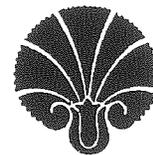


ARIT Newsletter

American Research Institute in Turkey



Number 36, Fall 2003

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LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT, FALL 2003

I again this past summer was able to get a first-hand view of ARIT's operations in Turkey. Although I had no opportunity to visit Istanbul (except for the airport), Tony Greenwood very obligingly came to Ankara in late May. He, Baha, and I had very fruitful discussions, and, as always, I profited much from being with these fine and able individuals. I also had the good chance to spend some time with İhsan Çetin, husband of the late Toni Cross and watchful President of the Dernek for ARIT-Ankara. In early August, I had the pleasure and privilege of leading a combined tour of Istanbul and Ankara Friends of ARIT. They met me at Gordion, where I showed them around, and then we went for a night's stay to Afyon, the jumping-off point for a visit to the Phrygian Highlands. I was glad to get to know some of our stalwart supporters in Turkey.

Thanks to Erika Gilson of Princeton University and a generous grant from the U.S. Department of Education, ARIT was able to offer funding to 15 individuals for studying intensive, advanced Turkish at Bosphorus University in Istanbul in summer 2003. Princeton University and the American Association of Teachers of Turkic Languages provided additional support. A bonus for the participants was a boat trip up the Golden Horn and a visit to, *inter alia*, the Church of the Pantokrator (Zeyrek Camii), led by ARIT Delegate Bob Ousterhout. ARIT is grateful that this important program has been revived after a lapse in funding. It advances the linguistic abilities of scholars who seek proficiency in Turkish by enabling them to study with a faculty of native speakers.

As outlined in the letter herein from Baha Yıldırım, ARIT for the second year awarded Hanfmann Fellowships to young Turkish scholars based in Turkey for conducting study and research outside their country. These generous awards are this year allowing scholars to work in Central Asia, England, Italy, and the U.S. ARIT is most grateful for this program of fellowships, which joins the Aegean Scholars Exchange Program in allowing us to send Turks residing in Turkey abroad. The latter program, as Baha also reports, is thriving, thanks to the generosity of the U.S. Public Affairs Officers at the U.S. Embassies in Athens and Ankara. We continue to be hopeful that funding for the ASEP can be regularized in the budget of the State Department. Here, as in so many other ways, we look to the guidance and support of Dr. Mary Ellen Lane, Executive Director of the Council of American Overseas Research Centers.

ARIT turned 39 this year, the perennial age of Jack Benny. Yet unlike Jack, we look forward to age 40 and years beyond, and to the continuing support of all our benefactors, to whom we offer great thanks. I wish for us all a pleasant and peaceful New Year.

G. Kenneth Sams

ARIT-ISTANBUL BRANCH NEWS

ISTANBUL BRANCH NEWS

Developments in the library and communications network at the Institute over this period have significantly improved working conditions for scholars. The promise of the ADSL line brought in last spring was not realized as quickly as we expected; in fact it took most of the summer to work out the bugs in the new system. Problems we encountered with the original set-up included poor security, difficulty in configuring laptops to make it possible for them to connect in directly, and the failure of the system to recover fully and automatically from electricity cuts (a major problem when cuts are frequent and the main server is in a locked office). Only in September with the revamping of the system were we able solve these problems and take full advantage of the new capabilities offered by the broadband connection.

Now not only is internet connection from the bedrooms trouble-free, but both library terminals also have now been opened to 24-hour connection. This means we have three terminals within the building open to users without their own computer, enough so that we can offer unrestricted internet access to walk-in library users as well as to our own scholars in residence.

Internet access to our library database from outside the Institute improves regularly as more and more of our collection goes on-line at the CAORC-sponsored American Overseas Digital Library site. The library link on the ARIT website connects directly to this site, where one can now find about half our collection fully catalogued and searchable, including almost everything we have that was published between ca. 1990 and 2002.

Other improvements have been to the physical premises, including several batches of new kitchenware, bars on the basement windows in the back, new bookshelves for the Snipes collection, and beautiful new upholstery for a number of armchairs (thanks to Lucienne Şenocak).

This past spring, through the Türk Amerikan İlimi Araştırmalar Derneği, ARIT awarded fellowships worth 15 billion TL to Turkish scholars at Turkish universities sponsoring doctoral or post-doctoral research. Fifteen billion is a lot of zeros, but in fact it was only just over \$10,500. Still for ARIT, and Istanbul FARIT which helps raise these funds, it was a lot, about \$3,500 more than we have ever been able to allocate to this fund before. Included here is a list of worthy awardees, six at the doctoral and two at the post-doctoral level.

ARIT's contribution to Turkish language study continued through full fellowships for study at the Boğaziçi University Intensive Turkish Program under the guidance of Professor Erika Gilson of Princeton University. For the 15 ARIT fellows, the program began with an orientation here at ARIT.

During the course of the demanding seven weeks that followed, ARIT offered two relaxing culture breaks. Both were day trips by boat, one up the Golden Horn to the Pantocrater and then on to the new Minyatürk "architectural theme park" located beyond Sütluçe, and the other up the Bosphorus to the castles at the entrance from the Black Sea. Professor Robert Ousterhout of the University of Illinois was kind enough to take time off from his Pantocrater project to lead both trips.

The ARIT lecture program continued in the late spring and summer with a variety of interesting talks on Ottoman subjects:

Professor Virginia Aksan (History Department, McMaster University), "Ottoman Military Reform in the Age of Global War, 1760—1830"

Professor Frederick Anscombe (Birkbeck College, University of London), "The Ottoman Past in Modern Politics: Historical Claims to Kuwait and Kosovo"

Professor Kay Ebel (Department of Geography, Ohio Wesleyan University), "City Views and Imperial Visions: the Representation of the Frontier in Ottoman Illustrated Histories of the Sixteenth Century"

Professor Gerald MacLean (English Department, Wayne State University), "The Sultan's Beasts: Early English Encounters with Ottoman Fauna"

I am extremely grateful to the following individuals and institutions for their donations to the library over this period: Virginia Aksan, Kathryn Ann Ebel, Selçuk Esenbel, Gary Leiser, Heath Lowry, Bruce McGowan, Holly Shissler, Amy Singer, Grazyna Zajac, and Fariba Zarinebaf-Shahr, as well as the Dutch and the Swedish Research Institutes in Istanbul. Special mention must be made of the donation of Thomas Goodrich, a long time friend of ARIT and donor to our library, whose donation of 47 books included some out-of-print titles that we have sought after for years.

