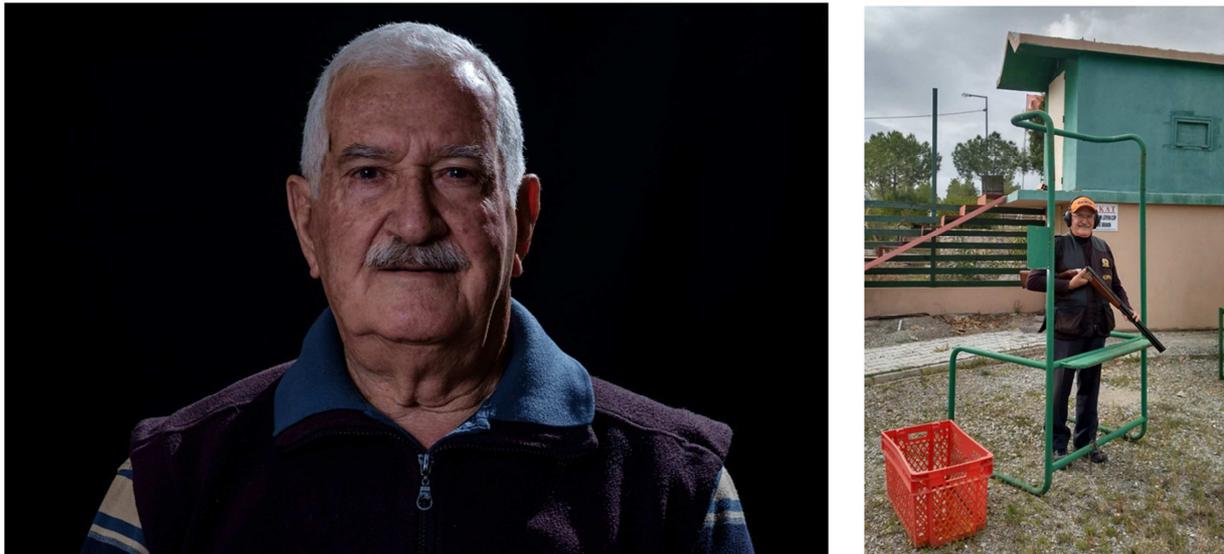


Figure 5 - İrfan Paralik (left); İrfan at the shooting range (right)

4.2 Goats, Guns and Bandits

When British colonial officers arrived, and throughout their stay, they pushed the narrative that the Cypriot environment was highly degraded and as such, a justification for colonial rule and its policies regarding the land and its ownership, was the ‘saving’ of the environment from its local inhabitants. This formed the ‘ruined landscape narrative’, a defining feature of British rule across the Mediterranean. In Cyprus it employed and still employs (Harris 2012: 3763-64) the idea that Cypriots and their previous Ottoman rulers had neglected environmental management. This itself implying that the environment was a thing and that it needed controlling. The narrative denotes the Ottomans as 'bad rulers', the Cypriots as 'lazy'.

When examples of Cypriots arose that do not resemble this, such as perceived resistance, they were conversely described as active destroyers of the environment (Harris 2007). As Harris summarises in her study of colonial forest management during British rule in Cyprus:

‘The accepted thesis claims that when the British arrived on Cyprus in 1878 they found a severely degraded landscape, ruined by years of mistreatment by foreign rulers and a population of ignorant natives... Forward-thinking British foresters taught the residents to adopt what they viewed to be worthwhile, productive... lifestyles... They also taught the people to respect and appreciate nature.’ (2012: 3670-75)

Contrary to this opinion and much environmental research, the rugged habitats of the Mediterranean islands are derived from a unique ecological history of co-evolution between episodic arrivals of novel species, including humans, and the fauna and flora already present. This resulted in rich biodiversity and unique Mediterranean island habitats.

Despite these habitats being perceived as 'degraded' and 'ruined', historical-ecologist Rackham demonstrates that what are considered 'wild' and 'natural' habitats on Mediterranean islands, are actually a result of an extensive relationship between humans, animals and their environment. They were far from ruined, at least when the British empire arrived (Grove & Rackham 2003; Rackham & Moody 1996). A pertinent example in Cyprus being goats and goat-herding, which were demonised by British colonial 'scientists'. Rackham points out to the contrary, that the unique grazing style of certain breeds of goat are involved in the unique flora of Mediterranean islands (2003: 239-269).

However, British personnel could not simply out-right ban the killing of local fauna and flora. Firstly, they wished to hunt themselves. Secondly, Cypriot inhabitants unlike English peasants, had not gotten used to being legally dis-embedded from using local fauna and

flora¹. The British colonial personnel's job therefore, was to try and civilize and remake Cypriot locals in their image, as well as the natural environment². Hence, hunting as a hobby for the Cypriot colonial subject was encouraged, instead of 'hunting' as subsistence. Attempting to do this required converting hunting, Cypriots and the Cypriot landscape into a people and a space for 'proper' hunting according to British ideals.

Furthermore, the new role for Cypriot hunters was tied up with ideas of controlling species, particularly pests, so that 'game' species might thrive, somewhat along the lines of what game-keepers were tasked with on hunting estates back in England. In this vein 'big-game' species such as Moufflon were only available to hunt with the special permission of the Governor. In short, off limits to the locals but not the top ranking British colonial personnel. Secondary smaller 'game animals' were restricted for Cypriot access, alongside the necessary paperwork and monies needing to be paid for them. Animals that were perceived to impinge on game animals were promoted to be killed as pests.

In parallel, off the back of WW1, the ubiquity of firearms had started to take hold in Cyprus. This would only increase in relation to WW2 with the establishment of the Cypriot Regiment from 1940-1950, which reached almost 11,000 Cypriot soldiers (Yiangou 2010). They returned home trained in the use of firearms and with them in their possession.

My informant İrfan noted:

'In my father's time hunting started in August and continued every day until the end of the year. I remember my father used to tell me about going with a musket gun. Cypriots started what is called hunting, with those guns in the 1930s.'

¹ Furthermore, during the first part of British colonial rule, Cyprus was not legally under British sovereignty, but merely on loan from the Ottoman Empire i.e. Passing extensive laws was not yet possible.

² It should be noted that British colonial policies were not simply imposed by British elites on Cypriots. Instead, Cypriot elites worked in tandem with British elites (Harris 2007: 22,57).

The use of the musket was likely due to the cheaper cost and availability of it than the shotgun used today, as well as it being the gun used in the military. However, during my fieldwork I came across an antique '12-gauge side-by-side boxlock shotgun' in the possession of a Turkish Cypriot hunter. It was made by T.C Martin of Manchester who manufactured guns between 1865 and 1898. It is unclear whether this suggested it had arrived in Cyprus during the late 19th or 20th century. Furthermore, Baker contends that the animals he had seen in Larnaca market had been shot by Cypriots, whom he believed many of which had some form of gun (1879: 28). In light of this and upon further analysis of Irfan's comments, the implication is that hunting as conceived by the British in similarity to how Irfan conceived it, was not popularly taking place until the 1930s.

The musket and later shotgun afforded Cypriots the ability to make the transition from trapping and foraging for food, or subsisting off the earnings it brought for some toward hunting as sport for the masses. Hence, the gun does not determine this hunting but enables it. The gun collapses the technical requirements of hunting as 'sport' with being able to catch the quarry, into a one-man tool. In effect, it makes possible the individualisation and the ubiquity of hunting as sport, particularly in a making it more physically accessible. Specifically, for men in their middle to older age unable to chase on foot with spear and bow and arrow. Even in the case of hunting in the historical record with bows, arrows and spears, hunting as sport (by comparison to a way of life within which subsistence is embedded) still often required a large group of people to manage the situation. Hence, the previous elite group-hunting style afforded hunting as sport, but primarily to elites. Plebeians and peasants participated through being required to work together to facilitate 'hunting as sport', as beaters, net-handlers, dog-handlers and so forth. By contrast, the new post-30s result, what Irfan calls 'rough hunting'; allowed many people to hunt as individuals (whether in a group or not), however 'roughly'.

In tandem with this, a transition in human-environmental and human-animal relations took place during British rule. It is perhaps best described through the unique decrease in banditry in Cyprus in the first half of the 20th century, in comparison to others parts of Southern Europe. As Sant Cassia argues, banditry decreased in Cyprus with the transition from Ottoman to British rule, due to at least seven interconnected reasons (1993: 778–782).

Amongst these was that banditry worked in tandem with agro-pastoral human-environmental relations, in particular the mobile shepherding of goats that so aggravated British colonial officers. Thus, under British rule there:

‘...was a scramble to transform state land, especially forest, into private property. Large tracts of forest were cleared, and men laid claim to them by possession. This reduced the amount of land available for pasturage...The British tried to encourage the *ideal* of the small peasant cultivator, not the shepherd or goat-herd. Peasant landownership was encouraged; the large estates remained static, although their productivity declined; and a new administration required a vastly larger independent, salaried scribal class which the Ottomans previously lacked.’ (ibid 780, my emphasis)

Large parts of the Cypriot population were converted from pastoralists into peasants and urban subjects. At the very least, they were more dis-embedded from their prior human-environmental relations and more embedded within British colonial administration and its property regimes and taxes. This led in part to many Cypriots going hungry in Cyprus in the early 20th century (Harris 2007: 281; Kadioğlu 2010: 105).

The key part of this transition though was the increased permeation of wage labour, with which came the increased permeation of the established rights of the citizen(man) across Europe. This included the right to leisure time after work time, often amongst ‘middle-class’ administrative elites, who conducted a ‘bastardised’ leisure that mimicked their superiors.

Hunting as ‘hobby’ in this case, along with the added “night-time aspect” (Pina-Cabral 2002: 99) of procuring some meat in the times of lesser food that colonial policy had created.

It was this context that set the conditions out of which ‘individual’ hunting as a sport could emerge as hobby for Cypriot men. Where hunting was introduced by the British as a hobby that ‘upstanding’ subjects could participate in, as long as they obtained licenses, kept quotas, and targeted ‘game’ or ‘pest’ animals only. However, this was not an abrupt change but a transition. It was the beginning of Cyprus’s own *sattelzeit* with regards to hunting.

As İrfan noted, there are some significant differences between then and now, but also between different hunters today and different hunters then:

‘Before 1960 people mixed hunting and trapping. I don’t mix one with the other. When I hunt I only hunt. When I shoot I shoot [on a range] ... I have never collected much plants or mushrooms myself. Some people go hunting, they like to [also forage and trap]. But for hunting, we hunt partridges and hare. That’s the main hunting in our island, in Cyprus [by comparison to boar or deer].’

Hunting was also mixed in another way, as İrfan explained:

‘...the clashes in 1955 - and then 56, 58 and 60... There were Greek and Turkish Cypriots who went hunting together. I think some, not everybody, but some did. After 1955 it stopped. They were afraid and we were afraid...’

To illustrate his point İrfan noted that even as late as the early 1960s hunting camaraderie across ethnicities existed:

‘I was involved in a traffic accident in Zeros village near Lefka, and a Greek [Cypriot] person, a hunter gave me a lift to the police station from the place of the accident, and then he turned back to go to his hunting.’

Another of my older informants, Hasan of Alsançak, also noted to me, that some of his best hunting friends had been Greek Cypriot and it was “sad” when they had to stop hunting together. However, it was not simply a case of people not choosing to go hunting together. It was also inadvertently precipitated by British colonial policy, which ultimately stopped any Cypriots from legally going hunting. As İrfan explained:

‘In 1955 there were some crashes again in between two communities, but the main crash was between the Greeks and English. And the government had collected all the shotguns and stored them in Kyrenia Castle. We couldn’t hunt anything. Nothing. They gave them back in 1959 [just before independence]’ (Figure 6; British Pathe; 1955)



Figure 6 - British soldiers and policemen searching houses for firearms left); Firearm related equipment recovered from house during search (right)

By this point hunting with firearms had become a common pastime amongst Cypriot men. It was becoming a tradition, with a second generation having been brought up with hunting as a hobby for men. As İrfan noted to me, he had a childhood memory of running after hunters as a pre-pubescent child. In this sense, the space that gun-wielding, animal-hunting, mountain-roaming bandits (that had harangued the ruling elites of Cyprus) had occupied, became vacant to then be filled with hobby hunters.

Cypriot subjects had shifted away from a more seasonal relationship with the land. Significant dimensions of which had been mobile goat and sheep herding as well as banditry. They had shifted toward being towards settled peasants with enclosed alongside enclosed 'nature reserves' and an urban administrative class involving wage labour. This included hunting as a hobby in one's new delineated leisure time. This allowed men to engage in 'being in nature' whilst being an 'upstanding' subject.

This hunting technology and its firearms intersected with banditry in another way. While hunting shotguns were removed by the British, Greek Cypriot EOKA rebels, became a new banditry and started smuggling in or manufacturing their own. Some Turkish Cypriot hunters who were so passionate about hunting they also tried. One elderly informant, after urging from his friends at the Lefkoşa hunting club, described to me how he had hand-made his own firearm during this ban, simply because he wanted to go hunting. He informed me he had managed to successfully shoot a hare with it.

Of particular interest though is that EOKA, as argued by Sant Cassia, marking a temporary re-emergence of banditry in Cyprus but along ethno-nationalist lines (Cassia 1993: 775). Also opposing EOKA, and unmentioned by Sant Cassia, was their Turkish Cypriot equivalent, the 'Mücahit' or TMT (Turkish Resistance Organisation). One group related to this was the *Erenköy Direnişi* (Eren-village Resistance), led by Keço (his name being a play on the word *keçi* meaning 'goat' in Turkish).

Critically the EOKA bandits did not draw their: "spiritual descent... from their early Cypriot fore-bears, such as the Hassanpoulia¹." (ibid) Firstly 'Hassan' is a Turkish name. But, more importantly, whilst the old Hassanpoulis had led an almost monastic existence: "the younger generation of [these] bandits indulged in both sex and lavish noisy feasts" (ibid 791). This

¹ *Pouliá* means 'the birds' in Greek, as well as what is used to birds that are turned into *ambelopoulia* every year.

shift emerged with British imposed property regimes that had direct effects on banditry. This led to the younger generation of bandits being perceived alongside local politicians as: “preying on their co-nationals, instead of representing them” (ibid 792), as well as seen to be growing: “fat on stolen meat and women” (ibid).

In listening to Keço, it emerged that he had also started life entangled in debauchery. However, instead of becoming a politician with the independence of the TRNC, off the back of having been a leader of a bandit-like resistance militia, he had since engaged in appealing to a more solitary shepherding and monastic life. In a sense, more similar to the virtues that the old Hassanpoulis appealed to. From his perspective, hunting was also a part of Keço’s: “younger and ignorant days” of debauchery. Hunting for food, whilst fighting a bandit-style militia resistance had not been training for war or a leisure activity. He did not idealise hunting as sport.

Whilst I did witness large scale feasting on lots of meat and copious drinking amongst some hunters and hunting events during my fieldwork, as well as talk of brothels, as resonant of the younger more debauchorous generation of Cypriot banditry, the passion for hunting was not of ‘savage’ hirsute men. It was of free citizens inhabiting a land wrapped up with them, in stories and traditions of human-environmental relations in a state of *sattelzeit*, and the wild gifts this promised.

From my perspective, hunting in Northern Cyprus sits on a fine line between these different dimensions, as well as in relation to non-hunting and anti-hunting Turkish Cypriot voices. What is critical is that both ethno-nationalist banditry and contemporary hunting were and are in large part both heavily co-opted by the State. But, just as Keço rejected being a politician

and its ‘preying’ qualities, he has developed the virtue of his independence to be able to help and represent people and the land¹ like the ‘old’ bandits².

In any case, the overall strength of this passion for hunting was not to subside. With independence from the British empire in 1960, the Republic of Cyprus emerged, and according to İrfan people proudly demonstrated their freedom to roam their land again and possess its gifts by going hunting with their newly returned firearms. People then continued to do so in spite of the next phase of political turmoil (Figure 7; British Pathe 1965).



Figure 7 - Cypriot Hunters returning from hunting (Blue top suggests Greek Cypriot).

4.3 The Establishment of Turkish Cypriot Authoritative Institutions

İrfan Paralik was the first leader and President of the *K.K.T.C. Avcilik Federasyonu* (T.R.N.C. Hunting Federation), *Avfed* for short. This was the first and current Turkish Cypriot authoritative institution of hunting. It is made up of regional hunting clubs and their paying membership. Its officials act in the name of all hunters at a national level with regard to all issues in Northern Cyprus deemed to be related to hunting. It has been established as

¹ Keço is co-founder of the Society for the Protection of Turtles that conducts extensive conservation work protecting and representing wildlife, as well as co-founding and running the organization for Resistance veterans and families of those who lost members that were a part of it.

² Caught somewhere between the ‘old bandit’ or ‘freedom fighter’ who reject hunting as a sport, and people and politicians (with a the first President of the TRNC) who embrace the hunting establishment and hunting as a hobby, were informant who hunted, fished and foraged, but ignored or rejected the ‘hunting establishment’ but not looking after their communities. My informant in more ruraly included area tended more towards this. One can be seen, Ömer Meraklı, who with a social media presence who is known, for looking after his villa and identifying and dressing as a hunter.

the authority over what the category means, in multiple senses, in Northern Cyprus. The question is, where did this federation and by extension establishment emerge from in relation to Cypriot independence from the British and the ethnic division of Cyprus? What was the process of inception (the starting point for the establishment of an institution and activity) of authoritative institutions by Turkish Cypriots for Turkish Cypriots, with it being one of them, specifically one for hunting.

In conducting a life history of its first leader, İrfan, it emerged that his experience working with the British colonial authorities before independence, had heavily informed how he would go on to establish the TRNC Hunting and Shooting Federation (as it was originally called). İrfan's particular experience was in the establishment of a central electricity authority that provided electricity as a service to the Cypriot population. When I first met İrfan he insisted on conversing in English, which he spoke impeccably with 'received pronunciation'. He was an elderly gentleman, with white hair and matching moustache (Figure 5). Softly spoken but no pushover, and quietly confident in himself. Well-groomed and neatly but ordinarily dressed, he was not 'hirsute' nor a charismatic "strongarm" man (Sant Cassia 1993: 794).

4.3.1 İrfan: Officer of Electricity

When İrfan finished secondary school, he was appointed to a job at the post office. After a couple years working there he was transferred to the commercial side of the Electricity Authority of Cyprus (EAC). As he noted, an authority: "for the whole island, for everybody. At that time, we were under English rule."

The Electricity Authority of Cyprus (EAC) that İrfan joined in 1954 was created in 1952 by the British colonial government. The 28 private and communal electricity companies of the

time were nationalized and absorbed into the EAC. This followed directly from decisions made in Britain under Clement Atlee's Labour government to centralise the rolling out of electricity to the masses (EAC 2018; Kelf-Cohen 1973: 37–54). İrfan joined the EAC as it began work on this expansion, or as İrfan termed it “electricity for everyone, everywhere.” He explained:

‘I was one of the first officers who went there, who started business there. I worked there until we got [the government of] the Republic of Cyprus, which was in 1960. We then continued working for three years. Till the end of 1963, then bi-communal crashes started. We were separated. We came to the Turkish quarter. And with some technical persons and clerical persons we started ourselves an electricity authority with an office, here in the Turkish quarter. So, in 1963, when we separated, we started our business. We started with our forms, and everything.’

With the inter-communal tensions of the 1950s, İrfan had also participated in a Turkish Cypriot trade union (EL-SEN - Figure 8). This had been created in 1957 to ensure the interests of Turkish Cypriots working in this sector were protected. Under British colonial rule Cypriots had been ethnically divided by processes of bureaucratic state organisation, whether in education or politics (Bryant 2004). Villages and towns had also become more ethnically divided (ibid). This formation of ethnically specific trade unions can be seen as a latter part of this process, as well as a preparation for forthcoming independence.

As the Greek Cypriot contingent that supported Cyprus's union with Greece became more violent, in particular in their relationship with the British ruling forces and police, Graeco-nationalistic sentiment also affected the Cypriot workplace. Protecting and securing their working rights, something currently decided and enforced by the British who were not guaranteed to be around for much longer, became crucial for the Turkish Cypriot minority. Furthermore, the Greek Cypriot led Communist party of Cyprus, a primary political force that

had explicit claims toward protecting workers rights, was suffering an abject failure of communist principles: To transcend religious and ethnic divides, in the workplace and otherwise (Adams 1971). Not even a national celebration for a Russian Communist State visit¹ by the first man in space, diplomatic envoy Yuri Gagarin in 1962 could revitalise the Cypriot Communist party toward seeing off the forthcoming violent ethnic clashes the following year (ibid).

The class consciousness of the Greek Cypriots leading these clashes, was one that had for decades emphasized solidarity with the Greek motherland, as a way of resisting British colonialism. However public enemy number of the Greek State was now the Turkish State. This left little space for solidarity with the Turkish Cypriots and led to the failure of any political pan-Cyprian personhood taking hold, at least since the 1930s (Rappas 2014). Something that had been actively undermined throughout the British colonial period (Bryant 2004).

What did emerge from the organisational machinations of Communist groups and the trade union movement (which came via British colonial Cyprus' motherland of England and was also inspired by Communist principles) was the provision of training and acceptable means to navigate the bureaucratic theory of the State. This was so that communities could organize and legally protect their rights at work (Adams 1971).

Navigating this melee throughout the late 1950s, İrfan understood himself to be employed by the British empire to officiate electricity. This way under their new centralised plan for distribution and payment, local private and communal electricity interests had been removed to make way for a contemporary British import of doing things. As İrfan explained to me, he was helping make sure all Cypriots everywhere got electricity, of which he was proud.

¹ At the time, the Republic of Cyprus, outside of the Soviet Union, had the most active and successful Communist Party in Europe in comparison to population size and power in government (ibid).

However, he also emphasised that this was a British management plan for expanding electricity consumption and payment. He saw his job of officiating this process, as precisely what it was, to help the British government ensure its plan took place, by doing the necessary groundwork for them. As İrfan added:

‘In late 1959 a district engineer came to visit us, an English district engineer. I remember his words. He told me, “How can you sign and authorise these forms?” I told him “You must be very grateful, that I know something about this technical business and I do this job for you, not for me.” He was ashamed, and he didn’t say anything. He left and returned three or four days later with many forms, which we needed. And so, we did the job as well as we could.’

Therefore, for İrfan, for the English engineer to scold him was absurd as it was he who was doing ‘England’ a service of making ‘their’ plan work in Cyprus. Even if he was overstepping his mark in the English engineer’s eyes.

With a major outbreak of violence in 1963, three years after Cypriot national independence, İrfan along with other Cypriots in other industries no longer had a British colonial government to entrust with public goods such as electricity. They could not rely on the newly founded Republic of Cyprus government. It had failed to stem the flow of attacks against Turkish Cypriots. This became completely un-ignorable with 'Bloody Christmas' on the 21st of December 1963. Thus, it came down to him, as a leading Turkish Cypriot working in that sector, to help start - innovate - a Turkish Cypriot authority for electricity. This authority, along with all the other newly forming Turkish Cypriot organisations, came together to form the ‘Provisional Cyprus Turkish Administration’ in 1967.

This Turkish Cypriot authority for electricity was born directly out of the aforementioned Union of Turkish Cypriot Electricity workers (EL-SEN). İrfan would later become leader and

General Secretary of this (Figure 8), and it would finally emerge with the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (T.R.N.C.) as their National Electricity Authority.



Figure 8- İrfan being elected as General Secretary of EL-SEN (left); EL-SEN trade-union logo (right)

In short, İrfan and his peers had used the worker's trade-union, based in Communist and trade-union principles to protect service rights for an ethnicised minority, their own community. But, they were unable to use it to realise the promise that both sets of principles claim; a trans-ethnic outcome. Thus, once any national body-politic, either protecting or that they felt represented them disappeared, İrfan and others embarked on creating an organisation that represented their community. A community ethnicised by the political and bureaucratic machinations of previous governments. Finally, this was a situation in which those in the position to lead aspects of their community were schooled in particular organisational techniques and thus had those available at hand to utilise. Hence, many of the Turkish Cypriots that led had acquired their tools for governance from their forbearers¹.

¹ In the case of İrfan this was someone who was part of the urban administrative class and who heavily associated with being a proper citizen – as defined by a British colonial context - with all the mannerisms and techniques of the body that come with that. In the case of the first President of Cyprus, Rauf Raif Denktaş this was also someone of this class, but higher up, a lawyer. These was the dominant group of people who initiated the institutionalization - along 'gentleman's club' - lines of hunting. This is in contrast to Keço, the leader of the 'bandit' militia that had resisted the Greek Cypriot militias, who did not go into politics. Therefore, he did not formally bring his form of organizational knowledge to TRNC State building, if that had even been possible – perhaps not and hence why he did not.

In acquiring them they also remade them along the lines of older Cypriot traditions of organisation, that drew on cooperatives and religious trusts, commons and others forms of shareholding (Dietzel in Bryant 2016: chp 1; Dietzel 2014: chp 5, 9.3; Harris 2007: chp 5). In addition, then more important than ever, in light of the ties of solidarity formed in the war-time enclave (Bryant 2014). No longer was İrfan part of running the electricity authority for 'the English', based on making their way of selling electricity to fellow Cypriots actually work. Instead, in Turkish Cypriot eyes, he was part of a transformative step of group-empowerment through taking ownership of the imposed way of electricity distribution and officiating it from that standpoint; Turkish Cypriots being responsible for Turkish Cypriot electricity.

The inception, officiation and establishment of hunting by Turkish Cypriots for Turkish Cypriots also took place within the same historical context as electricity, both with crucial involvement from İrfan. The organisational logic that had been copied and remade during the transition from British colonialism, to the Republic of Cyprus, to the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, was the basis on which both Turkish Cypriot electricity and hunting organisations were created; a logic based on centralised committees of - primarily - men who elected who they deemed fit. They defined and controlled the relationship between the user of a resource and the licensor of it, where user and license are themselves one of the ways that this relationship has been defined.

As Ortner notes, the patriarchal State or proto-State seeks to control natural abundance (Ortner 1978). These paper-work based authorities were in many ways doing just that, without producing this abundance. Whether electricity production or 'wild' animals, this had little to do with their efforts at first. In short, they were modes of appropriating production through authority, rather than having produced anything themselves. I raise this here because

what Ortner has to say in the same piece shortly after, resonates in a general sense with the situation here:

‘Mediterranean peasants share the status of being part-structures, elements in larger stratified political structures. Even when the larger state structures in which they originally developed are no longer organically intact, all of the modern groups in question bear the cultural ideologies, and particularly the religions, which were part of the organic emergence of their ancestral states in the first place.’ (1978: 23)

Building on this, the following section focuses on how hunting also emerged as an official service, in tandem with other services such as electricity. I address how the aforementioned particularities prefigured the consequent situation I found hunting in during my fieldwork.

4.3.2 Turkish Cypriot Officiation of Hunting

Amongst the ethnic tumult, İrfan inserted himself into the mix as an avid hunter, competitive marksman and trained bureaucratic official. He helped form the first Turkish Cypriot hunting club in the early 1960s, as the Greek and Turkish communities moved further apart after independence. This came in response to some Turkish Cypriots including himself, who had developed a penchant for an idealised sports hunting under British rule, being left without an officiating body or social space to organise and formalise their hobby as a sport. Most importantly, no ‘official’ body to ensure Turkish Cypriots hunting and shooting rights were protected and represented in the newly founded Republic of Cyprus.

One of the first steps was the establishment of the first hunting club in the capital Lefkoşa, with their own shooting range. During British rule İrfan and others had attended a shooting range, setup by British personnel, which included ‘trap’ and ‘skeet’ equipment. This equipment is what is used to launch ‘clay pigeons’ into the air in specific ways.

Shooting as sporting marksmanship was not a British invention, the Ancient Greeks practised it, just as almost any population did with a standing army. However, with the departure of the British, not only authorities overseeing and representing Turkish Cypriot hunters left, but also the shooting range and its equipment departed. Furthermore, with the violent ethnic clashes of the early 70s, Turkish Cypriots had retreated into enclaves, many of which were primarily urban, often unable to go out and roam the countryside. According to my informant Zeki, target shooting allowed those who also hunted to at least have some shooting sports to do.

With the departure of the British colonial occupation and Turkish Cypriots being marginalised in the Republic of Cyprus, a gap in who had authority was identified by İrfan. A gap with regards to who was responsible for hunting by Turkish Cypriots and the continued means to hunt and shoot (including equipment, hunting land and prey). He filled it with what he determined was appropriate, just as he had done with electricity. In many ways he used a similar process of reworking the previous epoch along Turkish Cypriot lines. This included borrowing the idea of electricity as a bureaucratically administered service ‘for everyone everywhere’, and applying it to hunting. As İrfan noted in relation to his efforts: “everyone can hunt, why not everyone”.

İrfan and his collaborators filled this ‘hunting gap’, over the next two decades, with an organisational committee, a club house, shooting equipment, communal events, referees and the associated bureaucratic procedures. As İrfan elaborated:

‘You see the shooting, range shooting, trap shooting and game shooting, it had to be under some organisation. I personally felt we needed to establish a shooting range to shoot and also to stop unlawful hunting. So that’s what we did. Between 1971 - 74 [the height of inter-communal violence and withdrawal to ethnic enclaves] we were also still hunting but we only had access to limited land. [So] we managed to procure a set of skeet machines [clay pigeon] in 73. and in November of 73, on the 50th

anniversary of the Turkish Republic, we made our first skeet shooting competition. [But] we couldn't import [clays] between 71 and 74 because of the troubles. So, when we shot and broke clays, we recollected the pieces and recast them, to make new clays for shooting.'

Something that Zeki also confirmed with me, showing me the clay presses and cartridge making devices they used to manufacture the necessary items. However, with the subsiding of the troubles, after the Turkish military occupation of the Northern part of Cyprus, İrfan noted that:

'Some people don't like to shoot on the range as much as hunt, maybe a small reason is it's not easy to pay. It is a very expensive sport; you normally have to practice a lot [and expend a lot of cartridges and clays] to have the knowledge.'

Hence, whilst İrfan outlines the economic dimension for many Turkish Cypriots, with many cartridges and clays being expended during shooting on a range, target shooting found a place amongst the 'administrative class' of Turkish Cypriots, with a number of informants mentioning its popularity amongst lawyers at the time. Why? Because it was not simply an economic question but a 'class' question. The first President of the TRNC (which formed in 1983 out of the TCC) and lawyer Rauf Raif Denktaş was known to be an avid marksman and hunter himself (Figure 9). The US ambassador - via Wikileaks - even mentioning his late arrival to a meeting on the account of him returning late from being out shooting on one occasion (US Embassy Nicosia 1977a), and seeming very relaxed due to have been out hunting on another occasion (US Embassy Nicosia 1977b).

The aforementioned activities that took place in and around the ethnic violence of the last decade, took the organisational form of the establishment of a hunting federation in 1971. Since the establishment of the first hunting club in the 1960s, four more had sprung up. This

necessitated in İrfan's eyes a more widely representative body, to which he was then elected President until 1979. As İrfan described to me, how the Hunting Federation organised hunting, I could see the formal (seasons, zones, pest and game species) and informal hallmarks of how hunting under the British had been copied and adapted.



Figure 9 - Hasan Paralik, father of İrfan returning from hunt 27.11.1955 (left); Denktaş on the shooting range (Lefkoşa hunting club display 2016 (right).

İrfan emphasised to me the joyful and celebratory mood in which people embarked on hunting in November 1974, after the Turkish military invasion of Northern Cyprus. This was a key marker of the *sattelzeit* of hunting technology amongst Turkish Cypriots. It resonates with the celebratory hunting that had followed other people's emancipation across Europe over the past two centuries, and coincidentally in tandem with political changes and hunting celebrations in Portugal (Proper in Ortega y Gasset 2007: 23).

These celebratory huntings across Europe have not been identical, as the political shifts they are entangled with have their own particularities and histories. However, what is in common was that some form of socialist emancipation from authoritarian rule within a national

context, goes hand in hand with the way the male citizens of Europe have related to their nations land: As the right of every citizen, to access its 'wild' resources, organised in this case as a service. Ultimately a 'welfare benefit'. In this sense, there was also a shared *sattelzeit* in hunting with the emergence of a European citizenry that, at first, was framed as a virtuous part of the birth of democratic modernity. How times have changed.

