PROTECTING AND EXHIBITING ÇATALHÖYÜK
ÇATALHÖYÜK’TE KORUMA VE SERGİLEME

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ABSTRACT
This paper emphasizes the need to situate the conservation and presentation of prehistoric tell sites within long-term planning that has a strong community participation. The fragility of the architecture in sites such as the Neolithic site of Çatalhöyük in central Turkey requires long-term structures be built that can protect the remains. The difficulties in doing this are considerable since the shelters alter the environment of the site and have long-term effects that need monitoring. There is thus a need that the various agencies involved accept a long-term commitment. National and international inputs are facilitated by gaining World Heritage Status and this process is described for Çatalhöyük. But day-to-day, year-to-year monitoring and managing responses to conservation problems are best achieved if local communities take some degree of responsibility for ownership of the site. The participation of communities is also related to outreach and educational programmes.

ÖZET
INTRODUCTION

The long-term aim of the archaeological project at the 9000 year old Neolithic site of Çatalhöyük in central Turkey has been to situate the conservation and presentation of the site within long-term planning that has strong participation from a variety of stakeholder communities.

Çatalhöyük was first excavated by James Mellaart between 1961 and 1965 (Mellaart 1967). Mellaart found a dense agglomeration of mud-brick houses, mostly without streets and with entry from the roof. The walls inside the houses had been plastered frequently (up to 450 times) with a fine mud plaster. This same plaster was used for installations of wild bull skulls and was in some cases painted over to provide vibrant scenes of humans and animals. The site and its trenches were then left open for 30 years, with the result that collapse of walls and sections of soil and vegetation growth on prehistoric walls and plasters were widespread.

The site in general suffered extensive deterioration after its closing in 1965 (Matero 2000). Due to the hot dry summers and very cold winters with heavy rain/snow in the Anatolian plain, mud-brick walls dried, eroded and collapsed while the top of the walls became worn away by the uncontrolled foot traffic. An extensive fertilization and irrigation system for the surrounding fields lowered the water table and led to the deposition of salts such as nitrates and chlorides while causing the loss of organic materials previously preserved in waterlogged conditions. Inadequate drainage systems affected the buildings by creating a consistent source of moisture. Trapped moisture from the in-fill caused the movement of soluble salts and thus severe delamination, erosion and cracking on the plastered mudbrick walls, and detachment of wall plasters.

Left in that state, Çatalhöyük became like most mud-brick or adobe mound sites from prehistoric periods in the Middle East and throughout the world. Most prehistoric mound or tell sites offer little for visitors other than the silent smooth shape of the mound itself. Despite the enormous numbers of such sites throughout Turkey and the Middle East, they contribute little to tourism and economic development and none have been placed on the UNESCO list of World Heritage Sites. Furthermore they make a limited contribution to education (Hodder and Doughty 2007).

The purpose of the work on protecting, exhibiting and interpreting Çatalhöyük has been to explore ways in which this trend might be reversed. The new project started in 1993 and excavation began in 1995. In this article a number of the strategies employed will be described. These include undertaking conservation, building shelters, involving the local community in the site, providing a Visitor Center and other visitor facilities, constructing full-sized house models of the Neolithic houses. As a result, tourism to Çatalhöyük has increased from near 0 to 13,000 a year, mostly from within Turkey and the Konya region. As a result, local communities are beginning to realize some economic benefit from the site.

The key to our approach at Çatalhöyük has been the integration of archaeological excavation with conservation and presentation. This three-pronged approach was conceived right at the start rather than being a secondary after-thought. Early in the life of the project Frank Matero (2000) developed a plan for an integrated conservation strategy, with a conservation laboratory on site and with the conservators working shoulder to shoulder with the archaeologists. All our excavation strategies have been closely tied to conservation so that decisions about what to dig where and when have been taken in collaboration between archaeologists and conservators. Excavation strategy has also involved considerations regarding which houses and parts of the site should be put on display. Exhibiting the process of excavation has been an important way of involving communities in the site and its protection. The local community has been involved in the excavation and data recovery process as well as in the processes of conservation and site exhibition.