ISTANBUL FRIENDS OF ARIT NEWS

The Friends have had an active season of tours and lectures. Lectures have been especially well attended. Tours have not fared as well. Travel qualms, busy schedules, and increasing competition from other providers of "culture tourism" seem to have had their effect on Friends' traveling propensities in recent years. Nevertheless we continue to plan new and informative trips, convinced that they constitute an important part of our mission, and are always rewarded by great enthusiasm for those tours that do get off the ground. Tours that fell victim to the post-war doldrums early this summer included planned visits to Pergamum and Aegae, and to Kinet Höyük and the Hatay. In addition, a new and unexpected obstacle appeared

later in the summer, when the sea gods – in past years always smiling and helpful – rose up and made all three of our four sea borne journeys fraught with adventure.

Our first tour by boat was led by Professor Robert Ousterhout up the Golden Horn to the Pantocrater, where he is involved in a long-term survey and restoration project which the Friends are fortunate enough to have been able to follow from its inception. From there we made a special trip to the newly opened and extremely popular miniature monuments park at Minyatürk, at the very end of the Golden Horn. The sea behaved for us, but wouldn't you know it: as Professor Ousterhout deconstructed for us the whole idea of a park of architectural models, he discovered that his own project's model, the Pantocrater, had been mislabeled.

Next the Friends went by train to Gordion and from there, with the Ankara Friends, on to the Phrygian highlands. We were fortunate to have Professor Kenneth Sams, head of the Gordion Excavations and President of ARIT, to lead us around, especially as there were two other groups of priority visitors that needed to be shepherded around the site on the same morning. Our group, of course, realized none of this at the time. Only later, when they did find out, could they appreciate that this was a first hand display of the multitudinous organizational skills necessary to keep an excavation going.

The sea gods first raised their heads during our traditional trip to the castles at the mouth of the Black Sea. Although it was a sunny day, the wind was up and the waves rose to such heights that not only were we unable to get to Garipçe or the Clashing Rocks on the Rumelian side, we couldn't even get up the Anatolian side to Anadolu Fener, and had to settle for lunch with the tourists at Anadolu Kavak.

Early in October the Friends returned after a five-year hiatus to Gokçe Adası to Tepe Köy, Zeytinköy and Kale Köy, led by long-time resident and Steering Committee member Aylin McCarthy, who sees and feels the island as only an islander can. When it came time to leave, again the sea rose up, and for hours the ferry was unable to work its way out of the harbor. By the time the captain finally managed to leave the harbor the group was hours behind schedule, and the tour of the Doluca wine-making premises in Mürefte had to skip the visit to the actual vineyards themselves (but not the rest of the plant and, of course, not the wine-tasting).

Later in October, on a stormy weekend, Byzantine architectural historian Alessandra Ricci led the Friends on a new itinerary. In a driving rain the Friends drove around the southern shore of the Marmara to visit four Byzantine churches, at Kurşunlu, at Kumyaka (Sige) and at Zeytinbağı (Trilye). The hotel that night in Erdek, the Agrigento, will occupy a special place in FARIT annals; it was almost worth a trip in itself, with dinner around an indoor swimming pool and a lobby that was an endless and unparalleled museum of the banal, the kitsch, and the extraordinary (from a crusader mummy by the

reception desk to a special room for the Mamluke period keys to the Kaaba). The following morning, under a baleful sky, we boarded with some trepidation a small fishing boat (that had seen better days) for an hour's trip over frightening swells to Marmara Island, home to the Proconnesian quarries that supplied most of the marble to the late antique Eastern Mediterranean. The quarries are still being mined, and with the help of the local municipality we were taken through mud knee-deep around the surreal landscape of the quarries – a cross between lunar craters and the Gulag – to see the plentiful evidence of late antique mining and marble fashioning techniques that has been painstakingly assembled and examined over the years by ARIT Dernek member Nuşin Asgari.

Finally, in early November, the Friends were privileged to be led around the various venues of the Istanbul Biennale by its Turkish curator, Emre Baykal, beginning with the numerous displays in the Antrepot 4, then the Ottoman armory (tophane), and finally the underground cistern in Sultanahmet.

Addendum: A year of early mornings spent in the swimming pool instead of at the office desk paid off as the ARIT Istanbul Branch Swimming Team (Tony Greenwood, Robert Ousterhout and Lucienne Şenocak—with outside support from the Friends, represented by Murat Köprülü) took 2, 3 and 4 respectively in their respective age and gender categories in the 6.2 km Bosphorus Marathon in July. Unrepentant, and inspired only by the thought of greater glory for ARIT, the Director also snuck down to Çanakkale for the traditional August 30 crossing there, 5.3 km Sestos to Abydos, where he placed third in the over-50 (read “not serious,” or even worse “decrepit”) category.

ARIT ISTANBUL ADDRESS:

Dr. Antony Greenwood
ARIT - Istanbul
Uvez Sokak No. 5
Arnavutkoy
80820 Istanbul
Turkey



For ARIT Center:

Tel: (011-90-212) 257-8111
Fax: (011-90-212) 257-8369
E-Mail: gwood@boun.edu.tr

For Hostel Guests:

Tel: (011-90-212) 265-3622
E-Mail: arist2@e-kolay.net (NEW)

ARIT-ANKARA BRANCH NEWS

ANKARA BRANCH NEWS

The staff of the Ankara branch went through further changes over the winter and spring. We were grateful to have Krista Elton, wife of the director of the BIAA, assist my wife, Ayşın Yoltar-Yıldırım, with the library duties from January through March. In March, Özlem Eser, an experienced librarian who has an M.A. in Art History from Hacettepe University, and Pelin Gürol, a master's candidate in the History of Architecture program at METU, began working at ARIT. By the summer, I am happy to report, Özlem became the full-time librarian. As many of you already know, Cennet Köse, a longtime member of the Ankara branch, no longer works with us as of late April. We wish her success in her future endeavors.

We managed to get through six events in May, the busiest month of the year for us, with the help of Pınar Koç, who admirably covered the office duties during this hectic time. She left us in June to prepare for a Ph.D. program at Northeastern University in Boston, and by late June we were delighted to have Pelin Gürol begin working full-time as our administrative assistant upon the completion of her M.A. She will continue her studies at METU, pursuing a Ph.D. in the History of Architecture while working for us.

In mid-February, one of our Aegean Fellows, Dr. Ahmet Yürür, successfully completed the first part of his survey of Bektashi sanctuaries in Greece by visiting localities in the district of Evros in northern Greece. He will continue his study in August, surveying sites in Thessaly. We look forward to the reports of the Aegean Fellows who will be in Greece this July and August, as well as to the arrival of Greek scholars to Turkey as Aegean Fellows this fall.

