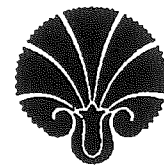


ARIT Newsletter

American Research Institute in Turkey



Number 30, Fall 2000

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LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT

It was my sad duty to report to you last spring the death of Hans Güterbock. On October 4, a beautiful fall day in Chicago, a memorial service was held at Bond Chapel on the University of Chicago campus, just a few minutes' walk from Hans' academic home in the Oriental Institute. Colleagues, friends, and family (his son Walter) paid eloquent tribute to our past President. His wife Frances was, as always, gracious and elegant. Even had I not gone, ARIT would have been well represented: Frank Tachau, past Delegate (Treasurer under Hans), past Delegate Harry Hoffner, and current Delegate Aslihan Yener.

For reasons I cannot explain (certainly not lack of interest), I never got together with both the Tonies in Turkey this summer. I did, however, see a fair amount of Toni Cross in Ankara, where, with her super assistants Cennet and Burçak, the ARIT center is a paragon of professionalism. I also got to see Tony Greenwood on two ARIT-related trips to Istanbul, one of which was to attend the biennial meeting of the Turkish Dernek. As in past years, I welcomed the occasion to see the good and faithful colleagues who help to "keep us honest" in Turkey, including Dernek President Güven Arsebük. ARIT-Istanbul is in fine shape, thanks to Tony and his administrative right hand Güliden Güneri.

As reported on elsewhere in the Newsletter, an important event of this year for ARIT has been the resuscitation of the Turkey-Greece Scholars Exchange. Thanks to the initial efforts of First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and to the generosity of the U.S. State Department, the "Aegean Scholars Exchange Program" saw its first Turkish researchers go to Greece this fall, while we can soon expect Greek scholars to pursue research interests in Turkey.

With its generous public and private support, ARIT operates a multiplicity of programs in Turkey. As a result, the Institute has become a far more complex organization than it was before 1994, when our level of federal funding increased dramatically. Masterfully holding all of it together for us at Headquarters in Philadelphia is Nancy Leinwand, assisted and encouraged by Charlene Longnecker. Our good fortunes also owe much to the Council of American Overseas Research Centers and Executive Director Mary Ellen Lane, whose deft pulse-readings of Washington benefit us in many ways.

Best wishes and thanks to you all.

G. Kenneth Sams

ARIT-ISTANBUL BRANCH NEWS

ARIT-ISTANBUL BRANCH NEWS

The spring lecture series at the Institute this year focused on the Ottoman and Republican periods. The listing below gives an idea of the exciting diversity of research that is being carried on in and around the Institute these days:

“Heaven and the Administration of Things: Some Preliminary Remarks on Law during the Tanzimat Era” Professor Şerif Mardin, Arts and Sciences, Sabancı University

“The ‘Menemen Incident:’ Popular Discontent and the Theater of Rebellion and Repression in Early Republican Turkey” Howard Eissenstadt, History Department, University of California, Los Angeles and ARIT Fellow

“From Snails to Sultans: Contemporary Art in Turkey” Dr. Susan Platt, Fulbright Scholar, Yıldız Technical University

“Defending the Dardanelles: the Ottoman Fortresses of Seddülbahir and Kumkale” Professor Lucienne Şenocak, History Department, Koç University and ARIT/NEH Fellow

“The ‘Deserving Poor’ in 19th Century Istanbul” Professor Mine Ener, History Department, Villanova University and ARIT/NEH Fellow

“Sexual Discourses in the Ottoman Empire” Professor Dror Ze’evi, Middle East Studies, Ben Gurion University

The Dernek Fellowship Committee met in the spring to consider applications for our in-Turkey grants from an encouragingly strong pool of 26 scholars affiliated with Turkish universities. The Committee, including Dr. Nuşin Asgari, Professor Nejat Göyünç, Professor Gunay Kut and Professor Zafer Toprak, made the following awards:

Post Doctoral Dissertation Awards

Doc. Dr. Gül Asatekin, METU Architecture Faculty and **Dr. Ceylan Tokluoğlu**, METU Sociology Department *Survey of Perceived Needs and Preferences of Current Residents of Dwellings Registered as Worthy of Preservation in the Ankara Castle District*