In 1979 İrfan retired from both the electricity authority and being president of the Hunting Federation. His experience in having helped create an organisation that delivered a service - electricity - to Turkish Cypriots by Turkish Cypriots, was also the format he used to 'properly' deliver hunting as 'a service' to Turkish Cypriots. In both cases starting with a small workers-union/hobbyists-club and then later a national authority (EAC) / federation (*Ayfed*).

An authority that could represent, officiate and protect his right as a Turkish Cypriot to his hobby; an organisation that provided the ability to have and compete in official tournaments; an organisation that reproduced the legal guidelines and the paperwork he felt 'was needed' to continue and protect the legitimacy of his hobby. And, as he had learnt whilst the 'English' government ruled Cyprus; an organisation that legitimised the capability of Turkish Cypriots to organise their own affairs. Finally, a key aspect, as continually emphasised by İrfan, the development of Turkish Cypriot shooting standards in-line with international competitions. Something not even the TRNC State itself has achieved, in terms of its biggest political hurdle is not being internationally recognised as an official governance body.

It is these basic structures that had been inherited from 'English' hunting law (seasons, zones, pest and game species) and socialist citizen organisation (unions/clubs, committees, federations, elected representatives, membership) that form the basic parameters¹ of hunting

¹ I develop this into the concept of margin in a forthcoming chapter. However, for ease of communication parameter' is a better term, until such time as I demonstrate the concept of margins. For the time being, it should

that have been under negotiation ever since. With each new president and generation stamping their own innovation into this social artefact.

4.3.3 Continuity of Succession within the State amongst Global Fashion.

I was sitting in the Hunting Federation headquarters. It consisted of a main room of about 10 metres by 10 metres, two private offices, a kitchen, a toilet, an archive room a corridor of freezers full of crow heads and a large store room. At first glance a clean and simple space, in no way glamorous. The main room was where people would come in and out on hunting related business and where monthly meetings would be held. Along the top of one wall were portrait photos of the previous presidents of the Hunting Federation. They were squeezed up alongside each other, in the linear order that they had been in office. I wondered where Aysin's portrait, the current president, would end up being placed.

This succession of portraits had now reached the end of the wall. Below them was also no space for a new line to start, being taken up by shelves of folders also documenting a succession of official papers, and the crucial air-conditioning unit. Only time would tell where Aysin's portrait would go. Times passing ultimately thrusts upon people the question of whether to continue with inherited formats or not. Or more precisely, the responsibility is inherited by their successor

Between 1979 (İrfan's departure as president) and 2012 (Aysin's arrival as president and the consequent period of my fieldwork) Avfed had a sequence of nine elected presidents. I spent time with five of these, as well as a couple of less formal leaders. Each character is interesting in their own right and made their own unique contributions to the organisation of hunting in Northern Cyprus. Numerous variations of organisational form emerged with each one. Organisational forms that are reflected in their particular life histories and personal and

be noted that they are not decontextualized 'cultural traditions' transmitted across generations, but historical parameters embedded and spatialized within the contemporary context, that can be experimented with according to the leeway available.

varied characters. But, also how their life histories and these organisational forms are embedded in wider Turkish Cypriot life, as well in other hunting situations from around the world that hunters in Northern Cyprus have been in contact with. However, I will introduce each of these characters as they emerge with their pertinent topics across the following chapters. Here I make a final note about İrfan and then conclude with the next successor that I met.

Underpinning this line of succession is its inception, and İrfan's primary aim in establishing a hunting federation beyond club-level but based on it. The people who, with İrfan, had undertaken to establish the federation were small groups of individuals who had enjoyed using the British shooting range facilities and had gone hunting together. As such, to belong to the federation requires officialising yourself as a club like he and his friends had done with the Lefkoşa hunting club. This kicked off a slow growth from the 1970s till now, of groups of friends who went hunting, signing up together to the federation as clubs. From the original Lefkoşa club to the 48 clubs in existence during my fieldwork. One of the most recently created being the Şirinevler hunting club that I spent most of my time hunting with.

This established these groups of people as more permanent and official hunters, rather than more fluid and less hunting-signified groupings. It also whilst increasingly invests the TRNC Hunting Federation with the legitimacy of being the voice of hunting in Northern Cyprus. People had 'hung out' and organised beforehand, but now they were signed up on immutable paper, and were participating in the monetary and democratic responsibility of being part of a particular organisation. Hunting was in some sense now a more formal means of associating then being defined by friendship, with the mutuality of friendship becoming entangled with it. In short, this mutuality, friendship and belonging together, provides the living basis on which the Hunting Federation is established. But, this living basis is now also epistemologically subservient to the structure that İrfan had introduced.

The next (third) ex-president I met was Zeki Tasci (Figure 10). He owned an advertising company that managed, designed and printed the content that went on many of the infinite billboards consecutively lined up along most of Northern Cyprus' roads. If Cypri-Cola¹ wanted to you to look every day at a picture of some generic model drinking a water droplet imbued bottle of refreshingly zesty brown sugar juice, Zeki was your man to make it happen. I had phoned ahead when I went to meet him first at his business headquarters, to see if he had some time. His secretary kindly brought me into his office.



Figure 10 - Zeki (left) handing a copy of his book on hunting to Sibel Siber, Deputy President of the TRNC

Zeki had been the president from 1987-1995 and was actually planning on writing his own book on the history of hunting in Cyprus when we first met. He has since published the book; (Figure 10; Taşçı 2017). What struck me were the hunting artefacts he had collected and showed me, and the consequent tension he related between different parts of his life. On the one hand, he was enamoured with an idea of an ‘authentic’ hunting and the associated way of life. As part of this he admired the reusability and repair of hunting artefacts (gear). A sort of ‘back-basics’ philosophy. On the other hand, he was aware that he had been a significant actor in promoting material items for hunting (during his tenure as president) that were designed to not be repaired or remain resilient over time.

¹ The Turkish Cypriot arm of the multinational Pepsi-Cola that took over the premises of the indigenous Bixi-Cola that I remember from my childhood in Northern Cyprus. However, because of Northern Cyprus being a politically unrecognized country, multi-national corporations choose not to officially recognize it by establishing premises under their normal brand name but under a slight variation.

A simplistic view of his way of understanding life would be that he was highly nostalgic or even had a hoarder personality for old artefacts. However, in conversation I found a genuine attitude of someone explicitly aware of the seeming contradictions of their life. Not an attitude of blatant nostalgia, but of a belief that they, as Turkish Cypriot hunters, experienced something genuine and positive in hunting and its associated activities. Something that he and others he spoke of, were trying to make sense of. However, he noted they were disappointed with the situation they thought they saw hunting to be in. Conversely, Zeki also being well aware that he had been a part of this change.

This was situation he found himself in, in which the development of his masculinity, or more accurately of himself as a man, was intricately tied to other men. Men who he shared relations with through shooting, hunting and hunting events, and more recently through diving and water-sports, including spear fishing. Talking and debating about it over the years with them.

It was a situation that he had rejected at times but was then found himself excluding from his own life's history and friends. One in which he saw the world as inherently morally corrupt, as he explained to me how he saw humans. Hence, a situation that he did not see himself as equipped to radically change, as it was inherent. Instead, he was trying to save and understand those bits he had experienced as 'good', reflected in his gathering of old hunting memorabilia. In particular, he saw both "good" and "bad" in hunting, as many hunters I met did. A tension that was kept alive, as in rejecting it they were left only with the bad as the historical past of their own. Hence, as he explained, when he had taken breaks from hunting to dedicate to his working life, the good he felt from doing hunting was then lost, and so he would then return.

Zeki explained how he had presided over an increased commercialization in hunting that was outweighing the frugality, earthiness and positive intimate male bonds he had experienced in

hunting. A phenomenon he described as constant push for development around the world, where the barometer of survival was simply profit: “I have to live in this world and this is how it works”.

As hunting had been formalised as sport, so it followed that some mimicry of sport in other countries occurred, as well as the organisational forms this brought with it. Whereby hunting had been about friendship and had some history in frugal human-environmental relations. But now, was an activity that fetishized these qualities on a commercially alienated plane that existed beyond the boundaries of Northern Cyprus. To be a hunter was to be like hunters around the world conducting this activity, as well as its being a dedicated hobby into which time and thus money should be invested to develop it. Both in terms of your competitive ability to participate and ‘keep up with the times’ and in terms of how much you could demonstrate and display your official identity with it.

This is where Zeki came in. To advertise and support the production and sales of the necessary merchandise to be such a hunter. In short, copying others requires acquiring their ‘gear’, in light of this tension between past and present. Moore describes this particular characteristic in her analysis of peoples’ relationship to globalising processes where:

‘...problematization is always more than a work of thought... also involves placement of the body... technologies and the material world... cultural invention refigures self-stylization and self-other relations... not just about conformity to the normative or to power, but is about the strategies that [persons] in their freedom can use...’ (2011: 21)

Richards remarks on a similar phenomenon in his article ‘Dressed to Kill’ with specific attention to the clothing side of gear or equipment:

‘Something as mundane and yet as charming as clothes could still be a logical starting point... that seeks to maintain a balance, analytically, between social and technical forces... clothing is a performative activity.’ (2009: 507)

Hence, returning to my earlier theorisation of hunting as technology, Richards states that:

“We create new ‘technologies’ by bridging the junction between the power to make (or unmake) [through hunting gear,] and the social and ritual capacities for regulation through which making is governed” (ibid 495).

In other words, the commercialisation of hunting through gear, not only is part of the sociotechnical process of making hunting what it is, but the organisational resistances and affordances of the organisational forms that this gear is embedded in - ‘the social and ritual capacities for regulation through which making is governed’ - beyond Cyprus, are also introduced into the hunting technology of Northern Cyprus, even in very explicit ways (Figure 11).

One does not simply buy a Krieghoff shotgun for shooting birds in Northern Cyprus; the firearm is the artefactual manifestation of a whole ecosystem of relations that are now pulled into intersection with human-environmental and organisational relations in Northern Cyprus. This is the other side of the coin to the dominant proposition of free-market capitalism, that it is actually the buyer, the individual, that influences what products competitively survive or die, or how a society is made up. It is a population rather than kin perspective of a society. That is that, a group of peoples are a numerical massing of atomised individuals and the consequent policies and infrastructure that goes with this epistemology. Zeki was aware of the two sides of this coin and hence the tension he felt in taking some regrettable responsibility for this process.

From looking at the Krieghoff catalogue (Krieghoff International Inc. 2016) I found distributed in Northern Cyprus, the tension between the two sides of this coin is also self-evident. The actual artefact of the shotgun is physically engraved with: “the historic moment when General George Washington led the American revolutionary troops across the Delaware River in order to surprise the English and Hessian troops in the Battle of Trenton on December 26, 1776” (ibid 1), as described on page one (Figure 11).

Immediately on page two the owner appeals continually to the idea of their ‘customers’ being the ones that: “many of the best ideas for innovation and improvement in our products come from...the people who know them best, the people who shoot them” (Dieter Krieghoff in ibid: 2). This is precisely the mythical idea of democracy through a population of purchasing individuals, at best appealing to a misleading idea of consultation (Morison 2017), as no one from Krieghoff ever consulted anyone in Northern Cyprus as far as I could gather.

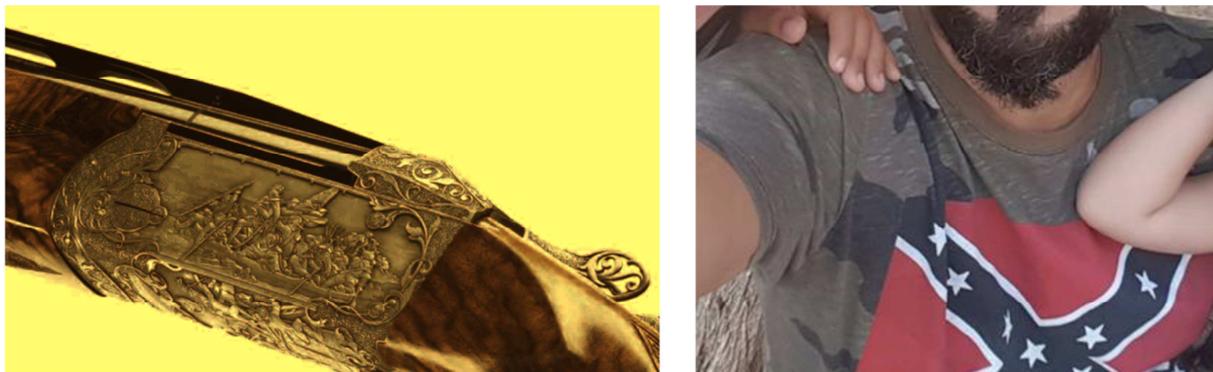


Figure 11 - Engraving on the Patriot Series Z80 shotgun (left); A key online voice for Turkish Cypriot hunting wearing the confederate flag on numerous Facebook profile pictures (right)

Related to this was that, with the establishment of the TRNC also came the requirement of all young men to do Turkish national military service. This generated an abundance of camouflage wear in people’s wardrobes, more familiarity with guns and in some sense of the outdoors and men-only activities. In my observation this did not increase the number of people going hunting, as hunting is primarily taken up when younger. I observed that if

military service had a significant influence on people who hunted, it was to temper or reduce people's interest in hunting. Or in the case of 'militia' duty, such as that led by my informant Keço, hunting was "just a game" in comparison to the attrition and hardship he faced during the siege of Erenköy (followed by the Battle of Tillyria). However, while military attendance did not seem to increase the number of hunters per se, it did literally help 'fashion' hunting in Cyprus, as well as creating a nostalgia in ex-soldiers and ex-enclave dwellers, not for hunting, but for the experience for something bearing the hallmarks of masculine solidarity.

4.4 Significance and Control, Contested.

I have traced how access to hunting, and what it is, has been established as a public service that any citizen has the right to claim. In succession, each president since has stamped their hallmark on hunting via its establishment. It also became clear to me in interviewing each ex-President, that they really cared about having introduced some defined innovation to the hunting establishment in Northern Cyprus. This was not simply a nostalgic care for individual legacy amongst those retrospectively talking about it. It was an explicit way of doing this role, as I watched the sitting president and listen to past presidents talk about the unique *adaptasyon* (adaptation) of their time. However, as Zeki noted, these adaptations are embedded within global fashions. That is, quite obviously, that as each iteration of the hunting establishment has taken place, embodied by the sitting president, it has not taken place in isolation of the national context of Northern Cyprus, nor global fashions.

What is less obvious is that the language of adaptation reflects an idea of the sustainability and the significance of Turkish Cypriot hunting and through that a permanence and permeance at different scales of unpredictability and agency. For example, the international peace process, with regards Cyprus unifying, did not raise any negative considerations in

relation to the future of hunting. Turkish Cypriot hunting was a right and there was no future imagined where that was in question. The hunting establishment projected a tangible sense of control and authority (elaborated on in later chapter), a sense of establishment, in the face of an insecure shared - national and by extension international - future. This is what keeps it growing. However, what has largely been left unsaid, is that some people who hunted were also critical of the hunting establishment, as they commented that it really did nothing for them except be an authority over a disappearing resource.

In diagnosis, as Ortner's quote indicated, the relics of ancestral society as part-structures have been inherited in modernity (1978). Hunters are each citizen-kings that have the right to 'wild' resources. As citizens of the TRNC or members of the Hunting Federation, they also have a voice in choosing the leader of their establishment to adapt and legitimise their modern rights, in the face of complex environmental and political ruptures that they accept are occurring. The question arising from many hunters is whether the establishment is doing anything more than projecting its authority based on protecting a right to a service and sustaining the related social infrastructure. Because, if so, it is appropriating the resource it is built upon, that by the standard of every hunter I met is continually disappearing, as well as the authority to do something about it. One answer I observed was that some redouble their efforts towards conserving hunting, through further adaptation as part of the hunting establishment and its membership. The other answer I observed was to find 'shared' belonging as part of a commercialised global identity politics. These were not always mutually exclusive. The third answer I noted, was to withdraw from both and practice whatever hunting/trapping one wanted, or not hunt all.

5 Belonging in Northern Cyprus

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is a critically evaluated introduction to *contemporary* Northern Cyprus and people who hunt there. However, instead of working towards constructing a quantitative or schematic overview of Northern Cyprus, hunters and hunting, I take already existing schema and statistics as my starting point. I then apply empirical observations and qualitative contextualisation, to create a thick description of these statistically defined schema. In doing so I render Northern Cyprus as a global assemblage, hunter as a dynamic category and hunting as more than the reification of it as a practice.

Northern Cyprus has a population of 315,000 (TRNC State Planning Organisation 2015a). What usually comes next with such an introductory pivot? This approach to introducing one's field site, whether in lectures, presentations or articles, no longer stands up to scrutiny. These introductions, or contextual pivots upon which whole arguments stand, involve providing a highly positivist frame of reference. One that replicates a certain hegemony of thinking. It involves giving the name of a State or region, an estimate of its population, its land-size, amongst a number of other generic data. In short, a typological meta-category is used, without attention to its social construction. One in which the rest of a text or talk is then stuck. One primary example of this is taking population as a given. This usually involves picking a number off some census and then using it in your introduction to a place. One replicates and supports the statistical social construction of a State as a bounded and static unit, feeding a nationalistic perspective. It ignores migration, tourism, diaspora, legal status, the fact that most nation-states involve a region where people are fighting for their own autonomous region or are under occupation, people's own modes of self-identification etc. This does not mean giving up on an adequate introduction either, by simply avoiding it. The

absence of such an introduction also inadvertently renders invisible processes, such as those listed above, in the reader having to draw on their own typification of a place or simply being lost. So, let me try again.

5.2 Northern Cyprus as the TRNC

Northern Cyprus is the region of an island in the Eastern Mediterranean under the governance of the TRNC. As aforementioned, the TRNC is not recognised by the international political community, and Northern Cyprus is seen as a region of the Republic of Cyprus occupied by the Turkish State. That said, the TRNC has a resident population of approximately 315,000 people who go about their daily lives in light of, but also in spite of this international bickering. The majority of these residents are Turkish Cypriots, although a small portion are descendants of people who were incentivised by the Turkish State to migrate from the Black sea region of Turkey in the 1980s. In addition to this, there are approximately 40,000 Turkish military soldiers, 45,000 visiting students, and over 1.1 million¹ annual ‘visitors’ (Dünya Gazetesi 2013; TRNC State Planning Organisation 2015b)².

In my qualitative assessment, a significant proportion of these ‘tourist’ visitors are people from the *Hatay* region of Turkey, seeking and finding manual work. In addition, a significant proportion are regular visitors from the main Turkish Cypriot diaspora that is resident in England (the other in Australia). A diaspora that outnumbers the number of resident Turkish Cypriots in Northern Cyprus. It originates first with the British empire offering all residents of Cyprus, during British rule in the early 20th century, the possibility of British citizenship. As well as a later migration in the face of the ethnic conflict noted in previous chapters.

¹ I find this figure astonishing, however it is the only figure available. Whether people crossing back and forth across the border between north and south every day, creates some issues with this number I do not know.

² It is unclear as to whether the soldiers and students are in addition to this last estimate or part of it.

These numbers reflect the way the landscape has emerged. Spotted around it are vast hotel and holiday complexes, many including casinos, which are usually in proximity to the coast line. Turkish Cypriots are not legally allowed to use the casinos. Brothels, or 'night-clubs' as they are called, also exist to service the casino-hotel complexes. These are not uncommonly used by some Turkish Cypriot men, although the brothels overall legal status is tenuous. In addition, eight universities, with three more in planning, have established large sprawling campuses around the island, usually in near proximity to major towns. Furthermore, there are multiple extensive military bases occupying large tracts of land.

Continual building of these complexes by 'visiting' *Hatay* Turkish and Pakistani manual labourers, as well as road building and the quarrying of North Cyprus's mountain range are prominent features of the landscape. As one cafe owner I was talking to, in the small town of Lefke, noted to me:

'I have heard that the number of students [at Lefke University] is tripling this year, far more people than live here. I already can barely keep up with all the pizzas I now have to cook. At all times of the day they call me, can you believe it!'

I grew up in Northern Cyprus during the late 1990s and early 2000s. The political melancholia and isolation that was conveyed via adults to me as a child is no longer what I encountered during my fieldwork. A reason for certain European tourists to come and retire there at that point and a reason that - in part - motivated many young Turkish Cypriots to find scholarships abroad. In light of its political and economic embargo, wealthier leading citizens have since increasingly resorted to importing people from abroad instead of exporting products, which is claimed to be problematic due to the embargo. This itself might be seen to be a problem. For example, in the case of importing tourists from western Europe, it is legally necessary for all flights landing in Northern Cyprus to land in Turkey first, increasing costs and journey time.

However, this is not a problem for Turkish and Middle Eastern tourists and casino visitors, towards which these complexes are increasingly aimed. Furthermore, many of the students using the universities students are from the Middle East and African continent, and have different priorities to western European short-stay tourists in terms of flights. Other industries that also have boomed on the principle of importing people to a unique space, in this case the opportunity of a unique legal space, are the inexpensive IVF clinics and other medical facilities occupying new shiny buildings on the outskirts of the main towns.

On top of this, with the opening of the border between the TRNC and the Republic of Cyprus in 2004, many people visiting Northern Cyprus now access it via airports in the southern side. In addition to Turkish Cypriots travelling across the border, the other way, for work. I also discovered from friends from countries without EU passports or requisite visas, and thus with no easy way of crossing of border, that illegal movement across the border was relatively easy. Finally, one of the British Sovereign Base Areas, Dhekelia, part of the extensive British territories maintained in Cyprus since colonialism, straddles the border between the northern and southern territories, as well as a UN base being situated in the town of Famagusta along with a UN administered buffer zone along the border (Figure 1).

The purpose of outlining this context is to highlight the global assemblage that is Northern Cyprus and in which hunting is now taking place. This is in comparison to the more secluded situation it was in and exotic image of it I used to hold. Globalised in the sense that even as movement of goods are somewhat legally restricted (in the sense that they are often re-routed via Turkey increasing import and export costs, or illegally trafficked across the border), all the people moving in and out of the country bring with them material and intangible parts of their lives. On top of this is the proliferation in mass communications, including social media on smart phones, video games, pornography and general person to person digital messaging.

Amongst this landscape lives the Turkish Cypriot population. Although this is also complicated in the sense that many of them, while autochthonous to the island, were displaced from other regions within Cyprus during the conflict of the 1970s, to where they live now. For example, the Paphos or *Baf* region in the Republic of Cyprus used to be home to many Turkish Cypriots and from whence a number of my informants came. When I asked them where they came from in Cyprus, they would describe themselves as *Bafli* (of *Baf*) and then note where they lived now. I have never detected any enmity in these statements nor complaints, but simple expressions of home being more complicated than where their current family residence is built.

Northern Cyprus and Turkish Cypriots are embedded in global material and cultural flows and frictions, as well as having migrated internally and externally with regional political shifts. Where being an unrecognised country has led, in the past decade at least, not to further isolation but in some sense deeper connectivity with global flows and frictions. Due to its unique political and legal situation, albeit as a form of alter-globalisation, rather than globalisation per se.

A part of this are the millions of birds that visit Cyprus every year, of which some are trapped using cheap industrial imported netting, often on British military bases. An activity that has increased since the most recent global financial crisis. As well as this, my commercial fisher informants have been informing me for some years of the explosion in pufferfish off the coasts, due to changes in water temperature (with global warming) since arriving via the Suez Canal, and their impact on other fish. There is also the rampant appetite for palm trees that the sizeable *Rhynchophorus ferrugineus* grub has put into effect in Northern Cyprus, since hitching a ride on plantation palms brought from the continent to beautify hotel complexes. Hence, there is also a multispecies dimension to the global assemblage and alter-globalisation

of Northern Cyprus. With this in mind, the one category I have still taken for granted is that of ‘Turkish Cypriot’. What does it mean to refer to Turkish Cypriots?

5.3 Turkish Cypriots

Turkish Cypriots’ ancestors are, in part, the Ottoman soldiers that settled in Cyprus in 1573 (Papadopoulos 1967: 16–35), from when the Ottoman empire took control of the island from the Venetians. The historical context for Shakespeare’s *Othello*. These soldiers were primarily janissaries (Hill 1953: 10–38). Janissaries were a powerful segment in the Ottoman army that were originally made up of captured enemy children of Christian parentage (ibid. 14). Previous to the Ottomans, the Venetians had taken up the mantle of imposing Roman Catholicism in Cyprus. However, with the arrival of the Ottomans, the feudal system and Roman Catholicism were no longer enforced. Cypriots transitioned away from being landed peasants, despite as aforementioned, the British empire attempting to induce them into being so again over 300 years later.

The Ottomans did not operate feudally. Instead, they introduced the Ottoman *millet* system and the legal capacity for *evkaf* (Harris 2007: 182–186). This is common property overseen by a religious trust. The *millet* system involved delegating local religious leaders to organise their communities, who were then answerable to a succession of Ottoman *Pashas* (~Governors) (ibid. 100-140). This religious freedom and abolishment of feudalism was a respite from Catholicism for the population of Cyprus, who were primarily Greek Orthodox Christians. Nonetheless during Ottoman rule, both Muslims (Turkish Cypriots) and Greek Orthodox Christians (Greek Cypriots) revolted multiple times against the ruling Ottoman elite, due to the heavy tax burden imposed on them (Hill 1953: 109, 113, 127). It was only during the last century of Ottoman rule, with mainland Greek independence, that the first

voices for unification with Greece - *enosis* - arose (ibid) and the conflicts mentioned in previous chapters that ensued.

To this day Turkish Cypriots may laughingly refer, when drinking alcohol despite considering themselves Muslims, to how they are 'not like those people from Turkey', as they grew up with Greek Cypriots and Christianity. Furthermore, identity did not originally conform to the British categorisation of Greeks and Turks in Cyprus (Bryant 2004). In this sense, today's Turkish Cypriots share some ancestry with the janissaries, but also pre-date them. As aforementioned, multiple other ethnic groups have also inhabited Cyprus, including the Venetians (~Italians) and Lusignans (~French). Consequent intermarriage and religious diversification did not conform to the continuity of isolated identities, as was bureaucratically imposed during British rule with its classification of the local population. I have heard on occasion older persons rhetorically ask: "Are we Muslims or are we Christians?!" This is in spite of most people professing that they are definitely Muslim, indicating a Cypriot reality that does not fit into such a clear-cut divide. In light of this, and Bryant's research on how the British colonial system assigned Muslims as Turks and Christians as Greeks, the identity of Turkish Cypriots is a complex forging of many dimensions.

Therefore, formulisation of Turkish Cypriots into a discrete category or class, is neither possible nor my aim here. As such, my interest is in hunting as an intersection between social beings, many of whom identify as *Kıbrıslı* (Cypriot), *Kıbrıslı Türk* (Turkish Cypriot) and *Müslüman* (Muslim), in that order of priority. Hence, I am not interested in presenting an illusory illustration of a dynamic political category. However, having outlined this historical and political dynamism, both here and in previous chapters, leading up to the concept of Turkish Cypriot, the question remains: What binds together Turkish Cypriots? What makes Turkish Cypriots a group to Turkish Cypriots in light of but also in spite of the aforementioned contexts?

5.4 Local and National Belonging

Bryant and Hatay note that the solidarity of the enclave and the formation of a ‘Turkish Cypriot’ political identity, are key moments in the establishment of Turkish Cypriots as a group. The enclaves being the ‘ghettos’ that Turkish Cypriots sought refuge in for 10 years from 1963-74, during the aforementioned political upheaval. Where solidarity in enclaves:

‘...was a resistance defined by Turkish Cypriots’ experience of living for the first time in a space that was “their own”. [While] it was a space that was defined in its first years by a defiant Turkishness, expressed in music, theatre, fashion, and political symbolism... as time in the enclaves wore on, solidarity began increasingly to be expressed in local idioms, a localism that arose during this period to challenge Turkish nationalism.’ (Bryant & Hatay 2011a: 639)

A particular hallmark of these enclaves was their equality: “when no one rose above anyone else” (ibid.) Bryant and Hatay then compare this with more recent phenomenon in Northern Cyprus that have emerged in the face of the aforementioned globalisation:

‘The past several years has seen a new nostalgia for the solidarity of the enclave period, a nostalgia with parallels in other cases of sudden “openings” in which neoliberal intrusion and accompanying rapid social change appear to erode social values’ (ibid. 632)

Whilst the authors use urban situated examples that express this nostalgia I am focussing on hunting as sharing a similar dynamic, but a more rurally situated one. Hence, I am contributing a rural/global perspective to this urban/global perspective, on what it means to be Turkish Cypriot. And by extension, what it means to belong in Northern Cyprus as a Turkish Cypriot. To address this, I am particularly interested in the two aspects that Bryant and Hatay note bound Turkish Cypriots together in the enclave and their expression today. I

am also interested in the contradiction that the authors mention between them. This is a contradiction inherent in the togetherness that Turkish Cypriots created in these enclaves.

Where:

‘...they created a solidarity that was also expressed in the seemingly contradictory elements of localism and Turkish nationalism.’ (ibid. 639)

But where, as the authors notes, this Turkish nationalism then developed into a Turkish Cypriot national identity. Hence, bringing this into focus within this thesis’ remit, I am interested in disentangling this through the “frictions” it produces and how this permeates hunting in Northern Cyprus, and vice versa. Building on Gramsci’s notion of articulation: “as the formation of new political identities based on alliances between existing groups and encounters between existing ideas”, frictions place attention on the relations between transnational, national, regional and local scales of policy, capital and margin making processes¹: “as a counterpoint to stories of “friction-less” transnational flows of goods, ideas, people, and money”. (Tsing 2012: 1-2)

I am not proposing that the contradiction from which these frictions emerge is unique to Turkish Cypriots and that political period. Merely, that it is a contextual rendering of a more general contradiction of modern life. This contradiction is what is expressed as a tension between what Bryant and Hatay call ‘local idioms’ and ‘nationalism’ (ibid) and which I render as a tension between idiomatic knowledge in hunting, as produced locally by a hunter, and institutional knowledge about hunting and management of hunting, as subjected to global flows and conducted at a national scale.

Here though, what is of interest is the tension between ‘local idioms’ as a key constituent of Turkish Cypriot togetherness and the political institutions that Turkish Cypriot identify with, firstly Turkish nationalism and later ‘the exceptional State’ (ibid. 645) of the TRNC.

¹ As addressed in Chapter 6

Exploring this tension within the current context of ‘neoliberal intrusion’, this thesis argues that with ‘neoliberal intrusion’, local idiomatic activities have become increasingly subject to “fitting in” with modernity. Where modernity is “predicated upon ideas of purification and essentialism.” (Papadakis 2013: 197) However, I am less interested in the discursive dimension of modernity and more interested in how the different epistemological registers involved in hunting (at different scales) collide. In turn, I am then interested in how this opens up the local to emergent crises and opportunities that such large networks inherently offer (Gunderson & Holling 2002: 14, 34, 432–433). Where the local knowledge that emerges with local idiomatic activities is not in any politically equitable feedback, if any, with this larger network (ibid. 432–433).

The local space, or Turkish Cypriot’s “own” space in the form of the Cypriot landscape, is subject to this global network and local idiomatic Cypriot activities do register the changes this renders. The tension emerges when the organisational institutions of Turkish Cypriot identity and space have to communicate with an idiomatic localism, but are increasingly tied into inertial, unassailable and taken-for-granted political registers. These registers come via an interconnected world where new global communities, often commercially underpinned, can be shared and extended as part of a dis-embedding of human-environmental relations and reconfiguration of local ideals. A very simple one being the delineation of a category called hunting into which heaps of money, identity, time, conflict and so forth are piled. Idiomatic experimentation during hunting and during its institutional machinations occurs, but whatever happens, there is an unquestioned and self-vindicating conclusion already established; that this assemblage of polysocial reality has already been cordoned off as hunting. One that is now increasingly being integrated into a State under-going alter-globalisation, as well as a global online-communicated identity around hunting and its commercial enclosure.

For hunters in Northern Cyprus this has created a problem between (i) hunting as a bureaucratic organisational institution that is both embedded in a global 'imperial politics of the environment as an external' and in how people go about politically participating in this institution and responding to environmental changes and (ii) their own participation in local idiomatic activities to do with the environment and what the consequent local knowledge is telling them.

I am interested in outlining a wider category of belonging that underpins hunting and the examples referred to in Bryant's wider works on 'belonging'. One that at a local and a national scale binds Turkish Cypriots together despite the tensions and contradiction outlined. In doing so partially answering the earlier question of 'what makes Turkish Cypriots a group to Turkish Cypriots'.