Turkish scholars were once again provided the opportunity to pursue their research abroad thanks to the George and Ilse Hanfmann Fellowships, the gift of an anonymous benefactor. This is the second year of these generous fellowships, and the seven-person jury chosen this year by the Istanbul and Ankara Derneks consisted of Professors Ara Altun, Nur Balkan-Atlı, Marie-Henriette Gates, Tony Greenwood, Sencer Şahin, Levent Zoroğlu, and Bahadır Yıldırım. The jury met in Ankara in March to consider thirteen applications, from which four candidates were selected, consisting of two doctoral and two post-doctoral fellows. The four fellows are listed below with brief descriptions of their projects. The Greek fellows are also named (page 8).

The 23rd Annual ARIT-Ankara Lecture Series on Archaeology in Turkey was hosted once again by the Turkish American Association (TAA) in May. The three lectures this year covered art and archaeology from the Iron Age to the Ottoman periods. Dr. Geoffrey Summers (METU) lectured on his recent excavations and use of technology to study the site of Kerkenes Dağı, *The Iron Age City on Kerkenes Dağı: Urban Dynamics and Sumptuous Ivory*. Prof. Dr. Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu (Başkent University) presented her findings on *The Tekfur Pal-*

ace Excavations and Ottoman Ceramic Kilns of the 18th Century. Dr. Belgin Turan (METU) spoke on *Commerce, Myth, and Segregation: Ottomans in Venice, Venetians in Istanbul*.

Another important annual event of ARIT-Ankara also held in May was the cocktail reception for members of the Culture Ministry and participants of the International Symposium of Excavations, Surveys and Archaeometry. This year was the 25th anniversary of the symposium, which now runs a full six days as a result of the increasing number of archaeological projects. Despite a rainstorm (timed perfectly for the start of our reception on May 29), about two hundred of the over four hundred guests invited enjoyed the event, which was generously co-sponsored by the US Embassy Public Affairs Section and held at the residence of DCM Robert Deutsch and his wife Christine (Friends of ARIT Steering Committee member).

The Toni M. Cross Library had over six hundred visitors from January through June. We were able to complete a catalogue of the maps in the library and send them to be put online as part of the AODL project. Krista Elton's computer skills enabled us to convert our mailing list to a database file format. She also helped set up an easier system for backing up files on CDs. The new cable net system installed in November, 2002 has been a major improvement, enabling us to now easily scan and send invoices and other items by email that were previously mailed or faxed to ARIT-USA. Despite the reliability and speed of this service, our internet capabilities were considerably hampered by the Algerian earthquake, that slowed internet traffic in Turkey to a standstill for several weeks during the busiest time of our year. During our lecture series we had several requests for a digital projector, as scholars move more and more to computer presentation formats; eventually we hope to acquire one to enhance our lecture capabilities.

We were happy to have much needed repairs of the windows and shades in the hostel completed by the owners at their expense. Twenty-three guests from four countries (Turkey, US, Britain, Israel) used the hostel, which was fully occupied from January through June despite the many travel warnings issued as a result of the war in Iraq. May and June were the busiest times in the hostel as archaeologists and fellows passed through to attend the archaeology symposium and prepare for their archaeological fieldwork. Several guests remained for longer than expected stays because of delays in the issuance of permits. These delays were exacerbated this year by the merger of the Culture and Tourism ministries into a single Ministry of Culture and Tourism in the late spring. The merger created changes in the General Directorate of Monuments and Museums, which is now called the General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums. The complexity and untimely aspects of the merger made it especially difficult for archaeological projects throughout Turkey to begin on schedule; many had to commence their season several weeks after the date they had

intended. It is hoped that there will be fewer problems in 2004 when the merger will have been completed.

Finally, it is important to recognize the benefactions of those individuals and institutions from January through June, which have made the library a fruitful source of discovery: Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Enstitüsü, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi, Anıtlar ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü, Archaeological Institute of America, Arkeoloji ve Arkeologlar Derneği, British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, John M. Camp, Cornell University, Elspeth R. M. Dusinger, Maria de J. Ellis, Hugh Elton, Eskişehir Chamber of Commerce, Victor Failmezger, Jan A.M. Giesen, Semih Güneri, Ellen Kohler, Gary Leiser, Machteld J. Mellink, Mersin University, Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Dr. Erhan Öztepe, Mitchell S. Rothman, Türkiye Arkeolojik Yerleşmeleri, Ron Tickfer, Fusun Tulek, Numan Tuna, Türk Eskiçağ Bilimleri Enstitüsü, and especially İhsan Çetin who donated over one hundred books, journals and offprints that had belonged to Toni Cross.

ANKARA FRIENDS OF ARIT NEWS

From January through June, the Friends were busy organizing ten events. The lectures sponsored by the Friends began with the seventh term of the Winter Seminar series, which was entitled "Saving the Cultural Heritage of Turkey." Six speakers from the academic, NGO, and government communities lectured on important issues in cultural heritage preservation and management. The series began in March with three excellent talks by professors on the following topics: Dr. Emre Madran (METU, Faculty of Architecture), *The Principles and Means of Managing Tourism at Archaeological Sites*; Dr. Hande Kökten Ersoy (Conservation Program, Ankara University Baskent Vocational School), *Conservation of Movable Cultural Property and Site Preservation*; Dr. Numan Tuna (Director of the Center for Research and Assessment of the Historic Environment [TAÇDAM], METU), *The Situation of Safeguarding Archaeological Heritage in Turkey: Salvage Excavations in Southeast Anatolia as a Case Study*. We appreciated the assistance of the US Embassy CAO, Ann Welden, and Professor Marie-Henriette Gates (Bilkent University), who provided overhead projectors for our lectures in March.

The fourth and final meeting of this series was held at the Vehbi Koç and Ankara Research Center (VEKAM) on May 24th. Three short lectures were presented by Tulin Sermin Özduran (Ministry of Culture and Tourism), Perin Öztin (Dean of Students, Bilkent University), and Zeynep Önen (Director of VEKAM). They spoke about the sites/monuments in Turkey listed on the World Heritage List, the selection procedure and the government's role in this process, and the part played by NGO's such as VEKAM in creating public awareness to ensure the protection of cultural heritage. The three mini-lectures were followed by a fine dinner reception at VEKAM, graciously hosted by its director Zeynep.