SHELTERS

In the early days of the new project it became apparent that excavation of the Çatalhöyük buildings would be a difficult and delicate matter. The walls and plasters are made of local clays and marls, and
in addition the complexity of fine stratigraphic sequences of floor and wall plasters (up to 450 layers within 10 cms of wall plaster for example) meant that excavation would be slow and forensic in nature. The mud-brick walls and plasters would thus be exposed for many years before they could be removed. It became essential to provide shelters over the excavation areas in order to protect the walls and features, in order to provide an environment in which archaeologists and conservators could work, and in order to allow the trenches to be left open for tourists.

In the early years of the project various forms of temporary summer shelters were used, open at the side and simply providing shade using textile covers. Later textile tents were constructed, the most successful involving a tent with a double wall of textile. The latter allowed the excavated remains to be left open throughout the year, but the shelter itself would not have survived over the long-term. Since 2000 we have instead built two large permanent shelters, both designed by Atölye Mimarlık (Istanbul). The first, the South Shelter, has a steel frame resting on a concrete belt and covered with a polycarbonate roof (Fig. 1). The second, the 4040 Shelter, has a wooden frame covered by polycarbonate (Fig. 2) also lying on a concrete belt. Thus in both cases the foundations are shallow (1,00-1,50 m) so that intrusion into the archaeological layers is minimized. Both shelters have sides that can be removed during the summer months in order to increase the flow of air and decrease temperatures inside. In both cases drainage problems from the winter snows and rains have been dealt with by landscaping and drainage around the shelters so as to direct and manage water flow. The shelters have allowed excavation and conservation and exhibition to take place beneath them.

**CONSERVATION**

In an archaeological context, the state of preservation of materials depends on a range of factors during and after the burial/excavation period as well as the subsequent processing, conservation and storage (Pye 2001; Caple 2000). Particularly mud brick is notoriously difficult to preserve when left exposed on an excavated site. At Çatalhöyük there is an additional problem: some buildings were partially burnt in antiquity, leaving the brick and plasters exceptionally friable. The two mechanisms which are normally used to protect earthen structures are to provide a shelter over the site, or to consolidate the brick/plasters themselves, often by capping, coating or injecting (Warren 1999). At Çatalhöyük both shelters and consolidation have been used and the buildings remain exposed under the shelters throughout the year so that they can be viewed by visitors while being protected from the direct effects of the climate (Camurcuoğlu Cleere 2007).

On any site there is a tendency for buried material to reach an equilibrium with the burial environment; this equilibrium is broken by excavation, and structures and objects may deteriorate quite rapidly as a result of sudden exposure to a new environment. Despite the very hot summers, the ground at Çatalhöyük remains damp beneath the surface so that when walls, burials and artefacts are first excavated they, too, are damp but can dry out rapidly once exposed - resulting in cracking or flaking, salt crystallisation and ultimate disintegration (Cronyn 1990; Sease 1994; Pye 2009). Even though the protective shelters are a necessity for the long term preservation and display of the earthen structures, before they are planned, it is important to evaluate their impact on the archaeology both in positive and negative ways, as they create a micro-environment which may pose further problems for the preservation of the mudbrick/plastered walls. For example, the conditions under the specially designed shelters of Çatalhöyük (South and 4040 Shelters) can still be very hot even though the side panels are removed during the summer months to provide ventilation. There is also a tendency for wind to be funnelled through the shelters when the sides are open. Both these factors exacerbate drying, and wind erosion which with the resulting dust, is a serious factor that may damage the exposed archaeology.