Looking at social anthropological work on this in Northern Cyprus, Bryant has already explored the political dimensions of belonging and the ethnography of belonging and owning things (2004, 2014), while Navaro-Yashin has explored belonging as the making of an affective space (2012). I am expanding on a further dimension of Bryant's 'belonging with', specifically as an intersubjective relationship with others. In the case of hunting, autonomous animals as part of a multispecies, and secondarily through spatialized infrastructure. Where local idiomatic activities with the environment in hunting are understood as being intersubjective. This is a belonging that forms through shared local knowledge, and the particular activity I am looking at is hunting. In other words, I am interested in the intimate human-human and human-environmental relations taking place in a rural context, specifically vernacular registers of solidarity and belonging, by comparison to relations that emerge from bureaucratic and nationalistic registers. So, with this in mind what is hunting in Northern Cyprus, who are the subjects relating with each other, and what has it got to do with belonging and being Turkish Cypriot?

5.5 Turkish Cypriot Hunters and Hunting in Northern Cyprus

To legally hunt in Northern Cyprus, you need to hold TRNC citizenship. People who hunted during my fieldwork were almost exclusively men, though there were a minority of women who hunted, making up 2% of all legal hunters in 2011. Of all the first-time licensed hunters in October 2015, 2 out of 90 were women. I primarily conducted participant observation with a group of men who lived and hunted around the small rural village of Şirinevler. This group, along with participant observation with two other hunting groups and numerous interviews and time spent with hunters from across Northern Cyprus, inform this section. However, this is not where I started when I first drafted an initial schematic overview of my field-site, as a way of simply introducing who and what I was researching. When I first started asking myself questions about my field-site it was within the multidisciplinary context of my academic institution, so they were questions that I felt would be of interest to social anthropology, but also beyond it. Specifically, in establishing an inter-disciplinary juncture that tackles considerations based in a positivist epistemology, that of considering ‘norms’ and averages, but in doing so leads you to social anthropological considerations. That is what the following sections of this chapter aim to do. In other words, establish a critical evaluated juncture between vernacular and bureaucratic registers from the perspective of belonging, before going further in later chapters. The first question I considered from this perspective then, was ‘how big is the population I am researching?’

5.5.1 How many hunters are there in Northern Cyprus?

I was sitting opposite Hasan (Figure 12), TRNC Under-Secretary of the Interior and a previous president of the TRNC Hunting Federation; *Avfed*. A congenial person, he was

sitting across from me at a large desk in an air-conditioned office. Dressed in a suit, as is the norm for political bureaucrats of the TRNC, he told me he was here to help with anything I wanted to know from the perspective of the government on hunting. Upon each question I asked, he would dictate to his secretary to fetch this document or that person to get another file, to share excerpts from them with me. When I asked him how many hunters there were in Northern Cyprus he replied: "...about 25,000." I had also read and heard the same answer from multiple sources, whether from people who did or did not hunt. A while later, during this first conversation, Hasan was reading out to me and explaining the list of statistics on hunting that the TRNC government had collected and that he had access to. One of these statistics was that the Interior Ministry, for which he was the Under-Secretary, had issued 11,471 hunting licenses the previous year, in 2014. I asked: "...but what about the 25,000 figure you mentioned earlier?"



Figure 12 - Profile of Hasan Aliçik

Hasan presided over Avfed for one term from 2002-2004. He is the key government official that oversees hunting and attends both official hunting organisation meetings, festivities as well as hunting himself. He sits on the Hunting Committee, setup in 2011, made up of multiple government departments that takes decisions regarding hunting. A key moment in his hunting career, when president of Avfed, was attempting to popularise the use of fluorescent clothing, alongside camouflage. This was after a particular hunting season in which numerous fatalities and casualties took place in a short space of time, dubbed 'the hunting wars'.

It turned out, upon further conversation and investigation, that the '25,000' value was a statistically combined value from a survey that had been done recently (Table 3). Specifically, it was technically an estimate of the number of people who identified in some way with hunting. In the sense that, they had hunted during their life-time and may do so again in the foreseeable future (Avfed 2011). A few weeks later, as I was trawling through

the records of the Hunting Federation, I noticed that they had had just over 5000 members the previous year, far less than the 11,471 or 25,000 people they represented as the official voice and management of hunting.

As I compared these different numbers I reflected on the many conversations I had been having so far, with different acquaintances and informants in Northern Cyprus. Amongst these conversations it had been noted to me numerous times that: "...there is a hunter in every family" in Northern Cyprus. This had given me an initially inflated impression of the number of people who hunted. Having reflected on this further I know that what constitutes a family in Northern Cyprus is far more extended than the nominally conceived nuclear family, whereas how I think about families and how families are treated in a census are as nuclear. For example, it is common for people in Northern Cyprus to be able to name and know their second cousins, whereas I barely know some of my cousins and have not even met some of them, let alone have any idea who my second cousins are.

Another dimension regarding how many people hunt in Northern Cyprus, is that people who hunt move in and out of Northern Cyprus. As aforementioned, Northern Cyprus has two large diasporas. I observed people who did not live in Northern Cyprus, but in London, come back to hunt. How many and whether these are captured in the aforementioned hunting survey or the national census, is unknown in the former and contested in the later. I also came across a number of Turkish Cypriots who went hunting abroad, primarily in England, Bulgaria and Turkey. Based on the 2011 hunting survey this was estimated at 8% of people who identified as hunters (Avfed 2011). In short, all these observations made me realise that asking: How many hunters are there in Northern Cyprus? was not a straight forward question.

In considering this question, I had started to generate multiple different answers. None of which were 'objectively' wrong. Whenever I had received a number (not the answer of their being a hunter in every family), I had received the largest figure of "around 25,000." Based

on my experience of the discursive context in which this figure was given it became apparent that this high figure was promoted by both officials of the Hunting Federation as well as those opposed to it. In the case of officials representing the Hunting Federation, the bigger the stake-holder group they could lay claim to representing, the more power they had. This was because it emphasised both the normalcy of hunting to the general public as well as the size of the hunting citizenry as a voting bloc to politicians. Similarly, for those who took issue with hunting, the more hunters ‘there are’ that they could point to, the more they could implicate them as having a big impact.

Even this being the case, my reflections on all the answers I received left me noting that they were all true, but dependent on the situation they were given in. Fundamentally any attempt at a statistical snapshot that does not incorporate the context of each statistic is unmoored from the reality that people produce them in. For me to wonder how many hunters there ‘objectively’ are in Northern Cyprus was in some sense absurd.

This is not confined to Northern Cyprus. I also asked myself the question: How many hunters are there in Europe? Putting aside the complicated question of what constitutes Europe, the only numbers I could find were the numbers of people who were members of hunting federations’ for each country in Europe, affiliated with FACE (The European Federation of Associations for Hunting and Conservation of the EU) (2011). I used these alongside publicly available censuses of each countries total population on the one hand (blue) and land size on the other (yellow) to produce Figure 13.

I also then calculated that approximately 1 in every 70 people in the European region covered by FACE, was a registered member of a hunting organisation. However, if I were to include the number of people who identify with hunting, as well as unregistered hunters, illegal hunters, non-annual hunters, fish hunters etc. (What about people who cull, people who butcher ‘farmed-wild’ animals, people who kill pests etc.) this tally would be much higher.

All things considered 1 in every 70 people in Europe being a registered hunter is still much higher than I expected. If we compare this to Northern Cyprus though, it is low. Where if we go with the 25,000 figure, 1 in every 13 people is a hunter. But again, that is 1 in 13 of a static idea of Northern Cyprus's population, not in 1 in 13 of how many people are actually in Northern Cyprus.

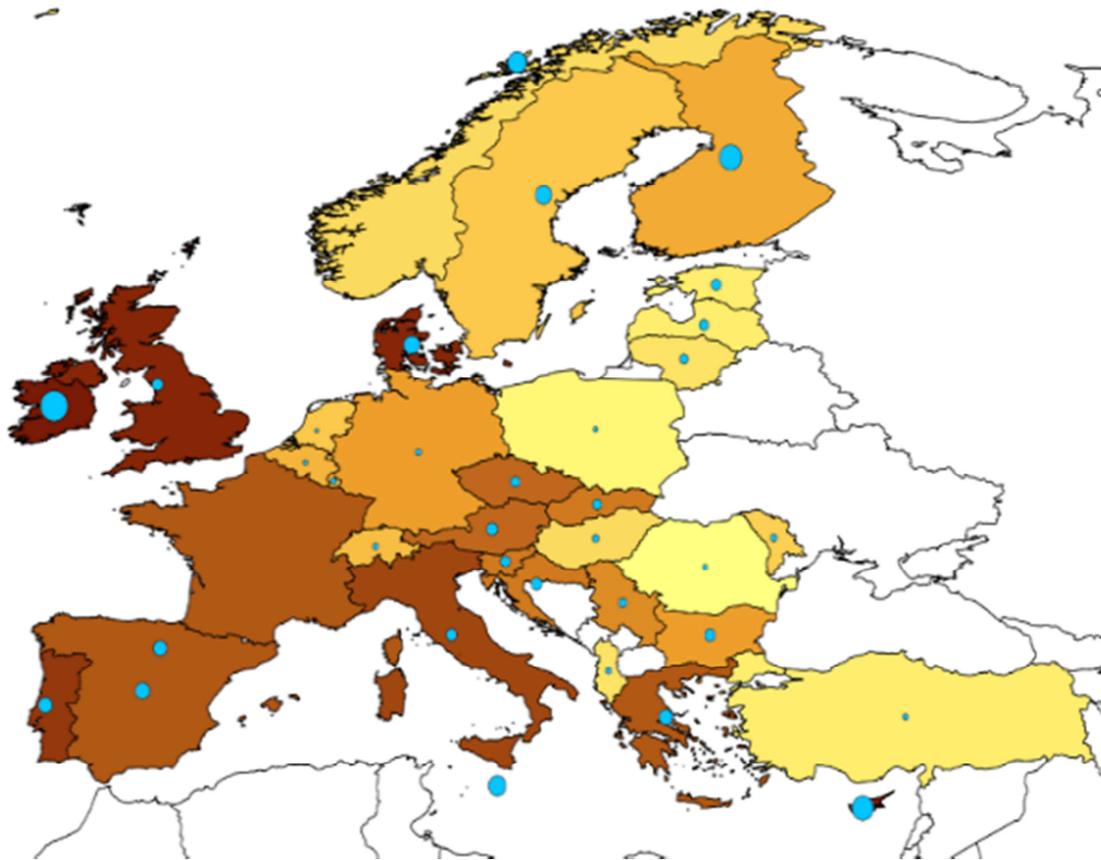


Figure 13 - Density of hunters by area (yellow); Density of hunters by population (blue)

While this is the first map of its kind it does not take into consideration the different roles within this hunting population either. Not all of them actually pull the trigger or even actively chase the prey in a hunt. For example, in parts of the UK many of the membership are 'beaters' and do not shoot or kill an animal directly. Hence, in this case it depends on one's own positionality as to whether you decide they are inside or outside the category of people

who hunt. The same goes for whether you the reader consider, as you read the coming chapters, whether I have hunted or not.

From yet a further perspective, hunting and hunters are also not locally bounded. Take for example the hunting of large predators. People living in Europe fly to numerous African and Asian countries to hunt large predators there, but this hunting and these hunters are not included in estimates of hunting in Europe. I found an advertisement in a Turkish Cypriot newspaper as far back as 1971, related to going hunting in Kenya. This reflects a wider global ecological phenomenon outlined by Hornborg, whereby environmental resource use, resource users, resource preparation, resources and sources of resources are globally outsourced from each other (2017).

It is not simply a case that statistics and numbers quoted are biased by people having different 'axes-to-grind'. Instead, it is also that any question is inherently limited whether geo-centrally or otherwise. Furthermore, stating a number as a percentage is to have conducted statistical work on an already statistically up-scaled number, which may also in many cases not have been put through rigorous testing for statistical significance (Baker 2016).

There are rarely any numbers that are full objective counts and even if they were, they are temporally contextual as well as their delineations being perspective dependent. At best a demographic statistic or a census, cannot objectively capture a population but simply give a close estimate¹. However, even ignoring all that, any number given, is given. It is not a decontextualized symbol representing reality, even if it is rationalised as such, but is part of a relationship. It is inherently a composite of time, place and the positionality of the person or organisation giving it, the context they are giving it in and who is asking for it. The number

¹ This appreciation seems similar to the recognition of dealing in probabilities not facts. However, that appreciation is only one part of the matter. The context of a probability is also important.

of factors influencing any given situation means that it requires a fluency of the context to even be aware of how different factors are affecting a statistical estimate. This is what I have attempted to bring together in this chapter. Otherwise all that would be left is ‘axe-grinding’.

Table 3 - Combined National Census and Surveyed Values of Hunting Population Sub-groups in 2011

Nested Comparative %					Category	Population
				100	Population of TRNC ¹	294906
			100	66	TRNC Citizens	194638
		100	12	8	Identify as Hunters (incl. Fishers) (18+)	24182
	100	54	7	4	Licensed Hunters (18+)	13178
100	55	30	4	2	Hunt +50% of Big Hunting Season (18+)	7248
40	22	12	2	1	Hunted Consistently Over Recent Years & Often (18+)	2926

Whilst ‘25,000’ is approximately how many hunters there are, this includes both people who angled and used a spear-gun to fish as a hobby, as these activities themselves are not mutually exclusive from terrestrial hunting in Northern Cyprus, as many hunters conduct both. One might argue that the actual number of people hunting per year is best reflected in the number of licenses given, however there will be people hunting without one. Furthermore, of those with a license, not all will be attending all the days available to them to hunt (as reflected in the Table 3 ‘Hunt +50% of Big Hunting Season’) and nor will they be taking out a license and hunting every year (as is reflected in the Table 3 ‘Hunted Consistently Over Recent Years & Often’).

In addition, there are those who registered for a separate competition and club license, which means they may or may not go hunting. However, they are members of the Hunting

¹ Whilst this includes all ‘residents’ of Northern Cyprus it does not take into consideration the complex mobility and status of the Turkish Cypriot diaspora resident abroad but also sometimes being resident in Northern Cyprus, as aforementioned. Furthermore I have used the 2011 census (TRNC State Planning Organization 2015b) rather than the 2014 to better parallel the other data sets which are primarily from 2011.

Federation, allowing them to have a say in hunting management affairs and compete in organised competitions and thus be part of the 'hunting electorate' but not necessarily hunt. Illegal hunters and trappers are also not specified. Suffice to note this is yet another dimension.

In summary, consideration of hunting and people who hunt needs to take into account that neither is quantitatively uniform. This means at best one could say that there is a nested spectrum of people, from those who hunt as much as is legally possible; 1% of total population (Table 3), to those who still consider themselves hunters but rarely, if at all, go hunting; 46% of people who identify as hunters (Table 3). However, even this perspective is limited as people move between these categories, removing the possibility of discrete categories of people who sit at discrete points along a spectrum. Additionally, hunting is intersecting multiple other activities including illegal trapping and fishing that reveal additional spectrum along which people might be considered. On top of which Turkish Cypriot hunters intersect and are intersected by other hunters and places. Finally, the very categories are natively contested or changing. For example, the divide between the concept of hobby fish hunting and professional fishing has been increasing over the past two decades.

5.5.2 How much do people hunt?

The last section's conclusion does not mean there is no such thing as a Turkish Cypriot hunter. Despite the problems with conceiving of hunters as populations of discrete individuals, people in Northern Cyprus, perhaps a full 25,000, do consider themselves to be hunters. Hence, it is a native category and this is a factor to consider, with its caveats, from an anthropological perspective. A person who hunts in Northern Cyprus often calls

themselves ‘a hunter’ (*Avci*)¹. Therefore, it is not that Turkish Cypriot hunters do not exist from an ethnographic perspective. Instead I chose the quantity of time spent hunting by comparison to the amount of time they have available to hunt, as a metric for my spectrum. I did this to demonstrate that the hunting population is not defined by how much time they ‘exploit’ hunting as a practice.

If this is not the case then, can their practice be defined by how much they exploit the animals they hunt? This consideration is expressed in the legal requirement that licensed hunters in Northern Cyprus should shoot no more than a given number of each species that they are allowed to legally hunt. However, during participant-observation of hunting I observed no one considering a quantitative limit when out hunting. In publicly accessible photos shared widely online² there were often many more animals than were legally meant to be killed per hunter. There is also the fashion of evenly distributing the dead animals in rows for photos (Figure 14; TRNC Hunters Facebook Group October 2017³), a practice common across Europe that allows the viewer to better appreciate the individuality of each kill.

That said, while there was no consideration of an upper limit by my informants on their hunting practice in terms of kills made, there was also no real consideration of numerical quantity of kills. Quantity only came in as a general measure that signified that one had had a successful hunt. In short, it was more quantity of presence rather than quantified quantities.

¹ This has even left a historical trace in people’s surnames. This arose from Cypriots having to register with surnames upon independence from Britain in 1960, though many had already had to do so previously in their engagement with the British colonial authorities. A common practice was to pick a surname that reflected what you did or an activity that defined you, such as hunting. The surname of a recent person running for president in the TRNC was *Avci*.

² An increasingly common activity was for people to post photos of the animals they had hunted and killed on social media, and prior to social media to take analogue photos and display them in their house.

³ I have chosen this photo because it is not actually taken in Northern Cyprus, but is of Turkish Cypriot informants. Another dimension of how lack of contextual awareness would not raise this fact.

Hence, I did not observe anyone prioritize the specific numbers of animals killed, much less use a higher kill count for boastful or conclusive competitive advantage in a conversation¹.



Figure 14 - Orderly rows of hunted and killed animals. Incl. fox on right

So ‘how much hunting as a practice’ occurs was not a salient issue in terms of the number of kills, to my informants. This was not limited to discrete hunters or hunting *banya* (bands). The institutional management of hunters also reflected this. On the one hand the police officers and game rangers I shadowed did not raise kill limits. When I raised it, they explained and partially demonstrated to me the complications of legally proving such matters. Whilst on the other hand, these limits had no empirical basis anyhow, with the officials of the government’s Hunting Committee (MAK) and officials of the Hunting Federation having never sought to develop an estimated collective kill by hunters in Northern Cyprus on which to base a kill limit² (Figure 15; Avfed 2011a, 2011b; TRNC State Planning Organisation

¹ This may go against what other people believe they have heard, but I would contend that that is because they did not actually pay close attention. Instead what they heard was boasting about what had been killed and the individual story of each kill, but not a numeric argument.

² When kill limits were introduced by the British colonial elite in Cyprus it was to reduce local Cypriot hunting. The law did not actually affect British colonial officers as the Governor’s prerogative set them above the law. Where kill limits are policed and recorded in other parts of Europe, such as in trophy hunting, this is almost often the outcome with hunting being available only to the elite through the purchase of permits. In some cases, it is also a means of bureaucratically demonstrating to representative national governments who also have significant anti-hunting groups to also consider, by comparison to Northern Cyprus, that they are following the

2015a¹). This could then be used in relation to a State-wide model for sustainable yield, whether or not one considers the idea of sustainable yield to have an empirical basis.

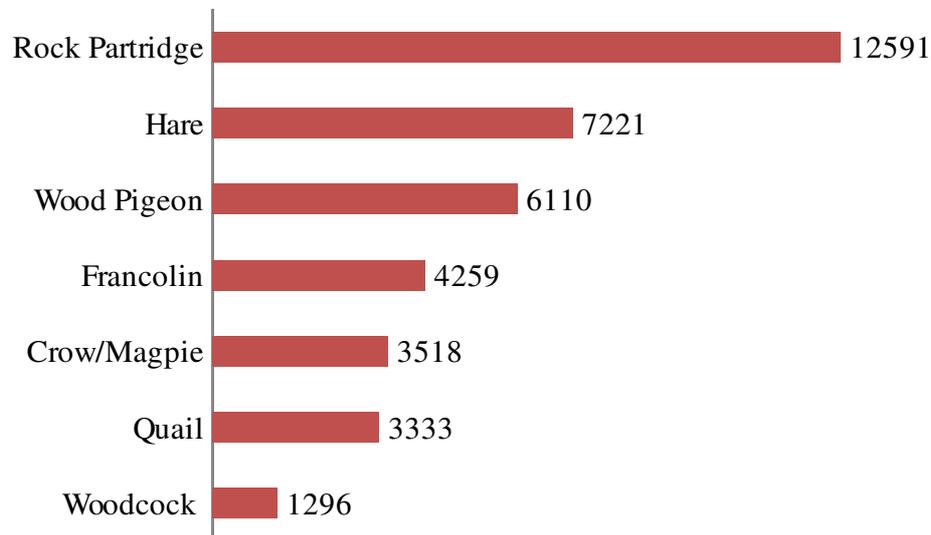


Figure 15 - Estimated numbers of particular species legally shot in Northern Cyprus in the Big Hunt Season of 2010.

Why similar data is not generated by hunting management in Northern Cyprus, to help improve the size of populations of animals that can be hunted, is embedded in the way hunting is organised. One of my conclusions is that hunting is managed similar to the public services of a welfare State². That is, no matter how many people require a service, for example cancer treatment, in theory a welfare State should supply them all with this service. This is how hunting is managed. As many citizens as want to hunt have the right to claim and receive the service of hunting.

rules of 'sustainable yield'. This does not actually mean hunters in other countries in Europe follow those limits or that sustainable yield actually makes any ecological sense (Finley & Oreskes 2013).

¹ I have worked backward data from an Avfed survey and crossed it with my own data and data from Figure 3 to produce the first and currently only estimate in any year ever, of the collective kill of hunters in Northern Cyprus from the 'Big Hunt' season of 2010.

² Where the TRNC was originally setup as a welfare state in 1983 with free schooling and healthcare, but whose services have gradually decreased in capacity and quality since.

However, if ideas of sustainable yield were to creep in then it would become more of a commodity (whether as a service or as a product) and not a generalised gift economy. This would ultimately lead to a transition to private services as has happened in other sectors such as education and healthcare. Hence, hunting is not yet a market commodity subject to ideas of sustainable use in Northern Cyprus, so no data like that shown in Figure 15 has been required to see how many animals can be sustainably yielded up to hunting. Speculation aside, you do not engage with gifts from this epistemological perspective.

From another perspective, hunting is managed as a practice. The Hunting Federation as an organisation might arguably be based on representing people rather than a practice, but it is the 'hunting' federation. While members have input, hunting is being managed as a delineated practice, with federation officials being the representatives of hunting and of people who hunt as part of that. Simply put, because hunting as a practice is organised as a delineated category and it has its own dedicated organising body and membership. They currently have no stake in belonging with an epistemology of hunting - any knowledge or model of hunting - that is perceived as limiting their hobby, such as collective kill estimates seen in Figure 15, as that would make no categorical sense.

5.5.3 Why do people hunt in Northern Cyprus?

If the hunting population is not defined by how much they exploit hunting as a practice or defined by how much they exploit the animals they hunt, can they be defined more qualitatively by why Turkish Cypriots go hunting, why they hunt less or more often?

In reviewing my conversations with informants, a variety of answers came up when I directly asked people the question: Why do you hunt? More often than not people found it a question they were not sure what to do with. When I got to the bottom of this I found that it originated

partly in the difficulty of expressing embodied experience and knowledge as verbal information, but also rationalising hunting was not a personal priority for almost all my informants (outside of those Hunting Federation officials). However, a set of formalised answers did arise on occasion, ones that matched the options given and responses gathered in a demographic evaluation by staff of the Hunting Federation under the guidance of a consultancy (Table 4).

Table 4 - Factors that motivate hunters and their degree of influence across the population

<i>Percentage %</i>	<i>Factors that motivate hunters and their degree of influence across the population</i>
17.2	to be doing an activity with a friend/partner
16.5	to do sport / exercise
14.9	to be with wildlife / in nature
13.6	a love of rifles / guns
12.9	to be away for a time from the house / neighborhood / village
12.5	to experience the feeling in the moment of hitting the prey animal
12.4	to eat the meat of the prey animal

Through participant observation I observed that the same formalised options were generated through communal consensus beyond this survey. However, in the context of the survey data displayed in Table 4 communal consensus is seemingly more institutionalised. That means that the options in Table 4 do reflect a grounded approach to conducting a questionnaire-based survey, but only when understood within their context.

The normative procedure undertaken in the social sciences would be to treat such answers as ‘psychologically’ individual data constituting a population and then seeing whether the answers ‘correlate’ with one’s own decontextualized theory. Instead, these listed factors actually exist at a communal scale, as the product of communal negotiation according to the hunting establishment’s own unique political organisation of voices. This does not mean these answers are not also what people, outside of an institutional context, answered. As

noted, my own initial conversations yielded the same results. As I increasingly noted people do not produce their own public rationalisations *to others* in a social or institutional vacuum.

Instead, they learnt and picked up concepts and answers that seemed to rationally convey what they were doing within “their own” space. Take for example the following case: Amongst all my conversations and observations I almost never had an informant tell me that they hunted because ‘people have always hunted since the dawn of man’, whether when I asked them why they hunted, what motivated them to hunt or any conversation in general. However, this is an answer that I had been expecting, having come across it outside of Northern Cyprus many times. Specifically, in print and other media. In other words, purposeful rationalisations of hunting.

Only in a few instances did it arise and for the same reason in the very same context. One of the instances in which ‘hunting since the dawn of man’ narrative arose was when I came across it in a local hunting magazine. When I interviewed the editor, it transpired that he had hunted abroad multiple times a year and, in my observation, had picked up this story through engaging directly with the global hunting ‘community’. He had also been a previous president of the Hunting Federation, a role that requires developing rationalisations for hunting in the significant media commitments it holds. The other two people who mentioned it to me also shared both of these qualities. However, this was the exception in Northern Cyprus at the time of my fieldwork.

Hence, this was not a familiar answer my other informants had encountered to use *with others*, but a learnt rationalisation that had been appropriated by a few. Whether it will become ‘their own’ more widely amongst hunters in Northern Cyprus is speculation. My educated guess is not in this form. Specifically, because the wider national context has meant that an alternate variation has permeated, that works with local cosmology. This alternate variation is the idea of it being a ‘tradition’ or as a select few people put it to me,

'*kulturumuz*' (our culture). The very word itself being a recent addition to the Turkish language and barely used in hunting at that point. This was as demonstrated by the then president of the Hunting Federation, when I asked him why people hunt:

'Its... you know... its... hey Hayriye [Secretary] what do they call it... ah yea... Culture! Yes, it's our Culture!'

In this sense, it was referring to a formalised and institutionalised version of something that *Cypriots* have done 'for a long time' and therefore was justified through the nexus of this triangle. Rather than as something that *humans* or *men* have always done, which is what the 'hunting since the dawn of man' narrative is about.

To return to Table 4, I also consider how such options are available as answers, to why people are motivated to hunt. It is not simply about my informants learning of stories and concepts to make sense of their world *in relation* to others, but it is about the wider history and multiple cross-cutting contexts of relations that inform the telling of an answer to another.

Take for example the moments when I asked informants why they hunted and some replied because they like to do sport. I then asked those of them that replied with 'sport' what they meant by sport in the context of hunting. I received ideas about hobbies and bodily exercise and health. The very same people who gave me this answer participated in *Avfed* meetings where hunting was legally negotiated and lobbied for, with the consequent documents and propaganda. In this context, people were both reading the idea of sport from documents as well as writing it into them. The *Avfed* headquarters itself is in the base of the national stadium alongside other 'sports club' offices. This reflects its historical ties to 'sports' shooting when it used to be the TRNC Hunting *and Shooting* Federation.

The concept of sport in relation to hunting has a long history. A history that is present in how law and legal documents on hunting have been edited over time and then discussed in these meetings in these offices. Therefore, the whole conceptualisation of what a sport is, is not simply a learnt concept or symbolic representation of a real thing amongst individuals, or a popular answer to what hunting is when you survey a population.

What it is and what hunting is and what hunting is as a sport emerges from histories of negotiation and social contestation, which sets parameters of how they can be considered within Northern Cyprus today. Where parameters can be found in multiple contexts from legal, linguistic, ecological, conceptual, material to institutional. To the very location of one's offices in the base of an old sports stadium. And when people, documents or landscapes operating within any of these contexts relate, they are doing so in light of these parameters and spaces, written in infrastructures of bytes and concrete.

With this appreciation in mind, it is then not surprising to find the history of hunting in Cyprus and its colonisers embedded in this combination of answers in Table 4. How hunting is categorised by contemporary hunters in Northern Cyprus today is embedded in the institutional community of hunting conversation, but also resonates directly with its historical antecedents. If one compares the list of options given in Table 4 they can all be shown to have significant historical precedents. This is to the degree that if you asked a similar question in multiple previous millennia you often get a comparable answer.

For example, one of these antecedents are the ancient works of the aforementioned Cynegeticon, where hunting is described as being about (i) sport and healthy exercise (ii) going to the mountains to (iii) playing with one's tools of war, and (iv) as a pleasure activity when not a war. This is seemingly in many ways a reiteration of points 2-5 from Table 4.

Crucially this is not to imply that hunting or answers to why people hunt have not radically changed. Instead, it is that particular parameters are inherited for relating to and with other people within different contexts. Inherited in the sense that you may do something entirely different with it but there is some resistance. For example, inheriting a headquarters in the basis of the stadium does not define how you use it or whether you shift offices, but its very existence means you will have to work with it somehow and it is not entirely flexible to your will.

While there is similarity between Table 4 and the aforementioned answers from the Cynegeticon, there is also variation between the answers. Furthermore, what and who is designated by the answers is also substantially different and finally what those imply, in terms of the different infrastructure they were or are embedded in.

For example, an appreciation of hunting in the past, covered in earlier chapters, qualifies the similarity and difference between ‘a pleasure activity when not at war’ from the Cynegeticon, and ‘to be away for a time from the house / neighbourhood / village’ from Table 4. The context of the statement from Table 4 was explained to me by informants as hunting being a space to both get away from something but also to do something. The thing to do was have pleasure hunting. The thing to get away from was ‘ordered’ life.

People hunting for sport in the Cynegeticon were military leaders. Military leaders’ equivalent ordered life was war. As free men they had the privilege of being able to have pleasure time away from this order. In the contemporary ethnographic context, and in light of capitalism’s victory in Europe in the latter quarter of the last millennium, my informants were also free men and thus had the right to pleasure time. Hunting being a particular pleasure right that was established. In short, certain sets of parameters, in this case hunting as being a pleasure away from normative order, carry through different events in history. With different shifts in that history, those parameters have not always disappeared. Such is the case of

hunting in relation to sport (as word, activity and institution), but shifted as to what and who they now designate. In this case, what it means to have pleasure time is embedded in historical processes and the very conception and answer itself. Whether conceived of as sport or pleasure time, they are themselves political statements in support of a certain relationship to a certain order. In this case, the current accepted order of a State allowance for pleasure time for all citizens in Northern Cyprus. and the administration of it as a service so that it can be legally claimed.

There is also personal context to such an answer. Key informant Ertan (Figure 16) noted to me that he had worked most of his life in a biscuit factory in Australia. Now that he received his pension, he had come back and settled in his old village to spend his retirement hunting and being in his village. In his case, he prioritised his life as the primary unit from which hunting and village life were distinguished from a life of ordered labour. This focus was reflected in his dedication to hunting at this time in his life, in terms of setting up a new hunting club and then becoming mayor of the village. In short, life lived well is not just a hobby at the weekend, but can also be a period of one's life.

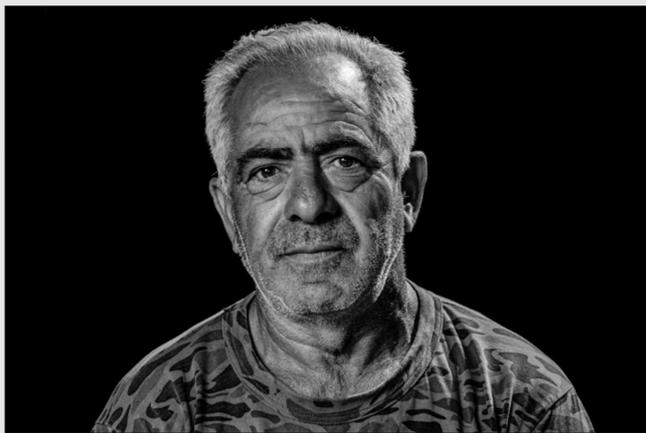


Figure 16 - Profile - Ertan Beşiktaş

Ertan Beşiktaş was the key informant for one of my three primary field-sites. He lives in Şirinevler village with his wife and son. His son works at a local university and is anti-hunting. His wife is happy her husband is doing something he enjoys. While Ertan spoke both English and Turkish, he never spoke English to me once. I shadowed Ertan on many hunts as he patiently guided me through the process of hunting in Northern Cyprus.

