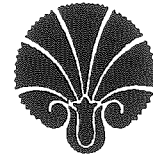


ARIT Newsletter

American Research Institute in Turkey



Number 35, Spring 2003

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT

Since the last ARIT Newsletter, a war has come and, as of this writing, largely gone. We are, to be sure, much concerned over the human condition in Iraq. Yet on a parallel and equal plane, we are also much concerned over the cultural heritage and property of a nation. Thanks to the bidding of ARIT Vice President Brian Rose (also First Vice President of the Archaeological Institute of America), ARIT became a signatory with 20 other learned organizations to a US/ICOMOS-sponsored letter sent April 16 to President Bush. One phrase from that letter nicely summarizes its content and thrust: "...the United States and its Coalition Partners bear an obligation to all Americans, to all Iraqis, to the world community and to generations yet unborn to protect the cultural resources of Iraq."

At the Annual Meeting, held in Philadelphia in January, we were privileged to have with us both Directors in Turkey, Antony Greenwood and Bahadır Yıldırım. This was Baha's first as Ankara Director, and for most Delegates this was their first opportunity to meet Baha. The hard-working Committee on Fellowships made a total of 19 awards from a pool of 75 applicants. The just over \$170,000 that these awards represent come from a variety of generous sources: the National Endowment for the Humanities, the U.S. Department of State, the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, the Joukowsky Family Foundation, and the Friends of ARIT-Istanbul. Separate from these are U.S. Department of Education funds for the study of Turkish in Istanbul and funds from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation for sending East European scholars to Turkey. Also separate are the fellowships that ARIT makes, through the Turkish Dernek, to support Turkish scholars working in Turkey, and the new Hanfmann fellowships that allow young Turkish scholars to pursue research and study outside Turkey.

Last fall, as I reported to you in the previous Newsletter, ARIT made applications for renewal of two of its federal grants, to the NEH for post-doctoral fellowships, and to the U.S. Department of Education for operations. I am happy to report that both grants have been renewed, the USED for four years, the NEH for three. The maximum award for the NEH post-doctoral fellowships has been generously increased from \$30,000 to \$40,000, with periods of tenure shorter than one year being pro-rated on the maximum amount. Altogether, we will have a total of \$60,000 in fellowships funding available for each of three years, beginning in 2004.

The Toni M. Cross Memorial Fund has received over \$9,000 since its inception last spring. Please know that in your giving to NAFA, you may designate all or a portion of your gift for this fund, which will be used primarily in support of the ARIT-Ankara Library.

To all supporters of ARIT we are, as always, profoundly grateful. We are also ever grateful to the organization that allows us to be part of the worldwide scene of American research in foreign lands, the Council of American Overseas Research Centers (Executive Director, Dr. Mary Ellen Lane).

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ARIT-ISTANBUL BRANCH NEWS

In spite of the infortuitous circumstances, and the worries about what might happen, activities at the ARIT branch in Istanbul did not have to be curtailed over the past winter and spring seasons. We were never made to feel that there was any imminent threat to our operations. We had a full program of lectures, hostel facilities continued to be in high demand, and our fellows and other scholars we had contact with seem to have continued their research activities according to plan. In fact, from February onwards the hostel had a level of occupancy unusual for the winter months.

The only blow to our activities came in the form of a more ordinary transgression that occurred in late January, when **computer thieves** broke into our offices one night, jimmying open the window looking out on the street and taking all four of the staff computers. Fortunately they took nothing else—no peripherals, no other electronics, no valuable books (our rarest book happened to be sitting on top of one of the computers that night)—and they did not try attempt to get out of the locked offices into the rest of the building. So in a sense we got off lightly, but it was unsettling, and did remind us that our delightful village of Arnavutköy is a part of the real world. We now have bars on the office window and may have to install more elsewhere.

The computers were quickly replaced (always a good excuse for that sought-after upgrade), and our losses in terms of databases and files were not large. The main loss was in e-mail addresses and correspondence, but we have quickly been able to make up the former and we may be better off without the clutter of the latter. Soon after this unfortunate episode we received some good news, learning that, two years after our initial application, we were going to be given an **ADSL line**. And just recently it was actually installed. As I write, both networks in the Institute -- the office/library and the hostel networks -- are being connected to this line. At last, three years after the initial planning for it began, we will be able to forego the dial-up and have continuous internet connection available from the bedrooms and all terminals in the building.

