

CITY AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY:
URBAN PROJECTS IN THE HACIBAYRAM AREA

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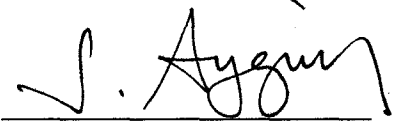
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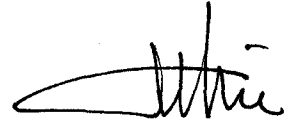
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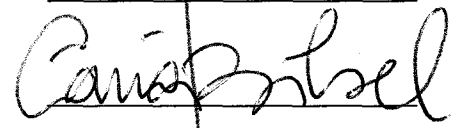
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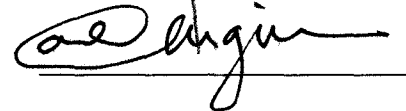
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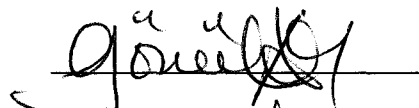
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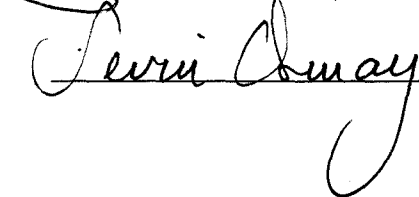
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ABSTRACT

CITY AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY: URBAN PROJECTS IN HACIBAYRAM

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This thesis aims at understanding the relation between the subject of collective memory and urban design as part of the identity concerns of the society. The meaning of social memory in the design of urban environment with its political and cultural connotations is considered as an important topic.

An important part of the inquiry about the essence of collective memory is based on the theories of Maurice Halbwachs. The emphasis that Halbwachs put on the physical environment as an enduring, and important stimuli for remembering, relates the subject of social memory with the concerns of urbanism.

Within this framework, preservation and renovation studies in the urban environment are considered in this thesis from the perspective of meanings attributed to places by the society. The relationship between the history of a place and the collective memory, i.e., how the history of place is taken as a design

criterion, and the significance and the role of the historic place for the collective life of the society constitute the main concerns.

Hacıbayram area, a significant historic place in Ankara is chosen as a case study, which reveals questions that relate collective memory and the urban place. The remains in the area represent different historical buildings and layers of the history of the city. Furthermore the project recently implemented in the area, provides an opportunity for testing the theoretical studies about urban design and collective memory in relation with the identity concerns of the Turkish Society.

Keywords: Collective Memory, Urban Design, National Identity, Hacıbayram Area.



ÖZ

ŞEHİR VE KOLLEKTİF BELLEK: HACIBAYRAM BÖLGESİNDEKİ KENTSEL TASARIM PROJELERİ

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Yüksek Lisans, Şehir Bölge Planlama, Kentsel Tasarım Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Cana Bilsel

Aralık 2002, 197 sayfa

Bu tezde kolektif bellek olgusu ile kentsel tasarımın ilişkisi, toplumsal kimlik tartışmasının bir parçası olarak ele alınmaktadır. Kentsel tasarımda toplumsal belleğin anlamı ve bu anlamın politik, kültürel açımları önemli başlıklardır.

Maurice Halbwachs'ın fiziksel çevrenin sürekliliği ile toplumların kolektif belleği konusunu kent araştırmalarına bağlayan çalışmaları, toplumsal belleğin niteliği ile ilgili araştırmada önemli bir yer tutmaktadır.

Bu çerçevede tez, kentsel koruma ve yenileme çalışmalarına kent mekanlarına toplum tarafından yüklenen anlamları açısından yaklaşmaktadır. Bir yerin tarihi ve toplumun kolektif yapısı arasındaki ilişki, tarihin tasarım sürecinde nasıl ele alındığı ve tarihsel yapının toplum yaşamı için önemi bu araştırmanın ana konusunu oluşturmaktadır.

Ankara'nın en önemli tarihi bölgelerinden olan Hacıbayram Bölgesi, kolektif bellek konusunun kapsamlı olarak tartışılabilmesine olanak vermektedir. Bölgedeki tarihsel yapılar ve kalıntılar, kentin değişik dönemlerini temsil etmektedir. Bunun yanısıra, bölgede yakın geçmişte gerçekleştirilmiş olan kentsel projeler, kentsel tasarım ve kolektif bellek kuramlarının, Türk Toplumunun sosyal kimliği üzerine yapılan tartışmalar ile de ilişkilendirilerek tartışılmasına olanak vermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kolektif Bellek, Kentsel Tasarım, Ulusal Kimlik, Hacıbayram Bölgesi.



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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is an investigation of the relationship between the urban environment and social identity in the modern society through the theories of collective memory. I believe that very central social issues like the definition of social identity, communication among citizens, and the construction of common ideals in the contemporary modern city have connotations with the relationship between the collective memory and urbanism. The subject of the collective memory as a reference to social identity is not definitive, i.e., cannot be formulated. On the contrary, the subject requires a relativistic understanding that follows the social parameters that are under constant modification based on changing dynamics among different social groups and newly emerging needs of the practical life. In that respect, the subject of collective memory offers a critical stance to the overemphasized deterministic character of the Modernism in the first half of the 20th Century.

The Modernity in the 18th and 19th centuries, according to Marshall Berman, was a search for something solid in the world where the “pervasive process melts everything solid in the air.”¹ He claimed that “in the twentieth century, our third and final phase (of modernism), we find ourselves today... have lost touch with the roots of our own modernity.”²

¹ BERMAN, M., *All That is Solid Melts into Air*, 1988, p.89

² BERMAN, 1988, pp. 24-26, 35, 128-129

Bermann stressed that there was a strong belief inflamed by Enlightenment's promises that the modern man had to leave first his spirit in order to intensify his search for the new. In order to discuss the approach to the past in late modernism, Marshall Berman deciphered the story of Faust.³ In the story, it is emphasized that the human mind, the center of the Enlightenment ideals, can be truly cultivated only after the obstacles of the traditions of the past are removed.

Inspired by Rationalism, the International Style was shaped by the standards of the modern architecture of the 1920's, and perfectly fit Faust's understanding of modern life. The main objective of this architectural style was the exclusion of every embellishment in order to gain the highest efficiency in a mechanical precision. Associated with the International Style, Futurism was the one among many other artistic and architectural styles that pushed the obsession with the future to its limits. Within the Futuristic vocabulary, the damnation of the history and the wish to destroy every trace of the past reached to such limits that every means was praised as long as the complete rupture from the past traditions was provided.

That the negative meaning of old associated with the "past" was the main illusion of the modernism in the 1920s. It might be suggested that the studies of collective memory, first flourished in the stimulating interdisciplinary atmosphere of the University of Strasbourg by Maurice Halbwachs between the two World Wars,⁴ was an important part of the academic effort to overcome this illusion of modernism.

The story of Faust that illustrates modern man's delirious effort in transforming cities by destroying every trace of the past, and constructing the new rational city of the future, has a desperate end when the main character, Faust who was obsessed with future and development found himself outdated, and felt as part of the past. In his study, Berman celebrated Goethe, Marx, Baudelaire, and Dostoevsky because of their constant hesitation in embracing the mechanical

³ BERMAN, 1988, pp. 37-71

developments of modernism. While they were amazed with the developments of modernism, they were also able to see the cost that modern man should pay for the gain.⁵ The hesitation towards change provided these pioneers of modernism with a tension between past and future, which slowed down the mechanical, one-dimensional development. Their critical awareness towards development was based on the fact that every element in the modern life, either belonging to the past or the future, can be both disastrous and desired. In other words, every gain that comes with change results in some other things to be lost. It is the awareness of this inevitable contradiction that can provide modern man with a dialectic that searches the relation between the past and the future. “Collective Memory” studies aims at elaborating this dialectic.

The above criticisms that Marshall Berman brought to the uncritical belief in progress of the modernism is important to understand not only the nature of collective memory and concerns of social identity, but also central for the logic that structured my study. In this study, instead of formulating the collective memory of a society that may set down the general tactics of creating an appropriate urban environment, it is intended to open up the relativistic character of the subject and to encourage the designer to take a critical position towards the concerns of the social identity in designing the urban environment.

In his studies on collective memory, Halbwachs underlined that every collective memory designates a specific social group and is constantly modified according to changing priorities of the present time. Therefore, a collective memory cannot be pinned down; on the contrary, it is a relative notion that depends on the identity of a social group and the conditions of the present time.

Today, as the aggregation of different social groups in cities increases, the subject of collective memory becomes crucial in relation with social identity concerns. In her study on American cities, Jane Jacobs confirmed that “diversity is natural to

⁴ COSER, L. A (ed.), *On Collective Memory*, 1992, pp. 9,10

⁵ BERMAN, M., *All That is Solid Melts Into air*, 1988, p.36

big cities.”⁶ diversity, which may be perceived as a source of tension, has a critical role in today’s cities in creating the complexity of social life. In those cities, which claim to be the “global city”, the multiculturalism became an important economic impetus based on “cultural consumption” serving art, food, fashion, and tourism in recent years.⁷ It is the multiculturalism that creates a stimulating, exciting maelstrom of cultural conflict and change that makes the city such a fascinating place. As different expectations based on cultural variations are inevitable in today’s city, the search for the merits of this multiculturalism should be encouraged. In discussing the cities in the twenty-first century, David Harvey stressed that the “question of *positionality* is fundamental to all debates about how to create urban environments.”⁸ I believe that in relating the subject of collective memory to urban design, one should base himself onto the question of positionality as it has a vital role in understanding the process of creating an urban environment that can sustain the existence of different social identities.

Parallel to the above concerns, in this study the relation between collective memory and urban design will be discussed regarding to the identity concerns of the society. The interpretation of the collective memory in the urban environment and the social connotations of this interpretation will be important issues for the study.

Theories on Collective Memory and Urbanism

The second chapter of the thesis should be considered as a study on the theories of collective memory and urbanism. The definition of the collective memory in relation with the identity of the society is the first concern of this chapter. In this theoretical inquiry of the social connotations of the collective memory, the theories of the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, are considered a central. The studies

⁶ JACOBS, J., *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, 1961 p.144

⁷ ZUKIN, S., “Whose Culture, Whose City?”, *The City Reader*, 1996, pp.132-133

⁸ HARVEY, D., “Social Justice, Postmodernism and the City”, *The City Reader*, 1996, p.200

of Henri Bergson and Emile Durkheim, who were the most influential figures for Halbwachs' theories, are briefly mentioned in order to have a better understanding of Halbwachs' frame of mind.

According to Halbwachs, the nature of the memory is collective, and it is an integral part of the formation of social life. Through the definition of the memory as essential for the society, Halbwachs underlined the collectively shared frameworks that locate individual memories through spatial and temporal references. He defined the collective memory as a group of signs composed in a special way that indicates the value system of a social group. This approach suggests that the collective memory as a bounding apparatus of the social group can be seen as essential for the communication among group members and is important for the structure of the group identity.

Halbwachs theorized that the components of collective memory, which address either to a critical incident in the past, or to the requirements of the daily routines of social life are anchored to the physical environment. The hierarchical structure among these components control and sustain social life.

By revealing the structure of the collective memory as part of the society's identity, Halbwachs provided urban designers with a substantial theoretical guidance in understanding the role and the meaning of the built environment for social life. Through his theories, social issues that are related with multiculturalism in the city become significant for concerns urbanism. In this perspective, modern society's memory crisis for example due to political and social struggles or changing perception patterns of the individual in relation with the increasing role of the visual media accentuates importance of the concept of collective memory in the urban environment.

A number of scholars from diverse disciplines interested in collective memory, point out the comprehensive character of the issue. John Gillis, in his book⁹ that probes the relationship between dictatorship, democracy and memory within the

frame of political and social developments in the East and West Germany after Second World War, coined the term “divided memory” to sum the problems of social identity problems. Similar studies that investigate the relation between politics and the collective memory reveal that “legitimization”, “manipulation”, and “amplification” has become frequently used terms that came along with the emergence of the nationalism. On the other hand, Sturkin’s study “Tangled Memories”¹⁰, discusses collective memory in relation with the mutation of the perception as a result of recent disparate effects of various media. Such studies prove that the concept of collective memory covers many topics from national identity to the family and includes the problems of gender, minorities and morality.

Viennese painter-architect, Camillo Sitte was one of the earliest theoreticians that stressed the importance of the historic fabric in cities. Sitte personally witnessed the destructive process of modernism while the old city walls of Vienna were torn down for the new “Ringstrasse”, and the old areas in the city were transformed thorough the construction of new monumental boulevards.¹¹ The increasing popularity of the ‘collective memory’ studies among architectural scholars in the second half of the 20th century is related with the scale of the destruction in European cities after the Second World War. The rapid reconstruction of the cities in Europe, which brought dramatic changes and important erasures of the historic fabric, led the concept to the center of urban discussions. CIAM, which is accepted as the “academic” phase of modern architecture, effective between the two world wars and after the Second World War¹², underlined that new cities of the modern world should be constructed through International Style based on efficiency.

⁹ GILLIS, J.R. (ed.), *Commemorations, The Politics of National Identity*, 1994

¹⁰ STÜRKIN, M., *Tangled-Memories: The Vietnam War, The AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering*, 1997

¹¹ LE GATES, R. and STOUT, F. (eds.), *The City Reader*, 1996, p. 466

¹² LAMPUGNANI, V. M., (ed.), *Encyclopedia of 20th Century Architecture*, pp. 69-70. According the principles of CIAM, urbanization cannot be conditioned by the claims of a pre-existent aestheticism; its essence is of a functional order.

The meaning of a place in terms of perception was the main theme of Norberg-Schulz's book "Genius Loci". Norberg-Schulz assumed that the human occupation is the principle for the formation of a unique meaning. This study, where the psychic implication of architecture is emphasized, dwells on the common traits of people's perception of environment in relation with the impositions of geography and climate. Norberg Schulz's book, although not directly related with the subject of collective memory in the urban environment, is important as it reveals the relativistic character of the meaning attributed to the built environment based on geographic conditions and human psychology. Gaston Bachelard's book "The Poetics of Space"¹³ further explores the importance of human perception in constructing the meaning of environment. Bachelard stressed that phenomenological analysis of space is based on the delineation of interwoven definitions of the physical aspects of space, and people's psychological responses. These studies confirm the indeterminist character of the meaning of the place, and suggest a critical methodology about how social groups attribute a meaning to a built environment.

Free from pre-occupation with social considerations especially from those about the concerns of group identity, these approaches also have the potential to channel the considerations on collective memory to perceptual and more architectonic meditations. This aspect of the subject that points out the possible psychological characteristics of collective memory will be mentioned briefly in the second chapter due to its limited feedback for my inquiry based on urbanism and the identity concerns of the society. On the other hand, I believe that Bachelard's investigation on the meaning of a place that emphasizes the importance of the perception is important in order to understand the relativistic character of the subject. For Bachelard, the meanings of the objects that surround human beings are formed in relation to their past and corresponds to the future based on observers expectations.

¹³ BACHELARD, G., *The Poetics of Space*, 1994

There are two important schools of thought relating the theories on urbanism with the concept of memory. One of these approaches, which can be related with Halbwachs' theories, defines the urban environment as a stimulating agent for society's remembering, whereas the other approach considers the city having its own memory.

Marcel Poëte's studies that conceptualize the city as a living organism exemplifies the second approach. Poëte's definition of the city is an abstraction of the complex interactions between social dynamics, history, and the physical features of the city including not only the urban fabric, but also the geography of the city. Instead of deciphering the components of the city, Poëte preferred to theorize the city as an organic entity. His analogy between the city and a living organism should be related with Bergson's theories on "duration".¹⁴ Bergson underlined that the experience cannot be abstracted through mechanical understanding of time, and should be considered based onto the concept of "duration" which refers to human perception. Similarly, Poëte did not attempt to decipher the experience of the city. For Poëte, the memory of the city is a unique experience that should be perceived as a whole. Similar to Bergson's approach to past that underlines the fact that we can only think about the duration of a past experience in the line of an abstract time deprived of all its thickness, Poëte encouraged the urban designer to contemplate on the memory of the city through the comprehensive archive he composed about the past of Paris.

The other approach that relates theories on urbanism with the concept of collective memory characterizes the architecture of the city as the reminder of society's past. This approach should be considered closer to Halbwachs' studies. Alois Riegl's article, "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin"¹⁵, first published in 1903 in Vienna, explains how the modern society relates herself with monuments in constructing a relation with the past. This study of Riegl also

¹⁴ BILSEL, C., 'Fait Urbain' Marcel Poete, Urbanism and the Memory of the City, (Unpublished Paper) Princeton University, 1999

¹⁵ RIEGL, A., "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin", *Oppositions Reader*, 1998, pp. 621-651

stresses that, parallel to the claims of modernism of being universal, those monuments that had not been considered relevant to the social identity due to their lost intended meanings in the pre-modern society have been started to be valued in the modern society due to their meaning for the universal civilization of the humanity. Therefore, the interest of the society to the historical remains also indicates the standing of the society in the process of her modernization.

The Hacıbayram Area and the Formation of Collective Memory

The second part of this thesis, i.e., chapters three and four, can be considered as an investigation of the historical and physical components that are important for the Collective Memories attached to the Hacıbayram Historic area in Ankara. The area is an important center both for its historical significance and for its contemporary use, and houses important buildings, which are considered central for the identity of the area. The Hacıbayram Mosque and the Temple of Augustus, which are both crucial buildings for the history of the city are located in the area. The Hacıbayram Mosque is a monument that stands as the reminder of the Ottoman past of the city, and regarded as an important sign of the Muslim identity of the society. Furthermore, besides its historical value, the mosque still preserves its use value and has an active role in the social life. The area is being used for funeral activities and many other rituals. People from different strata of the city come here to visit Hacı Bayram Veli's *Türbe*. Besides, the commercial activity based on the consumption of religious items contributes to the vivid social life in the area.

On the other hand, the Temple of Augustus is considered important only for its meaning for the universal history of the humanity. Other than tourist groups, people crowding the area do not seem to be interested in the temple. Therefore the temple, which is the most important archeological remain from the Roman period in the city, has a different character than the mosque. Unlike the Hacıbayram Mosque, the temple has lost its intended function, and can be appreciated from the point of universal civilization of the humanity. For this reason, although the temple

is not considered as a part of the identities of the social groups accommodating the area or visiting the Hacıbayram Mosque, the state diligently preserves the temple; this interest of the state in the temple is a sign of the Republic's ideals to create a modern nation.

Therefore, there are two main motives in the formation of the interest towards the past in the Hacıbayram Area. One is more related with the identity of the social groups using the area that is focused on the meaning and the functions of the mosque. The other one underlines the historical importance of the temple, and is related with the modernization ideals of the Republic. The physical isolation of the temple by metal fences symbolizes an ideological gap between the concerns of the society and the state regarding the evaluation of the history. Today, there is neither any demand from the society nor any attempt from the government to integrate the temple with the rest of the area. The discussions on the projects prepared for the Hacıbayram area also open up this duality.

This second part of the thesis, focusing on these concerns in Hacıbayram Area, discusses the urban design projects prepared for the area. This part should be considered as an attempt to decipher certain perspectives related to the Collective Memories of the social groups associated with the area. People living in the area or using the area on a regular basis are considered as the most concerned social groups. Furthermore, due to the significance of the area both for the history of the city and for the universal history of humanity, the meaning attributed to the area is also considered central for social groups that are concerned with the identity of the city, and the modernization policies of the Republic.

In the third chapter, following the section on the history of Ankara that aims to provide the reader with a general historical background of the Hacıbayram area, a brief inquiry on the Republican ideology with its implications in the urban environment and its possible sociological connotations are made. This inquiry aims at suggesting a rough framework for the present day concerns of the Turkish society. In order to limit the study, and at the same time to keep the concept still relevant to a widest range of social groups, nationalistic concerns of the society are

considered as the main motive that defines the social priorities, and therefore dominates the social identities in the area. Within this perspective, the Republican ideology to create a modern society and the physical policies employed for this purpose are discussed. In these discussions, the concept of the collective memory poses questions regarding the reconciliation of the Republican project of westernization, with the Ottoman cultural heritage.

Within the perspective of identity concerns of the society parallel to the Republican ideals, and the theoretical framework presented in the second chapter, some historical periods, which are related with the Collective Memories of the social groups in the Hacıbayram Area, are discussed in the third chapter with their architectural connotations. There is a sort of hierarchy among those periods and their physical reflections parallel to their physical and social proximity to the Hacıbayram area. For example while the visual impact of the Ankara Castle is discussed briefly as a part of a broader framework that influence the collective memory of the whole city, the Temple of Augustus and the Mosque of Hacıbayram are illustrated thoroughly regarding their historical significance and physical features. Besides, due to the ongoing use value of the Mosque of Hacıbayram, the religious ceremonies and the history of the mosque are reviewed in detail compared to the history and meaning of the Temple.

In the fourth chapter, different urban studies for the Hacıbayram area are re-studied from the point of their connotations for the Collective Memories of the social groups. Either proposed or implemented, these studies illustrate the importance of the ideological framework of the designer in shaping the physical environment. Each project reflecting the frame of mind of the designer also suggests a different perspective towards the society's relation with the past. The Hacıbayram Renewal Project, which was prepared by the design team headed by Raci Bademli and recently implemented, has a special importance as this study provides one with an opportunity for testing the results of the project within the frame of collective memory considerations of the area.

I would like to finish the introduction by repeating myself that the objective of this study is to reveal the relativistic character of the collective memory considerations in urban studies. It is important to be aware of the fact that any attempt to understand the collective memory especially based on national concerns, would have a deterministic character. Besides the nationalistic concerns of the society, the planner should also be aware of other interests of various social groups. The cultural effects of the visual media, new political interests of the governments, the globalization based on international economics, and different demands of social groups accommodating the area constantly adjust the balance between different Collective Memories. From this point of view, any attempt to reveal the components of Collective Memories would be incomplete due to the nature of the collective memory. In this perspective, I consider the second part of this thesis that focuses on the Hacıbayram Area, and on a number of urban design studies suggested for this area as an example case study that aims to inspire designers to contemplate on issues related to social identities and collective memory.

CHAPTER II

COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND URBAN SPACE

2.1. COLLECTIVE MEMORY

2.1.1. Theoretical References of the Study of Collective Memory

Maurice Halbwachs (1877-1945) is one of the most important proponents of the Durkheimian tradition in the interwar period. Halbwachs' sociological studies illuminated the relation of space and time to collective memory. He focused on the reconstruction of the past through social symbols and rituals as well as historical information and individual memories.

As a student of Bergson at the Lycee Henri IV, Halbwachs was guided with the philosophy of Henry Bergson¹⁶ who was known through his academic studies about the concept of time. Bergson aimed to unveil the essential subjective experience within the light of his contemplation on the essence of time.¹⁷ He believed that objective evaluation of time through positivist abstractions was very limited to evaluate psychological and social meaning of time due to the richness

¹⁶ COSER, L. A. (ed.), *Maurice Halbwachs on Collective Memory*, 1992, p.8

¹⁷ DOUGLAS, M., "Introduction," in HALBWACHS, M., *The Collective Memory*, 1980, p.1

and variety of subjective connotations of the subject.¹⁸ Therefore in explaining his theories on duration, as the subjective measurement of time, Bergson deployed his theories about the intuitive character of subjective evaluations.¹⁹

Unlike Bergson's theory, the mathematical approach attempts to enlarge and universalize the time; similar to the geometrization of space, the mathematical time is a uniformed perception. Bergson's attempt to put the human perception to the core of his studies questions the mathematical definition of time.²⁰ Bergson's stand was firmly against deterministic mechanical formulations in understanding human behavior. At a period of universal-determinism based on positive sciences, pointing out the uselessness of generalization attempts in social sciences, Bergson announced that "intuitions", -the act or faculty of knowing or sensing without the use of rational processes, a perceptive insight- which cannot be described or analyzed, should be considered as the dominant thinking pattern besides logical reasoning.²¹

Bergson's perspective makes it possible to think about two types of perception of time: one is "duration" and the other is abstracted "common time". While the objective qualities of time, "common time" provides society with a collective base, which was accepted as an important means to form a collective consciousness for communication, Bergson's focus on "duration" reveals the essence of time, i.e., how it was experienced. Common time, which is known by everyone in the society helps society to orchestrate social life, and has important implications in creating a common framework for the society. Divisions of time, like years, months, and days create a sort of framework for the community for the organization of social activities. These divisions are also important to locate memories into a specific point in the past.²² On the other hand, Bergson's contemplation on the essence of time is crucial for understanding that the essence of time is actually a revelation of

¹⁸ COSER, L. A. (ed), *Maurice Halbwachs on Collective Memory*, 1992, p.7

¹⁹ DOUGLAS, M., "Introduction," in HALBWACHS, M., *The Collective Memory*, 1980, p.2

²⁰ DOUGLAS, 1980, p:2

²¹ DOUGLAS, 1980, p.2

²² HALBWACHS, M., *The Collective Memory*, 1980, p. 98-99

an experience, therefore time is an abstract notion which should be filled through experience.

I believe that Bergson's emphasis on "experience" in explaining his theory on duration stresses the importance of individual intellectual perception. Therefore duration varies according to the concerns and expectations of an individual during the experience of an event. In Halbwachs' studies, there is no direct use of Bergson's theories about the essence of time. Nevertheless, his interest on time, and human perception was influential on Halbwachs. It is not difficult to find traces of Bergson's studies on Halbwachs' theories on collective memory. In the theories of Halbwachs, there is a distinction between history and memory. History has an unchanging structure that claims a universal validity for every society, and in this respect has similarities with the common time. On the other hand, memory should be considered in the context of Bergson's contemplation on duration. For the memory, the content is related with the perception, and reflects the experienced past events.

While highlighting how history is structured by the society in relation with present day interests, Halbwachs shared Bergson's critical approach to modernism's strict generalizations. However, the mathematical common time, "void consciousness" as described by Bergson, is important for Halbwachs' theories in order to understand the formation of social frameworks. Having studied Leibnitz's works, Halbwachs criticized Bergson's enthusiasm for intuitions in explaining everything.²³ As opposed to the Newtonian belief that space and time existed in their own right, Leibnitz claimed that the existence of time and space as everything else, are derivative of the substances and processes they contain.²⁴ Although Leibnitz shared the common ground with Bergson in searching the essences of time and space, his main interest on the internal relations of the concept of time and space are based on objective analysis and therefore opposes Bergson's emphasis on intuitions.

²³ DOUGLAS, M., "Introduction," in HALBWACHS, M., *The Collective Memory*, 1980, p.3

²⁴ HARVEY, D., *Justice, Nature & the Geography of Difference*, 1996, p. 250

Inspired by Leibnitz's attack on intuitions, Halbwachs focused on logic and mathematics, which Leibnitz announced as superior disciplines. He stressed that logic and mathematics are appropriate means that should be utilized in social sciences. As opposed to Bergson's belief that forgetting is due to obstacles, which should be removed for remembering, Halbwachs suggested that forgetting should be considered in relation with the vanishing importance of our past impressions. Instead of dwelling on obstacles, he focused on the conditions that effects the importance of past impressions. According to Halbwachs, nothing is actually forgotten, and remembering is related with having enough stimuli to reconstruct our past impressions.²⁵

Besides Bergson's critical approach to the shortcomings of positivism, and Leibnitz's focus on logic and reasoning in social sciences, Halbwachs was also influenced by Emile Durkheim's studies on sociology. Understanding the social factors as sustaining the consciousness of an individual was the central program of Durkheim's research. Halbwachs' collaboration with Durkheim constituted the basis for his theories that explain the memory through social factors.²⁶ Influenced by Durkheim's studies, Halbwachs focused on the construction of time within the frame of social structure instead of dwelling on its essence. Especially, Durkheim's earlier studies that argued the importance of social morphology, i.e., the study of the spatial distribution of human populations and the material setting of societies with sociological explanations, became the main concern in Halbwachs' explanatory schemes of collective memory.²⁷

Besides those names, Halbwachs' colleagues in the University of Strasbourg, Marc Bloch and Luciene Febvre, as they established an intellectual relation between history and other disciplines, also motivated Halbwachs' examination of the

²⁵ DOUGLAS, M., "Introduction," in HALBWACHS, M., *The Collective Memory*, 1980, p.4

²⁶ COSER, L. A. (ed.), *Maurice Halbwachs, On Collective Memory*, 1992, p.8; "After his first trip to Germany, Halbwachs called upon Emile Durkheim for advice on how to switch from philosophy to sociology and from Bergsonian individualism to scientific objectivism."

²⁷ COSER, L. A. (ed.), *Maurice Halbwachs On Collective Memory*, 1992, p.15

relation of the society with her past.²⁸ The efforts of Halbwachs made an important impact on the journal, *Annales d'Histoire Economique et Sociale*, which criticized historians for emphasizing description rather than explanation, and for being unable to cope with problems of historic "cause and effect".

2.1.2 Maurice Halbwachs' Theory of Collective Memory

Halbwachs developed his theories on collective memory believing that it is a social construction. Although it is individuals who remember, common images and thoughts of the society, i.e., collective memory orients the recollections of an individual. Like a constitution without mention, collective memory guides and regulates social norms, i.e., relations among group members, the mode of production and other social conventions. The collective effort of a society to remember the social conventions creates a sort of imaginary framework, which holds the society together, and memories as they are continually reproduced within the social milieu, provide a sense of social identity for individuals.

Halbwachs followed Durkheim's teaching to explain the collective nature of memory as a social structure, and deviated from Bergson's claim of individualistic consciousness. Durkheim argues that solely individual thought is almost an absurdity, because thoughts can only be constructed through language, which is a social formation. For Halbwachs verbal conventions, which constitute the basis of consciousness, are at the same time a reflection of collective memory.²⁹ Contemplation on the communication among the members of a group provides Halbwachs with an explanatory scheme for his theories. He explains that references in the history of a society have a role similar to the language; they are also used as a communication apparatus. In other words, members of a social group, use their collective memory for communication. Through commonly known

²⁸ COSER, 1992, p. 11

events and places, members of the social group share ideas, and achieve social activities. This is an essential part of socializing. Actually, "one must be capable of reasoning and comparing and feeling in contact with a human society that guarantee the integrity of the memory."³⁰ Individuals aiming to communicate their recollections with others, use spatial and temporal nodes approved by the society. These nodes, temporal or spatial, which are known by every member of the social group, refer to the important periods of the social history. They create a common perspective for the past events, therefore create a social framework. Important places and times related with religion, traditions and conventions that form this framework play a significant role in the continuity of the society.

In order to explain the prevailing role of social milieu in the formation of individual consciousness, Halbwachs compares the dreaming and waking conditions. He explains that, "The sphere of dreams... as they are lack of any structure, continuity, orderly progression, and regularity"³¹ is the only realm which is not evolved within a social context. On the other hand "waking existence is in all cases firmly anchored in the collaboration of other human beings" and demands full consciousness of the individual.³² The order that relates different times and spaces and known by the society, is a collective construction of the society due to the concerns of individuals of sharing memories with others. However, while sleeping, the person does not need to construct relations among images, or be concerned about conventions that are known by everyone. Therefore, in dreams everything happens randomly without any logic behind. In dreams logical relations that one is accustomed through social life, i.e., social frameworks, are no longer required as the person does not intent to socialize.³³ As a result, Halbwachs believes that other than in sleeping, human consciousness is strongly framed with social awareness, and as a part of daily life, memories should be constructed within a social setting.

²⁹ COSER, 1992, p. 45

³⁰ COSER, 1992, p. 15

³¹ COSER, 1992, p. 23

³² COSER, 1992, p. 23

Every social group like a family, an economic association or a civil organization composes its own Collective Memories. Individuals, using the social frameworks of a group, constantly adjust their orientation towards the past according to the various perspectives of different social groups.³⁴ This orientation requires the individual to adapt to the norms and behavior patterns of a society.

Halbwachs stresses that "periodic commemorations, communal feasts, and public festivals . . . that assure the continuity (of the society) over time and at least some cohesion across the ages" have a crucial signification in order to sustain the continuity of the collective memory.³⁵ Besides, Durkheim's emphasis for the physical heritage, as a concrete visible reminder for the past is also central for Halbwachs' studies regarding the continuity of collective memory and this highlights the importance of the physical environment for social life.

Regarding the formation of memories, Halbwachs believes that there are two sources; namely historical information and autobiographical recollections. Autobiographical recollections are personally experienced and sustain our bonds with our friends, families and with other persons with whom we spend time due to our common background. On the other hand historical memory is constructed through reading or listening about past deeds, which are considered important for the society. Since Bibliographical Memory is formed by individual experiences, it prevails to the human life, whereas Historical Memory, which is based on recorded information, can be vivid so long as society interest survives.³⁶

Collective Memory is not an unchanging notion. As the society transforms and changes her norms and activities, the collective memory is adjusted. As Halbwachs suggests, the interests of the society in the present time determine the components of the collective memory. Investigations about the nature of memory have shown

³³ COSER, 1992, p. 172

³⁴ HALBWACHS, M., *The Collective Memory*, 1980, p.40, 52, 53

³⁵ COSER, L. A. (ed.), *Maurice Halbwachs on Collective Memory*, 1992, p.26

³⁶ COSER, 1992, pp. 23,24

that memory is an active process of creation, and it is intimately connected with the present.³⁷

2.2. COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND URBAN ENVIRONMENT

The nature of nostalgia may be best examined through observations on the lives of older people; as Halbwachs underlines, people tend to concentrate on the past as they get older.³⁸ Older people tell stories from past, try to remember every minute detail of their memories, and feel great joy to re-capture these past moments while younger people listen them. Halbwachs claims that, one of the main motivations for the older people to connect with the past is related with their relatively secluded life. As the social life of the older people becomes limited, they feel separated from the joys of the daily life. They cannot see the world as bright as they used to have seen, and have less motivation to grasp the daily life as compared to those times when they were younger. Besides, the respect shown by the society to these memories is also a motivation for older people to hold on to them. Older people are regarded as the guardians of traditions by the rest of the society. These people have an irreplaceable place in the society because of their age. Their existence is an opportunity for other members of the society to feel how it was before they were born.

Older people's interest in the past due to their problems with the present is also true for the whole society at a larger scale. The increasing social problems of the society force her to pay more attention to the past. The society finds the strength in the past to stay together. Therefore the past is important for the maintenance of the social identity, and for pursuing of common social objectives.

³⁷ LIPSITZ, G., *Time Passages*, 1990, p.30

³⁸ COSER, L. A. (ed.), *Maurice Halbwachs on Collective Memory*, 1992, pp. 48-49

Old buildings, the historical fabric of the city, provide the citizens with an irreplaceable opportunity to feel the past, as do the older people. Although most of the old buildings have lost much in their participation in daily life, as they stopped performing in their original functions, they step forward due to the memories attached to them and are preserved by the society. I believe that the perception of the structure of the urban environment from this perspective is important. The Historical urban fabric of the city stores and channels the memories of the society, and therefore constitutes an important entity the collective memory of the society.

Nevertheless, buildings, streets and other elements of the urban fabric that witnessed the past of the society cannot speak like old people. The relation between the society and the historic fabric is actually determined by the audience. The essence of this relation therefore becomes the reflection of the identity of the audience that reveals the present concerns and future plans. In other words, the relation between society and historic built environment depends on the perception of the society, and the potential of the built environment that may correspond to the expectations of the society. Bachelards' study about the phenomenology of space provides us with a structure of this relation of the society with the historic fabric.

2.2.1. The Poetics of Space, Psychology and Memory

*"We approach the deepest structure of urban artifact... the soul of the city, city's history... its memory"*³⁹ Aldo Rossi

It is poetic to state that the city has a memory. It is a metaphoric statement, which suggests that the city is more than its concrete existence. In fact "the memory of the city" is one of the many manifestations of the urban environment, which stresses the social aspects of the city, and therefore resists any fixed formulation.

³⁹ ROSSI, A. *The Architecture of the City*, 1931, p.130

Bachelard, uses the theory of poetics to express indefinite aspects of the place in his study of the phenomenology of space.⁴⁰ The inaccessibility of imagination, where the nature of poetic image is determined constitutes, the basis for his theories. The *inter-subjectivity*, which is free from any prejudices of linguistic limitations, and the *creativity*, which is demanded by the phenomenology are essential postulates of the poetic theory.⁴¹

Bachelard claims that "the phenomenology is liquidating the past and confronting with what is new".⁴² This claim by Bachelard about the phenomenology of the space is complementary to the idea that the memory of the city should be the past of the city confronting with future. What people see on the city walls, streets, geography and every minute detail is the urban memory, and either an encouragement or discouragement for the future.

The theory of poetics underlines the importance of the perception of the built environment. Through this perspective, the psychological engagement, corresponding to the creativity of the observer, and the aesthetics theory in relation with the inter-subjectivity of the built environment become central in determining the nature of the spatial memory. This argument that underlines spatial memory's dependency on observer's creativity resists the totalizing claims on the memory of a city.

In defining the Genius Loci, the phenomenological understanding of architecture, Norberg-Schulz cites to a poem used by Heidegger.⁴³ This poem defines the place

⁴⁰ BACHELARD, G., *The Poetics of Space*, 1994

⁴¹ BACHELARD, 1994, p. xxiv, xxv

⁴² BACHELARD, 1994: p. xxxii

⁴³ NORBERG-SCHULZ, C., *Genius Loci*, 1984, p.14:

A Winter Evening

Window with falling snow is arrayed,
long tolls the vesper bell,
the house is provided well,
the table is for many laid

wandering ones, more than a few,
come to the door on darksome courses.
golden blooms the tree of graces

as an experience, confined on a calendar juxtaposed on a specific space. The meaning of the space in the poem is formed as the recollections about the place and experienced time are juxtaposed. The poet implies that the meaning of the place is the brief experience of the wanderer, who captures the meaning of the space, and defines the locus that only belongs to that specific time frame.

Aldo Rossi's description of locus as "... a singular artifact determined by its space and time, by its topographical dimensions and its form, by its being the seat of a succession of ancient and recent events, by its memory"⁴⁴ aims at unfolding the inter-subjectivity of the place. Yet, the locus still needs to be embodied within the imagination and creativity at a specific moment that forms the meaning. I believe that the photographs accompanying Rossi's argument on "locus" are in fact more explanatory than his written text. As he does not give any verbal depiction for the photographs, Rossi obliges the reader's imagination to contemplate on the locus of the places shown.

The locus of a place, bringing the past time to present, depends on the observer's perception. By using his/her imagination, one may visualize the spaces described in Bachelard's book "The Poetics of Space" in the photograph of the chapel used next to the text in Rossi's "The Architecture of the City." The three-storey building relates itself with the celestial and terrestrial worlds emphasizing that "... (the) verticality is ensured by the polarity of cellar and attic, the marks of which are so deep that in a way, they open up two very different perspectives for a phenomenology of the imagination."⁴⁵ The openings, balconies and porch even small stone stairs, reliefs on the wall, columns, and every minute detail of the building gives the spectator a chance to exercise to unveil the "locus" through his/her imagination. Shadows contrast with the open sky, and the building's being

drawing up the earth's cool dew.

wanderee quitly steps within;
pain has turned the threshold to stone.
there lie, in limpid brightness shown,
upon the table bread and wine.

⁴⁴ ROSSI, A., *The Architecture of the City*, 1931, p.103

in the middle of woods underlines its man-made nature. Branches of the trees surrounding the building frame our vision as if intended to do so, and even snow in front of the building dramatize the protectiveness of the indoor. Details, hidden in every corner of the photograph that may take pages to depict, help the reader to understand the endless possibilities of the poetic nature of the locus. No matter how many pages one may attempt to write about the locus of the place, there will always be some parts of the *inter-subjectivity* of the place that will be untouched, which is the confirmation of the singularity of locus.⁴⁶



⁴⁵ BACHELARD, G., *The Poetics of Space*, 1994

⁴⁶ The locus of a place deserves further consideration about the conditions of perception. Either based on literary framework or on psychological theories, the contemplation on the phenomenology of a place is in fact the contemplation on the experiences of the beholder reflected to the physical, concrete qualities. Psychological studies of Jung on universally common human perceptions based on "common psychic substrata" implies the possibility of certain principles about the psychic relation between space and man that constructs the Genius Loci; DE LASZLO V. S. (ed.), *The Basic Writings of C. G. Jung*, 1993, p. 359. Jung's suggestion about the existence of a "deeper layer" in people's psyche, which he names as "collective unconsciousness" provides the subject with an important feedback. Unmistakably similar behavior patterns, including our common sentimental responses to certain spatial configurations, confirms Jung's claims about the existence of a shared "deeper layer" related with the pragmatic association between man and nature. Jung enriches his thesis on "collective unconsciousness" by contemplating on "archetypes," which relates the subject to archaic, primordial behavior patterns.



Figure 1: One of the chapels of Sacro Monte in Italy, circa 1600, (ROSSI, A., *The Architecture of the City*, 1931, p.102 fig.63)

2.2.2. Spatial Aspects of Memory

There is a very fundamental relation between consciousness and spatial configurations. Space is an unquestioned universal category in which we do everything, that is everything must take place.⁴⁷ Yet, the concept of place can exist only through locations, which cannot be considered apart from human perception. Heidegger's argument about the meaning of a place through a bridge on a river stresses the essential role of "location" as the evidence of human activities, an implication of directions and spatial occupation in the formation of spatial phenomenology.⁴⁸

The argument that the conception of human body depends upon definitions of space and time reinforces the relation of consciousness of identity and physical environment. Individuation, identity and difference, "the relations between self and other is always a spatio-temporal construction."⁴⁹ The body witnesses time and space, which in turn becomes the starting point of our knowledge of space and time.⁵⁰ In other words the physical environment is perceived through the existence of self, as a reflection of individual's consciousness.