Professor Gürol Irzık and **Dr. Berna Kılınc**, Philosophy, Boğaziçi University *From the Wounds of Anatolia to the North Anatolian Fault: İhsan Ketin and Scientific Discovery in Republican Turkey*

Dr. Şuhnaz Yılmaz International Relations, Koç University *The American Role in Greek-Turkish Relations*

Doctoral Dissertation Awards:

Nilgün Çolpan Erkan Biçer Faculty of Architecture, Yıldız Technical University *The Development and Change of the Image of the Anatolian Turkish Town*

Mithat Çelikpala, International Relations, Hacettepe University *A Study of the Development of a North Caucasus Identity*

Süleyman Kızıltoprak, History Department, Mimar Sinan University *The English Occupation of Egypt and the Ottoman Reaction*

Vasıf Şahoğlu, Archaeology, Ankara University *Early Bronze Ceramics at Liman Tepe and their Place in Aegean Archaeology*

Yüksel Taşkın, Political Science Department, Boğaziçi University *Intellectuals, the State and the Media in Post 1980 Turkey*

At a CAORC- sponsored workshop in Cairo last spring we heard good news about progress in their project to link overseas research center libraries into a central database maintained in the U.S. The plan will benefit ARIT Istanbul library users by providing the automatic import of Library of Congress cataloguing for the entire ARIT collection. This should get rid of the many problems caused by the idiosyncratic nature of our existing cataloguing, and open up the collection for the first time to proper subject searches, something we have had only in the most perfunctory way. The project will take some time to complete--we have just begun to send in test data.

By the new year, some 500 books in Byzantine and related studies from our old collection will have been moved upstairs into the Byzantine Collection, and our library will be properly divided into a “Byzantine” and an “Ottoman-Turkish” floor. Some 1200 offprints and xeroxes from the Snipes bequest have now been catalogued (not including duplicates and discards) with another 300 to go. Once we’re finished we will deal with the perennial problem of how best to make this type of material available to researchers.

A campaign begun by the Friends last spring to help improve the quality of residential life at the Institute began to take effect over the summer. Perhaps of most immediate importance, new beds were purchased for all rooms. A good night’s sleep should now finally be possible (that is if the neighboring dog, our ‘Hound of the Baskervilles,’ obliges). In addition a new stove was purchased for the kitchen, and some couches, tables, curtains, and rugs were replaced through gift or purchase. Bowing to popular pressure, and not without some trepidation, we also brought in digital satellite programming for the television, which has always had poor and limited reception. Now we have wonderful reception, too many channels in too many languages, and far too many late night movies to choose from.

The following individuals donated books and offprints to the ARIT library over this past spring and summer. I am very grateful to them all: Sumru Belger-Krody, Palmira Brumett, Mehmet Coral, İnci Delemen, Mine Ener, Caroline Finkel, Müge Galin, Charlotte Jirousek, Yekta Özözer, Jamil Ragep, and Catherine Rendon.

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ISTANBUL FRIENDS OF ARIT NEWS

Let's begin by putting our best foot forward. The Friends of ARIT organized some wonderful activities this past spring. Some of them worked out very well. To start with there was a much awaited trip to the Southeast, visiting places long out of reach because of adverse security conditions. An overflow crowd under the expert guidance of Professor Norbert Karg of Bilkent University went down in the early spring. After a lovely night at the Kervansaray Hotel in Diyarbakir, the Friends visited the Monastery of Deyr Zafaran, went on to the late Roman town of Zara (where they ended up being the token tourists with whom the Ministry of Tourism officially kicked off the new Tourism Season), then went back to Mardin for a delightful afternoon strolling in the town. The next morning they visited some of the important remaining centers of Suryani culture in Turkey at Midyat and the Monastery of Mar Gabriel, then spent the afternoon amidst the spectacular ruins of medieval Hasan Keyf, praying that it would not have to be lost to the floodwaters of a new dam.