Our **Fall lecture season** began late this year, starting in mid-November and continuing into January. We began again in early Spring and will be continuing through June. As always it has been an fascinating mix of topics, representing the wide array of interests and disciplines that are served by ARIT's presence here.

Fall-Winter

William Greenhalgh (Austalian National University) "*Spolia and Cannon-balls: the Re-use and Loss of Antiquities in Turkey*"

Amy Mills (University of Texas - Austin) "*Bittersweet Nostalgia: Memory and the Making of a Landscape in Kuzguncuk*"

Kimberly Byrd (Rutgers University) "*Pierre Giles in 16th-Century Constantinople*"

Selim Deringil (Boğaziçi University) "*Ottoman Image Management: a New Look at the Ottoman Empire in 19th Century World Fairs*"

Heath Lowry (Princeton University) "*The Impact of Bubonic Plague Outbreaks on Istanbul in the 15th and 16th Centuries*"

Spring (through April)

Cem Behar (Boğaziçi University) "*Daily Life in a Traditional 19th Century Istanbul Mahalle: the Kasap İlyas Neighborhood*"

Holly Shissler (University of Chicago) "*Turkism? Pan-Turkism? Turkish Nationalism? Terms, Definitions and seeing the Past*"

Francesco Licheri (University of Rome) "*Sardinia and the Shardana Sea People in the Second Millenium B.C.*"

Library usage continues to be heavy, and the collection to grow, both through purchases and donations. We have been fortunate to receive a gift recently of Pardoe's *Beauties of the Bosphorus*, illustrated from drawings of William H. Bartlett, from **William and Ann Fielder**, as well as other valuable donations from **Erhan Aydın**, **Selçuk Esenbel**, **Suraiya Faroqhi**, **Aykut Kazancıgil**, **Kerem Türkmen**, **Elaine Wright** and **Sara Yıldız**.

I am grateful to all who have donated to the ARIT collection in the past and made it into an invaluable research tool both for visiting fellows and local scholars, and I ask that you continue to keep us in mind when disposing of duplicates or thinning out your collections. Remember that ARIT can help reduce the cost of postage in sending the books here, and that I will be happy to pass on duplicates to other libraries here of your choice.

ISTANBUL FRIENDS OF ARIT NEWS

It was not a great winter or spring for touring anywhere, and certainly not in ARIT's neighborhood, but the Friends put a brave foot forward. They considered and abandoned proposals for trips to the south and east of Turkey, and tried one to Byzantine Italy, but unfortunately even that failed. Some of our of trips in Turkey also had to be cancelled. Folks just weren't in a travelling mood.

What we were left with was exciting enough. In the late winter Bratislav Pantelic (Sabanci University) led a group around some of the major Byzantine monuments in the city, starting off with an orientation in the Hippodrome, then moving to the **Pantocrater** (Zeyrek Camii), the **Pammakaristos** (Fethiye Camii), **St. Savior in Chora** (Kariye Camii) and the **Palace of Porphyrogenitus** (Tekfur Sarayı).

On a lovely weekend in the early spring **Claire Karaz** led the FARIT's off toward the Black Sea to visit **Safranbolu**, home to some of the best-preserved 19th-century domestic architecture in the country (as well as to the infamous Cinci Hoca), where they stayed in one of the best examples of that architecture, the **Havuzlu Konak**. The next morning it was off to **Amasra** (ancient Amastris), a picturesque fortified harbor with remains from every period from Hellenistic times onward. Amasra is now a small and lesser known summer resort, but it's famous in FARIT lore for its lovely vistas, its strolling opportunities and its wonderful fish lunches.

Later in the spring, the indomitable **John Freely** gave a group of over sixty Friends a new perspective on the city, with a running commentary on all the sites one can see from the comfortable deck of a small boat cruising slowly around the entire circuit of the sea walls.

The boat first went up the **Goldern Horn** -- which is now odor-free if not crystal clear -- and we could see the grey mullet jumping right off the shore in front of Hassköy. The crowd disembarked three times to visit some of the most famous religious monuments and pilgrimages sites along that storied shore, first at the **Greek Patriarchate**, then at the **Church of the Blachernae**, and finally at **Eyup**.

The group then cruised around the Seraglio point and all the way up to the **Marble Gate** at the far end of the Walls along the Marmara. That view of the city from the Marmara is one few people have had in the last fifty years. And it's a great pity, both because it is so impressive and because it puts on display so much of the historic fabric of the city (as well as the tremendous amount of green space created along the sea in front of the walls by recent municipalities).