Similar to the relation between the body and the conceptions of time and space, there is also an interaction between social groups and their perception of environment and time. The society perceives and modifies the physical environment as a correspondence to her activities, and transforms the physical forms to appropriate symbols that reflect her identity. Through locating things, physically or metaphorically, which is an act fundamental for social activities, society forms a value system as part of the process of identification. The configuration of streets, layout of neighborhoods, parks and every other

⁴⁷ HARVEY, D., *Justice, Nature & the Geography of Difference*, 1996, p. 267

⁴⁸ HARVEY, 1996, p. 268

⁴⁹ HARVEY, 1996, p. 264

⁵⁰ WHITEHEAD, 1969, pp. 98-99, cited by HARVEY, D., *Justice, Nature & the Geography of Difference*, 1996, p. 248

component of the urban environment becomes the material evidence of the customs of the society. Meanwhile, the physical surroundings also modify the society when the society is not able to transform the environment. For example, climate and geography are certain important aspects that force the society to transform in order to adapt herself to the conditions of the physical environment. When "place and group each received the imprint of the other,"⁵¹ every detail of a place gains a meaning for the members of a social group.

Halbwachs' conception of memory that works through external stimuli attributes the physical environment a central role in the functioning of memory. The physical environment, where the society has a constant access, and which has an endurance that doesn't fade like other impressions becomes the permanent representation of the memory.

"... Since our impressions rush by, one after another, and leave nothing behind in our mind, we can understand how we can recapture the past only by understanding how our physical surrounding in effect, preserves it. It is to space –the space we occupy, traverse, have continual access to, or can at any time reconstruct in thought and imagination – that we must turn our attention. Our thought must focus on it if this or that category of remembrances is to reappear."⁵²

While the stability of the physical objects of daily life provides one with an image of permanency, their arrangements, their colors and shapes, that is their physical features become the reflection of personal occupations and preferences. Halbwachs stresses that; "each object appropriately placed in the whole, recalls a way of life common to many men"⁵³ and should be regarded as a reflection of social identity. As the physical environment is an important subject of aesthetic, ideal and practical discourses; the preferences on physical environment inevitably becomes an important part of worldview. Tastes and desires of a particular society separate it from other societies and reflect on the arrangements of the environment.

⁵¹ HALBWACHS, M., *The Collective Memory*, 1980, p. 130

⁵² HALBWACHS, 1980, pp. 23-24, 13, cited by BOYER, M. C., *The City of Collective Memory*, 1996, pp.137-138

⁵³ HALBWACHS, 1980, p. 129

Those physical formations that help the society to form a common resolution for the future, and provide a legitimization for her existence are considered important corner stones of the collective memory. The more the place is related to the existence of the social group, the more significant it becomes for the collective memory. Battlefields, castles, assembly houses of states, and all other places where critical events for the existence of society took place, therefore become the utmost important urban elements for the collective memory.

Having certain common spatial conventions stored in the memories of group members helps them to adopt similar behavior patterns. For example social groups that identify themselves through their interest in economic transactions, use the same physical signs employed to different parts of the market place to regulate their behaviors. There are locations related to marketing to which the group members are accustomed, i.e., where goods are acquired, the product is produced or where the buyer and seller meet, that carry symbolic meanings guiding the group members to behave in a specific pattern.

In sum since the physical environment is the reality that endures, every collective memory unfolds within the spatial framework. Social groups, while shaping their environment according to their needs and social preferences, also attach many symbolic meanings to the physical environment and create a sort of framework in which their Collective Memories are carefully attached.

2.2.3. Alois Riegl and “On the Modern Cult of Monuments”

Monuments amongst other objects of the physical environment are distinguished by their quality to embody Collective Memories. Alois Riegl’s essay, “On the Modern Cult of Monuments”, which was written in 1903, provides us a comprehensive terminology that corresponds to the different meanings of monuments in relation to numerous interests towards old buildings in the modern society.

It is argued that the historical monument, similar to a work of art, is defined as a palpable, visual or audible construction that has a historical value. Riegl's definition of "historical value" is based on the premises that it is a modern notion, which refers to everything that represents an irreplaceable and irremovable link in a chain of development.⁵⁴

According to Riegl, regarding the historical values of monuments, there are two types of evaluation. If the validity of the original message is preserved, the monument is considered *intentional*. On the other hand, when the originally intended role of the monument vanishes, that is, when the planned role of the monument is not valid anymore, the monument becomes an *unintentional* monument. In both instances the modern society is interested in the original and the uncorrupted appearances of the monuments. However, while those who build it determine the commemorative value of an intentional monument, it is the society that defines the value of the unintentional monument. Since the objective of historical value is to maintain the monument for future generations as historical evidence, the more faithfully a monument's original state is preserved, the greater the historical value that would be attributed to it by future generations.⁵⁵

In addition monuments are also appreciated due to the physical traces of their age seen on their surfaces and forms. Different from historical value, the *age value* embraces every artifact without any regard to its original significance and purpose as long as it reveals the passage of a considerable period of time. The incompleteness of the monument, and the tendency of its form and color to dissolve, which contrast with new and modern artifacts, appeal directly to emotions.⁵⁶

Riegl argues that the modern approach towards the preservation of monuments starts with the appreciation of ancient monuments during the Italian Renaissance.

⁵⁴ RIEGL, A., "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin" *Oppositions Reader*, 1998, p. 621

⁵⁵ RIEGL, 1998, p. 634

⁵⁶ RIEGL, 1998, p. 632

It was in the 19th century that the legal protection of the historical value became an important issue. An increase in the appreciation of the age value in the 20th century is a reflection of the emancipation of the individual in the modern times.⁵⁷ It is believed that the process, which proceeds from valuing of intentional monuments through historical value to age-value, is related to the desire to transcend an objective physical and psychic perception in favor of a subjective experience.⁵⁸

2.2.4. Aldo Rossi; The Memory of the City and the Morphological Transformation of the Urban Environment

The history of a city is reflected through its buildings. But different from the written history, it is very difficult to manipulate this history attached to built environment as this necessitates the manipulation of the social life as a whole. Therefore there is always a certain amount of variation between the history written on books and the history reflected on cities' buildings.⁵⁹ Therefore, although urbanism is not only a historical science, it is still the urban history that creates the most comprehensive perspective to understand the city.⁶⁰

Rossi conceptualizes the city as a gathering of certain principal functions, that is housing, fixed activities (social buildings, hospitals, religious, universities...), and circulation. These principal functions all have a permanent character, determining the morphological formation of the urban environment.⁶¹ As the past can still be partially experienced through these principal functions, the permanency of the city depends on them.⁶² The physical arrangement of the components of the city as a symbolic representation, and the transformation of this representation depending

⁵⁷ RIEGL, 1998, pp. 628-629

⁵⁸ RIEGL, 1998, p. 629

⁵⁹ ROSSI, A. *The Architecture of the City*, 1931, p.114

⁶⁰ ROSSI, 1931, p.57

⁶¹ ROSSI, 1931, p.86

on their relation with the principal functions of the city, constitute Rossi's perspective towards the collective memory of the city. According to Rossi, the value of monuments should be determined through this perspective. The monument, like all other components of the city, maintains its meaning for the city as long as it keeps in touch with the principal functions. In other words, in order not to be regarded as "pathological", the historical monument should be able to participate to the transformation of the city.⁶³

While the city grows in relation to the geographical and political impacts, social dynamics of the city determine the form of its physical environment. Through the social dynamics, the physical environment is transformed by means of expropriation and rapid changes as a result of speculations and obsolescence. Sometimes a single important event may cause a fundamental social transformation that necessitates new spatial relations. Parallel with social transformations, some portions of the physical environment are always to be modified.

Therefore, the present of the city is also the accumulation of its transformations; the elements of the city are constantly transformed as their functions are altered. Mostly politically important buildings force the city to be formed in a specific way as exemplified in Paris and Rome. Or cultural and technical transformations may become the main motive of social and physical alterations. The importance of monuments in the city may become isolated if they do not relate to these technical and social evolutions. These factors, which are reflected through the form of the city, also shape the physical revelation of the memory of the city. While Rossi depicts the monuments of the city as important cornerstones, he underlines that "the history speaks through architectural monuments, in the name of state or religion".⁶⁴ He also stresses his reservation that although "historical artifacts persist virtually unchanged, endowed with a continuous vitality," they may also

⁶² ROSSI, 1931, p.57

⁶³ ROSSI, 1931, p.87

⁶⁴ ROSSI, 1931, pp. 88,130

“exhaust themselves, and then only the permanence of their form, their physical sign, their locus remains.”⁶⁵ In this case, the historical monument becomes unintentional and may transform to “pathological” within the urban morphology.⁶⁶

2.2.5. Marcel Poëte; Memory as the Consciousness of a City

A concept of enduring memory belonging to the city that does not depend on the present time concerns of the society constitutes the basis for Marcel Poëte’s theories on the memory of a city. Marcel Poëte, French sociologist, is well known with his intricate studies on the history of Paris at the beginning of the 20th century. Yet his studies, although commonly named as a historical inquiry, should be considered as a thorough investigation on the memory of a particular city. As opposed to Halbwachs’ argument that the collective memory is a presentist formation depending on societal change, and under constant modification, Poëte searches for a unique memory of the city that is stored within the urban environment.

While Halbwachs describes the urban environment as a stimulating apparatus for the society to remember, Poëte contemplates on the walls of monuments, and the streets of the city as the very concrete form of the past of the city as a whole.

Through “Some twenty thousand slides, newspaper clippings, historical documents, citations from books”, that reflect his ambitious work in the archives of the City of Paris for more than thirty years,⁶⁷ Poëte should have sought for an appropriate way through which, the city could reveal her own memory. His documents and manuscripts gathers “hundreds of thousands of *cartes visites*, index cards, and folios upon which Poëte jotted down his most important concepts in the

⁶⁵ ROSSI, 1931, p.59

⁶⁶ ROSSI, 1931, pp. 60, 88

⁶⁷ BİLSEL, C., ‘*Fait Urbain*’ Marcel Poete, *Urbanism and the Memory of the City*, (Unpublished Paper) Princeton University, 1999, pp.24, 25

archives of the *Hotel Le Pelletier de Saint-Fargeau*".⁶⁸ I believe this diligent work, aiming to pin down every trivial detail that belongs to the past of the city was a clear reflection of Poëte's investigation of the memory of Paris, free from pre-conceived social and political presentist perspectives. In other words, the work of Poëte aims to let the city speak for her own memory.

Can Bilsel believes that Poëte's attempt to reflect the essence of the memory of the city, rather than the historical abstraction of past events, is a parallel effort of Bergson's focus on "duration" in the name of revealing the essence of time.⁶⁹ Poëte's description of the city as "the physical frame of living experience (cadre de la vie)"⁷⁰ relates his conception of the memory of the city with real life. This memory, which is not an abstraction of the political or social concerns of the society, has to refer every bit of information experienced during past. Similar to Bergson's duration, the experience of the city envelops all the occurrences of the city, "intrinsic to the indivisible continuity of all living beings."⁷¹

Marcel Poëte considers the urbanist as a doctor, who treats the city as a living being, and should be aware of certain constancy of themes apparent in city's monuments, pattern of streets, and fragments of the original plan that persist over time. This consistency is actually is the proof of the intelligence of the city, which should guide urbanist in his/her studies on the city's formation.

When Rossi points that the "memory is the consciousness of the city that guarantees its rational operation and development with maximum clarity, economy and harmony"⁷², he utilizes Poëte's theory which depicts the city as an organic structure. The memory of the city in Rossi's formulation is the consciousness of the city. Monuments and the layout are the most important elements of this theory as they carry the oldest memories of the city and precious part of the city's

⁶⁸ BILSEL, 1999, p.25

⁶⁹ BILSEL, 1999, pp.34-36, 42

⁷⁰ BILSEL, 1999, p.31

⁷¹ BERGSON, 1889, p.58, cited by BILSEL, C., '*Fait Urbain*' Marcel Poete, *Urbanism and the Memory of the City*, (Unpublished Paper) Princeton University, 1999, p.33

⁷² ROSSI, A. *The Architecture of the City*, 1931, p.131

consciousness. Hence, "cities tend to remain on their axis of development, maintaining the position of their original layout, and growing according to the direction and meaning of their older artifacts, which often appear remote from present-day ones."⁷³ This inclination grants the city to keep her oldest memories/her consciousness in touch with new parts of the city.

2.2.6. Haussmann and Camillo Sitte

The influential book of Camillo Sitte "City Planning According to Artistic Principles" (Der Städtebau Nach Seinen Künstlerischen Grundsätzen), first published in 1889, is an important opposition to Haussmann's urbanism, which was brought into effect first in Paris in 1850's, and later in many European metropolises.

Baron Haussmann aimed to solve the problems of polluted water supply, lack of adequate sewage system, insufficient open space for cemeteries and parks, and large areas of squalled housing in Paris.⁷⁴ He created a regional metropolis by cutting through the existing fabric of the city, and connecting nodes and districts with boulevards in the name of mechanical efficiency. At the end of his wide boulevards, isolated monuments in large open spaces became the sign of his urbanism.

Studies of Haussmann under the reign of Napoleon III that set new limits to urban intervention, was employed by a number of major cities in France and in Central Europe in the second half of the 19th Century. Prior to the collapse of the Second Empire, the principles of regularization were adopted in Vienna between 1858 and 1914.⁷⁵ Outer walls of Vienna were torn down and replaced with *Ringstrasse*.

Opposing to the total planning approaches that incline to insert geometry to control the aesthetics of the urban environment like experienced in Hausmanns' Paris

⁷³ ROSSI, 1931, p.59

⁷⁴ FRAMPTON, K., *Modern Architecture*, 1992, pp. 21, 23-24, 37

constructions, Sitte's studies underline the merits of natural processes that shape the city, and the vivid social life experienced in the organic historical centers of European cities. Sitte's reaction towards Haussmann's mechanical urban scheme that is considered mainly aesthetic, is also concerned with the social uses of urban spaces. According to Sitte the design of vast formal squares and boulevards of Haussmann's scheme are inhuman.⁷⁶ Instead Sitte stresses the importance of panoramic vistas for human perception, which can be best created by curvilinear streets. According to Sitte the city planning should not be only about enlarging and laying out cities as a purely technical practice, but the planner should also be aware of the artistic aspects of the city planning.

Sitte warns that, in contrast to the technical achievements accomplished in cities at the end of the 19th century, there was an important artistic crisis regarding the Modern City planning principles. He underlines that the repetition of standardized forms, which give no pleasure to the spectator, seemed to be the only formula of modern cities.⁷⁷

For Sitte, only those ancient Greek and Roman concepts, which guided the Renaissance urban arrangements, should be the source of the planner to understand the proper tactics for creating a humanly environment.⁷⁸ He claims that public plazas should serve the society not only with their central functions, but also with their embellishments, i.e., fountains, statues and other works of art. According to Sitte, it was the mistake of the contemporary designer to provide the largest possible space for each little statue, eventually diminishing their effect that could be produced by the elements of the plazas.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ FRAMPTON, 1992, p.24

⁷⁶ KOSTOF, S. *A History of Architecture*, 1991, pp 676-677

⁷⁷ BOYER, M. C., *The City of Collective Memory*, 1996, p.381

⁷⁸ SITTE, C., *City Planning According to Artistic Principles*, 1965, pp. 5, 6. Sitte underlined that Vitruvius considered the forum as a public place like theaters, palaestrae, colonnades and public baths.

⁷⁹ SITTE, C., "The Enclosed Character of the Public Square", *The City Reader*, 1996, p.474

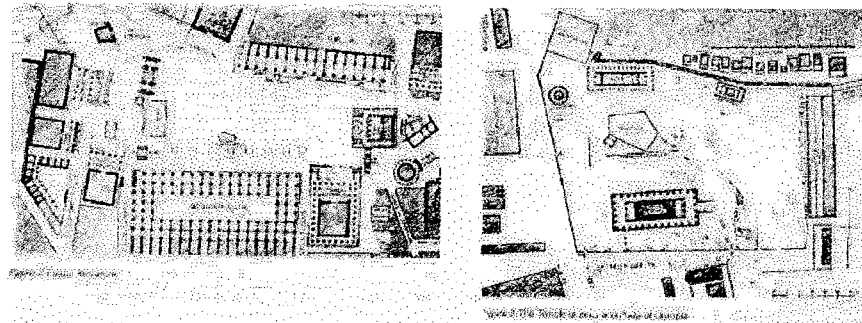


Figure 2: The relationship between buildings, monuments, and public squares (SITTE, C., "The Enclosed Character of the Public Square," *The City Reader*, 1998, p. 471)

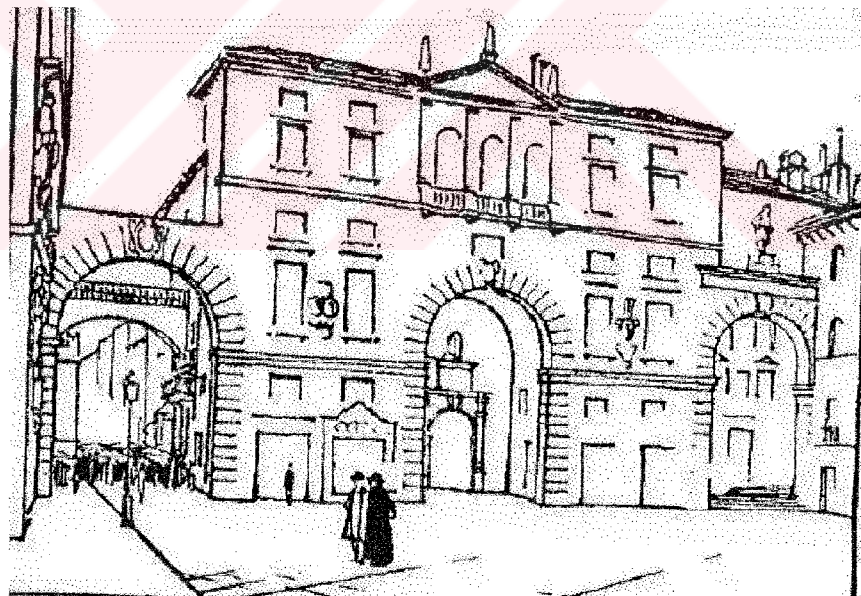


Figure 3: The relationship between buildings, monuments, and public squares (SITTE, C., "The Enclosed Character of the Public Square," *The City Reader*, 1998, p. 474)

Sitte believes that “The old plazas produce a collective harmonious effect because they are uniformly enclosed.”⁸⁰ A careful study of the angles of the streets, which open to the plazas formed in the Middle Ages, provide very effective and conscious tools to give the strong feeling of closure.⁸¹ Furthermore the use of different architectural elements like the arcades and portals at the street openings secure the continuity of the enclosure of the plaza. Also the conciliation of these openings through the disposition of surrounding buildings makes up “a complete system of enclosing public squares”⁸²

The lovely plazas that Sitte observes in his studies are from old historical cities like Athens, Rome, Pompeii, Florence, and Vienna where the best examples of urban achievements from the periods of Middle Ages and Renaissance can be found.⁸³ He remarks that the most important component that defines the square is the social interaction. He advocates that the middle of the plaza should always be kept free for activities, referring Vitruvius' "dictum" that the center does not belong to statues but rather to the gladiators.⁸⁴

Sitte's emphasis on the relation between the scale and the form of the plaza and the social life that maintains the unique character of the plaza is in conformity with the Halbwachs' theories on collective memory. Since the plaza is shaped in relation to the social life, each plaza naturally becomes the reflection of the Collective Memories of the social groups that use its space. Sitte stresses the harmony between public buildings and their physical and social context. Cities, as agglomerations of buildings and of people, evolve and sustain the bond between the social life and the built environment through time.⁸⁵

As opposed to the mechanical approaches to cities aiming to provide the highest efficiency and hygiene, Sitte aims to protect the historical fabric in modern cities.

⁸⁰ SITTE, 1996, p. 475

⁸¹ SITTE, 1996, p. 475

⁸² SITTE, 1996, p. 477

⁸³ SITTE, C., *City Planning According to Artistic Principles*, 1965, p. 3

⁸⁴ SITTE, 1965, pp. 6, 20

⁸⁵ KOSTOF, S. *A History of Architecture*, 1991, p. 83

Sitte's effort to increase the awareness of the importance of preserving the historic fabric of the cities guided the theoreticians of architecture about the relationship between the urban identity and a successful and sustainable social life.⁸⁶

2.3. MEMORY CRISIS IN THE MODERN CITY

It is believed that when the perception of the society began to evolve through the new means of communication introduced by modernism, "the crisis of disconnection with the past as a referent" caused the memory crisis of modernism.⁸⁷ Lipsitz states "while telegraph enabled simultaneous communications; dissolving previous barriers of space and time, the daily newspaper naturalized a kind of confusion in which the world seemed structured by isolated and discrete events and new became synonymous with change and more important than tradition."⁸⁸

The metaphorical relation between the Modern City and the development of theaters in the 19th century explains the changing meaning of historical signs in the Modern City. Lipsitz claims: "Commercialized theaters in the 19th century helped destroy connections to past as the use of historical signs and dramas became common features within them, offering fictive representation of what was being destroyed in reality."⁸⁹ In front of the stage, the people of the Modern City, having no common past or tradition, was free from any responsibility or obligations towards those historical signs. This new relation of the society with historical signs based on popular perception led the urban environment to become a place where desire did not have to be justified or explained.

⁸⁶ COLLINS AND COLLINS, Sitte, *City Building*, p.41, cited by BOYER, M. C., *The City of Collective Memory*, 1996, p.382

⁸⁷ LIPSITZ, G., *Time Passages*, 1990, p.6

⁸⁸ LIPSITZ, 1990, p. 6

⁸⁹ LIPSITZ, 1990, p. 8

As tradition was destroyed, the presences of interpretative systems that translate the memories and traditions into meaningful contemporary forms have also vanished in the contemporary city. The value and meaning of history in an age of popular culture is bound with its popular preciousness and its communicability, i.e., “depends less on innovation or imagination than upon a sense of familiarity conducive to immense audience appropriation therefore easily resist conventional forms of cultural criticism”.⁹⁰

2.3.1. History Writing and the Manipulation of Collective Memory

*“The curator can create a rational organization of works (historical signs) that are simultaneously deprived of their spatial and temporal contexts and estranged from their origin and function... thus the paradox becomes apparent as it is acknowledged that the museum may at best be only a memory device based on fictional images drawn up by museum directors, art historians, archeologists, and antiquarians.”*⁹¹ Eugenio Donato

Maurice Halbwachs argues that history begins where the tradition ends, i.e., history is needed for the past incidences, which society fails to remember through tradition.⁹² Nevertheless Patrick J. Geary believes that it is not right to create a strong dichotomy between history and memory. After all, “historians consciously select from a spectrum of possible *memorabilia* those, which are *memoranda* -that is, those worth remembering.” Therefore in the broadest sense, history writing determines the content of collective memory.⁹³ Geary also believes that the process of assortment, which actually presents historiography as a study of propaganda about the content of memory, and about the interpretation of this content, is not

⁹⁰ LIPSITZ, 1990, pp.14-17

⁹¹ DONATO, E., “The Museum’s Furnace” *Textual Strategies*, 1979, p.216, cited by BOYER, M. C., *The City of Collective Memory*, 1996, p.132

⁹² HALBWACHS, M. *The Collective Memory*, 1980, pp. 78-79, 80, 82,84

⁹³ GEARY, P. J., *Phantoms of Remembrance*, 1994, p.9

much different from the method and intentions of collective memory as deciphered by Maurice Halbwachs.⁹⁴

Geary argues that historians' selectiveness is for all intents and purposes "to shape the collective memory of the historical profession and ultimately of the society in which they live..." This points to the essential similarity between historical memory and collective memory as they are both political and aim at shaping the social identity. Therefore collective memory is also far from authenticity since, like history, it too has been orchestrated as a tactic for the group unity, and has to be processed constantly through suppression and selection.⁹⁵

However, Geary in his discussions does not pay attention to the distinction between the official identity of the history and the spontaneous formation of the collective memory that is approved by the will of the society. History is thought to aim to create a perspective for the whole society strictly related with political power, and therefore tends to ignore the different interpretations that are more important. While collective memory is formed through commonly lived experiences, and works as a strong link among members of a social group, history is a diligent scientific production based on the so called objective, analytical and critical study, that refers to solid verifications and denies any alternative interpretation of past events. Halbwachs' distinction between memory and history based on tradition should be related with the importance of lived experience for memory that prevents it to become a "history", which is an abstract intellectualized re-construction.⁹⁶

According to Boyer, 19th-century history writing focused on the reader or the spectator, on the interests of the popular culture and political intentions of nation states, rather than the essential meanings of events.⁹⁷ Historians highlighted the appropriate features of history that best fit the needs and expectations of the whole

⁹⁴ GEARY, 1994, pp.9-13

⁹⁵ GEARY, 1994, p.9

⁹⁶ BOYER, M. C., *The City of Collective Memory*, 1996, p.25

⁹⁷ BOYER, 1996, p.12

of a society, and reorganized the flux of events in order to obtain the needed perspective. For Walter Benjamin the memory crisis in the 19th century was the result of "a problematization of the normal relationship of the present to the past."⁹⁸ The Traditional sense of memory "flashing up in ephemeral moments of crisis to direct one's pathway towards future" was forgotten, and was replaced by a constructed linear series of events supporting the "official history".⁹⁹

Modernism's endeavor, the mathematical construction of time as a universal measurement, similar to the geometrization of space has an important contribution to the formulation of the universal history. This universal time, theoretically covers all events occurred in the world, and pictures every individual as a part of one vast totality. Historians in the 20th century devoted themselves to gather a mass of data to fill the homogeneous universal empty time. There is a significant alteration in the relation of the society with the past related with the modernization project in the 20th century.¹⁰⁰ Modernism's claim to be universally based on rational thinking legitimates attempts to create a totalizing perspective of the past, which is based on materialistic historiography. Yet, the complexities and pluralities of the past always resist definitive evaluation and summary of any unifying larger history.

2.3.2. History of Counter-Memories; Totality versus Collectivity and Post-Modern Criticism

*"Reconstructing infinitely complex experiences of the past through the paltry bits of evidences about it available to historians inevitably renders some aspects of the past as incommunicable... even historical methodologies that try to do justice to the pluralities of the past, that require the necessary skills of empathy, imagination, and analysis basic to historical thinking confront resistant audiences."*¹⁰¹
George Lipsitz

⁹⁸ BOYER, 1996, p.26

⁹⁹ BOYER, 1996, p.130

¹⁰⁰ BENJAMIN, W., *Illuminations*, 1968, p.262

¹⁰¹ LIPSITZ, G., *Time Passages*, 1990, p.21

We need to understand the past in order to make informed moral choices about the present, and to connect our personal histories to a larger collective history. Nevertheless as Lipsitz argues, the political ambitions of the nation-states undermined the important goals of historical research to appreciate differences, and to understand the context and ability to make critical comparative judgments on the basis of empathy and evidence.¹⁰² While history was propagated as a succession of military, political and economic struggles beginning in the antiquity and culminating in the "progress" manifested by the nation-state in our own day, any serious historical inquiry has been prevented, as that inquiry might lead to critical expropriation of the past by minority groups. Through the totalizing perspective of national history not every event in the past has been equally evaluated, as the aim has been to reflect the interests of majority.

In addition to nationalistic biases, the modern social memory is framed with another totalizing perspective, which is described as the "God's eye view of history" by Benjamin.¹⁰³ This perspective is formed through modern critics' insistence to ground their views on history within the traditions of the European "Enlightenment". This inclination that begins with the Renaissance, which combined diverse developments in art and in the natural and human sciences, attempted to create a universal history which aimed at demonstrating the idea of the constant development of the humanity as a universal truth. The idea of history as synonymous with European "progress" has elevated a minute part of the global experience to the center stage of history, while gathering all the rest into a kind of context-less chapter, entitled as the "other" and worthy of mention only when it intersected with the European consciousness.¹⁰⁴

Post-structuralist and de-constructionist critiques of history also stress the deficiencies of textual nature of historical narratives. It is underlined that the modern history, which aimed at objectivity as the utmost criteria, forced historians

¹⁰² LIPSITZ, 1990, pp. 24-26

¹⁰³ BOYER, M. C., *The City of Collective Memory*, 1996, p.130

¹⁰⁴ LIPSITZ, G., *Time Passages*, 1990, p.28

to remove their own voice from the text, and to present the evidences as if the facts "spoke for themselves". This history writing became the record of the experiences of those with the power and position, and silenced those without access to the printed world.¹⁰⁵

2.4. THE IMAGE OF "THE CITY OF COLLECTIVE MEMORY"

2.4.1. Collectivity and the Multicultural Life of the Metropolis

Napoleon III exemplifies the 19th-century understanding of urbanism with the attempts of renovation of Paris. When, Haussmann was "isolating the monument from its urban fabric, destroying its original functions... and then placing this context-free object in a completely scenographic space as the focal perspective point of new axial boulevards,"¹⁰⁶ he was also defining the political and aesthetic role of the monument in the modern city. The monument partially exhibits the glorious past of a city, and is an important unifying aesthetic object reinforcing the position of the sender as an object of public admiration and spiritual elevation.¹⁰⁷

In the 19th-century city, the relation of the "art of governing" and the architectural compositions was emphasized through a harmoniously and rationally disposed geometrical order. The city planned as a work of art in the 19th century was also considered as a remedy to the overcrowding, and filthiness of the over-growing city. The renovation of Paris in the 19th century by Haussmann has become an episode of the concept of "the city is an art work."

¹⁰⁵ LIPSITZ, 1990, p.28

¹⁰⁶ BOYER, M. C., *The City of Collective Memory*, 1996, p.185

¹⁰⁷ DALY, C., *Vue Interieure d'un Tombeau Etrusque a Corneto*, 1862, p. 8, cited by BOYER, M. C., *The City of Collective Memory*, 1996, p.15

Boyer believes that, the aesthetic framework of the 19th-century urbanism, the notion of 'the good city', rationalized by order, still preserves its validity today through modern principles like zoning, mapping and rational circulation.¹⁰⁸ As it was in the 19th century, discontinuity, rupture, unexpected formations are considered as important threats for the unity of a city. Yet, in reality "the city of collective memory," a concept introduced by Boyer, is the accumulation of different layers that belong to different historical times overlaying each other, and not generating only one structural form for the city, but rather culminating in an experience of diversity.¹⁰⁹

Lewis Mumford defines the metropolis as the "World City" and cites Henry James' description of London: "the biggest aggregation of human life, the most complete compendium of the world. The human race is better represented there than anywhere else."¹¹⁰ Diversity and variety are key words for the metropolis: "All races and cultures can be found here, along with their languages, their costumes, and their typical cuisine."¹¹¹

The public space, as a set for the collective memory of citizen, should reflect the true nature of the society. Formulating the physical correspondence of multiculturalism of the contemporary city in the public space is the main challenge of today's designer.

I would like to argue that Boyer's argument on the inversion of values regarding the evaluation of public spaces, underlining that private space has become more valued than public place, implies a solution aiming to overcome the problem of creating an appropriate spatial formation that corresponds to the collective memory of a social group. Although these so-called social spaces fulfill the expectations of the collective memory of the group that owns it, there are also social problems that come along with this solution. The freedom of the market, the

¹⁰⁸ BOYER, M. C., *The City of Collective Memory*, 1996, p.18

¹⁰⁹ BOYER, 1996, p.18

¹¹⁰ MUMFORD, L., *The City in History*, 1961, p. 561

¹¹¹ MUMFORD, 1961, p. 561

freedom of choice and the life style that commodities and wealth can provide also create "private preserves for the wealthy that are then transformed into 'public amenities' by allowing an elect group of people to stroll unimpeded along their corridors and space of power."¹¹² Another reading of this process is the formation of a sub-public space that is capable of sustaining only a selected group's collective memory. Nevertheless these "public" spaces are not able to inspire the urban formation of Boyer's expectations from the contemporary city that should represent the "architectural expressions as vertical slices cutting across a matrix of plural styles..."¹¹³ Christine Boyer underlines that the "contemporary city have lost any more authoritative voice that might orchestrate our civic spaces..."The Cultural background and other relative conditions that enable one with a unique perspective in reading the content of the space, reveal the multiplicity of possible universes.¹¹⁴

2.4.2. The Collective Memory of the Consumption Society

"Designers of urban projects, especially in the 70's and 80's seemed intent on arranging and detailing ornamental places of the city until a matrix of a well designed fragments appeared. In these compositional nodes, they called on history or local and regional traditions to specify through design codes and regulations the

¹¹² BOYER, M. C., *The City of Collective Memory*, pp. 7-9. Starting from the end of 18th century, Boyer gives a brief history of public space, comparing it with the private space in western cities. According to her, before the end of 18th century the public place was an honorific place celebrating the power of the king. In the 18th and the 19th centuries, this public space transformed to house a democratic public sphere. The square became the place where public debate and gatherings were held, and the rational voice of the people could be heard.

Throughout the 19th century as the working class rose up in protest, the public sphere of the city was re-conceptualized in terms of the rich and poor. When the state tried to guarantee social order by promising to fulfill needs such as housing, transportation, education and health services, then the concept of public was transformed once again into the more abstract public sphere of the welfare state. In the 20th century the "public" became a negative concept connoting unruly bureaucracies, corrupt officials, inefficient management, and regulatory impositions... meanwhile "private" has been refurbished with an exalted image: the freedom of the market and the freedom of choice and style of life that commodities and wealth can provide. In this context private space has become more valued than public space.

¹¹³ BOYER, 1996, p. 4

¹¹⁴ HARVEY, D., *Justice, Nature & the Geography of Difference*, 1996, p. 251

*ambiance and styles of particular places until and aestheticized aggregate prevailed.”*¹¹⁵

After discussing the ideological motivations of aesthetic conventions in the urban settings starting from the 16th century, Boyer investigates the image of contemporary cities. I believe that Boyer's study, "The City of collective memory; Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments" is an important critic for the contemporary urban planning practices and which attempts to explore recently emerged meaning of the "collective memory" in contemporary cities in relation with the economic interests of urban life.

Christine Boyer argues that the physical environment of the contemporary metropolis is the reflection of the fact that "images and messages that seem to swirl about, devoid of a sustaining context", where a constant traffic of exchanges creating new layers of information, creates a thick surface between the past and the present, and contributes to the crisis of remembering in the modern society.¹¹⁶ In the 1980s "there is no longer any opposition between the center of the city and its periphery, no distinction exists between the built and natural environment that marks the passage... a non-place, existing in a state of constant flux and interfaces, becomes a new synthetic space-time, a contemporary assemblage of non-material electronic forms, serial arrays of representations and messages that transport the viewer across visual thresholds to separate places and other times.”¹¹⁷ This definition of the city confirms Poëte's prophecy regarding the absences of permanencies that marks the nature of contemporary city. Poëte believes that, it is these permanencies that mark the difference between the contemporary and the historical city, and they are the artifacts that give meaning to and constitute our memory of a city.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ BOYER, M. C., *The City of Collective Memory*, 1996, p. 2

¹¹⁶ BOYER, M. C., *The City of Collective Memory*, 1996, p. 28

¹¹⁷ DE CERTAU, *The Writing of History*, p.6, cited by BOYER, M. C., *The City of Collective Memory*, 1996, p. 47

¹¹⁸ BOYER, 1996, p.17

Camillo Sitte suggests that the spread of the modern metropolis, its gigantic size, wider streets, and open vistas had spoiled the traditional framework of the city, and destroyed its artistic form. From the perspective of Camillo Sitte, which reflects the aesthetics of traditional organic forms of the city of earlier periods, the modern city seems to be the repetition of standardized forms, which give no pleasure to the spectator.¹¹⁹ Nevertheless, I believe that the contemporary city has created its own aesthetics quite independent from Sitte's concerns. The new aesthetic of the early 20th century is based on temporality, which can be understood through an observation of the modern urban life. As Einstein claimed: "The modern urban scene, especially that of a large city at night... The nocturnal sea of electric advertising knock out all sense of perspective, of realistic depth...these lights tend to abolish all sense of real space, finally melting into a single plane of colored light points and neon lights moving over a surface of black velvet sky... Headlights on speeding cars, highlights on receding rails, shimmering reflections on the wet pavements - all mirrored in puddles that destroy our sense of direction, supplementing the mirage above with a mirage beneath us, and rushing between these two worlds of electric signs, we see them no longer on a single plane... but suspended in the air." This depiction of Einstein of the aesthetic reflection of contemporary city explains also on how the historic environment is being treated.¹²⁰

Venturi's interpretation of architecture as an aggregation of a design vocabulary relevant to road side advertisements, appropriate to diverse needs and tastes, which is a perceptive contemplation on popular culture and its effects on architectural environment in the 60s, I believe, also outlines the aesthetics of contemporary city. "The relation between the representational forms of the city and the different stages of capitalism" guides Venturi's vision of the politics of representational

¹¹⁹ BOYER, 1996, p.381

¹²⁰ BOYER, 1996, p.50

forms.¹²¹ Today, the contemporary city is an ensemble of spectacles, reduced to the play of pure imagery and governed with the logic of economic consumption.

Parallel to this aesthetic vision, historic preservation projects in the contemporary city are described by Boyer as pictorial additions to be inserted into the modern urban landscape in the center of the city.¹²² Aiming to solidify the traces of the past into a unified image in an attempt to re-create the "good unified city", planners and designers focus on the context of a landmark or a historic district, and create a sort of theatrical stage that convert the history into a spectacle, a unifying apparatus for popular culture.

However as Christine Boyer stresses, architectural attempts in the the 70's and 80's to restore the public realm, and to reconstruct a sense of collectivity and cooperation are fraught with paradoxical positions due to the notion of a 'good city' for a suggested collectivity. The notion of "Good City" aiming to provide a unified environment entails a totalizing perspective that is not good for minorities in the contemporary city. In fact, today in the urban environment, "we have lost a moral public sphere in this sea of plural voices; the better argument wields no collective weight, actually enabling the public sphere to be dominated by private voices selling fictional styles of life and imaginary behaviors."¹²³

Therefore the over emphasized formality of the historical environment makes it ready to be embraced/consumed by any social group, as its content becomes relatively trivial. From this point of view, the economic considerations become a unifying agent for the society regarding its concerns with the historic site.

¹²¹ BOYER, 1996, p. 59

¹²² BOYER, 1996, p. 54

¹²³ BOYER, 1996, p. 4

CHAPTER III

HACIBAYRAM AREA IN ANKARA, RESTUDYING THE HISTORICAL URBAN FABRIC

History is an important part of the collective memory. However, history itself is not enough to understand the construction of the collective memory. Social groups use certain parts of the history in favor of their present day concerns. As the present day concerns of a society change, the focus of the society on different moments of history also changes. The emphasis put on various periods of history is therefore also the reflection of social identity.

The concern in presenting a brief history of Ankara, in section 3.1. is to provide the reader with a historical framework. In the section 3.3. the dynamics of collective memory and the Generation of Urban Form in Ankara, where the possible components of collective memory of social groups in Hacibayram Area are discussed, some parts of the history of Ankara is studied more thoroughly. The comparison of these two sections 3.1. and 3. 3. reveal the selective nature of collective memory.