Visual observations and regular environmental monitoring inside both shelters have shown that there are regular fluctuations of Relative Humidity (RH) and temperature inside the shelters throughout the year, with the pattern changing between the winter and summer months due to the side panels being closed and opened. In winter, the RH rises up to and above 90% whilst in the summer it decreases as low as 18%. These fluctuations make it very difficult to preserve
Apart from wall paintings, in some houses there are installations consisting of bull’s skulls and horns, or horns alone, low relief plaster figures interpreted as bears, or low relief abstract friezes. Conserving these for display in situ is problematic. The earthen plasters tend to crack as they dry and thin layers of plaster tend to peel, or multiple layers sheer away together from the wall. The extremes of climate, the ground water and salts all have an effect. Once again, long-term documentation and treatment are required.

Some installations have been successfully protected temporarily over winter (or during the building of a new shelter) by reburial, or by encasing in a protective box with insulation of polyurethane foam, but protecting during display throughout the year by, for example, enclosing in a Perspex (Plexiglass) box would create a microclimate, encourage growth of fungi and algae, and would provide an incongruous ‘museum case’ amongst the exposed mud-brick buildings. For these reasons the displayed installations have been left exposed, consolidated as far as possible, maintained annually with local consolidation, and will be allowed to slowly evolve over the next few years or so. This represents a move away from the highly interventionist approach to Building 5. The emphasis now is to leave features in situ for as long as feasible (feasibility depends on the excavation programme and the effectiveness of in situ conservation) and to display not only the products but also the processes of excavation and conservation.

There is thus no quick-fix solution to the conservation of prehistoric mud-brick and mud-plaster buildings. Shelters are a necessary requisite for conservation if long-term display of buildings is required. But the shelters themselves produce their own problems. They themselves intervene in the environment of the mound and cause new problems of rain wash, changed temperature gradients, different wind flow and so on. There is a need for continual monitoring and intervention. It is thus clear that the various agencies involved in the management of sites such as Çatalhöyük need to envisage a long-term commitment.

**SITE MANAGEMENT PLAN**

The long-term management of sites such as Çatalhöyük is necessitated if the sites are to be protected and conserved so that visitors can be attracted and so that local communities can benefit from
tourist income. The management of archaeological sites is facilitated by developing a Site Management Plan in which responsibilities for long-term governance are identified. The Çatalhöyük management plan was completed in 2004, alongside three other management plans prepared for prehistoric sites in the Eastern Mediterranean region as part of the Temper Project, a project undertaken as part of the European Union Euromed Heritage II Programme. The management plan was undertaken over an eighteen month period starting in 2002 and followed a framework developed by the Temper partners and informed by international best practice (Orbaşlı 2007; see also Hodder and Doughty 2007. The management plan itself can be consulted at www.catalhoyuk.com). One of the team's specific aims in developing this framework was to recognize the nature and characteristics of prehistoric sites, including the intangible dimension of prehistoric heritage and the social and human values it relates to.

Çatalhöyük may have less obvious attractions compared to more monumental Anatolian sites, but in terms of media and press coverage it is highly visible across the country. This meant that there would be a wide range of stakeholders and interested parties to consult as part of the management planning process. The scientific, local and public interest in the site brought about an opportunity to bring various stakeholders, often with conflicting interests or priorities, to work together in the best interest and for the long term sustainability of the site. 'Archaeological sites are valuable to segments of society for various reasons, and aspects of the site are variably significant' (de la Torre and MacLean 1997: 8). Çatalhöyük has many different meanings to different people, from local villagers, research and excavation teams to those in key decision making positions regionally and nationally (Bartu 2000: 101). One of the things the management plan had to address was the conflicts amongst the various players arising at a number of levels. Most obviously they include local agricultural use and excavations at the site; tourism development seen from local and regional perspectives; protection of the setting of the site and its cultural landscape; and decisions affecting the setting that are often taken outside of the site context.

The consultation process for the management plan built on previous work and links established by the Çatalhöyük Research Project, and included formal and informal meetings with a broad range of stakeholders. The process of preparing the management plan also proved a useful tool in highlighting to specific interest groups the value of other aspects of the site and how different interests at the site were linked and could be better coordinated.