Our most important fund-raising activity of the year, the **Friends' Annual Dinner**, went ahead in spite of the general gloom. In a show of false cheer, we even went ahead with our planned theme, *Puttin' on the Ritz*, at the new Ritz Carlton Hotel. Numbers were a little smaller than usual, but the crowd was exuberantly supportive, the food and atmosphere excellent, and many said it was the most pleasant FARIT dinner they had been to in years.

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ARIT-ANKARA BRANCH NEWS

Ankara has gone through major changes, especially during the fall with the election of a new government. The institute has fared well during these challenging times, although it too has not been immune to transition. Our librarian since 1998, **Burçak Delikan**, ended her work at ARIT in mid-November to take on a job at the US Embassy. The many users of the library and visitors to the institute appreciated her dedication, kindness and caring attitude, and we will sorely miss her. We wish her all the best in her new field of work.

In July our last Aegean Fellow of the past year, **Dr. Billur Tekkök** (Bilkent University), completed her comparative research at the ASCSA in Athens on *Hel-lenistic and Roman Pottery from the Sanctuary at Troy*. She was able to study much of the published and unpublished pottery from the Agora excavations and made plans with the director of the German Institute in Athens, Professor Wolf-Dieter Niemeier, to return to Athens next year to study materials from the Kerameikos excavations – more evidence that the grant program is working well in creating links between scholars working in Turkey and Greece.

It gives me great pleasure to report that we were once again able to provide fellowships for four Turkish scholars to conduct research in Greece as **Aegean Fellows** this year, thanks to the support of Frank Ward, the PAO at the US Embassy, who was able to secure \$10,000 for the program this year. After consultation with Tony Greenwood and Ken Sams, it was decided that the fellowship competition for this year's Aegean Fellow Fellowships would be more formally advertised and that four fellowships would be offered to doctoral candidates who had completed their coursework and passed their qualifying exams or to those who had received their Ph.D. Bilingual flyers were created and mailed out to institutes and university departments in the humanities and social sciences throughout Turkey. The Selection Committee met in mid-December and consisted of myself, Professors **Suna Güven** and **Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu**, and **Dr. Ann E. Welden** (CAO). As a result of the broader advertisement of the competition, the nineteen applications that were submitted cov-

ered a wide range of fields: ancient and modern history, archaeology, architecture, ethnomusicology, and international relations. The four projects that were ultimately chosen by the Committee included three from Mersin University, which had strong proposals from a varied group of applicants:

Dr. Ahmet Yürür (Department of Music and Stage Arts, Yıldız Technical University), "*A Survey of the Music of the Bektashi Sanctuaries in Greece*." Dr. Yürür, an ethnomusicologist, has conducted fieldwork in Central Asia, India and the Balkans. He plans to complete fieldwork to determine the continuity between Anatolian and Balkan Bektashism by documenting the Muharrem and Nevrus liturgies of the Greek Bektashis through an extensive use of audio—visual recordings and interviews at their sanctuaries.

Dr. Ayşe Aydın (Archaeology Department, Mersin University), "*The Single-Staircase Ambos of the Early Christian Churches of Thessaloniki*". Dr. Aydın is presently studying the single-staircase *ambos* of Early Christian churches in Cilicia—Isauria, which have similarities with those in churches in Syria, Istanbul and Thessaloniki. She plans to use her fellowship to study examples in Thessaloniki to better understand the relationship between this city and Cilicia-Isauria.

Dr. Ayşe Nükhet Adıyeke (History Department, Mersin University), "*Crete during the Process of Greek Independence 1821-1829*." Dr. Nükhet Adıyeke is researching the history of Crete during the Ottoman period by studying material in libraries and archives in Turkey, mainly Istanbul. She hopes to complete her study of the history of Crete between 1821-1829 by examining archival documents in Greece, especially in Crete.

Dr. Remzi Yağcı (Archaeology Department, Mersin University), "*Iron Age Pottery and Archaic Architectural Terracottas of Soli: Early Greek Contacts with Cilicia ca. 1000-600 B.C.*" Dr. Yağcı presently excavates at Soli Höyük (modern day Mezitli) and plans to examine the relations between this harbor town in Cilicia and East Greek centers through a comparative analysis of the iron age pottery and archaic architectural terracottas from the site with examples from Greece.