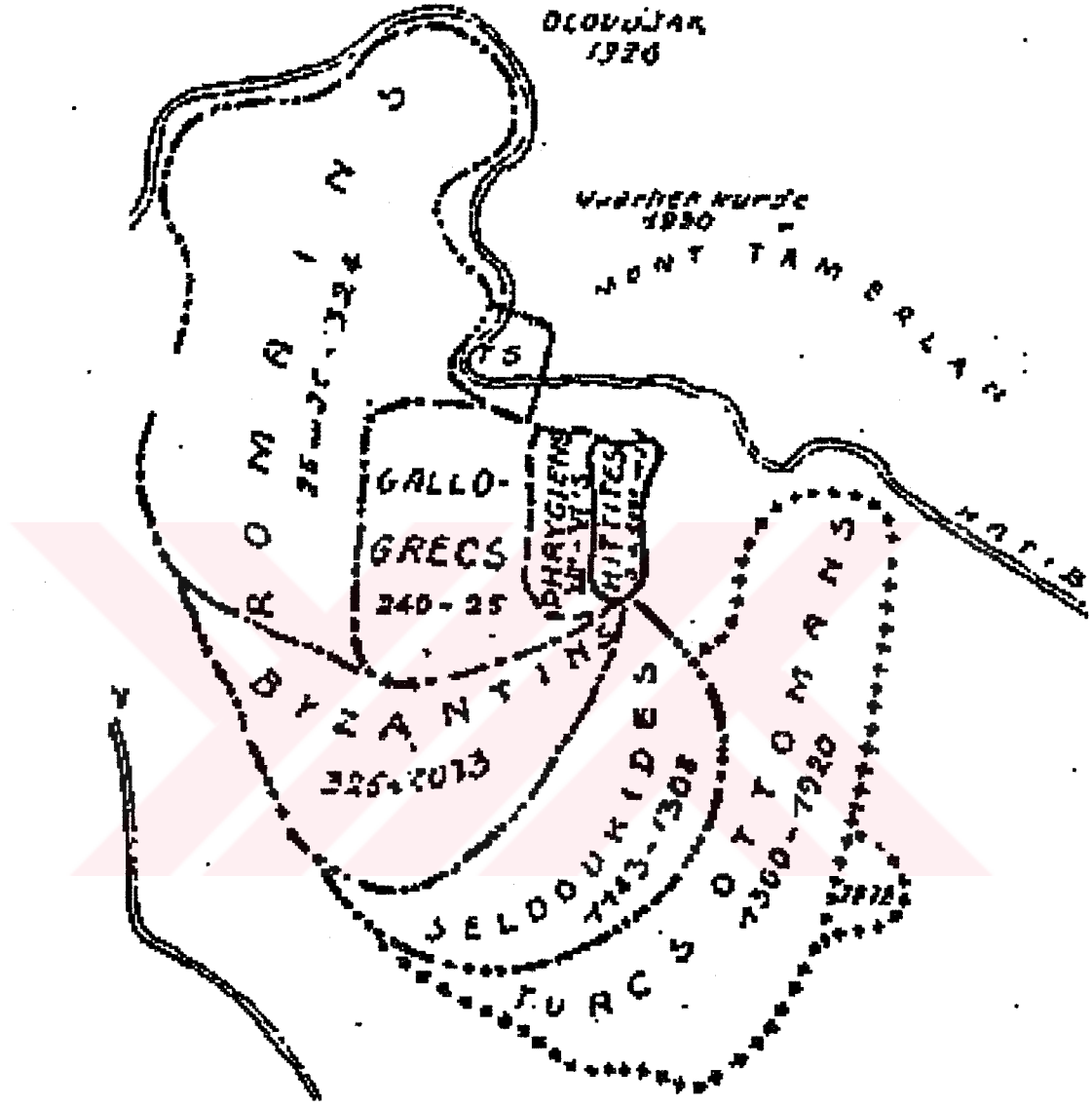


Figure 4: The Map of Ankara by E. Mamboury (cited in AKTÜRE, S., 19. yy Anadolu Kenti Mekansal Yapı Çözümlemesi, 1981)

3.1. HISTORY OF ANKARA

Ankara has about 3000-years of history. Hattic, Hittite, Phrygian, Lycian, Achaemenid Persian, Hellenistic Seleucid, Galatian, Roman, Byzantine, Arab, Seldjuk, Ottoman, and Turkish civilizations occupied the city.¹²⁴ In every period, changes regarding the cultural identity of the society modified the morphology of the city. Different sources that it was known as Ankūra, Ankira, Ancyra, Ancyra, Ankura, Ankriya, Angur, Enguru, Engürü, Engüriye, Angara, Angorah and finally in 17th century as Ankara.¹²⁵

3.1.1. Pre-Roman Period

Today no complete structure remains in the city from the pre-Roman period.¹²⁶ Yet, Herodotos writes that the famous "Kings' Road" was passing through the city in Phrygian period,¹²⁷ and Roman sources mention that there was a pre-existing city on the site of Ankara that belonged to Phrygia. Archeological remains found in the Ankara and its vicinity confirms this information.¹²⁸ A. Erzen claims that there was a settlement in the area of old Ankara, which dates back to prehistoric times. It is also argued that there are layers under the inner castle, which could prove the existence of a settlement that belongs to Hittite period (4000-1200 BC).¹²⁹ Remains of the settlements in the area around the castle and around the Temple of Augustus, which were found through archeological studies, prove the

¹²⁴ CROSS, T. M and LEISER, G., *A Brief History of Ankara*, 2000, p. 14

¹²⁵ ERZEN, A., *İlkçağda Ankara*, 1946, p. 15-28, referred by AKTÜRE, S., "16. Yüzyıl Öncesi Ankara'sı Üzerine Bilinenler", *Tarih İçinde Ankara*, 2000, p.4.; CRAMER, A., *Geographical and Historical Description of Asia Minor*, vol. 2, 1971, p. 92; DARKOT, "Ankara", *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol.1, 1950, p.438

¹²⁶ ERZEN, 1946, p.94

¹²⁷ *Herodot Tarihi*, p.53, cited by AKTÜRE, S., "16. Yüzyıl Öncesi Ankara'sı Üzerine Bilinenler", *Tarih İçinde Ankara*, 2000, p.5

¹²⁸ BULUÇ, S. "İlk Çağda Ankara", *Ankara, Ankara*, 1994, p.22

occupancy of Phrygs.¹³⁰ Since the end of the 19th century different reliefs belonging to the Phrygian period were found in various locations within Ankara.¹³¹ It is claimed that similarities of these animal reliefs, which include two Kybele reliefs, might belong to a single shrine that was built in Ankara by Phrygians. Although it is not possible to locate the Phrygian City within the modern city of Ankara, there are 20 Phrygian royal tombs in the form of *tumuli* found in the vicinity of the old city.¹³²

Another significant period of the city before the Romans started in 281 BC when Galatians began to settle around Ankara. It was in 271 BC when Galatians captured the city and made it their capital.¹³³ Erzen claims that the land that was occupied by Galatians, extended between the Kızılırmak River and Sakarya River around 278-277 BC.¹³⁴

Although the city was already known as Ancyra according to Anabassis' notes in 334 BC, fifty-five years before the Galatian occupation of Anatolia, a legend relates the name of the city to the Galatians. According to this story, the anchor that was brought back to the King of Pontus as a symbol of Galatians' victory over the King of Egypt is the inspiration for the name of the city. Galatians named the city, which they founded on the land given to them for their victory as "Anchor" as the reminder of their victory.¹³⁵

¹²⁹ DARKOT, B., "Anakara", *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol.1, 1950, p. 439; ERZEN, A., *İlk Çağda Ankara*, 1946, p.9 cited by BAKIRER, Ö., "Ankara Kalesi Duvarları Üzerindeki Belge ve Bilgiler," *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.174; *Ankara*, The Ministry of Culture, p.20

¹³⁰ SCHACHNER, Ş. A., *Ankara Dergisi*, 1993, p.79; BULUÇ, S., *Ankara Dergisi*, 1991, p.13-28, cited by BAKIRER, Ö., "Ankara Kalesi Duvarları Üzerindeki Belge ve Bilgiler," *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.174

¹³¹ BULUÇ, S., "Phrygian Orthostat Reliefs Found in Ankara" *American Journal of Archaeology* 92, 1988, p. 258

¹³² BULUÇ, 1988, p. 238

¹³³ AKÇURA, T., *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Başkenti*, 1971, p.15; DARKOT, B., "Ankara", *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol.1, 1950, p.440, cited by BAKIRER, Ö., "Ankara Kalesi Duvarları Üzerindeki Belge ve Bilgiler," *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.175

¹³⁴ ERZEN, A., *İlk Çağda Ankara*, 1946, p.11-43

¹³⁵ BULUÇ, S. "İlk Çağda Ankara" *Ankara, Ankara*, 1994, p.23

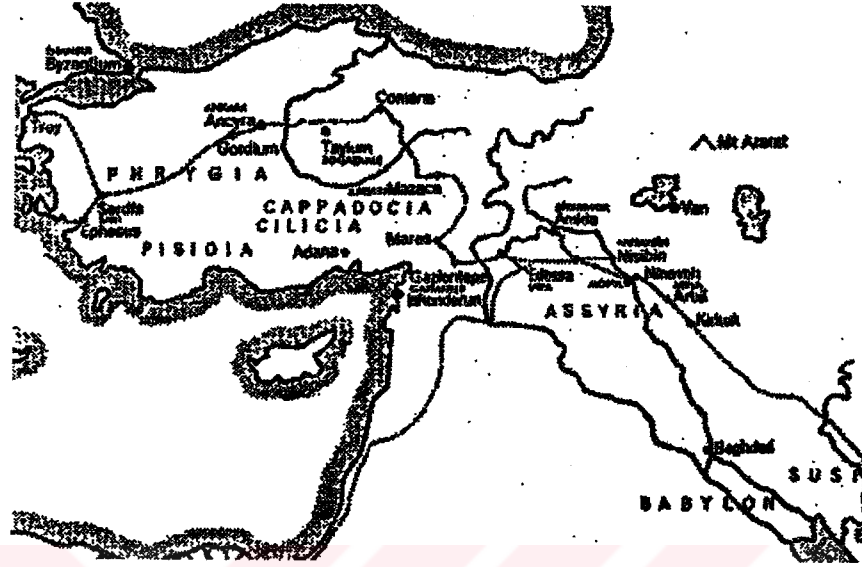


Figure 5: King's Road (AKTÜRE, S., "16. Yüzyıl Öncesi Ankara'sı Üzerine Bilinenler", *Tarih İçinde Ankara*, 2000, p.4)

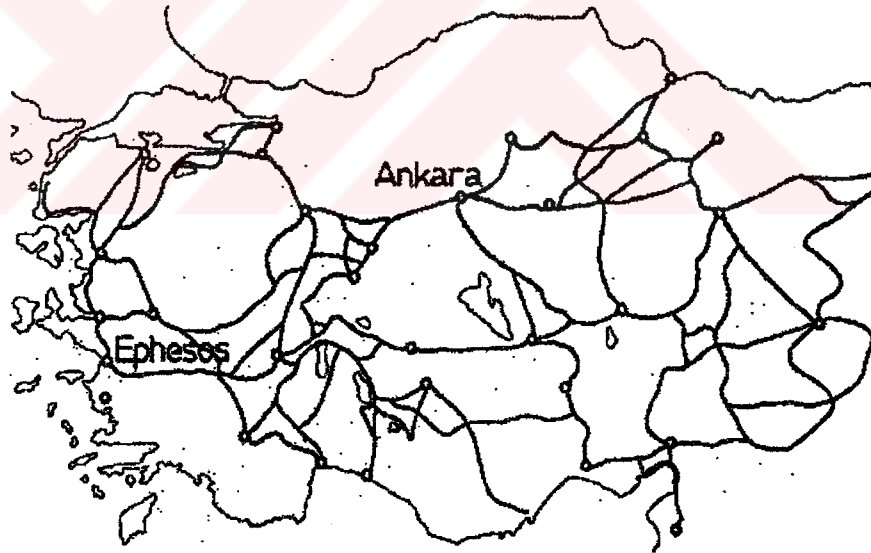


Figure 6: Important roads in Anatolia during Roman period between 1st century BC- 4th century AD (AKTÜRE, S., "16. Yüzyıl Öncesi Ankara'sı Üzerine Bilinenler", *Tarih İçinde Ankara*, 2000, p.27)

The Galatian city surrounded the castle on top of the hill, which was also the administrative center of the region. It would not be wrong to state that the mission of the city as an administrative center started in this period.¹³⁶

Nevertheless other than partial structures, there is no standing coherent building in the city from Galatians. Other than those layers found within the walls of the castle and at the foundations of the Temple of Augustus, the only information about Galatians is from texts. According to Roman documents, Ancyra, a strategically important node to gain control in Anatolia, was the capital of the Galatians before the occupation of the Roman Empire.¹³⁷

3.1.2. The Roman and Byzantine Periods

The Roman period of Ankara started in 25 BC when Romans made Galatia one of their provinces. In the Roman period, being on the intersection of important routes, the city became an important military and commercial center. While administrative, military and commercial activities developed the population of the city reached 100.000.¹³⁸

While the importance and the wealth of the city were increasing new constructions were realized in order to make Ancyra a truly Roman center. Between 30 BC and 14 BC, during the Augustus reign, the city became twice bigger than it was before.¹³⁹ The Temple of Augustus, the Roman baths and the theater, were the most important public buildings among others. The remains of these three buildings can still be seen. The renovation of the theater -that had been constructed in the Hellenistic period -according to the conventions of Roman theaters- proves

¹³⁶ AKTÜRE, S., "16. Yüzyıl Öncesi Ankara'sı Üzerine Bilinenler", *Tarih İçinde Ankara*, 2000, p.7

¹³⁷ BULUÇ, S. "İlk Çağda Ankara" *Ankara, Ankara*, 1994, p.25

¹³⁸ AKÇURA, T., *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Başkenti*, Ankara, 1971, p. 16

¹³⁹ ERZEN, A., *İlk Çağda Ankara*, 1946, pp. 54-60, cited by AKTÜRE, S., "16. Yüzyıl Öncesi Ankara'sı Üzerine Bilinenler", *Tarih İçinde Ankara*, 2000, p.7

Ancyra's importance for Romans.¹⁴⁰ Following the advantages of the topography, the city expanded from the hill towards the plains on the northeast and northwest of the castle.¹⁴¹ After Ephesus, Pergamon and Smyrna, Ancyra became one of the most important cities in Anatolia in the Roman era.¹⁴²

In the Roman period the center of the city formed a crescent on the northwest of the castle on the south of the curve of Hatip Çayı, that surrounds the most important buildings of the city: The Temple of Augustus, the Roman Baths, Palaestra and the colonnaded road.¹⁴³ The traces of the Roman city are still clearly seen in the city today.

With the division of the Roman Empire in 334 AD, the Byzantine period started and lasted until Turks captured the city in 1073.¹⁴⁴ There isn't much information about the history of the city from the mid-4th century to the 7th century. For this reason, this period is considered as a period of decline for the city.¹⁴⁵

Sasanid attacks of the 7th century ended by the invasion of Ankara in 622 AD.¹⁴⁶ The city was captured and ruined, and the population recessed into the city walls. Sasanid invasion caused the demolition of most of the city with important buildings from the Roman period.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁰ GÜVEN, S., "Bir Roma Eyaletinin Evrim Sürecinde Galatia ve Ancyra," *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.113

¹⁴¹ DARKOT, B., "Ankara", *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol.1, 1950, p. 440; MAMBOURY, E., *Ankara, Guide Touristique*, 1933, p.71-72, cited by BAKIRER, Ö., "Ankara Kalesi Duvarları Üzerindeki Belge ve Bilgiler," *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.175

¹⁴² GÜVEN, S., "Bir Roma Eyaletinin Evrim Sürecinde Galatia ve Ancyra," *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.113

¹⁴³ AKTÜRE, S., "16. Yüzyıl Öncesi Ankara'sı Üzerine Bilinenler", *Tarih İçinde Ankara*, 2000, p.8

¹⁴⁴ BAKIRER, Ö., "Ankara Kalesi Duvarları Üzerindeki Belge ve Bilgiler," *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.176

¹⁴⁵ BAKIRER, Ö., 2001, p.177

¹⁴⁶ JERPHANION, P. G., *Mélanges d'Archéologie Anatolienne*, Fasc.1, p.144-219, 313, cited by BAKIRER, Ö., "Ankara Kalesi Duvarları Üzerindeki Belge ve Bilgiler," *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.177

¹⁴⁷ FOSS, C., *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 1977; p.68-71, EYİCE, S., *Ankara Konuşmaları*, 1992, p.22-24, cited by BAKIRER, Ö., "Ankara Kalesi Duvarları Üzerindeki Belge ve Bilgiler," *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.177

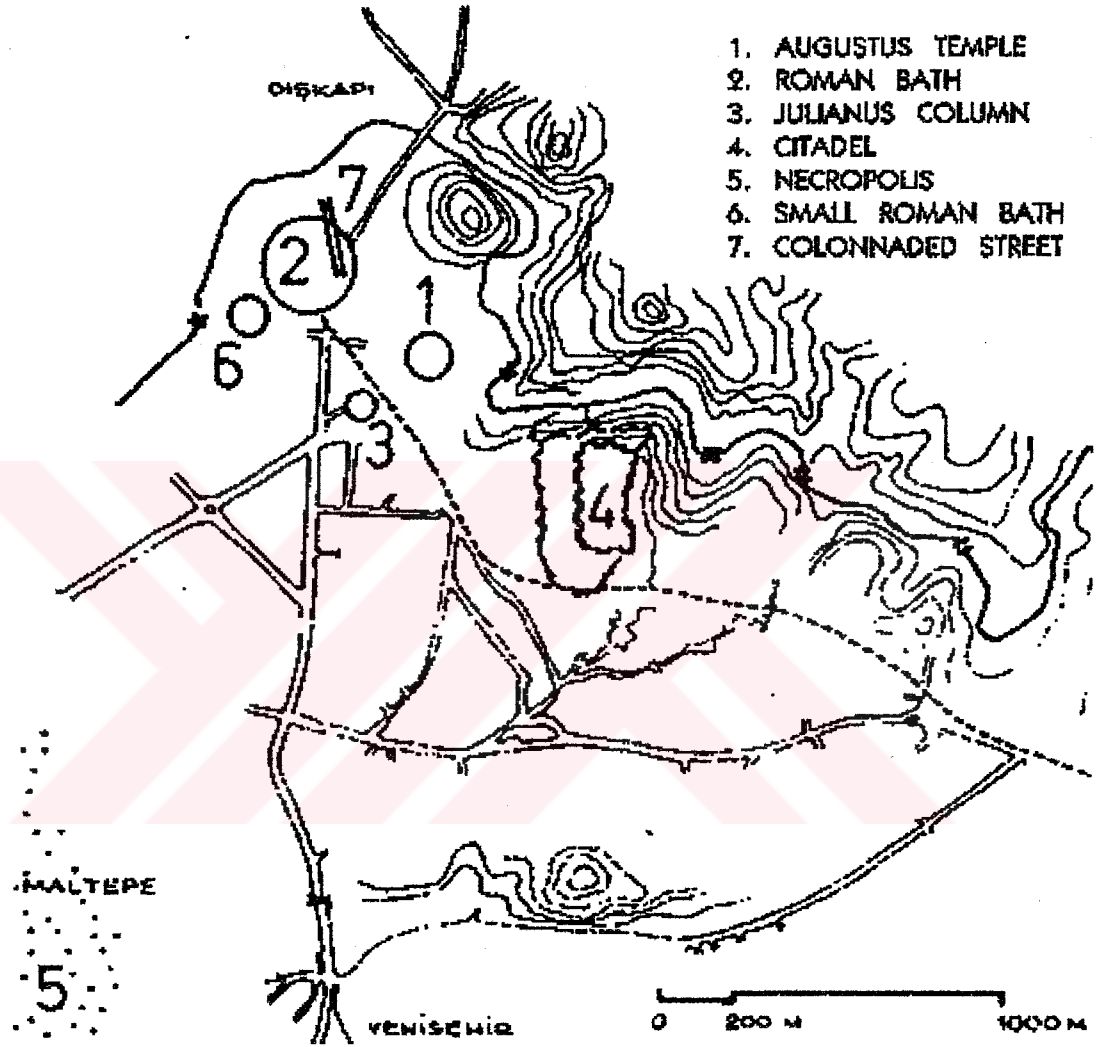


Figure 7: Ancient buildings and waterways in Ankara (FIRATLI N., "Ankara'nın İlk Çağdaki Su Tesisatı", *Belleten* 15:57, 1951, p.354)

3.1.3.The Seldjuk and Ottoman Periods, Settlement of the Turks in Anatolia and the Role of the Ahi Tradition

Two years after the Turks' victory at Malazgirt in (1071), a Turkish Principality, known as Danishmends captured the city of Ankara.¹⁴⁸ From 1073 to 1143, Byzantines, Danishmends, Ilhanlıs and Seldjuks ruled in the city alternatively until finally Seldjuk Sultan Mesud I seized the city.¹⁴⁹ Before the dissolution of Anatolian Seldjuks in the 14th century, Ankara was captured by the Ilhanlıs and was governed by Ahi-leaders before the Ottomans took the city in 1354.¹⁵⁰

The Ahi Tradition has its roots in the Turkish cities of Central Asia like Buhara, Semerkant, Taskent, Belh and Merv. Craftsmen and local tradesmen from these cities immigrated to Anatolia at the beginning of the 13th century as a result of the assaults of Cengiz Han.¹⁵¹ Turks who had been living as nomads, started to be organized socially and economically by these craftsmen and tradesmen who formed Ahi organizations, and settled in towns. This development was crucial for protection against Moghuls from the East and from Byzantines from the West. "Ahilik" was therefore central within the process of establishment of Turkish cultural identity in many cities and towns in Anatolia. The organization, and its social and economic policies supported the settled life of the Turks in Anatolia, and left important traces in social and physical organization of Anatolian cities.

¹⁴⁸ DARKOT, B., "Ankara", *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol.1, 1950, p. 441; JERPHANION, P. G., *Mélanges d'Archéologie Anatolienne*, Fasc.1, p.169-180, 192-197, 208-209; MAMBOURY, E., *Ankara, Guide Touristique*, 1933, p.62; GALANTİ, A., *Ankara Tarihi*, 1950, p.40-43, cited by BAKIRER, Ö., "Ankara Kalesi Duvarları Üzerindeki Belge ve Bilgiler," *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.179;

¹⁴⁹ HACIGÖKMEN, M. A., "Selçuklular zamanında Ankara Ahileri hakkında bir araştırma", *1. Ulusal Selçuklu Kültür ve Medeniyet Kongresi*, 2001 p.382. Fuat Köprülü's studies confirm that Ottomans took Ankara from Ahi administration.

¹⁵⁰ WITTEK, P. *Ankara'da bir İlhanlı Kitabesi*, 1931, p.163; DARKOT, B., "Ankara", *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, p.438, cited by AKTÜRE, S., "1830'dan 1930'a Ankara'da Günlük Yaşam," *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.16

¹⁵¹ AKTÜRE, S., "16. Yüzyıl Öncesi Ankara'sı Üzerine Bilinenler", *Tarih İçinde Ankara*, 2000, p.17

Ankara, Denizli, Kayseri, Konya and Sivas were the cities where the *Ahi* organization was well established.¹⁵²

It is known from Ottoman documents that before the Ottomans captured the city in 1362, the city was governed by an *Ahi* organization in the form of a city-state.¹⁵³ Under this *Ahi* administration, Ankara evolved into a commercial center after a period of struggle and conflict between different states.¹⁵⁴ The mosque of Ahi Şerafettin (Arslanhane Mosque), which was built in 1290 by Ahi Hüsametdin, is the most well known *Ahi* mosque that illustrates the importance of *Ahi* personalities for the history of the city.¹⁵⁵

Murat I took the administration of Ankara from the *Ahi* administration in 1363 without any war.¹⁵⁶ In the Ottoman period, Ankara became as big as Bursa according to 1520's tax documents.¹⁵⁷ The construction of the *bedesten* and *hans* at the end of the 15th century reflects the increasing commercial activity of the city.¹⁵⁸ In the 16th and 17th centuries, the construction of new *hans* and other commercial buildings indicates that the commercial axis of the city was developed towards the northwest in this period.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵² AKTÜRE, 2000, p.17

¹⁵³ DARKOT, B., "Ankara", *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol.1. 1950, p. 442; MAMBOURY, E., *Ankara, Guide Touristique*, 1933, p.77; ERGENÇ, Ö. *XVI. Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya*, 1995, p.21-22; BAKIRER, Ö., *Ankara Kalesi Koruma ve*, 1987, p.58, cited by BAKIRER, Ö., "Ankara Kalesi Duvarları Üzerindeki Belge ve Bilgiler," *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.179

¹⁵⁴ GÜÇHAN, N. Ş., "16-19. yy. Nüfus Tahminlerine Göre Osmanlı Ankara'sında Mahallelerin Değişim Süreçlerinin Üzerine Bir Deneme," *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.125

¹⁵⁵ AKTÜRE, S., "16. Yüzyıl Öncesi Ankara'sı Üzerine Bilinenler", *Tarih İçinde Ankara*, 2000, p.19

¹⁵⁶ AKTÜRE, 2000, p.20

¹⁵⁷ GÜÇHAN, N. Ş., "16-19. yy. Nüfus Tahminlerine Göre Osmanlı Ankara'sında Mahallelerin Değişim Süreçlerinin Üzerine Bir Deneme," *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.126

¹⁵⁸ BAKIRER, Ö. and MADRAN, E., 1984, p.107-130, cited by GÜÇHAN, N. Ş., "16-19. yy Nüfus Tahminlerine Göre Osmanlı Ankara'sında Mahallelerin Değişim Süreçlerinin Üzerine Bir Deneme," *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.126. HACIGÖKMEN, M. A., "Selçuklular Zamanında Ankara Ahileri Hakkında Bir Araştırma", *1. Ulusal Selçuklu Kültür ve Medeniyet Kongresi*, 2001 p.379

¹⁵⁹ AKTÜRE, S., 1981, p.45-46, 119-120, cited by GÜÇHAN, N. Ş., "16-19. yy. Nüfus Tahminlerine Göre Osmanlı Ankara'sında Mahallelerin Değişim Süreçlerinin Üzerine Bir Deneme," *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.129

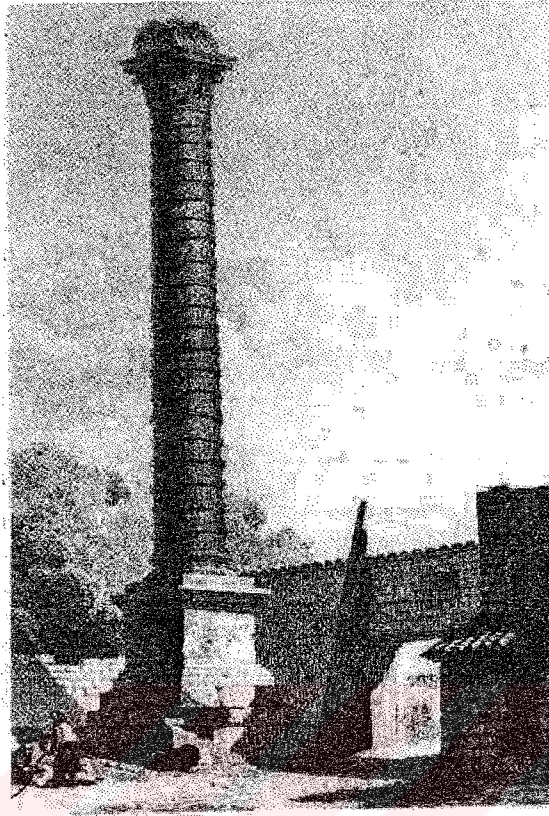


Figure 8: Julianus Column. It is surmised that the 14.5m. high column was erected by the Byzantine Emperor Julian the Apostate. The column is commonly called “Belkiz Minaret”. (*Ankara*, ed. by ÖZEL, M. Ankara 1992, p.95)

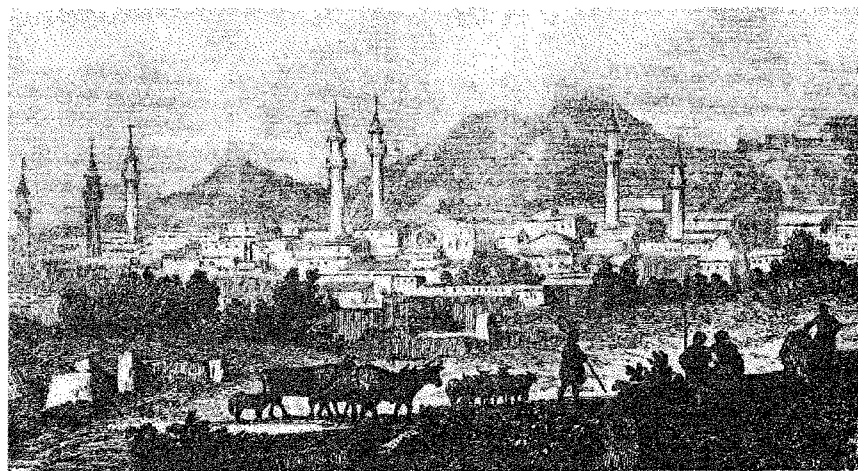


Figure 9: View of Ankara by Chopin – Cesar Farmini, 1842. (MADRAN, E., “Gezi Yapıtlarında Ankara Kenti ve Yapılar”, *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.166, fig. 2)

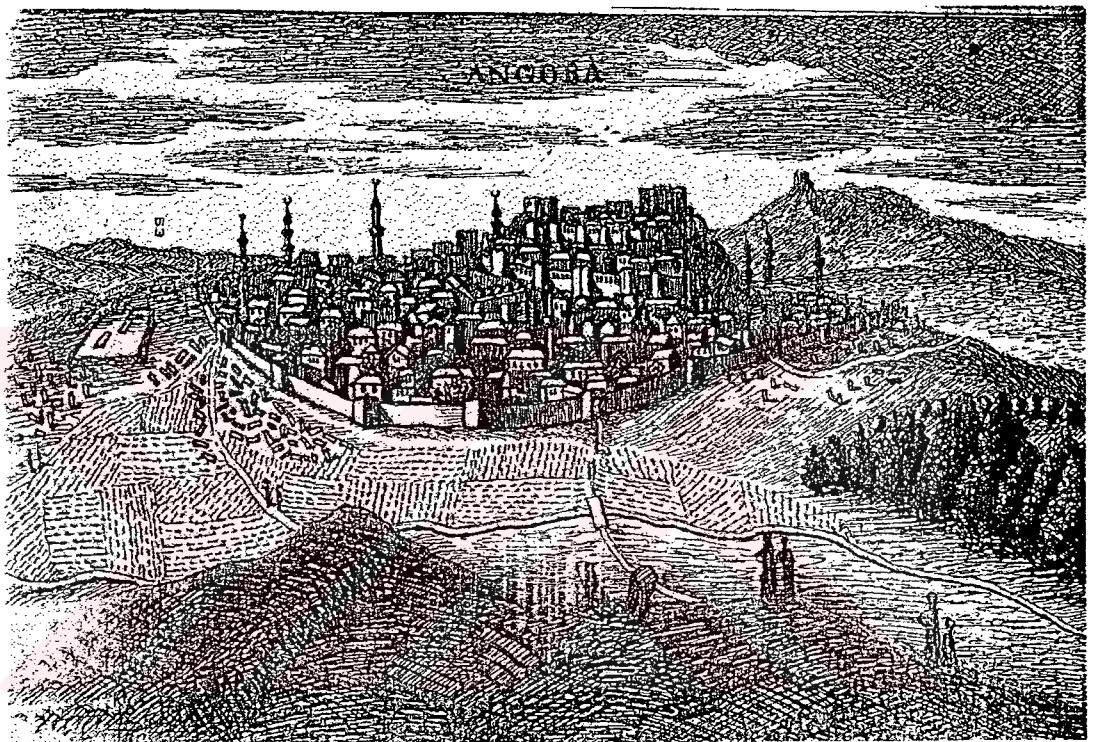


Figure 10: Engraving of Ankara by P. De TOURNEFORT, 1711

Lucas' notes describe Ankara in 1705 as an important commercial center.¹⁶⁰ The immigrations to Ankara of the a rural population in order to avoid Celali revolts in the 17th century should have increased the population of the city.¹⁶¹ Even in this period of struggle under Ottoman reign, the city managed to keep its commercial activities thanks to its strong Ahi organization. At the beginning of the 17th century the salary of the *kadı* in Ankara was more than other *kadis* who were working in other *sancaks* and *eyalets*¹⁶² as a result of relatively active commercial life and administrative requirements of the city.

3.1.4. 19th Century: a Period of Socio-Economic Changes

According to travelers' notes, there were signs of recession in the prosperity of the city in the mid-19th century. Texier's notes for the city between 1834-1836 describes the streets and squares as rather plain and building facades white, which altogether makes the city gloomy.¹⁶³ According to Mordtmann's notes about the area of today's Ulus in 1859, the governmental center, which was located behind the Obelisk of Julianus, was not in good shape architecturally.¹⁶⁴

One of the most important reasons of the changes in Ankara within the period after 1830's is the fact that the Ottomans was exposed to the Western influences, which brought economic, social, political and administrative changes for the Ottomans.¹⁶⁵ England, having long been industrialized in 1820s was looking for new markets, especially for her textile industry. Ottoman Empire, who was already facing

¹⁶⁰ EYİCE, S., 1972, cited by GÜÇHAN, N. Ş., "16-19. yy. Nüfus Tahminlerine Göre Osmanlı Ankara'sında Mahallelerin Değişim Süreçlerinin Üzerine Bir Deneme," *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.129

¹⁶¹ FAROQHI, 1984, p. 233-234, cited by GÜÇHAN, N. Ş., "16-19. yy. Nüfus Tahminlerine Göre Osmanlı Ankara'sında Mahallelerin Değişim Süreçlerinin Üzerine Bir Deneme," *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.127. Faroqhi notes that the increase of the population density within the central neighborhoods in 1690s was the result of Celali revolts"

¹⁶² AKTÜRE, S., "1830'dan 1930'a Ankara'da Günlük Yaşam," *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.127

¹⁶³ TEXIER, E., *Asie miniure*, 1882, p.489-490

¹⁶⁴ EYİCE, S., 1972 p.61-174, cited by GÜÇHAN, N. Ş., "16-19. yy. Nüfus Tahminlerine Göre Osmanlı Ankara'sında Mahallelerin Değişim Süreçlerinin Üzerine Bir Deneme," *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.148

difficulties in administrative, military and economic life, became an important target for British textile production. After 1838, treaties of commerce signed with England and with other European countries, should have affected the daily life of the city due to changing economic dynamics.¹⁶⁶ Since textile was a very important industry for Ankara's economy, this development between England and Ottomans was very crucial for the economy of the city.¹⁶⁷

Within the 35 years from 1825 to 1860 the export of textile from England to Ottoman Empire was folded 65 times. The textile production of Ankara at the beginning of the 19th century dropped to 50% compared to the production in the middle of the 18th century.¹⁶⁸ The increase in the export of raw material intensified the problems of the textile industry in 1830s.¹⁶⁹ This period also witnessed the formation of a new non-Muslim bourgeoisie.¹⁷⁰ These non-Muslims provided most of the trade connections with the West.

The new physical organization of Ankara began to take shape in this period. Scholars stress the importance of planning of a new neighborhood located at the east of the city with a gridiron. According to Şahin this neighborhood constructed for immigrants in 1864 is especially important, as it was the first planning attempt in the city.¹⁷¹ More significant are the establishment of a new governmental center, the construction of the railway and the train station and the development of today's Ulus as the commercial center, which were the first physical and social references for the Republican city.

¹⁶⁵ AKTÜRE, S., "1830'dan 1930'a Ankara'da Günlük Yaşam," *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.36

¹⁶⁶ AKTÜRE, 2001, p.38

¹⁶⁷ AKTÜRE, 2001, p.36

¹⁶⁸ ÖZDEMİR, R. *XIX. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Ankara*, 1986, p.238, cited by AKTÜRE, S., "1830'dan 1930'a Ankara'da Günlük Yaşam," *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.37

¹⁶⁹ AKTÜRE, S., "1830'dan 1930'a Ankara'da Günlük Yaşam," *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.37

¹⁷⁰ MANTRAN, R. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi II*, 1995, p.118-120, cited by AKTÜRE, S., "1830'dan 1930'a Ankara'da Günlük Yaşam," *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.38

¹⁷¹ GÜÇHAN, N. Ş., "16-19. yy. Nüfus Tahminlerine Göre Osmanlı Ankara'sında Mahallelerin Değişim Süreçlerinin Üzerine Bir Deneme", *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.149; DENEL, S., "Ankara'nın Kentsel Formu" *Tarih İçinde Ankara*, 2000, p.131-153; AKTÜRE, S., *19. yy Anadolu Kenti Mekansal Yapı Çözümlemesi*, 1981

3.2. TURKISH REPUBLICAN IDEOLOGY, CONSTRUCTION OF A COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND SPACES OF MODERNITY

The proclamation of the Republic in 1923 is considered as an important corner stone for the modernization of the Turkish Society. The ideology behind the Republic of Turkey has been a strong motive for the policies of governments about the social life. Therefore understanding the ideals of the Turkish Republic is important to realize the social priorities of the society.

The ideals of the Republic were to be taught to the society. Critics of the modernization process underline that the modernization of the Turkish society is based on standards of Western Countries and has a deterministic nature. It is claimed that the social aspects of the project that inherit possible conflicts between the identity concerns of the Turkish Society, and the social norms of the West are not considered by the engineers of the modernization.

I believe that studying the ideals of the modernization of the Turkish Republic, and understanding the perception of the society of the process of modernization is essential to comprehend the present day concerns of the social groups in Hacıbayram area.

3.2.1. Ankara by Y. K. Karaosmanoğlu

Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's novel "Ankara" illustrates how the inter-subjectivity of the city of Ankara is imagined by the author during the formation years of the Republic. The formation of the locus, and the memories reflected through the morphology of the city should be related with Karaosmanoğlu's expectations from the modern Turkish Republic. Reflecting the perspective of its time the book attempts to decipher a part of the memory of the city, and reflects a search for the meaning of urban spaces based on the imagination of the author.

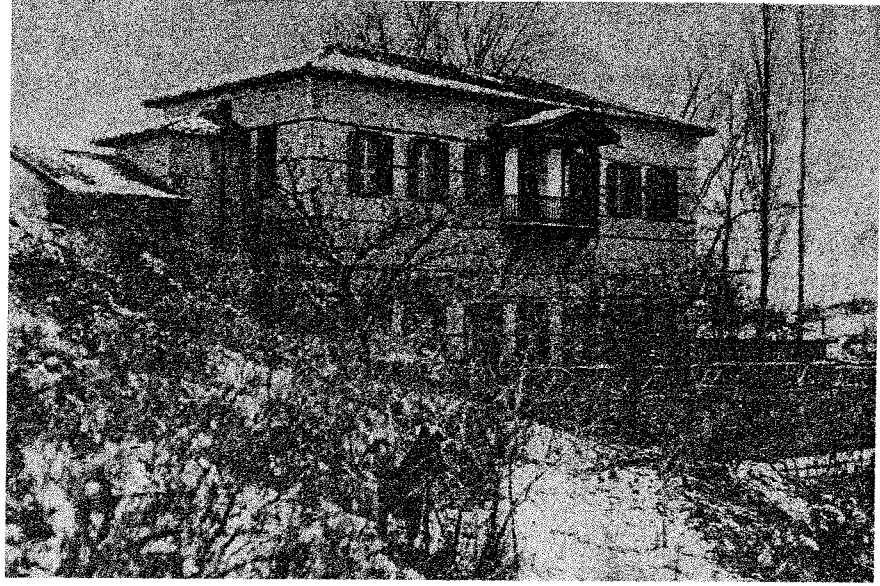


Figure 11: The first Presidential Residence in 1921; the building was previously used as “Kasapoğlu Baę Evi (YAVUZ, Y., “Ankara-Çankaya Birinci Cumburbaskanlığı Köşkü”, *Tarih İcinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.365)

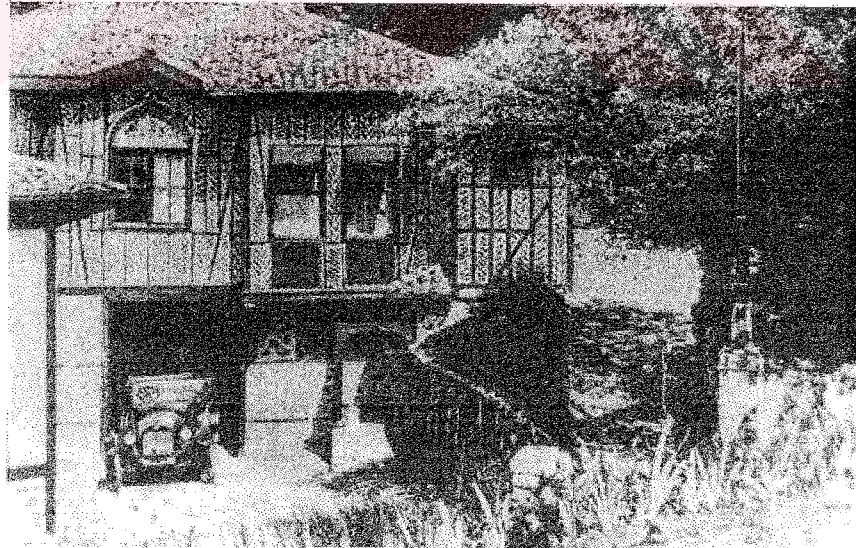


Figure 12: The house attached to the first Presidential Residence, which was used as a service unit, previously used as a Baę Evi. (YAVUZ, Y., “Ankara-Çankaya Birinci Cumburbaskanlığı Köşkü”, *Tarih İcinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.366)

Karaosmanoğlu claims an image for the city of Ankara that corresponds to Atatürk's mission of building a modern republic. The image of the city that is transformed parallel to the expectations and the imagination of the protagonist makes the novel helpful in understanding the vital role of the subjective parameters in relating the collective memory with the built environment.

Selma Hanım, the main character of the book, summarizes the "bare" image of Ankara by describing the wall that she sees everyday from her window. As she stays at her home and watches the wall in front of the window all day, the wall turns into a representation of Ankara.¹⁷²

" Within 15 days she learned the whole architecture of the wall; counted the number of holes and memorized every minute details of cracks and lines that she had to watched everyday. This wrecked wall!.. This mud curtain, which brings the most disturbing, dreams... "¹⁷³

The passage continues by describing how the woman feels regret for her inability to destroy the wall. Representing the image of the city, the wall creates a contrast with the image of her fresh memories of luxury in Istanbul. Her creativity, running parallel to her expectations, which is defined by the lack of comfort, defines the frame of her imagination. Every feature of Ankara, even the wrinkles that she sees on her neighbors' faces is far from satisfying her expectations. The poor condition of the wall has no meaning other than intensifying her longing for Istanbul.¹⁷⁴

At this part of the novel the creativity of Selma Hanım's creativity based on her personal expectations constructs the image of the city. Unaware of the mission of the city, she can't see any future for Ankara other than reverberation of its struggles. Nevertheless the imagination of Selma Hanım's imagination starts to evolve when she begins conceiving the mission attributed to the city. One day while standing by Atatürk's modest house, she starts to imagine the city from

¹⁷² KARAOSMANOĞLU, Y. K. , *Ankara*, 1998, p.31

¹⁷³ KARAOSMANOĞLU, 1998: p.31: "On bes gün içinde kerpiç duvarın bütün mimarisini ezberden öğrendi. Ne kadar girintisi çıkıntısı, ne kadar deliği desigi varsa hepsini gördü, saydı, belledi... en ağır, en feci, en sikintili rüyaları yılan çamurdan perde."