The overall aim of a management plan is to conserve the cultural significance of a site through appropriate management policies. Through a number of subsections it includes management policies on planning, design, excavations, conservation, information management, interpretation and tourism. The management plan also recognizes the value of the site to social and economic development in the region.

Çatalhöyük management plan has implications for other prehistoric sites in the region. At the present time it offers an example of a management plan and management policies for a similar site facing similar issues; in the longer term it may be pertinent to include policies in future management plans that have a wider influence on the greater whole of prehistoric sites in the region.

Significantly, the Çatalhöyük management plan was the first of its kind in Turkey and helped provide a blueprint for the management planning legislation (No 2863) that was approved in 2005. However, having been conceived before the legislation, the legality of the plan has not been verified. A five yearly revision of the management plan, now due, will hopefully rectify this situation. The revision will not only formulate policies for the next five year period, but also consider some of the longer term objectives of the original plan in more detail as they reach implementation stage.

At the same time the management plan became a prompt for the Ministry of Culture and Tourism to place Çatalhöyük on Turkey's tentative list for World Heritage Site nomination. The now proposed revision of the management plan following current legal procedures will be one of the key documents that will accompany the nomination dossier.
LOCAL COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

Day-to-day, year-to-year monitoring and managing responses to conservation problems are best achieved if local communities take some degree of responsibility for ownership of the site and the region. An example is the training of Sadrettin Dural who worked as a guard at the site in the 1990s (and wrote a book about his experiences – [Dural 2007]) and later drew attention to the archaeological team and to the Çumra police the occurrence of looting on sites in the vicinity of Çatalhöyük. The Çatalhöyük project has an established history of engaging with local communities in the region surrounding the excavation site (Fig. 4). Since renewed excavations started in 1995, ethnographers have been actively engaged in examining the ways the excavations impact local communities (Shankland 1996, 1999; Bartu 1999, 2000). During ethnographic research in Küçükköy, the village nearest to the site, from 1997 to 2000 Bartu examined Çatalhöyük’s impact locally. Based on that research, Bartu called for an expansion of the concept of ‘the archaeological site’ to further include local communities in the Çatalhöyük research by working with local people to develop research questions that meet community needs. She documented both the economic and social benefits of the excavations locally, as well as some of the impacts the project has on families living in Küçükköy, and for those employed on-site as cooks, cleaning staff, heavy residue sorters, screeners, and flotation machine operators. The Çatalhöyük project sponsored several programs developed and carried out by Bartu, including an effort to develop a library in Küçükköy (for which archaeologists working on site contributed books and helped label and organize them for library use). Another successful project initiated by Bartu involved presentation of slide shows related to the Çatalhöyük excavations. The slide shows provided an opportunity where local women (and their children) could gather in the village and learn about Çatalhöyük.

The Çatalhöyük project has also supported extensive archaeological education programs aimed at multiple public audiences. One of the first of these was the TEMPER program (Training, Education, Management and Prehistory in the Mediterranean), sponsored by the European Union. TEMPER was conducted from 2002-2004. Through TEMPER, a series of educational materials related to the site was developed and piloted in local schools. TEMPER also supported school workshops and visits, which were led by Gülay Sert. TEMPER materials were developed for use in village and town classrooms near Çatalhöyük, as well as for use by teachers throughout Turkey.

Independent of the TEMPER program, the Çatalhöyük project supports a well-developed series of childrens’ summer workshops developed and led by Gülay Sert (Fig. 5). Every summer children from the Konya region and other areas across Turkey attend a day-length workshop where they learn about Çatalhöyük. An important aim of the workshops is to raise awareness of cultural heritage and the need for preservation among the adults of upcoming generations. Several hundred children, including from an orphanage, each spend a day at the site in groups of 15-20. In 2009 nearly 600 children attended on-site workshops (Sert 2009), and an increase is planned, pending funding, for the 2010 field season and beyond.