Another example that tackles the question of similarity and variation, in terms of answering what the contemporary context of hunters' motivations to hunt are, is attention to the highest valued motivation in Table 4: 'to be doing an activity with a friend/partner'. Upon further clarification with my participants, it emerged not as a new variation or innovation in the formulation of hunting, but a development of how 'pleasure time' is lived today. Where it is often an activity to be done with friends and people you like to be have fun with. The sentiment being that life lived well is found through sharing it with others. However, as something my informant Yener (Figure 17) noted to me raised, this is not a static causal chain of factors for why people hunt:

'...hunting allows me to meet up with my childhood friends that I would not see any more, as I am at work or at home. I grew up hunting with them. If it was not for that, I might not be hunting anymore.'

In other words, he went hunting with friends, but now hunting enables him to see those old friends, where these are friends from childhood, from his village, from home. These dimensions are co-emergent, explaining in part why Yener still goes hunting. Nonetheless, this does not necessarily explain why he started to go hunting in the first place, when others did not.



Yener works as a disability carer when I met him. He was also a self-taught tattoo artist and decorative cake maker. He had tattooed a large picture of his hunting dog on his thigh who he had a very close connection with. In addition to hunting with him, he also taught me to shoot at the local clay pigeon range, himself having been the Northern Cyprus bronze medalist for clay pigeon the previous year.

Figure 17 - Profile of Yener

5.5.4 Why do people go hunting to start with?

As Yener noted, hunting was a way to be with people from earlier in his life, the part of life before he had the responsibilities he now has as an adult. The founder of the Hunting Federation - İrfan - himself had noted “even as a toddler, I was running naked after the hunters.” When I asked him why, he explained that he wanted to go along and not be left at home, as he was curious what hunting was. This emerged as a theme in almost all of my interviews. A curiosity about what one’s peers or social group, in this case male social group, were up to outside of the village or town. This was even reflected in my non-hunting informants’ attitudes when I talked to them about husbands, relatives or acquaintances who went hunting. They would invariably note something along the lines of: “one wonders what they are doing out there?!”

In my survey of young trainee hunters an affinity to being outside and “smelling the earth” was mentioned as an answer to why to go hunting. An example was observing Necati (Figure 18) who had just received his license. He was evidentially familiar with farming, as were

many of the other younger men I worked with. However, hunting enabled him to gain a knowledge about his surroundings and land that he would otherwise not have got. In his interactions after a hunt in the village square, his participation in an activity that the elder men were participating in, granted him a presence and a voice. Not simply by association, but in being able to bring back plants and animals from the nearby plains and to talk and know about them with others. In doing so, sharing a belonging and establishing himself in his community and in land.



The son of Ertan's good friend and cousin Remzi. They lived in Şirinevler during most of my fieldwork, however towards the end they moved to one of the larger towns. Necati was just about to begin his compulsory military service when I met him. In the accompanying image he is setting up a water feeder in the base of a stream for wild animals in the dry summer. In addition to hunting he liked going to the gym.

Figure 18 - Profile of Necati

The average age of people starting to hunt is just under 20 (Figure 19; Avfed 2011), corresponding with the legal age of 18 required to get a hunting license. However, those starting under 18 are not necessarily illegally hunting under age. As is commonly the case, they are accompanying their father or an older relative or friend when they go hunting.

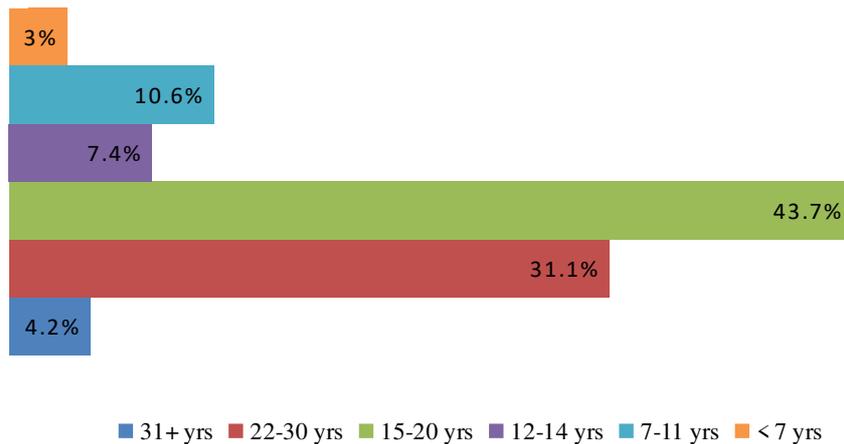


Figure 19 - Age at which people had started to hunt in Northern Cyprus in 2011

When I surveyed a group of hunters (n=94), primarily 18 years old, who were taking the exam to get their first hunting license, almost all of them noted that they had already been out hunting. During my fieldwork hunters would sometimes bring along their young sons or a teenage nephew to the post-hunt barbecues. A clay pigeon machine might be setup and in which these young boys could participate, with officials from the Hunting Federation giving out special trophies for young hunters (Figure 20).

Over 40% of respondents to my trainee hunter survey noted that their role model was their father. However, according to the survey and further conversation this did not mean that respondents went hunting with their fathers or saw them as their 'hunting role models'. Whilst fathers do take their sons out hunting when they are below 18, or go hunting with them, this is not the majority. According to the Hunting Federation survey only 40% of hunters' fathers hunt. Hence, it is not an overtly patrilineal activity.

Whilst fathers play a key role in introducing a significant portion of young boys to hunting, in many cases young boys are introduced to it through elder friends or wider family. Their father is just another one of those. This is then reflected in hunting group demographics which tend toward groups of long-term hunting friends, whether from school or one's

original village. These groupings that are therefore a mixture of generations, where more experienced peers or elder males will be at hand to give advice and make suggestions. Hence uncles, elder cousins, siblings or childhood acquaintances often acted as a guide who would nudge new hunters rather than directly dictating what to do.



Figure 20 - Young boys competing in a clay pigeon shoot alongside a mass post-hunt barbecue

I never witnessed a didactic approach to mentoring taking place, as this would run counter to the hunting ethic of leaving formal labels and roles of authority at the door and empowering men. In other words, the hunting social space was about being together as men in some solidarity with each other. A case in point that reflected this was when I bumped into Hasan, the Under-Secretary to the TRNC Minister for the Interior, at a hunting barbecue event in the woods. I cordially mentioned that he looked *rahat* ('chilled out'), intimating this as a comparison to the environment of the Interior Ministry where I met him last. I asked "*nasil gider?*" (How's it going?). He started: "*hepimiz...*" (*All of us*) along with horizontal hand gesticulations, then introducing me to his circle of friends and mentioned they were old friends. But then continued, that I should not treat him formally here, nor worry about the

others different backgrounds. He then tried to explain briefly, and switched into English: “we are all friends here... yes... do you understand...” As he continued speaking I understood that he did not wish me to treat him in the formal way we had interacted in our first meeting at the Ministry. The best way I can explain what he tried to communicate was that I should leave the ‘everyday’ nuance of different hierarchies of job at the door and embrace the afternoon as another man amongst other men. As the day rolled on I decided to stay with this group for a while. I found myself amongst a variety of men, from rubbish collectors to politicians, urging myself and each other on, to try this dish they had brought, or that drink, a drum came out and songs were sung... even I offered a rendition of an old Indian pop song I knew to everyone’s delight. No one cared what an anthropologist was, or wanting to talk about their job, just telling stories and rambling on about the things we liked *in common*. Most people had shot nothing that morning.

However, whilst it was a space for friendship amongst men, I did meet two women who went hunting. Furthermore, on one occasion in a part of Northern Cyprus far more rural than the rest and “neglected by the government” (as my primary informant there noted), women were just as involved in the festivities in the woods as were men. As it became clear, arrival of officials and staff from *Avfed* at their festivities and the giving out of trophies was at first kindly accepted as a welcome recognition of their village being part of the TRNC and them being Turkish Cypriot. However, this later brought questions of: “But really, why are they here? What do they actually do?”

In this sense, the Hunting Federation (made up of local clubs, but with a centralised headquarters in the capital and with a president who attends government meetings) is a link between the national TRNC State and rural inhabitants of Northern Cyprus (as well as those who hold power in each situation). Even more so since its authority became more integrated with the State with the emergence of the governments committee on hunting (MAK) in 2011,

on which the president sits to make final decision on hunting. However, every village, let along the rural versus urban context, has a different relation, such as this one mentioned here being very different from the main village I focus on in forthcoming chapters.

One of the women who hunted, that I met, was getting her license so she could legally go hunting with her husband. The other who I met and interviewed was Zehra (Figure 21) who was in her early twenties. She told me that she went hunting because she had been hunting with her four brothers since she was young. It was these early experiences, she told me, that got her into hunting.



Figure 21 - Profile of Zehra

Zehra Demir works as a traffic controller at the airport. She has been out hunting with her brothers since she can remember. When I first went to her home her parents were carting in a trailer full of netted bags of snails for market that they had hand collected from the fields. Zehra realises she is one of only a few women hunters in Northern Cyprus, but does not find it odd herself, and is just another activity she enjoys doing with her family on the weekend.

As mentioned, why someone starts to hunt is wrapped up with why they are motivated to continue hunting. Where childhood is understood to be the period when people start to become hunters as well as hunting being about being away from ordered social life ‘to be doing an activity with a friend/partner’.

However, while there is a consistent group of outliers (<10%), including two former leaders of *Ayfed*, in terms of them stressing that they were lone hunters, they also participated in post-hunt barbecues, festivities and hunting clubs. The two former leaders recognised that

other people liked to hunt together, and on further examination they simply explained that they were not team players when it came to hunting. For both, part of the enjoyment of their sport was being away from ordered life, which in their case, as they explained, meant being away from people. Hence, in their particular case they associated other people with ‘the everyday’ and hence were lone hunters. Perhaps it was this very capacity that enabled them to be key leaders of *Avfed*, which involved having an ‘everyday’ job of conforming hunting to the national social order.

Coming back to the former point of hunting being encountered in childhood. Young boys are curious to see what other men are doing outside of the purview of social order and learning knowledge about their land and its gifts. But I also had informants who did not come to hunting until later in life. Nonetheless, as Tahir (Figure 22), an example of someone who started hunting later, noted:

‘I came to hunting late in life. I liked being outside in the mountains and fresh air. I had been a few times when I was younger but just saw people shooting small birds. I put all my energy at that time into my furniture design and building work, however I have always enjoyed being outside in the mountains and forest. As I became older and had more time a friend of mine was always telling good stories of hunting and increased my curiosity about enjoying being in the nature so I went with him and started hunting. I then became involved in developing better hunting’

Both a curiosity of what the activity of hunting might hold for them from stories heard about the passion and pleasure of hunting, and a search for a form of sport that was physical yet accessible, came together in the activity of hunting. It was a socially embedded activity that provided multiple forms of fulfilment including physical, intergenerational and psychological. Again, it was also about being ‘in nature’.



Figure 22 Profile - Tahir

Tahir was the mentor of the president of the Hunting Federation during my fieldwork. While never having been a president of the organisation himself, he researched and instigated many of the changes that took place in hunting in Northern Cyprus in the late 1990s and early 2000s. This started a collaboration between ‘game animal’ specialists from the US and the UK that has run for almost two decades. He is now retired and spends his time between Northern Cyprus and Istanbul.

Conclusively, mutual and egalitarian relations pervaded hunting, providing a safe space from formalised society to test, engage and celebrate one’s bodily affects. Either ones not yet found in another activity or were suppressed in ‘everyday’ spaces. In short, to be able to own and test these materially through guns, prey and meat, in the ‘freedom’ of nature, and with one’s land.

This ‘being away’ was personally unique in its meaning to each person, though key similarities and connections do exist as I have touched on. Therefore, I am not saying that hunting is simply time off or divided from ‘everyday’ or economic life as it might first appear. This type of juxtaposition creates a false dualism premised on division. Instead, hunting exists in light of ordered life in terms of not being separate from it, but also in spite of it in terms of it not simply being subject to it. In the Turkish Cypriot context hunting is an extension of one’s daily life, but beyond what non-hunters experience as daily life, and the location of this extension is a land filled with natural gifts.

Ethnographically speaking, how the relationship between ordered life and hunting is structured is contextual, to Ertan and Yener’s personal histories. For this reason, in getting away from ordered life, one is not necessarily getting away from ‘everyday life’ as an objective category, but participating in one ordering of social life in relation to another

ordering of social life. This can mean that what one is getting away from might be what someone else is getting from hunting e.g. people or home. This can then sometimes be to the degree that that it becomes too muddled for some people but not others, according to their relationship to 'national order' and the localised 'autonomous order' of hunting. For example, Yener, who was invited to participate in the institutional management of hunting, did so briefly as the Education Officer but dropped out shortly after. As he explained to me hunting for him was to: "get away from all this sort of stuff." Whereas, Ertan had embraced the institution of hunting in Northern Cyprus. The normative order he was seeking to extend beyond, had been his job and life back in Australia before he retired to Northern Cyprus.

Hence what was shared in common was idiomatic belonging beyond the relative order of one's life history. Where the curiosity for this appears in childhood in young boys being familiarised and being curious about what one does to be a man, which at that point in life is the primary 'beyond' or 'extension' of a young boy's life. Or in some cases a young girl's life or even an adult non-hunter who becomes a hunter.

5.6 Conclusion

The majority of men do not hunt in Northern Cyprus. However more than 99% of people who hunt in Northern Cyprus are men. Furthermore, young boys become fascinated with hunting through witnessing elder males going beyond their social horizons of being in childhood. As has been introduced, hunting is not a counter, but an extension beyond one's normal social order. Hence, for many a young boy, looking to grow beyond their current childhood, hunting

is not a rebellion, counter-culture or activity of the subaltern. but the extension from boy being made into a man¹.

Amongst the new crop of hunters, hunting was akin to football for most of them. Just as most people who hunt are male, so most people who play football are male. Primarily it is sport that is in the first instance delegated as a mode of making one into a man. Returning to hunt, as Yener noted, was a reaffirmation of him being a man among men. Hence being a man involved being in a constant process of making, but also as an act of coproduction, whether with other men or with one's dog and one's gun. If we consider the concept of belonging in hunting, belonging to the group called 'hunters' or to the group called 'men' is an on-going process. It is ultimately a nested belonging in which some people will not share all the same nested layers outside of the category of hunting.

What is of interest here though is the construction of a delineated practice called hunting through which people can construct themselves as men, as hunters. Specifically, to be free to extend oneself beyond the social responsibilities and expectations of oneself and join other men in being free to enjoy free time. The question is whether there is anything unique to hunting or hunting in Northern Cyprus about this? Or is it similar to other sports such as football, whether in Northern Cyprus or, for example, Peru, where football is a male practice related to freedom and improvisation² (Sanchez Leon 1994), similar to hunting in Northern Cyprus.

Here I have intimated that there are negotiable but present parameters as to what hunting is to someone and these are built on living relationships. Such that, hunting is a situation in which

¹ The 'man' dimension to hunting is itself multidimensional. Pathologizing or homogenising men in relation to hunting renders invisible these dimensions. One result of this, as Falzon has noted with regards to the Mediterranean islands and Malta specifically, is to render people who hunt small birds in the Mediterranean as 'southern types' where they are hirsute and their masculinity is exoticized as distinct (2008: 20).

² By contrast to volleyball, a female practice, which is seen to display a sense of responsibility and discipline among Peruvian women (Sanchez Leon 1994).

people come together and come together with continuity as people with a shared life history. By extension, coming together as having to be defined as Turkish Cypriots, but also amongst the global assemblage of Northern Cyprus. Hunting develops a belonging together within the context of Turkish Cypriot human-environmental relations. However, this belonging is in itself formulated amongst frictions between nationalism and being a free man, and how this is embedded in the notion of the 'land' or soil sharing a collective body with the Turkish nation (Bryant 2004), in this case the *Turkish* Republic of Northern Cyprus.

In this light 'belonging' through hunting supports the broader category of belonging as Turkish Cypriots and in doing so the living relationships of hunting are subject to and feed into supporting the national State. Hunting has been appropriated by the State, despite observing that it is the State that is actually propped up by the living relations involved in hunting, of solidarity between people and passionate feelings of curiosity after 'natural abundance'.

6 Margins of Hunting Space

6.1 Introduction

'*Av Zamanı Tüzüğü ve Yapılması Faaliyetleri*' roughly translates as 'Regulatory and Must-do Activities for Hunting Seasons'. These include the following: “General Assembly, General Management Board Meeting, Reinforce Nature with Bred Partridges, Partridge Adaptation Works, The Struggle against Harmful Ones (Pests)” amongst others.

This chapter focusses on a selection of ethnographic examples that evaluate how hunting space is made for hunting. Where this making is conducted through the doing and adapting of these established activities, including the doing and adaptation of the bureaucratic regulations that specify what these activities are.

I focus on the activities of the TRNC Hunting Federation, its staff and members as part of the hunting establishment, responsible for making this space. Throughout the examination of these activities I develop the concept of ‘margin’¹ as the space for manoeuvre in reproducing hunting space. I draw on Hamayon’s work (2016: chp 17), where a margin:

‘...corresponds both to the repeated movement’s permitted latitude in the limited space in which it can be carried out, and to the relative interpretational freedom it benefits from given the fact that it is imitative’ (ibid 280)

I am not focussing on margins in the sense of fixed borders made, within which the deed of hunting can take place *as such*. I am focussing on the margins for movement - the leeway - involved in the making of the hunting space. In other words, how margins are played with, or not, in the deeds of the making of the hunting space. Think of it as part of the answer to ‘what

¹ To develop the two-dimensional term of parameters that has been slowly emerging across previous chapters.

structures the making of structure’, but where structure is neither entirely fluid nor entirely static. And, I primarily focus on the spatial dimension.

Hamayon’s answer to this is a combination of “margins” and “metaphorical structuring” (ibid 282), which is how margins obtain their overall spatial frame. For a space (or system or structure) to make sense, she contends that:

‘...our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature.... And there is a feedback process from metaphors to concepts.’ (ibid 283)

For example:

‘...specialists [in building] virtual environments... deliberately exploit the properties of spatial metaphors, because they have noticed users behave in the same way in both virtual and real worlds... spatialization is an elementary metaphorical structuring, if not the cornerstone of all metaphorical structuring, for it is linked to the fact that we have motor skills and sense.’ (ibid 283)

While metaphorical structuring is apparent in this chapter I am focussed on the margins of making hunting, specifically certain examples of historical, legal, textual, biological, communal, conversational, argumentational, and human-animal relational, that I conceive all to be variants of sociotechnical relations. Where the sociotechnical can be conceived as way to summarize how we think and act (i.e. ‘our motor skills and sense’) spatialization (across scales).

However, space, in this case hunting space, is not to be conceived of as atemporal, or only geographical, or always totally materially isolated from ‘everyday’ space, though this is one primary aspect of preparing hunting space. As Lefebvre notes:

‘Space is becoming the principal stake of goal directed actions and struggles. It has of course always been the reservoir of resources, and the medium in which strategies are applied, but it has now become something more than the theatre, the disinterested stage or setting, of actions. Space does not eliminate the other materials or resources that play a part in the socio-political arena, be they raw materials or the most finished of products, be they businesses or ‘cultures’. Rather, it brings them all together and then in a sense substitutes itself for each. (1991: 410)

Thus, I am interested in how hunting space is produced through all of the machinations that are brought together, and outlined in this chapter. And as:

‘...no space disappears completely, or is utterly abolished in the course of the process of social development..each space serves exchange and us in specific ways. Each is produced..’ (ibid 402)

And, in this case, annually reproduced and layered over ‘everyday’ life, sometimes tangibly removed, sometimes intangibly. Therefore persons, activities, attitudes and all elements that constitute hunting can only be in the leisure space, or be accepted in the leisure space if they accept its frame, as:

‘...this margin, or this latitude, which is a paradigmatic space for the individual or collective agency, can only operate within a frame in which there is at least implicit consensus.’(Hamayon 2016: 281)

Where consensus exists at different scales of belonging including the TRNC State, being Turkish Cypriot, or recognising the hunting space made by the TRNC Hunting Federation. Therefore, in this chapter I will explain how hunting space is established through movements within its margins, how this movement is decided, who decides it and why.

6.2 The Constitution of Hunting

Hunting for sport in Northern Cyprus pre-dated British Rule. However, hunting for sport as conducted and self-directed by 'free' and individual men came about during the time of British rule. Not because it was simply inherited from the British so much as it was part of a more global paradigm shift in military technology, work and leisure, all of which hunting is embedded in. The formal margins - specifically State laws and regulations - of this way of hunting were established in this British period, and thus served to shape how hunting is prepared and established today i.e. where its margins are now. Where the British set these margins depended on both their own hunting history, but also how they related to Cypriot hunting histories.

The primary narrative shaping British administrative relations in Cyprus was the 'ruined landscape narrative' described in an earlier chapter. One part of this was that the public and commons land of Cyprus, as categorically thought from the British Colonial perspective as Nature to be gardened, was to be protected and enjoyed in leisure time. Not lived or mixed with, and certainly not relied upon. One's own work should constitute how one fed and clothed oneself, through the domestication of land as private. Therefore, it debased one to 'freely' subsist on wild animals and plants as part of 'everyday' life. However, to enjoy sport in killing them was both acceptable and promoted and one could civilise oneself by bringing oneself up to this standard of organisation. The why's and how's of this history were summarised in an earlier chapter, but in short it was about "[Britain's] efforts to bring 'good government' to Cyprus [in exchange for] developing the island's resources and people for [the British Empire's] own purposes". (Harris 2012; Hook 2015)

Cypriot socio-environmental heritage was stigmatised and, in some cases, criminalised. It was increasingly pushed beyond the margins. That is human-environmental relations that

involved direct involvement with living animals were only acceptable if they took place within the frame acceptable to the British. This was reflected in the laws of the early and mid-20th century where trapping of birds, a Cypriot activity that has arguably been going on since humans first arrived in Cyprus, was not legally recognised along with other 'deviant' human-animal relations such as Cypriot pastoral goat herding. This did not mean such activities were necessarily made illegal at first. In the case of goat herding, it was both over legislated and legislated prohibitively, whilst trapping was for a long time barely legally mentioned. Instead, hunting was established legally but not prohibitively, in terms of the law promoting game reserves and game seasons ('game' in English refers to animals that provide good sport for hunting). Prohibitive only in the sense that the license cost meant some Cypriot subjects of the empire could not do it, but British gentlemen and established Cypriot's could (Hook 2015). This is not simply a question of 'poor' versus 'rich' but the emergence of a British frame and acceptable margins of negotiation for how human environmental relations are spatialized.

Therefore, the importance of margins is that for hunting to be legitimate in British eyes it must be sporting and leisurely. Its players must all be playing the same game, rather than subsisting or playing another which impinges on sportive hunting. Crucially however, there must be laws for hunting and laws preparing it properly to establish it as the proper way for Her Majesty's subjects to engage animals. Where proper equates to 'good governance' as used by Hook (ibid). Consequently, when hunting as sport became a State sponsored and legally enshrined activity, eventually all other impinging activities could not be included in State diktat. The inherited laws that set these margins can be found in a variety of forms developing across the decades that the British administered (1878-1913), annexed (1914) and then colonially ruled Cyprus (1914-1960).

The following are tables summarising the historical records I was able to retrieve on British colonial law in Cyprus in relation to hunting. These involve 'statutory law', their 'amendments' and the 'provisions' made under them. They 'specify' what and what does not fall within the legal space of hunting, as it changes over time according to the leeway of its margins. The 'penalties' for being 'convicted' of 'offending' any of these included 'fines', 'imprisonment' and 'confiscations', as well as 'licenses' requiring a 'fee' (all 'quoted' terms being from original documents):

Table 5 - Key Documents

1911	'Game and Wild Birds Protection Law'
1922	'Amendment of Game and Wild Birds Protection Law'
1933	'Firearm Law'
1934	'Preservation and Protection of Game and Wild Birds' as Consolidation of 1911 Law.
1953	'Amendment of Game and Wild Birds Protection Law'.
N/A	'Governor Subsidiary Legislation'

Table 6 - Provisions relating to 'Wild or Game Specifications and Exceptions'

1911,1922	Game means Hare, Pheasant, Partridge, Francolin, Grouse, Quail, Bustard, Wild Swan, Wild Geese, Wild Duck, Woodcock and Snipe.
1911,1922 1934	Game includes Moufflon but only with express permission of Governor.
1911,1922 1934	Wild birds are any undomesticated bird that is not a Game-bird.
1911,1922	Cannot take Game or Wild birds' eggs except Bee-eaters, Doves, Pigeons, Jackdaws, Crows, Magpies, Ravens, Hawks and Sparrows.
1934	Cannot take Game or Wild birds' eggs except [reduced] Doves, Pigeons, Jackdaws, Crows, Magpies, Ravens, Hawks and Sparrows
1911,1922 1934,1953	Seven endemic species of Wild Bird are always off limits, unless accidentally shot or taken on lime.
1911	Five-year hiatus on hunting of Pheasant and Francolin.
1934	Game means [reduced to] Hare, Pheasant, Partridge, Francolin.
1911,1922,1934,1953	Cannot export wild or game-birds, skins or eggs. ^A

Table 7 - Provisions relating to 'Season Specifications and Exception'

1911	Closed shooting season of Game and Wild birds from 15th Feb to 12th Aug, except snaring, liming and capturing of Thrushes, Blackbirds, Starlings, Larks, Beccaficos, ^B Bee-eaters, Doves, Pigeons, Jackdaws, Crows, Magpies, Ravens, Hawks, Sparrows. ^B
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1922	Close shooting season of Game and Wild birds from 15th February [extended] to 4th September except... (see above)
1922	Special License to shoot Crows and Sparrows between 15th February and 30th May.
1934	Close shooting season on Game and Wild birds from 1st February [extended] to 30th September.
1950	Additional Close shooting season on Game and Wild birds from 1st October - 30th November. [Governor Subsidiary Legislation]
1953	Additional Close shooting season on Game and Wild birds from [reduced] 1st October - 24th October. [Governor Subsidiary Legislation]
1953	Additional Close shooting season on Game and Wild birds from [addition] 18th January – 31st January. [Governor Subsidiary Legislation]
1953	During open season [reduced to] only Wednesday and Sunday are Open, and Christmas, Boxing Day and New Year are Closed where falling on these days.
1911,1922 1934,1953	Cannot possess freshly killed game outside of hunting season.

Table 8 - Provisions relating to 'Methods Employed and Exceptions'

1911,1922 1934	At any time in the year can trap and snare on private land that you occupy, if animal might potentially damage it.
1911, 1922	Cannot use shelters or decoys when hunting except for Wild Swans, Wild geese and Wild ducks.
1911,1922 1934	Cannot use wadding during hunting. [fire risk]
1934	Cannot shoot, kill, take or pursue using decoys or shelters [including prior exceptions]
1934	Cannot use vehicles and its lights at night to hunt. ^C
1934	Cannot conduct <i>pantima</i> [initial partial criminalization of trapping]

Table 9 - Provisions relating to 'Reserves and Limits'

1911	Temporary Game Reserves should be established but of no more than three years, fifty square miles, or more than one third of a district. Any changes should be reported through Cyprus Gazette and local Muhktars (Mayors) informed.
1911	No more than six of twenty-six State forests should be reserved for game at one time.
1953	Temporary Game Reserves should be established but of no more than three years, [extended] sixty square miles, or more than [change] one per district. Any changes should be reported through Cyprus Gazette and local Muhktars (Mayors) informed. ^D
1911,1922 1934,1953	No shooting, killing, taking or pursuing in Game Reserve

Table 10 - Provisions relating to 'Licenses and Costs'

1911,1922 1934,1953	Require a Game license to shoot, kill, take or pursue Game.
1922	Game License is 1 pound per year.
1933,1934 1953	Required to register Firearms, including hunting firearms. Required to gain permit to repair firearms. Required to get a [free] firearm permit to get Hunting License.
1934	Game License is [reduced to] 10 shillings per year.
1934	To Renew License must show six dead Crow or Magpies.
1953	To [addition] Gain or Renew License must show [reduced] four dead Crow or Magpies, [addition] or pay fee if lacking.
1934,1953	No License for non-residents. ^E
1911,1922 1934	Governor can issue special licenses during closed season and change restrictions, exceptions, limits at will on seasons, reserves etc...
1934	Require License to deal and sell Game.
1934,1953	Can collect/possess Game and Wild bird eggs and skin with special Science License.

Table 11 - Notes on Table 5Table 10

^A As noted in section 3.5, huge barrels of small birds and other game had been exported from Cyprus during the Ottoman period, as well signs of exported animal products as far back as the ivory of the dwarf ungulates of the Epipalaeolithic.

^B It is not that people did not have their 'own laws' before, but now there is an attempt to bring all of Her Majesty's subjects human-(wild)animal relations within a hunting space, rather than prior human-animal relations falling within different margins and spaces. Though there are exceptions for scientific research made.

^C To this day both of these activities negate an elitist British ideal of hunting as sport, as well as implying a form of cheating that implies subsistence. Lights and vehicles are both used by those wishing to 'trap' and transport as many animals as possible. Hence, there is some relation to class and poverty.

^D The creation of game reserves according to British environmental scientists' protocols had little if any contextual appreciation for the local environment. They cut straight through previously established human-environmental practices. As Harris demonstrates in detail (Harris 2007, 2012), these practices were all part of a package to establish a British ideal of the landscape, British control over local resources including people and an undermining of any other ways of life, whether deemed Cypriot or Ottoman.

^E This did not apply to visiting British officials to the Governor applied his prerogative. This was part of the ethnicization of space as a delineated land with delineated time periods and delineated people and delineated practices. Not that everything was some sort of 'mess' before under the Ottoman Empire as officials of the British Empire would have you, but that this was a colonial imposed spatialization according to colonial metaphors.

I have grouped the different provisions in

Table 6-Table 10 above, under different thematic emphasis that emerged across the legal documents without repeating any provisions. We can see that these provisions create a number of cross-cutting 'specific' spaces, that when combined generate a legal margin and

space in which the contemporary margins of hunting space are rooted. Figure 23 is a visual aid to conceptualising a legal space in and its formal margin over time, in relation to constituents of Cyprus. We can see that if you were resident in Cyprus in 1935, granted your social situation meant you were able to afford a gun, cartridges and a Games License, and you decided you wanted to kill a free animal, then the area within the red line is the primary legal space available to you to do that. The legal margins, in this sense, are the leeway for a shift in the red line, that enable a socio-legal reconstruction of animals, land, time, persons and ways of killing, into both a legitimated and protected space in which you could hunt as sport (as well as killing pests), as well as providing a legally derived map to the geographic, temporal, methodological, killable and accessible land. This litany of accessibilities thus established a legitimate hunting space surrounded by legal margins, and by default delegitimised anything outside of this.

At this stage, legally speaking, the laws are in place to 'preserve and protect' (See Table 5). As noted in an earlier chapter, hunting then developed into quite a different institution in Northern Cyprus. However, the TRNC government directly translated British law into Turkish, and continues to this day to build on that translation as a template and basis for its rule of law (as many a frustrated lawyer repeated to me during my fieldwork). In doing so, the narrative of this British law has become a legal pivot on which sporting hunters and hunting organisations in Northern Cyprus have established a legally resilient foothold in the State. Hunters and hunting organisations have then used these legal provisions to 'pivot' within their margins, and leverage the State, drawing upon its authority and resources to legitimise and police the hunting space. Hunting is therefore prepared and equipped with the crucial ingredient of continuity through its role of 'preserving and protecting'.