We are also thrilled to learn that the ASCSA also expects to be able to send Greek scholars to Turkey as Aegean Fellows next year. The support of the ASCSA has been an important part of the success of the Turkish fellows' research in the past and we are grateful that they continue to offer accommodation and free membership. We hope that the new PAO who will be replacing Frank this summer will be as supportive so that we will be able to continue providing fellowships for Aegean Fellows from Turkey next year as well.

ARIT's expectations for donated equipment have changed recently as one of the major donors of our office equipment, the USIS, has been absorbed by the State Department. Under both American and Turkish government rules, the State Department cannot ordinarily donate used equipment to non-embassy agencies, so that we must now rely more heavily on donations from individuals and other institutions. We were therefore very grateful that a much-needed **upgrade of the computer system and network** at ARIT was made possible thanks to funding (\$2500) from CAORC. We were able to purchase a new computer with a CD-burner, monitor, scanner, printer, and a computer desk for the administrative assistant, as well as new RAM for the director's computer. The designated computer for library users was replaced with the old but faster computer of the administrative assistant. The old library computer was moved up to the hostel, which now has two computers for the guests.

Another major improvement was the installation of a cable network system in the office and library, which provides a faster, more economical and reliable internet connection than our previous dial-up system. All the computers in the library and offices are networked and connected to the internet through a hub, enabling visitors to the library to conduct research via the web on the designated computer in the library. A faster internet connection will also enable the library to acquire digitized publications and dissertations, which are of considerable size.

The hostel continued to receive a steady flow of scholars, especially during the summer as archaeologists traveled to and from their sites. Improvements were made to the hostel thanks to the kindness of FARIT members **Mark and Leslie Robbins**, who donated five reading lamps, and FARIT Steering Committee member **Melissa Kunstadter**, who donated two

comforters. Much-needed repairs of window frames and the drawers in the kitchen were carried out. The Hostel computer's internet connection was repaired as well and an anti-virus program installed. Emergency plumbing repairs were completed (luckily when the hostel was vacant), in one of the bathrooms, which required replacement of the toilet. We were fortunate that the owner covered these expenses.

The **library** is the most used facility at the institute. Over 500 users are recorded for the period from July to December. The vast majority of them are local students and scholars who consider it to be an invaluable resource for their research. In July, it was decided in consultation with Ken Sams that the duplicate journals that had accumulated in the library would be donated to a new Turkish University. In September, the journals were sent to **Mustafa Kemal University** in Antakya.

The library would not have been open as often during the summer without the generous assistance of FARIT member **Diane Ronchaud**, who volunteered to work when Burçak took leave to participate in excavations. We were also fortunate that my wife, **Dr. Aysin Yıldırım**, was able to quickly take over Burçak's duties after she left in November. Aysin has been assisted by **Zeynep Yürekli**, a doctoral candidate from Harvard University, and they have both made significant contributions to the organization and development of the library: more bilingual signs and information handouts including maps were created to help visitors make better use of the library and its catalogues; a new check-in system to prevent books from being taken out of the library was instituted; and a key counter was installed on the photocopier to better monitor its use.

I would like to end by recognizing those individuals and institutions who have helped enrich the library by donating off-prints, books, and journals since this summer: **Anıtlar ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü, Aysin Yıldırım, British Institute of Archeology at Ankara, Harry A. Hoffner, Hatice Baltacıoğlu, Journal of the Archeological Institute of America, Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Kültür Bakanlığı, Peter Krasztev, Seymour Gitin, Ümit Yaşar Gözüm, and Zeynep Önen**. Special thanks in this regard goes to **Professor Machteld J. Mellink and Paul Henze** for their substantial donations to the library.

ANKARA FRIENDS OF ARIT NEWS

From July through December the Friends organized six trips, a winter lecture, and their first ever Open House. One of the hottest days of the summer, in late July, did not stop twenty-five Friends, including the DCM of the US Embassy and his wife, **Robert and Christine Deutsch**, from enjoying the annual day trip to the Phrygian site of **Gordion**, led as usual by our president, **Professor Ken Sams**. The Friends met other members of the Gordion team and learn about all aspects of archaeological fieldwork. The field director, **Dr. Mary Voigt**, provided an in-depth tour of newly excavated trenches as well.