Since the archaeology symposium of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism was in Ankara this year, we were able to hold the FARIT-Ankara Archaeology Mini-Symposium. The Turkish American Association (TAA) kindly hosted the well-attended symposium in their theater. Nine project directors each gave a five-minute slide presentation that revealed the extensive scope of American archaeological research in Turkey in 2002. The speakers included: Peter Kuniholm, *Dendrochronology Project*; Brian L. Peasnell, *Batman to Diyarbakir Archaeological Survey*; Joel Thomas Walker, *Tahirler Project: Archaeology of Early Byzantine Galatia (Beypazarı District)*; Christopher Ratté, *Aphrodisias*; George Bass, *Pabuç Burnu*; Ken Sams, *Gordion*; Timothy P. Harrison, *The Tayinat Geomagnetic Survey (2002)*; Patricia Wattenmaker, *Excavations at Kazane Höyük*; and Bradley J. Parker, *Upper Tigris Archaeological Research Project (UTARP): a Preliminary Report from the 2002 Field Season*.

On June 7, the Friends held their Annual Members' Dinner at the Ambassador's Residence. Forty-one Friends and twelve guests, including FARIT guides and lecturers as well as American archaeologists en route to their excavations, enjoyed the hospitality of Ambassador Robert Pearson and his wife Maggie Pearson (Honorary President of the Ankara Friends), who allowed us to have the dinner at their residence even though they were unable to attend. DCM Robert Deutsch and his wife Christine were gracious hosts at the dinner, during which we celebrated the 20th anniversary of FARIT-Ankara. Charles Gates was presented (in absentia) with a book on Islamic art for his work as a member of the Steering Committee of the Friends and for his guidance as the President of the Friends for over a decade. We were most fortunate to have Professor Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr. (University of California, Berkeley), field director of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, who traveled the long distance from the site during the busy start of their season to attend the dinner and grace us with his superb lecture on *Ancient Sardis & Its Major Monuments*. The evening would not have been a success without the efforts of the Friends' Steering Committee members Melissa Kunstadter (Treasurer), Melissa Sagun (Secretary), Ron Tickfer, and especially Patty Ülkü (President).

The Friends enjoyed four FARIT-Ankara trips in the first half of 2003. First was a long eight-day Kurban Bayram trip in February to Tunisia – a FARIT-Ankara first – led by Dr. Julian Bennett (Bilkent University). Thirteen Friends went on the trip, successful in spite of the unseasonably cold and rainy weather that had the fortunate side effect of enhancing the vivid color of the ancient marble and mosaics. We were almost robbed of our excellent guide who arrived a day late as a result of a sandstorm in Egypt where he was attending a Bilkent University fieldtrip. The Friends journeyed to Punic, Roman and Islamic sites: Bulla Regia, Thuburbo Maius, Makthar, Mahdia, the marble quarries of Chemtou, as well as the UNESCO World Heritage sites of Carthage, Dougga, the Roman amphitheater

at El Djem, the medina of Tunis, the medina and great mosque of Kairouan, and the medina of Sousse. The Friends visited one of the world's richest collections of Roman mosaics at the Bardo Museum in Tunis.

In April, sixteen Friends took part on the second trip of the year, to Alanya and its environs. Poor weather conditions prevented a boat tour to one of the scheduled sites, but thanks to the excellent guidance of Dr. Scott Redford (Director of Georgetown University's McGee Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies, in Alanya) the Friends enjoyed their visits to the Seljuk monuments and sites as well as the scrumptious local cuisine. Scott kindly donated his honorarium to the Toni M. Cross Memorial Fund of the Friends of ARIT-Ankara, for which we are very grateful.

In May, Ms. Özden Toker, the daughter of Ismet İnönü (Turkey's first Prime Minister and second President), led twenty-seven Friends through her father's home in Çankaya, the Pembe Köşk. We thank her for her kind hospitality as well as Ron Tickfer, who arranged a splendid reception after the tour at his home.

Finally in June, Dr. Suna Güven (METU) led thirty Friends from as far away as Baku on a four-day trip to Nemrud Dağı, Şanlıurfa, Harran, and the Atatürk Dam. Suna led us to the citadel of Şanlıurfa and through the monuments of the city including Ulu Camii and the sacred pool of Abraham. The spectacular early Islamic remains at Harran were brought to life by Suna who had once taken part in its excavation. The highlight of the trip was the visit to the Hellenistic monuments of the Commagene royal family on Nemrud mountain, especially the tumulus and monuments of Antiochus I at the mountain's peak. Suna's parents, who took part in the trip, were surprised when we celebrated their golden wedding anniversary on the east terrace of the peak, where they treated us to a tango serenade.

ANKARA ARIT ADDRESS:

ARIT Center:

Dr. Bahadır Yıldırım
Turan Emeksiz No. 7
Kent Sitesi B Blok, 1. Kat, Daire 3
Gazi Osman Paşa
06700 Ankara
Turkey

Tel: (011-90-312) 427-2222

Fax: (011-90-312) 427-4979

E-Mail: arit-o@trnet

For Assistant and Librarian: arit3@tr.net

For Hostel Guests:

Tel: (011-90-312) 427-3426

E-Mail: arit2@tr.net (include name)



APO ADDRESSES FOR SHIPPING BOOKS

Dr. Antony Greenwood,
ARIT, Istanbul Branch
c/o Public Affairs Section
PSC 97, Box 0002
APO AE 09827-0002

Dr. Bahadır Yıldırım
ARIT, Ankara Branch
c/o Public Affairs Section
PSC 93, Box 5000
APO AE 09823

ARIT Fellows 2003-2004

NEH-ARIT FELLOW

Christine Philliou, History, Princeton University, *Duties of Servitude: the Logic and Practices of Ottoman Governance, 1800-1860*. Ms. Philliou will look at the political culture of the Ottoman Christians who lived through the 1820's Greek War of Independence while remaining Ottoman Christians. She follows the life of one important Ottoman Christian individual through this period of political upheaval.

ARIT U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE FELLOWS

Heather Ferguson, History, University of California, Berkeley, *Taxing Consent: the Price of Legal and Fiscal Reform in Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Syria and Anatolia*. Ms. Ferguson will compare local administrations in Syria and Anatolia to show how mediation between Islamic law and imperial rule, and local practices in different regions affected the evolving imperial government. She will use court records and legal resolutions to analyze the bureaucracy and will incorporate the evidence of fiscal policy.