¹⁷⁴ KARAOSMANOĞLU, 1998: p.20. In fact on their way to Ankara, her husband, (Nazif, who is a banker) defines their future house in Ankara like a mini mansion, which even has a separate entrance for servants.

another point, which she had been unaware of before. The modesty of the house contrasts with the importance of the image of Atatürk's personality. The building, as the house of Atatürk becomes the reflection of the spiritual meaning of Ankara and her citizens. Being aware of Atatürk's legacy, Selma Hanım imagines the modesty of the house as the sign of the determinism of the nation's ideals. While watching the city from Çankaya, standing by this small house,

"...For a little while she closed her eyes in order to digest her excitement. When she opened her eyes she found everything changed. The young woman saw the whole of Ankara differently."¹⁷⁵

Selection of appropriate adjectives -through imagination- for the physical reality reveals the modification in the construction of the memory of a place. Embodied with Atatürk's personality, the city gains a mission, and through this mission the ideals of the the modern Turkish republic constructs the past of the city to enforce the resolution for its future goal. The simplicity of the city becomes the profound sign of its dignity, and people's gestures express their serious determination. In other words, the inter-subjectivity on the perception of the city, which is a part of its present physical existence and its past, gains appropriate meanings through the creativity of the observer. In the novel, the image of Ankara, which had been previously shadowed by Istanbul's colorful premises, gains a stronger identity as she feels the excitement of nationalistic ideals.

This example provides ample evidence that the image of the city is bound to imagination. The mission of the city, known by the protagonist of the novel, forms the image of Ankara for her: The city, with its destiny to be the heart of the new modern nation, needs determination and modesty. Her imagination for the city draws even a stronger identity, as she gets involved more with the independence movement. The same wall, which once symbolized her worst nightmares, gains a different meaning after she engages as a war-time nurse.

"... As if a curtain in front of her eyes was taken away she became able to see the modesty and serenity of the same street where she once had glanced in

¹⁷⁵ KARAOSMANOĞLU, 2001, p.65

regret and disappointment. The solemn faces of simple people in this simple street gave her a confidence."¹⁷⁶

3.2.2. Nationalism and Collective Memory

The nature of collective memory requires the continuity of cultural life and social identity; therefore it is not content with any sudden break. On the other hand, cultural transformations induce conflicting discourses for the collective memory. When a society is transformed, a tension regarding the spatial preferences of reformers and conservatives becomes inevitable.

Collective Memory is formed spontaneously out of the daily activities of a society. It is in mutual relation with the pragmatic requirements of different social groups that make up the society. Although it is a concept related with social identity, it can hardly be imposed on the whole nation. Nationalism, while suggesting a unified culture that represents the nation as real and stable as geography, actually is an attempt of mapping 'culture' onto the grounds of 'nation'-state.¹⁷⁷ Accordingly attempts to construct a strong nationalism that sees the collective memory as a totalizing perspective for the society may create a social dilemma for those social groups that cannot participate in political decisions. Modern Turkey, which inherited the multi-national social structure of the Ottoman Empire, also faces this social dilemma. In the name of constructing a strong Turkish nationalism, some social groups claim that their historical priorities should be considered central in the formation of the collective memory of the Republic. Turkey's political and cultural debates about the identity of the nation, and its history should be evaluated in this perspective.

Starting from the proclamation of the Republic, nationalism was celebrated as an important principle on the way to create a modern nation. Considering the

¹⁷⁶ KARAOSMANOĞLU, 2001, p.90: "Sanki, gözlerinin üstünden bir perde kalkmış,... ve islerinden dönen sakin, sinirsiz insanların yüzündeki erkekçe metanetten ona bir huzur ve emniyet geliyordu... nereye baksa herkeste ve her yerde ...destani hadisenin sessiz kahramaligından bir koku aliyor."

importance of history in shaping the Turkish national identity, in 1931 Türk Tarih Kurumu (TTK), Turkish Historical Society, was established. TTK emphasized the immigration of Turks from Central Asia to Anatolia due to climatic conditions, and depicted the superiority of the Turkish culture in creating numerous civilizations including those in the Near East.¹⁷⁸ In order to conform to the identity concerns of the society as a result of the abandonment of the Ottoman past, the origins of the Turkish society were related to the Hittites. Vale states: "It is frequently claimed in Ankara that the first settlers of the place may have been Hittites, people who had transmuted the Middle Bronze Age into a kind of early Anatolian Golden Age. There has been a strong attempt to advocate assumed blood ties to this group, thereby giving contemporary Turkish citizens a suitably non-Hellenistic ancestor rooted deep in the past".¹⁷⁹ This policy to relate the history of the Turks with the Hittites provided the new Turkish nation with a legitimate base for their historical roots in Anatolia.

Nevertheless, even as a state policy, nationalism did not have a consistency in modifying the cultural identity. Attitude of the state, regarding the historical and spatial priorities of the society, has changed as different political parties representing changing political worldviews came to the government.

Discussions on Turkey's decision between the old and the new in her modernization, and adaptation of the new values to Turkish identity are crucial for social and political debates. The reluctance of the society to give up old traditions as opposed to the westernization policy of the state forms the basis of political and ideological discourses.¹⁸⁰ Those advocating the westernization, underline the importance of liberation of the society from old traditions. This request finds its legitimacy by posing questions about the superiority of the western world against

¹⁷⁷ ERGUT, E. T., *Making a National Architecture: Architecture and the Nation-State in Early Republican Turkey*, 1998, p.46 refers to FOX (1990), SCHWARTZ (1993), WILLIAMS (1993), GILLIS (1994)

¹⁷⁸ ZÜRCHER, E. J., *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi*, 1999, p.277. Zürcher stresses that the names of two important governmental banks established in the 1930's, Sümerbank and Etibank, were a reflection of the political intentions of the state in using history to form a national identity.

¹⁷⁹ VALE, R. J., *Architecture, Power and National Identity*, 1992, p.98

the oriental. On the other hand, conservatives criticize westernization policies and express their anger due to the erosion in the cultural identity of the Turkish society. The repeating argument of the reformers against the conservative concerns is that the change in social structure and social life is essential to catch up with the modern world.

3.2.3. The Transformation of the Society

The formation of the Turkish Republic brought fundamental reforms and resulted in important changes in the social life and urban landscape.¹⁸¹ It was also an important cornerstone in the collective memory of the Turkish Society. However, 1923 is not the sole determining moment of the Turks' collective memory toward modernization. In fact, according to Bernard Lewis, the modernization of the Turks started with the immigration of the Turks from Central Asia to Anatolia. While searching the traces of the modernization in the Ottoman period, Lewis traces back to the 16th century and stresses the effects of Enlightenment and industrialization on Ottomans.¹⁸² The immigration of the Turks to Anatolia was definitely an important moment that led them to get in touch with the western civilization, yet it would be a speculation to relate this period with the westernization of the Turks as a conscious endeavor. I believe this speculation on Lewis' theory is important for understanding the transformation processes of societies as it proves the complexity of the task of suggesting any specific breaking moment in the modifications of the modernization of a society.

However, regarding the Ottoman history, 18th century can be seen as the beginning of the government's intended attempts of internalizing the process of

¹⁸⁰ KASABA, R., "Eski ile Yeni Arasında Kemalizm ve Modernizm," *Türkiye'de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*, 1999, p.12

¹⁸¹ TEKELİ, İ., "Bir Modernleşme Projesi olarak Türkiye'de Kent Planlaması," *Türkiye'de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*, 1999, p.145

¹⁸² LEWIS, B., "The Emergence of Modern Turkey" 1961, cited by ZÜRCHER, E. J., *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi*, 1999, p.452; and KASABA, R., "Eski ile Yeni Arasında Kemalizm ve Modernizm," *Türkiye'de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*, 1999, p. 17

modernization. In order to explain the motivations of the modernization of the Ottomans, Tekeli stresses the erosion of the balance between the Ottomans and the Western World, which had been based on both sides' religious worldviews before the Enlightenment. For the Ottoman society, the western world was the "Christian other" helping the Muslim society to define herself, and in a similar fashion, for the West, the Ottoman Empire was the definition of "the other". Tekeli highlights that the differences between the West and the East, which may also be defined as mirror images of each other as both were based on religious doctrine, started to erode as the Western World replaced Christianity with the ideals of the Enlightenment.¹⁸³ Within this perspective the emphasis on changing dynamics between the Western World, and the Ottomans is considered as the initial motive of the westernization/modernization of the Ottoman government in the 18th century.

First modernization attempts by the Ottomans were related with finding remedies for the administrative and military problems. Establishment of the "Nizam-ı Cedid", a new army with western standards, and the "Tanzimat Fermanı", a regulation increasing the rights of non-Muslims were two important signs of the modernization attempts. Second phase of the modernization of Ottomans started at the beginning of the 20th century, and differentiated from the first phase with its executive body. İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti (ITC), an organization formed by young army members who were educated in Europe were the leaders of this phase of modernization. The formation of the Republic and the establishment of the modernization program as a national policy after the War of Independence can be viewed as a continuity of the ideals established at this period. Kemal Atatürk, the most important military person of the War of Independence and formerly one of the key figures of the ITC also became the leader of the reformation program of the new nation. The national program towards forming a modern nation completed its final phase in 1950 when multi-party democracy affirmed the active participation of the society for the social transformation.

¹⁸³ TEKELİ, İ., "Ötekileşme ve Ötekileştirme Ekseninde Tarihte Avrupa-Türkiye İlişkileri" *Toplumsal Tarih*,

3.2.4. The Mode of Transformation

When studying the modernization process in Turkey, the important point to be noticed is the fact that the formation of modernism took a different path than in the Western World. Historical conditions in the West, like the formation of industrial cities based on the capitalist production and the formation of a strong bourgeoisie, were not accomplished at the beginning of the modernization in Turkey.¹⁸⁴ Different from the Western modernization, changes in the social life due to modernization were not demanded by the society, rather were imported from the Western World by the reformers.

Therefore the model in Turkey is considered closer to the modernization policy of the French Reformers based on order, rather than the liberal modernization in England.¹⁸⁵ While in England, technological and economical transformation led to the cultural transformation, in Turkey, transformation was to be started from cultural and social realms to be followed by the modern technical and economic evolution.

"Westernization", an expression widely used referring to modernization in Turkey, reveals the fact that the modernization project was considered as the internalization of not only technical means but also cultural norms and behavior patterns from the European countries.¹⁸⁶ The Modernist's claim of universal validity provided Kemalist reformers with a legitimate base for embracing the modern life as a whole.¹⁸⁷ Determination about adopting the formal codes from the Western World in favor of modernization became the political sign of Turkish reformers resolution about changing the society. Clothing of the people, architecture, Western legal and

2002, pp. 2-3

¹⁸⁴ BOZDOĞAN, S., "Türk Mimarlık Kültüründe Modernizm: Genel Bir Bakış," *Türkiye'de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*, 1999, p.121

¹⁸⁵ GÖLE, N., "Modernleşme Bağlamında İslami Kimlik Arayışı," *Türkiye'de modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*, 1999 p.73

¹⁸⁶ GÖLE, 1999, p.72

¹⁸⁷ GÖLE, 1999, p.72

administrative norms, and the alphabet were important means of the process.¹⁸⁸ Speculations about the superiority of the Western music compared to the Turkish music that became part of the opening speech of the opening of an assembly in 1934 is an interesting example to understand the intensity of the government's intervention in the social life.¹⁸⁹

3.2.5. Spaces of Modernity

The architectural language was a visible form of the modernization policy, which was an important part of educating the society about western life styles. Buildings, for educational purposes, like schools, exhibition halls, and *halkevleri* became the most visible examples of the modernization, and had the mission of westernization of the society.¹⁹⁰ "Modern Architecture" in Turkey related itself with the ideals of constructing a modern nation.¹⁹¹ Being modern in architecture was a sign of the determination of the Republic for westernization. Therefore the architectural inclinations towards modern forms were legitimized through ideological discourses based on polarizations like modernism versus tradition, futurism versus fundamentalism, West versus East.

The most important spatial consideration to create a new start for the modern Turkish State was the decision to make Ankara the capitol. Although Istanbul was the most modernized city of Turkey at the time, the western life styles seen in Istanbul was considered as corrupted, and therefore inappropriate for the modern Turkish life.¹⁹² The westernized life in Istanbul was perceived as an increasing alienation of an elite class, which ultimately distanced Istanbul from the

¹⁸⁸ GÖLE, 1999, p.72

¹⁸⁹ PAÇACI, G., "Osmanlı'nın Musiki Taliminden Cumhuriyet'in Müzik Terbiyesine", *Toplumsal Tarih*, 2002, p.16. The prohibition of the Turkish music broadcast lasted for two years from 1934 to 1936.

¹⁹⁰ BOZDOĞAN, S., "Türk Mimarlık Kültüründe Modernizm: Genel Bir Bakış," *Türkiye'de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*, 1999, p.122

¹⁹¹ TANKUT, G., *Bir Başkentin İmarı*, 1993, p. 49

¹⁹² TEKELİ, İ., "Bir Modernleşme Projesi Olarak Türkiye'de Kent Planlaması," *Türkiye'de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*, 1999, p.145

independence movement, rather than a sign of comprehensive social transformation towards modernization.

By making Ankara the capital of the new Turkish State, it was also emphasized that "the new Turkey was the common national patrimony of the whole of its now predominantly Turkish population".¹⁹³ The central location of the city of Ankara within Anatolia was considered as an important message regarding the policies of the new state in creating a strong and unified national identity. The location of the new capital was the confirmation of the fact that, every city in the country is equally important and should be perceived as a strong unity.



¹⁹³ VALE, R. J., *Architecture, Power and National Identity*, 1992, p.98

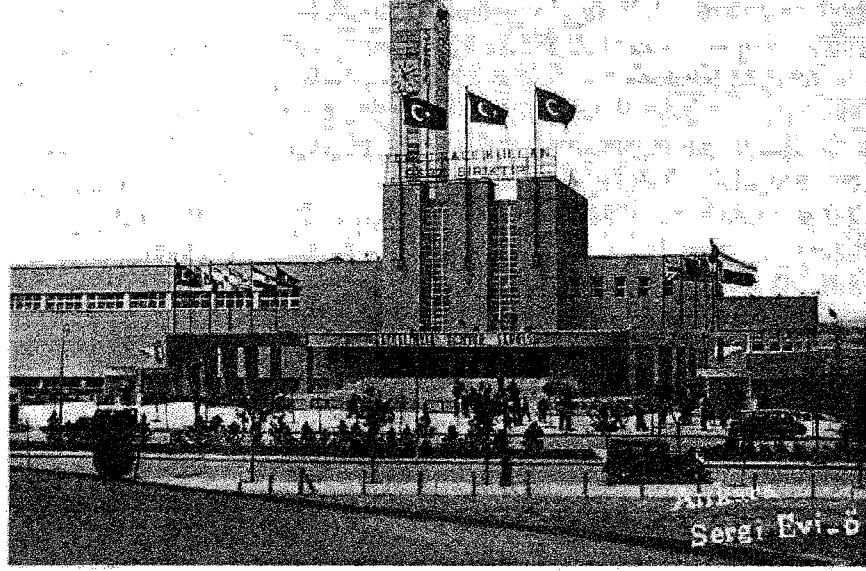


Figure 13: Sergi Evi in Ankara (BAĞLUM, K. 1992, unpublished notes in AKTÜRE, S. archive)



Figure 14: Atatürk Boulevard in the first years of Turkish Republic (SARIOĞLU, M., *Ankara Bir Modernleşme Öyküsü*, 2001, p.187)

3.2.5.1. Ankara, the Center of the War of Independence; the Capital of the Republican Turkey

On the 13th of October 1923, two weeks before the Republic of Turkey was officially proclaimed, the National Assembly declared that the capital of the state of Turkey is the city of Ankara.

The history of the Republican period for Ankara should be started with the War of Independence. During the War of Independence between 1919 and 1922, Ankara was the headquarter of the army, the center of the National Assembly behind the battlefield, and an active part of the war providing Turkish army with armor and logistic support.¹⁹⁴

The governmental center should not be easily reached by the enemy. Although Ankara was close to the main battlefield, the west of the city was naturally guarded.¹⁹⁵ Besides, the modern communication and transportation means, like telegraph and railway were available in Ankara. The central location of the city and the railway connection with Istanbul therefore became effective in making Ankara, the headquarter of the War of Independence.

Ankara, throughout its history had a quest for independence. Ahi tradition, which was a part of the culture of the city, provided the city with the ability to behave autonomously as required. The incident of the selection of the vice-governor for the city, held by the city itself in 1919, was also the verification of Ankara's ability to organize herself to take decisionsthe ordinances of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁹⁶ Ankara's firm attitude towards Istanbul during the War of Independence made the city a secure place for the administration of the War.¹⁹⁷ This special independent character of the city was therefore another aspect effective in making Ankara as

¹⁹⁴ AKTÜRE, S. "1830'dan 1930'a Ankara'da Günlük Yaşam," *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.57

¹⁹⁵ ZÜRCHER, E. J., *Modernleşen Türkiyenin Tarihi*, 1993, p.220

¹⁹⁶ AKTÜRE, 2001, p.58

¹⁹⁷ TANKUT, G., *Bir Başkentin İmarı*, 1993, p. 16

the governmental node of the War of Independence.¹⁹⁸ Atatürk's decision to select Ankara as the capital of the new Turkish State also should have been influenced by this character.¹⁹⁹ The success of the War of Independence, proving the effectiveness of Ankara as an administration center had also an important influence in the proclamation of the city as the new capital.

In December 1919, Heyet-i Temsiliye moved to Ankara. After one-hundred-and-fifty famous Turkish leaders, including fourteen members of the Meclis-i Umumi were imprisoned in Istanbul on the 16th of March, Atatürk invited important personalities who could represent their towns and cities in Anatolia to gather in Ankara in order to form the new assembly of the nation.²⁰⁰ On the 23rd of April 1920 two-hundred-and-thirty-two representatives from all over the Anatolia formed the first Turkish National Assembly in Ankara.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁸ TANKUT, G. *Bir Başkent'in İmarı*, 1993, p. 16

¹⁹⁹ AKTÜRE, S., "1830'dan 1930'a Ankara'da Günlük Yaşam," *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.57: "Ankara also gave the early signs of her position towards Ottoman government regarding post war policies when the Pasha who was send to the city by the central government to be the head of city's administration, was not allowed to the city."

²⁰⁰ ZÜRCHER, 1993, p.221

²⁰¹ ZÜRCHER, 1993, p.221

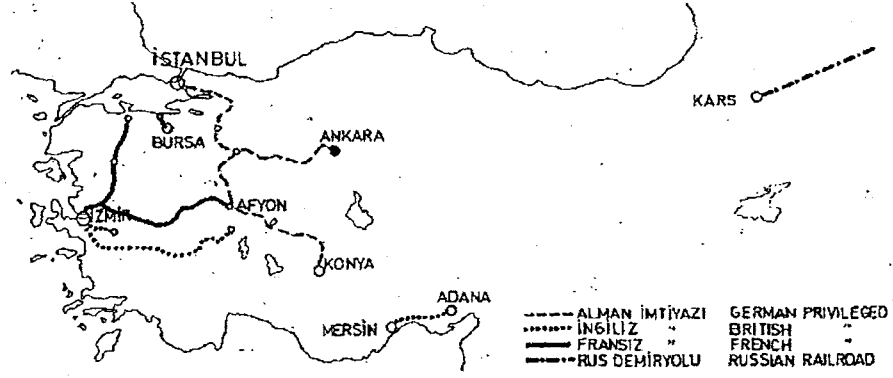


Figure 15: Anatolian railroads in the early 20th century. (Tuncer, M., 1985, p.125, map 5)

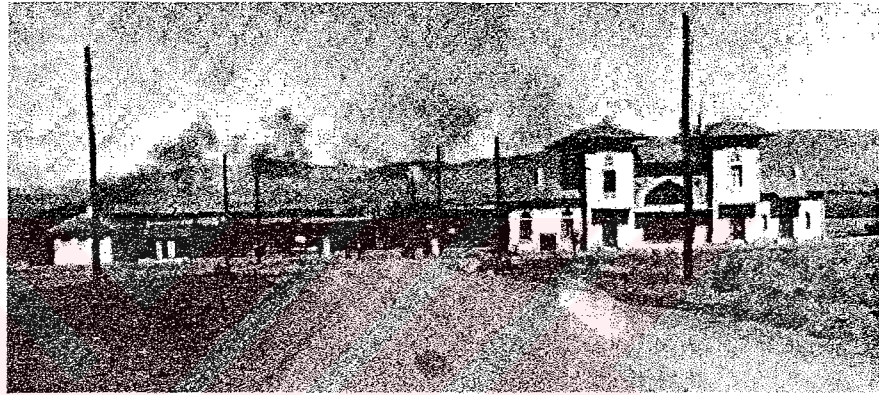


Figure 16: Railway station in Ankara (BAĞLUM, K. 1992, unpublished notes in AKTÜRE, S. archive)

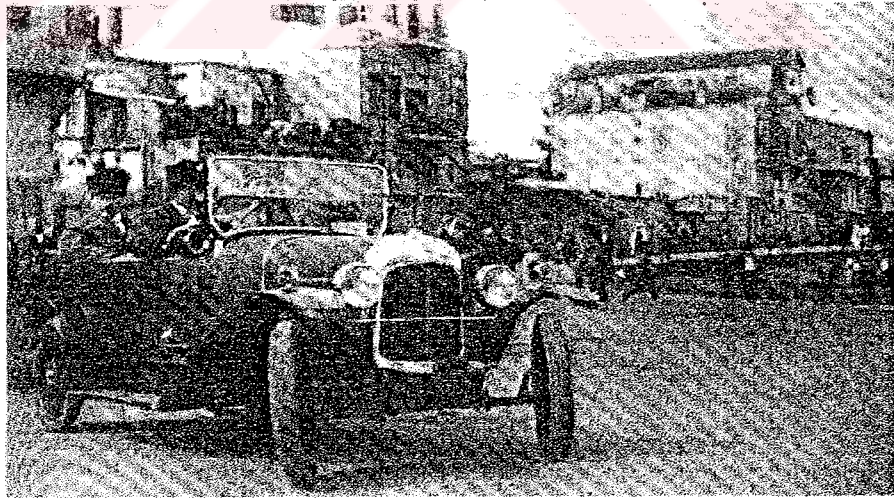


Figure 17: Atatürk arriving at Ankara, War of Independence (BAĞLUM, K. 1992, unpublished notes in AKTÜRE, S. archive)

3.2.5.2. The Modern Space of Ankara

For the administrators of the Turkish Republic, the built environment was one of the crucial means in creating a modern nation. Some historical buildings were neglected whereas some were preserved in accordance with the national resolutions of being a secular and a modern nation, and new monuments were erected in order to strengthen the program of the Republic. The architect was asked to answer the demands of the modern world, and to satisfy the aesthetic expectations of a modern nation.²⁰²

Therefore after becoming the capital city of the Republic, Ankara became the main stage of architectural transformations. The population growth from 25,000 to 3,500,000 in only 80 years reveals the unprecedented urbanization in the course of the formation of the new Republic. The city transformed into a modern capital city from a small town during the Republican period.²⁰³ It was reshaped through rational planning to be made a modern and a secular capital city. Every construction in the city - governmental buildings, banks, and social complexes, boulevards - was to be seen as political messages of the Republican ideals. Today, Ankara's urban landscape reflects the challenges and merits of this modernization process.

Modernization reveals itself through the cultural evolution of the society: changing economical means that necessitate private entrepreneurship, establishment of a democratic system, and the formation of modern citizens who would be conscious about their responsibilities and rights. The city, according to Tekeli is the

²⁰² CELAL, B. O. "Büyük İnkılap Önünde Milli Mimari Meselesi", *Arkitekt*, 6, 1933, p.163, cited by SARIOĞLU, M., *Ankara Bir Modernleşme Öyküsü*, 2001, p.111. TEKELİ, İ. , "Bir Modernleşme Projesi Olarak Türkiye'de Kent Planlaması," *Türkiye'de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*, 1999, p.146. For further information ASLANOĞLU, İNCİ, *Tarih İçinde Ankara*, 2000, p. 271; ASLANOĞLU, İNCİ, *Birinci ve İkinci Milli Mimarlık Akımları üzerine düşünceler*, 1984; SARIOĞLU, M., *Ankara Bir Modernleşme Öyküsü*, 2001 p.113

²⁰³ BADEMLİ, R, "1920-40 Döneminde Eski Ankara'nın Yazgısını Etkileyen Tutumlar", *Mimarlık* 85/2-3, p.10

manifestation of these formations that construct the modern nation altogether.²⁰⁴ Tekeli's correlation between urbanization and modernization underlines the importance of the modifications in Ankara as a physical reflection of Turkey's modernization project.

The last 80 years, in spite of the fact that it is a relatively small portion of the long course of the history of the city, has a special importance for the memory of the city. According to the ideals of modernization of the new regime, the physical structure of the city was clearly differentiated from its past structure. A new identity was aimed to be created in accordance with contemporary life styles. For many, the decision that made Ankara the capital city of the Republic is a starting point in the memory of Ankara rather than being the extension of its former past. Nevertheless, the city always had connections with its cradle through references constructed either by physical means or through narration.

3.2.5.3. First Planning Studies of Ankara

The transformation of Ankara into the capital of the Turkish Republic was a great endeavor that had many social, technical and economic difficulties. The new culture that was intended to be formed in the capital and its visual expression was aimed to be a model for the rest of the country. Ankara's modern architecture can therefore be thought of as having a function of education on whoever experiences it.

The city of Ankara was experiencing one of the worst periods of her whole history before it was chosen as the capital city of the new Republic.²⁰⁵ When Ankara became the capital of the Republic, the city was a small town in the middle of the plains of Anatolia with a population of 18-20.000, without any trace from its

²⁰⁴ TEKELİ, İ., "Türkiye de Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kentsel Gelişme ve Kent Planlaması," *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık*, 1998, p.1

²⁰⁵ TANKUT, G., *Bir Başkentin İmarı*, 1993, p. 16

prosperous past.²⁰⁶ In order to cope with the rapidly increasing needs of the new capital, Ankara Şehremaneti was established in 1924.²⁰⁷ In 1927, the population of the city rapidly increased to 70,000 from 30,000 in 1923. The increasing number of governmental positions was effective in this population growth.²⁰⁸ Ankara's new role as the capital city required planning studies to be started immediately.

The re-organization of the existing municipal administration of the city, the establishment of the Ankara Şehremaneti in 1924, was the first step in the planned development of the city.²⁰⁹ The new administration of the city was similar to the Istanbul Şehremaneti, yet there were differences between the two. Unlike Istanbul Şehremaneti, there was no obligation for the member's of the Ankara Şehremaneti to possess a house or land. Therefore newcomers were also able to participate in the development decisions.²¹⁰ In 1924 the first map of the city was prepared. This first map drawn by the military technicians was probably the first deed of the Ankara Şehremaneti.²¹¹

The relation between the new development areas, and the old city became one of the main discussion topics of early planning attempts of Ankara.²¹² Carl Lörcher, who was working in the Istanbul planning committee, prepared the earliest planning proposals: the first in 1924, and the second in 1925, both suggesting a modern development at the south of the railroad.²¹³ Unfortunately today there is very limited information about these proposals known as the "Lörcher Plan". Probably prepared by a construction firm, working in Ankara, this plan was in two pieces, one for the old city, and the other for the new city.²¹⁴ Lörcher proposed a

²⁰⁶ BADEMLİ, R., "1920-40 Döneminde Eski Ankara'nın Yazgısını Etkileyen Tutumlar", *Mimarlık* 85/2-3 p.10

²⁰⁷ AKTÜRE, S., "1830'dan 1930'a Ankara'da Günlük Yaşam," *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.58

²⁰⁸ AKTÜRE, 2001, p.51

²⁰⁹ TANKUT, G., *Bir Başkentin İmarı*, 1993 p. 49

²¹⁰ TANKUT, 1993, p. 49

²¹¹ TANKUT, 1993, p. 54

²¹² BADEMLİ, R., "1920-40 Döneminde Eski Ankara'nın Yazgısını Etkileyen Tutumlar", *Mimarlık*, 85/2-3, p.11

²¹³ VARDAR, A., "Başkentin İlk Planları" *Planlama*, 2-4, 1989, p.38, cited by AKTÜRE, S., "1830'dan 1930'a Ankara'da Günlük Yaşam," *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.58

²¹⁴ TANKUT, G., *Bir Başkentin İmarı*, 1993, p. 54

law to be issued for the appropriation of the area between the existing historical part of the city and Çankaya.²¹⁵

The law for expropriation - known as law 583- issued on 24th March 1925 appropriated the purchase of a four million square-meter land, which is known as Yenışehir today. This law had a very critical role in the early planning studies of Ankara. It stated that it was too difficult to convert the old fabric to a new capital in a short time, regarding economic and technical conditions.²¹⁶ Therefore it was preferred to build the new capital as the extension of the old city on the southern side between the old city and Çankaya.²¹⁷



²¹⁵ AKTÜRE, S., “1830’dan 1930’a Ankara’da Günlük Yaşam,” *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.59

²¹⁶ JANSEN, H., *Ankara İmar Planı*, 1937, p. 27

²¹⁷ TANKUT, GÖNÜL *Bir Başkentin İmarı*, 1993, p. 51

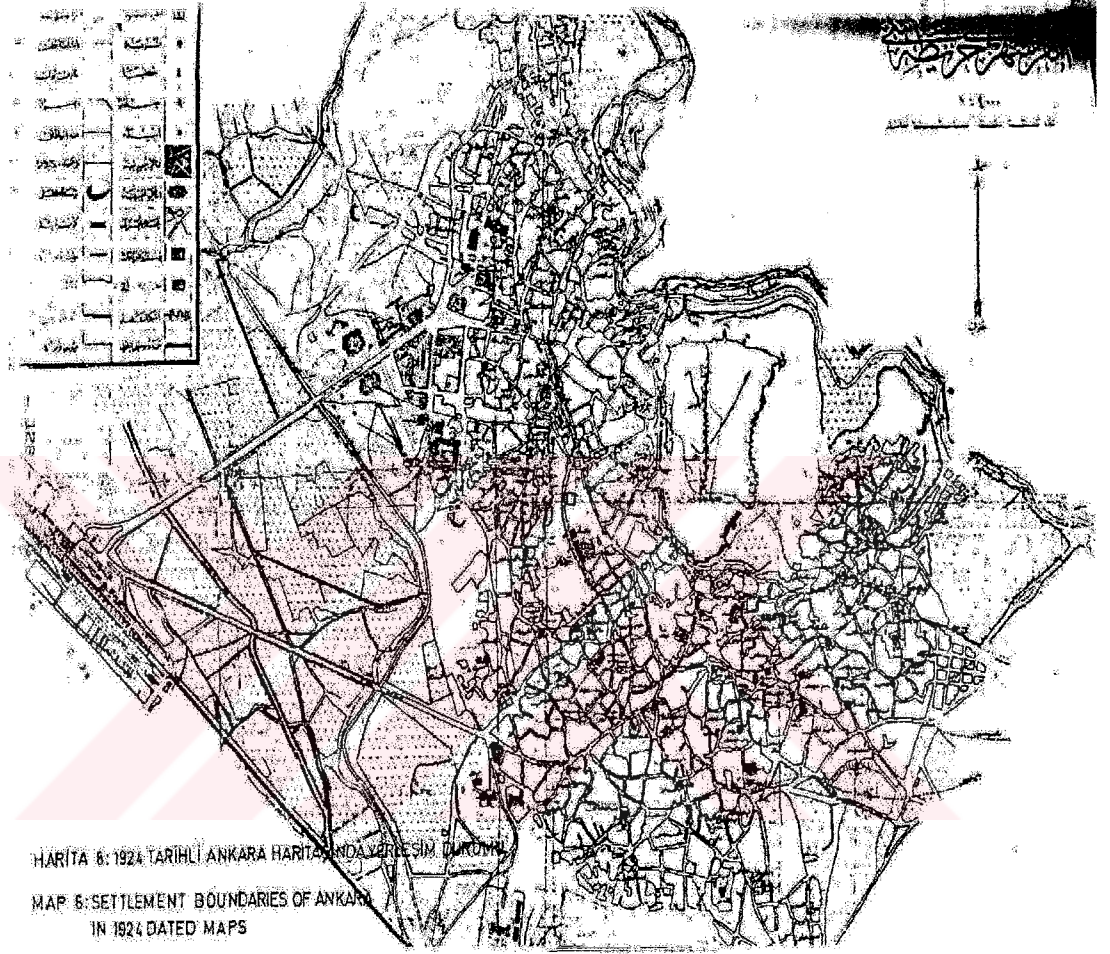


Figure 18: Settlement boundaries of Ankara, 1926-1928
(AKTÜRE, S. "1830'dan 1930'a Ankara'da Günlük Yaşam",
Tarih İçinde Ankara II, 2001, p.66, fig.4)

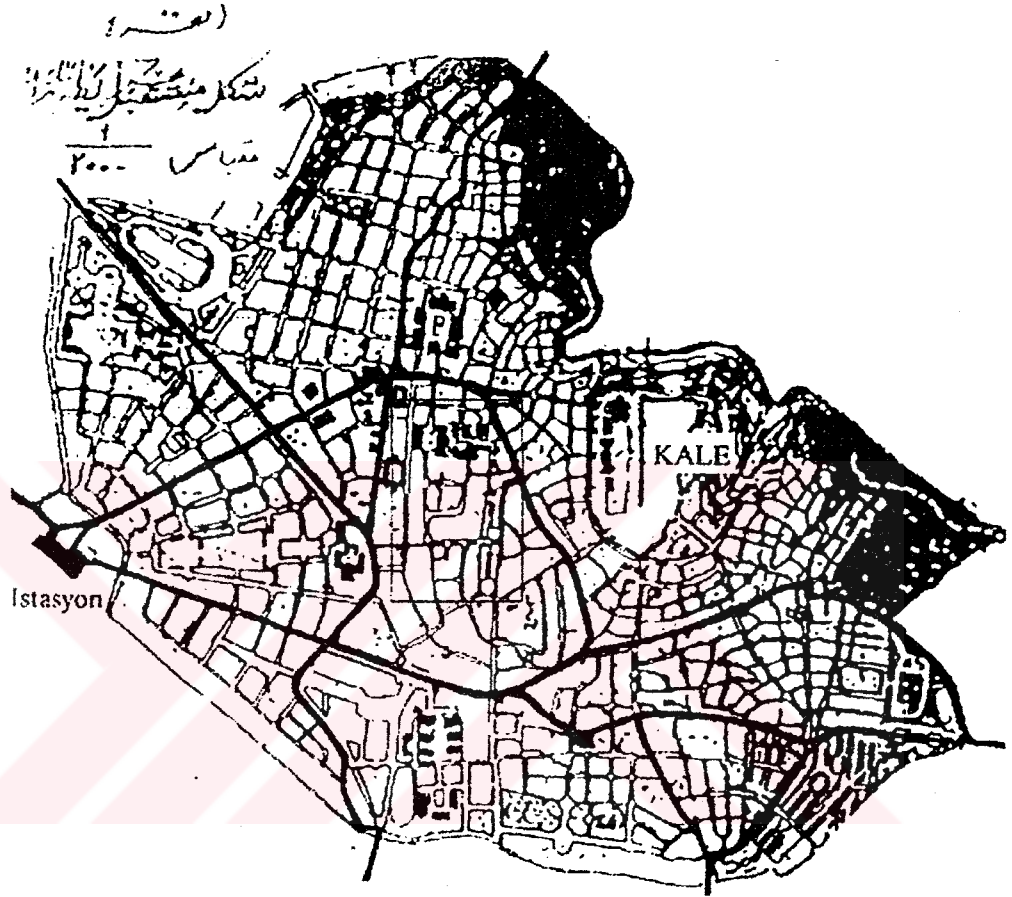


Figure 19: Lörcher Plan for Ankara, 1924; Roads, which are shown dark represent the existing ones (VARDAR, A., “Baskentin İlk Planları”, *Planlama* 2:4, p.39, fig.1)

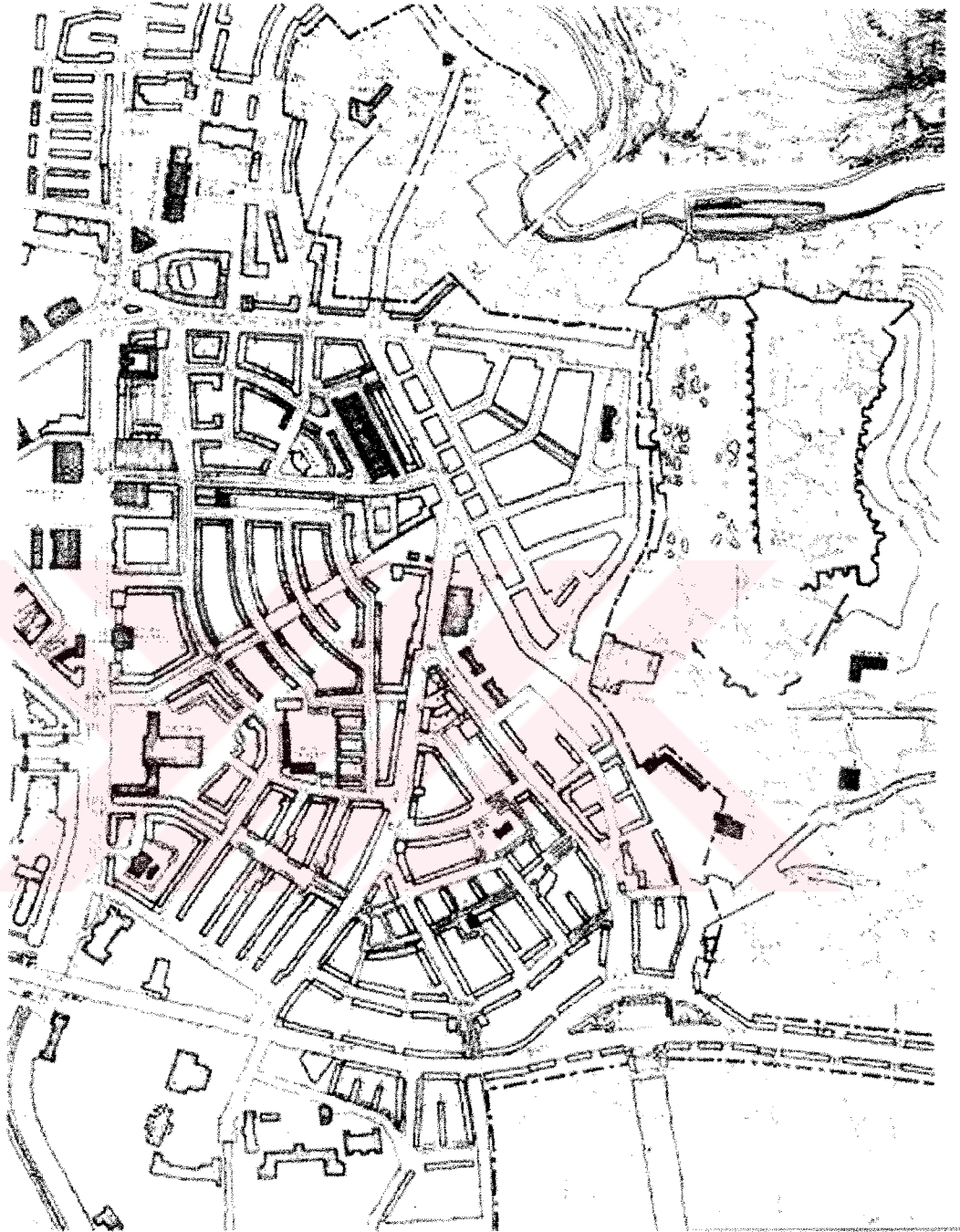


Figure 21: Ulus Historical City Center in Jansen Plan. (Faculty of Architecture, Department of City Planning Archive, METU, Ankara)

3.2.5.4. The Jansen Plan

To build a new capital in the middle of Anatolia out of a small town required comprehensive planning efforts. These first planning studies of Ankara that were realized through the Jansen Plan therefore has a special importance. As they were carried out in the very first years of the Republic, when the modernization of the society has the utmost importance in the political agenda, the ideological aspect of these studies were very strong.