The Istanbul Friends joined the Ankara Friends on a successful two-day trip in early August that combined the popular tour of the Hittite sites of **Hattusha** and the **sanctuary of Yazılıkaya** near **Boğazköy** with a visit to the major Iron Age settlement on **Kerkenes Dağı**. The Friends appreciated the lively tour of Boğazköy by **Dr. Hermann Getz**, a member of the excavation team at the site and a first-time FARIT guide. The trip to Kerkenes was a FARIT first led by long-time guide **Dr. Geoffrey Summers** and his wife **Françoise**, both of whom provided an unforgettable visit of their project at the site. The Friends marveled at their extensive use of technology in their archaeological work.

Dr. Summers led the Friends again in late August, but this time to southeastern Anatolia to visit the breathtaking sites of the **Armenian Church of the Holy Cross** on **Akhdamar island** in **Lake Van**, the **citadel of Van** and **Hoşap castle**, and **İşak Paşa palace**. During this trip, the Friends were treated with a tour of the **Yonca Tepe** excavations by **Professor Oktay Belli** and his assistant.

In early October the Friends had the opportunity to return to **Boğazköy** on the annual day trip there which was led by **Professor Marie-Henriette Gates** whose superb and detailed tour enlightened both first-time visitors and those more familiar with the sites. A week later, **Dr. Julian Bennett** led the Friends on a trip to the **Syriac monasteries**, and Seljuk and Ottoman sites

at **Diyarbakır**, **Hasankeyf**, and **Mardin**. The Friends thoroughly enjoyed the three-day trip despite the fact that several participants fell ill.

The month of November began with another FARIT first, a day trip to the town of **Beypazarı**, which has a rich tradition of late-Ottoman domestic architecture. The popular **annual Thanksgiving Day trip** to Antalya was unfortunately cancelled for the second year in a row due to low participation.

The Friends ended the year with a fascinating lecture by **Professor Michael Greenhalgh** of Australian National University on "Spolia and Cannon Balls: the Re-use and Loss of Antiquities in Turkey." He argued that the loss of much of the marble columns from ancient sites, particularly on the coastline of Turkey, could have been due to their re-use as cannon balls during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. The library at ARIT was packed with forty Friends in attendance and a lively discussion with the speaker followed the lecture.

Over the summer we were sad to see the departure of two devout members of the FARIT Steering Committee, **Ed Lundy** and **Jess Bailey**, and their families who are also life members. We are grateful for the invaluable contributions they made to FARIT while in Ankara and they will be truly missed. Soon after my arrival at ARIT I had the privilege of meeting many of the Friends and the Ankara community that supports our institute at the first **Open House** of FARIT-Ankara. My wife and I could not have imagined a more warm welcome. About seventy-five people, old and new Friends as well as Dernek founders, came together in the ARIT Library. Friends brought food they had prepared and much cheer to celebrate memories and new friendships.

During the evening the renaming of the ARIT Library to the **Toni M. Cross Library**, identified by a large plaque at the library's entrance, was announced. New members were recruited as well including the recently arrived Canadian Ambassador, **Michael Leir**. The Open House was a spectacular success, thanks to the hard work of the staff and FARIT members, particularly **Patricia Ülkü** and **Melissa Kunstadter**.



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Anatolian Funerary klinai

by Elizabeth Paulette Baughan
Graduate School of Classical Archaeology,
University of California at Berkeley

Thanks to an ARIT fellowship, I was able to spend two months in Turkey this summer, conducting first-hand research for my dissertation on the funerary *klinai* of Anatolia in the Archaic period. With Sardis as a home base, my research centered on ancient Lydia. However, travels in Turkey at the beginning and end of my stay and a week-long exploration of the Phrygian highlands helped to balance the Lydian focus with evidence from points East and West.

My project entailed compiling and examining all evidence for the use of funeral beds and couches in Anatolia in the Archaic period, in order to reassess long-held assumptions about the origins and cultural associations of this burial custom. Though often attributed to the arrival of the Persians in the mid-6th century B.C., the custom seems to have roots in the native Anatolian traditions of house-like tombs and funerary banqueting.

Establishing a closer chronology for extant pieces, most of which are dated only generally to the 6th or 5th century B.C., is critical to approaching the question of origins. Since any *klinai* and *kline* fragments are only briefly mentioned in excavation reports, I was eager to analyze firsthand as many examples as possible, representing the range of media contained in my growing database.