What else? There was a wonderful tour to Cappadocia in the early summer with the best possible guide, Professor Robert Ousterhout, who has just finished four seasons working in the region. The trip was a combination of the standard must-see churches with places that only an expert would know of, culminating in a whole valley that is virtually unknown. Only on a FARIT tour. And then there was a pleasant walking tour of the old hans in the historic commercial section of Istanbul. And there was the meal auctioned off at the Annual Dinner by the Steering Committee, which was a spectacular success. Where else can one find a grapefruit and rakı sorbet?

Some other good ideas didn't work out quite as hoped. FARIT had a splendid idea of kicking off the spring season by going to Egypt, delving into Ottoman-Islamic Cairo and then cruising down the Nile to see its Pharaonic splendors. It was during Kurban Bayram, and we soon learned that space would be a bit tight, but how were we to predict that 10,000 other Turkish tourists, and a lot of the rest of the world, would decide to go to Egypt at the same time, and compete for every hotel room, every plane seat, and every Nile cruise boat? In the end the trip went everywhere it was supposed to, from Cairo to Luxor, Aswan, and Abu Simbel, but every day was an adventure, never knowing for sure which hotel we'd end up in and when, with all the excitement and frustration that that entails.

Egypt was the beginning. Later in the spring FARIT decided to go to the Crimea. With help from a Ukrainian specialist, and a Ukrainian agency organizing, we had an ambitious itinerary and a dedicated group of participants willing to put up with the uncertainty and discomfort essential for travel in this relatively uncharted terrain.

We spent two months trying to get our visas, to confirm our hotels etc. We thought we had it made, until twenty-four hours before departure, virtually on the way to the airport, when we were told that there was a hitch, that the promised visas would certainly be forthcoming but still needed a few more days, that we should just postpone a week. That was the last straw, the trip was canceled, and the conquest of the Crimea awaits another spring.

In July, Professor Jim Crow of Newcastle University and head of the Anastasian Walls Survey, took the Friends on their seventh visit to the Long Walls and the Thracian aqueduct system. Long-time readers will know that this trip, which seeks to go to different sections of the wall and the aqueduct system every year, requires a bit of flexibility and is not always completed as planned, what with travel on forestry roads and over unbridged streams. This time we outdid ourselves. Jim just managed to point out, from far above, the newly-ascertained line the walls take at their southernmost point, some 60 meters out into the Marmara underwater. Then the heavens opened up. We suffered through a buffet picnic lunch spread out on the five back seats of the bus (bit of a crowd in the serving line). We tried to visit the most accessible part of the wall, on the northern section, but both buses ended up sliding off the road in the knee deep mud. One had to be abandoned, propped up against the ancient wall with two wheels in the air, while the other was rescued, only to run off the road again a little further along. It took the whole group an hour, a lot of it on their knees in the mud, to get it out. We were grateful just to make it home that night. So much for the walls, and we never even got near an aqueduct.

Even our old faithful, the trip by boat to the castles at the northern end of the Bosphorus, where we are wont to eat our palamut in brilliant sunshine watching the Black Sea swells foaming over the historic clashing rocks, came close to disaster this year. Our boat nearly went down under massive waves at the mouth of the Bosphorus, and we never made it out into the Black Sea at all, retreating to safety in the harbor at Anadolu Kavak for the whole of the day. No Garipçe, no Pompey's Pillar, no Symplegades, just the standard tourist palamut and the trusty Genoese castle.

All in all we had our ups and downs, but almost everyone who came along these trips seems to have enjoyed it, and has come back for more. With the good and the bad, the fact is that the Friends of ARIT is only a volunteer fund-raising organization, which sponsors academic travel, lectures and a few social events, and not a professional travel agency. Perhaps FARIT has had more than its share of good luck over the past 15 years, and our record over the last six months reflects a healthy dose of the real world. Certainly we've learned some lessons. We may be a little more cautious in the future especially with international trips. But so long as the Friends remain positive, and they continue overwhelmingly to say they want more, we will continue to do our best to oblige.