Following the first planning attempts held by the Ankara Şehremaneti through Lörcher's proposals, an international competition was organized for a comprehensive planning policy in 1927. The competition for the capital city demanded a plan for a population of 300,000 people.²¹⁸

Hermann Jansen's proposal for this competition was accepted as the most appropriate approach for the development of the new capital city. In 1932, it took its definite shape in which the urban aesthetic was the primary concern.²¹⁹ Hermann Jansen was a professor in the Technical University of Berlin, and his plan reflected the popular city planning principles in Europe.²²⁰

This plan aimed to protect the traditional architecture of the old city parallel to Eski Şehir Talimatnamesi, an ordinance for the protection of the old city, which had been issued by Ankara Şehremaneti.²²¹ The castle was described as the national monument to be preserved as the crown of the city. The traditional fabric within the castle and its environment was to be protected with a law. This area named as the "Protocol Area" was to be left as the prestigious section of the new

²¹⁸ TANKUT, 1993, p. 73

²¹⁹ TANKUT, G. *Bir Başkentin İmarı*, 1993, p. 17

²²⁰ TANKUT, 1993, p. 17

²²¹ 24th March 1925, Law # 583, cited by TUNÇER, M., "Republican Period Planning Activities", *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.75

capital.²²² The most important street of the city was proposed to be tangent to the old city on the western side, and extending to the house of the president, which would be named as the "Atatürk Boulevard". The train station was connected to the old city with another street, perpendicular to the Atatürk Boulevard. Between the train station and the old city, Gençlik Park was proposed to be a welcoming area for the visitors of Ankara. Broad streets around the train station were planned for efficient circulation. The new city was going to be constructed between Çankaya and the Old City flanking the Atatürk Boulevard. The disposition and the sizes of the roads were planned regarding the economy of the realization. Therefore straight roads and the maximum efficiency in the use of topography were important criteria.

Besides, the healthy life in the city was going to be achieved through green areas, parks and other open recreational areas. Modern apartment-house block system was avoided. The housing areas were determined in the plan, and gardens in the front and at the rear side of the houses were proposed. Air circulation and traffic were the main criteria for the selection of the location for the industry.

However, there is no specific information for the business district in the plan. The area between the Old City and the train station was shown as the area of shops in the preliminary plans. This area was converted to the Gençlik Park, a green public area, in the final plan. The Old City was shown as the only business district serving, both to the new city and to the existing old Ankara.²²³

This plan lost its power in time, mostly because of the lack of awareness in the administration organs regarding the importance of city planning. After 1938, when Atatürk who was the strong supporter of the planned development died, the application process of Jansen Plan came to a breaking point. The economic struggles due to the Second World War, which shifted the administration's

²²² *Project Competition on Ulus-Historical Center*, Ankara Büyük Şehir Belediyesi İmar Dairesi Başkanlığı, Ankara, 1985, p.33-34

²²³ TANKUT, 1993, p. 79

attention to defense from the development of the city, became effective in the corruption of the planned development of the city.²²⁴

3.2.5.5. Planning Studies after Jansen Plan

According to Gönül Tankut, the planning process of Ankara should be evaluated in three periods parallel to the three plans prepared for the city with varying objectives. The first period should be considered in relation the Hermann Jansen's plan. This first period of planning process aimed at creating a modern capital, which would be the concrete reflection of Atatürk's ideals to create an enlightened nation. The second stage of the planning attempts for Ankara was shaped through the Yücel-Uybadin Plan, which was prepared in 1956 due to the pressure of the pragmatic problems of unplanned growth. And the third plan, known as 1990 Plan, was prepared as a metropolitan plan.²²⁵

Because of rapidly increasing population, the city grew much larger than Jansen's forecast. The increasing immigration to the city caused the dramatic rise of the housing prices. In 1950s the city was surrounded with squatter housing without necessary sanitation and infrastructure. The other important sign of the increasing demand for housing was the transition from individually owned single houses to apartment blocks, where the ownership is shared. In 1957 Yücel-Uybadin Plan was prepared in order to overcome the problems of the city due to unauthorized developments.²²⁶ This plan was based on an assumption of 750,000 people to be reached in 2006, and covered 5720-hectare area. According to Tankut this plan functioned as the legalization of the previous illegal developments.²²⁷ Yücel-Uybadin Plan encouraged the developments that were shifting the center of the

²²⁴ TANKUT, G., *Bir Başkentin İmarı*, 1993 p. 18

²²⁵ TANKUT, 1993, pp. 18-19

²²⁶ BADEMLİ, R., "Hacıbayram Çevre Düzenlemesi Projesi", *Ankara Söyleşileri 1993 (Kasım-Aralık)1994*, p.34

²²⁷ TANKUT, GÖNÜL *Bir Başkentin İmarı* 1993 p. 18

city from Ulus to Kızılay.²²⁸ By this plan density was increased. As a result of this decision height limits alongside the Anafartalar Avenue that crosses the old city also increased, which resulted the old tissue to be confined within these new higher blocks.²²⁹

In the Yücel-Uybadin Plan, instead of renovation and protection, demolition and new constructions were proposed for the historical districts. The demolition of traditional buildings in order to open the Ulucanlar Street, and demolition of old neighborhoods in order to build the Hacettepe Hospital in 1960s are examples which destroyed the traditional architecture of the old city.²³⁰ While the north-south axis linking Ulus and Çankaya was given priority by the Yücel-Uybadin Plan, some new axes were proposed in the old fabric besides the axis between the Ulus and Samanpazarı commercial centers. A large area behind the Municipality Building was cleared of traditional building fabric, and replaced by commercial buildings."²³¹ In 1968, Hacıbayram Mosque and its environment were connected to Anafartalar and Bentderesi Streets.²³² Aiming to distance minibuses from the area, a new parking area was planned on the corner of the Bentderesi Street.²³³

Because the population projection for 1985 was already reached in 1962 another plan was prepared in 1975. In January 1969 Ankara Metropolitan Alan Nazım Plan Bürosu (AMANPB), the Bureau for the Metropolitan Area Master Plan, was established. Its function was to prepare plans within metropolitan context. The approval authority for this bureau was İmar İskan Bakanlığı.²³⁴

Meanwhile the use of private car increased the construction of mass housing mainly in the period between 1975-85, which extended the boundaries of the city

²²⁸ TUNÇER, M., "Republican Period Planning Activities", *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.76

²²⁹ TUNÇER, 2001, p.77

²³⁰ TUNÇER, 2001, p.77

²³¹ "Ankara Hacıbayram", *Med campus, AMIE*, Middle East Technical University, 1998, Ankara, p.17

²³² TUNÇER, 2001 p. 81

²³³ TUNÇER, 2001 p. 81

²³⁴ ALTABAN, Ö., "Cumhuriyetin Kent Planlama Politikaları ve Ankara Deneyimi", *75. Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık*, 1998

on the south and west.²³⁵ While higher income groups occupied the western and southern corridors of the city, the squatter areas expanded towards the north and east of the built-up area.

After performing a detailed and extensive analysis, the plan of AMANPB was approved in 1982 by the ministry. This plan, which is known as 1990 Plan, was the 3rd master development plan of Ankara.²³⁶ 1990 Plan intended to solve the problems of the city not in the city scale but in a metropolitan scale. While the Jansen Plan can be considered to be a modernization project, and Yücel-Uybadin Plan an effort to solve the problems of urbanization, the 1990 Plan can be regarded as a plan prepared as a response to becoming a metropolis.²³⁷

3.2.6. Questions for the Collective Memory; The Perception of the Urban Environment through Incomplete Cultural Transformation

The permanency of the environment also reflects the stability of social structure. As Halbwachs marked "The group not only transforms the space into which it has been inserted, but also yields and adapts to its physical surroundings".²³⁸ Kemalist reformers were aware of the importance of spatial organization for the identity of the society. The modernization of Turkey required the use of space itself as a powerful instrument to transform the society. However the break, and mutual transformation of the environment and social structure created identity problems for the Turkish Society. Atatürk's emphasis on education of the society both in cities and the rural areas aimed to overcome social identity problems due to the physical changes in the urban environment. Nevertheless the negligence of the

²³⁵ "Ankara Hacıbayram", *Med campus AMIE*, pp.14-15

²³⁶ ALTABAN, Ö., "Cumhuriyetin Kent Planlama Politikaları ve Ankara Deneyimi", *75. Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık*, 1998

²³⁷ TANKUT, G. *Bir Başkentin İmarı*, 1993, pp. 18, 19

²³⁸ HALBWACHS, M., *The Collective Memory*, 1980, p. 130

cultural transformations during the following political periods following Atatürk's death undermined those attempts to create modern cities.

A section of the Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's book "Ankara" depicting the people gathered in front of the Ankara Palas, watching the elite class coming to a ball, unveils the nature of identity problems of the society due to the discord between cultural norms of the society and the physical environment. Karaosmanoğlu, who was a true believer of Atatürk's reforms, underlines the incompetence of the visual codes alone in transforming the society without cultural formation. The tension depicted in the story as a result of incomplete cultural transformation implies the formation of possible negative images for the modernization project that may leave unfairly distorted traces in the collective memory of the society.

The strong symbolism in this section, which reflects Karaosmanoğlu's disappointment with the modernization attempts of the Republic because of the negligence for the sake of cultural modification, and the perception of the society of the modern environment in relation with this negligence, makes this section worth discussing.

The stage of the story is the main entrance stairs of the Ankara Palas. With its imposing modern atmosphere yet still carrying Ottoman motives, the building is considered as the representation of the new Republic. Politically it should herald the transformation of the society into a modern one; nevertheless without having any social conception of modernity, the building is being conceived differently by the society. Therefore the author is posing questions about the validity of construction of the physical environment prior to social modifications from the framework of collective memory.



Figure 22: Ankara Palas (AKGÜN, N., *Burası Ankara*, 1996)

In the story, the ball represents the modern life of the Republic. Someone in the crowd asks if anyone knows what is happening in the ball. This is a symbolic question of the public about the modernization. No one knows the answer and the building itself cannot answer this question itself. Some other person tells that there is tango in the ball, but when it comes to describe the tango, he is also clueless.²³⁹ It can be anything that is foreign to them. The following page gives some further clues about the conditions of Turkish modernization. People, who are alien to the process of modernization, react to it as it transforms their life without ample reason. White gloves of the cloak-man at the entrance waiting the elite bureaucracy create a striking contrast with poor clothes of the watching public. The bitterness of the Karaosmanoğlu in describing these white gloves as opposed to crowds' poor dressing is a reaction for the overemphasized formalism of the Turkish elite at 1930's. Someone yells to a fat woman who is climbing the stairs of the Ankara Palas. He finds her funny and foreign in her white modern dress. When his friend warns him about the danger in yelling to a member of the elite class, he replies with a sarcastic tone: "What are you talking about, it is the time of freedom, everybody can speak about anything as he wishes!"²⁴⁰ The story continues to stress the gap between the elite bureaucracy and the public.

Although the formation of the Turkish modernity is nowhere close to the intentions that created St. Petersburg, the depiction of Marshall Bermann of the construction of St. Petersburg provides some explanatory schemes for the formation of collective memory of spaces when the formal codes of modernization becomes the resolution rather than means.²⁴¹ According to Berman, when modernism is introduced to a society as a total transformation without legitimate reasoning, alienation and confusion not only in social life, but also towards modernism becomes inevitable. For Bermann "Bronze Horseman" in Pushkin's

²³⁹ KARAOSMANOĞLU, Y. K., *Ankara*, 2001, p.111

²⁴⁰ KARAOSMANOĞLU, 2001, p.112

²⁴¹ BERMAN, M., *All That is Solid Melts into Air*, 1988, p.176-180: Petersburg was also build from zero "in the swamps where the Neva (mud) River disgorges her waters and aimed to display Russia's clean new start to modern life, a place people can see and learn how to be modern."

depictions about life in St. Petersburg, represents not only the modern life and power, but also the causes of the depression of the people of St. Petersburg.²⁴²

Regarding cultural transformation of the society, the main problem comes along with the ideological quarrels between different political perspectives for the identity of new modern Turkish State. During the 1950s, when the multi party democracy started, different approaches to the identity of the Turkish society, conflicting with Atatürk's vision of modern secular western nation began to appear.

Questioning the modernism of the country through westernization, religious circles stress the ideological implications of the process. It is argued that, being a modern nation not only refers to technological and moral norms, but also involves the self-description of the western world.²⁴³ Therefore, it is believed that, modernism, drawing a line between the primitive societies and the western world, accepts the superiority of the west. Furthermore the totalizing nature of the modernism based on rational reasoning excludes the authority and the nature of Islam, whereas studies about the Islam as a religion define it as unchanging and above the historical and political dilemmas.²⁴⁴ Consequently the opposition between Islam and modernism creates a paradox for Muslim countries in the adaptation of modernization providing "a civilized life", especially when it is defined as westernization.²⁴⁵ For these reasons Islamic politics in Turkey tend to reject the parallels drawn between the western world and civilization, which ultimately results in further discord between the modern/westernized environment and the conservative sections of the society.

²⁴² BERMAN, M., 1988, pp.181-189

²⁴³ GÖLE, N., "Modernleşme Bağlamında İslami Kimlik Arayışı," *Türkiye'de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*, 1999, p.71

²⁴⁴ GÖLE, 1999, p.71

²⁴⁵ GÖLE, 1999, p.73

3.3. THE DYNAMICS OF COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND THE GENERATION OF URBAN FORM IN ANKARA

"Cities tend to remain on their axes of development, maintaining the position of their original layout and growing according to the direction and meaning of their older artifacts, which often appear remote from present-day ones".²⁴⁶ Aldo Rossi

Referring to Marcel Poëte's theory on persistency of urban elements Rossi puts forward a framework on historical artifacts of the city.²⁴⁷ He claims that monuments and the urban layout are the most important settings that persist throughout the history. Rossi's emphasis on "persistency" as a quality of urban monument is important for the relation between collective memory and architecture. His framework suggests a classification for historically important artifacts regarding their participation in social life: that not every building, which has historical importance, has the same value for everyday life. This perspective suggests a mechanism, a sort of filter that eliminates certain historical buildings with respect to their engagement in the daily life of the city

Through the permanencies of historical urban elements in city life, the past is still partially experienced in the present. Therefore urban history plays a central role to understand the city. According to Rossi, sometimes artifacts remain unchanged, able to participate in the life of city continuously, or on the other hand, they may wear out and only keep their stability through their form. Buildings that are either keeping their intended function or having had different roles in the city life reflect the history of the city. When the elements of the city are transformed according to alterations in their functions, their physical forms become the records of the transformation of the city. Besides, the modification of the historical building that is required by the present day actions of the society also reflects the historical perspective of the society.

²⁴⁶ ROSSI, A. *The Architecture of the City*, 1931, p.59

²⁴⁷ ROSSI, A, 1931, pp.57-61.

In this section, the historical elements of Ankara will be discussed through this perspective. Historical buildings that still keep their permanency, and their relation with the city is the focus of the study. The conditions that provide the permanency of historical elements, and dynamics that shape the historical perspective of today's Ankara will be investigated.

Throughout the history of Ankara, certain buildings like the Temple of Augustus or the castle kept their physical forms. Although they lost their original function, through their persistency they became references for new developments. In addition, some streets remained unchanged, and became the reference for the further development of the city. If it could be possible to observe the evolution of Ankara with a bird-eye camera starting from the very beginning, Marcel Poëte's metaphor that describes the city as a living organism would be clearer. In the short movie Poëte prepared in 1936, the plans of Paris are shown subsequently to illustrate the evolution of the city.²⁴⁸ The city of Ankara starts to evolve with the first settlements probably appeared around the hill on which the castle stays today. Following the advantages of topography, it grew, and created its axis that directed the further development of the city. According to Poëte's theories, the memories of Ankara are kept within the urban elements. The stones used in the construction of the castle, the columns and walls of the Temple of Augustus, mosques and monuments left from different periods, streets and each urban element had memories of different periods of the history of the city.

Collective memory has a central importance to understand the process of continuity in an urban landscape. Since the role of physical elements in the collective memory necessitates their active participation in social life, the relation between historical buildings and the social life in Ankara would provide one with a framework of the collective memory of the city.

²⁴⁸ BİLSEL, C., '*Marcel Poëte*' *Urbanism and the Memory of the City* (Unpublished Paper) Princeton University, 1999, p.37



Figure 23: Main roads and important buildings in Ankara. (TUNCER, M., 1985, p.66, map 3)

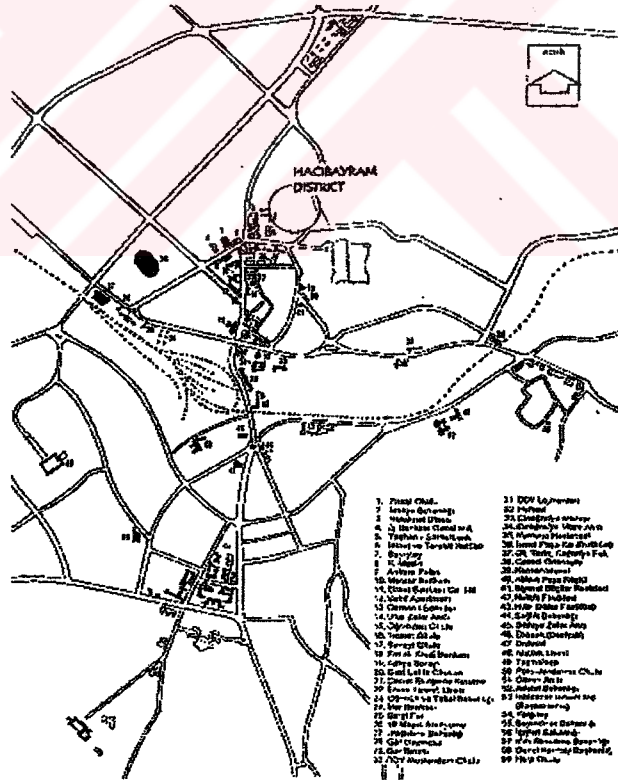


Figure 24: Public buildings constructed between 1926-1940 in Ankara. ("Ankara Hacibayram", Med campus, AMIE, Middle East Technical University, 1998, p.16, fig. 7)

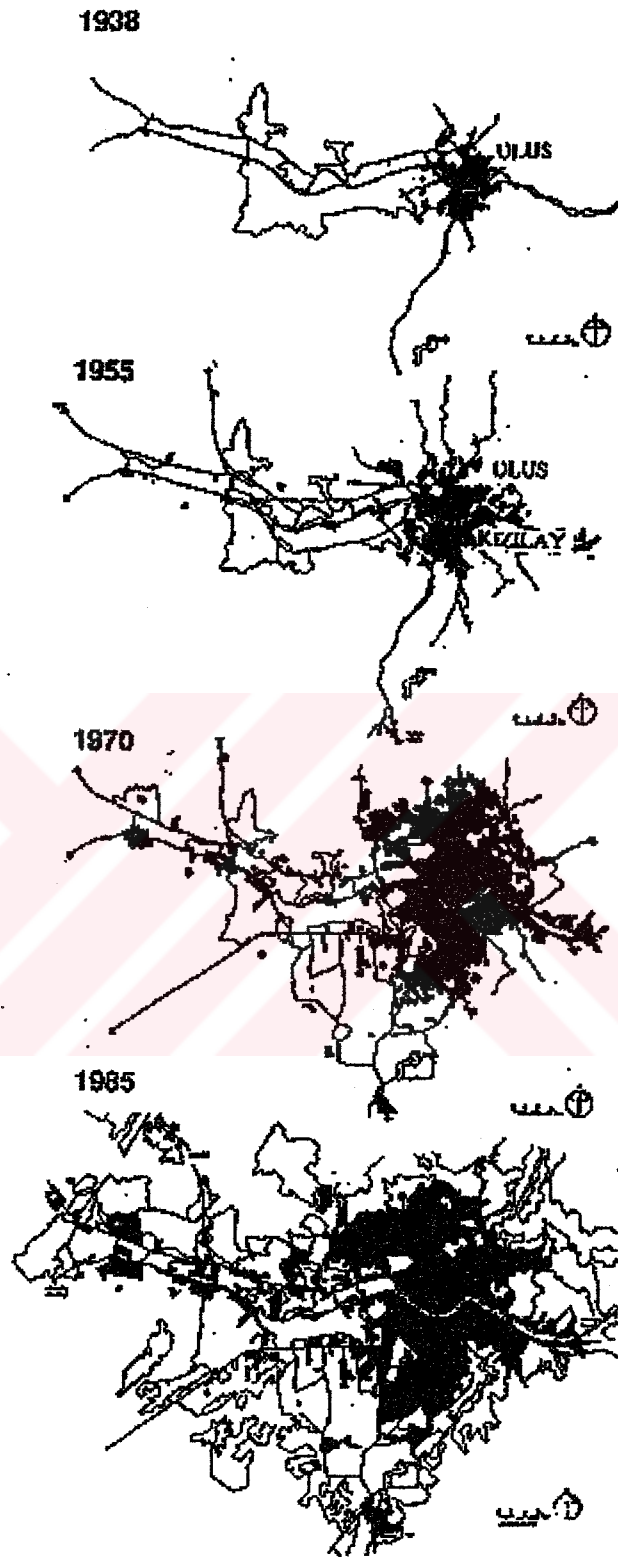


Figure 25: Growth of Ankara between 1938-1985 (Ankara Hacibayram", Med campus, AMIE, Middle East Technical University, 1998, p.27, fig.11)

3.3.1. The Genius Loci; the Site and the Physical Formation of Ankara

The natural landscape is a permanent feature of the city. The continuity of settlements in Ankara more than 2500 years should be studied in relation to its geography.²⁴⁹ Geography, which is the most imposing persistency of the city, according to C. Norberg-Schulz is central to Genius Loci.

Christian Norberg-Schulz relates the "genius loci", the spirit of the place, with the perception of the natural landscape and climate of that place. Space becomes a place through acts and occurrences with which a location becomes an integral part of the human existence.²⁵⁰ Therefore, in order to study the meaning of a place, one should first understand the cosmic order, i.e, the natural landscape. This frames all the occurrences in one place, therefore provides one with the broadest outline of the memory of that place.

The hill in Ankara, on which the citadel was situated, is the determinant topographical element of the location of the city. Norberg-Schulz stresses that, "Monuments closer to gods as they are huge and impenetrable to man... indicate the authority."²⁵¹ The hill of Ankara on which the castle is situated is not a mountain, yet its natural relation with the environment makes the location difficult to penetrate and claims authority. Furthermore this hill further extends towards sky by means of the verticality of the castle. The city was founded around this hill due to its advantages regarding the defense. This location of the city therefore has always been a strategic point, a strong place that is ready to be an administrative center if not a critical battlefield to gain control over the region.

²⁴⁹ AKTÜRE, S. "1830'dan 1930'a Ankara'da Günlük Yaşam", *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.35

²⁵⁰ NORBERG-SCHULZ, C., *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture*, 1984, p.168: "Man develops an understanding that there exists a correspondence between his own psychic and the forces of cosmic order"

²⁵¹ NORBERG-SCHULZ, 1984, p.42

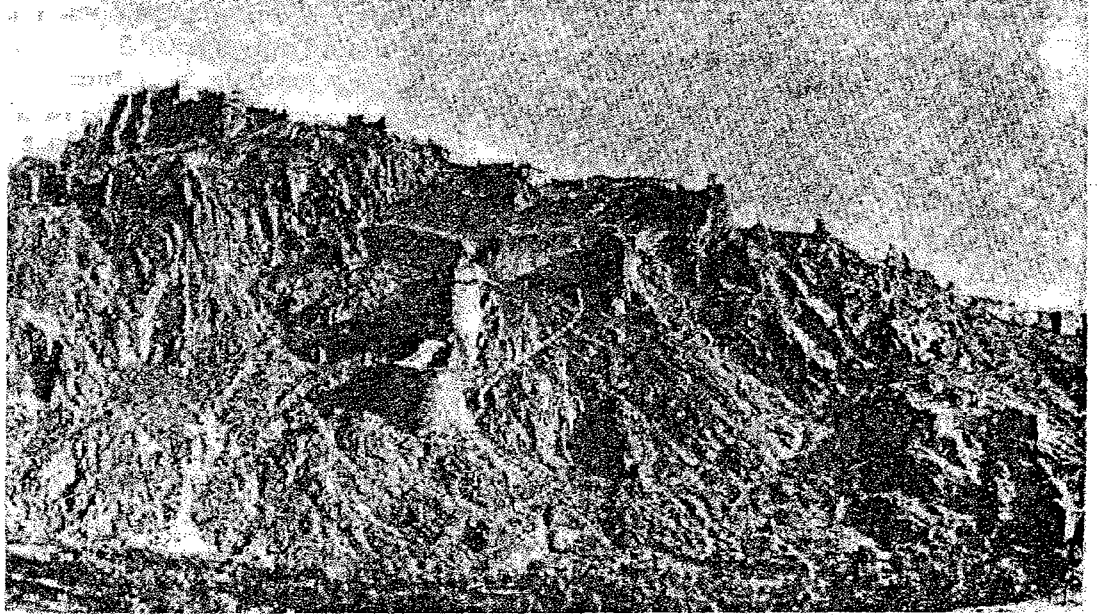


Figure 26: Ankara Castle, 1911 (BAĞLUM, K. 1992 p.42, unpublished notes in AKTÜRE, S. archive)



Figure 27: Ankara Castle from the location of Gençlik Park, 1930 (BAĞLUM, K. 1992 p.42, unpublished notes in AKTÜRE, S. archive)

3.3.2. Historical Artifacts of the City of Ankara

By following historical studies about Ankara, it is possible to suggest a list of urban artifacts that are important for the history writing. Starting from the pre-Roman periods, there are building fragments in the city that belong to different civilizations, which occupied Ankara. While some of these stand as coherent structures, easy to observe, there are some others like *tumuli*, which are almost unrecognizable to public eye. The most important ones among these architectural elements are *tumuli*, building remains from Galatian and Roman periods, mosques, *zaviyes* and *hans* which were built in the Seldjukid and Ottoman periods, and the monuments built after the establishment of the Republic.

Aldo Rossi's suggestion to categorize historical buildings according to their active participation in the social life of a city also marks the elements of collective memory. Theoretically, the relation of historical buildings with the continuation of the cultural identity is the criteria, which signs the engagement of historical buildings with the city life. Therefore the examination of these "historically important" artifacts regarding their participation in the social life necessitates a comprehensive sociological and anthropological study on the cultural identity. Although this kind of a sociological inquiry is out of the scope of this thesis, it is still possible to make suggestions about the participation of some of the historical artifacts in the social life.

Those buildings and monuments that still keep their original intended function should be considered as a part of the collective memory of a city. The monuments of the Republican period are the most visible and strong examples of these. Every stage of the Republican history -buildings, streets, and battle fields- is monumentalized to motivate people about the ideals of the new Turkish State. The ideal of the Republic to form a strong Nation-State aimed at the public's constant attention to these monuments. The name of important streets, monuments dedicated to victories and principles of the Republic, which are seen on the main

squares, and important public buildings of the city are vivid examples of this attitude.

Another obvious category for historical buildings that participate in social life is related to religious practices. Since permanency is in the nature of the religion, mosques like all other religious buildings are meant to stay forever. There are many historically important mosques and tombs in Ankara, still revered by the society. Ahi mosques mark an important period of the history of the city; hence these mosques are significant monuments of the collective memory of Ankara. In addition to these mosques the Hacıbayram mosque is distinguished as one of the most commemorated places in the city.

The place of unintentional historical monuments in the collective memory is more debatable. Those that have lost their intended functions and valued only for their importance for history writing gained importance to the collective memory of the city in the Republican era. For example, the relation of the society with those artifacts that belong to the Phrygian period like *tumuli* or fragments found around the castle and temples are not as clear as the relation of the society with the monuments of the Republic. They are rather valued in relation with the history writing policies of the society.

However the castle, which has also lost its original function, is the most visible one among these structures and should be considered separately. The symbolic meaning of the castle due to its role in the formation of the city and its aesthetic contribution to the skyline of the city as an important landmark was described in Jansen's report: "The castle remains as the crown of the city. The restoration and the maintenance of this national monument is going to support and enforce the spirit of Anatolia."²⁵²

The walls of the castle built with *spolia* from ancient structures display the remnants of the past history of Ankara. Although the history of the castle is as old as the history of the city, the castle took its contemporary form during the

continuous attacks first by the Sasanids then by the Arabs in the mid-7th century.²⁵³ *Spolia* from the Roman period used on the southern walls of the castle witness these attacks.²⁵⁴ Remains of watering system of the Romans were also utilized for the construction of the castle. Especially on the eastern side of the Akkale, Doğu Kalesi and Zindankapı nearly half of the stones were from the remains from the Roman period.²⁵⁵ These remains of Roman buildings, broken columns, entablatures, parts from the water systems, which are seen dissolved within the walls of the castle is the depiction of this troublesome period.

Its scale and central position in the city, located on the most visible hilltop, make the castle the most significant landmark of the city, and as such it is considered as the most powerful element in Ankara's symbolic representation. Many projects of the Republican period also confirm the symbolic importance of the castle. For example the orientation of Anıtkabir which establishes an abstract relation with the castle refers to the importance of the castle for the city as well as for the nationalistic ideals of the Republic. The monument in Güvenpark, which is located on the symmetry axis of the governmental district, is also directed to the castle. A similar attitude can also be seen in the project for the Hacıbayram Square. Architect Abdi Güzer frames the castle with architectural elements so as to make it an element of vista from the terraces and the square, and underlines the visual contact with the castle.

The engagement of other historically important buildings, which have lost their intended original functions, within the social life is not as clear as the relation of the castle to the rest of the city, yet they are diligently protected and maintained by the state as a sign of the modernization ideals of the Republic. It is aimed as a state policy to increase the public engagement with these historical buildings. The

²⁵² JANSEN, H., *Ankara İmar Planı*, 1937, p 18

²⁵³ FOSS, C., *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 1977, p.72; EYİCE, S., *Ankara Konuşmaları*, 1992, p.24, cited by BAKIRER, Ö., "Ankara Kalesi Duvarları Üzerindeki Belge ve Bilgiler," *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.177

²⁵⁴ FOSS, C., *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 1977, p.79, JERPHANION, P. G., *Mélanges d'Archéologie Anatolienne*, Fasc.1, p.169-180, 192-197, 208-209, cited by BAKIRER, Ö., "Ankara Kalesi Duvarları Üzerindeki Belge ve Bilgiler," *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.177

increase in the interest to unintentional historical monuments is seen as a very important sign of the enlightenment of the society.²⁵⁶

3.3.3. The Temple of Augustus & the Mosque of Hacibayram; Republican Intentions to Create a Modern Collective Memory

The role of Roman artifacts in the collective memory of the contemporary Turkish society can be related with the modernization ideals of the Republic. The appreciation of old artifacts like the remains of Roman Structures due to their historical value, even if they do not address any message to the contemporary society (hence are unintentional historical monuments), is related with the emergence of modern history understanding. The historical value of a monument arises from the particular that stage it represents in the development of human activity, hence it represents a significant moment in the linear development of the humanity and becomes critical through the perspective of modernism.²⁵⁷ In parallel with this understanding the Roman artifacts of Ankara are perceived as important monuments for the humanistic ideals of the Republic. It was intended to integrate the remnants of the past civilizations to the collective memory of the Turkish Society on her own way to become a modern nation. The study on Roman buildings in Ankara, the emergence of their importance in urban configuration, and their participation in the social life is an integral part of the modernization project of the Republic.

Remains of the structure from the Roman period, which were meant to enforce the Roman authority once, have a different meaning today. They are in the same category with all other historically important urban artifacts, and valued as the

²⁵⁵ BAKIRER, Ö, "Ankara Kalesi Duvarlari Üzerindeki Belge ve Bilgiler," *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.176

²⁵⁶ RIEGL, A., "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin", *Oppositions Reader*, 1998, p. 629, (see 2.2.3. Alois Riegl and "On the Modern Cult of Monuments")

²⁵⁷ RIEGL, 1998, p. 634

witnesses of history. Having lost their original mission, they are valued for the historical information they carry.²⁵⁸

In Ankara, there were many temples which served to different people having various cultural backgrounds. Yet, only the Temple of Augustus remained to the present day. The continuous use of this building and its site for religious purposes was effective in the persistency of this temple.²⁵⁹

Among the buildings that witnessed the Roman period of the city, the Temple of Augustus has a particular place as it witnessed the continuity of urban history of the city. Besides having a historical value, the Temple of Augustus stands attached to the Hacıbayram Mosque, hence it has a better chance to be observed by citizens.

The hilltop, where the Temple of Augustus is located was probably an acropolis in the ancient times.²⁶⁰ The archaeological remains that were found in 1929 at the base of the Temple of Augustus prove the existence of a Phrygian temple on the site.²⁶¹ The orientation of the Temple of Augustus also supports the idea that there had been another temple on the site, which might have belonged to the Hellenistic period.²⁶² As opposed to the Roman and Ancient Greek temples, which faced east, the Temple of Augustus faces west that reminds older Anatolian traditions. The existence of a previous temple at the location of the Temple of Augustus provides one with an understanding that the religious activities on the site had a continuous history that extends beyond the Roman period.

²⁵⁸ The terms age value, historical (intentional and unintentional) value are being used according to RIEGL, A., "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin," *Oppositions Reader*, 1998

²⁵⁹ BULUÇ, S. "İlk Çağda Ankara" *Ankara, Ankara*, 1994, p.26

²⁶⁰ AKURGAL, E., "Augustus Tapınağı ve Yazıtlar Kraliçesi", *Ankara Ankara*, 1994, p.35

²⁶¹ BULUÇ, S. "İlk Çağda Ankara" *Ankara, Ankara*, 1994, p.27

²⁶² GÜVEN, S. "Res Gestae Divi Augusti" *Ankara Ankara*, 1994, p.59; AKURGAL, E., "Augustus Tapınağı ve Yazıtlar Kraliçesi" *Ankara Ankara*, 1994, p.35

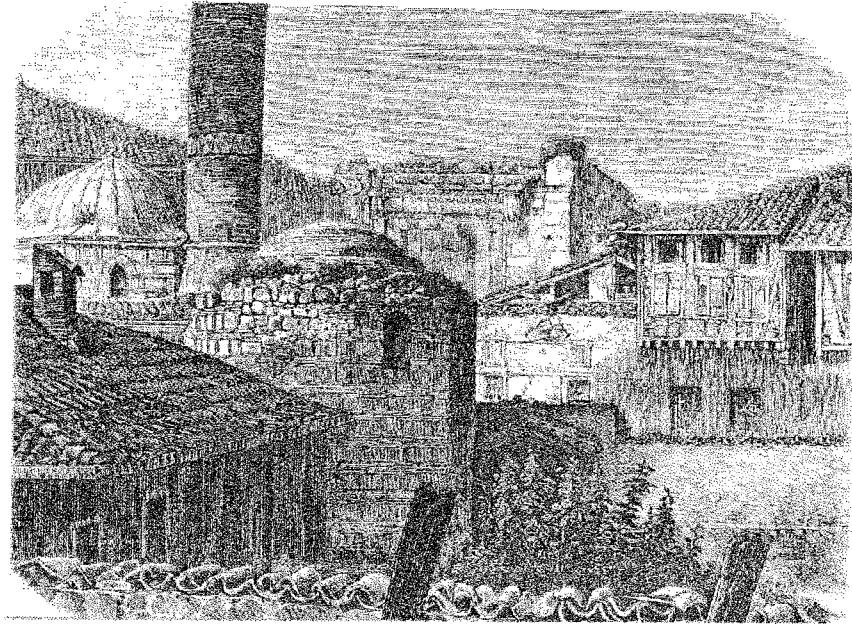


Figure 28: Engraving of the Hacibayram in 1864, (*Ankara*, ed. by ÖZEL, M. 1992, p.24)

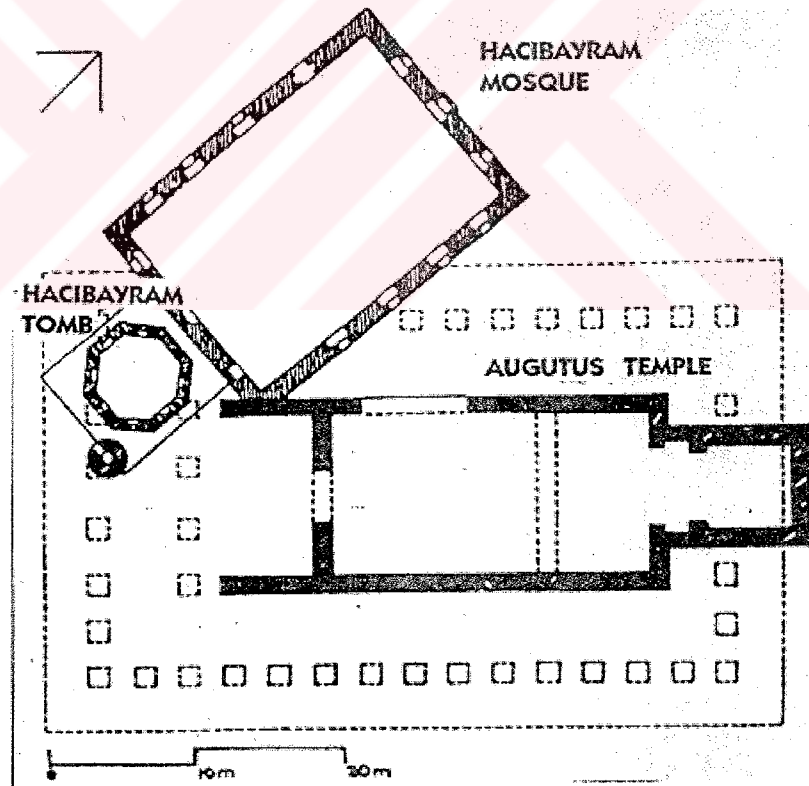


Figure 29: The layout of the Temple of Augustus and Hacibayram Mosque. (Faculty of Architecture Archive, METU, Ankara, p. No: 14386)

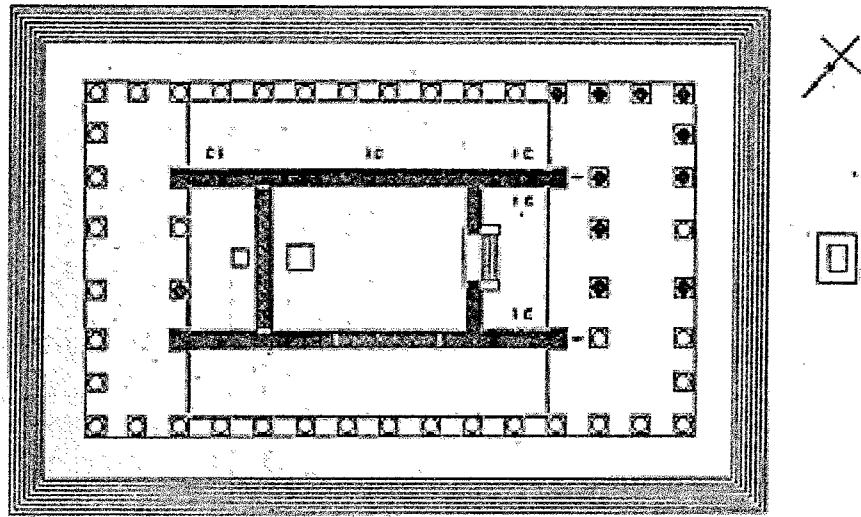




Figure 32: Aderoy, 1864. (MADRAN, E., “Gezi Yapıtlarında Ankara Kenti ve Yapılar”, *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.167, fig 3)



Figure 33: Res Gestae, Temple of Augustus, Latin inscription (KRENCKER, D. and SCHEDE, M., *Der Tempel in Ankara*, 1936, tafel. 39)

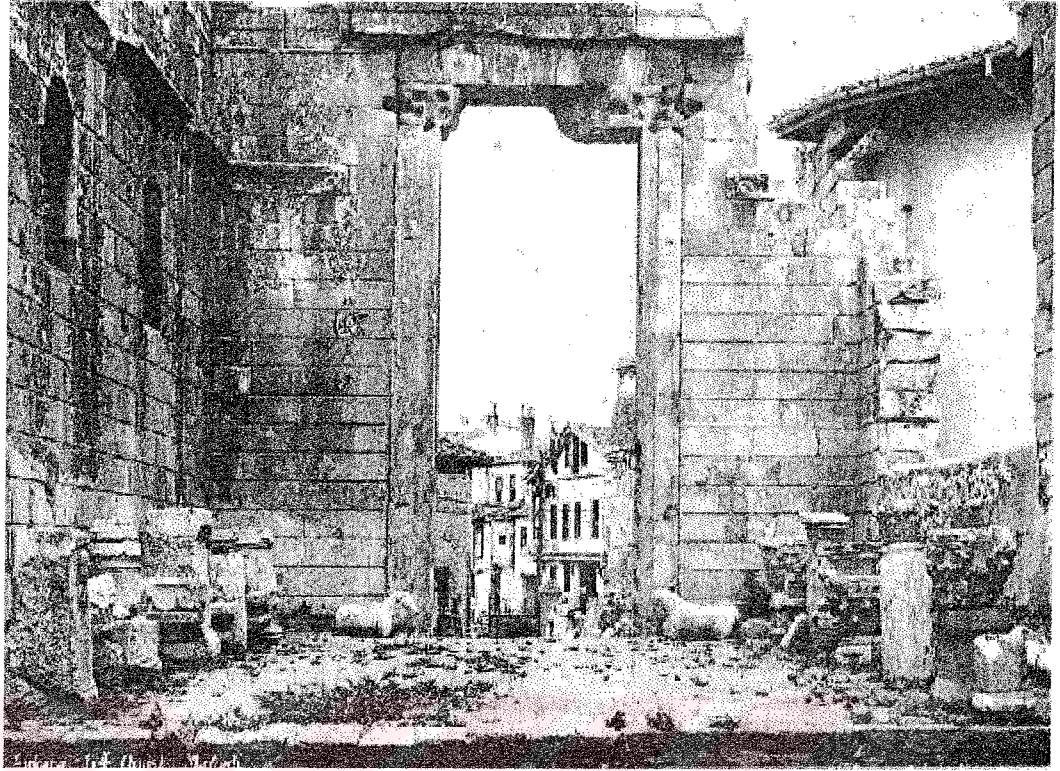


Figure 34: Remains of the Temple of Augustus, from the interior. (ERZEN, A., *İlk Çağda Ankara*, 1946, f. 42)

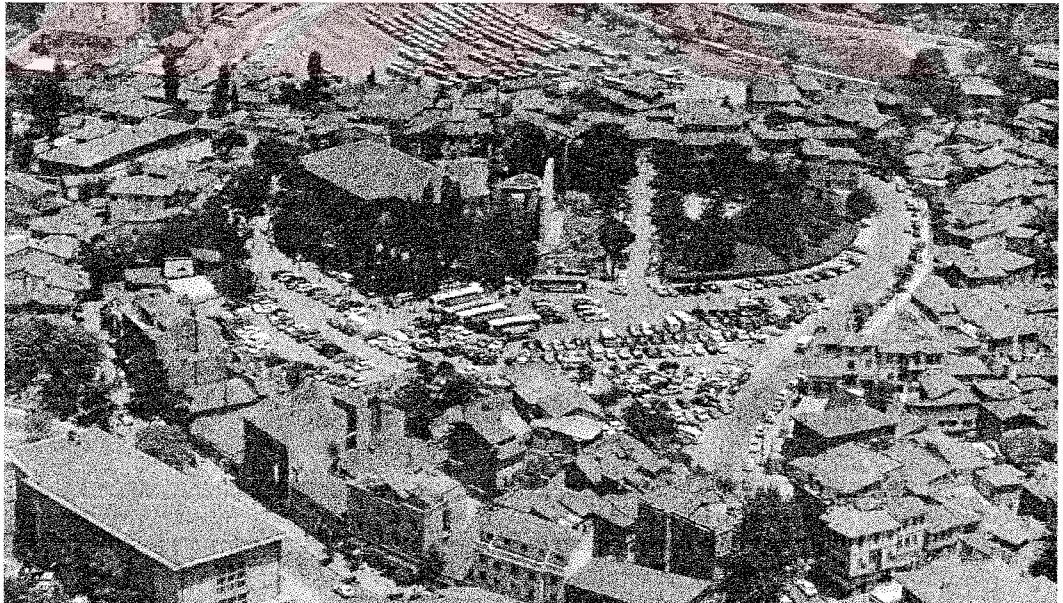


Figure 35: Hacibayram Mosque and the environs before the implementation of the project (Raci Bademli's Archive)

After Galatia became a Roman land, the site of the temple became a display ground for political transformation. As a part of the Roman policy to implant the imperial cult that equalized the emperor with God,²⁶³ the Temple of Augustus was constructed on the site of the Temple for Men and Kybele.²⁶⁴ The Temple of Augustus was therefore an example of the use of architecture to control and manipulate the society by the increasing authority of the political administration. The Temple of Augustus and its inscription, "Res Gestae", were effective in concretizing this policy. Suna Güven stresses that the temple was introduced to the society as a political reward for their loyalty to the Roman Empire.²⁶⁵

The Temple of Augustus therefore was an intentional monument with a strong political message. Creating a public acceptance for Augustus' policy was central for the construction of the temple. The utilization of an existing temple to construct the new one in the name of Augustus aimed at providing the society with the feeling that Augustus was the successor of their previous Gods rather than an abrupt intervention regarding their religious life.²⁶⁶ The conversion of an existing temple, which was dedicated to Men and Kybele to another temple dedicated to Augustus that associated Augustus' personality with the authority of their older Gods, was an explicit message to the citizens of Ancyra.²⁶⁷

Busbecq, who was the ambassador of German-Roman Empire in the Ottoman Empire between 1554-1562, was the first to recognize the inscription on the walls of the temple.²⁶⁸ In the mid-16th century Hans Dernschwam, provided the earliest

²⁶³ ERZEN, A., *İlk Çağda Ankara*, 1946, p.89; GÜVEN, S., "Displaying the Res Gestae of Augustus" *JSAH* 57:1, 1998, p.33

²⁶⁴ AKURGAL, E., "Augustus Tapınağı ve Yazıtlar Kraliçesi" *Ankara Ankara*, 1994, p.38;

ERZEN, A., *İlk Çağda Ankara*, 1946, p.84.