Dr. Robert Henrickson, Archaeology, Smithsonian Institution *The Yassihöyük Stratigraphic Sequence Ceramic Chronology*. Dr. Henrickson is completing field study of the Yassihöyük Stratigraphic Sequence, the ceramic chronology for the Middle Bronze Age through the Hellenistic periods (c. 1600-150 B.C.) at Gordion in central Anatolia. The publication will help trace the evolving social and economic roles of Gordion and evaluate the impacts of foreign contact and control.

Dr. Victoria Holbrook, Turkish Literature, Ohio State University, *Poetry and Politics in the 20th Century Mediterranean*. (with the support of the OKUMUŞ FAMILY AND TURKISH-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY OF THE U.S.) As part of a project on the history of Mediterranean literature, Dr. Holbrook will read in Turkish periodicals on controversies about the poetry of the 1940s and 50s. She will consider Modernism, interconnections with developments in other Mediterranean and European traditions, the Turkish language purification and political trends in defining the Turkish component of the Mediterranean literary character.

Dr. Veronica Kalas, Hellenic Studies, Princeton University, *Survey of the Byzantine Settlement at Selime - Yaprakhisar in the Peristrema Valley, Western Cappadocia*. Dr. Kalas is conducting an architectural survey of the Byzantine settlement at Selime-Yaprakhisar located in western Cappadocia. Her study focuses on three components of the settlement: the masonry fortification wall at Selime, the rock-cut double courtyard complex known as the Selime Kalesi, and the five rock-cut courtyards at Yaprakhisar, all structures that will provide new evidence for medieval Turkey.

James Meyer, History, Brown University, *A Search for Embeddedness: 'Pan-Turkism' and the Türk Yurdu Circle 1905-1914*. The Russian-born writers of the Türk Yurdu circle formed the core of the 'pan-Turkist' movement in Russian and the Ottoman Empire in the first two decades of the 20th century. Mr. Meyer will examine the changing identity conception of the Muslim intelligentsias of the Russian and Ottoman empires using new resources and theoretical approach.

Dr. Kathryn Slanski, Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Yale University, *The Babylonian kudurrus in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum*. Dr. Slanski plans to study three Babylonian *kudurrus*, inscribed and sculpted stone artifacts, housed in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul. These three monuments form part of the larger corpus of *kudurrus* that Dr. Slanski has worked on for several years, and may provide new insight into Near Eastern history and culture.

KRESS-ARIT FELLOWS

Esra Akin, History of Art, Ohio State University, *Mustafa Ali's Epic Deeds of Artists: an Edition and Critical Study* (in combination with Joukowsky Family Foundation funding). Ms. Akin is preparing a critical edition and translation of this unique 16th-century Ottoman text written by the Ottoman scholar-bureaucrat 'Ali. The text provides an historical and biographical study of calligraphers and painters and will illumine the socio-historical context of the text and its artist-subjects.

Günder Varinlioğlu, Art and Archaeology of the Mediterranean World, University of Pennsylvania, *The Rural Landscape and Built Environment at the End of Antiquity: the Limestone Villages of Southeastern Isauria*. In the mountainous limestone region of Isauria in Rough Cilicia, Ms. Varinlioglu will investigate the well-preserved remains of Late Antique rural settlements. Her research aims to understand large scale regional dynamics that enabled the formation of the dense network of settlements and intra-regional communications in the eastern Mediterranean.

JOHN FREELY FELLOW

Betül Başaran, Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, University of Chicago, *Remaking the Gate of Felicity: Migration, Social Control, and Policing in 18th-Century Istanbul, 1730-1789*. Ms. Başaran's study of societal change in the Ottoman imperial capital will focus on the government's efforts to maintain public order by regulating migration and public assemblies. She will examine police and court records in the Ottoman archives to trace a transformation in the fabric of Istanbul society and in the relation of the city and its government.

JOUKOWSKY FAMILY FOUNDATION FELLOWS

Koray Çalışkan, Political Science, New York University, *Locating the Market in the Age of Neo-Liberal Reforms: Cotton Trade and Production in Turkey and Egypt* (in combination with Friends of ARIT, Istanbul funding). Mr. Çalışkan examines the Turkish cotton market in the context of the global cotton market and the post-1980 free-market reforms. He looks at the production and exchange of cotton in both rural and urban settings to reveal the global-local links relations as articulated in Turkey.

H. Erdem Çipa, History and Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University, *The Rise of Selim I to Power Within the Context of the Ottoman-Safavid Conflict, 1487-1514*. Mr. Çipa explores the rise to power of the ninth ruler of the Ottoman Empire, using Ottoman, Safavid, and Venetian documents. Selim I (1512-1520) shaped Middle Eastern history by conquering the Arab provinces. His strategies are of interest in part because of the religious aspect of the historical context of his rise – namely the conflict between the Sunni Ottomans and the Shi'ite Safavids.

Zehra Aslı Iğsız, Comparative Literature, University of Michigan, *Fragments of Home-land, Narratives of Return: Refugee Memories of 1923 Greek-Turkish Compulsory Population Exchange*. Ms. Iğsız will study the 1923 Greek-Turkish population exchange, in particular, its consequences on collective memory and identity (as reflected in popular culture) and the attempts to institutionalize the experiences of this event in historiography.

Yektan Türkyılmaz, Anthropology, Duke University, *Imagining 'Turkey.' Creating a Nation: the Politics of Geography and State Formation in Eastern Anatolia, 1908-1938*. At the collapse of the Ottoman Empire after the First World War, Turks, Armenians, and Kurds vied to create their own nation-state. Mr. Türkyılmaz is carrying out a comparative study of the actual spatial policies of state formation between 1908 and 1938, and the tensions among the three rival groups.

ISTANBUL FRIENDS OF ARIT FELLOWS

Çalışkan, Koray (see above, Joukowsky Family Foundation Fellows).

Ali Yaycıoğlu, Middle Eastern Studies and History, Harvard University, *The Danubian Challenge: Regionalism, Crisis, and the Deed of Agreement (1808) in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1792-1812*. *The Deed of Agreement*, a Late Ottoman document drafted and signed by representatives of the central authority and of the regional power magnates of the Danube and other western provinces, is the focus of this study of the complex interactions between the provincial magnates and the imperial administration (1792-1812).

ARIT TURKISH FELLOWS

Ebubekir Ceylan, Boğaziçi University, *The Ottoman Administration of Baghdad (1831-1872)*. Mr. Ceylan will study the attempts of the Ottoman government to assert centralized control over the province of Baghdad as part of the Tanzimat, culminating in the governorship of Midhat Paşa. His work will focus on the perspective from the provincial center, utilizing new Ottoman archival sources.