ARIT-ANKARA BRANCH NEWS

ARIT-ANKARA BRANCH NEWS

Our sadness at the closing of the USIS library in the Turkish American Association building, for decades an Ankara landmark, was somewhat tempered when sixteen of its wonderful wooden bookshelves were donated to our library. Removing the old shelves and transferring the books to the new ones was not an easy job. As usual, the work fell to our loyal staff of two, Cennet and Burçak, aided one day by former ARIT Fellow Julie Pearce and her visiting family members, who labored away cheerfully despite having been press-ganged into service in a desperate moment. Our sincere thanks to them, to USIS (now Public Affairs) for the shelves, and to the American Embassy for sending technicians to reassemble them, a long and difficult task beyond even "the staff's" capabilities.

Many of you are probably familiar with the Mellon Foundation grant that enables ARIT to award special fellowships to eastern European scholars for research in Turkey. From the very beginning of this program, it has been a great pleasure to have these ARIT Mellon Fellows in the hostel, library and office. Our first Fellow from Bulgaria was Dr. Maya Vassileva, an exceptionally dedicated and collegial scholar. This year we were fortunate to have two more Mellon Fellows from Bulgaria, Dr. Tsoni Tsonnev and Dr. Malgorzata Grebska-Kulova, who fully lived up to the high standards set by their predecessor.

CAORC, the Council of American Overseas Research Centers, is our umbrella organization in Washington, DC. Since 1989, CAORC has organized a meeting of board members, resident directors, and CAORC personnel at a different overseas center every two years or so. In addition to the formal program, these meetings provide the opportunity to mix with other resident directors and discuss similar problems and possible solutions. The March 2000, CAORC meeting was held in Cairo at ARCE, the American Research Center in Egypt. Both CAORC and ARCE are to be congratulated for arranging a most worthwhile program, which on the last day included my first (I blush to admit it) visit to the Pyramids and the Sphinx. The meeting also gave me the chance to spend time with such old and dear friends as ARIT Treasurer Dr. Ria Ellis, ARIT executive officer Dr. Nancy Leinwand, and ARIT-Istanbul director Tony Greenwood. Friends may be surprised to learn that direct contact with Ria and Nancy is normally limited to the Annual Meeting in Philadelphia, a hectic three days with little time for anything beyond ARIT business, and that even here in Turkey, Tony Greenwood and I connect mainly by phone and e-mail.

In May, the Branch sponsored the 20th anniversary lecture series on Archaeology in Turkey. The Turkish Department of Antiquities and Museums decided at a rather late date to hold the annual symposium in Izmir rather

than Ankara. This meant that we could not hold the popular mini-symposium by American archaeologists, but it did give us the opportunity to present four rather than the usual three individual lectures:

Julie Pearce, University of Pennsylvania graduate student and former ARIT Fellow, "You Are How You Eat: Cultural Identity in Prehistoric Southeastern Turkey"

Dr. Alan Greaves, BIAA Research Fellow, "Miletos and the Sea: A Stormy Relationship"

Çiğdem Atakuman Eissenstat, University of California, Los Angeles, graduate student, "The Halaf Period at Domuztepe"

Professor Fikret Yegül, University of California, Santa Barbara, "Building a Roman Bath at Sardis"

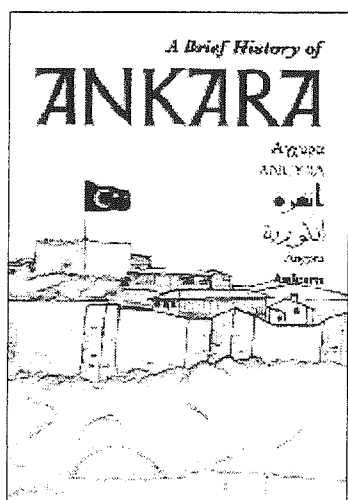
The Roman bath at Sardis is the only full-scale recreation of such a building ever constructed, and Friends interested in knowing more about it might check their public TV schedules: the project was sponsored by the NOVA series and was first broadcast on February 22, 2000. Fikret's participation in our 20th anniversary series was especially appropriate because his niece, Dr. Emel Yağcı, who now teaches at Mersin University, spoke at the inaugural series in 1981, when she was an undergraduate at Ankara University!