²⁶⁵ GÜVEN, S., "Displaying the Res Gestae of Augustus" *JSAH* 57:1, 1998, p.32

²⁶⁶ GÜVEN, S. "Res Gestae Divi Augusti" *Ankara Ankara*, 1994, p.51-61

²⁶⁷ GÜVEN, S., "Displaying the Res Gestae of Augustus" *JSAH* 57:1, 1998, p.36

²⁶⁸ GÜVEN, S. "Res Gestae Divi Augusti" *Ankara Ankara*, 1994, p.53; "Displaying the Res Gestae of Augustus" *JSAH* 57:1, 1998 p.34: The ambassador, in one of his letters mentions that "At the angora we saw a very fine inscription, a copy of the tablets upon which Augustus drew-up a succinct account of his public acts. I had it copied out by my people as far as it was legible. It is graven on the marble walls of a building, which was probably the ancient residence of the governor, now ruined and roofless."

graphic and textual record of the temple and the inscription.²⁶⁹ However many visitors of the city described the Temple of Augustus as surrounded by houses. The inscriptions were not fully known until Perrot's visit to the city in 1864.²⁷⁰ George Perrot held the first studies in order to reveal the inscriptions on the east wall of the temple. In 1882, Humann and Puchstein copied the inscriptions in gypsum.²⁷¹

Today the inscription on the Temple of Augustus is being evaluated as direct evidence that illuminates the politics of construction of history during the Roman period. It was written on the walls of the temple in order to propagate the deeds, therefore the power of Augustus.²⁷² It was designed for the citizens of Ancyra to internalize, and to remember Augustus' reign. While the Latin version of the inscription was written inside the temple, the Greek translation of the text was written on the outer face.²⁷³ The text, which is a direct historical information, was empowered through the spatial persistency of the temple.

The temple lost its significance as a pagan temple after the Christianization of the city. Yet the inscription, which was written both in Greek and Latin must have continued to convey a historical meaning to the Greek-speaking citizens during the Byzantine and Ottoman periods. Especially after the Turks captured the city, the temple lost its intention since the propagation of the continuity and the power of the Roman Empire lost its validity.

The dominating location of the temple should have influenced the decision of the Byzantine administration to convert the Temple of Augustus to a church in 362.²⁷⁴ Maximus' urban modifications between 362-364 including the conversion of the Temple of Augustus to a church prove the development of Christianity in the

²⁶⁹ GÜVEN, S., "Displaying the Res Gestae of Augustus" *JSAH* 57:1, 1998 p.34

²⁷⁰ MADRAN, E., "Gezi Yapıtlarında Ankara Kenti ve Yapılar," *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.169

²⁷¹ MADRAN, 2001, p.169

²⁷² GÜVEN, S., "Displaying the Res Gestae of Augustus" *JSAH* 57:1, 1998, p.30

²⁷³ AKURGAL, E., "Agustus Tapınağı ve Yazıtlar Kraliçesi" *Ankara Ankara*, 1994 p.35

²⁷⁴ AKTÜRE, S., "16. Yüzyıl Öncesi Ankara'sı Üzerine Bilinenler", *Tarih İçinde Ankara*, 2000, p.22

city.²⁷⁵ The conversion of pagan temples into churches in the Byzantine period was a strategic act to convert the citizens to Christianity. Byzantines converted the building of the Temple of Augustus to a church, and Turks converted the same building first to a mosque. After the construction of the Hacıbayram Mosque, the temple building then started to be used as a *medrese*.²⁷⁶ Similar motivations should have been effective when the church was converted to a mosque in the Seldjukid period, and when the construction of the Hacıbayram mosque attached to the structure of the temple. The conversion of the religiously important buildings indicated the changing authorities in the city.

It may be argued that the conversion of the temple to a church in the Byzantine period and later the conversion of the church into a mosque should have helped the persistency of the structure. According to Dernschwam's notes, the building of the temple, which was used as a *medrese* and named as Akmedrese had ten divisions in it for the occupation of dervishes.²⁷⁷ Photographs that illustrate the early years of the Republic show that houses were attached to the walls of the temple in 1930's.

Today the survival of the temple even after the construction of the new mosque built next to the temple is presented as something to be proud of for the Turkish society. It is claimed that, the fact that such a temple having strong intentional message, which in fact conflicts with the Turk's existence in the city, was not destroyed proves the tolerance of the Turkish society and Islam *vis-à-vis* other religions. Although this claim is speculative, it is interesting to see how the relation between politics, collective memory and history is being constructed in accordance with the present day motivations.

²⁷⁵ EYİCE, S., "Bizans Dönemi Ankara'sı", *Ankara Konuşmaları*, 1992, pp. 22-23, cited by BAKIRER, Ö, "Ankara Kalesi Duvarları Üzerindeki Belge ve Bilgiler", *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.176

²⁷⁶ BULUÇ, S. "İlk Çağda Ankara", *Ankara, Ankara*, 1994 p.26

²⁷⁷ BULUÇ, 1994, p.27

3.3.3.1. Islamization of the City of Ankara: a New Cultural Identity and the Ahi Tradition

In Ankara, there are many historically important mosques from the Seldjukid and the Ottoman periods. Besides the Hacıbayram Mosque, the names of twenty-four mosques are known dating back to the 14th and the 15th centuries.²⁷⁸ According to Evliya Çelebi's notes there were seventy-six mosques in the city, among which Cenabi Ahmet Paşa Camii and Hacıbayram Camii were the most revered ones in the 16th century.²⁷⁹ Other than these historical mosques that were associated with important personalities, *Ahi* mosques are also known as significant historical artifacts. Georges Perrot, in the "Souvenirs d'un voyage en Asie Mineure" of 1864 mentioned the mosque of Ahi Şerafeddin, which is also known as the Arslanhane Mosque. Besides Ahi Şerafeddin (Arslanhane) Mosque, Yeşil Ahi Mescidi, and Ahi Elvan Camii are other important mosques from Ahi period.²⁸⁰

Ahi mosques from the Seldjukid and Ottoman periods were important centers of the *Ahi* tradition. Ahilik was the synthesis of different cultural and social norms that Turks adapted to their social organization in the process of getting settled in Anatolia. Pre-Islamic cultural background of Turks, and the Islamic teaching, "*futuvetçilik*" find reflections in this tradition.²⁸¹

Meanings attributed to the name of the organization reveal the nature of Ahi organization. In Arabic "Ahi" means "brother".²⁸² Those underlining the reflections of pre-Islamic Turkish culture claim that the word "Ahi" comes from a

²⁷⁸ GÜÇHAN, N. S., "16-19. yy. Nüfus Tahminlerine Göre Osmanlı Ankara'sında Mahallelerin Değişim Süreçleri Üzerine Bir Deneme" *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.126

²⁷⁹ MADRAN, E., "Gezi Yapıtlarında Ankara Kenti ve Yapıları" *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.161

²⁸⁰ MADRAN, 2001, p.161: Perro mentions the monumental lion sculpture in this oldest mosque of the city. HACIGÖKMEN, M. A., "Selçuklular Zamanında Ankara Ahileri Kakkında Bir Araştırma" *Ulusal Selçuklu Kültür ve Medeniyet Kongresi*, 2001, p.375 mentions that Aslanhane Camii was originally known as Ahi Şerafeddin Camii.

²⁸¹ ÇETİN, I., "Ahilik" II. Uluslararası Ahilik Kültürü Sempozyumu, 1999, p.89

²⁸² ÇAĞATAY, N., Bir Türk Kurumu Olan Ahilik, 1997, p.1

Turkish word "*aki*" which means "generous".²⁸³ The organization aimed at integration in the society by advising people to regard others like their brothers and be helpful

Regarding the principles of the Ahi system, *futuvvet*, is accepted as the regulatory basis.²⁸⁴ *Futuvvet* was established by Abbasi administration for controlling the young population and encouraging them to get integrated in the social life in the Islamic society.²⁸⁵ It is explained in "Ta'rifat", a book on *tasavvuf*, that *futuvvet* orders people to put society above their own personalities.²⁸⁶ Imam Kuseyri, stated that "the essence of the *futuvvet* is a person's dedication of all his/her energy and care for others, because God helps the individual when he/she tries to help others."²⁸⁷

At the very early periods of Islam the system was supported politically as a remedy to social problems, caused by unqualified young population. The teaching of *futuvvet* reveals the good nature in an individual who would avoid having enemies, become humble and forgiving, and help others. In addition to those, it is also stressed that a good Muslim should minimize his/her earthly desires in order to increase the love for God.²⁸⁸

The Ahi tradition was especially against idleness. The Seldjuks and the Ottoman administration supported the organization,²⁸⁹ since it shared the same resolution

²⁸³ KESKİN, M., "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Hayatının Tanziminde Ahiliğin Oynadığı Rol", *II. Uluslararası Ahilik Kültürü Sempozyumu*, 1999, p.203, cites KASKARLI MAHMUT, *Divani Lugat-I Türk*, p.90

²⁸⁴ ÇAĞATAY, N., *Bir Türk Kurumu Olan Ahilik*, 1997, p.1; Highlighting the relation of the organization with the pre-Islamic period of Turkish society, Keskin stressed the similarities between the *Alps* who lived in the central Asia and the *Ahi* society. *Alps*' tradition of putting on *kusak*, a fabric cut for the stomach which signifies the identity of the *Alps* has similarities with the Ahi tradition of using *şed*. Furthermore being armored, another distinctive *Ahi* tradition, is also seen in the *Alps*. ÇETİN, I., "Ahilik" *II. Uluslararası Ahilik Kültürü Sempozyumu*, 1999, p.90; İNALCIK, H. "Ahilik, Toplum, Devlet" *II. Uluslararası Ahilik Kültürü Sempozyumu*, 1999, p.190-191

²⁸⁵ ÇAĞATAY, N., *Bir Türk Kurumu Olan Ahilik*, 1997, p.1

²⁸⁶ Ta-rifat-I Seyyit Serif Curcani, 1318 (1902), cited by ÇAĞATAY, N., *Bir Türk Kurumu Olan Ahilik*, 1997, p.3

²⁸⁷ ÇAĞATAY, N., *Bir Türk Kurumu Olan Ahilik*, 1997, p.3

²⁸⁸ ÇAĞATAY, 1997, p.3

²⁸⁹ İNALCIK, H., "Ahilik, Toplum, Devlet" *II. Uluslararası Ahilik Kültürü Sempozyumu*, 1999, p.193

with the central government to create a stable, and strong society. In fact, the organization had a very important role for the Turks to settle in Anatolia. Ahis helped the Turks to join the economic life in towns. Besides it was a good reason for non-Muslims to accept Islam, and to join the Turkish-Muslim society.²⁹⁰ In the period of Turkish Seldjuks, *Ahi* organizations constituted one of the four most important social strata of the society with *Ayans*, members of the government and *ulemas*.²⁹¹ *Zaviyes* constructed by *Ahis* were places where young workers' ethical and social responsibilities were developed. Therefore the role of *zaviyes* in the social order was very important.²⁹² Besides their educational role, these places were built to feed the homeless and the poor, and to serve traders.

Ahi organizations were made of *loncas*, unions of tradesmen and craftsmen in Anatolia. It was the authorized organization for training people for trade and craftsmanship. Controlling the order of these unions -the *loncas*- was the responsibility of the organization.²⁹³ *Ahilik*, demanding from its members to form a strong society by helping others, also demanded the protection of the society from enemies when needed.²⁹⁴ Craftsmen and traders, who were members of the society, joined the army when required.²⁹⁵

Between 1243-1336 Ahis fought with the Seldjuks against Moghuls. Therefore when the Seldjukid Sultan Keykavus was forced to flee to Western Anatolia, then to the Byzantine Empire, many Ahis also moved to Western Anatolia and to the border towns.²⁹⁶ Many *Ahis* settled in Ankara during this period of conflict.²⁹⁷ As

²⁹⁰ KESKİN, M., "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Hayatının Tanziminde Ahiliğin Oynadığı Rol" *II. Uluslararası Ahilik Kültürü Sempozyumu*, 1999, p.203

²⁹¹ ÇETİN, I., "Ahilik" *II. Uluslararası Ahilik Kültürü Sempozyumu*, 1999, p.90

²⁹² İNALCIK, H., "Ahilik, Toplum, Devlet" *II. Uluslararası Ahilik Kültürü Sempozyumu*, 1999, p.190-191

²⁹³ ÇAĞATAY, N., *Bir Türk Kurumu Olan Ahilik*, 1997, p.1; İNALCIK, H., "Ahilik, Toplum, Devlet" *II. Uluslararası Ahilik Kültürü Sempozyumu*, 1999, p.193: Considering the importance of the balance between demands and production in Ottoman cities, where trade is confined within the city, it is easier to understand the importance of *Ahi* organizations

²⁹⁴ ÇAĞATAY, N., *Bir Türk Kurumu Olan Ahilik*, 1997, p.3

²⁹⁵ ÇETİN, I., "Ahilik" *II. Uluslararası Ahilik Kültürü Sempozyumu*, 1999, p.90: it is know that Necmettin Tusi gathered an army to fight against Şemsettin İsfahani. GORDLEVSKI, V., *Anadolu Selçuklu Devleti*, 1988, p. 197-198; İNALCIK, H., "Ahilik, Toplum, Devlet" *II. Uluslararası Ahilik Kültürü Sempozyumu*, 1999, p.194

²⁹⁶ İNALCIK, H. "Ahilik, Toplum, Devlet" *II. Uluslararası Ahilik Kültürü Sempozyumu*, 1999, pp.189-190

the Seldjuks lost most of their control in the central Anatolia under Moghul invasion, *Ahis'* responsibilities and authority increased in these towns. *Ahi* leaders, the most influential people within the social structure with their religious and economical authority, became responsible of the governmental issues and the security in the society.²⁹⁸

The increase of prosperity in cities where *Ahi* administration was in charge during this period proves the administrative skills of the organization. Symbols like having a flag and its own court, which indicated the self-authority, were significant for the *Ahi* tradition.²⁹⁹ Mikayil Bayram states that *Ahi* leaders, who represented the majority of the people living in cities, were against aristocratic elite governors.³⁰⁰ Under the strong monarchy of Ottomans, *Ahi* leaders lost most of their power, political autonomy and most of their authority on the government of the city, which should have also affected their social statues. The period witnessed the conversion of *Ahi* organizations from a strong political and religious authority to a trade and craftsmen organization under government's surveillance.³⁰¹

Today, mosques built in the *Ahi* period lost most of their intended functions. After the role of the organization was confined within the economy, the recession of the economic system in the Ottoman Empire starting in the 19th century and the dissolution of the "*lonca*" system should have been effective in diminishing the importance of *Ahi* organizations in Ankara. Therefore *Ahi* mosques were no longer used as *zaviyes*, and their role in the commercial activities of the city ceased.

²⁹⁷ HACIGÖKMEN, M. A., "Selçuklular Zamanında Ankara Ahileri Hakkında Bir Araştırma", *1. Ulusal Selçuklu Kültür ve Medeniyet Kongresi*, 2001, p.376

²⁹⁸ İNALCIK, H., "Ahilik, Toplum, Devlet" *II. Uluslararası Ahilik Kültürü Sempozyumu*, 1999, p.191; ÇETİN, I., "Ahilik" *II. Uluslararası Ahilik Kültürü Sempozyumu*, 1999, p.90; HACIGÖKMEN, M. A., "Selçuklular Zamanında Ankara Ahileri Hakkında Bir Araştırma", *1. Ulusal Selçuklu Kültür ve Medeniyet Kongresi*, 2001, p.379

²⁹⁹ H. İNALCIK, "Ahilik, Toplum, Devlet" *II. Uluslararası Ahilik Kültürü Sempozyumu*, 1999 p.194

³⁰⁰ GORDLEVSKI, V., *Anadolu Selçuklu Devleti*, 1988, p. 203, cited by İNALCIK, H. "Ahilik, Toplum, Devlet" *II. Uluslararası Ahilik Kültürü Sempozyumu*, 1999, pp.194-195

³⁰¹ İNALCIK, H. "Ahilik, Toplum, Devlet" *II. Uluslararası Ahilik Kültürü Sempozyumu*, 1999, p.194. İncik mentions a dispute at Beypazarı, between Ahi organization and the newly appointed Şeyh who had the rights to use the revenue of the *Zaviye*. In this incident in 1680, Ottoman administration refused Ahi organizations' appeal to replace 'appointed' Şeyh with someone on whom all members of the organization were agreed. The Şeyh who gets his authority solely from Ottoman administration was appointed, in spite of organization's will.

Nevertheless people still admire these buildings and regard them as part of their cultural identity. These mosques, with their humble architecture, have an exceptional importance from the point of the cultural identity of Ankara.

3.3.3.2. The Hacıbayram Area in Ankara

In the 13th and 14th centuries, religious leaders of different orders merged with *futuvvet* principles in *Ahi zaviyes*.³⁰² Because of the close relation between *Ahi* organizations and Islamic orders, Hacı Bayram Veli and his teaching, Melamilik is considered in relation with *Ahi* organizations. However According to Çagatay, Melamilik, which was a mystic Islamic order had many similarities with *Ahi* principles, but was not directly related with the *Ahi* organization. Melamilik was a philosophical teaching based on contemplation, understanding of life and creating an idealistic perspective.³⁰³

In spite of the strong resemblance between the *Ahi* organization and Melamilik regarding their principles, the difference between the Hacıbayram Mosque and other *Ahi* Mosques concerning their present day significance within the city life is striking. The comparison of those mosques from the *Ahi* period and the Hacıbayram Mosque provides one with an understanding of variables of the formation of collective memory. While the Hacıbayram Mosque functions as the most important historical religious mosque where the important funeral ceremonies are being held, other mosques continue to serve only to the people living in their neighborhoods, and they do not reflect their historical importance as compared to Hacıbayram mosque. The significant image of the the Hacıbayram Mosque attracts religion related commercial and social activities. Today, the environment of the Hacıbayram Mosque is surrounded with shops selling religious books about various subjects like Islam, history, politics and accessories for religious activities like *tesbih*, *scarf*, and *seccade*. Besides, some people with

³⁰² İNALCIK, H., "Ahilik, Toplum, Devlet" *II. Uluslararası Ahilik Kültürü Sempozyumu*, 1999, p. 191

³⁰³ ÇAĞATAY, N., *Bir Türk Kurumu Olan Ahilik*, 1997, p.60

religious authority still live in this area. These people always have visitors, people seeking advice for their problems. The mausoleum the *"türbe"* of Hacı Bayram Veli attached to the Hacıbayram Mosque is also visited for religious purposes. Mehmet Akif Destici, who has been working in the Hacıbayram Mosque as the *müezzin* for nine years states that every year, before the important examinations held in Ankara, the environment of the mosque and the mausoleum of Hacı Bayram Veli are being crowded by people who come to Ankara for the examination.

In sum, the decreasing popularity of the *Ahi* mosques for the collective memory of the city was mostly related with the conflicts based on the *Ahi* organization's autonomous structure of the *Ahi* organizations and the Ottoman's strong central governmental system and the economical problems that minimized the role of the organization especially after the organization was confined to economic system of cities during the Ottoman period. On the other hand, Hacıbayram Veli's personality, and his good relationship with the Ottoman government should have been complementary to the continuing importance of the Hacıbayram Mosque for the city life. Besides, the central location of the mosque and its relatively bigger structure might have been effective in the formation of the central role of the mosque in the social life of Ankara.

In the Jansen Plan, there is no special drawing for the *Ahi* Mosques whereas for the Hacıbayram Mosque there is a 1/500 plan for the arrangement of its surroundings and a perspective. In the report prepared for the plan of Ankara, Jansen stresses the importance of the renovation studies for Hacıbayram, İsmetpaşa and Hacıdoğan neighborhoods. Furthermore, the Temple of Augustus, the mosques in general and Suluhan are shown as important historical buildings that should be preserved.³⁰⁴

³⁰⁴ JANSEN, H., *Ankara İmar Planı*, 1937, p 40

3.3.3.3. Hacı Bayram Veli's Personality and His Teaching

Hacı Bayram Veli founded the religious order of "Bayrami Melamilik" and defended the belief according to which God appears in the heart of men. He was born around 1350 in the village, Solfasıl, located near Ankara and died in 1430 in Ankara. He was a peasant and was sent to Karamedrese in Ankara for education.³⁰⁵ The religious orders of the " Halveti " and " Nakşibendi" were the starting point of his teachings.³⁰⁶ He learned mysticism from Şeyh İzzettin, who invited him to Kayseri and also named him as "Bayram" referring to the Muslim holy day (Kurban Bayramı), which was coincided with the visit.³⁰⁷

Because of its mysticism³⁰⁸, which has the potential to move away from the canon of Islam, Ottomans first regarded Bayramilik as dangerous. According to a legend, the increasing popularity of the order aroused the suspicion of the government. Eventually that caused Hacı Bayram Veli to be brought before Murat II. Nevertheless the sultan pardoned him, and actually granted his disciples with certain tax exemptions, which helped the order to spread. Akşemsettin, who was a follower of Hacı Bayram became a religious counselor of Mehmet II and played an important role in his conquest of Constantinople in 1453.³⁰⁹

Through ceremonies and the belief system, Bayramilik brought a philosophy that guided the daily life of its believers. Understanding the nature of these ceremonies and the philosophy is important to imagine the role of Bayramilik in creating a cultural system in the society. The order rested on the union of the existences, which is to bring man closer to the God. In the "zikr" ceremony (successive invocation of the name of God), eyes were closed; seeking only God's light,

³⁰⁵ CEBECİOĞLU, E., *Hacı Bayram*, 1991, pp.25-28.

³⁰⁶ CEBECİOĞLU, 1991, p.50

³⁰⁷ http://www_kültür_gov_tr-french-kültürsanat-tb-hacıbayram.htm

³⁰⁸ ÇAĞATAY, N., *Bir Türk Kurumu Olan Ahilik*, 1997, p.61: " the sun with horn engraved on member's gravestone was the only revelation of the membership"

³⁰⁹ CROSS, T.M. and LEISER G., *A Brief History of Ankara*, 2000, p.110.

dervishes mentioned the names of God aloud.³¹⁰ The contemplation on God was so important that even work was thought as a sort of praying to God. For example when weaving from right to left, the name of God was repeated which was known as "*zıkr-i hafı*", a secret chant.³¹¹

Besides the advice about seclusion from the world, Hacı Bayram also underlined the importance of self-sufficiency. Distanced from worldly ambitions, one was encouraged to work for others and to engage with land. Hacı Bayram Veli advised his followers a peasant's life similar to one he was acquainted with throughout his early childhood in Solfasıl.



³¹⁰ http://www_kültür_gov_tr-french-kültürsanat-tb-hacıbayram.htm

³¹¹ ÇAĞATAY, N., *Bir Türk Kurumu Olan Ahilik*, 1997 p.61; CEBECİOĞLU, E., *Hacı Bayram*, 1991, p.127-128. According to Hacı Bayram Veli's teaching, if a man is separated from all mortal beings and deeply meditates God appears in his heart like a light. In the Kuran it is written that: "God did not create two hearts in one chest" which is interpreted as the impossibility of holding two loves in the heart; in other words man can only dedicate himself to one love." Referring to this order of Kuran, Hacı Bayram underlined the importance of reserving the heart for the love of God, for it is the only love that leads to light. Melamilik stresses that there are two semi spheres around heart, one arises from the hearth and represents the outer life, and the other one descends and represents the inner life of the person. With the starting and ending points that merge on the heart, these two semi-spheres complete a circle. During the praying ceremonies Muslim contemplates on this mystique circle while keeping his eyes and mouth closed, holding his breath, and continually calling the God's name. The heart, which is in the circle surrounded with secular and divine thoughts, is the most precious place where the Muslim searches the light of divine existence.



Figure 36: *Çilekeřhane*, corridor leading to private chambers (Abdi Güzer's Archive)



Figure 37: *Çilekeřhane*, main area (Abdi Güzer's Archive)

3.3.3.4. The Architecture of The Hacıbayram Mosque

The Hacıbayram mosque was constructed attached to the Temple of Augustus on the northwest of the castle, in 1416.³¹² Until 1925, when the ordinance that was banned the activities of all *zaviyes* was issued, the mosque continued to work as a *zaviye*, a religious educational center. Even after the regulation, the mosque continued to be one of the highly valued religious centers in Anatolia.

The mosque was originally built as a *zaviye* mosque on a rectangular plan with a pitched roof that reflected the typical features of its time.³¹³ Later the building was enlarged with additions flanking on both east and west sides. The mausoleum of Hacı Bayram Veli, which is dated to 1429, is attached next to the mihrab wall of the mosque. It is a simple structure covered with a dome on a square plan. Some of the stones used in the construction of the mausoleum were taken from the Temple of Augustus. The minaret is located at the southeastern wall of the mausoleum, which has a square plan and made of brick on a stone base.

The Mosque doesn't have any outstanding decoration. On the contrary other than having a relatively large scale as a public building; it is a modest building made in brick masonry. Windows on the street level are bordered with niches with pointed arches on the outside and have iron grids. Pointed arched upper windows create a rhythm with niches on the lower level. The large Arabic calligraphy on the southern wall which is an inscription (*kelime-i tevhid*) from the Kuran, and modest geometrical horizontal patterns made of brick layouts are the only decorations on the exterior facades of the building. This modesty is quite pertinent to Hacı Bayram Veli's religious order advising to live a modest life, totally dedicated to contemplation on the love of God.

³¹² CEBECİOĞLU, E., *Hacı Bayram*, 1991, p.52

³¹³ GÜÇHAN, N. S. , "16-19. yy. Nüfus Tahminlerine Göre Osmanlı Ankara'sında Mahallelerin Değişim Süreçlerinin Üzerine Bir Deneme", *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.129: Güçhan mentions Lucas' notes about Ankara in 1705 which remarks that the roof of the mosque was made of lead.

Inside the mosque, there is a wooden ceiling, which is decorated with concentric geometrical patterns. Cornices with quite modest flower patterns painted on wood decorate the interior. In the main area the walls are covered with tiles up to the upper level of the windows. Following tiles, there is a molding, which provides a transition to the plain wall above. The plaster *mihrab* is carved in the form of stalactite niches, and there are inscriptions from the Kuran, covering the wall up to the ceiling.

Two inscriptions on the *kible* wall indicate that the mosque was restored in 1714 by one of the grandsons of Hacı Bayram Veli, Mehmet Baba. During the reign of Mustafa III (1757-1774), there was another restoration when the tiles of the mosque were completed.

Underneath the mosque there are chambers used as *çilekeşhane*, special praying rooms designed to isolate prayer from the world. Four units are linked to each other with an irregular corridor. This section is connected to the inside of the mosque with two trap doors.

The mosque utilizes the hill on which it is located to emphasize its importance. Being on a hilltop, the building stands out as a landmark especially from the side facing the castle, where the slope is more dramatic, and still dominates its environment.

3.3.3.5.The Hacıbayram Area in the Republican Period

Although Ankara was in an economic recession starting from the 19th century, there were still developments in the 19th century that guided the growth of the city towards west. The establishment of the new administrative center and the arrival of the railway to Ankara are the most important examples of these developments.

Before 1824 there was no specific building reserved for the administration of the city. The citizens of Ankara purchased the mansion of Hacı Abdi Paşa, which was located at the east of the Hacıbayram Mosque, for the new administrative center.³¹⁴ In order to answer the increasing needs of the bureaucracy, Hükümet Konağı, the new administrative building, was constructed on the site of this mansion in 1882.³¹⁵ In 1892, the construction of the railroad started as the new commercial reference point.³¹⁶

In 19th century, the urban fabric extended towards the area where today's Ulus Square is located. Around Karaoğlan-Balıkpazarı, a market place started to form and new neighborhoods appeared.³¹⁷

In the second half of the 19th century, Taşhan was constructed and the open area in front of the *han* was named as Taşhan Meydanı. The new avenue connecting the railway station to the city ended up in Taşhan Meydanı. Meşrutiyet Hotel and the Darülmüallimin (the school for teachers) were constructed in this area. Small shops serving horse chariots existed in the location where Ulus İşhanı (commercial center) was later constructed in the 1950's. Millet Bahçesi (where 100. Yıl Çarşısı stands today) was across the Ulus İşhanı. On the other corner of the street a new

³¹⁴ AKTÜRE, S., "1830'dan 1930'a Ankara'da Günlük Yaşam", *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.39

³¹⁵ AKTÜRE, 2001, p.53

³¹⁶ *Ankara vilayet Salnamesi* H.1311, 1895, p.243-244 cited by AKTÜRE, S., "1830'dan 1930'a Ankara'da Günlük Yaşam", *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.53

³¹⁷ Ulus Tarihi Kent Merkezi Çevre Düzenleme Yarışması, 1986, p.9-14.

building for the *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti* (Union and Progress Party Center) was being constructed.³¹⁸

In his *Nutuk*, Atatürk's mention of the critical role of the Hacıbayram Mosque for the opening of the National Assembly is representative of the importance of the mosque and its environment before the Republican period. Atatürk states that:

"By choosing Friday for the opening of the Grand National Assembly, it is aimed to benefit from the sacredness of this day. Through the Friday prayer which is going to be performed by all the representatives of the assembly at the Holy Hacıbayram Mosque, the light of the Kuran and the prayer will be gained and the power will be established."³¹⁹

Atatürk's stress on the importance of religious guidance for the new Turkish government's actions was political, and only aimed to provide the necessary popular support. In his telegraph to İsmet Paşa, in January 1924, Atatürk stresses that "*halifelik*" is a symbolic institution and does not have any meaning for either religious or political life in the new Republic, only interest to this institution may be historical.³²⁰ However the emphasis put on Hacıbayram, and religious act in relation with the National Assembly's opening is important to understand the significance of the religious motivations and the faith of the society before the Republican era.

When the Republic was established the most important symbols of the new State were already located in the area. Kılıçbay claims that, in the very early years of the Republic, for those coming to the city from Istanbul, Ankara was confined in the triangle defined by the train station, the First Assembly Building and Ankara Palas.³²¹

³¹⁸ ŞENYAPILI, T., 1985, p.7, cited by GÜÇHAN, N. Ş., "16-19. yy. Nüfus Tahminlerine Göre Osmanlı Ankara'sında Mahallelerin Değişim Süreçlerinin Üzerine Bir Deneme", *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.148

³¹⁹ ATATÜRK, M. K., *Söylev*, 1981, p.241: "Yurdun bağımsızlığını, yüce Halifelik ve Padişahlığın kurtarılması gibi en önemli ve ölüm kalımla ilgili görevleri yapacak olan bu) Büyük Millet Meclisi'nin açılış gününü cumaya rastlatmakla o günün kutsallığından yararlanılacak ve bütün sayın milletvekilleriyle birlikte Kutsal Hacı Bayram Camii'nde cuma namazı kılınarak Kur'an'ın ve namazın nurlarından ışık alınacak ve güç kazanılacaktır...isbu törende, camiden başlayarak, meclis'e deyin, Kolordu Komutanlığınca askeri birliklerle özel tören düzeni alınacaktır."

³²⁰ ATATÜRK, 1981, p.436

³²¹ KILIÇBAY, M. A., "Homo Politicus Ancyrensis" *Ankara Ankara*, 1994, p.141

The decision to use the headquarter of the İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti as the National Assembly Building, from where the War of Independence was conducted, was the most important decision regarding the formation of physical elements of collective memory. During the war this building was the symbolic representation of the new state, which was used as the coordination center of the war and became the political center of the new Republic. The open area in front of Taşhan, today known as Ulus Square, and İstasyon Street were used for political gatherings and ceremonies during the war, and the years following the foundation of the Republic.

Within the nucleus of the new Ankara, the second National Assembly Building, and the building of the Court of Finances (*Sayıştay*) were also constructed in the early years of the Republic. Taşhan gained a critical importance, being used for the accommodation of representatives who came to Ankara to join the national assembly. In the following years, various urban functions occupied the area increasing its importance. Stores, small offices and coffee shops were opened around today's Ulus Square.

The square was named as "Hakimiyet-i Milliye Meydanı" in 1923, as a dedication to the Nation and National Sovereignty. The construction of the statue of Atatürk in 1927 at the Hakimiyet-i Milliye Medanı was meant to commemorate the memories of the War of Independence and the formation years of the Republic. The new name of the square, and the statue therefore were meant to reinforce a Republican Collective Memory. While the leadership of Kemal Atatürk was emphasized with the elevated statue, the soldiers and the woman figure that carries equipment are the representation of the War of Independence. As the new references of the city, this monument of victory and the square became the merging point of the two important streets, Cumhuriyet Boulevard and Atatürk Boulevard, connecting the old city to the train station and to Çankaya respectively. While the train station was symbolically representing the commercial reference

point of the city, and Çankaya the political reference node of the city, the square in front of the Taşhan became the symbolic center of the ideals of the Republic.

In the urban configuration of the new capital the Hacıbayram Mosque gradually lost most of its importance as an urban center. Parallel to the decreasing role of religion in the political life, the Hacıbayram Mosque also lost its central role within the urban formation. The modernization project of the new Republic decreased the role of the Hacıbayram Mosque in the social life of the city, yet it gained another significance in relation to its place in the history of the city.



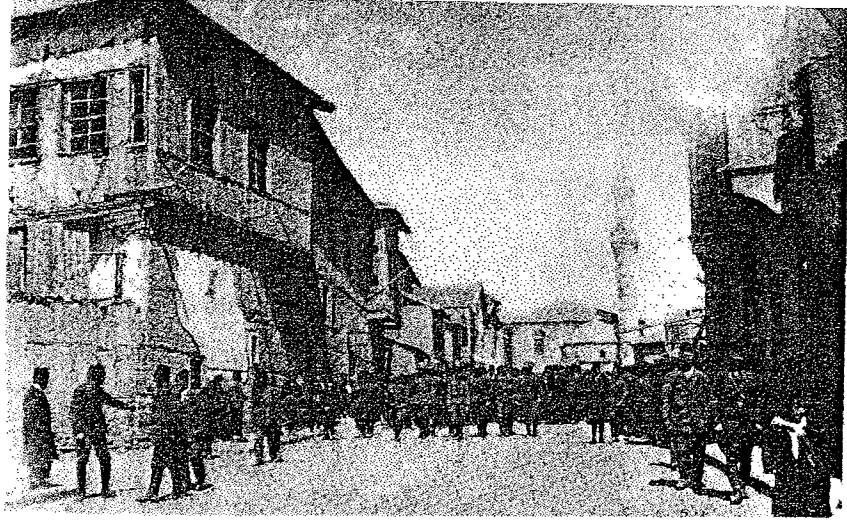
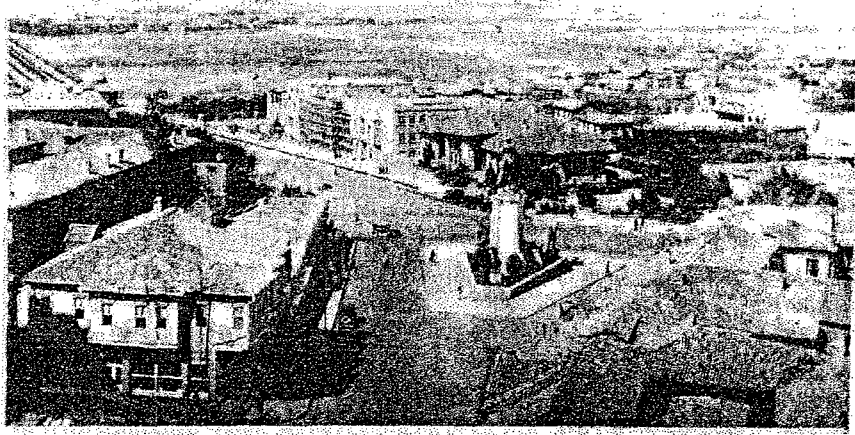


Figure 39: Hacıbayram Mosque, Atatürk and other assembly members returning from the Friday prayer, 23rd April 1920 (*Ankara*, ed. by ÖZEL, M. 1992, p.24)

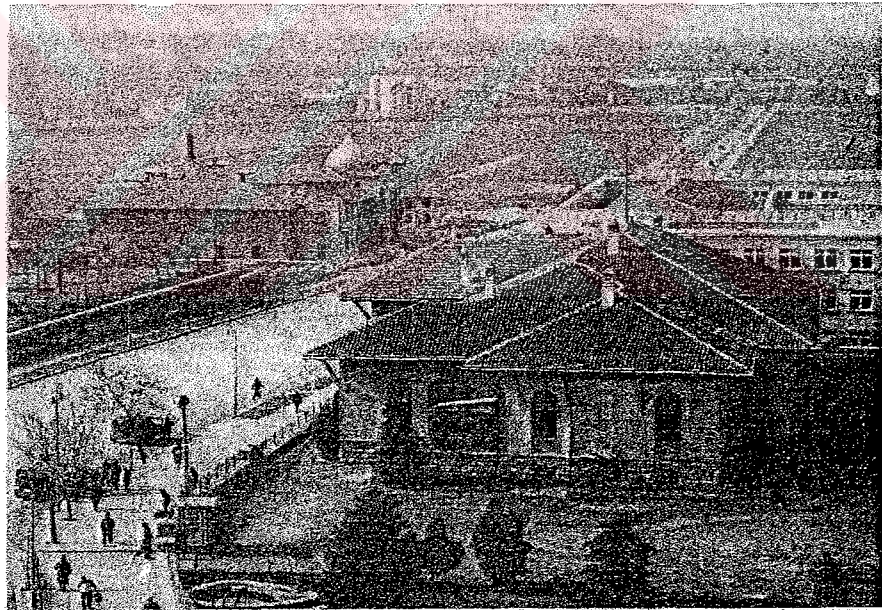


Figure 40: Hacıbayram Mosque today, view is same with the photo that shows Atatürk and his friends coming from Friday prayer on 23rd April 1920 (Abdi Güzer's archive)



Uluş Meydanından Ankara Garının görünüşü

Figure 41: An aerial view towards Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square (BAĞLUM, K. 1992 p.179, unpublished notes in AKTÜRE, S. archive)



1932 Uluş Meydanı'ndan İstasyon'a bakış

1932 A view of the Railroad Station from the Uluş Meydanı (Nation Square).

Figure 42: A view towards the Railroad Station from the Uluş Square in 1932. (Ankara, ed. by ÖZEL, M. 1992)

3.3.3.6. Construction of a New Historical Perspective; the Use of Archaeology to Create a National Collective Memory

In order to construct intellectual basis for the Turkish nationalism, studies on history and archaeology, language and other cultural fields were supported in the beginning of the Republican Period. Humanism based on Enlightenment philosophy formed the basis of these studies. Besides ordinances that secularize the cultural life, and introduce modern perspectives in art and science, institutions to undertake studies on Turkish history and language were formed. At the beginning of 1930s Türk Tarih Kurumu and Türk Dil Kurumu were established by Atatürk. The studies on history gained critical importance to resolve the conflicting relations of the Republic with the recent history by defining the roots of Turkish nationalism through pre-Islamic history. Archeological studies in Anatolia aimed to prove the continuity between the contemporary Turkish society and ancient civilizations, which occupied Anatolia.³²² Besides academic interest to ancient history was also considered part of being modernized based on humanistic ideals.