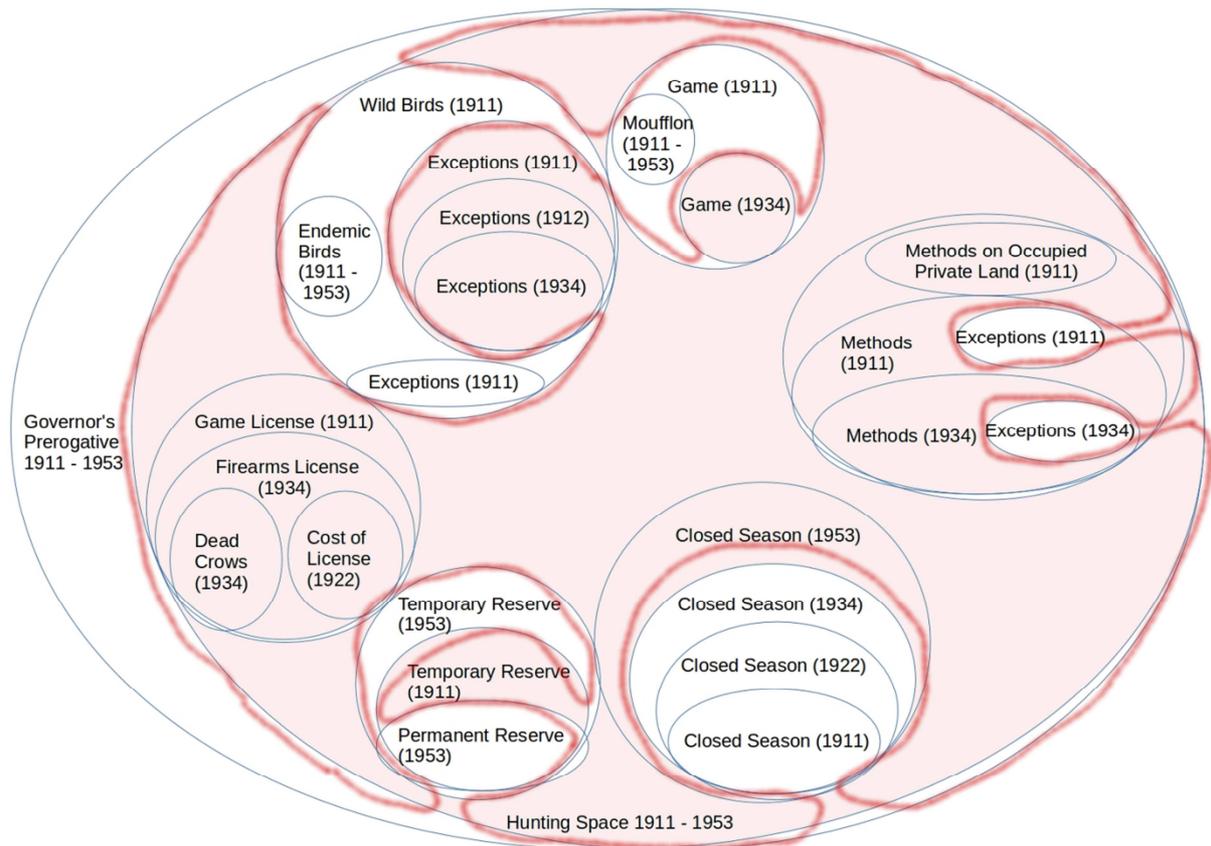


Figure 23 - Map of the legally rooted hunting space in Cyprus in 1935

Importantly my fieldwork in Northern Cyprus established that the State was not per se, the preserver and protector of hunting through its laws in Northern Cyprus, as it does not organise the development and policing of them. Instead, hunting law acts was a *para*-State Constitution of the hunting space, that directs both the bureaucratic preparations that protect the space and the temporal hunting society that dwells in it. Where this directing of a space, its sovereignty and margins are ruled, amended and managed by a leisure-interest group, who also happens to be grounded in the organisational forms of trade-union politics and workers' rights.¹

¹ An interesting comparison (in difference and similarity) can be drawn with the NRA (National Rifle Association) in the US. It started as a hobby group, but upon a small group of officials realizing its own vast membership, organizational and legal potential, pivoted toward becoming a politicized body through appending the hobby of shooting to a particular piece of the US Constitution. In doing so, it proceeded to develop a whole social identity and group through lobbying, policing and developing this Constitutional comment.

Hence, this hunting Constitution acts to designate common leisure interests as worthy of protection, as meaningful, as well as the politicised identity politics that inevitably emerge from this. While on the other hand, it utterly removes any legitimacy from killing free animals as work unless as pests. One implication of this being that while there are no laws against other more ‘passive’ activities such as bird-watching, there were also no laws and established rights or premises for such activities¹. In this sense free (open-access and wild) resources in the form of the mortality of wild animals are enclosed within hunting as ‘game’ that are public property to citizens with the right license.

6.3 The Little Blue 'play' Booklet

When I first asked staff at the TRNC Hunting Federation what hunting was and how it works I was given a pocket-sized blue booklet (See Figure 24) and then repeatedly referred to it. Inside were all the laws and their sub-sections relating to hunting. This was effectively the Constitution of hunting and laid out the institutional rules of the hunting space, many of which were direct translations of the original British laws but with additional amendments.

It was not a manual in personal techniques or tips on how one might or should hunt. It was not a guide on how to hunt or what it was, but instead a guide, that as a whole rather than in its parts, described the space within which hunting should take place and provide a formal margin for adaptability. That said, in understanding the establishment of margins as folded into the game-play of hunting, in that sense the little blue booklet was an explanation of hunting.

¹ I am not arguing that bird watching should be legislated. I am noting that activities such as bird watching, nest boxing and other ‘hobbies’ that engage with the ‘wild’ resources of birds either have no legal or illegal precedent thereby meaning that hunting has appropriated wild birds as a resource and maintained this through performing bureaucratic State practices, as well as having a well-organized large-scale democratic membership that can be recognized by a socialist State. Interestingly, there is a potential legal foothold in the ‘Science’ clause but people do not federate around it.

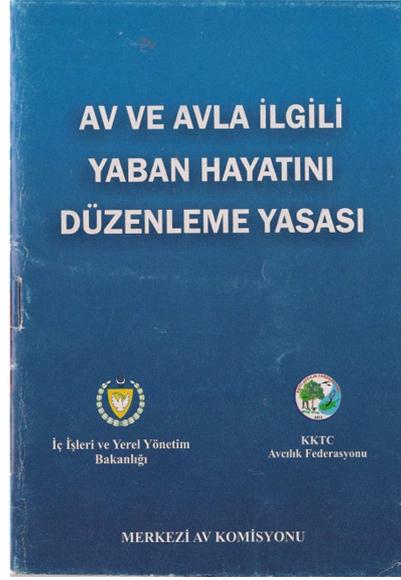


Figure 24 - Front-cover of Little Blue Booklet

Furthermore, these margins were actual laws backed up by the relevant State department and *Avfed*, as symbolised by their logos on the front. The authors are the Game's Master, or as the most famous historically equivalent book in the English and French language on hunting is called 'The Master of the Game' (Edward et al. 2005). In essence they all are telling you that you can be free to enjoy the play involved, as long as it takes place between these paper sheets and inked legal margins. In this case the hunting space. The ethnographic specificity is what I am interested in here, in how the contents of the little blue 'play' booklet were established, amended and re-negotiated.

To this aim I note that the decisions on how hunting moved within the margins of this booklet, took place along a specific chain of communication within the network of people and organisations involved in hunting (Figure 25). The crucial inter-section in this network was where the whole hunting population and its goals were condensed to meet a condensed version of the whole State machinery and its goals. This meeting point happened in two places. Once at the aforementioned point where all hunters refer to the little blue book, and secondly where hunters meet and State actors/departments meet in their separate modes of

condensing and conferring through intermediaries, primarily embodied in the president of the Hunting Federation.

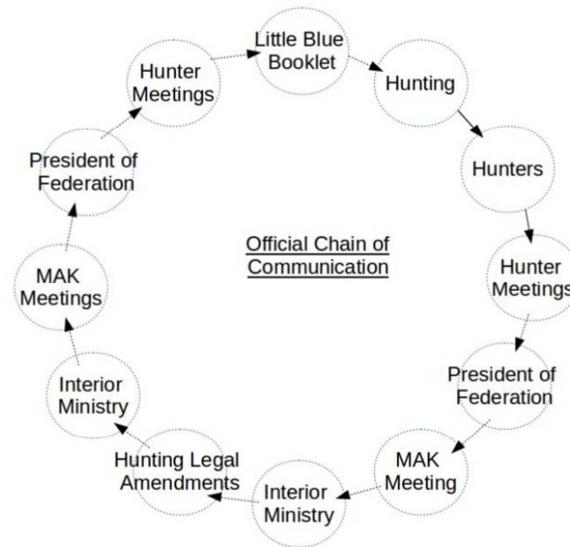


Figure 25 - Official Chain of Communication of movement within the margins

This secondary meeting point is the meetings and assemblies in the aforementioned hunting calendar. These were where the *Ayfed* committee members and federated hunting club heads and their committee members met. The social infrastructure underpinning these meetings emerges out of socialist unionisation and community cooperatives, but developed under capitalist conditions into organisations of communities sharing a common leisure interest rather than a common work interest. This is in comparison to the earlier Governors prerogative (listed in Table 5 and Figure 23) that used to be able to designate and violate at will all hunting law, along with many others. This would translate in Figure 25 to a contraction in the voice of hunters making its way into decision making, and a less circular and more top-down communication protocol. However, what has remained from the British period up until my fieldwork in 2016, is that the circle representing the 'Little Blue Booklet' in Figure 25, is very much still the same as it would have been during the British period.

What is primarily different however, is that this legally rooted hunting space would have been embedded within a whole different network of communications and people during my fieldwork than in 1935. In sum, the cross between the little blue booklet and how the hunting establishment organised itself had established a margin within which production and adaptation of the hunting space could take place.

6.4 Hunting Maps

Perhaps the most salient margin under negotiation during my fieldwork, and one that visually represents the aforementioned point, took place every year as part of the making of hunting maps. Hunting maps were essentially the creation of a geographically represented hunting space for a season. For a long time (British period through to early 2000's) they had taken the form of annual legal amendments textually listing inaccessible areas such as residential areas. With the introduction of cheap and easy visual mapping, these short lists could be expanded, as a map allowed many small areas of closure to be communicated on one page without the complexity of long textual lists. Furthermore, this then allowed people within the hunting establishment and hunters in general, to relate to the land as a fixed and bounded space that could be manoeuvred in and managed. This was reflected in the content of closures, before maps, being a handful of large closed areas and the rest of the land as a free space in which to roam. However, the relationship had become inverted; previously certain grounds were protected and off-limits and everything else was 'open and free', now hunting lands were secured and protected space and the rest was a potential margin for expansion.

I witnessed three separate years of these maps being produced. It occupied an extensive amount of the attention of people across the hunting establishment. At first, I had dismissed them as a performative exercise, with little 'real' effect on the ground. In light of Hamayon's

observation of activities at the margins involving: “metaphorical structuring as fictional creation” (2016: 283-284), it became clearer how key they were.

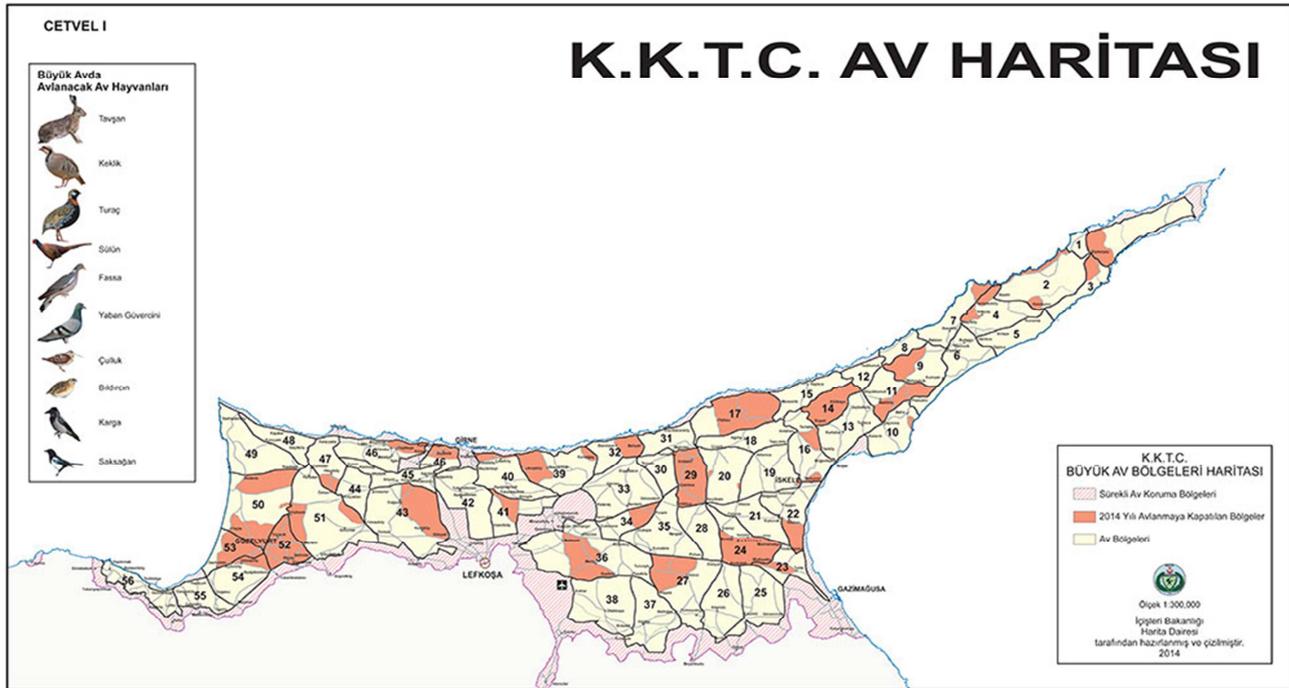


Figure 26 - Big Hunting Season Map 2014. Scale=1:300,000; Yellow=Open; Orange=Closed; Red-Lined=Permanently Closed.

These were maps (Figure 26), drawn up for each hunting season, that broke Northern Cyprus up into 52 zones, each of which were coloured differently as to whether they were permanently off limits, or open or closed to hunting that year. While Northern Cyprus is not large, the actual physical representations of these maps printed out on A3 paper left hunters very hazy about exactly where their borders were, or why certain areas had been picked over others to be closed, as they were not practical in that sense.

Perhaps most insightful was the emphasis with which the president of *Avfed*, Aysin, proclaimed how much he had achieved with opening up areas that had been off limits previously. These areas had been within the extensive military bases that are spotted around Northern Cyprus. To me these tiny segments seemed like nothing (Figure 27), but to the Aysin they were great achievements as they symbolised a progressive increase in space that

held the potential for unknown fortunes. The maps and their changing every year were a tactical idealisation of Northern Cyprus, whereby it was a crowning achievement to be able to have gained either more space for that season. However, increased space not being understood as fixed geographical area, as open and closed areas flipped every couple of years. Instead, increase is that of 'hunting space', as represented by the legal margin conceptualised in Figure 23, which is also not fixed to the geography of 'everyday' land and life, but layered over and around it. In sum, another margin appears here between the sociotechnical making of birds-eye view maps and interpretation of legal text, itself having been part of a margin of interpretation already mentioned.



Figure 27- Aysin's notes on 2015 Big Hunt map indicating gains in comparison to before(left); Aysin's notes on 2015 Big Hunt Map indicating future gains being aimed for (right)

A further margin is between the maps and their sociotechnical reinterpretation by hunters in relation to the physical terrain and spatial infrastructure: People who hunted knew their own favourite spots. In combination with new highways and globally imported off-road vehicles, Turkish Cypriot hunters knew many 'nooks and crannies' of the land, with oral epitaphs based on years of discussing hunting in different places. Despite the maps being hazy on where the boundaries were, they could talk about how this little hill or scrap of land was included or not (and thus appreciating Aysin's endeavours), as a form of seeing the land as hunting space. Therefore, hunting maps were not performative in the sense that there was no

link between where hunters hunted and where hunting maps said they could legally hunt. However, they were performative in the sense that they performed the task of symbolising hunting space as a shared virtual representation, as they were pinned up in club cafes across the country and across the walls and screens of digital communications, like a flag of Turkish Cypriot hunting.

They were not practical in the strictest sense though, as hunters referred to them when considering where to hunt, but not when out hunting. Instead, they used them as a focus around which to discuss and telephone *Avfed* committee members or friends as to whether this bit of land was legal this season or not. This in itself elicited a response from the staff of *Avfed* who went so far as to expend a considerable amount of time and resources placing 'No Hunting' sign-posts around access points to slivers of closed hunting grounds each year. In some cases, even actually making the bureaucratic red lines of closed areas material, in the form of flimsy red tape, flapping and tearing in the wind, being hung along certain junctures and strung around certain areas, sometimes hundreds of metres in length. This being an attempt to materialise the frame of the hunting space, but part of a margin of leeway for how *Avfed* staff could place their maps back into the ground

6.5 Producing Game(birds)

Whilst working on developing proper hunting grounds in which game animals could be freely encountered, hunters had also noticed that these encounters had dramatically reduced over the years. Around 15 years ago the then president of *Avfed* (Süleyman 1998-2002) worked as a policeman in the British military base of Dhekelia that straddles the buffer zone between the TRNC and the Republic of Cyprus. This meant he had unique access to both sides, something restricted to the majority of both populations at the time. Having friends in the equivalent of

Avfed for the Republic of Cyprus, he saw that they were farming partridges to be released for hunting. He decided to smuggle some eggs and the knowledge of how to breed them across the border and initiated a breeding programme in the North. Whether this was a reaction to a lack of encounters with huntable birds, an innovation he observed and wanted to copy, or were co-emergent phenomenon is hard to gauge empirically. Many informants mark the 1990s as when they noticed a dramatic fall in encounters with huntable birds. Whereas Süleyman noted to me, that for him, breeding had been a key part of his extensive “professionalization and modernisation” of hunting in Northern Cyprus, rather than a reaction to lack of game birds.

In any case, as another leading member of *Avfed* noted to me, he and other Cypriot hunters do not enjoy the form of shooting where birds are released at the point of shooting, as he had experienced on a commercial hunting holiday in Bulgaria and at a pheasant shoot in the UK (not all UK pheasant shoots are like that). As he noted, along with many other hunters, some of whom had not hunted outside of Cyprus: “nothing is like Cypriot hunting, this is what we like, and we like doing it here, in our Cyprus, with our friends”.

Domesticated animals were to be avoided in hunting in Cyprus as these would involve no uncertainty and thus not be 'game'. The challenge then for hunters has been to breed partridges for release but then hunt them when they are 'wild'. This has proven to be a fairly long and experimental journey in Northern Cyprus, and a continual struggle to ensure that hunting fortuity is not compromised as domesticated encounters. This does not mean though that preparation is not allowed, just that preparation is a step toward ensuring a free hunting space with free animals during the hunt.



Figure 28 - Hunting rangers moving bred partridge from pens to crates for transport (left); Bred partridge in transit (right)

Initially, bred partridges were released immediately prior to the hunting season en masse. However, as a game-bird academic that Tahir (Figure 22 Profile - Tahir) had brought in from the US (just before Süleyman became president) explained, this was not going to work in this way, as the birds would most likely die fairly quickly. In short, these bred-partridge are reared in breeding farms, akin to semi-free ranged chicken farms, which are one step away from battery farming methods (Figure 28). Hence the 'life worlds' of these partridges are more akin to that of the chickens we eat than of wild partridges (van Dooren 2016). According to John Carroll, the US academic, this has led them to be easy prey for predators and disease, as well as their own inability at surviving without human assistance and protection. In the UK for example, at the hunting estate near Canterbury, barriers are put up, predators are culled and seed and water dispensers are spotted around the estate for bred-for-release pheasants until they are shot soon after.

Whilst the hunting establishment was adaptive, it was wedded to a fixed progressive paradigm that had emerged with the historical emergence of leisure-rights for the citizen-man. This in itself is one dimension of the mid to late 20th capitalist enterprise engulfing much of Europe including Cyprus. The example here, from a more macro scale is that bureaucratic procedures embedded in a capitalistic system do not compromise or adapt in relation with uncertain factors. Instead, they draw as many resources together as possible to

try and maintain the progressive status quo they are wedded too. In this case, birds are seen to decrease. The answer is to convert resources into more birds to shoot, with no systemic or paradigmatic adaptation having taken place. Instead mass animal sacrifice takes place. In sum, the margins within which *Ayfed* is stuck enable a certain kind of adaptation to a certain kind of feedback. However, while the biology of the birds to some extent is reproduced within the hunting space, the social worlds of birds that emerge from the spatial infrastructure that goes with this form of adaptation, fall outside of the hunting space.

Furthermore, that in the years preceding my fieldwork, an internal scandal emerged that not as many partridges were actually being produced as were being recorded as having bred, and thus the TRNC Hunting Federation was getting subsidised by the government and expending hunters membership fees on non-existent birds. Whether or not it was true, most of these birds were most likely never going to get hunted anyway. Hence, the point is that bird breeding had become a semi-independent industry with its own centre of gravity i.e. within old infrastructural margins but reproducing a different space. As industry is the antonym of inertia, so bird breeding was in some sense self-perpetuating itself as it was not socially inert. It was an industry with economic, political and social capital involved. In other words, its own space had formed, not simply as a medium or channel for birds to be bred and passed through to the hunting space. But, a spatialized infrastructure that could reproduce itself had been co-opted. The bird breeding industry was no longer simply the making of game for the hunting space but an end-game and space in and of itself. This bird game, as I witnessed, employed the drawing together of the aforementioned resources to then be used to play with in the margins, but not a human-animal play, but alliances, induction and maintenance of club loyalties and commitments.

6.6 Hunter Meetings

Attending these meetings was a very lively and exuberant experience. Meetings commonly involved up to two representatives of each hunting club (48 clubs) as well as various committees' members, hired specialists such as a lawyer, and the *Ayfed* staff including the president, Aysin Karaderi.

At a meeting held on the 8th of October 2015, similar in most aspects to the other nine general meetings (in contrast to multiple other smaller meetings) I attended throughout my fieldwork, I found myself crammed in with almost eighty hunters as I took notes:

‘Very packed today, everyone signs in; a good atmosphere; many are freshly showered and shaved with ironed shirts; others not; always a few skinny guys, while most are well-shouldered hefty guys either in shoulder or in belly, with a good few very round men too; 4 + *Başkan* [president] at lead table; *Başkan* is concerned that people sign-in, most not so concerned to sign-in until told.’ (19:00 – 19:15 - 08.10.2015)

As later transpires, Aysin cares about people signing in as it means that they did agree to something. As I saw in the following months when people argued with him with regards to what he and his staff were doing, in relation to the same subject as the October meeting, he simply countered by saying: “but I got everyone and met all the Heads [hunting representatives in meetings] and they have signed off on this.” This was reiterated to me when Aysin requested copies of my recording of these meetings as extra evidence of what had been agreed and said.

Returning to the meeting: We were now beginning to get crammed in, in rows of chairs in the main room of *Ayfed* headquarters, which was about ten metres square. The president, a selection of committee members and any relevant specialists were seated on one side of a

long table facing toward the rest of us (Figure 29). There was little space to move but the air-conditioning kept us from sweating. The space out front of the office was filled with an array of cars and 4x4 vehicles, that had brought us all here (Figure 29).



Figure 29. Avfed headquarters (left); Front table (yellows spot = Aysin) at commencement of meeting with maps on wall (right)

‘Friends saying hello, patting each other on the back, reconnecting, some sitting and waiting. Re-affirmational quality; spot a *Beretta* [emblazoned] T-shirt every now and again. First meeting I have seen *Başkan* [President] speak during a meeting.’ (19:15 – 19:30 - 08.10.2015)

The meeting started 30 minutes after it had been advertised, basically when the room had filled. Upon commencement the door was shut, and persons avoiding coming in or out until the meeting was over. The topic of the day, maps, was raised and spoken on briefly, followed by reactions from the room and further points raised (Figure 29Figure 30):

‘Some guys laugh at questions being raised; current questioner getting worked up; arguing about map after Aysin gives platitude laden talk; Aysin says his aim is to keep as much hunting ground open as possible; he says *avcı camiası* (hunter community¹) will carry on after him, but it is not him to answer everything. They should also address their questions to themselves as a team; after 20mins meeting

¹ The word is very similar to mosque in Turkish as they share the same root and idea of a gathering together, just as was implied about *Avfed* headquarters when the president talked about the office to other hunters.

breaks down into each person discussing with their neighbour (Figure 31), along with few people directing long questions to Aysin. One guy says he came all the way from Karpaz, so he wants to have his time to say something (Figure 30). Repeated efforts to bring meeting back to focus on maps by someone speaking loudly, but irrevocably fails, as either a speaker then goes on long rant and so people get frustrated again, or asks and then answers their own questions. It is a tussle and the point is to simply make your statement as often and as heard as possible, and whoever gets to say that sort of came out on top; “*arkadaşlar*” (friends) is how *Başkan* keeps referring to everyone; Earlier questioner comes forward (Figure 30) and notes “who can go hunting on Thursday? [Wednesdays and weekends are the norm as people have time off work] Why is that a hunting day?” some people complain; they are arguing about *cıkla* [Song-Thrush Season, One of Two Specific Game Seasons] season being slowly reduced from 16 to 10 days and one of those 10 days is now a Thursday when people are working, though this is not meant to technically be the point of the meeting, which is to discuss the hunting boundaries; argument though is that slowly *cıkla* season is disappearing from March, which is when rainfall or weather is good for *cıkla* which creates problem of hunters missing that season, furthermore the Big hunt was divided from the *İkinci İnçe* [second specific game hunting season] hunt or *cıkla* season so both can't be hunted across both hunts, just one in either, despite people saying they are going to hunt them anyway. At least 15 people have had a 5 minutes pitch in a room of 70-80 people.”



Figure 30. Red dot = gesticulating questioner who initiated *cıkla* season topic (left); Red dot = questioner approaching Aysin (yellow dot) as people break into groups (right).

No matter how roughly or loudly a participant put their point, they had been entitled to share their feelings on hunting matters, and were not silenced, with no personal abuse, gossip or back-handed comments being used throughout. Across the meetings I attended it struck me that attendees were not buying a product to own, nor were they bargaining for rights from someone who owned what they made. This was a question of orating and brusquely discussing, borderline chaos sometimes, where and how they wanted to 'preserve and protect' their entitlement to access a natural resource based on a sporting legal right, through negotiating where hunters sought its margins to be.

The socialist margins of style found in trade-union spaces were those at play, but the principles were based on older Cypriot ideas of cooperative ownership through investing in a shared Trust, and a masculine style of forceful oratory yet pleading passion to make ones point. Those in attendance of these meetings owned the time and space of this building, its staff and resources and there was no question that the participants in these meetings were going to make sure that what they wanted they would find within the margins of their shared enterprise of hunting. The federation was the vehicle toward that aim, just as the main portion of the paid federation staff - the Hunting Rangers - were called *Avkor*, which means Hunt Conservation or Save, where 'Hunt' is the part being conserved or saved, so these staff had no

voice or creative role but were simply there to do what the *camiası* (hunting community) decided.



Figure 31 - Factions/groups emerging and debating different points being raised

What I was witnessing was a particular mode of margin renegotiation by a group of people who may each put themselves forward to be judged within their own group's eyes. Judged as to whether they can best ensure the group took hold of the algorithmic inhumanity of legal and bureaucratic margins. In doing so, hunters were finding the leeway with their motor skills and senses.

Instead of simply being subjects of bureaucracy they were adaptors and users of their own bit of bureaucratic margin. As Aysin repeatedly told me when I asked what we were doing during the days I shadowed him: “*Adaptasyon! Adaptasyon! Adaptation! We are adapting, this is adapting, Avfed does adapting*”.

However, as noted, the adaptation of hunting margins was almost entirely progressive, in the sense that the margins that were already there, were being negotiated within. This process left little space or incentive for concerns beyond the current hunting populous and their access to and experience of hunting. The common object of hunting as configured was left

paradigmatically unquestioned. Any potential meaning could only be realised within the pages of the Little Blue Booklet and all that this entails and it is embedded in.

What hunters were doing then was simply voicing concerns they could get remedied through moving within the margins they were using, but not the margin itself. In this sense the act of hunting developed hunter's individual empowerment, but this game did not reach a fuller ritual awakening to better consider itself in a changing world as its very organisation was set on a paradigmatic path it had chosen and stuck to.

When I checked earlier this year to see who the new elected president was, after Aysin's term had come to an end, I thought I recognised the face. It was the man who had kept pushing his point about wanting more *cikla* hunting days in the meeting.

6.7 Illegal Hunting

For the rest of this chapter I will now consider those who defy the hunting space. The policing and management of this on the ground, plays out in a more complicated way than illegal act > getting caught > prosecution > no more illegal acts. Once during a day in the *Avfed* headquarters I bumped into a retired senior member of the TRNC police force who informed me that during his time as a senior member of the police he had overseen as a major increase in focussing on catching and prosecuting. This was in collaboration with the then newly formed *Avkor* (Hunting rangers).

I later dug up the records of illegal hunting from the *Avfed* headquarters that *Avkor* rangers had reported. Figure 32 are the results I found corroborating the retired policeman's account of a significant start to *Avkor* ranger's duties in catching illegal acts of hunting. The monthly fluctuations are to be expected, increased numbers of incidents coinciding with hunting seasons. However, as can be seen from the graph the numbers tail off after the first year. I

followed this up with the retired policeman who simply noted he retired shortly after that first year. From my own observation different margins were raised during different hunting meetings and then championed by certain presidents who won office, with the relevant infrastructure then being steered toward it. For example, *Avkor* were originally focussed on catching illegal hunters, but now spent time putting up ‘no hunting’ signs because that is what the new president wanted to do. Hence, the leeway between the two is another margin of hunting, one embedded in working with the spatial infrastructure, including labour, already produced.

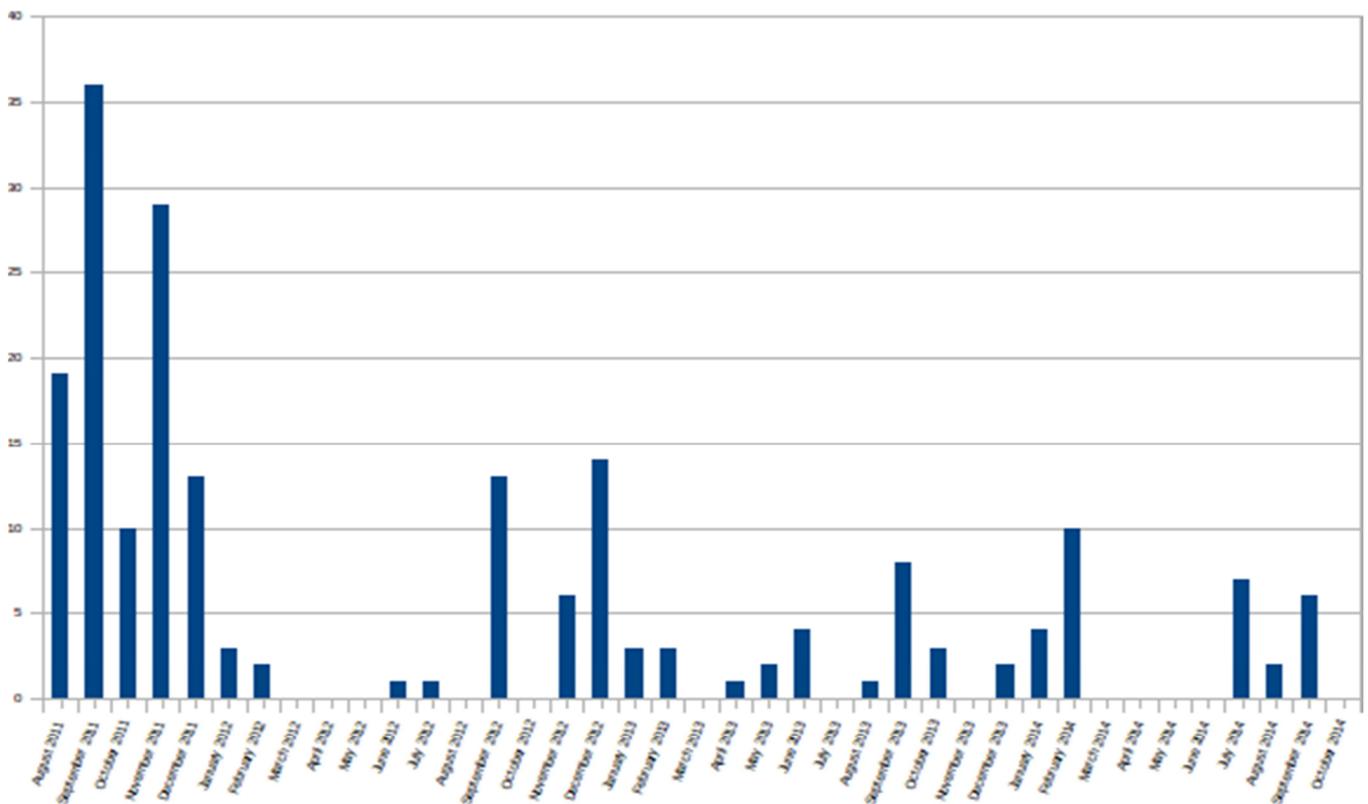


Figure 32 - Illegal Hunters Caught by Avkor August 2011 – October 2014

In short, catching illegal hunters was not currently top of the agenda, as others facets of the hunting space were being initiated by the sitting president to ensure his legacy through the establishment of his metaphor on the hunting space. Nonetheless *Avkor* did still focus on

capturing illegal acts of hunting, though the results were somewhat less straightforward than the above graph might suggest.