Readers of the last newsletter may remember that in November, 1999, Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton gave a speech at Aspendos on cultural preservation in which she announced that ARIT was to receive a special grant to sustain its Turkey-Greece Scholar Exchange Program. Thanks to the perseverance of Cultural Officer Jess Baily the USIS grant was finally signed in May and set to begin in June, 2000. Now known as the Aegean Fellows Program, it is to be administered by ARIT-Ankara, in cooperation with the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Because it had seemed unwise to spread the word about this grant before it was signed, I feared that the last-minute announcement would result in few if any applicants. To my amazement, this was not at all the case. In June, the ARIT selection committee awarded its half of the funds, presenting grants to four Turks, two graduate students and two professors, all of whom intended to conduct research at the American School in Athens during September and October, 2000.

In the last newsletter, President Sams had the sad duty of announcing the death of Hans. G. Güterbock, a founder and second president of ARIT and an outstanding Hittitologist. Himself a former resident of the Turkish capital, Hans Bey was a staunch supporter of the Ankara Branch, who over the years replied with great promptness and patience to every query from the resident director. A framed photo of Hans Bey, hard at work in the library, has graced Branch premises from Kenedi Caddesi to Iran to Horasan and back again to Kenedi. In his honor and memory, we would like to designate the monumental

work by J. D. Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions Vol. I: Inscriptions of the Iron Age* (Berlin, 2000) as the Hans. G. Güterbock Memorial Volume. Those contributing toward the purchase of this memorial volume will be listed in the book-plate. Former F/ARIT Treasurer Melissa Kunstadter made the initial contribution in June, just before her departure from Ankara. Friends may send donations directly to ARIT headquarters in Philadelphia, being sure to state the purpose.

On the subject of books, that vast sigh you heard wafting across several continents was one of relief: *A Brief History of Ankara* by Toni M. Cross and Gary Leiser has finally been published. In this instance, "brief" refers to the length of the book, not the time it took to produce it. And the fault, dear Friends, lies not at all with Gary Leiser but with his co-author. Public thanks are herewith offered for his incredible forbearance and patience. The book is now on sale; for details, see below. Once the printing costs have been recovered, a share of the proceeds will go to the Ankara Friends of ARIT -- an endowment at last!



*A Brief History
of Ankara*

by Toni M. Cross
and
Gary Leiser

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ANKARA FRIENDS OF ARIT NEWS

The name of Dr. Alan Greaves already appeared once above, and reappears several more times below. Alan was Research Fellow at the BIAA during the 1999/2000 academic year, spent writing his book on Miletos, where he is in charge of the Bronze Age excavations. During his relatively short stay, he kindly accepted every request put to him, for which we are most grateful. He began his labors in February, serving as guide on the Presidents' Day trip to the Aegean. Thirty Friends enjoyed Alan's knowledge, and sense of humor, on visits to Ephesus, Priene, Miletos, Didyma, and Heraclaea under Latmos.

Term IV of the F/ARIT Seminar on the History and Archaeology of Turkey began that same month, and Alan taught the first two classes, "Miletos and the Foundation of Ionia," and "Ionian Philosophy and Science in the 6th century BC." In March, Dr. Yaşar Ersoy, Bilkent University, presented class three, "Ionian Art and Culture: An Overview," and Dr. Yaprak Eren, BIAA and Anadolu University, class four, "Architecture of the Ionian Cities." Thanks are owed to all three lecturers, who most generously gave their time and expertise. All the classes were held on Sundays at 6:30 PM, and afterwards many of us continued the discussion, and the companionship, over food and drink at a nearby restaurant.

The long Kurban Bayram in mid-March encouraged the Friends to organize a trip to Syria, on which Dr. Marie-Henriette Gates, Bilkent University, kindly agreed to serve as guide. Thirty-six Friends reported that it was an absolutely packed five days (all of which seemed to begin at the crack of dawn), but well worth it. A fabulous trip, they said, marred only by enforcement of the regulation that no one but official Syrian guides could speak at sites and in museums, which proved most frustrating to F/ARIT guide and participants alike.