Atatürk's interest in archaeology was not limited with the history of the Turkish society, but he rather approached archaeology as a unifying element for different nations, therefore important for bringing the nations closer. He stressed the importance of archaeological investigations in Anatolia, as it would prove the ties of Turkish nation with other civilizations. In the meeting with the ambassador of the Italian government, Atatürk underlined the importance of archaeological studies about the common roots of Italian and Turkish civilizations within the context of Roman history.³²³

³²² ZÜRCHER, E. J. *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi*, 1999, pp. 274-280

³²³ GÜVEN, 2001, p.109; "(Atatürk'un) özellikle Roma tarihinin, İtalya'nın yanında Türkiye'yi de içine alan uzun arkeolojik geçmişine büyük saygısı vardı. İtalyan elçisine bu konu ile ilgili olarak, Roma'nın görkemli

Archaeological studies about the ancient history of Ankara started in 1925 and increased around 1940's.³²⁴ Through these studies, the Temple of Augustus gained the attention of the Republican administration. Archaeological studies in the area between 1926-1928 revealed the inscriptions.³²⁵ In 1937, as a contribution to the celebrations for the 2000th birthday of the first Roman Emperor Augustus, the south face of the Augustus temple was cleared from attached houses.³²⁶

3.3.3.7. Preservation Policies at the Hacıbayram Area in the Republican period

Similar to the preservation policy that designated the Citadel and its environs as a "Protocol Area" in the 1932 Jansen Plan, there was another preservation attempt for the traditional fabric of the city in 1986-87, which was prepared according to the discussions on conservation issues, started in the 1970s.³²⁷

The Jansen Plan aimed to preserve the most of the historical monuments of the city. The planning studies realized in the following decades due to the rapid population increase were not as sensitive as the Jansen Plan towards historical sections of the city.

The Hacıbayram Mosque was renovated twice in the 18th century. Jansen prepared a 1/500 plan for the arrangement of the surroundings of the Hacıbayram Mosque and the Temple of Augustus.³²⁸ Nevertheless, in spite of the Jansen Plan, which proposed a square in front of the Hacıbayram Mosque and the Temple of

tarihine değinirken 'yıllanmış ağaçların Türk ve İtalyan ulusları gibi derin köklerinin bulunmasının' gerekliliğine işaret ettiği bilinmektedir."

³²⁴ GÜVEN, S., "Bir Roma Eyaletinin Evrim Sürecinde Galatia ve Ancyra" *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.21

³²⁵ TUNÇER, M., "Ankara'da Tarihsel Çevrenin Korunmasına Yönelik Politikalar" *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.81

³²⁶ GÜVEN, S., "Bir Roma Eyaletinin Evrim Sürecinde Galatia ve Ancyra" *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.109

³²⁷ "Ankara Hacıbayram", *Med campus, AMIE*, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, p. 13

³²⁸ *Project Competition on Ulus-Historical Center*, Ankara Büyük Şehir Belediyesi İmar Dairesi Başkanlığı, 1985, p.11

Augustus, the area was not cleared until 1950's. A renovation of the mosque was carried out by in 1940 Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü.³²⁹ With the Yücel-Uybadin Plan in 1957, the area in front of the mosque was cleared. However the plan which proposed a density that allows 6-storey apartment height in the environs, visually blocked the area.

In 1964, 1/1000-scale plans, which showed the historical buildings to be protected, were prepared. Another study in 1972 was made in order to update the data of the plans made in 1964, and studies in 1979 proved that some of the buildings, which were supposed to be protected for their historical values, disappeared.³³⁰

Starting from the 1980s, planning studies related with the historically important buildings reached to a new phase. Ankara Şehri İmar Müdürlüğü (ASİM), The City of Ankara Planning Office, cooperated with universities in order to create a planning policy for the historical fabric of Ankara.³³¹ In 1980, the Hacıbayram Mosque and its environment were defined as the preservation area with a highest priority by law.³³² According to this ordinance, preservation and renovation plans were started to be prepared in 1986.

³²⁹ AKTÜRE, S., "16. Yüzyıl Öncesi Ankara'sı Üzerine Bilinenler", *Tarih İçinde Ankara*, 2000, p.23

³³⁰ *Project Competition on Ulus-Historical Center*, Ankara Büyük Şehir Belediyesi İmar Dairesi Başkanlığı, 1985, p. 71

³³¹ *Project Competition on Ulus-Historical Center*, 1985, p. 71

³³² TUNÇER, M., "Ankara'da Tarihsel Çevrenin Korunmasına Yönelik Politikalar" *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.82

CHAPTER IV

THE RENOVATION OF THE HACIBAYRAM HISTORIC DISTRICT

4.1. THE PRESERVATION STUDIES IN THE HACIBAYRAM AREA IN THE EARLY REPUBLIC

The contemplation on the preservation efforts of the Hacıbayram Area through planning studies should be started with Jansen's planning efforts in the first years of the Republic. The area, which was neglected during the Republican period, became an important urban task in the 1980's. The area was designated as the first phase of the urban transformation in the historical section of the city. The Hacıbayram renovation project was prepared as a part of Ulus-Historical Center Preservation and Renovation Project. This project, which seeks an integration of the modern city with the historical center, reflects the challenges of the society in establishing her relationship with her past.

4.1.1. Hacıbayram Area in the Jansen Plan

Jansen, having worked as a city planner in Berlin, was well aware of the meaning and importance of the historical urban core for modern cities. Therefore he aimed to construct the new capital city of Ankara as an example of a healthy unification of the historic old city and the modern life. Nevertheless while the new capital was being constructed, the old city did not become the focus of the new capital as

Jansen visualized. Therefore the evaluation of his vision for the role of historic fabric of the city in urban life is based on theoretical assumptions.

Studies of Jansen can be better understood in relation with Camillo Sitte's ideals on city planning. Sitte who is an Austrian architect, influenced many architects, planners and art historians especially in Germany, and helped the rise of interest in the preservation of historical centers of cities at the end of the 19th century.³³³

Investigating the social and aesthetic meaning of historic centers in the modern city life, Sitte's work also had important connotations for collective memory. The theoretical framework put forward by Camillo Sitte, underlining the importance of historical centers of modern cities, inspired Jansen's plan for Ankara. Hermann Jansen, as a follower of Sitte's principles, reflected Sitte's sensitivity for the historical and natural environment in Ankara's planning.³³⁴

4.1.1.1. Hermann Jansen and the Definitions of a Good City

*“Şehirler aynı zamanda gelecek zamanlara maziyi tanıtan birer varlıktır. Hatta harabeleri bile büyük bir zamana şehadet edebilirler.”*³³⁵ Hermann Jansen

As a follower of Camillo Sitte's principles, Hermann Jansen emphasized the importance of the old fabric, which is crucial for the symbolism it carries in the modern capital city.³³⁶

It is stressed in Jansen's report that the attraction of historical city can only be observed if the Ankara Castle stands like a crown on top of the hill in the middle of the historical section, surrounded by historical organic residential fabric. In

³³³ LEES, A., *Cities Perceived: Urban Society in European and American Thought, 1820-1940*, 1985, pp 181-182

³³⁴ TANKUT, G., *Bir Başkentin İmarı*, 1993, p. 103. See section 2.2.6. for further reading about Camillo Sitte.

³³⁵ JANSEN, H., *Ankara İmar Planı*, 1937, p.5

³³⁶ JANSEN, 1937

accordance with this aesthetic vision, he visualized the new Ankara developing around the invaluable vista of the castle. In Jansen's sketches the castle, surrounded by the historical fabric stands like a crown on the highest part of the city. Jansen believed that maintaining the castle, which is the most important national monument, would honor the history of Anatolia.³³⁷

Parallel to Camillo Sitte's theories on city planning, Jansen stressed the social importance of the historical environment. The originality of the city and the continuity of humanly life are related with the preservation of historic fabric of the city. In order to protect the traditional fabric of the city, Jansen avoided any new construction within the historical section of the city. In his report, Jansen proposed that except for some portions at western parts of the castle, the historical fabric surrounding this national monument should be preserved.

Jansen believed that the old city should be separated from the contemporary developments. He expressed his wish to have a sort of glass case that could protect the old fabric, isolated from any development.³³⁸ On the other hand, he was also aware of the fact that the engagement of the society with the historical fabric of the city was necessary to fuse the history of the city with daily life, and to motivate people to work for the "national unity and youth".³³⁹ Jansen underlined that the historical section of the city as the center of the War of Independence.³⁴⁰ New sections of the city should be constructed, while an active participation of the society with the Old City was maintained. The historical fabric, holding vivid memories of the formation years of the Republic cannot be considered completely isolated from the new constructions. Therefore Jansen also searched for ways to relate the historical fabric, where the memories of the formation years of the Republic were embodied, with the new constructions.

³³⁷ JANSEN, 1937, p. 18

³³⁸ JANSEN, 1937, p. 6

³³⁹ JANSEN, 1937, p. 5

³⁴⁰ JANSEN, 1937, p. 7

In the plan prepared by Jansen, the castle and its close environment were considered separately from the development areas. This historical part of the city was proclaimed as the "Protocol Area". Thus, in these areas any change concerning the street pattern was forbidden, and new residential or commercial constructions were not allowed. In accord with the existing urban fabric, the ratio between constructed areas to the land area was limited to 35%.³⁴¹ According to Jansen, within the old fabric of Ankara, a construction could only be done for the purpose of protecting the historical values. For example, service roads that might be needed in case of fire and other sorts of emergencies could be provided within this precious part of the city.

Jansen suggested that renovation and reconstruction should be considered only at the western parts of the historical Ankara, since the fires of 1917 and 1929 destroyed those areas. Because of the new public buildings constructed nearby at the very early years of the Republic, certain areas like Hacıbayram, İsmetpaşa, Hacıdoğan neighborhoods were considered as districts to be reconstructed. For this purpose, 1/500-scale plans were prepared for these areas. Nevertheless, in this reconstruction studies historically important buildings were to be preserved. The Temple of Augustus and the mosque of Hacıbayram were among those important historical buildings mentioned in Jansen's report.³⁴²

4.1.1.2. The Hacıbayram Square in the Jansen Plan

Sitte stressed that the main difference between the Modern City and the Old City is the meaning and the function of open spaces. Today the open space as it does not house the place of festivities any more, serves solely to allow "more air and light... within the sea of houses... to provide freer view of a large building and thus to add to its architectural effect."³⁴³ On the contrary, the agora of the Ancient Greek City

³⁴¹ JANSEN, 1937, p.41

³⁴² JANSEN, 1937, p.40

³⁴³ SITTE, C., *City Planning According to Artistic Principles*, 1965, p. 5

was the meeting place of the city council, and the market place where all citizens met and participated in the public life.

Sympathizing with the historical cities of earlier centuries, Sitte defined the ideal urban square as the public gathering place. According to Sitte, those squares, having smaller scales therefore creating an intimate atmosphere are the most successful urban squares. In his drawings he interprets the urban places that are interlocked with each other through irregular organic streets as carved-out parts of the urban fabric. Drawings reveal that Sitte's urban place conception is of spaces naturally controlled and defined by the existing built-environment, and formed according to complex relations between streets and buildings surrounding the square. For Sitte, the observation of a "number of lovely old plazas and whole urban layouts" is the appropriate way to start examining the ways to create admirable urban environments in our modern cities.

In the Jansen Plan prepared for the Hacıbayram Square, similarities with Sitte's drawings can be clearly seen. Buildings surrounding the square are hatched and shown as important elements that define the shape of the square. The area of the open museum enclosed that has a wall on the southeast of the temple and the courtyard of the mosque at the northwest side are separated.

The irregularity of the square reveals the gradual historical development of the area, which reflects the spontaneity as Sitte observed in the old plazas. Sitte believed that the irregularity seen in the organic historical fabric of the city stimulates the interest of the observer, and have a picturesque quality.³⁴⁴ Different angles created by natural organic development that shape the old plazas also provide the observer with an opportunity to view the plaza from different perspectives. The unique geometry that was created with irregular angles and breaks on the perimeter provides the observer with different vistas. One can easily observe the same understanding of urban spatial design in Jansen's proposal for a new square in front of the Hacıbayram Mosque.

³⁴⁴ SITTE, 1965, p. 48



Figure 43: Ankara, Saman Pazarı Square, by HERMANN JANSEN, Berlin, 1932 (JANSEN, H., *Ankara İmar Planı*, 1937)

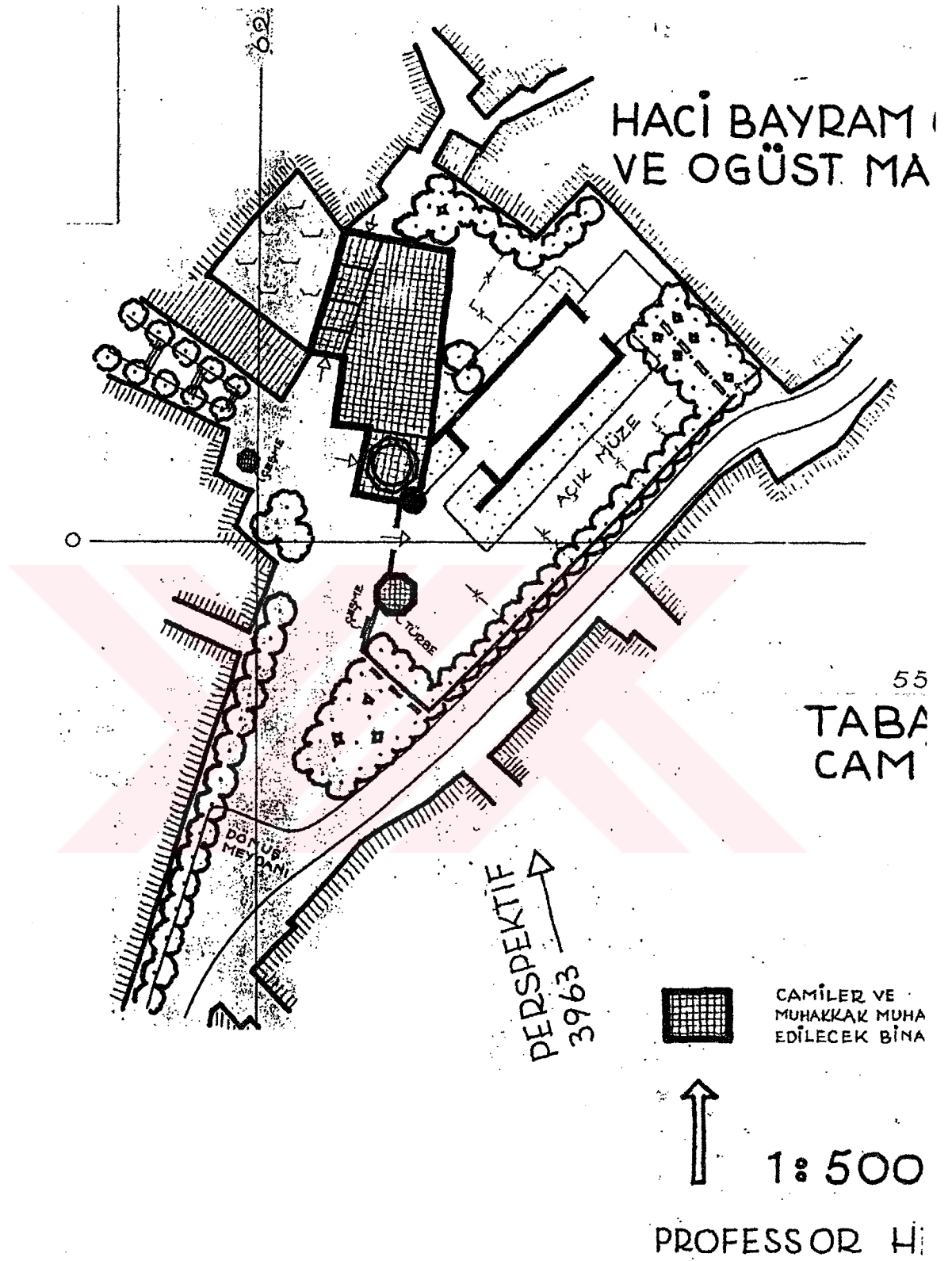


Figure 44: Hacibayram Mosque and the Temple of Augustus
Jansen Plan. (Raci Bademli's Archive)

By locating the Hacıbayram Mosque and the Temple of Augustus to the northern end of the square, Jansen intended to provide the spectator with a better view of the main buildings. Through the corridor created by the buildings on the longer sides of the square, which Sitte named as "deep layout", a conventional layout for religious buildings in public squares,³⁴⁵ Jansen, used the advantage of the main traffic approach from the Hükümet Street at the south of the area.

The proportional relation between surrounding scale of the buildings and the size of the square in Jansen's proposal is also in conformity with Sitte's principles for the design of public plazas. Sitte remarked that if the square becomes too big, its mutual relation with the surrounding buildings might get lost.³⁴⁶ The open space, which is fragmented and defined by a group of trees and a wall, limiting the area of the open museum, only takes two times more area than the area occupied by the temple and the mosque.

4.2. CONTEMPORARY APPROACHES TO THE HISTORIC SITE AT HACIBAYRAM

In Jansen's plan, Hacıbayram Area was considered as an important part of the historic fabric of the city, and was designed according to the pre-established principles suggested by Sitte. Without the identity concerns of the society the task was relatively easy for Jansen. Today the same area demands much more complicated considerations. Designers today are more aware of the social consequences of urban transformations hence face bigger responsibilities. An architectural study in the Hacıbayram area should be regarded a very challenging task that requires serious social inquiry in order to understand the social expectations from the built environment, within the frame of collective memory theories.

³⁴⁵ SITTE, 1965, pp. 39-43

³⁴⁶ SITTE, 1965, p. 41

At this point the importance of Ulus gets even more critical. In this section of the city the traditional old fabric should be protected as there are very important historical monuments carrying the memories of the first years of the Republic. Besides, buildings like the Mosque of Hacıbayram and the Temple of Augustus that connect the city with its further past history are also located in this section of the city.

4.2.1. Planning Efforts in Ulus before the Project Competition on Ulus-Historical Center

In spite of the explicit effort put forward in Jansen's planning studies for the preservation and evaluation of the historic center in Ankara, the old city became a degradation area while the new constructions for the capital were being made. While new planning studies were implemented to construct the new parts of the city, the historic Ulus district was deprived of any plans and implementations. The lack of maintenance and unhealthy transformation in the use of the residential fabric caused the spatial characteristics to be changed in this area, and resulted in a loss in the symbolic importance and prestige due to the emergence of negative social effects.

Abdi Güzer, who worked as an architect in the planning team of METU that prepared the renovation plan for the Hacıbayram Area, stresses that the zeal in creating a modern nation for the new Turkish Republic caused unprecedented destruction to the traditional urban fabric, and very little historic fabric could be preserved. This attitude, not only in Ankara but also in most cities of Turkey, resulted in the serious destruction of memories attached to the traditional urban fabric.³⁴⁷ Especially after the 50's, important transformations in every ten years as a result of increased height limits, created new layers in the cities. For many it is not possible to visit the movie-theater or any other environment remembered in the childhood memories.

Preservation measures aiming to register the historically significant architecture were issued first in 1964 by the 1/1000-scale plan of Gayri Menkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu (G.E.E.A.Y.K.), a governmental organization for the protection of historically important architectural heritage and monuments. This organization became the main organization for the preservation and maintenance of historically important architecture in the city. Similar efforts were repeated in 1972 and 1979 on 1/1000-scale plans. With these studies, old residential buildings and monumental urban elements were registered, and special plans that banned the demolition of these buildings were prepared. Through these studies, 150 hectares of area was defined as an urban archaeological area.³⁴⁸ Yet, in spite of these attempts of the organization, the deterioration and demolition of the historically important architecture in the city has continued. The reasons of this demolition in spite of government intervention and control were related with the inefficiencies of those organizations in coping with high speculative demands on urban land and the discord between different governmental organs.³⁴⁹

The preservation and protection plans have been prepared by Ankara Şehri İmar Müdürlüğü (ASİM), the City of Ankara Planning Directorate, since 1983. Under this administration, series of meetings were organized among academicians and bureaucrats.³⁵⁰ In these meetings, the Castle of Ankara, Hacıbayram and its environment, Suluhan and its environment, and Çıkırıçılar Yokuşu were selected as project areas in the Old City. In these plans, the relations among land use, and circulation were studied, and decisions of conservation were shown.³⁵¹

In 1985, it was decided to remove all the buildings that were added to the Hacıbayram Mosque, and plans were prepared for the preservation of the Hacıbayram Area. The preservation proposals intended to answer the changing

³⁴⁷ From the interview with GÜZER, C. A., April 1999

³⁴⁸ *Project Competition on Ulus-Historical Center*, Ankara Büyük Şehir Belediyesi İmar Dairesi Başkanlığı, 1985, pp 71

³⁴⁹ *Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu*, 14.10.1972, # 6691 cited by TUNÇER, M., "Ankara'da Tarihsel Çevrenin Korunmasına Yönelik Politikalar", *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, 2001, p.77

³⁵⁰ *Project Competition on Ulus-Historical Center*, 1985, p. 71

³⁵¹ *Project Competition on Ulus-Historical Center*, 1985, pp. 71-75

social and physical needs, and to be an example for the future preservation attempts.

4.2.2. Project Competition on Ulus-Historical Center

Ankara Municipality Urban Planning and Reconstruction Directorate organized a competition under the name of "Urban Design Competition on the Ulus-Historical Center" in 1986. The study area for the competition covered the old commercial center of Ankara. The castle and its close environment on the southern and southeastern outskirts, the area of Hacıbayram mosque, and western and northwestern areas of this section were considered as the historical center of Ankara. The competition aimed to obtain a development plan based on preservation, through which renewal and upgrading objectives could be achieved in the old commercial center of Ankara.

This study is important for the formulation of preservation policies in Ankara's urbanization. As a reflection of the modernization of the Republican Turkey,³⁵² the competition creates a discussion platform about the identity of the modern Ankara and the history of the city. In other words, the competition reveals an important challenge concerning urban policies in the context of the relation of the Republican Turkish society with her past.

The booklet prepared by the competition committee stresses that the evaluation of the historical urban environment, and the integration of old parts of the city with the contemporary urban life is one of the main problems of the urbanization of Ankara. It is stressed that, in spite of the decision to protect Ulus and its environment in Jansen Plan, the detailed planning and conservation studies for the preservation and development of the Ulus Historical City Center were not fully realized in the Republican era. It is stated that at present, the historic center of the

³⁵² TEKELİ, İ. *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık*, 1998, p.1

city faces an uncontrolled urbanization, which destroys the historically significant fabric.³⁵³ It is also argued that, the legal measures and considerations were not successful to provide the continuity of the historical urban fabric, which is central for the cultural, social, economical, traditional continuity.³⁵⁴

The competition's objective was to integrate the historical city within the social life through restoration and renovation studies. It is believed that through this integration, the historical center could be the most interesting and lively part of Ankara.³⁵⁵

It is clear that the consideration of the competition was not solely about preserving the historical fabric for the sake of the social history as historical information that should be visited and learned about. The competition conceptualized the historical fabric as a very important apparatus that would guarantee the continuity of the cultural identity. The continuity of the old environment was conceptualized as the physical correspondence of traditional social and economic life, which would guarantee for the society to revitalize her cultural heritage. Defining the aim of the competition as "the preservation of traditional production units to be adapted to modern life as well as the preservation of historical physical environment of this cultural heritage" is considered as fundamental for the reconciliation of Modern Turkish City with its traditional center.³⁵⁶

The objective of the Project Competition on Ulus-Historical Center to integrate the Old City with the New Capital, which sounds quite similar to Jansen's proposal, in fact has a slightly different tone as the Old City is considered as a heritage of the Ottoman Period in the competition booklet. While Jansen underlines the importance of the historical section of the city as the center of the War of Independence,³⁵⁷ the competition committee puts an emphasis on creating an

³⁵³ *Project Competition on Ulus-Historical Center*, Ankara Büyük Şehir Belediyesi İmar Dairesi Başkanlığı, 1985, p.1

³⁵⁴ *Project Competition on Ulus-Historical Center*, 1985, p.1

³⁵⁵ *Project Competition on Ulus-Historical Center*, 1985, p.2

³⁵⁶ *Project Competition on Ulus-Historical Center*, 1985, p.2

³⁵⁷ JANSEN, H., *Ankara İmar Planı*, 1937, p. 7

example for the modern city planning integrated with an Ottoman-Turkish city center which is central for the formation of cultural identity of future generations.³⁵⁸ Articulation of Ottoman heritage with the contemporary city is stated in the booklet as an important requirement for the cultural continuity. What is meant by "cultural continuity" therefore is the reconciliation with traditions identified with the historical fabric of the pre-Republican city, as opposed to universal rational values that were dominating the Republican ideology.

In the competition booklet, an emphasis is put on Ottoman and Ahi period buildings in the section where the history of the city and transformations of the competition areas are summarized.³⁵⁹ In the same section where the history of Ankara is summarized, although the Roman period's significance in the history of the city is mentioned, architectural remains from this period are not cited. While the Castle, *hans* and *bedestens* are pronounced as the important historical heritage that reveal the political and social history of the city, the importance of the Temple of Augustus or the tumuli within today's fabric of the city is not mentioned. In this regard, the study marks a difference from the planning and preservation objectives of Jansen Plan. In the Jansen Plan, the historical fabric of the city is evaluated within modernism's universal perspective as an aesthetic element. Besides, the social implication of the preservation of Old City is described in relation with War of Independence. The Old City is defined as the most precious area of the city because as it was the center of the War of Independence, it carries the precious memories and should be preserved as a reminder of the ideals of the Republic.³⁶⁰ However, in the formulation of the aim of the competition of 1986, there is no special emphasis on Ankara's being the capital of Independence movement. The reason for this might be that unlike the very first years of the Republican period, the cultural heritage of the Ottoman Period was no longer seen as a threat for the

³⁵⁸ *Project Competition on Ulus-Historical Center*, Ankara Büyük Şehir Belediyesi İmar Dairesi Başkanlığı, 1985, p.2

³⁵⁹ *Project Competition on Ulus-Historical Center*, 1985, p.9

³⁶⁰ JANSEN, H., *Ankara İmar Planı*, Alaeddin Kiral Basımevi 1937, p.7

resolution of the Republic to be a modern state, on the contrary, it was started to be perceived as being under the threat of destruction.

Regarding the Hacıbayram area, the betterment of the use value of the Mosque was emphasized also as an important objective. Besides a multipurpose building to be used as "Hacıbayram Kültür Merkezi", which will house a library, exhibition hall, bookstore, and some other places for various religious activities, a new building to be used by the *imam* of the mosque, enlargement of the walls of the mosque's courtyard, new *tabutluk* and *gasilhane* were asked from the designers.³⁶¹

4.2.3. Ulus Renewal Plan by the Planning Team from METU Led by Raci Bademli

The project, which was prepared by Raci Bademli and a planning team from the Faculty of Architecture of METU, was selected for implementation as a result of the Project Competition on Ulus Historical Center.³⁶² Mainly two main pedestrian systems and urban plazas defined by strong geometries are proposed by this project. One of these pedestrian systems between the train station and the castle combines the plazas proposed for the Ulus Square, for the area in front of the Municipality Building and for the open space by the Hacıbayram Mosque.³⁶³ The Ulus Square is designed as a triangular square corresponding to the tree axes, one extending to Çankaya on the south, one connecting the square with the Train Station and the other corresponding to the Castle. The Hükümet Square on the other hand has a rectangular shape that emphasizes the façade of the Municipality Building. On the east of the Hükümet Square, the Hacıbayram Square is square shaped.

³⁶¹ *Project Competition on Ulus-Historical Center*, Ankara Büyük Şehir Belediyesi İmar Dairesi Başkanlığı, 1985, p.5

³⁶² Ulus Historical Center Planning Competition, Jury Report, 1986

³⁶³ BADEMLİ, R., "Ulus Tarihi Kent Planlama Çalışmaları", "Koruyucu Kent Yenilemesi ve Yerel Yönetimler", 13-14 Aralık 1991 *Türk-Alman Semineri*, 1992

The second pedestrian system starts from the Station Building and stretches to the Hergele (or İtfaiye) Square. From Hergele Square, the project suggests pedestrian axes combining the area with Suluhan, Ankara Castle through the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations and through Samanpazarı and to İbni Sina Hospital.³⁶⁴

Raci Bademli was concerned with creating "urban plazas" that would be appreciated as social gathering areas within the flow of modern Ankara's social life. Believing in the lack of any conception of an urban plaza in the Turkish cities, Bademli aimed to insert plazas as public spaces in the city center, and proposed abstract geometries for defining them. Therefore the plaza proposed in Hacıbayram is square, Hükümet Square is rectangular and Ulus Square is triangular. Connected with pedestrian axes, these plazas are thought to be sort of display areas for historic buildings and monuments. In other words Bademli's intention was to create a modern environment for public to penetrate and appreciate the historical environment in the old center of Ankara.

In the planning process of the Ulus project, open spaces were studied in terms of squares, pedestrian axes, vista terraces, parks, parking areas, and the transportation structure.³⁶⁵ According to Bademli, the Hacıbayram Square has a central role, joining the Roman Bath, the Temple of Augustus and the Odeon. Besides, the proximity of the area to the Ulus Square, the relation with the Hükümet Square by means of stairs and its visual link with the castle strengthen the symbolic and functional importance of the Hacıbayram Square.³⁶⁶

³⁶⁴ BADEMLİ, 1992

³⁶⁵ BADEMLİ, 1994, cited by SIRANLI, S., *Urban Design As Process Design: An Evaluation of Ulus Historic Center Planning and Urban Design Experience*, (Unpublished MS Thesis) METU, 1999, p.31

³⁶⁶ BADEMLİ, 1994, cited by SIRANLI, S., *Urban Design As Process Design: An Evaluation of Ulus Historic Center Planning and Urban Design Experience* (Unpublished MS Thesis) METU, 1999, p.31



Figure 45: Ulus Historical Center Planning Project (1986) (Raci Bademli's Archive)

4.2.4. The Hacıbayram Veli Mosque Environmental Renewal Project

As a part of Ulus Historical Center preservation studies, the winning group headed by Raci Bademli prepared the project, which is named as “Hacıbayram Veli Mosque Environmental Renewal Project”. Regarding the collaboration of different disciplines related with the project, Bademli's work was exemplary. There were planners, economists, sociologists, archaeologists, architects, landscape architects, industrial designers, and engineers involved in the design process. Moreover property owners, politicians, bureaucrats, journalists, lawyers, associations and cooperatives were also consulted.³⁶⁷ In order to coordinate the studies among different disciplines through regular meetings, an organization, which was named as "decision committee" was formed.³⁶⁸

The selection of the Hacıbayram project as the first to be implemented among twelve different project packages prepared in accord with the Ulus Renewal Plan, according to Bademli is a political choice. The project to be constructed was finished on August 23rd, 1990; the first stage of the implementation was started on August 28th, 1990 and was finished on September 16th, 1991.³⁶⁹ The second stage of the implementation was finished on May 25th, 1994.

Problems faced during the implementation of the project were due to the lack of experience for such an urban preservation and renovation project that required an instrumentalization of different bureaucratic agencies. Political debates related with the responsibility of the implementation of the project also became a problem

³⁶⁷ BADEMLİ, KIRAL; 1993

³⁶⁸ BADEMLİ, R., “Ulus Tarihi Kent Planlama Çalışmaları”, “Koruyucu Kent Yenilemesi ve Yerel Yönetimler”, 13-14 Aralık 1991 *Türk-Alman Semineri*, 1992

³⁶⁹ ŞİRANLI, S., *Urban Design as Process Design: An Evolution of Ulus Historical Center Planning and Urban Design Experiences*, (Unpublished MS Thesis) METU, 1999

for the realization process. With the new municipal elections, the support given by the previous political authority was cut off.³⁷⁰

Before the project, the area was composed of a traditional old residential fabric that was fused with slum formations. The Temple of Augustus and the Hacıbayram Mosque were squeezed in the middle of this traditional residential fabric and slum houses and a parking area on the traffic axis, which was heavily used by minibuses.³⁷¹

According to Bademli, the discord between the religious activities due to the importance of Hacıbayram Mosque and the Hacıbayram Veli's Türbe, and the elaboration of the Temple of Augustus as an important historic tourist center is an important problem of the area. Furthermore, due to the pressure of the traffic, utilization of the area in front of the mosque as a parking area, converts the historic fabric into a chaotic area.³⁷²

Bademli formulates the objective of the project as transforming the urban chaos in the area into an environmental richness within the frame of a reachable, perceptible, usable public plaza.³⁷³ For this purpose the rehabilitation of the existing structure, while giving importance to the cultural values in the area, was stated as the most important task. The conservation of the archeological values in the area became an important issue of the design. In order to rehabilitate the religious and tourist activities in the area, constructing a modern infrastructure was aimed. Bademli states that they also intended to integrate the architecture of the new constructions with the traditional pattern and monumental structures.³⁷⁴

In order to create a pedestrian environment around the mosque and the Temple of Augustus, the traffic for vehicles was restricted. A small road on the southeast of

³⁷⁰ ŞİRANLI, 1999, p.53

³⁷¹ From an interview with Abdi GÜZER, April 1999

³⁷² BADEMLİ, 1992, cited by SİRANLI, S., *Urban Design As Process Design: An Evaluation of Ulus Historic Center Planning and Urban Design Experience*, (Unpublished MS Thesis) METU, 1999, p.45

³⁷³ BADEMLİ, R., "Ulus Tarihi Kent Planlama Çalışmaları", "Koruyucu Kent Yenilemesi ve Yerel Yönetimler", 13-14 Aralık 1991 Türk-Alman Semineri, 1992, p. 19

³⁷⁴ BADEMLİ, 1992, p.22

the plaza was provided for direct usage of the square by traffic, for service and for emergency. In order to accentuate the visibility of the mosque, the Temple of Augustus, city wall, archeological ruins and the traditional pattern surrounding the area, "unharmonious structures" were demolished,³⁷⁵ and the borders of the square were accentuated.

In the competition booklet, it is not very clear how much renovation and how much preservation is asked from the designers. The design team of METU aimed to come up with a project that may generate an urban transformation in the whole Ulus area. Therefore the primary objective was not to preserve everything as it was. On the contrary, it was aimed to attract new developments in the area so that the historical heritage can again be the center of the urban life. New architecture, modern urban formations that are needed by contemporary society to attract urban life to the area was important apparatus for the project.

The mosque has a relatively humble scale compared to Sultan's Mosques in Istanbul or the Kocatepe Mosque in Ankara. Yet the Hacıbayram Mosque is a very important symbol for Ankara's social life. One may even think that the physical form of the mosque does not correspond to the social significance attached to it. Citizens before the weddings and circumcision ceremonies visit the Mosque and the *türbe* of the Hacı Bayram Veli and the mosque is preferred for most funeral ceremonies. The square is crowded on every Friday and on other sacred days by the people who come to pray, and during the Ramadan, the municipality establishes an *aşevi* in front of the mosque for the poor to have dinner, and every year, when there is an exam for the governmental positions hundreds of people come to the area before the examination and pray for success. Therefore the mosque and its close environment have a strong social definition in the city. People go to Hacıbayram also in order to find special books on Islam, and apparatus used in religious ceremonies. In other words, the area is an important commercial center in relation with religious practices. Besides, there are still certain people in the area secretly continuing their activities in the name of

³⁷⁵ BADEMLİ, 1992, p.23

different religious sects.³⁷⁶ In fact, the mosque is still the representation of a social formation, which resisted to the modernization ideals of the Republic. This conservative social formation, which is related to traditional cultural practices, resisted the open, transparent and flexible character of the modern structures introduced by the project. This was actually an important obstacle for the Hacıbayram project team who wanted to introduce new functions and signification to the area and to the mosque. Guaranteeing the continuity of the commercial activities in the area after the project's implementation was an important tactic to overcome the social resistance to the project.

Another important problem of the project was about the formation of the square since it was a new concept not just for Hacıbayram or Ankara, but for the Turkish culture. It is generally believed that there is not any conception of a public square in the Turkish society, as it is understood in the western world. Therefore the physical understanding of the concept was needed to be defined and fulfilled through the project. Previously the mosque was standing nearly in the middle of an open area. Attempts to define a new square in front of the mosque inevitably created a conflict with the surrounding historical fabric since the peripheries of this defined square would interfere with the surrounding environment. Design of a monumental square that is meant to correspond to the social meaning of the mosque resulted in the partial destruction of the traditional fabric surrounding the area.

The square was constructed by creating an open area as a perimeter around the mosque at possible lowest level. The existing tumulus in the square prevented the elevation of the square to be set below a certain level, as it would harm the archeological remains in the tumulus. As a result, an architectural arrangement, which starts in front of the mosque, and covers its environs, is also considered as a protective container for the tumulus.

³⁷⁶ See section 4.2.6. "The Perception of users; evaluation of the Hacıbayram Project"

There was an attempt to utilize geometry in relation to the orientations of the Hacıbayram Mosque and the Temple of Augustus in search of symbolic architectural language that may represent the juxtaposition of the two important civilizations represented in the area. The grid plan used on the square therefore refers to the orientations of the temple and the mosque.

At the southeast of the area facing the castle, the square is defined by two storey high arcade structures housing shops and bookstores. This linear structure enforces the axis that is created by the traffic circulation. The façade of this structure was covered with stone, aiming to be in harmony with the materials of the Temple and the Mosque. While relatively uniform and two-storey high facade corresponds to the monumental character of the square, at the rear of the structure it was attempted to create another architectural language that might be unified with the residential fabric surrounding it. In contrast with the two-storey high shops used in the front side, the rear part of the structure was designed as a one-storey building with courtyards. The attempt here was to reconcile the modern public character of the square with the traditional residential fabric surrounding it. In this respect this, linear building has a double facade corresponding to two different architectural languages, and attempts to create a transition from the modern, uniform and disciplined public character of the square in the front to the organic and piecemeal traditional residential fabric at the back. The structure therefore constructs its own architectural language as being in-between modern and traditional, and in this regard summarizes the challenge of whole Ulus Renovation and Preservation Project in its own scale. By this effort the METU design team aimed at creating a reference for the further stages of the project that could handle the preservation and re-evaluation of the surrounding historic fabric.

On the western side of the square facing the Hükümet Square, the project utilizes the natural slope to define the perimeter of the square. This side, connecting the area to the Hükümet Square, facing also the Justinian's Column and running parallel to an important traffic axis connecting two important public transportation nodes one at the Hükümet street and the other by the Bentderesi Street, is an important place for the collective memory of many different social groups in

Ankara. Housing the historic governmental building, which has a public scale like the temple and the mosque, Hükümet Square becomes an important reference point for the articulation of this side of the Hacıbayram Square. The structure facing the Hükümet Square was therefore aimed to be transparent and open, which may work as a connection between two squares instead of creating a concrete strong boundary. In accord with this decision, the slope was designed as a structure that facilitated circulation and visual relation between the Hükümet Square and the Hacıbayram Square.