A case I was involved in took place during early 2016 when I accompanied three members of *Avkor* rangers who had been alerted through the 24hour hunting hotline (dial 140) to the existence of some potentially illegal netting for trapping birds, as well the illegal removal of ancient carob and olive trees. Upon arrival at the location, just over an hour's drive away from *Ayfed* headquarters, we came across some netting in the location described, on the outskirts of a Maronite village (one of few Christian and Greek ethnicity villages whose residents decided to stay after the events of 1974), but it turned out to be an off-cut of farm packaging that had blown across some bushes. However, we did come across the description of heavily cutback trees and bulldozed 'natural' scrub-land off which they took multiple photos. Something that hunters blame for disturbing resting land or destroying hunting land. The photos were later placed on the Hunting Federation social media page later that evening, to share with the members. I cannot express how serious a task this was taken as.

Having the rest of the morning to spare the rangers decided we could scout around for wire snares as well. We headed further out from the village into a pine forest where the rangers demonstrated to me where hare snares might be found along the edges of the plantation forests, and in the furrows between scrub-land and fields. We did not come across any that day, though in previous escapades I had witnessed their removal, even finding one of the very simple devices myself.

On our way back past the Maronite village we had come through earlier, the rangers thought to take a slightly different route, whereupon we came across a small red 4x4 stuck in the mud (it was spring so Cyprus can get very wet in places) with no driver but a Greek Cypriot number-plate. The rangers immediately exclaimed that we should check it out. We scrambled out of our 4x4 and Ali, one of the Rangers, peered into the vehicles windows and exclaimed

with excitement that he spotted a long reed basket, but could not see in it through the window. I was not sure why that was of interest. Ali took it upon himself to try the car door, whereupon it opened and he pulled the basket free to show me sticky lime-sticks, the traditional and fairly unique Cypriot device used for trapping birds. However, no birds were in the car, though Ali noted that there was a hand-held chainsaw indicating the owner may have been involved in the nearby over-pruning of olive and carob wood highly prized by Cypriots for its thin but tasty smoke for barbecuing. Normally such trees are only over-pruned in an attempt to induce the tree to die, rather than illegally chopping these protected trees down, and thus making way for other uses of said land.

The crucial point of this whole story first came when *Avkor* rangers told me that they had no legal authority to enforce anything, so we needed to call the police in. Furthermore, it had been illegal for them to enter the vehicle to get the lime-sticks. So, we had to put it all back in place for when the police arrived thirty minutes later. The police inspected the situation and then noted the second crucial point of this story. It was not illegal for people to possess lime-sticks (or a chainsaw) as there were no dead birds on them, and thus the person could argue they were simply a craft item, and we had not caught them in use either.

Ali did point out there was a dead mouse stuck to one stick so technically there was proof the lime-stick had killed an animal. The policeman noted that mice were pests and this was accidental death. They all discussed. From what I could gather sometimes the follow up procedure would mean the police could search the owner's house as they had proof of suspicion. However, these were Maronites, who whilst resident in Northern Cyprus were in part under the jurisdiction of the Republic of Cyprus. Hence, the police's jurisdiction and the complications of this made the whole possibility of a follow-up very difficult. The matter was left to rest with the police and what was left unsaid but obvious was that they would not be following it up. So, we drove off and left them to it. The rangers had been motivated by the

finding of this event, but as we drove off, the exhaled sighs reflected a situation of demotivation and resignation as I talked to them about how they felt. In sum, multiple spaces and infrastructure had intersected in this encounter to create a margin for leeway dictated by the overreaching space of national conflict.

Another form of illegality was also focussed on. Whilst it seemed petty at first according to my own personal prejudices, the *Avkor* rangers were motivated and resourced to tackle these illegalities demonstrating a salience of some sort. A case in point was during November 2016 when I was on patrol with *Avkor*. As ranger Ali explained to me, we were hunting illegal hunting (not hunters per se). We drove up and down hunting grounds as the mornings hunt was taking place, keeping our eyes peeled on the look-out, if not mostly hearing, for hunting amongst the landscape around us. The main duty of *Avkor* rangers in this situation was to spot check whether people had their relevant hunting licenses or not. Secondly, with *Avkor's* large labelled and recognisable vehicles and whirring siren, to make their policing of the huntings spaces integrity known. As Ali was explaining to me how to spot illegal hunting, he was looking out of the right window. Mid-flow he suddenly exclaimed: “there over there, Mustafa take a right here quick.”

We sped along a track until we came to the spot he had indicated but no one was in sight. Ali jumped out and disappeared into the bushes to re-emerge and beckon us over. Amongst the bracken he pointed out a well-hidden shotgun, naturally camouflaged by its wooden holster. I asked why this was here. He quickly explained that one only dumps your gun if your hunting without a license. He had spotted someone from the car when we had been around three hundred metres away, who had seen us and ran.

Our presence, like a hunter's, had startled the quarry and made it bolt. Critically to note, as Ali said, is that if the person had not bolted we would not have stopped. We milled around and took photos when two people turned up, one older and one younger. Eventually it turned

out the younger was under-age for hunting and thus the rangers suspected had been hunting without a license, and it was he who had hidden the gun he was using so he would not be implicated. But there was nothing to be done. No solution could be achieved, with the rangers in possession of his gun but no authority to do anything, but unwilling to return it. So, Ali decided to call in the president of *Avfed* - Aysin - who was about thirty minutes away by car, to come and resolve the issue.

Whilst we waited the most startling thing happened, from somewhere in the bushes shots were fired over our heads, but no discernible prey was in sight, with pellets dropping all around us. We could only guess that the friends of our captives were trying to break our nerve and startle us into leaving as time wound on. The whole atmosphere was very serious, with the young under-age hunter looking distraught, and *Avkor* being in the awkward position of having to police without being able to legally enforce the law. In short, the boy could have simply run off, but would have lost his gun. Although ultimately *Avkor* could have followed up its serial number if it had one.

Aysin finally arrived and the result was a severe chiding of the boy, before which Aysin made a kinship connection (something almost every Turkish Cypriot can do with any other Turkish Cypriot), to tie the boy into the idea that he was breaking the hunting spaces integrity that his kin were sticking too. As Ali noted to me, back in our vehicle: “do not be stupid enough to get caught”. As he explained: “the mistake is not that he hunted under-age without a license, but that he bolted and is not a real hunter”. In other words, he did not belong in the hunting space as a hunter. He then added: “and we caught him so we were successful.”

This had been a margin negotiation. However, this was not an event that went into their log book of official illegal acts (unlike the previous one) and thus represents the actions in the margins that do not make it into official reports. Thus, while margins seemed to be more distant and abstract in their enactment and how they were talked about, the hunting spaces

integrity was serious enough to focus its infrastructure and labour on negotiating at this margin. This was to maintain the integrity of the hunting space, but not to stop and make illegal a person who one associates as a part of one's community. Just as flimsy red-tape was sometimes physically put up to signify where one could legally hunt, it was not the tape that stopped a hunter from illegally hunting, but that the tape is part of a 'metaphorical structuring' of a hunting space.

6.8 Spring Cleaning as Preparation

Entangled with margins and hunting space is the idea of seasonally cleaning. One primary part of this is corvid 'hunting'. It echoes Dalla Bernardina's work on Corsican hunters, and I demonstrate that this preparatory cleaning is another dimension of making a hunting space (2009). However, my informants told me: 'this is not *real* hunting, you have to come in the Big Hunt season to see real hunting'. But first; treating corvid hunting as an example of real hunting, ignorant of what the other hunting seasons through-out the year entailed, my first excursion was very similar to one stereotype of how hunting is imagined by someone unfamiliar with hunting (i.e. myself at the time); reckless, crude, and what I had imagined rural 'hill-billy types' the-world-round get up to in their free time; 'leering' out the back of pick-up trucks with their shotguns, shooting whatever takes their fancy. Attending it would have done little to assuage anyone with ideas of Southern European hunters as rabid 'hirsute' men. But in embracing this without demonising it, and then considering it as one aspect of this hunting season, and this season 'not being real hunting', I have now understood this apparent crudity and recklessness as part of the point of this hunting season'

This point emerged as I shadowed the corvid hunt. One of the first times that it emerged was in the company of six of my informants, as we all piled into a classic Isuzu 4x4 pick-up truck

(Figure 33). A favourite of hunters and a reliable metal steed from which the hunters can shoot corvids.¹ The ‘normal’ hunting rules were not held to. Prohibition 15.4 and 15.6 of the K.K.T.C. Hunting Law do not allow hunting from a vehicle² or use of any form of trapping equipment. However, an exception has been strapped to both prohibitions with regards to corvids. Hence, a couple sofa-chairs were piled into the back of the pick-up truck as we set off. Settled, with shotguns ready, the designated driver put his foot to the accelerator.

We motored off out of the village and into the local fields and hills. Mehmet who was at the wheel, would take directions. There were fed down from those with a higher and thus better view of corvids in the pick-up's rear. The day continued on with us starting and stopping, taking shots at corvids from the rear or out of the side windows, sometimes making a little foray on foot where the pick-up could not go. We did not stick to roads or follow prescribed driving sensibilities. Almost non-mechanically we rode the pick-up as it reared across the land, down creeks and up hill-sides in search and pursuit of corvids.



Figure 33 - Hooded-crow head (left); The Isuzu steed (right)

¹ In terms of the metal hunting feed had noticed the newly released and aptly named Volkswagen Amarok was the one to now have, if you had the right credit-score. Amarok is a giant grey wolf in Inuit mythology.

² This differentiation in law can be confusing for non-hunters who are not aware of it, leading to a situation of illegal hunting from vehicles despite this not unilaterally not being the case.

Each time a corvid was successfully shot, the hunter would go and pick up its carcass, hold it tightly in the one hand, grab it around the neck with the other hand, and then cleanly pop off its head. Often the bird's gizzard would resist breaking point for a little, before its elastic limit was reached and it pinged back upon snapping (Figure 33).

Hooded-crows, jackdaws and magpies were the three corvids that could be legally shot. My informants recognised these as different but grouped them in colloquial hunting language as *karga*. Where magpies were sometimes differentiated as *saksağan*, whilst hooded-crows, and jackdaws, were grouped respectively as little and big *karga*, with rooks and ravens not being acknowledged. Hunting language is based on an older Turkish Cypriot pronunciation, which rolls the sound 'k' into a 'g', lending the pronunciation of *Karga* a satisfying onomatopoeic similarity to a crow's call: *gaar-ga*. This further lent itself to the embodied and playful nature of hunting communication and relations. Similar in some sense to Kohn's concept of 'sound images' such as *tsupuu* (2013: 33; see next chapter)

When I listened to this type of communication during these hunting forays *garga* were also often described with two sets of words. One set being about cunning and cleverness when they were described directly to me, and the other being crude expletives shouted at the birds, including 'bastard' and 'son-of-a-whore', especially when they got away. At first, I did not fully appreciate their specificity until I had attended the main hunting seasons and could compare them. In those seasons targeted birds such as the *Alectoris chukar* partridge were always referred to in protective and caring ways, and if they got away they were never sworn about or blamed. Instead the hunter himself, or sometimes his gun or dog, would be at fault. As Dalla Bernardina's work on Corsica argues, this 'protective narrative' comes with the emergence of 'leisure hunting' in recently globalised communities. He argues that the concepts of warfare are rife in relation to (not as separate) these 'protective' activities (2009).

In my own field-site it became clear that corvid hunting was about removing improper competitors from the land: That is, illegal hunters that could not redeem themselves through establishing some form of belonging. As was often described to me when I asked what we were doing, and why we were doing it, in relation to corvid hunting, I was systematically told that we were *temizleme* (cleaning). While this explanation does direct attention toward the official story of corvid hunting as wildlife management, it also reflects the above indications of how my informants made sense of what they were doing.

I witnessed my informants asserting themselves on the landscape, akin to smashing an insurgency, whilst claiming themselves as the land's true protectors. This was literally being done by demonstrating that those who had the audacity to kill their quarry in their hunting space (in this case the belief that corvids kill other bird's hatchlings or peck out the eyes of adults), as well as not following the rules, would be cleaned from the land. This is compounded by corvids being commonly seen and observably adapting to and expanding with human growth. As hunters would note: "every year there are more". In the corvid hunting training manual, it noted: "corvids have spread across the globe, even to Japan". In short, corvid's social gregariousness is interpreted as avarice, as they do not have a conforming and submissive character, which would at least signify a respect for their human benefactors.

Therefore, these were not simply illegal human hunters to be sanctioned, but animals and "very clever" ones at that. Hence, one could kill them, one could kill as many of them as possible, and one could have a particular kind of satisfaction in cleaning out a competitor. Thus, the process of this annual cleansing of the land was inherently a more 'blood-thirsty' and boisterous affair, with many more cartridges spent than in other hunts. This also indirectly renewed the hunting space negatively from the outside to non-hunters through

excessive empty cartridges being littered across paths and the booming soundscape of incessant shooting.

6.8.1 Culling as Punishment

Across Europe and the US this vilification and implication of corvids as a cause of harm is also a common belief amongst hunters, farmers and twitchers (bird-watchers). Furthermore, this belief stretches back historically, whereby it also informed British colonial policy in Cyprus until the British left in 1960. While it is not my main aim to subject all knowledge to one form of empirical evaluation, in this case 'scientific', the cases in point finds legitimacy in the both the compartmentalizing character of the bureaucratic process and the local relation between nationality and land. Therefore, it is relevant to note that both a global comparative study (Madden et al. 2015) and a local Cypriot study (Hadjisterkotis 2003) demonstrate that the very small amount of preying on smaller animals that corvids do, is negligible in terms of effecting the population size of targeted species.

Furthermore, depending on the situation, culling does not even lead to a decrease in a population as animals are not numbers, but have fully formed and complex lifeworlds. For example, the culling of feral cats in Tasmania led to an increase in the population size, as they did not copulate as numbers, but according to their particular social hierarchies. The culling method had inadvertently targeted the tyrannical 'alpha' males who were forcibly controlling the reproduction of the females. In removing these males, all females and other males could copulate many more times and more freely leading to a population increase, as well as the spatialization of their method contributing to this. (Lazenby et al. 2014).

In collaboration with local academics I conducted a pilot study along these lines in relation to corvids. The preliminary results show that 70% of hooded crows shot were male and 81% of

magpies shot were male. This inadvertent sex biased culling of corvids highlights an ‘inefficient corvid population control strategy’ as population sizes are directly dependent on reproductive females in the cooperative breeding systems of corvids. Loss of monogamous male partners leads to females adopting a cooperative male helper(s) to fill the lost male’s role. Additionally, the crossover in timing between the cull and the corvid incubation season suggest why the cull methodology is sex biased (Heinemann et al. 2018).

The content of the arguments and justifications given by hunters for legal culling were not the same as the meaning hunters gave them when amongst themselves. Instead, from my perspective their ‘prepared arguments’ for culling were a form of battle-cry or as Dalla Bernardina puts it, a harkening of an apocalypse (Dalla Bernardina 2009). What you say is contingent on the history of your relations with multiple people at multiple times and what you say in one given relation is dependent on both your life history and its intersection with who the other person is to your life history and what their life history is.

I saw my informants were not lying about crows preying on smaller animals. Instead, at the beginning when they had mentioned crows’ predatory aspect, whilst I was still a relative outsider, they were empathising with who they understood me to be through their answer, and how they thought I understood knowledge, and were trying to give me an appropriate answer. But also, I observed that they were reassuring themselves through their rationalised and unified answer, whether or not it was me or one of themselves inadvertently raising the topic in the manner of needing a response. The hunting federation took it a step further as it faces the public, and thus presents its arguments accordingly. That is, it takes the argument and bureaucratises it according to the margins inherited and entangled with its establishment, in the form of formal culling and subsidised pest control.

I draw a similarity between corvid Hunting and other State subsidised ‘hunts’, almost always of ‘predators’, where the killing is justified on the grounds of their competition with the

established order, based on the idea that they are not as worthy of something (e.g. prey, land, resource) as their legal human counterparts. Hunters have a feeling of entitlement to hunt, to their public service of hunting, and to game birds, but the later seem to be decreasing. Hence 'others' who seem to feel entitled to their entitlement cannot be accepted.

I hear Bernardina's point that hunters blame 'others' for destroying game birds and the land, instead of themselves. Nonetheless, I would add that in the corvids case, as in others, this 'blaming' actually allows hunters to target a 'cause' and punish it. To believe and institutionally portray that the cause of the problem is being punished, and by extension controlled through the sheer size and materiality of their actions. In short, the culling is a lulling belief that one is still in control, because one can exact punishment, not because one can actual negotiate a situation.

Returning to the corvid hunting season in Northern Cyprus, not every hunter was allowed to participate. The hunting federation only gave licenses to small groups of 3-4 people from each club that constituted the federation. For each corvid scalp collected a hunter receives 4 cartridges from the government via the hunting federation. These can then be used to cover the next corvid hunting season and significantly supplement the other hunting season outlay of cartridges.

Corvid hunting is also an optional privilege as well as a duty. It is a privilege because only some can do it and they get to hunt for 6 weeks of the year that are not usually open to hunting, whilst receiving cartridges in return. It is a duty because it is not pleasant hunting per se, but an act of taking it upon oneself to conduct a service for the State and land. It is expected that as a club some of your members are informally obliged to help in cleaning and preparing the land. To get an idea, in 2013 out of all legal hunters 7,000-15,000, only 287 people were licensed to crow hunt, of which only 193 actually returned any corvid heads in exchange for cartridges.

Finally, the optional aspect is also important in my observation. Some hunters could really do with not spending their money on lots of cartridges during the 'game' hunting seasons. Therefore, they will embark on corvid hunting to generate cartridges for themselves. Some people are also inevitably more 'blood-thirsty'. This is reflected in the sheer number of 15,399 individual corvid heads returned to the hunting federation in 2013, a normal year by all accounts¹. This will yield 61,596 cartridges as a subsidy, that costs the government around a quarter of million YTL (£65,000 at the time), but is distributed amongst relatively few - 193 - people. These few people can then outlay that to their respective clubs. In doing so motivating more people to join or remain in a club.

On the other hand, the average number of kills during a corvid hunt compared to the 'Big Hunt' season, 3-5 on average for a total season stretching across 12 weekends in the 'Big Hunt' (2013), is 20 times higher in only 6 weekends, at a mean average of 80 per person. That is not even mentioning that under 10% of these 193 people, shot over 250 birds each over 6 weekends. In short, this is a big cleaning operation conducted by specific people that embodies a specific relationship. This relationship being an explicitly emphasised idealisation of prescribed society and cathartically invested in something classified as productive.

On top of this, I observed that having the appropriate license means returning to your region as the person with the authority to hunt, whilst others cannot at this time, or usually allowing them to 'informally' join you by virtue of your authority. This promoted the creation of a fixed authoritative hierarchy in hunting that was eschewed in the other 'real' hunting seasons. Finally, corvid hunting both ends the hunting ritual of the last year by bringing hunters back to their reality of needing to cull a lot of animals so they can 'properly hunt other animals, as well as affirming the causes of why there will be few birds in the forthcoming hunting year.

¹ From eyeballing the data there seems to be a four-year cycle of three years of around 15,000 heads returned and then a fourth year increasing up to 20-25,000. The last two of these peak years being recorded in 2015 and 2011.

In other words, remedies are being evoked for the scarcity of game, remedies that make space for abundance, in the form of encounters with game animals, but as the hunters complain that these are decreasing so they apply more of the remedy: punishment.

7 *Gıbrıslı Avda; Turkish Cypriots at the Hunt.*

7.1 Introduction

Theodossopoulos' ethnography of Vassilikiot's relation to the "natural" world demonstrates that land becomes meaningful through "practical engagement" with it and that the social significance of Vassilikiot's land is emergent from these "immersive" relationships (ibid. 167). In other words, Vassilikiot's: "perception of the environment is shaped by the practices and activities going on within it" (Green and King 2001: 285, in Theodossopoulos 2003: 167).

As Theodossopoulos argues, this is in direct contrast to a "foregrounding" of the "aesthetic" in one's relation to the "natural" world (ibid. 167). This later approach is also highlighted by Harris (2012) and Rackham (Grove & Rackham 2003) as that applied by British colonial officials and environmental scientists in relation to the Cypriot environment and the Mediterranean more widely. In short, the colonial person's perception of the environment, as the colonised environment, was and is dominated by an aesthetic engagement.

Falzon also argues, with specific regard to Malta but also Mediterranean islands in general, that hunting is deeply embedded on these islands within their unique historical ecology. A historical ecology in which birds have been trapped as a key source of protein by inhabitants for centuries, arguably millennia, and it is out of this practical engagement with the

environment in the form of birds, that hunting has emerged as a popular sport amongst men. (Falzon 2008)

However, as Theodossopoulos' notes hunting is also very different from inhabitant's relationships with "domestic" animals and other human-animal relations as part of a broader "working relationship with the land". This difference is identified by Theodossopoulos as hunting not being a reciprocal relationship. As he explains, hunting is not the same as the reciprocal relationship of "care" that Vassilikiot's have with their domestic animals.

While this partly resonates with the situations amongst my informants in terms of migratory birds, as those focused on by both Theodossopoulos and Falzon, it is not directly applicable from the perspective of hunting involving resident hunted animals in Northern Cyprus, which my informants and I primarily focused on. As well as the different history my informants had with their island.

7.2 Cultivating the living gifts of Northern Cyprus

Where terrestrial meets arboreal in Northern Cyprus, there is a thin but heterogeneous crust made of soils, animals, plants and habitats. To know the uniqueness of this, the way you can pull out a Cypriot hare or where to find this mushroom at what time year, and then be able to name it etc... The practical engagement being talked about here is emergent from these immersive relationships that cumulatively constitute 'cultivation'. It is the practical application of skills to moving through a particular landscape as part of a *banya* (hunting band), to seduce and generate reactions in the form of a specific socialised reaction from hare or birds. There is an intersubjective modality that is shaping a multispecies society emerging as a tangible ecological habitat. And hunting is a form of cultivation in shaping both one's own motor skills and sense as well of those of hunted animals into a particular landscape.

On top of this is the hunting space, with structuring margins and its potential frontiers. This itself being on top of Northern Cyprus as national land, as integrated into a nationalist connection where land is kin (Bryant 2004: chp 7), where blood has been split and genocides buried. This then being amongst a recent history of human-environmental relations being colonised, marginalised, enclaved, resettled, and internally displaced, undermining the continuity in relations with a piece of land, that my informants so valued.

On top of this are the relations of belonging, specifically human-environmental relations identifiable in vernaculars of speaking, naming and eating, that are sandwiched between this stack of national relations with the Cypriot crust as land on the one hand and the intimacies of a sensed and huntable landscape on the other, cross cut by the hunting space.

Therefore, I talk of environment, land, landscape, ecology and habitat to enable a movement between them. I prioritise cultivation and living gifts because in the form of hunting described here, the engagement is not understood as an exploitative gathering of free resources, nor the transactional results of labour.

7.3 *Gün doğumu'dan önce; before the day is born.*

It was just coming up to 04:00 or more importantly it was still a while off from the sun rising and I was groggy having risen early, at 02:30. The village square sat in darkness with only a few vehicles parked at its centre. A number of them hitched with the hallmark trailers of hunters. These are small, often camouflage painted trailers that house hunting dogs.

I headed toward the one illuminated corner of the village square, where pale light hung from the windows; the sports cafe. I opened the door. There were already a handful of men attired in camouflage patterned trousers. Most had their jackets on to keep off the crisp pre-dawn chill, though the wood burner was slowly dissipating heat. These people identified as hunters.

They were seated around tables slurping soup, sipping coffee or taking drags on a cigarette. Low mumbled conversation hung in the room and the ghostly luminescence of old strip lights painted the room in dull shades. The television was burbling away.

When I had first arrived, one early morning to this cafe, without being an established and familiar face, heads had all turned, conversations had muffled, and questioning glances had been shared. On that first occasion their reception felt cold or even hostile. However, once familiar with the context I later realized it had been the soft bewilderment of still waking men at the appearance of someone, something unknown, something that did not yet belong.

On this later occasion, having established myself as belonging, I simply returned my nodded acknowledgement to the rest of the room and took a seat at a table with Mustafa, part of my *banya* (hunting band). A cup of herbal tea and a couple of cigarettes later the room started to fill, reaching around twenty people, also primarily in old military camouflage trousers. A few sporting the newer non-military camouflage pattern that was more popular with the younger and richer hunters. The low mumble of voices started to turn into the sharing of short inquisitive banter and rhetorical commentary. These barely decipherable conversations - to one not familiar with the way people who hunt speak - slowly started to turn to the coming days hunting.

The feeling was one of quiet calm building to anticipation. The atmosphere was one of equality and communality. It is *bizim yere* (our place) as my informants called it. This ritual of attending a sports club, cafe or someone's garage for this shared smoke, coffee, soft conversation and body language in the eerie pre-dawn light was not unique to this village or to these hunters. As we had been seated together here in Şirinevler, groups of men spotted across the land of Northern Cyprus had also formed in other quiet corners, craned over coffees, mumbling to each other as they each took their time before actually embarking on hunting.

This ritual acted as a means of readying themselves, preparing themselves to take on the days hunting. This was not the same as the routine we each have in the morning before we begin our day, including the idiosyncrasies of how we dress, eat and so forth as we prepare to face the day. These early morning collections of human hunters were not isolating but common moments of acknowledging each other and settling oneself together.

‘Settling’ being the second different aspect here. This morning ritual was not rushed in the slightest. Hunting was not rushed toward. It was also not about starting afresh for the progressive dirtying of oneself during a day at your job. It was more akin to that feeling of having either exhausted or taken the time to let settle your ‘mind and body’ of worries, needs, urges and distractions. In doing so, discovering in the exhaustion heightened but calmed senses; a feeling of being alert yet at ease. It allowed one to become more fully present; to become purposefully present rather remain as still waking men. No matter how early I joined my informants to go hunting - normally just before dawn - we would meet at least an hour in advance, for this ritual occasion before embarking on a hunt.

I noticed a dynamic between this personal ‘settling’ and the participation as autonomous persons in a shared space of “our own”. They were a time to prepare as a person to be *avda* (at the hunt) or - synonymously used - *ava* (verb. hunting); a moment to prepare *gün doğumu’dan önce* (before the day is born). This pre-dawn ritual was a necessary “practical engagement” to begin both the cultivating of the land but also themselves through their hobby. Hunting was neither the ‘everyday’ working of the land, nor an evening communally socializing and celebrating, formally or informally. It was both and neither, as well as individual and collective. It was hunters and hunting and they were now constructed to begin.

7.4 *Banya*; hunting line

By 5:00, the rest of my *banya* - Ertan, Mustafa and *Doktor*¹ - had supped their coffees. We each left a couple *lira* for the proprietor, and were wished a “good hunting” and *rastgele* (May you encounter!) Alert yet calm on a caffeine nicotine breakfast we ducked out into the pre-dawn light and took our places in Ertan's vehicle.

Not more than 10 minutes later we clambered out of Ertan's ageing off-road vehicle, just as the first hazy signs of the sun rising brought into focus the slightly damp field we had parked in. The dogs were released from the trailer, shivering with excitement and the crisp morning chill. This excitement would soon be directed to the focussed purpose of hunting by their respective human handlers.

We were at the top of a stream bed. Northern Cyprus has one long range of mountains from east to west; the Beşparmak mountain range. At their base on either side, perennial streams come down every half a kilometre or so and cut slightly into the land. These nurture a small wetland here and there, leaving a wake of cane and greenery on either side, with sediments of fertile soil building up against these indents in the landscape. Before proceeding, everyone had confirmed and asked each other in short gestures and barely formed words whether we were going a certain way. Everyone seemed to agree on the obvious choice of which direction: downhill along the stream bed.

We spread out into a line, about fifty metres between each of us, which is how people hunt as a *banya*. Each, apart from myself, with shotgun in hand. In this way the hunters and their dogs created a wide *banya* line, so as not to catch one another in front of the others gun, as well as to comb the brush for birds.

¹ *Doktor* was Ömer's nickname. A common practice amongst Turkish Cypriots is to refer to a friend in your group who has some relation to medicine as *Doktor*. In this case it was because Ömer worked as a porter in a hospital.

7.5 *Belo*; hunting dog

Each hunter's dog was urged out in front of them and kept about ten metres ahead in hopes they would flush out a bird into their hunter's frontal range. As we proceeded different sounds were used depending on whether to urge on their dog, or keep back their dog within range of their shotguns. Otherwise, if the dogs startled birds outside of their guns range it would be a missed opportunity.

In this way we could each do as we wished and no one specifically directed anyone else, but ultimately, we were all reaching out for encounters with huntable animals. Combing it through a continuous and lengthy morning and afternoon of relentless walking. A 'chase' in some sense, but not in the filmic sense. Instead it was a "practical engagement" of sensing and cultivating serendipitous encounters, as the greeting between hunters *rastgele* (May you encounter!) implies.

To talk and keep their hunting dogs within range and in the direction the hunters decided, my informants used litanies of "*hade*" (c'mon) "*beh*" (oy) "*gel*" (here), sometimes accompanied with slightly longer sentences, or the dog's name and some whistling. Dogs were not talked to in the same sense as hunted animals, but were inspired to assist in hunting through use of their superior olfactory abilities and through driving hunted animals out from the undergrowth with their presence.

There was a fine line between breaking a dog's spirit, subordinating their abilities or facilitating a dog to be an autonomous hunter in their own right. The over-riding quality of the relationship though was in whether the dog listened and worked with their hunter, but also kept a frenzied passion for hunting.

7.6 *Aey av*; good hunting

For talking to the land from the perspective of being a Turkish Cypriot and the history that goes with that, or talking to the habitat from the perspective of being person and the motor skills and sense that go with that, hunters used multiple sounds. These were for talking to something autonomous, free and to be hunted. To understand these sounds and their use Ertan explained to me their different context. Hunted animals would sit close to the ground, whether *gekliğ* (*Alectoris chukar* partridge) below bushes or *tavşan* (hare) in their *yatak* (literal: bed; technical: form). If the animal could keep its nerve and did not bolt then the likelihood of a hunter spotting it was very low, as I myself had experienced multiple times from almost standing on a hare. Therefore, a hunter had to startle and break an animal's nerve causing it to emerge from its habitat, no longer part of it, to be able to hunt it. At this moment it becomes a literal embodiment of 'free' abundance making itself very briefly known to the hunter, as it bolted and was within shooting range for only a couple of seconds¹.

On the other hand, this nerve on the part of the animal was also required, as too easily startled animals would bolt before coming into range and too frightened animals, as Ertan and other hunters explained to me, would be so frozen in fear that they would never bolt. This situation could occasionally be observed leading to the phenomenon of a hunter being able to lift a hare with only their hands, as it lay frozen on the ground. Ertan's explanation reflects what is referred to in the study of animal geographies as "an ecology of fear" and subsequently how predation, in this case hunting, can "structure an ecosystem" (Ripple and Beschta, 2004: 755)².

¹ The speed of the hare (~70kmph) and the range of the most common shotgun cartridges (~50m) mean that on average a hunter has approximately three seconds in which to react, aim and shoot the fast-moving zigzagging hare as it bounces away.

² One simple way to summarize this idea is the point that, depending on whether there are predators or not in an ecosystem, can affect whether or not you see many other animals, not whether they are actually there or not.

However, I would argue that it is not fear that is constructing this multispecies modality. An ecology of fear would from Ertan's perspective result in a paralysing effect on hunted animals that would not enable the hunter-hunted relationship and thus hunting to actually take place. Instead, as it was qualified to me, it was about attempting to achieve *iyi av* (good hunt) or *aeş av* as it was locally pronounced through reducing the syllables. To have a good hunt, animals must not be paralysed in fear, but ideally be going about their day to day tasks of life. To Ertan there is a normality of life for hunted animals, that involves "collecting food", "feeding their children", "walking around", "sleeping" and most importantly, as I was told, that animals should still have time to be *rahat* (at ease). Being able to be at ease was exactly the way of life that situated animals to be able to be hunted, but still remaining autonomous and, importantly, alert. Otherwise they would be easily annihilated or be paralysed in fear by hunting. Therefore, a process of multispecies social construction takes place, whereby the hunter tries to cultivate a sensibility of both alertness and ease, by contrast to fear, in hares' life.