Cemal Demircioğlu, Boğaziçi University, *Ottoman Turkish Discourses on Literary Translation in the Post-Tanzimat Period*. Mr. Demircioğlu will study the translation of western literary works into Ottoman in the late 19th century and look at the debate surrounding this process, focusing in particular on Ahmet Midhat Efendi's *Sid'in Hulasası*, Kemal Paşazade Said's *Galatat-ı Terceme*, and the journal *Mecmua-i Lisan*.

Elif Yeneroğlu Kutbay, Dokuz Eylül University, *The End of Ottoman Sovereignty in the Eastern Aegean Islands and its Effects on the Province of Aydın (1908-1914)*. This study will look first at the political circumstances leading up to the decision following the treaty to give sovereignty over the Aegean islands to Greece, and second at the socio-economic effects of this decision on the mainland areas most closely tied to these islands by historic, cultural, economic and security links.

Dr. Nadır Özbek, Boğaziçi University, *Policing the Countryside: the Gendarmerie in the 19th Century Ottoman Empire*. Dr. Özbek aims to investigate how the 19th-century Ottoman state penetrated, through newly emerging modern "policing institutions," into the countryside and the lives of ordinary peasants, and in the process integrated rural communities into the empire and then nation state.

Dr. Arzu Öztürkmen, Boğaziçi University, *From Tripolis to Tirebolu: Memory and History in a Turkish Black Sea Town*. Dr. Öztürkmen aims to contribute to the social history of the Republican era in Turkey by applying oral history methods to evaluate the way in which the inhabitants of Tirebolu remember and narrate their own past.

Neslihan Tok, Bilkent University, *The Production of Public Space in Squatter Neighborhoods*. This study aims to demonstrate how public space is developed and used in *gecekondu* communities, focusing particularly on the way in which sectarian and place of origin differences have led to covert and overt conflict over this issue.

Şule Toktaş, Bilkent University, *Citizenship Questioned by Internal Migration and Minority Issues: a Comparative Study of Turkish Jews in Israel and in Turkey*. This study will investigate three aspects of citizenship—as legal status, as identity, and as civic virtue—from the perspectives offered by minority status and migration. The case study will be carried out in Turkey and Israel with a comparison of the views of the Jewish minority in Turkey, Jews who migrated to Israel, and Jewish return migrants to Turkey.

Gülgün Yılmaz, Istanbul University, *The Entry of New Art Objects into 19th-Century Ottoman Social Life*. This thesis will be an attempt to look at the process of "westernization" in 19th-century Ottoman society through a study of newly imported and/or locally produced minor art objects, focusing on porcelain and glass.

MELLON-ARIT FELLOWS

Peter Barta, Bronze Age Archaeology, Archaeological Institute, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Nitra, Slovak Republic, *Chipped Discs: an Overlooked Stone Tool Category of Anatolian Neolithic*. The Neolithic sites of southeastern Turkey have provided a class of enigmatic chipped stone discs. Mr. Barta will examine the discs from Mezraa-Teleilat and complete a comparative study of the Anatolian late Neolithic artefact type.

Dr. Sandor Papp, History, Károli Gáspár University, Budapest, Hungary, *The Hungarian Policy of the Ottoman Empire at the Turn of the 17th and 18th Centuries*. Dr. Papp will use his time in the Başbakanlık archives in Istanbul, examining the documentation for the relationship between Turkey and its vassal Transylvania, a small Christian state just breaking away from its mother country at the turn of the 17th to 18th century.

Dr. Benedek Péri, Turkic Studies, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary, *'Sākhta dar turkcha nūz ahl-i hunar sarfa-i sarf u lughat-i zīr u zabar: Native Osmanli Grammars and the Arabic System of Language Description*. Dr. Peri will explore the history of Turkish grammar-writing focusing on native Turkish works and their relations to the Arabo-Persian system of grammatical description.

Dr. Furat Rahman, Cultural and Social Anthropology, West Bohemian University, Pilsen, Czech Republic, *Collations of Selected Old Babylonian Letters Conserved in the Istanbul Museum*. Dr. Rahman plans to collate a selection of the Old Babylonian letters conserved in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul. Hand copies were never made of the texts and new digital photoarchiving technology now makes restudy worthwhile and will make the material more accessible to researchers everywhere.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE-ARIT AEGAEAN EXCHANGE FELLOWS

Dr. Ayşe Nükhet Adıyeke, History, Mersin University, *Crete during the Process of Greek Independence 1821-1829*. Dr. Adıyeke will examine archival documents in Greece, especially in Crete.

Dr. Ayşe Aydın, Archaeology, Mersin University, *The Single-Staircase Ambos of the Early Christian Churches of Thessaloniki*. Dr. Aydın will study examples of the ambos in Thessaloniki to better understand the relationship between this city and buildings in Cilicia-Isauria.

Dr. Remzi Yağcı, Archaeology, Mersin University, *Iron Age Pottery and Archaic Architectural Terracottas of Soli: Early Greek Contacts with Cilicia ca. 1000-600 B.C.* Yağcı plans to examine the Iron Age pottery and archaic architectural terracottas from Soli, comparing them with examples from Greece.

Dr. Ahmet Yürür, Ethnomusicology, Yıldız Technical University, *A Survey of the Music of the Bektashi Sanctuaries in Greece*. Dr. Yürür plans to document the Muharrem and Nevrus liturgies of the Greek Bektashis to determine the continuity between Anatolian and Balkan Bektashism.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE-AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS (ASCSA) AEGAEAN EXCHANGE FELLOWS

Sophia Germanidou, History of Art, University of Athens, *Lighting Objects of Christian and Islamic Art: a Study of their Morphology through Actual Finds and their Representation in Byzantine Monuments of Turkey*.

Stella Kalle, University of Thessaloniki, *Wall Paintings of the Cave Towns and Rock-Cut Churches and Monasteries of Cappadocia*.

Elias Koulakiotis, University of Thessaloniki, *Aspects of Hellenistic Feasts in Asia Minor: the Organization of the Isiteria in Magnesia on the Maeander*.

Irene Nikolakopoulou, Institute for Aegean Prehistory, Crete, *Correlations and Interaction among Aegean Communities in the Middle Bronze Age*.

Demetris Papastamatiou, History, University of Thessaloniki, *Ottoman Rule in the Peloponnese 1715-1770*.

Athanasios Vionis, History, Leiden University, *Material Culture and Everyday Life in Aegean Turkey during the Ottoman and Early Modern Periods*.