With access to the Sardis storage depots and archives and a research permit for work in several museums to supplement my viewing of items on public display, I was able to study thirty-five *klinai* and *kline* tombs this summer, including several unpublished items. Firsthand examination of fragments of one possible wooden couch, sixteen stone *klinai* (or frag-

ments thereof), and eleven rock-cut tombs with built-in couches or beds was complemented by study of archival records and photographs concerning the excavation of seven more tombs with stone or rock-cut couches. Sites and museums visited include: Sardis and environs, Manisa, Uşak, Istanbul, Çanakkale, the Middle East Technical University Museum in Ankara, and rock-cut tombs in the highlands of Phrygia.

Though data processing and comparative analysis continue back in Berkeley, my study has already provided new evidence for a strong relationship between wooden, stone, and rock-cut *klinai*. Similarities among *klinai* of different media in tombs of different regions shed new light on cultural interaction within western Asia Minor in the late Archaic period. Particularly intriguing is the close relationship between the *kline* assemblages in some of the tumulus chambers of Lydia and contemporary (6th century B.C.) rock-cut tombs of Phrygia.

Though rock-cut tombs are notoriously difficult to date, parallels in *kline* form and arrangement as well as the architectural conception of the tomb interiors strengthen a contemporaneous dating and illuminate Phrygian-Lydian cultural connections. At the same time, however, regional variation in design details, such as the form and shape of the shallow cavities in the “bed” surfaces of stone and rock-cut *klinai*, may attest to locally specialized traits and perhaps different local workshops. Stylistic variation, on the other hand, seems to follow a chronological sequence. Particularly useful for establishing relative chronology are differences in the proportions and profiles of *kline* legs (often sculpted or painted).

The data I collected over the summer will provide an essential foundation for my larger database as I work toward clarifying the 6th-century sequence with a view to the Persian question. Regardless of the origins of the custom, however, my study demonstrates the wide popularity of *kline*-burial throughout Western Asia Minor in the Achaemenid era.



Dead Bodies in a High-Tech World

by Aslihan Sanal

MIT Program in Science, Technology, and Society

Organ transplantations are viewed as the most idealist and prestigious high-tech practice among the medical community in Turkey. Even a simple kidney transplantation requires efficient structural organization in hospitals, collaboration among nephrologists and surgeons, well-equipped Intensive Care Units, a sustained supply of organ donors and an insurance system which is ready to cover the expensive life-long immunological treatment of post-transplant patients. Moreover transplantation, as one expert suggests, is a three-piece puzzle: one part medicine, one part media and the other the public. As such, it is a practice which bridges science and technology with society, making transplantation a unique site to explore issues ranging from political economy of body parts to the value of the dead and living bodies in contemporary Turkey.

There are two types of organ transplantations: kidney and liver transplantations from either living or dead bodies, and heart, lung, and pancreas transplantations from dead bodies only. Even though the organ transplantation community is large in Turkey – it operates in fourteen cities and in 28 centers – its practice is limited mostly to related, living-to-living kidney and liver transplantations due to a very low rate of cadaveric donations (5-20% of all kidney transplantation in Turkey). In the last decade, most of the transplantations have been made from related living donors, a practice that was regulated by the Organ Transplantation Acts of 1979 and 1982. In regard to kidney transplantations, there are over 20,000 patients throughout the country registered to dialysis centers, and in the last 25 years of transplantation history in Turkey only 1200 patients have had a cadaveric organ transplantation. (Haberal, 1999)

There are two distinct policies surrounding transplantation in Turkey, where two medical authorities dominate the geographical and informational distribution of organ-sharing. The database in Istanbul was established by Professor Uluğ Eldeğez, the founder of the Organ Coordina-

tion Center in Istanbul and the head of the Transplantation Unit at Istanbul University. Ankara's database was founded by Professor Haberal, who is the Rector of Başkent University, the director of the Başkent University Hospital, the head of the Transplantation Center at Başkent University, and the founder of the Turkish Transplantation Society. Both directors are transplant surgeons, but they have different politics of organizing their transplantation centers. Dr. Eldeğez, who tries improving conditions for cadaveric transplantations, collaborates with Eurotrans (European Transplantation Society) and UNOS (United Network for Organ Share). Dr. Haberal has closer contacts with the Middle Eastern Society for Organ Transplantation and UNOS.