Starting in 2006, the Çatalhöyük Project has sponsored a community archaeology project that utilizes a community based participatory research methodology (Atalay 2006, 2007, 2010). Community Based Participatory Research (CBPR) is a collaborative research methodology that involves two primary components: 1) it is community driven and involves locals as partners in developing and carrying out research that is of interest and benefit to their community; and 2) it is participatory and engages members of a community fully at all stages of the research process. In the case of the community archaeology project at Çatalhöyük, the aim is to develop research partnerships with local residents to make aspects of the research being conducted on site both accessible to, and useful for, local communities. Through interviews with several hundred residents from six nearby towns and villages (Küçükköy, Çumra, Karkın, Abditolu, Dedemoğlu, and Hayiroğlu) the community archaeology project identified areas of research interest of local residents and then worked to facilitate the projects they had identified in full partnership with nearby communities. The first of these collaborative projects included a regular series of comics based on the current excavations that also incorporates future management
and care of Çatalhöyük (eg Fig. 6). Community interviews also identified the need for a regular Newsletter for adult residents. The Newsletter is now distributed once a year in all six towns and villages, and they are given away free of charge to on-site visitors. There are plans to increase publication to two Newsletters each year.

An important point raised in community interviews is that although local residents are highly interested in Çatalhöyük, particularly in the care and management of the site and in issues of heritage tourism surrounding Çatalhöyük, they felt their knowledge about the Çatalhöyük excavations, and archaeology in general, was too limited for them to be partners in planning and carrying out research or participating in long-term care and management of the site. The comic series and newsletter were two suggestions residents made to help remedy this. Another suggestion was for a regular Çatalhöyük Festival (Senlik). Currently, the project supports an annual Festival where Küçükköy residents are invited to visit the site, tour the excavation areas, take part in educational activities related to each on-site lab, and join the excavation team in a meal and other community activities. The Festival is very well attended by Küçükköy residents of all ages and in 2010, nearly 500 community members attended.

After this initial success of the educational endeavours of the community project, the program was expanded and now also involves a local internship and community theatre program (Atalay 2009, 2010). Both of these include archaeological training about Çatalhöyük and archaeology more broadly, but they also provide participants with experience in the area of heritage management and cultural tourism. For example, through the internship program Küçükköy residents are becoming involved in gathering comparative data about heritage management, and examples of cultural tourism (both successful and not) from around the globe. Interns are involved in interviewing local residents, presenting community reports about the data gathered, and writing collaborative grants to help fund future projects. The internship program is meant to build community capacity for research while helping to increase the archaeological literacy of the community. All these initiatives contribute to the goal of having an informed and knowledgeable local team with the skills and experience to manage and care for Çatalhöyük long-term. The point of utilizing a CBPR methodology for this project is that it presents a sustainable model through building community capacity.

Through this extensive range of community engagement, the Çatalhöyük project is working to involve local communities in the management and care of the site (Fig. 7). Following the community’s lead and their own requests and stated needs, efforts first focused on archaeology education, but have since expanded to be more of a two-way engagement in which the community is a partner in planning and carrying out their own training and research related to best practices in managing, developing and protecting the site long-term. As an example, the local community has produced its own displays in the Visitor Center (Fig. 8) at the site and has developed craft production projects in the Visitor Center.