This was the very sensibility my informants had been cultivating in themselves since before dawn during our caffeine nicotine breakfast. This process is what Theodossopoulos alludes to in the Vassilikiot context as the construction of a 'cultivated nature' (2003). That is rather than coming *under* the care of humans hunted animals are autonomous, but cultivated.

I argue that this process of cultivation is not only conducted on the hunted but also on the hunter, as a process of constructing not just the sensibilities of hunted animals but also those of the hunter. Therefore, the next section will examine in more detail what Theodossopoulos postulates as the process of "cultivated nature", through a finer examination of the particulars of the process of constructing a relation of good hunting.

7.7 *Bruh!* indexical sensibilities

Good hunting requires not only being at ease as well as alert but also, as introduced earlier, talking to the land. I use the word ‘talking’ because this process principally involved the use of sound. Two main sounds that were primarily used, were those for startling ground birds (to a lesser degree also used for birds that perched in low bushes such as the *cikla* - Song Thrush - hunted later in Spring). These sounds are indexical signs or indices by contrast to icons or symbols (Kohn 2013: Chapter 1). Where indices are defined by a particular sensory feature e.g. directly visible, audible, smellable, that correlates with and thus implies or points to something of interest to an animal. On the frontispiece of Kohn’s book ‘How Forests Think’ (2013) there is an image of a man tugging a vine in an attempt to startle and scare a potential monkey out of hiding on tree top perch. It is this very moment that Kohn uses to illustrate what it means to talk of indexical signs or indices for short. He argues that:

“A monkey takes the moving perch, as sign, to be connected to something else, for which it stands. It is connected to something dangerously different from her present sense of security. Maybe the branch she is perched on is going to break off. Maybe a jaguar is climbing up the tree . . . Something is about to happen, and she had better do something about it. Indices provide information about such absent futures. They encourage us to make a connection between what is happening and what might potentially happen.” (2013: 33)¹

¹ I have included the paragraphs preceding the quote to appreciate the different dimensions that resonate with my own forthcoming example, as well as deal with any concerns relating to cause-effect thinking: “To the extent that such an action can startle a monkey it is because of a chain of ‘real connections’ among disparate things: the hunter’s tug is transmitted, via the liana, high up to the tangled mat of epiphytes, lianas, moss, and detritus that accumulates to form the perch atop which the hiding monkey sits. Although one might say that the hunter’s tug, propagated through the liana and mat, literally shakes the monkey out of her sense of security, how this monkey comes to take this tug as a sign cannot be reduced to a deterministic chain of causes and effects. The monkey need not necessarily perceive the shaking perch to be a sign of anything. And in the event that she does, her reaction will be something other than the effect of the force of the tug propagated up the length of the liana. Indices involve something more than mechanical efficiency. That something more is, paradoxically, something

In my fieldwork I also observed and participated in similar signs. One was an imitation of the sound of birds of a certain weight - in this case the heavy wing flaps of partridges - flying, in an attempt to get them to fly. Where this sign specifically capitalised on these birds' habit of taking flight upon hearing another bird taking flight. It is lured then, through the imitation of the sign of another bird flying that: "Something is about to happen, and [they] had better do something about it" (ibid).

This indexical sign was generated by exhaling heavily but smoothly through loose lips as though one were going to give someone a loose but dry 'raspberry'. The second indexical sign was a more powerful noise aimed at scaring and startling the birds and thus an actual production of the noise of being a hunter, rather than an imitation of a fellow bird themselves having heard a potential hunter. This was generated in a similar way but at the same time as producing a guttural '*Bruh!*' sound. A third variation on this involved a higher pitch version: '*Bruuh...sshhh*'.

Additionally, both these and more general grunts of '*huy huy*' were used by hunters to make their presence known in thicker brush. This was so that they would not be accidentally shot by another hunter or *banya* that they might intersect with. This sound also worked as an indexical sign, but one between people as hunters to indexically signify not to hunt each other.

On occasion the hunters would also revert to flushing birds out through throwing rocks into the undergrowth, a technique that has similarities related to *pantima*. This was the historical definition used by lawyers during the British Colonial administration of Cyprus to categorise the illegal use of stone throwing to scare and break the nerve of birds perching in bushes and

less. It is an absence. That is, to the extent that indices are noticed they impel their interpreters to make connections between some event and another potential one that has not yet occurred." (Kohn 2013: 32)

trees into flying and subsequently getting caught in surrounding nets that had been setup. Again, the use of indexical signs is arguably present. Strictly speaking then, if we follow Pierce's categorisation of signs, hunting was a fairly silent affair in terms of a 'symbolic' use of words (Kohn, 2013). Instead it was primarily an indexical affair that worked on the sensibilities of alertness and being at ease.

Pierce's differentiation between symbolic, indexical and iconic signs as different forms of communication highlights that people do not dwell in a 'symbolic' environment, but that importance should also be given to the indexical, as well as the icon. Kohn's 'How Forests Think' (2013) is in essence a treatise in drawing our attention to the importance of and significant occurrence of human-environmental communication and the consequent cosmological (or political) implications, through paying attention to what is observable if we go beyond the hegemony of 'symbolic' communication and foregrounding the aesthetic.

However, this observation of communication beyond the hegemony of the symbolic, is not only between hunter and hunted, but a wider context within which to conceive of general human-animal relations in hunting. Picking up where I left off with the morning's hunt, this broader human-animal relational dynamic will now be detailed.

We had been rambling consistently for around an hour, everyone calmly surveying the land in front of them as they proceeded. Winding and skipping along the different features of the landscape as the sun started to more fully rise. A flutter ahead caused Ertan to bring his shotgun up to his shoulder with his eye looking down the barrel, two quick shots left ghost trails of smoke in the wet morning air. With the second shot the partridge had been downed. Everyone in the line had stopped, and the quick confirmation of simply "got it?" was replied with just "partridge". It had all happened so quickly that I had been looking to one side and had not even managed to register the moment of death on this occasion. I was not yet alert to the necessary registers.

We quickly continued as the rest of the hunting *banya* had proceeded. The members of the group would often make odour observations throughout a hunt, about the situation of the odourscape, or as they it: *bugün kokusu* (the day's smell). Where smell was also a way of interpreting and 'knowing' further sensations of *hava* (weather/air) and the land and hunted animals, including wetness, dustiness, windiness, dryness, greenness, coveredness, closeness, and freshness. These multi sensed indices communicated the huntability of hunted and hunting land.

Drawing on the wider anthropological literature, there is substantial argumentation that too much importance is given to vision in how people are understood to understand their environment (Classen 2005; Feld 2012; Howes 1991; Stoller 1982). In Hell's anthropological investigation into "hunting fever" amongst people who hunt in a certain part of Germany, he notes the primacy of sensory acuity in hunting, but where it is one of "feeling" and "smelling" (Hell 2014: 2) by contrast to visually and orally/aurally based symbolic interpretation.

Zuppi's work on French and Italian hunters develops further insights into the olfactory, oral and aural communicative dimension in hunting (2017a: 146, 2017b) He concludes that hunting in the parts of Italy and France he studied, as sharing similarities to the hunting described here, is a practice that does not privilege sight. He argues that vision is usually emphasised and prioritised as the primary means of knowing the world amongst 'Western' humans. Specifically, as a critique of the assumed nature/culture modality of 'western' ontology implied by the works of scholars such as Descola (Cruzada 2017a, 2017b; Zuppi 2017a). However, Zuppi demonstrates that our - Europeans - sensual relationship with the world is more contextual than we might imagine. He argues that hunting amongst his informants was almost an entirely aural and orally dominated experience for both hunter and hunted animal, followed closely by smell. Vision really only becomes dominant at the final

moment of decisiveness for the hunter and hunted, when they finally encounter each other. A brief moment - mere seconds - during a whole day of solid walking and talking to the land.

I am developing this by noting that it is not the visual per se, but the symbolic. Hunting involves an entanglement between registers of indexical communication and a broad spectrum of sensibilities. This is not to say that the visual and aural/oral are not also included, just their use for communicating in 'symbolic' registers of communication is not primary.

This analytical perspective is both demonstrated by and provides an answer to why many people who do not hunt have laughingly asked me why hunters wear camouflage: "Are they playing soldiers?" Upon further examination what such an exclamation has assumed is that clothing's visual patterns operate only in symbolic registers of appearance.

Camouflage pattern de-signifies the wearer visually as differentiable from the hunting habitat. That is, what the hunter looks like, is no longer important, he both does not stand out symbolically from another hunter, nor from the woods and bushes he hunts amongst, thus allowing embodied sounds and smells to take precedence over the field of hunting. It is a uniform but in uniformity with the land. It is also an easily available uniform, often inherited but decreasingly so from military service, that is durable and made for "practical engagement" out in the plains and mountains. In some sense, they are playing soldiers, in terms of wanting to blend in.

When not *avda* (at the hunt) or outside of hunting, specifically in urban spaces, camouflage can by contrast take on heavy symbolic meaning. However, in the plains and mountains it is an indexical uniform thus nullifying any detraction from indexical sensibilities by attention being drawn to the symbolic registers of communication that different brands, patterns and styles of clothes might invoke. Camouflage clothing is, as its name describes, specifically about breaking up a person into being a part of the habitat, similar to the indexically

communicative skins of the hunted, such as the camouflage of the hare's skin. This explains why, despite the "hunting wars" of 2003 (in which many hunters were accidentally shot by other hunters who did not see them) almost all hunters still do not wear fluorescent clothing.

Hence, hunting does not exclude vision, but draws on registers of indexical sensibilities that allow good hunting to be developed between the human social, the non-human social, the material and their combination as an ecology. In other words, the hunter-hunted relationship being established in good hunting is brought into being - constructed - through intersecting indexical sensibilities. This is demonstrably proven for my informants in so far as hunted animals understand this communication, in so far as they are huntable and not simply killable, or entirely absent.

7.8 *Av dili*; hunting language

Alert to the indexical sensibilities of good hunting, the morning continued with throwing out sounds to see if they bounced back as animals erupting from the bushes. After leaving off following the banks of the stream bed we cut through fields, shrub-land, up and over boulders, hills, steep mud faces, into little groves, sometimes across marshy terrain. From the road these varied terrain are basically imperceptibly hidden between hillocks and flats of ploughed or resting fields destined for barley and wheat crops the following year.

As with the many of the times that I shadowed groups of men out hunting, we proceeded to engage in other human-environmental relations with the local habitat. They were relations that hunters, whilst not necessarily the top experts in it, were nonetheless a major group that engaged in and valued. They were also very proud of this knowledge and people with it were afforded a special form of respect for their wisdom in wider Turkish Cypriot society.

These relations were one of 'knowing' constituents and features of the land in a way that allowed them to (i) materially imbibe and embody the edible gifts of Northern Cyprus (as I will address in a later section) but also (ii) being able to participate in the historical longevity and rootedness of being Cypriot in Cyprus. A historical-ecological relationship if you will. This involved the mixing of historical languages in slurred unpunctuated vocalisations with reduced syllables, not 'symbolically' ordered sentences. This allowed hunters to open up a historical-ecological store of knowledge and allowed them to know what to forage, as part of allowing them to participate and embed themselves in the history of the land.

Many of the terrains and their features and hunting related items were referred to in what was described as 'old fashioned language', sometimes originating in Greek, sometimes in Turkish, and sometimes inherited from the language of previous colonisers of Cyprus. They meshed together to provide a rich Turkish Cypriot dialect (Abdurrazak Peler 2013). However, these terms were not simply defined words. I observed participants take a particular satisfaction in rolling them around as rounded noises, expressing a happy recognition of familiar ecological infrastructure and their ability to have a shared recognition of it through naming it in the company of others.

Some of the most common were designations of types of habitat or habitat features relevant to hunting. The rough uncultivated strips between fields where hare and partridge liked to hide were commonly referred to as *ochto* (of Greek origin), and occasionally as *monobadi* ('pathway' in Greek). Hunters complained of farmers who burnt these, along with the *galem* (a vocal inflection of the word *kalem* meaning Pencil), which is a Turkish Cypriot word referring to the *arpa* (Turkish for Barley) stalks left in a *tarla* (Turkish for field) after the harvest. Sometimes we would come across a *gancelli* (Turkish Cypriot word with potential Greek origin), the perimeter of a vegetable garden, out amongst the land. Every now and

again a rocky outcrop would appear from which a hare might erupt, with the T in *taş* (rock/stone) being rounded to a D: *daşlık* (rocky).

In combination, these habitats constituted the primary form of hunting habitat that was referred to as *ovada*: in the plains. Others included *dağlar* (mountains), *orman/ağaçlar* (forest/trees) specifically for hunting turtle doves and wood pigeon, and regions populated with *şinya* bushes (the *pistacia* family / maquis) for song-thrush hunting.

All of the aforementioned habitats and habitat features, with the inclusion of hunting and hunters, that is the inclusion of ‘practical engagement’ and those conducting it, are referred to as *ava/avda* (hunting / at the hunt). These terms were used interchangeably with the different primary habitats such as *ovada* (in the plains), slipping in and out within the same conversation. Interestingly, *yuvada* (in the nest) would occasionally slip in as a substitute.

What is entangled with and referred to by the simple word *avda* are the different relations that constitute good hunting: the habitats and habitat features, hunting, hunted animals, their sensibilities, hunters, their sensibilities, and their practical engagement, but also their histories through this hunting language and engagement. This chapter is an exploration of the nested layers of *avda*, with all of its components, whether *avcı* (hunter) or *oçto* (margins of a field). Each term is not simply a name through, but indicates a specific spatial and temporal situatedness, awareness of which allows you to connect to the rich layers making up each one, and ultimately to be able to have good hunting as a part of that.

Later that day when we returned to the sports club, some hunters removed their *potin* (originating in French for Boot) in exchange for *babuç* (Cypriot word for clogs/slippers) as they recounted what they had been up to *avda*. Together this litany of language acted as an important ‘Cypriot’ knowledge store, of which hunting language was a sub-genre. The importance of this sub-genre was emphasised to me by Hasan, when he noted: “you must

learn about *av dili* (hunting language)”. Here he was referring not simply to specific words, when I pressed him by what he meant, but a way of speaking. After an extended period of fieldwork familiarising myself with it, its cryptic and contextual flow became apparent to me allowing me to participate. A measure of this being the moment a comedic representation (Muhittin Can Özbilen 2016) of it became funny. Precisely because its author actually managed to first capture the spirit of what the language was referring to - being at the hunt – which, once I got, I then found funny when it was exaggerated for comedic value.

Through speaking and naming in this way a person could embed themselves as a hunter with non-humans and allow themselves to embody their historical ecology, particularly non-humans that were not embodyable through eating or shooting and eating. Where embodiment is emergent from processes of communication between past and present humans and non-humans. Processes which I am arguing are often based in an intersection of indexical signs, hence the way of speaking in suppressed syllables, rounded hard letters, dissolved grammar, and lack of comprehensibility out of the context of belonging *avda*.

7.9 *Mantar ve otlar*; mushroom and edible flora

Ertan pointed out the droppings to me, scattered amongst the dry grass at the base of a rocky incline. I would have mistaken them for goat droppings if he had not noted that they were the droppings of a hare. I collected a handful and crumbling through them came across a couple of large hard seeds that at first, I took to be olive pips. Ertan noted that we must come across a hare around here.

Later that morning, just after Ertan and I had rounded an elevated rocky outcrop made up of spurs of granite interspersed with gnarly trees, we heard a shot fired by Ömer *Doktor* and the shout of “it’s coming your way”. He was still on the other side of this mangled protuberance

of mountain, so I quickly turned to our rear and caught the briefest of glimpses of the hare side on. Its coat blending in to the surroundings, amazingly fast, agile, and able to turn at high speed, it was an exhilarating sighting of an animal with enviable impulses, a humble beauty and admirable skills at evading and eluding us.

Not long after, the furthest ahead of the band could be heard hollering with excitement, they had come across a bountiful offering of *alıç* fruits (hawthorn apples) sprinkled on the ground around their spiky source, and attached across its branches. We seated ourselves around it and feasted on these sweet but slightly acrid fruits. Ömer was so enthralled, he enchanted us that the hunt had been successful with such an abundant find. He exclaimed that these fruits were so delicious they were sweeter even than the nether regions of his last female acquaintance.

Whilst listening to Ömer's adulations of *alıç*, I had been crumbling away at its flesh in my mouth, when I felt a hard sphere resist my tongue. I promptly plucked it from my mouth to find myself looking at the very same seed I had investigated in the hare's droppings earlier. The hare had shared this feasting on the fruits of this tree and planted hawthorn seeds along the mountain side. From whence that particular tree came I do not know, however the quality of its fruit suggested like many other fruit trees widely scattered in Cyprus, it had been cultivated to some degree. On a previous occasion when we had encountered a fig tree in a similar circumstance. As Ertan plucked some fruits from it he noted to me that this tree was cultivated by someone from the village, despite it seeming to me to be in the middle of nowhere.

While not all hunters forage at the same time as hunting animals, it is very common and, in many circumstances, hunters will also happily bring home mushrooms, asparagus and other edible 'wild' plants and fungi. Especially if their hunt has not been successful at targeting animals. Talking to two older women during my fieldwork, who were noted to me as experts

in foraged plants, both included *keklik* (*Alectoris chukar* partridges) - or *gekliğ* as it was often pronounced - and *garavolli* (snails) in their free-lists on what is foraged. I mention this because it demonstrates the overlap in in the wider ecological knowledge of Turkish Cypriots in Cyprus, of which good hunting is just a variant, albeit with its own form of establishment.

Thus, when out hunting I was directed by my informants to note different flora and fungi. This direction would involve my informant, Ertan in this case, nodding toward or kneeling and grasping the plant in question as he collected it, and simply repeating its slurred 'old-fashioned' name and sometimes how it was eaten. The best way to describe these interactions was him bodily communicating a nudge to me to and then urging me to engage in it, and a simple repetition of the flora or fungi's name to indicate to fellow hunters to be aware of this flora or fungi's presence. Again, this very mode of communication was partly indexical.

Knowledge of these flora and fungi was valued. Whenever someone could tell me a long list the others in attendance would pay them respects. These conversations yielded the following list of "nature's blessings/gifts" or "Cyprus' edibles" as they were interchangeably called: *ayrelli* (asparagus), *lapsana* (*Lapsana* is the name of its latin genus), *yumurta otu*, *mangallo*, *luvana*, *hosdez*, *gömeç*, *gaz ayağı*, *cinara*, *gappar/kapari* (capers), *kara ot* (also called *gara tiken/sahura*), *enginara* (artichoke), *pazı*, *yabani ıspanak* (wild spinach), *alçacık*, *gondara*, *pelit*, *alıç* (hawthorn apples), *moşmuğ*, *garavulli* (snails), *keklik* (*Alectoris chukar* partridge), *tavşan* (Cypriot hare), *lalangi* (rabbit dumplings), *gavulya*, *dirigungullo* (a small leafed herb), *girdama* (also called *kıyı kuruğu*), *ada çayı* (sage tea), *tülümbe çayı*, *gafgarıt* (a form of wild artichoke), *mantar* (mushrooms, including *kırmızı*, *gavcar* and *burudi*).

Many of these had a particular way of being prepared or were part of a dish with its own unique name. I usually only ever saw them each eaten or prepared in one way, for example asparagus was *always* scrambled with eggs. In the case of *lalangi*, a dish of hare dumplings. The collection and preparation of these depended on the season in which they appeared and

were collected by both hunters and non-hunters. Crucially, distinguishing poisonous from non-poisonous mushrooms, how to actually prepare something to be edible, such as how to cut an artichoke, how to nullify the extreme bitterness of asparagus through eggs, how to stew snails with tomatoes and onions, how to hang and strip a hare, how to douse things in lemon to increase their digestibility, and to know where, when and how to find and possess each, before even getting to preparation and eating. Doing all this and having the necessary material tools, dictionary and indexical sensibilities was a practical engagement that emerged from enveloping oneself in the life of islands crust.

On top of this, if you are Turkish Cypriot you will also most likely have a selection of fruit or nut trees and vegetables and flowers that you either grow yourself or know the whereabouts of from which to forage. Sometimes not even one's own trees per se, but still foraged from. As well as being part of people's land and gardens, trees with *meyveler* (fruits) are planted in public spaces and 'wild' spaces where fruit can be gathered from them for personal use¹.

Cypriots are very proud of their local varieties of fruit trees, and being able to mix and match their own through grafting. Whilst hunting, the passing of a familiar or long forgotten tree provides an opportunity to eat and gather fruits to bring home, as illustrated earlier, often in a jubilant sense of not having caught an animal but instead gorged on some other of 'nature's blessings'.

However, these are not simply wild locations or domesticated gardens, but a collage of knowledge and experiments, rather than managed spaces, with 'wild' artichokes promoted in

¹ As a local writer I met during my fieldwork poetically describes: "You do not get the chance to see fruit trees in [m]any cities in the world. However, in Cyprus, there are trees bearing fruits even on main streets. One of the most distinct features of nature in Cyprus is the opportunity to witness the day-by-day development of fruit on the branches of a tree. You can see fruits growing on grapefruit, orange, tangerine or pomegranate trees in the gardens of many house during winters and you can even grab one fruit off the branch of a tree as you walk by. You feel the unequalled privilege of living inside nature as you see Japanese plums, strawberries and mulberries grow in springtime. In summer, olives ripen, changing their colour from green to black, as almonds, apricots and peaches grow on the branches of their respective trees. As you taste the world's most beautiful Formosa plums, the world's most precious Verigo grapes and watch bananas grow bigger on banana trees, you enjoy the privilege of living in a country of unparalleled properties." (Servan 2014: 17)

gardens and fruit collected from trees in the middle of the 'wild'. Hunting as part of this, was seen by the majority of my hunting informants to be a part of this wider and 'good' way to engage with the land and through doing so belong as *Gıbrıslı Gıbrısdalı* (Turkish Cypriot in Cyprus).

7.10 *Hem mangal yapalım; And let us make a barbecue*

During my time with people who hunt in Northern Cyprus I attended *mangal* (barbecue), which are post-hunt celebrations and barbecues of a hunting band. I also attended *şenliği* (festivals), the bringing together of multiple hunting bands of up to 150 people. These celebrations are where hunters can go about simply being, without other registers of life interfering. They extended out of hunting just as hunting extended out of the sports cafe.

It should be noted that barbecues and village festivals are a common event amongst Turkish Cypriots, whether they hunt or not. Therefore, hunting barbecues and festivities are not to be understood as a method of relating particular to hunting, but that the particular context out of which the hunting barbecues and festivities emerged.

My hunting band usually regrouped post-hunt in one of their village cafes after hunting rather than barbecuing out in their hunting grounds. However, they had told me they did occasionally pull together hunting barbecue outside the village. One Saturday after hunting song thrush, Ertan's hunting band and another band from the same village convened in their vehicles alongside a clearing between some wooded outcrops. We were also close enough to the tarmac road to not have to negotiate a slow and laboured exit once food and alcoholic beverages had been consumed, but far enough to not be disturbed or identified. This was important. I remember when I invited my girlfriend one time to pick me up. Despite wanting

to meet her, my informants strongly urged me to meet her at the road and that this was not a space for her amongst men at ease¹.

Situated on the edge of the main song thrush hunting area of Kormacit, we were surrounded by trees, bordered by a field, but not placed too near the bushes that the birds being hunted usually frequented. This made it unlikely that a fellow hunter would accidentally be shooting in our direction, but close enough that we could hear the comforting shotgun fire of other hunters who were still out hunting.

It was a perfectly cosy space in mottled sunlight and shade, with a clearing large enough for vehicles and a table and chairs. Importantly, also a spot for the fire that funnelled the wind in to feed its combustion and the smoke out and away from the seating area. This was a necessity as we were amongst pine trees whose light wood would produce a lazy ashy smog of smoke without the right aeration. On this occasion no one had brought a batch of olive prunings or other dry dense wood, usually used to provide a light but intense wood flavoured grilling experience with little to no smoke.

The vehicles were arranged for ease of access to their supplies, whilst forming an initial visual barrier between us and anyone coming down the dirt track that fed off the road to our spot. All in camouflage the hunters were less differentiable and did not register as indexically out of place in the wood.

On previous occasions when I had asked about why my informants had picked certain places for small post-hunt celebrations I would get no specific answer beyond a patient rhetorical question of: "...good place isn't it?" However, I came to pay attention to the tailing-off fragments of exchanged language, embedded amongst body gestures, mumbled sounds and intonations, that took place between the end of a hunt. This was marked by when we had

¹ This was not about a nationwide approach to gender. It depended on what a community or group of friends had settled for as being at ease, from multiple different experiences.

returned to where we had left the vehicles, and the placing of the first stones for making a fire-pit. It always involved a form of non-confrontational negotiation through the sharing of suggestions, such as “...by the turning”, “back in...”, “...here?”, “...you think?”. Suggestions would then be replied to via gestures, intonations, or simple recognitions of understandings (rather than direct approval) such as “*Hah*” that implied they had been heard. Anyone could then take momentary responsibility by calling ‘Let’s! /*Hade*’ followed by a repeating a suggestion that made sense to them and seemed to resonate with the group. If there were no lifts of the chin/eyebrows upward (rejections) or no new alternatives suggested then that course of action would be taken and its trajectory hosted by the person that took responsibility for it. If a course of action was not emerging or one that had been committed to had stalled, then a plea of ‘C’mon/*Hade Beh*’ was invoked, often accompanied with the gesture of the half-opening palm pointed toward the subject of action or toward the person that was stalling.

Thus, as I paid attention to this communication in the gap between two activities I started to witness how a form of relational rather than individualised communication took place. What my informants were doing was to embrace that proclivity rather than communicate as superficial faces pasted onto individual heads of information. A shared space of communication through the sharing of indexical sensibilities.

There was no preordained plan that was being aimed for however, but a probe seeking a space that offered the materials with which the hunters could create a more stably protected cocoon into which they could deposit themselves and the fruits of their hunting. With these they could then continue and develop, through interfacial offerings and exchanges, the unordered relations of hunting. A place which offered the right qualities with which my participants were able to conjure the emergence of the hunting festive space, rather than force it. A space where my informants could simply be.

These qualities were ones that were necessarily 'organic'. Qualities that were of the land. As described, the wind, the shade, the wood, the view, the sound, were all important. These were not objects that all eyes could see. I used to think I knew how to start a fire. I thought I knew how to cook, to drink, to eat, where to sit and so forth. I did not know as well as I thought, despite my childhood there. More specifically I did not know the ones that came together to enable the hunting festive space, though I knew a few separately. For the hunting festive space to be spun, for the temporary camp of the hunter to be pitched, required a knowledge born of familiar experience of 'practical engagement through immersion' that informed an ability to sense the particular qualities of the land required to make a good camp, a camp good for holding space for hunting festivities.

7.11 *Organik*; living gifts

With 'the camp pitched' and the barbecue lit we started preparing the food and birds that had been shot. I watched as a songbird was plucked and split in half to go between two grills; barbequed till crispy. They offered me one, and all watched to see my reaction. Would I take it. Would I eat it? What would I say? I took it, I ate it, I crunched it all down. It was tasty. I told them so. They were pleased and continued talking. We drunk *raki*, we ate a feast slowly through the afternoon. Every small dish was offered, I must try it, it was Cypriot: "Did I know that?" I was continually asked. We talked for hours about the difference between the tomato grown in Okan's garden with its vitality and bursting with seeds. The one from the shop held no similarity. It was a pale representative by comparison. Foods were not mixed, sauces not made, each and every item consumed as near as possible to how it has grown. Struggling to communicate with me how amazing they felt these vegetables were, all they could resort to was repeating the word 'organic' to me.

They urged that I must bring back some of the mushrooms we had cut for my girlfriend, she must eat them, she must know Cyprus, she must want to eat them; Take them by the bag full, pick them from the woods. I must have them, whatever the cost. We had scrambled in the dirt for hours, combed through the fir needles, finding these special mushrooms. There are no mushrooms like this. These are ideal mushrooms. As they continued, they related how good it was to be able to go out and hunt and collect mushrooms and plants, to tell their friends and family, post pictures on social media. It demonstrated that they knew what to find, they knew where to find, they had found many. They knew this place. They had a right to this place both because they knew it and because knowing it with the old words meant there was a history of relations here.

They continued: To hunt is secretly more (than mushrooms). That's why they had been curious about it before they had started hunting. A secret, older men had shared, but you only really know it when you are doing it. When you are hunting you are looking and finding the gifts of your land, the gifts that are organic, the gifts that are vital. To hunt a *keklik* is to bring it in, and no other animal will get there first. To hunt a hare is to really have hunted, to have truly been a human; a Turkish Cypriot man. To hunt a hare is to be part of this life, to be fully and wholly, have for a moment brought yourself fully alive. Now it is dead, a different way to feel, to tentatively consume. You did this, there is pride in hunting it, and killing is a part of that, no shame, no glory in the death, but in the hunt. To eat it together brings one together, to share your friendship, to share your togetherness, your closeness. In sum, a person cannot belong, until they share, they cannot share until they know, until they had brought something from the land with which to share and speak.

This belonging, written in a style reflecting my experience of it, echoes and supports Bryant's work, specifically her exploration of 'History's remainders: On time and objects after conflict in Cyprus' (2014). As she explains:

‘In the aftermath of war, those who remain must rebuild lives in spaces that bear the scars of conflict... Families raise children in plundered spaces; grandchildren play in gardens replanted after war; houses are furnished with the remains of others’ lives. In such contexts, the questions of what belongs to whom, and who belongs where, or with whom, are particularly contested...’ (2014: 681)

Bryant argues that a way in which this is being overcome is through “everyday historical work” with objects, that she notes includes living ‘objects’ i.e. fauna, flora and fruit trees. As she concludes:

“...it shows how practices with and stories about belongings may also be ways of helping us to “belong” in history.” (ibid)

I take my cue from this observation. I could have focussed on the melancholia of Turkish Cypriots through examining their relations with crumbling historical and political remnants (Navaro-Yashin 2012). However, I have outlined how, for my informants, ‘organic’ and living animals, plants and fungi are part of a process of cultivating life that brings forth living gifts. Where these gifts are realizations of what Turkish Cypriots can bring from Northern Cyprus. In doing so, demonstrating their ‘natural’ belonging.

7.12 *Gibris* in Haringey

This was not a bounded process of localisation however, just as my introduction to Northern Cyprus and Turkish Cypriots notes that they are not bounded. When I returned to England from my fieldwork I happened to be moving in with friends who were living in Haringey in North London. The place has a relatively large Cypriot and Turkish population, so much so that Turkish Cypriot politicians visit to canvas for votes back in Northern Cyprus. The shops there import vegetables, cheeses and other food products from Cyprus and Turkey, despite

export embargoes on the TRNC. I gave the friend I moved in there with, an obscure bag of Turkish Cypriot Delight I had brought back as a present. I had picked it as it was from a very small local producer there. A unique and local gift, I thought. They burst into laughter when I gave it to them as they exclaimed: “Did you just buy that from the high-street on the way here!”

The following day I went to the local shop where they said they had bought it themselves before. Sitting there on the shelf, on one of London’s busiest streets was the very same packets of Turkish Cypriot Delight I had painstakingly procured during my fieldwork. On the neighbouring shelves of this shop, and others spotted around Cypriot pockets in London, I found wild asparagus and artichoke foraged in Northern Cyprus, lemons and apricots plucked from fruit trees, dried *molehiya* (Jew’s mallow) and *kolokas* still with the red soil of Guzelyurt on its skin. Buckets of soaking *hellim* (halloumi) cheese from where I used to live, and slabs of *daşak* (lamb’s testicles), *tavuk kalpleri* (chicken hearts) and *ciğer* (livers) to make many a good Cypriot dish. I would soon also discover a number of my informants visiting relatives here in North London, as well as my current home of Kent. Relatives who worked as gamekeepers and brought my informants along to hunt hare, *sülin* (pheasant) and *çulluk* (woodcock) here in England. Then brought them to their barbecues and kitchens here in England, together with lemon doused hearts of artichokes and slices of raw kohlrabi grown in Northern Cyprus. In short, Turkish Cypriots had partly extended the environmental relations they had in Cyprus to London.