The competition between these centers challenges their motivation for success. According to both directors, the *a priori* condition for having success as a transplantation center is the number of operations these centers pursue per year. However, the number of patients waiting for a kidney transplant is outrageous, if one includes all patients in dialysis units (ca. 20,000). Patients need donors and doctors look for bodies that will contribute to the success of their transplantation centers. On one hand, doctors have to increase the number of cadaveric donations, while on the other they need to find ways to develop techniques that will increase the number of organ transplantations at large. Hence the divided nature of the database, the two totally different types of transplantation politics between Ankara and Istanbul, and the lack of cadaveric donations become a burden over a transplantation patient's life. The struggle between Istanbul and Ankara of identifying patients and donors, occupying hospitals and controlling Turkey topographically causes two different politics of sharing bodies.

While trying to improve the conditions for organ transplantations in the country, physicians early on realized the difficulty of finding cadavers for organ harvesting. In most cases families were reluctant to deliver the dead bodies of their loved ones into the hands of doctors. Doctors were unable to relate the condition of brain-death to the patients' families, who could not believe that while the heart was beating and the body was warm, their loved ones were declared dead by medicine. In addition, the Intensive Care Units throughout the county did not have

enough respirators. Even if there was a traffic accident delivering a potential organ donor to the hospital, they might not have a respirator to sustain the brain-death condition. Furthermore some doctors were afraid of making the brain-death diagnosis (in order to avoid any dialogue on this strange kind of death with the families). Under these circumstances, related living donations became the primary source of organ transplantations in Turkey.

The question on the lack of cadaveric donations became not only the object of concern for the medical community, but also for my own anthropological study. I have learned that there were no tissue banks (storing and processing human bones/allografts) in Turkey. This, orthopedists claimed, had to do with religious and technological factors. In the first place, it was much easier to import "human originating healing material" (as categorized by the Ministry of Health) from big tissue banks in the US and in Europe. Importation secured the quality of the bones used in orthopedics for scientific research and technological modification of human bones. This practice also enabled doctors to avoid violating the sanctity of the dead Muslim body. The traditional cleansing rituals conducted in mosques as a part of the burial ritual would be impossible to undertake if the bones of the dead had been harvested. Hence orthopedists preferred using imported rather than locally supplied bones.

Historically, dead bodies have been used for medical practices in Anatomy departments. However, finding cadavers for anatomical dissection was a big problem in the early years of medical education. Since the 1940's, the solution has been to use the bodies of the homeless who were abandoned in the Bakırköy Mental Hospital in Istanbul. As Turkish medical practices have modernized, dead bodies of the insane have been regularly used for educational purposes. Organ transplantations have added a new layer to that practice. Due to the lack of cadaveric transplantations, transplant doctors started in the late 1990s to approach for consent the families of those who have committed suicide. With the support of the media and the Ministry of Religious Affairs, they have been trying to promote organ donations from cadavers, including suicide cases. As a result, half of donations from cadavers today come from those who have committed suicide.

Given the complexities surrounding cadaveric transplantations, related living transplantations have not surprisingly become the core donation structure in Turkey. This situation, however, poses its own problems. In most

living-to-living kidney transplantations, doctors believe there is an unspoken, unrevealed form of material exchange between the donor and the recipient. Sale of organs remains illegal in Turkey. The law (1979) prohibits any form of exchange between the donor and the recipient or any form of material exchange involving the doctors. While transplant doctors in State hospitals avoid any material offers from patients, they cannot prevent the exchange among the donors and recipients. According to law, the "loved ones" and "relatives" are allowed to donate their organs if the tissue- and blood-typing match. Doctors try to avoid operating on recipients who have brought a distant relative from their villages, or a loved one who seems unwilling to make the donation. However, when both sides insist on the operation, doctors feel it is better to save a life than to question the nature of the exchange.

My research questioned the value of the dead body vs. the living body in Turkey, in a post-Ottoman region that has become a center of a biomedical trade in bodies and their parts. We are living in an age when technology can prolong life for those who can afford it. The main, underlying problem in the formation of such a political economy of the body and its parts lies in the sacredness of the dead body along with the lack of trust and investment in Turkish biomedicine and biotechnology. As such, the living body becomes even more vulnerable when it starts being viewed as a source of material exchange in parts and pieces. On the one hand, Turkey emerges as an example of how people maintain their values by respecting the integrity of the dead body. On the other hand, living bodies of the poor and homeless become commodified through this technology in order to give life to a wealthy community of patients in Turkey and around the world.

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