EXHIBITING THE SITE

Archaeological interpretations of Çatalhöyük are currently presented to non-specialist audiences through a range of media including a Visitor's centre and reconstructed Neolithic house located next to the site, information panels positioned in key locations on the excavated mounds, and the Çatalhöyük website. Original artefacts recovered from Çatalhöyük are presented in the Konya and Ankara Museums, where permanent exhibits convey key findings generated by the long history of excavating the site. A major temporary exhibit took place at the Yapı Kredi gallery in Istanbul in 2007. The enormous wealth of material retrieved from excavations, the rich quality of the archaeological remains, the diversity of interpretations of the data, and the fact that work continues at the site, all present many challenges in communicating the significance of Çatalhöyük to the audiences who visit the site and those with an interest in its history. When presenting Çatalhöyük’s ‘stories’ to such audiences, it is important to consider the different needs and expectations of the communities and groups who have developed their own views on the scientific, cultural and political meanings of the site. Thus, the key challenge is not so much how to select ‘highlights’ from the sheer
abundance of material that has been recovered, or that the information on the site is being continually updated, revised and rewritten, but rather, that great thought and sensitivity must be assigned to deciding what interpretive themes should be singled out at the expense of others. In determining what types of information should be privileged in the presentation of Çatalhöyük, it is not only necessary to adopt a community-based approach to investigating topics of interest and alternative modes of display; of equal importance is research on the representational legacy of Çatalhöyük and the ways in which the site has been portrayed and ‘consumed’ by both specialist and non-specialist audiences over the years.

With nearly 50 years of excavation and the publication of hundreds of books and articles on the site, Çatalhöyük offers a unique case study for presenting archaeology to public and professional audiences at a regional, national and international level. Recognising the need to investigate strategies for effectively presenting Çatalhöyük, several teams have worked on the presentation of the site. These include a team from the Science Museum of Minnesota (Shane and Küçük 1998), a group from University College London (Merriman 2004) and more recently a team trained in representation and visualization from Southampton University has started to explore this topic (Moser and Perry 2009). With research expertise in visual representation, museum exhibition, audience reception and the digital dissemination of archaeological knowledge, the ‘Visualisation team’ members are currently researching the most appropriate ways to communicate research findings on Çatalhöyük to the multiple audiences interested in its cultural and scientific significance. The results of this work will inform the design of new displays for the Visitor’s Centre, the construction of a new experimental house, the production of new site signage (Fig. 9) and site guidebooks, and the creation of a website that makes the vast visual heritage of Çatalhöyük more accessible to non-specialist audiences. Of particular significance is the production of a new body of graphic images of Çatalhöyük (including site and artefact illustrations, digital and artistic reconstructions, photographs and maps), which will be designed to facilitate both the academic and popular interpretation of the site.

In order to achieve a system of presentation that is meaningful to the variety of audiences involved in the consumption of Çatalhöyük, the team is initially carrying out a detailed analysis of the production, circulation and reception of the vast body of images representing the site. This research will inform the production of the new images referred to above, and their effectiveness will be evaluated through a series of workshops hosted in Turkey and the UK. The team will also gather ideas for the construction of new displays for the Visitor’s Centre. In order to achieve this, a series of temporary exhibits will be designed for the Centre, which will be trialed to determine what topics and kinds of displays are most appealing to the audiences most commonly visiting the site. Preliminary investigations suggest that visitors have not responded well to the prevalence of text and the lack of material culture on display in the current exhibits and interviews with the site guards/guides at Çatalhöyük also suggest that many visitors are not aware of the international importance and major scientific significance of Çatalhöyük. Such issues are currently being addressed by the design of an ‘orientation’ display on the legacy and impact of the site and its changing representation in the media over time, and by the production of a representative set of artefacts that can be handled by people visiting the Centre. Virtual reality specialists in the team are also currently producing detailed three-dimensional reconstructions of two buildings from the site, which will be used both for interpretive and presentation purposes. It is envisaged that the display environment at the Centre will be highly visual and artistic including interactive three-dimensional computer graphic models of objects and buildings, animated digital reconstructions, replica artefacts, mural art, photographic displays, and video installations. Thus, visits to the Centre will be a multi-sensory experience, as audio-visual techniques featuring sound and the moving image will feature in many of the displays. The ongoing computer graphic work is based on a growing understanding of the physical properties of the objects and architecture at Çatalhöyük, gained through conventional and digital recording technologies such as polynomial texture mapping (Earl et al 2010). The techniques used will therefore provide reconstructions of the site that are not simply appealing, but have much in common with the physical realities of the site both now and
in the past. A first stage of this work has produced a computer graphic representation of the physically reconstructed house in order to assess the computer graphic methodologies available (Fig. 10). The next stage will involve computer graphic reconstruction of a building now preserved only in the Mellaart archives. Ultimately the team aims to appeal to three types of visitor: local residents and Turkish nationals, school children, and international tourists. For local residents and Turkish nationals the Centre will act as a place for gaining insights into the results of the investigations of the site and their international significance. For school children the Centre will provide a stimulating learning environment with activities and exhibitions specially designed to be relevant to the curriculum, and for international tourists the Centre will provide a unique ‘cultural’ attraction that will give such visitors a sense of the scientific and cultural importance of the site for human history. In addition to the work on the Visitor’s Centre, a new reconstructed house, new site signage, guidebooks and a visitor ‘trail’ are all currently being designed by the team.