GEORGE AND ILSE HANFMANN FELLOWS

Dr. Murat Arslan, Ancient Languages and Cultures, Akdeniz University *Research on the Historical Connections and Geography of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods of the Black Sea Region Researches I: Amasya*. Dr. Arslan will work for six months in the U.K. at Sheffield and Exeter Universities with Professor Stephen Mitchell and Professor David Braund, the Director of the Exeter Center for Black Sea History.

Dr. Yiğit Hayatı Erbil, Archaeology, Hacettepe University *Water Cults in Hittite Anatolia*. Dr. Erbil will carry out five months of Hittitological research in the U.S. at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

Dr. Lale Özgenel, Architecture, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, *Looking at Roman 'Space Culture' in the Pri-*

vate Context: 'Privacy' in the Roman House. Dr. Özgenel will spend four months in Italy visiting the sites of Pompeii, Herculaneum, Ostia and Rome, and museums in Rome and Naples, as well as studying at the American Academy at Rome.

Dr. Ibrahim Çeşmeli, Art History, Istanbul University *Medieval Mosques of Central Asia*. Dr. Çeşmeli will carry out his research for three months at the Samarkand Archaeological Institute in Uzbekistan. He will examine the remains of medieval mosques in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizstan, and Turkmenistan.

ARIT-PRINCETON U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION BOGAZICI UNIVERSITY TURKISH LANGUAGE FELLOWS

Keya Anjaria, University of Pennsylvania.

Laurie Chandler, Princeton University.

Donna Colaco, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague.

Charlotte Duggan, University of Arizona.

Tarkan Durum, New York University.

Kathryn D. Everett, University of California, Berkeley.

David Gramling, University of California, Berkeley.

Matthew Gumpert, Bilkent University, Ankara.

Judd King, Duke University.

Evan Landa, New York University.

Vanessa Larson, Georgetown University.

Maja Petrovic, Princeton University.

Kristin Rodemann, University of Texas, Austin.

Grant Salisbury, Princeton University.

Malissa Taylor, New York University.

REPORT ON ARIT FELLOWSHIP

This is Istanbul, Real Istanbul: Conversations on Negotiating Earthquake Risk

Rebekah Green, John Freely Fellow, 2002

The hairdresser that sits on a stool next to my building entrance everyday pulls me aside, asking me to sit down. Over tulip shaped glasses of scalding tea, he wonders aloud about the buildings in front of which we sit. And then, as yet another glass of tea is brought over from the teahouse across the street, he asks the questions that I have heard so many times before. "Do you think this building is safe? Do you think it will collapse on me in the next earthquake?"

These are not empty questions. With dire predictions of a large earthquake striking Istanbul in the next decades, and the 1999 Kocaeli and Düzce earthquakes having left a devastating example of what might be, this question is on many people's minds. As a civil engineer and anthropologist, I set out to learn how people in Istanbul thought about their built surroundings in the context of these predictions. As a civil engineer, I was interested in how people conceptualized the level of potential

risk their homes possessed. While the Turkish building code is robust, the realities of Istanbul suggest that about 70% of the buildings are illegal, meaning they were originally built or modified without following the legal process of permits and construction. As an anthropologist, I was also interested to what extent people's perceptions of safety were used to justify decisions about where to live and how to use their buildings. A shift in population away from the Marmara Sea fault line as well as a proliferation of new "American style" earthquake houses suggested that people were making housing choices based upon risk. Yet in any society, living arrangement and building choice rest within a complex web of social, cultural, and economic concerns.

I wanted to tease out some of the differences that the physical environment, economic and educational background, and level of experience with building construction played in helping shape people's perceptions of the earthquake safety of their own homes and their living choices. I chose to look at four municipalities within Greater Istanbul: *Güzeltepe*, *Mustafakemal*, *Büyükköy*, and *Eskişehir*¹, each unique, but also representative of a larger number of similar municipalities. As

a counterpoint, I also traveled to Central Anatolia several times, to a region recently hit by a mid-size earthquake that damaged many traditional adobe and timber framed village houses of farmers.² In each district of Istanbul, I interviewed and recorded at random 8-12 people in-depth for approximately one-hour, with the help of a native Turkish speaking assistant who could help carry the conversation when my Turkish fell short. In addition, I interviewed 2-3 civil engineers that worked in each district, asking them about the type of construction and problems in producing earthquake-safe buildings.³

Eskişehir is located in one of the oldest and densest sections of the city and is statistically average when viewed in terms of income and education levels. While the majority of buildings were constructed of reinforced concrete during a dramatic increase of density in the 1950's and 60's, many older structures were still embedded in the neighborhood and in people's understandings of their environment. Equally important, this neighborhood represented a high-risk zone due to its proximity to the North Anatolian Fault, high density, and older building stock.

The people interviewed in this area were more diverse in their economic, educational, and cultural backgrounds than in the other districts. The way that they spoke about earthquake risk was also infused with a great sense of history. Living in one of the oldest districts of the city, they spoke of the historical nature of the district both as liability and asset. One man explained, "Think about it, what cement and stuff can be left in a building made 30-40 years ago?" Others argued that the older buildings, especially the traditional ones, were safer. People throughout Istanbul were nostalgic about pictures of traditional adobe and wood homes; however, the people of *Eskişehir* noted that these houses were stronger because the culture had been stronger. "Honestly, those older buildings were stronger, those old adobe buildings . . . They didn't steal [the materials]." A mechanic explained to me, "They were made stronger . . . For instance, there are the Armenian buildings; they don't have any cracks or lines. Those men thought 20, 30, 40 years ahead."

One angry man expressed a belief that I heard from many people. He felt that the more honest and thoughtful culture of the past was still to be found in this district. "This municipality is the foundation, the real Istanbul. The outskirts collapse, but Istanbul's heart will not easily collapse. Look, the great sultan did so much research here; the great mosques were only done after this research. I mean that even if there is a 10.0 earthquake, still nothing would happen to it. This whole area is strong." Thus, some people seemed to feel that living in this district of old buildings, with ties to what they felt was a truer Turkish culture, was a way of hedging against the human-created earthquake risks stemming from selfishness and get-rich quick schemes that they linked with modernization.

Büyükköy is a much wealthier and more educated district. While the district is old, wide and diverse, I focused on some

of the affluent sections where families typically earned well above the average income in Istanbul or were retired and had watched their neighborhood develop from an outskirt to a sought after suburb in the heart of the city. The buildings in this district were typically towering apartments with reinforced concrete frames. They were mostly built in the 1960's and 70's, making them over 30 years old and of higher risk.