In April, Burcu Arıkan Erciyes, a graduate student at the University of Cincinnati, gave a most interesting and unusual slide presentation on "Looting, Smuggling and Museum Ethics: The Return of the Lydian Hoard." The following month the Friends took advantage of the Youth & Sports Day long weekend, May 19-21, for a first-ever trip to Diyarbakır, Hasan Keyf, Mardin and the Syrian monasteries of the Tur Abdin. The participants were fortunate to have as their guide Dr. Norbert Karg, Bilkent University, who knows and loves this region, which up to now has been far off the beaten tourist track. A week later, the Friends celebrated the Memorial Day weekend, May 27-29, with another first: a trip to Bulgaria and Edirne. This too was a success, thanks to the efforts of ARIT Mellon Fellows Maya Vassileva and Tsoni Tsonev, and good Friends John and Melissa Kunstadter, who had lived in Sofia and knew Edirne so well that they served as guides to that city.

The Annual Dinner, held June 3 at the Ambassador's Residence, was a great success and great fun. We owe

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this to Honorary Friends' President Joan Parris and her husband, Ambassador Mark Parris, who were perfect hosts; Patricia Ülkü, who every year does all the hard, behind-the-scenes work with the utmost cheerfulness, and Dr. Scott Redford, who gave a splendid presentation. His illustrated talk, "The Dream of Osman," commemorated the founding of the Ottoman Empire. Immediately afterwards, we commemorated Cennet Köse's decade of service to the Ankara Branch. President Sams presented a short, moving speech and an engraved silver bowl on behalf of ARIT, and F/ARIT President Charles Gates gave an equally short and moving speech, and silver jewelry,

on behalf of the Ankara Friends. After some discrete sniffing and eye-dabbing, everyone was in the mood to celebrate as we sat down to a superb dinner in the company of true Friends.

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ARIT FELLOWS 2000-2001

National Endowment for the Humanities Fellows:

Dr. Shirine Hamadeh Architecture, Art, Environmental Studies, Dumbarton Oaks *Ottoman Patronage and Architectural Taste in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul*

Dr. Dorothy Slane-Öztürk Archaeology, University of Maryland, University College *The Pottery from Gözlüküle, Tarsus, in the Adana Museum: a Study Season*

Professor John Walbridge Near Eastern Languages, Indiana University *Stoic Fragments in Islamic Medical and Philosophical Texts*

Department of State Fellows:

Dr. Maureen Basedow Archaeology, University of North Carolina, Wilmington *The Sanctuary at Troy: Architecture and Stratigraphy*

Frederick Colby Religion, Duke University *Isra' / Mi'raj Literature: Works on the Ascension of the Prophet Muhammad*

John Curry History, Ohio State University *The Impact of 17th Century Religious Transformation on the Halveti Order of Dervishes in the Ottoman Empire*

Michael Ellison Music Composition, University of California, Santa Barbara *A Comparative, Regionally Oriented Study of Intonation and Modality in the Folk Music of Turkey*

Britt Hartenberger Archaeology, Boston University *Analysis of Craft Specialization at the Canaanite Blade Workshop at Tiriş Höyük in the Context of Regional Chipped Stone Production*

Professor Robert Labaree Ethnomusicology, New England Conservatory *The Transmission of Song forms in Ottoman Classical Music: Mesk, Recording, and Consultation with Singers and Scholars*

Dr. Timothy Matney Anthropology, University of Akron *Urban Planning and Culture Contact at Late Bronze-Iron Age Ziyaret Tepe, Diyarbakir Province*

Dr. Hakan Ozoğlu History, University of Chicago *Kurds of Turkey: a Study on the Background of Early Kurdish Nationalists*

Dr. Bradley Parker History, University of Utah *The Upper Tigris Archaeological Research Project (UTARP)*

Christine Philliou History, Princeton University *The Interstices of Empires: the Autonomous Polity of Ottoman Samos 1834-1912*

John Senseney History of Art and Architecture University of California, Santa Barbara *Roman Asia Minor's Colonaded Public Enclosures and their Urban Role*

Aaron Shakow History, CMES, Harvard University *The Plague and their Houses: Public Health, Clinical Practice, and the Social Experience of Illness and Disease, Istanbul 1771-1831*

G. Carole Woodall History of Art and Architecture, New York University *Composing Istanbul: Changing Identities, Urban Space, and Entertainment, 1918-1928*

Samuel H. Kress Foundation Fellows:

Persis Berlekamp History of Art and Architecture, Harvard *Wonder and its Images in Medieval Islamic Culture: the Wonders of Creation from the Euphrates to the Oxus, 1258-1502*

Christopher Roosevelt History of Art and Archaeology, Cornell University *Sites and Settlements of Central Lydia (Honorary)*

Zeynep Yürekli History of Art and Architecture, Harvard University *The Architecture of the Ottoman Halvetis in Anatolia and the Balkans*

Friends of ARIT Fellows:

Boğaç Ergene History, Ohio State University *Local Court, Community, and Justice in the 17th and 18th Centuries Ottoman Empire*

İlay Ors Anthropology, Harvard University *On Cosmopolitan Lives Past and Present: the Greeks of Istanbul*

Dr. Oğuz Soysal University of Chicago, Oriental Institute *The Ortaköy-Sapinuwa Epigraphical Research (OSER) Project*

Turkish—American Friendship Society of the U. S. - Okumuş Family Fellow:

Michelle Berenfeld Institute of Fine Arts, New York University *Houses at Aphrodisias: The Bishop's Palace and Related Structures*

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REPORT ON ARIT FELLOWSHIPS

Dr. Paul Kaldjian, Geography, Missouri Southern State College. *Urban Food Security and Contemporary Istanbul: Gardens, Bazaars and the Countryside.*

I began my fieldwork in Istanbul (October, 1997) with the hypothesis that urban agricultural activity would be on the rise in Istanbul. Due to increasing socio-economic pressures, the peasant heritage of the majority of rural-to-urban migrants, and the well-known Turkish practices of developing alternative and informal institutions to address needs that formal institutions and the marketplace are unable to meet, people would take their food security into their own hands. Early in the research, I discovered that Istanbul has a long and honorable tradition of urban agriculture in the form of the bostan market gardens. I interviewed close to 50 such urban agriculturalists, mostly in their fields and work places, over the next nine months.

It was not long after beginning the field interviews that I realized that bostan market gardening has been in a state of serious decline since the beginning of the mass migration into Istanbul in the 1950s. Due to the intense competition for space in Istanbul, there is only a fraction of the historical bostans remaining, and a negligible number of new gardens are being prepared. Bostan market gardening is no longer significant in terms of overall, city-wide food and livelihood security.

In interviews and discussions, however, I learned about the widespread practice of bringing food from peoples' home villages to Istanbul in support of urban livelihoods. I shifted my research to include an examination of this practice and its implications. I expanded my base of interviews, and developed and implemented a survey instrument, in an attempt to describe the nature and magnitude of bringing food from the countryside. It appears that this practice is quite significant at both the household and metropolitan scales, at least among millions of migrants in the lower socio-economic classes. I concluded that there are strong, informal farm-food links between Istanbul and the migrants' villages.

To the visitor, Istanbul, Turkey is flush with food. But food supply and access to food can be unrelated. Socio-economic, demographic and development data suggest food security problems for a significant portion of the

population. After World War II, immigrants to Istanbul from Anatolia who built house gardens within their original squatter settlements (gecekondus) have sold their lands or turned them into apartments. Similarly, only fragments of the traditional network of commercial, intensive urban gardens (bostans) in Istanbul remain. In addition, the expanding system of European style supermarkets and commercial production in the global marketplace are changing the traditional urban food networks built around such institutions as the neighborhood bazaar.

Through kinship relations, labor mobility, the availability of formal and informal economic and transportation networks and the persistence of small, family farms nationwide, food security in Istanbul is supported by food individually and communally transferred from the countryside. Subsistence agricultural production across rural Turkey appears to play a vital role in feeding the urban population through informal food delivery and distribution channels. Thus, despite reductions in rural populations and appearances that rural and agricultural communities are declining, their productivity may be as important as ever.

With their emphases on resource use, adaptation, consideration of multiple scales and exercise of local agency within structures of power and wealth, political and cultural ecology provide perspectives from which to meaningfully analyze food security needs and practices in Istanbul. Such a framework is enhanced by contributions from research in food systems and food security. Time centered tactics, exchange entitlements and food accessibility within the city cannot be understood apart from its relationship to the countryside.

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