CONCLUSIONS

The Çatalhöyük Project is one of many in Turkey that now seek to integrate conservation, presentation and archaeology in relation to varied community needs. The experience at Çatalhöyük is that commitment to these aims needs to be sustained and long term. Each component is very dependent on the other. Thus conservation depends on shelters that change the environment of the site and thus need monitoring throughout the year, including in the absence of archaeologists. Local community members can be involved in monitoring and documentation. The local community is more likely to be involved if educational and presentation projects are active and if they involve the community. Archaeologists need to make decisions about where to dig and what to leave on display and such decisions are best made in collaboration with communities, conservators and heritage presentation specialists. All such decisions need to be made in the context of management plans agreed at the regional and national level, including in the case of Çatalhöyük the Protection Board of Konya and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Directorate-General of Monuments and Museums and at international level through UNESCO once the site becomes a World Heritage Site. As international agencies become involved the need for a Site Management Plan that is regularly updated becomes increasingly clear.

Another circle of interactions in which the above is embedded, and which has not been mentioned so far, concerns funding. The activities described in this paper have been funded largely by international agencies such as the European Union and NGOs such as the Global Heritage Fund, the Turkish Cultural Foundation, World Monument Fund. But they have also been funded by commercial sponsors such as Yapı Kredi, Boeing, Shell, Visa. The circle of interaction for funding has three main components: the sponsors themselves, the media and the archaeology. The sponsors remain involved over the long term because they gain publicity. The media provide the publicity only if the archaeology remains of interest to a wide audience. The archaeology has to provide that interest but can only continue if the sponsors stay involved. This circle of interaction for funding depends on conservation and exhibition of the site. It is only by engaging communities in the site and the project that various publics will stay interested and involved. It is this public interest that sparks media interest that itself creates sponsorship interest. All the different components have to be held together.

Certainly the costs of the strategy laid out here can be high, since the construction of shelters and Visitor Centers and replica houses can be considerable. But the benefits are considerable as long as communities are engaged so that the shelters and exhibits respond to their needs. In this paper we have mainly focused on local communities and tourists, but at Çatalhöyük as at most sites there are many and diverse interest groups and stakeholders. Creating a site experience that is of interest to as many groups as possible is key to the ability of the site to attract income to the site.
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Fig. 1. The South Shelter at Çatalhöyük (J. Quinlan)

Fig. 2. The 4040 Shelter (J. Quinlan)

Fig. 3. Visitors on bridge over Building 5 and walking around Building 77 in the South Shelter (J. Quinlan)

Fig. 4. A community visit descending from the 4040 Shelter (Çatalhöyük Research Project)

Fig. 5. The Summer School at Çatalhöyük led by Gülây Sert (Çatalhöyük Research Project)
ARKEOLOGLAR BU SORULARA NASIL CEVAP VERIRLER?

Fig. 6. Example of the comic produced for the local community (S. Atalay)

Fig. 7. Members of the local community are trained in building conservation (J. Quinlan)

Fig. 8. Exhibits in the Visitor Center (S. Atalay)

Fig. 9. Information panel in the South Shelter (J. Quinlan)

Fig. 10. Computer Graphic Image of the experimental house at Çatalhüyük (left) compared with a photograph (right) (G. Earl)