This speaks to a continuity and a dynamic persistence of certain human-environmental relations. Whether or not the exact same plot of land is being related to, similar relationships are being used to continue making Turkish Cypriot life and some part of a particular social ecology, even in the most marginal sense.

8 Beasts in a State of Leisure

8.1 Field Diary 20.12.2015

Today will be the day. Today we will get a hare. We drunk our coffees, smoked our cigarettes. We chose our hunting ground. We disembarked from our vehicle before the sun's body had broken the horizon, only its arms highlighting the dewy ground. The soil was damp and earthy. The smell was good. The dew had cleared the air of dust. The dogs would be able to pick up a clear scent. They were quivering but focused. It had been a long season with no hare as of yet.

Five in all, we fanned out and dove into the landscape. A terrain of thick bracken pulling at our clothes. The dogs with their noses to the ground, slipped in and out. Everyone calm, alert, dedicated. Today my eyes were peeled, my senses clear and alert. I calmly scanned every nook and cranny, searched for the signs of the illusive hare. I grasped a rock here and there. Threw them into bushes to flush one out. Emitted vocalisations to break their nerve. A comb of five human teeth and three canine appendages, sliding through the bushy terrain. A rhythmic pace. Not blistering but unforgiving.

It had been two hours. We were now scrambling at different heights through semi-wooded terrain, along the side of a table top mountain. Ertan stopped and pointed out a hare's bed to me. Ten paces or more and another and another. There had been hare around. But they were not fresh. A hare might still be in the area, it might not. We steamed along, up and around crevices.

Three hours in and we came across mushrooms. Out came the knives and bags. Like goats we intermittently stopped to nibblingly select from the earth. Every few metres or so a mushroom dome would be sliced from its stem and bagged. Slowly a joyous babble had

bubbled up amongst the group. “Mushrooms” “Mushrooms!” “Here... more Mushrooms”. The chant of exclamations bounced around between us.

Four hours in and we had circled back below to where the hare beds had been. Then came a heavy beat of wings. I looked down the side of the hill to see a creamy coloured partridge ejecting itself from the undergrowth, followed by a crack! and echoing bang... and then another bang! of two distinguishable guns. The partridge suddenly teetered and tumbled into the undergrowth. Two of our group below, who had taken the shots, were bounding toward the area where it had come down. They disappeared from view. Ertan had paused, but now urged us on alone.

An hour later we were back near the vehicles. A quick foray amongst the thistled plain nearby generated the flutter of two more partridge. Ertan watched them veer off behind a hill. They had been out of our range. We returned to the vehicle. Ömer and Mustafa also arrived, caked blood strewn down Mustafa’s arm from the partridge they had decided Omer would take home.

Muscles stretched, blood infused throughout the body, senses fully realized, no hare, but imbued with a beautiful clarity of mind and body, and an embodied knowledge that we were not a foreigner to the habitat we had just traversed. We had lived, we had been hunters, we had not simply observed, taken or given. This brackeny bit of scrub land, what a wonderful place. We felt it and we knew it to be good. This is what it means to hunt in Northern Cyprus.

8.2 *Merak*; Passion, Impulse and Curiosity

This record of a mornings hunting in Northern Cyprus communicates the unique feeling I found in hunting, of an immersion in an embodied relationship. In the English language, with regards to hunting, this is usually referred to as ‘the thrill of the hunt’. While there is no

identical term in Turkish there is an emphasis on what this thrill is fulfilling. The term used is *merak*.

Almost every informant I talked with had an assortment of answers to why they hunt (see chapter 5). However, in paying attention to what people actually said during participant observation they almost unanimously (32 separate informants) referred to *meraklı* in relation to why they were impelled to seek hunting. What *meraklı* specifically means is debatable. I translate it, as used in the context of hunting, to mean being passionately curious for life's vernacular pleasures. With the priority of meaning being in the ordering of the words i.e. passion being primary.

Merak (the addition of *lı* meaning 'to be') is a word used by my Turkish Cypriot informants in a rolling slurred style of speech. It is a Turkish word, and often associated with Cypriots. However, it is also used by Greek speakers across Asia Minor to convey a related meaning in the form of *meraklıs*.

When I asked for more clarification from my informants, they found it hard to do so and suggested it was experienced as a feeling. While it has significant affective qualities, it is a socialised and 'whole' feeling that is neither confined to the body or the mind and thus informants experienced difficulty in trying to 'symbolically' verbalise it to me. Additionally, it was not the answer to hunting per se, but more the point of embarking toward hunting. This is reflected in its common use to talk about going hunting and in the time leading-up to hunting, rather than used afterward.

Whether as a child or as an adult my informants were not born being *meraklı* for hunting, but had witnessed relatives, elders and friends hunting or going to hunt. My informants had understandably been curious, about what other male persons in their community were getting up to. In surveying 112 newly qualified hunters, hunting was described as something they

had witnessed other adult men doing. To be a man also, they now had the impulse to go out and be a free man amongst free men and free animals.

In the same survey, the majority of the remaining informants were also seeking to legally hunt because hunting had been an activity they had grown up with. Where they were sharing a male communality with groups of other men, and that they wished to continue to do. Hence, curiosity played a part in why they had first gone hunting, but also like other hobby activities it provided communal relations and fulfilled an impulse to be the man they felt they could be. Nonetheless this impulse of curiosity was not one of conclusively knowing something. As informant Harper put it, it is not the curiosity for: “how an engine works by taking it apart and looking inside.” It is a non-gratuitous curiosity in terms of work put in, in the sense that cause did not equal effect e.g. going hunting for x-hours with x-equipment in x-place does not mean you will return with x-x-number of dead animals.

As the popular Turkish Cypriot hunting phrase of *rastgele* (may you encounter) spoke to, it is a continuous curiosity for the unexpected and unknowable. Not a religious curiosity, whereby *İnşallah* would be the appropriate greeting. But, one where who you are as a man with your motor skills and senses, present to the relationship of hunting and its living gifts.

It is not rationally successive but emergent and serendipitous in the sense of developing one’s competitive intelligence, which in this case is one’s *merak* for the particularity of the hunting relationship. This of course is the highest ideal, it is the ideal of what the good hunt is, where *merak* is the hunger for this idealised thrill. However, as Willerslev et al. 2015 note, the deed does not match the ideal in hunting. This does not make it a lie but instead tells one something about what work this ideal is doing.

My analysis of hunting in Northern Cyprus has led me to the conclusion that it is increasingly being interpreted in a nationalist sense, rendering the understandings of the outcomes of

pursuing this ideal in a new form. The outcome, the object, is not the hunted, but to know oneself in the national land of Northern Cyprus. They were talking to habitats and seeing if they replied. But the habitats as part of the wider land where also part of a wider nationalised relationship to the land. This also rendered *merak* as particular political relation in how people placed themselves within hunting and what they 'learnt' from it. Emically this appears as a man freely expressing his will through testing his skills at cultivating a land where he has the right to belong, and punish beasts that do not respect that entitlement. Etically this appears as beastly men expressing their barbaric nature through what should be illegal. I analytically start from the position that *merak* is an embodied *will* that has become cultivated within a particular idealisation of how to belong in a community and in a country.

8.3 Conclusion

The idealisation of life is between two parts. The time when you labour and the time when you are free. The spatialized idealisation of these two parts are work space and leisure space. However, the deeds of these two parts are in fact much messier.

The point is not whether you agree with this dichotomy or not. It has been in practice. At the very least, efforts to work against it have either maintained it as categories to work against, or have transcended the categories but forgotten the spatialized infrastructure that that has been built in its name. So, it cannot simply be discarded, but must be studied as to how it manifests in the world, both as ideal and spatialized infrastructure.

Hunting in Northern Cyprus cultivates an ideal of nature being free, at ease but alert. But not engaged in transactional labour. Both as person and as animal. Embodying this ideal should then yield gifts that one is entitled to, so as not to have to labour for them. This ideal is taken as natural. This justifies one's entitlement to land not received through labour and

transaction, as natural. This justifies Turkish Cypriots belonging in the land of Northern Cyprus and vice versa.

However, to accept that ideals are part of ritual space, that is one can ritually perform the idea of receiving gifts to teach one about an ideal situation, is unacceptable. Because, one is spatialized in a world of nationality linked to private and public property. One cannot accept ideals to not be natural, otherwise it is to one's own detriment. Otherwise one delegitimises one's claim to particular gifts and a particular land. So, instead, one naturalises the ideal as an entitlement because that is the natural order that justifies one's position, in a world that requires that justification.

Therefore, receiving gifts from the land as a free person (as hunter-king), also justifies oneself as a free citizen, as part of a democratic federation or State. However, as it is an ideal 'leisure space' and not natural, so one has to go back to the work space and the labour. But as one is a free citizenry and one has rights to this land, within the work space these are expressed as entitlement to the land as a resource to exploit.

So, one can conduct labour and exploitative deeds to ensure the ideal of freedom in a free land, found in leisure space. It is maintained, as legitimacy and authority rest on this i.e. making of a hunting space. Therefore, adaptations to hunting are primarily adaptations to the techniques of the making of the hunting space, because you cannot adapt the ideal so you can only adapt the techniques of managing it.

Whereas, a perspective on hunting as technology neither prioritises the ideal as cosmology, or deed as technique, but empirically appreciates that both have spatialized infrastructure seeking to maintain this metaphorical structuring of separation. This perspective also appreciates that ideals are not real and so ritual space and non-ritual space can be performed and made in a way that does not demonstrate a natural order. Otherwise, how people

politically relate to land or nonhumans, within national and private property regimes, will be according to them being superior.

In sum, it is not that leisure space equates to ritual space or vice versa, or that leisure space is an escape from the insertion of ritual natural authority into everyday life. Instead, they extend into each other in ways particular to hunting space and Northern Cyprus. Where belonging amongst my informants whether as free men, Turkish Cypriots or with human-environmental relations, local or extended beyond the island, was found in hunting space. But in light of the national and international context, a hunting establishment was required to protect this belonging as well as part of a naturalised entitlement to wild resources as gifts. In doing so, hunting in Northern Cyprus was bound up with the margins from adaptability which were based on technical adjust and a fetishization of hunting as technique inherited and embedded in its infrastructure.

Harkening back to the inception of Turkish Cypriot authority over hunting, Turkish Cypriots do not live in global isolation but in relation to other national and private property regimes and claims. Hence, if they do not establish themselves as belonging to the natural order of a land, they have no right to it, particularly as it was not bought or inherited.

Whilst this may itself seem natural or normal, a combination of shining a light on prehistoric hunting and social organisation and the history of hunting and power since, demonstrates that the normalisation of understanding hunting as a technique, hunting as subsistence, hunting as sport or hobby is a fundamentally made (not made-up) process. That is what one put in the box of hunting is not arbitrary, natural are entirely relative. It has emerged with histories of human intention that are not by default exploitative in relation to the menagerie of resistances and agencies of nonhumans including multispecies lifeworlds and spatialised infrastructure.

Appendices

Appendix A: Fieldwork Record

This is a record of all events at which I formally recorded data during my fieldwork. I have not edited the language to reflect changes in categories and otherwise that have emerged since writing this thesis. In addition to this I have (i) a record of all material artefacts including documents and records collected, (ii) notes written when not in the company of informants, including for the majority of days when I did not formally record data during participant observation, conversation or general presence, (iii) a digital archive of social media and news cuttings, recording of TV and online video programs, scans of TRNC and hunting archive paperwork, (iv) record of visits to relevant museums outside of Northern Cyprus, (v) record of fieldwork related encounters with Turkish Cypriots outside of Northern Cyprus, (vi) library of books from Northern Cyprus and elsewhere on Turkish Cypriot life or hunting.

Key: T = Time / Days; P = Photos; A = Audio; V = Video and Audio; HC = Head-mounted Video Camera; GP = GPS track; PO = Participant Observation; N = Notes.

Events	Place	T	P	A	V	HC	GP	PO	N
<i>The Act of Hunting with a Shotgun in Northern Cyprus in 2014 – 2016</i>									
Crow Hunt with Ertan & Co	Şirinevler	6	x		x			x	x
I shadowed this group of hunters during the culling season as we drove around shooting corvids over a period of a month. Discussed what was going on as it unfolded. Spent afternoons at leader's house, eating and talking with family. Of specific interest were the words and style of hunting during cull, the specific bureaucracy involved, the attitudes and activities of the different hunters, different family members attitude to hunting.									
Big Hunt with Yener & Co	Akdeniz/Kozan	2	x					x	x
I shadowed a 30+ year old 'good' hunter and shooting champion, accompanied by a newly qualified hunter and a larger group of older hunters. Followed by a picnic and discussion and two occasions. Of particular interest was the difference in hunting according to experience, personality and age, the groups negative relationship to the hunting federation, my observation of their hunting dogs, Yener's safety protocols.									
Big Hunt with Ertan & Co	Şirinevler	8	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
I shadowed Ertan and a range of his different friends, primarily 3 other guys. We hunted 'banya' style, as well as stalking style. I walked considerable distances videoing everything, and participating in the flushing out of game and became intimately familiar with the language used, topics discussed, stories told, ways of hunting, knowledge of the landscape etc as well as participating in pre, mid and post hunting meals, cafe conversations, discussion around smell, pheromones, dust and dogs.									
Cikla Hunting Trip with Ertan & Co	Şirinevler/Korucam	6	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

I shadowed Ertan and friends on this hunt which involves a particular style and approach, as well a location. I recorded the activity in detail as well as engaging in discussion. Of particular interest was the change in method and attitude toward species, the reasoning behind lack or presence of cikla birds, the location.

Evening Hunt	Akdeniz	1	x		x	x		x	x
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I went hunting just before sunset with a group of hunters from Girne using the method of still-hunting. Of particular interest were the father and young son relationships, and the method.

Comparative, Comparable and Complimentary Acts to Hunting in Northern Cyprus in 2014 – 2016

Hunters Competition at Range	Gonyeli	1	x		x	x		x	x
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I participated in and observed the hunters special shooting competition, as well as Olympic Trap and Skeet style shooting. I explored the premises, discussed with participants and came second in my group of five. Of particular interest were the arguments between different organisational persons and members of different groups, the approach to the competitive element, the tea guy and guys in the back, the bullets and equipment used.

Shooting Range with Yener	Girne	1	x					x	x
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I was tutored on how to use a shotgun and observed others practising, with a score of 16 from 25 in my last round. Of particular interest was the feeling and learning involved in shooting, the mimicking of prey, the discussion about guns.

Pre-Hunt Assessment Trip with Hasan	Alsancak/Kozan	2	x	x	x	x		x	x
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I joined an older active hunter on a survey of potential hunting grounds for the season ahead talking through his decision-making process and coming across different game. Of particular interest was people’s relationship to him in his village, his ideas about hunting and the environment, his attention to what was good hunting ground, his treatment and approach to the hunting federation, his discussion with people exploring same areas, and my first encounter with a Cypriot Hare.

Olive Picking	Girne	1	x			x		x	x
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I helped an older lady and her husband pick her olive trees using different tools and discussing her knowledge of local plants, as well as the role of olives in everyday life and as an activity almost every Cypriot participates in. Of additional interest were our discussions around the table afterward, their garden, the approach of a young guy who accompanied us to being tutored in olive picking, their grand-children’s comments and pets.

Mushroom, Snails and Flora Foraging	Korucam/Akdeniz/Dogankoy	4	x		x	x		x	x
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I picked mushrooms with Ertan and his friends, as well as with the Game Wardens and also on my own. A surprisingly difficult endeavour requires multiple sources of knowledge and skill, that is often considered as good as going hunting. Of particular interest was how they are cooked and eaten, discussion surrounding them, the skills required to find and differentiate them, the feelings associated with foraging for them.

Beach Combing	Alagadi	1	x					x	x
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I collected artefacts along the beach that became pertinent to thinking about hunting and compared the affective difference between the two. Of particular interest is the feelings involved with beach-coming, sources and residues of plastics on beaches, by comparison to metals and glass, and clay packaging from different era as a simile of contemporary compared to historical hunting.

Rally Day	Girne/Famagusta	2	x		x			x	x
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I participated in the experience of the crowds watching rally racing, as one in interest in terms of it as an alternative to hunting in Cyprus as well as the political power at play. Of particular interest was the how visible rich and powerful interests emerged and the similarities and differences to hunting, but also its choice as an alternative to hunting but with a different environmental relationship.

Bird-watching and Conservation Organisation	Famagusta	4	x		x			x	x
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I participated in guided tours of birds in Cyprus, talked to members about hunting and birdwatching and observed how they went about it, as well as having an intimate knowledge of its historical development of the bird organisation that runs them and the bureaucracy and politics and people involved. Of particular interest was reaction to incident with water-truck, as well as conversations on hunting, relationship to crows, make-up of people, organisational structure, priorities, feeling of bird-watching, bird photography, bird fairs and business, relationship with Greek Cyprus birders.

Cave Hunting	Hilarion, Kalavac	3	x					x	x
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I shadowed a Cypriot environmental officer, Cypriot biologist and US biologist as they hunted for caves and mapped them. Of particular interest was the comparison between cave hunting ethics, and procedures, and approach and conversations about it. Also, the subterranean dimension feeling and ideas about it.

Management of Hunting in Northern Cyprus in 2014 – 2016

Game Warden Hunting Day Patrol	Akdeniz/Korucam	8	x		x	x		x	x
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I shadowed different groups of Game Wardens as they went about their patrols on hunting days. I participate in catching three cases of illegal hunting including location violation, age violation and illegal trapping with lime-sticks. We also searched and collected wire snares, checked hunters' licenses, getting partially shot, coordinated with the police, responded to emergency phone line, and fulfilled duties for the Hunting Federation. Of particular interest was how illegal hunters were caught, watch Game Wardens actually get up to, the different scales of enforcement, the importance and ways of applying signage, the experiences and knowledge of wardens, warden's relationship with hunting federation.

Hunting Federation General Meetings	Lefkoşa	4	x	x	x			x	x
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I attended meeting of club Heads to discuss different topics pertaining to hunting including law changes and lobby for them, in particular the different maps and areas available for hunting and which days one could hunt, as well as strategies to increase game. I also gathered feedback from different participants afterward to see how they felt about the meeting. Of particular interest is the particularities of the conversations and talks that took place.

Hunting Training & Exam	Lefkoşa	3	x	x	x			x	x
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I attended the hunting training sessions twice which involved a day of presentations from different experts. I talked to the different speakers about their background and passed the exam with 71%. Of particular interest is the way in which the events are held, their formal and informal purposes, attendees' reactions, the focus on the marking/examination part, change in exams over-time, particularities of what was said and how by the speakers.

Social Spaces in Hunting in Northern Cyprus 2014 – 2016

Şirinevler Hunting Club/ Village Socials	Şirinevler	2	x	x	x	x		x	x
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I attended hunting group social and village hunting social involving eating, drinks, playing games and conversations around various topics. Of particular interest was the topics and content of conversations, the relations between people, how they spent their time and with whom, the seating and serving dynamics, relationships between different cafes.

Hunting Club Spring Social Festivals	Akdeniz/Kumyali/Yenie renkoy	3	x	x	x	x	x	x
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I participated in these events across Cyprus involving up to 300+ hunters joining up together after a mornings hunt to grill, eat, drink, compete at clay shooting, play music. Additional activities included a rodeo pantomime, taking the press around, kids shooting competitions, trophy giving, non-hunters in attendance and many conversations around food, wild plants, hunting, hunting federation and cruder topics. Of particular interest in the difference in relationship between people during these events by comparison to outside these events, the difference between more 'rural' vs 'urban' organisers, the food and cooking particularities including preparation of game, the energy and feeling, the club dimension, the language, the drive for having the best table, the equipment involved.

Village Fete	Kalavac/Zeytinlik	3	x					x	x
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I attended annual summer village fetes, usually centred around a village or particular fruit or plant. Of particular interest is who attends and who works and what they do and how they treat other, how they are organised and advertised, their origins and timing, their purpose and outcome, and when hunting is included.

Hunting Club Winter Social	Alsancak	1	x	x	x	x		x	x
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I participated in a regional gathering of over 400+ hunters in a banquet hall, including eating, drinking, talking with various people as well as observing conversations and relations. Other activities included live music, a large raffle and belly dancing. Of particular interest is the centrality and meaning of the raffle, the atmosphere and funding of the events, and conversations taking place in the centre and at the periphery.

Spear-fishing Competition and Festival	Yenierenkoy	1	x	x	x			x	x
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I witnessed a full morning of people spear-fishing, and the organisation involved. This was followed by a long afternoon of speeches, trophies, memorial service, and food. Of particular interest was the setup of the event, way of dealing with death of spear-fisher, style and content of speeches, trophy giving dynamics, peoples comments about each other.

Lefkoşa Club Group Interview	Lefkoşa	1	x	x	x	x		x	x
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I discussed hunting and its past and future with 4 elderly hunters, in particular their different experiences and ways of coming to it and one of them being a highly respected for all the different things he can hunt, including having made his own gun. Of particular interest was the relationship and opinions of each person about the other, the items on display, the in-house shooting range, the meaning of that particular club.

Management of the Environment (in relation to hunting) in Northern Cyprus 2014 - 2016

Hunting Federation Partridge Farm	Dikmen	1	x					x	x
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I was guided around the main farm that produces around 15,000 birds a year for release. This was followed by a grill with the game wardens and conservation around how they run the place and their daily lives and backgrounds. Of particular interest was the setup of the facilities, lifestyle of game-wardens, cooking methods, rearing style of birds

Alsancak Hunting Club Partridge Adaptation Facility	Alsancak	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
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I was guided around an experimental club farm and each part explained to me and why. This facility differed primarily from the usual aviary structures in form as it was massive and allowed the birds to leave and return as they wished. Of particular interest was the discussion on how the club strategized and related to the birds for this facility was for, as well as my guides own part in it and his personal stories related to it.

Guzelyurt Hunting Club Partridge Adaptation Facility	Guzelyurt	1	x					x	x
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I helped re-stock this older style aviary structure with partridges. Of particular interest was the secrecy and stories told about it and the methods for handling the birds.

Gonyeli Partridge Farm	Gonyeli	1	x					x	x
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I helped sort, and arrange deliveries to hunting clubs of partridges. Of particular interest were the conditions the birds were kept, how they were divided and transported, the comments made during the activity.

Hunting Federation Water Barrel Project	Şirinevler	1	x					x	x
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I shadowed hunters as they setup and refilled the water barrels they place around the island to provide water for birds during the summer months. Of particular interest was the techniques involved in setting water up, the reasons given, the conversation surrounding it, the organisation of this activity.

EU Meeting on Northern Cyprus Environment	Lefkoşa	1	x	x				x	x
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I attended the meeting and presentations on environmental consultants and biologists record of what they were doing or had achieved successfully, and problems with environment in Cyprus. Of particular interest was the view of law and enforcement in relation to its reality and application, and the projects that actually go on, as well as the setting and attendees.

Individuals in Hunting in Northern Cyprus 2014 – 2016

Hayriye Inatci - In-depth Interview	Lefkoşa	1	x	x					x
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I interviewed the main Secretary of the Hunting Federation, as well as having spent a lot of time observing her work and organising of hunters. We focussed on her experience of different hunting federation presidents, how the hunting bureaucracy works, her view of hunting, and her life story. This built out of extensive conversation, at least once a week throughout the last year, as she pointed me in the direction of activities and events I might have otherwise missed. In particular she shared a critical yet measured understanding of the organisation of hunting and the men who have officiated it.

Zeki Tasci - In-depth Interview	Lefkoşa	1	x	x					x
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I interviewed Zeki, an ex-President of Hunting Federation, on his life history, time as a Hunting President, and the collection of hunting artefacts he had accumulated. He was a very early president and of particular interest were the commercial activities and the business dimension that he facilitated in relation to hunting in Cyprus. He is also seeking to write a history of hunting in Northern Cyprus when he finds the time.

Tahir Pirgalioglu - In-depth Interview	Girne	1							x
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I interviewed Tahir about his time as the Environmental officer to the hunting federation, his involvement in bringing specialists to Cyprus from the US and UK, his understanding of hunting and experience, his late arrival to it and life history. In particular Tahir shared his own learning curve in seeking to understand hunting and its betterment, as well as some extensive insights.

Ertan Besiktas - In-depth Interview	Şirinevler	1	x			x	x
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I interviewed Ertan about his life history and approach to hunting, as well as his family life and time in Australia, and time as the new mayor of his village of 250 people. Ertan is the leader of the hunters I shadowed most but is notoriously difficult to get to speak about anything, however after spending a considerable amount of time with him he shared a variety of thoughts and answers, in particular his own experience of what it means to hunt, and directed me toward things in the field I might have missed otherwise. Of particular interest were the different indications, traces, weather, season etc for plants, mushrooms, and animals, that he recognised and shared primarily as sensual and kinaesthetic knowledge.

Aysın Karaderi - Shadowing	Lefkoşa	3	x		x		x	x
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I shadowed Aysın, the current Hunting President as we went hunting with him and his grandson, in particular when we visited a few rich members in a tavern, and various events across Cyprus. More generally I spent many days chatting with him in his offices and visiting various events with him. Of particular interest was his fascination with me, and continual exploration of what I was trying to do, and how I could be of use to him. Observing his particular style of leadership, the terminology and repetition of certain themes, the projects he focussed on most and his life history were off particular interest.

Harper Orhon - In-depth Interview	Lefkoşa	1	x	x	x			x
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I interviewed Harper, an ex-President of Hunting Federation, Sports Teacher and avid Hunter in UK, on his life history, time as a Hunting President, time spent in the UK, his hunting films and magazines and corruption in hunting in Cyprus. In particular his interest in hunting alone, the meaning and clarification of hunting terminology, and the realities behind hunting bureaucracy, stories and numbers, his role as mediator, as well as his own writing and documentaries on hunting in Northern Cyprus.

Mehmet Paralik - In-depth Interview	Gonyeli	1	x	x				x
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I interviewed Mehmet, ex-President of Hunting Federation and ex-President of Shooting Association about his time as president of the hunting federation as well as that of the shooting federation, his life history and decision to not currently hunt. Of particular interest were his understanding of shooting, ammunition and firearms, his observations and reactions to falling numbers of gamebirds, and his involvement in splitting up shooting from hunting.

Hasan Aliçik - In-depth Interview	Lefkoşa	2	x	x				x
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I interviewed Hasan (Undersecretary of the Interior) about his life history, time as a hunter and time as a president of the hunting federation as well as his current role in government and head of Central Hunting Committee. Of particular interest were his approach and thinking about hunting, his political role but timid approach, and helpfulness with statistics on hunting.

Zehra Goktas & Family - In-depth Interview	Serdarli	1	x	x				x
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I interviewed Zehra, followed by a group interview with her brothers and parents. She was newly licensed hunter. Zehra was one of 2 women to be newly licensed in 2015, compared to 160 men. Of particular interest was her personal history, what hunting meant to her, relationship with her brothers, and her answers clearly demonstrating clear point about masculinity, machoism, and hunting.

Hasan B – In depth Interview	Alsancak	2	x	x				x
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I interviewed Hasan about his life history with a focus on hunting and the past few seasons, and his affectionate experiences hunting with Greek Cypriots in the past. Of particular interest was his lifelong obsession and attention to detail with hunting.

Ahmet Davman - In-depth Interview	Girne	2	x	x			x
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I interviewed Ahmet, a dedicated Hunter, Hunting Federation President Candidate, Regional Head, on his life history, his hunting experiences, and the politics involved in competing for the hunting presidency, as well as his plans for the future of hunting. Of particular interest were the particularities of how he saw hunting being ran and what he would change and keep the same, as well as his extensive knowledge on hunting dogs and activities.

Suleyman Uyar - In-depth Interview	Lefkoşa	2	x	x			x
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I interview Suleyman with ex-President of Hunting Federation and British Policeman about his life history and time as hunting federation president, the key changes he made, his vision for hunting, and the sources and influences for the decisions he made with regards to hunting. Of particular interest was his learning from the Greek Cypriot hunting federation and British police form and of bureaucratising hunting and presiding over its change from rural pest control, pastime and foraging, as well as rich mans' sport into an organised outwardly coherent community force, despite being quite a soft, humble and reserved character.

O & Wife – In-depth Interview (Anonymous)	Girne	2	x	x			x
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I twice interviewed an 80+ hunter (Retired Hunter, Cockfighter, Trapper) and his wife. He later refused to a final interview after I indirectly pushed him on evidence of bird trapping. He also talked of his cock-fighting hobby and breeding of song birds. His wife gave her view and experiences of being married to a hunter.

Contexts in Northern Cyprus in 2014 - 2016

Hunting Federation Main Office	Lefkoşa	40					x
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I participated in the day to day running of the Hunting Federation main office, witnessing how it works, the people involved, and helping out. Discussions with different people involved or previously involved e.g. ex-policeman for hunting crimes. Of particular interest was the paperwork, communications, intra-organisational interaction, inter-organisational interaction, informal/formal procedure, conversations of people coming in, overall setup and changing atmosphere depending on who was there, and the event being held.

Working on Smallholding	Alagadi	30	x	x	x		x	x
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I worked for Keço (Leader of Turkish Cypriot Militia) looking after his goats, sheep, donkey, chickens, wounded birds, crops, turtles, living in village shack. Also had conversations with him and his friends at the restaurant his small-holding feeds. Of particular interest was the routine of rural life, conversations about Keco's fighting days, general chit-chat around the coffee-table with his friends, the socio-technical processes of each farm tool, development of Conservation under Keço, farming relations with animals and plants, looking after wounded birds, pest-relations, the nitty-gritty of what it means to put meat, milk and plants on the table.

Cafe, Bars, Shops and Restaurants	Girne/Şirinevler	40	x	x	x		x	x
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I interviewed and hung-out with people owning, working and visiting a variety of establishments where animals are eaten. commonality and differences between migratory histories of different people involved, different lifestyles and activities people involved got up to (specifically hunting and not-hunting) what was eaten and how it was cooked and how it was sourced, and how those skills were learnt, people's relationship with the food and each other and each establishment.

Interior Ministry	Lefkoşa	3					x
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I spent a number of different days talking to clerks and secretaries as I tried to gather information and participated in all the bureaucratic processes that went with that.

Ertan, Mustafa, Asik, Ozgur and Co	Şirinevler	11	x	x	x	x
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I spent many days with the hunters who accompanied Ertan who I hunted with primarily. I also shadowed them during hunting and spent afternoons and evenings chatting about their lives, hunting and general chit-chat about each other. Of particular interest was the words they used often that were particular to hunting language which I am compiling.

Greek Cyprus Trip	West Coast	4	x		x	x
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I travelled around the full coastline of Cyprus to reconnect with my past in Greek Cyprus and compare changes over-time.

Miscellaneous Events in Northern Cyprus 2014 - 2016

Ancient, Modern, Political Art of Cyprus Exhibition	Girne	1	x			x
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I attended the book launch and exhibit of different art in north Cyprus and identified that pertinent to hunting as well has artists attitude toward it. Of particular interest were the environmental political cartoons, and concept of what is culture.

Crow Study	NEU	4	x			x
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I collected 50 morphometrics and DNA samples from the carcasses of culled corvids, collaborating with a local geneticist and bird biologist to test out the viability of working out the population dynamics of Cypriot crows, their lineages and which sectors of that are being culled, and thus how this might be impacting their reproduction and social structure, towards considering whether culling actually decreases the number of corvids. Furthermore, comparing the methods, language and concepts used to relate to bird carcasses in comparison to bird watching or hunting live birds was of interest.

Cypriot Historian of Hunting Interview	Bogaz	1	x			x
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I interviewed Mustafa Hasim Altan, ex-director of the Northern Cyprus Archives, about the book he is writing on the history of hunting in Cyprus. He was unwilling to talk about many details until it is published, however his thoughts on hunting and his relationship with the Hunting Federation was of particular interest.

Anthropology Borders Conference	Lefkoşa	2	x			x
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I attended a conference led by anthropologist of Northern Cyprus, Rebecca Bryant on Borders and peoples experience of space. It was of particular interest in terms of developing my understanding of the how the division of Cyprus has shaped people's feelings and actions in relation to sovereignty.

Environmental Journalism in Northern Cyprus	Lefkoşa	1	x			x
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I attended the talks and awards ceremony for the bi-communal training of journalists in reporting on environmental matters in Cyprus. It was of particular interest in the way leading environmental journalists and consultants framed their stories and the narratives they drew on to report on the environment.

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