The men and women I talked with in this district had been much more active in seeking out the advice of experts. They had listened to television and radio, read newspapers and tried to gather information regarding their risk from friends and neighbors. In many cases this made them much more prone to taking individual action – many had secured their furniture, prepared earthquake bags, and taken first aid classes. Unlike people in other districts, who waited for a municipal engineer to come inspect their homes, the people in *Büyükköy* knew that they had to personally request and pay for someone to investigate their apartments. However, many of them were sifting through often incomplete and competing information. As one pharmacist told me, "Honestly, I don't really believe anybody because everyone says something different . . . One said [our building] was very strong, the other said that it could collapse at any moment. It cancels out."

Yet, living in this wealthy neighborhood allowed many other residents to rest assured. These people prided themselves in living in the same building as an engineer, assuming that an engineer would not live in the building if it were unsafe. Those that did not have a resident engineer knew of one through friends or a family member. Every person with whom we spoke had had their building glanced at, if only very briefly. The unpaid engineers sometimes said what residents wanted to hear, even when unjustified. A building of retired residents with limited pensions and no possibilities of moving elsewhere were told, "89-90% of the buildings collapse, collapse completely, but this building is within that remaining 5%!" even though the rusting of the reinforcement stained the basement walls brown.

Mustafakemal ranks as among the poorest and lowest educated districts in Istanbul. This older district of Istanbul had its greatest growth in the 1960's, as Istanbul spilled outside of the walls that confined the inner city. Yet, it does not have the settled feeling of *Büyükköy* or *Eskişehir*, instead exuding a feel of a district that has been beaten down, but is still functioning. Construction in this district ranged from a few buildings with legal permits to a larger number of *gecekondu*, illegal houses built in the night on land without title deeds. Beyond the paved commercial main streets with shops selling basic household goods and produce were the streets where half-clothed children played, their faces covered with dirt and smiles showing rotting teeth. In the evenings, those who did have work would return to these streets, covered in black grease from the factories that had been established on the outside of the old wall. Of all the places my assistant and I surveyed, the residents of *Mustafakemal* seemed to know the least about earthquakes and

earthquake preparedness. A laugh and an answer of “I have no idea, how would I know that?” were typical responses to many of our questions. Yet, this did not mean that these residents were not actively trying to reduce their earthquake risk. In fact, more than the residents of Eskişehir or Büyükköy, these residents were moving. Many people we spoke with had chosen to move out of apartments or homes that they had judged as dangerous. Much more startling, however, was where they had chosen to move. Many had purposely moved into or stayed in *gecekondu*. While much of Istanbul and virtually all of the engineering profession has decried *gecekondu*s for their poor materials, lack of design, non-existent construction guidelines, and the challenges they bring to city planning, the residents of this district saw them in a positive light. Sitting with four howling children, one woman and man explained, “It was like that, the earthquake finished and we moved here. We were afraid of [our] 4- and 5-storey [building]...The *gecekondu*s around here are better. For instance this neighborhood, 100 families all in *gecekondu*. . . . [It] is nice, it’s healthier.” Another older Greek woman, covering her mouth so we would not notice her missing teeth, emphatically exclaimed, “Either way, I would rather do a *gecekondu*. . . . Most buildings will go in Istanbul because they have party walls. What will happen? One will collapse and the one beside it will go down as well!” Ironically, by taking dramatic steps to move to *gecekondu*s, these residents in one respect were living out the dream of almost everyone I interviewed - to live in what everyone believed was the safest type of building, a one- or two-storey home.

Güzeltepe. The last district that I surveyed in Istanbul was *Güzeltepe*. On the exploding edges of the greater metropolitan area of Istanbul, most of the growth of this district occurred within the last 10 years, a boomtown of new buildings, dusty, wide streets, and a hardware store to buy construction goods on every corner. While the district now has schools, public works, and a large new municipal building, most, if not all of the land had been obtained by squatting upon governmental land. The town was a god-fearing mix of construction workers, new immigrants from far corners of Turkey, conservative religious families trying to create a like-minded community, and people who saw the district as a place where they could build their own homes.

While I looked around, I saw some of the riskiest buildings in the city: rusted reinforcing sticking out of the tops of finished buildings, walls left exposed to rain and weather, skinny columns and gaping holes in the concrete, and tales of structural damage from the Kocaeli Earthquake. However, the residents of *Güzeltepe* saw safety. A man rubbing prayer beads as he thought about each of his words explained it this way, “Contractors don’t build the buildings around here. For instance, the building across the road, it’s a building built by a man all by himself. Now, would he do a rotten building? He is living on the top storey.” Another woman believed firmly that her home was safe, “[My extended family] say that they built it real strong because we were going to be living in it ourselves.

You know, in order that nothing would happen. We weren’t thinking of selling.” The residents believed that by building, monitoring and repairing themselves, they were escaping from the thievery, cheating, and poor construction of the city. Yet, while they may not have been stealing from the construction materials, they did not necessarily know what those materials should be. Their desire for earthquake-safe buildings had been hobbled by their lack of knowledge about the principles behind earthquake-safe design.

These initial impressions from four districts in Istanbul can help to suggest ways of reducing earthquake risk for its inhabitants. By understanding how people negotiate their risk and what choices they are making, we can discover what types of resources might be most useful to them when making choices about safety. For example, the residents of *Eskişehir* may find a conversation about traditional earthquake resistant structures salient, while residents of *Büyükköy* may need access to better tools for deciphering technical and scientific data for themselves. By giving *gecekondu* residents access to the technical know-how of earthquake resistant construction, their illegal construction may easily turn from being highly risky to seismically safer, without the forceful bulldozing and angry accusations of the past. Rather than seeing Istanbulites as passively accepting earthquake risk or as needing safety decisions to be made for them, future earthquake reduction efforts in Istanbul need to take into account the ways in which people are already trying to reduce their earthquake risk. By working within the frameworks they have chosen, we can work towards giving people better, more diverse, and culturally salient resources for making the decisions themselves.

¹ All place names within Istanbul are pseudonyms.

² The research from this region will not be discussed in this report for the sake of brevity.

³ These interviews will not be discussed here.

⁴ Actual damage from the Kocaeli earthquake suggested that at most 5% of the buildings actually pancake collapsed.

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Andrew Goldman, Editor
Nancy Leinwand, Assistant

American Research Institute in Turkey
University of Pennsylvania Museum
33rd and Spruce Streets
Philadelphia PA 19104-6324

(215) 898-3474

fax (215) 898-0657

leinwand@sas.upenn.edu

http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/ARIT



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