Fragmentation and overhangs attached to the facade of the structure facing the Hükümet Square was a reference to the residential architecture existing in the street. The structure -similar to the one on the southeastern side of the square-, has a dual character, one corresponding to the scale of the street facing West and the other corresponding to the monumental scale of the square. On the second floor of the structure, there are coffeehouses for different craftsmen, similar to those that used to occupy the same location before the project. Likewise, Amele Pazarı, a gathering place that works as a market place of daily workers continues its function after the implementation of the project. During the design process of the project, the area in front of the wide staircases at the southwest of the plaza was considered as a potential place for this market place of daily workers. Today people successfully use the area in front of the stairs as the market place of workers, and people still go to the coffeehouses in order to find needed craftsmen.

I believe that having different visions for the identity of the modern Turkish society, Raci Bademli, Gönül Evyapan and Abdi Güzer, all contributed to the project with distinct -sometimes conflicting- approaches. A comparative study of these approaches that were put forward by these planners and architects provides one with a better understanding of the possibilities in constructing a relation between a society and her past, via urban design.



Figure 46: Environs of Hacibayram during the execution of the project (Abdi Güzer's Archive)



Hacibayram Çevre Düzenleme Projesi: Model

Figure 47: Model of the early phase in the Hacibayram Project (Raci Bademli's Archive)

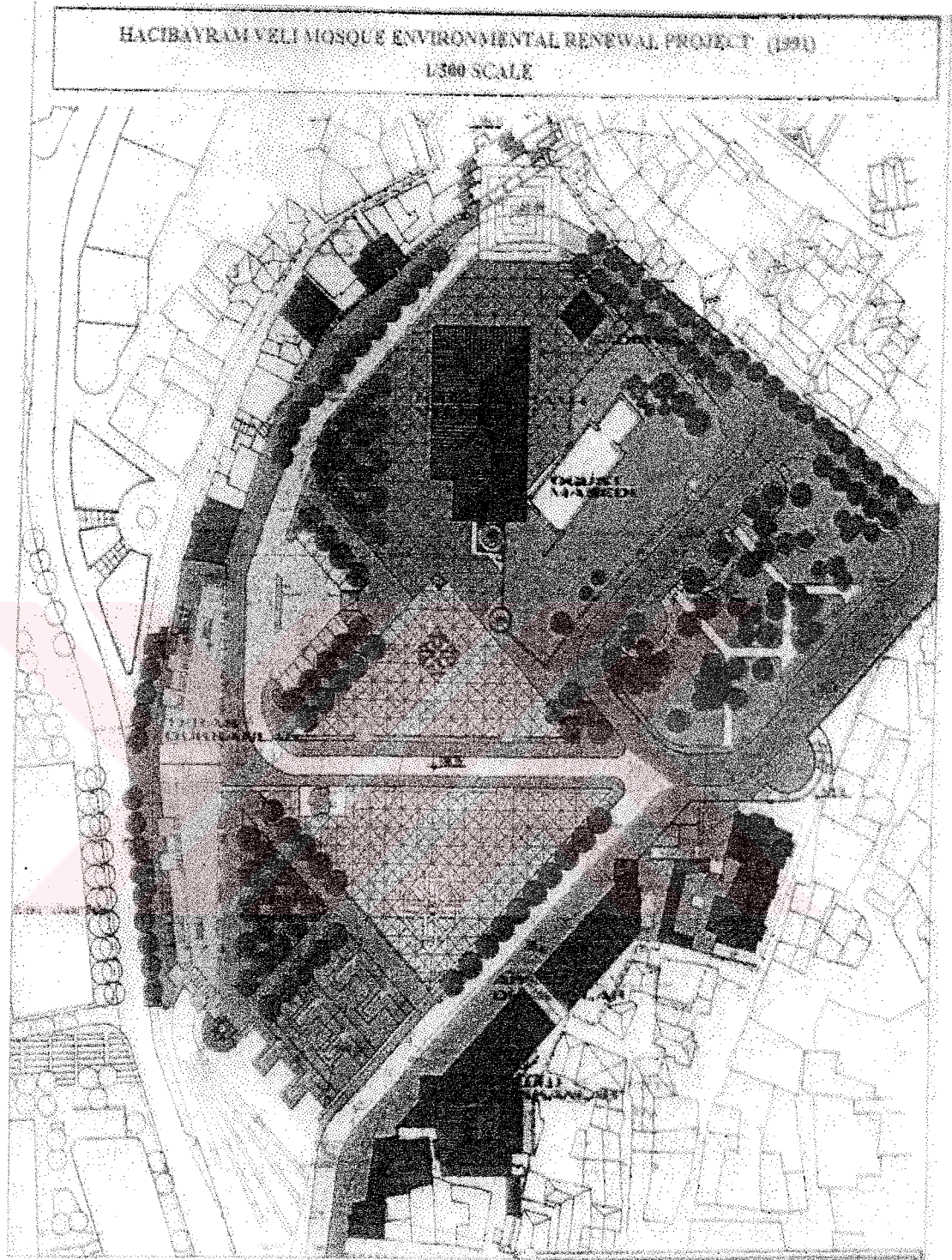


Figure 48: Hacibayram and its Environs, Public Project Area, 1991 (Raci Bademli's Archive)

I believe that Raci Bademli; the head of the Project team conceptualized the task as a re-formulation of the relation of the modern Turkish society with the historic environment parallel to western examples. Bademli aimed at creating a contemporary definition for the traditional-historic urban fabric as an important urban generator, a center of attraction. Accordingly, in order to create a strong definition for the historic site, Bademli emphasized the importance of well-defined geometry.

On the other hand, Gönül Evyapan's approach to the project was shaped through her academic interests regarding the formation and the identity of Turkish landscape architecture. Evyapan's emphasis on the use of traditional forms, and her proposal that seeks the modern interpretation of the perception of the environment of the traditional Turkish society implied a different ideology in the evaluation of the historic environment in Ankara.

Finally Abdi Güzer's efforts to introduce a "modern" vocabulary into the historic site, creates an opportunity to study the meaning of the historic environment through the perspective of contemporary architectural criticisms. Parallel to Abdi Güzer's interest in the architectural theory of multicultural life and postmodernism, opens up another perspective in considering the subject of collective memory in the context of this case study.

4.2.4.1. Raci Bademli; The Evaluation of the Site as an Urban Generator

Raci Bademli's main focus as the head of the project team was the orchestration of the project in the design of the physical environment and the process of implementation. Although he had important reservations for the articulation of architectural elements and their meaning within the square, his main concern was the relation of the project with the other parts of the city, and with the Turkish culture in a larger scale. Therefore, the social and political message conveyed by

the project, and determination of the role of the project within the social life of modern Ankara should also be attributed to Raci Bademli.

Implications of Geometry on the Historical Site

There are differences between the program given to the designers by the competition committee, and the proposal prepared by the METU design team. Requirements like a new building to be used by the *imam*, the enlargement of the courtyard of the mosque, new *tabutluk* and *gasilhane*, which were all mentioned in the competition booklet, were not included in the project. In fact the competition committee demanded the improvement of the existing character of the Hacıbayram area as a religious center with a few urban enhancements.³⁷⁷ Yet, Raci Bademli's project team proposed to create a public space: a public plaza with a strong geometry that framed the mosque, the temple, and other social and commercial activities. The strong geometry that reflects the urban character of the plaza dominates the overall design intentions of the proposal, and aims to pronounce the role and the meaning of a public plaza for modern Ankara.

According to Bademli, the concept of Public Square, as a social gathering place, which is both symbolically and functionally the center of the urban life, is closely related with the roots of western city life. Therefore studying the methods and objectives of the use of geometry in western cities is crucial for the project.³⁷⁸ The geometry was carefully applied in Greek cities to create a balance and support the sculptural effect of important buildings. Most of the plazas in Roman cities accommodated busy commercial activities, and were also considered multi-purpose places. The Roman forum had a formal geometry that reflected its being the seat of authority with its official buildings and municipal offices.³⁷⁹ In the

³⁷⁷ *Project Competition on Ulus-Historical Center*, Ankara Büyük Şehir Belediyesi İmar Dairesi Başkanlığı, 1985, p.5

³⁷⁸ From an interview with Raci BADEMLİ, June 1999

³⁷⁹ Mac DONALD, W. L., *The Architecture of the Roman Empire ii. An Urban Appraisal*, 1986, p.51

Roman east, as a result of Hellenistic influence to regularize the agora, clear geometry became even more pronounced over time.

Bademli conceptualized the square shaped plaza as a means to introduce a modern architectural definition of the public place: an open area intentionally designed to house social activities, and works as an urban generator through its historical importance.³⁸⁰ It is believed that through the strong geometrical identity, the plaza becomes a part of modern urban vocabulary.

One can argue that there is also an ideological disagreement between the project proposed by the METU design team, and the program's objectives prepared by the competition committee, which is about the meaning and role of the Ottoman cultural heritage on the formation of the modern Turkish society. In the competition booklet it was stressed that the main objective was to create an exemplary study that would rehabilitate the Ottoman historic center and would fuse it with the modern urban life. Therefore the competition committee demanded a preservation that could encourage and sustain cultural continuity in the historic fabric. However, Bademli's design policy at the Hacıbayram area implies that the interest of the modern Turkish society in the Ottoman cultural heritage should be historical, and should not be integrated within today's social life.

The difference in the evaluation of the Ottoman architectural heritage is strictly related with the debate on the place and the role of Ottoman culture in modern Ankara. While the competition committee sought a re-interpretation of Ottoman cultural heritage through re-vitalization and enhancement of the mosque's activities, Bademli stressed to a break between the Ottoman society and the modern Turkish society as he introduced the mosque solely as the witness of the past-history. For Bademli the mosque was evaluated as precious historical evidence that witnessed the vanished social organization of the Ottoman City. Thereupon, in spite of competition's objective to enhance the use value of the

³⁸⁰ BADEMLİ, R., "Ulus Tarihi Kent Planlama Çalışmaları", "Koruyucu Kent Yenilemesi ve Yerel Yönetimler", 13-14 Aralık 1991 *Türk-Alman Semineri*, 1992,

Hacıbayram Mosque, the project prepared de-emphasized the use value of the Mosque and accentuated its historical value.

One may argue that this attitude shares the same ideological framework with Atatürk's claim for the role and the importance of the *halifelik*: In his discourse, Atatürk underlines that "the honor of *halifelik* can not be more than historical memory for the new Turkish Republic".³⁸¹ This approach in conformity with the objective of the Republic to be a secular modern society provides the inclination of the project to emphasize the historical value of the mosque and its cultural meaning with a legitimate base.

For Bademli, important historical artifacts including the Hacıbayram Mosque, the Temple of Augustus and the traditional residential fabric, are to be connected to each other through the geometry of the Square. In other words the plaza is the concretization of the perspective of the modern society towards the historical elements. Through the construction of the plaza, the Hacıbayram Mosque, the Temple of Augustus and the traditional residential fabric are brought to the same platform each representing the history of the city. In the project, the Temple of Augustus and the Hacıbayram Mosque are observed together, and are represented as connected as they both are introduced as parts of the linear historical perspective.

4.2.4.2. Gönül Evyapan's Proposal; Physical Environment as a Means to Preserve the Cultural Heritage

*"Islam aspired to create gardens resembling the Paradise
promised in the Koran, the mystic Islam praised and saw in the face of
the rose in the garden, God Himself"*³⁸² Gönül Evyapan

³⁸¹ ATATÜRK, M. K. Söylev, 1981, p. 436

³⁸² ASLANOĞLU EVYAPAN, G., *Old Turkish Gardens*, 1999, p. 1

Gönül Evyapan's studies about the traditional Turkish Gardens regarding the social and ideological implications of their formal vocabulary constituted a basis for the ideological framework she used in her design for the Hacıbayram project. Having a different ideology than Raci Bademli's approach, Evyapan's proposal for the project was not realized. Yet, her design for the Hacıbayram Square creates an opportunity to discuss the formation of the architectural elements and their ideological connotations in terms of the interpretation of the historical heritage of the area from a different perspective.

In contrast to Raci Bademli's approach, which sees the project as an important opportunity for building a new urban vocabulary, Evyapan aims at constituting the continuity between Ottoman Turkish cultural heritage of the city and the contemporary needs of Ankara. While Raci Bademli searches for the best urban configuration to introduce the society with the new identity of the Hacıbayram Mosque as a part of the history of the modern Turkish Society, Evyapan seeks for a contemporary architectural interpretation of the values attached to the Hacıbayram Mosque that could express the relation of the society to the Ottoman past.

The Turkish Culture of Landscaping

Gönül Evyapan's investigation of "Old Turkish Gardens"³⁸³ is important to understand her design motivations in the Hacıbayram project. Her study reveals important clues about how the natural environment is perceived by the Turkish society. Traces of the nomadic culture and Islam's ideological framework for the nature are given as the most important elements shaping the relation of the Turkish culture with natural environment.

Gönül Evyapan stresses that Turks' relation with nature has always been in an intimate level because of the traces of nomadic tradition. The nomadic experience

³⁸³ ASLANOĞLU EVYAPAN, 1999, p.1

was in vast scales in terms of valleys, rivers and mountains. Therefore Turks perceived nature as a phenomenon that dominates the social and cultural life rather than "something to rule".³⁸⁴

It is only after the encounter of the Turkish Society with settled societies that the conception of enclosed garden for Turks appeared. Nevertheless the garden has always been considered as something to live-in rather than an aesthetic element. Nature -even enclosed within the walls attached to a house- was an escape for the Turks to spend time, an opportunity to engage with nature.³⁸⁵

The Turks retained seasonal migrations to "yayla", to summer resorts in Anatolia.³⁸⁶ Apart from these summer resorts, Turkish people also tried to bring greenery into the town as much as possible where the climate allowed.³⁸⁷

Regarding the placement of the garden, Evyapan argues that the land in terms of terrain, view, air, water or hunting possibilities were the determinants. The formal aesthetic would follow the functions, and was not an important determining factor for the elaboration of the garden. Therefore lack of architectural control, non-axial and non-architectural layout was usual for Turkish gardens. The conception of nature to live-in instead of something to be perceived was important for the formation of the non-axial development of Turkish gardens.³⁸⁸

While formality was not the main factor in arranging the elements of the garden, the human scale was the main consideration in design; flowers, water, land, trees should have been considered within the range of man's hand, so that the participation of man with nature could be achieved. The engagement with nature

³⁸⁴ ASLANOĞLU EVYAPAN, 1999, p 1

³⁸⁵ ASLANOĞLU EVYAPAN, 1999, pp 5-6. Traveler's accounts in Anatolia from the 19th century illustrate that Turkish cities had a rich garden culture embodied with the residential life. Every dwelling in the cities regardless of their economic and social differentiation had an enclosed open space in the form of a garden or a courtyard, an area attached to house that created an opportunity for the outdoor living

³⁸⁶ ASLANOĞLU EVYAPAN, 1999, p. 3

³⁸⁷ ASLANOĞLU EVYAPAN, 1999, p. 4

³⁸⁸ ASLANOĞLU EVYAPAN, 1999, p. 6. Instead of perception through one or a few overpowering axes, numerous angles for perceiving the garden were created

and the appreciation of nature itself rather than man's control over nature became the main characteristics of the Turkish garden design.³⁸⁹

When the Turkish society encountered Islamic culture, the belief that the nature is reflection of God, shaped the perception of nature. The ideal of the "paradise garden" of eastern thought became the conception that elevated the attitude towards nature, to the realm of religion.³⁹⁰ Through Turkish culture's fusion with Islam, every element in the nature became a representation of the sacred harmony of God, which was complementary to the Turks' non-formalistic aesthetic understanding towards natural environment.

I believe that Gönül Evyapan perceives an urban square with a similar philosophical framework she explores in her study. In her proposal for the Hacıbayram Square, physical and ideological traces of her study on Turkish gardens find their reflections. She prefers elaborating the area by subspaces according to different functions that would take place in the area. The square does not express itself as an important formal entity, but is divided into parts more sensitive to the human scale. Therefore the formal entity of the square is not as dominant as in Raci Bademli's proposal.

Geometry as a Means to Create a Cultural Rhetoric

The mosque and the temple, important historical monuments to be preserved and represented, which is an uncommon formation for the Turkish gardens, necessitate a spatial order that highlights their symbolic meaning. I believe that the main challenge for Evyapan was to reconcile Turkish garden's informal nature that focuses on people's engagement with environment with the needed formal hierarchy to emphasize historical buildings in the square.

³⁸⁹ ASLANOĞLU EVYAPAN, 1999, pp. 5-7 "In these gardens trees of fruit or otherwise were planted for shading or seclusion purposes. In most cases a vegetable yard or a vineyard attached the garden proper emphasizing the role of the greenery as an active participant of the daily life."

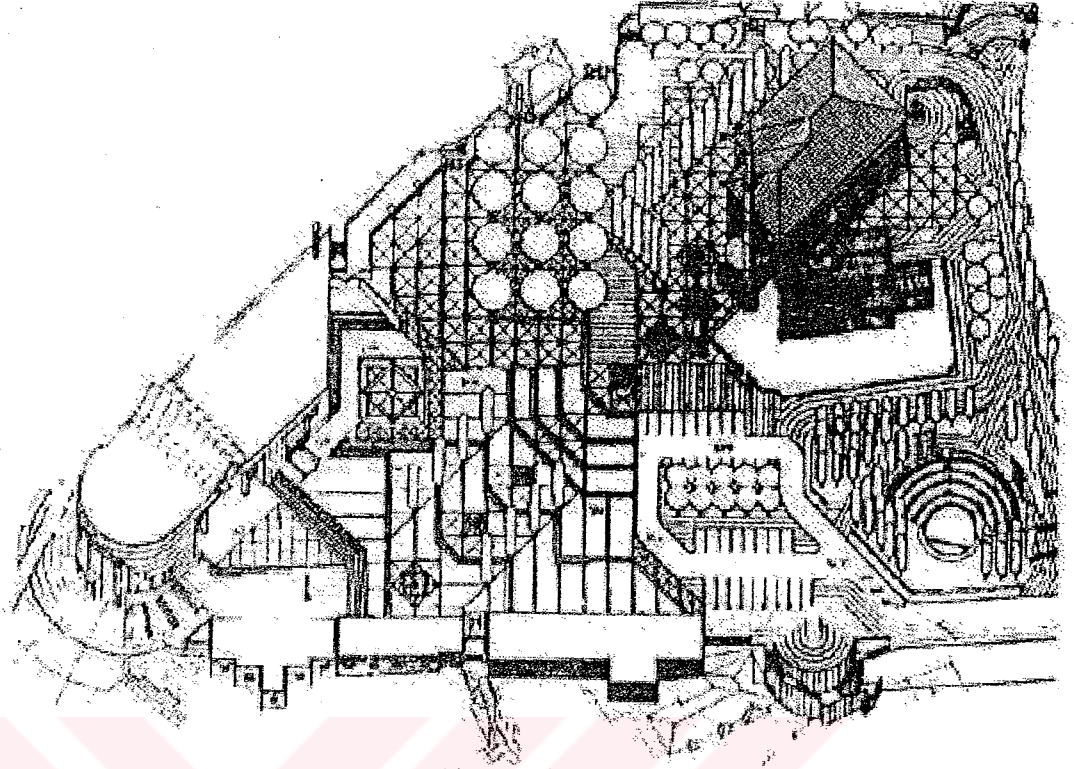
³⁹⁰ ASLANOĞLU EVYAPAN, 1999, p. 1

Similar to Jansen's proposal, Evyapan's project therefore suggests introducing a strong diagonal axis that works as a continuation of the existing main approach to the area from the south. Besides, while Bademli's strong square geometry distances the mosque and the temple from their environs as an element to be observed visually, the sequential development of the architectural elements in Evyapan's design suggest a unification between the mosque and the surrounding environment.

Facing directly the Hacı Bayram Veli's mausoleum and the mosque, the main axis suggests that the Hacıbayram Mosque is the focus of the project. Nevertheless the axis does not dominate the whole plaza. Long trees like columns create a corridor flanking the steps that lead up to the religious platform in a ceremonial manner. This pedestrian access is accentuated by geometrical patterns repeating in each step.³⁹¹ These elements, which can be considered as strong means of creating geometry, are in fact utilized to enrich the experience of using the area. Within the light of Evyapan's studies on Turkish gardens, I would argue that the use of geometry serves people's engagement with the physical environment rather than emphasizing the formal unity of the square. The use of axis in the design of the plaza, which is not overpowering the principles derived from the Turkish garden designs, aims a sort of new perception of urban environment that utilize the geometry as a primary means yet far from strong formal expressions.

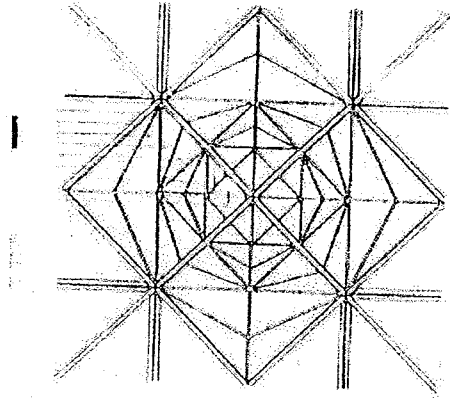
The square has subspaces defined by the layout of the trees, floor patterns and terraces created by level differentiation. Although the activities in different sections of the square have well defined geometries, for example trees define the location for the funeral activity on the west of the mosque, the geometry that frames/unifies the whole square is not dominating.

³⁹¹ ASLANOĞLU EVYAPAN, G., "Hacıbayram Meydan Düzenlemesi", *Architekt* 3, 1991, p. 44



Aksonometrik

Figure 49: Axonometric view (Aslanoğlu Evyapan, G., "Hacıbayram Meydanı Düzenlemesi", *Arkitekt 3*, 1991, p. 44)



Kaplama sistem detayı

Figure 50: Detail of the floor pattern (Aslanoğlu Evyapan, G., "Hacıbayram Meydanı Düzenlemesi", *Arkitekt 3*, 1991, p.45)

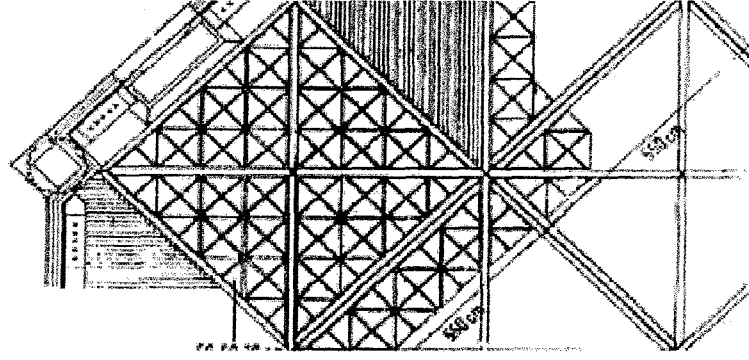


Figure 51: Floor Patterns, Aslanoğlu Evyapan, G., "Hacıbayram Meydanı Düzenlemesi", *Arkitekt* 3, 1991, p. 45)

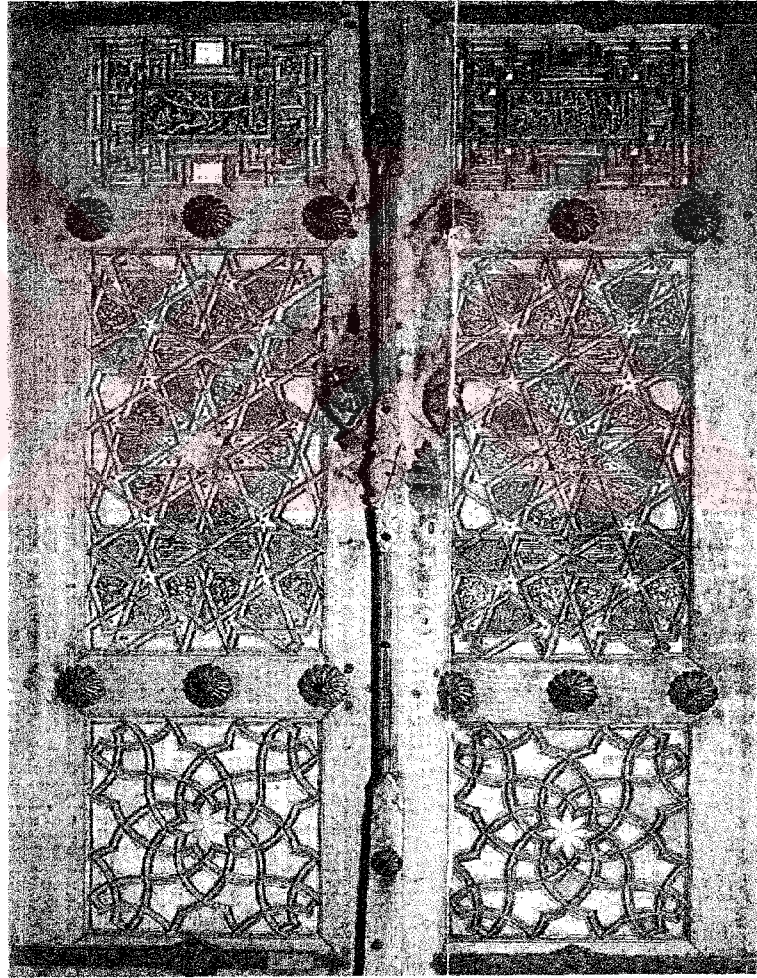


Figure 52: Original door of the Hacıbayram Mosque, in Ankara Etnografya Müzesi, (BAŞKAN, S., *Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli Camii ve Türbesi*, T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları/2026, p.88, fig.23)

Dispositions of the mosque and the temple are used to create a geometrical pattern that is used as a reference while designing the floor patterns and level differences. Evyapan suggests the geometrical ornamentation used on the floor patterns, which refers to the positioning of the Hacıbayram Mosque and the Temple of Augustus, quotes the ornamentation used at the entrance to the courtyards of the Ottoman and Seldjuk mosques.

The significance of geometry for the Islamic culture is related to the developments in Arabic science in the 9th century due to the establishment of a scientific institution called Bayt-al Hikma Baghdad in 832. This institution facilitated the assimilation of classical science and philosophy into the Islamic culture, as its principal activity was the translation of Greek texts. However, Muslim scientists were more concerned with the practical consequences of their work in contrast with the Greek scientists who developed sciences for the sake of rigorous thinking and disciplinary value of the subject. In this respect geometry was applied in a number of fields including architecture and decorative arts, and became the science, which shaped the architectural aesthetics of the time in the Islamic world.³⁹²

Geometry became the unifying system in the overall design of the buildings in Islamic architecture as it was applied in all scales in designing the architectural forms including the minute ornamentation details to the major space arrangements. The original wooden door of the Mosque of Hacıbayram, which is now exhibited in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara, is a good example of the practice of utilizing geometry in creating ornamental forms in Islamic Architecture.

Drains for rainwater, trees, and floor patterns were considered as space-defining elements in the project and were utilized to create geometrical ornamental forms by Evyapan. By the repetition of the geometry in the elaboration of subspaces, a unifying language throughout the designed space was aimed. So through

Evyapan's project both the sensitivity for the human building scale is provided in relation to the garden philosophy of the Turks and the geometry as the unifying design principle in Islamic architecture is used as the integrative aspect of the overall design.

4.2.4.3. The Implications of the new Formal Vocabulary Imposed to the Site through the Architecture of Abdi Güzer

Abdi Güzer stresses, "an assimilating relation between different cultural forms of architectural criticism naturalizes the distinctions between art and kitsch, image and reality, pop and permanent, original and imitation." Güzer believes that "to regain these distinctions a criticism of architectural criticism is more vital than ever."³⁹³

Worked as the architect in the Hacıbayram area designing team, Abdi Güzer contributed to the formation of architectural environment in accord with Raci Bademli's principal decision to create a public plaza with a strong geometrical identity.

Forms of Güzer's architectural elements reinforce the overall geometry imposed to the project. His forms express the central importance of the strong square geometry, which Bademli envisioned in the plan for the plaza. Well-defined square geometry seen on the plan can be followed in the third dimension through Güzer's architecture. In accord with Bademli's decision to create a clear-cut square plaza as the frame of the historical environment, Güzer emphasizes the linearity of the building at the southeastern part of the plaza. The terrace shop complex on the west of the site also creates a clear separation between the plaza and the street, and

³⁹² ÜÇER KARABABA, I. *Geometric Harmonization in Timurid Architecture and the Architectural Drawings*, (Unpublished Paper) Bryn Mawr College, 2001

³⁹³ GÜZER, C. A., *The Limits of Architectural Criticism: Architecture as a Process of Representation, Commodification and Legitimation*, (Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis) METU, 1994, p.iv

contributes to the formation of the square shaped plaza by means of level difference.

I believe that the main concern in the articulation of the building facades, in terms of scale arrangements and solid-void relations, was to support the public scale of the square. Water works enclosed with glass cases on the main stairs, that company people while leading up to the plaza is one of the many architectural elements that pronounce the public character of the project. Likewise the repetition of the columns creating a strong rhythm in front of the long commercial structure at the southeastern side of the plaza corresponds to the monumental public scale of the square. Therefore this building has a role not only to serve for commercial activity but also as an important physical sign conforming the social character of the square. Similarly the role and the meaning of the clock tower, a familiar element used in public plazas in western cities, is also related with the public identity attributed to the square.

It is difficult to make any conclusions about the success of the project in creating an appropriate architectural language on the square, as the project is considered unfinished. Güzer stresses that as many forms and architectonic details were not completed, aimed expression could not be achieved. Nevertheless it is still possible to contemplate and make speculations on the theoretical connotations of the architectural language of the project. Furthermore, questioning the connotations made by the architectural forms, from the point of their contribution to the historical importance of the area, seems essential to understand the influence of architectural theory in such a study on a historical site.

Abdi Güzer states that it was central for the project to search for the physical vocabulary of the social significance attributed to the area.³⁹⁴ On the other hand, aiming to attract urban investment to the site, modern architectural language and materials were applied to these forms, as it was the principal decision to bring the historic monuments into the center of a vivid urban life. In other words, the

³⁹⁴ From the interview with Abdi GÜZER, April 1999

historic center was aimed to be transformed as an urban generator with the help of the modern frame applied on to the historic fabric.

Güzer's search for the physical correspondence of the social significance attributed to the area through his architecture was a quite complicated task. Believing that there is no conception of public plaza in Turkish culture, Güzer cited western examples in his attempt to introduce appropriate architectural vocabulary for the plaza. This policy to cite western traditions to create a public plaza was also in conformity with Raci Bademli's attempt to utilize geometry in shaping a public plaza, which is best exemplified in Classical Greek and Roman cities. Forms used in the Hacıbayram Square prove similarities with the Roman examples. MacDonald claims that "with their bordering, shaded walkways and rows of shops, plazas were the centers of Roman cities and Towns".³⁹⁵ Likewise the colonnaded structure on the southeastern side of the plaza provides people with shaded walkways and also prompts the commercial activity in the plaza.

Leon and Rob Krier's attempt of "restoration of the pre-industrial European city through the conceptual tools of rational architecture"³⁹⁶ should be considered as a similar attempt with Güzer's use of classical forms to create a modern plaza. Kriers also tried to create an urban fabric based on Camillo Sitte's thesis, which sees urban fabric as the product of the handling of negative spaces.³⁹⁷ According to this theoretical framework Kriers extracted a typology of strongly defined urban spaces from historical prototypes to be inserted in modern context.

Although it is difficult to make any comment about any connotation to Camillo Sitte's focus on working with positive open spaces, Güzer's architectural vocabulary in the Hacıbayram Square amazingly resembles Krier's forms.

³⁹⁵ Mac DONALD, W. L., *The Architecture of the Roman Empire ii. An Urban Appraisal*, 1986, p.51

³⁹⁶ KRIER, L., *Rational Architecture*, 1978, pp.33-42, cited in *Encyclopedia of 20th Century Architecture*, ed. by LAMPUGNANI, V. M.

³⁹⁷ 'The work of Rob Krier' *Architecture and Urbanism* (Tokyo), June 1977, cited in *Encyclopedia of 20th Century Architecture*, ed. by LAMPUGNANI, V. M.

These attempts put forward by Güzer, to create a public place having connotations to the contemporary western theoretical studies, and using architectural forms borrowed from classical periods -similar to those used by Kriers- in the Hacıbayram area, where significant historical value for Ankara is attributed, rises questions concerning the identity of Ankara. There is a risk that these forms introduced to the site may be observed as representations produced "for the conditions of popular culture, mass media and consumer-society"³⁹⁸ created within the rules of postmodern world.

Christine Boyer warns that after 1980s "the redevelopment projects... created environments that were composed of representational insertions of open space and cool abstractions and the fabric of old picturesque building".³⁹⁹ She believes that as "the relation between the representational forms of the city and the different stages of capitalism"⁴⁰⁰ defines the politics of representational forms, "historic preservation projects are described as pictorial additions to be inserted into the modern urban landscape",⁴⁰¹ "with the logic of consumption and the selling of leisure time of lifestyles."⁴⁰²

4.2.5 The Temple of Knowledge; Contemplation on Continuity and Rupture in the Historical Urban Site

A project proposal as an academic study that was prepared by the architects, planners and sociologists from METU Faculty of Architecture in 1988 was named as "Ankara - Hacı Bayram; Temple of Knowledge as a New Cultural Layer An Urban Generator and a Setting for Multiculturality".⁴⁰³ This study, attempting to

³⁹⁸ BAUDRILLARD, 1881, cited by GÜZER, C. A. *The Limits of Architectural Criticism: Architecture as a Process of Representation, Commodification and Legitimation*, (Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis) METU, 1994, p.3

³⁹⁹ BOYER, M. C., *The City of Collective Memory*, 1996, p. 54

⁴⁰⁰ BOYER, 1996, p. 59

⁴⁰¹ BOYER, 1996, p. 54

⁴⁰² BOYER, 1996, p. 51

⁴⁰³ A project proposal for academic study, METU, named as *Ankara – Hacı Bayram; Temple of Knowledge as a New Cultural Layer An Urban Generator and a Setting for Multiculturality*, MED-CAMPUS AMIE,

reveal the challenges of such a project in a historic site also reflects many concerns of my thesis. Contemplation on this architectural proposal for Hacıbayram area highlights the relativistic character of the notions like "rupture" or "continuity" that becomes apparent with the architectural insertions into a historic urban site.

The site of Hacıbayram in this project is described as a melting pot of different cultural backgrounds and a unique place to become an urban generator through new interpretations of the architectural heritage. The unique topography of the site, and different layers accommodated were emphasized in the project program.

There is a special emphasis in the project program on the Collective Memories of varying social groups. "Juxtaposition and superimposition of layers of meaning from different cultures and periods - transiency of life, permanency of monument; spiritual in pagan culture, spiritual in Islamic culture; spiritual devotion, bodily resistance makes the place inspiring for architects."⁴⁰⁴ As an important sacred place the site has always reflected the cultural life of the societies. Transformation in building forms and their programs on the site has also become the reflection of the modification of the society. I believe, the design project, suggesting a new sanctuary the "Temple of Knowledge" that would be "a sanctuary to celebrate man's liberation through intellectual achievement"⁴⁰⁵ agrees with the formation of a new phase of the social modification in Ankara. The temple would pose/answer to the question of how to accommodate the changing demands of the society in favor of secularism that reinforces the Republican ideals, without undermining the religious character of the site as a cultural heritage.

Having focused on historical information, the "Temple of Knowledge" is described as a "new" and "alien" layer of meaning to be inserted into the site. The historical perspective inherited by the project proposal defines the site as composed of strong urban elements, each representing different historical periods

participants: Abdi GUZER, Cagatay KESKINOK, Tansel KORKMAZ, Sevin OSMAY, Neriman SAHIN, Necdet TEYMUR, Ali CENGIZKAN

⁴⁰⁴ "Ankara Hacıbayram", Med campus AMIE, p. 9

⁴⁰⁵ "Ankara Hacıbayram", Med campus AMIE, p. 1

superimposed on each other, and introducing itself as a new layer insertion by earlier ones. In other words the new project/layer to be inserted to Hacıbayram would claim to be the reflection of the contemporary ideological framework of the contemporary society of Ankara. Through the insertion of the project, historic values of existing layers/buildings would be highlighted, within the perspective of the universal history as defined by modernism. The interest of the modern society in the past creates a new relation with older layers on the site. While the new relation with the past registers the importance of the mosque and the Temple of Augustus as important historical information, it distances them from the present day as precious items to be preserved and observed. Therefore, the new layer, the confirmation of the new cultural framework of the society also creates a sort of rupture the temple and the mosque, and the contemporary society.

As the Republican period assigns to the Hacıbayram Mosque as well as to the Temple of Augustus a new function, the representation of history, the "Temple of Knowledge" embraces the mosque and the temple due to their historical information. For the first time, through the "Temple of Knowledge", common nature of the mosque and the temple -as they both represent history- is confirmed. From the point of modernist linear development model, the new project becomes the reflection of the development of the society. In this regard, it may be argued that the project doesn't mark any rupture, on the contrary, by embracing, not only the mosque but also the temple and other historical remains in the site, creates an unprecedented unification and became the very representation of the cultural continuity.

The most challenging phase of the task is the realization of the project. Definitive reflections on the "Temple of Knowledge" are given in the project including a few seriously applicable but mostly inspiring mental statements that reveal the challenges of transferring a contemplation into a concrete building program. A "straightforward library" to be constructed on the site as a concrete representation of the "Temple of Knowledge", which would paradoxically clash with the environment; a giant civic building in which past and present, new and old, mortal and immortal are eternally imprisoned; or a storehouse where details and records

of multicultural life are captured and sterilized, are some of the ideas for the possible building project. These suggestions reveal the limitations of the built environment to capture the complex relations between past and present through a concrete building.

It is also underlined in the project that, any insertion that would be made to the site, including those framed with rational thought would create its own dogmas. Actually the name of the project "Temple of Knowledge" has this connotation implicitly. "While in the Enlightenment secular knowledge was placed in opposition to all dogmas, superstitions and prejudices of religious systems, it creates its own delusions of modern society."⁴⁰⁶ This attitude therefore is still against the studies of collective memory, which suggest that social subjects needed to be studied not only through rational thought, but should also be considered through regional variations mostly based on religion and tradition. Reflecting the secularization of the nation through Republican ideals, it is unavoidable that the new temple (of knowledge) would define itself by de-emphasizing the strong religious worldview attached to the site.

The multi-cultural life of the modern cities unavoidably creates a conflicting confrontation for new proposals for historic urban sites. The consideration of a designer in preparing such a proposal is not solely related with the methods of preservation or the revitalization of the old fabric. He is forced to make decisions among different perspectives towards history. The legitimacy of any intervention to the historical site in the contemporary urban environment is not solely based on objective historical interpretations, but also necessitates serious social studies in order to define a "fair" structure between past and present that can satisfy different local social groups. Such a task therefore seems like "a multi-dimensional and multi-faceted jigsaw puzzle nailed by multi-disciplinary experts!"⁴⁰⁷ The AMIE group suggests that the result of the project should aim to "erect a historic temple

⁴⁰⁶ "Ankara Hacibayram", Med campus AMIE, p. 4

⁴⁰⁷ "Ankara Hacibayram", Med campus AMIE, p. 9

in which anonymous individuals on occasions can find their own personal temples".⁴⁰⁸

4.2.6. The Perception of the Users; Evaluation of the Hacibayram Project

As Lefebvre underlines, "Socio-political contradictions are realized spatially... so doing that they became contradictions of space".⁴⁰⁹ The environment that is described as good according to the norms of one social group may not necessarily be desired by other groups. As David Harvey stresses, there are always other conceptions of time and space that conflict with the dominating existing order.⁴¹⁰ Through the Hacibayram Project, religious time and space conventions in the area was challenged with the concept of modern urban square, which is shaped through the geometrical order and universal clock-time. While the square shaped plan marks the geometrical order, the tower clock emphasizes importance of clock-time for the urban life.

According to Abdülkadir Şehitoğlu and Şafan Çakıroğlu,⁴¹¹ who have been the *imams* of the Hacibayram Mosque for 15 years, every architectural study aiming to improve the social life of the Hacibayram area, which is a sign of administrative interest, is considered very positive. They believe that the project prepared by the area has improved the quality of the built environment. Nevertheless *imams* think that the main focus of the project was not the mosque but the Temple of Augustus. Although Hacibayram Mosque and the religious activities are the most important entities for the identity of the area, the design program does not correspond to the function of the mosque, and actually undermines its controlling role. *Imams* of the Hacibayram Mosque regret that there wasn't any consideration for the activities of

⁴⁰⁸ "Ankara Hacibayram", Med campus AMIE, p. 4

⁴⁰⁹ Lefebvre, 1991, p. 365, cited by HARVEY, D., *Justice, Nature & the Geography of Difference*, 1996, p. 273

⁴¹⁰ HARVEY, D., *Justice, Nature & the Geography of Difference*, 1996, p. 224

the mosque in the project. They believe that, this creates serious problems regarding the ideological identity of the area, and the social and economical activities that take place around the area.

The project doesn't provide a properly controlled open space for the activities of the mosque. The mosque urgently needs a well-defined, visually secluded open space, smaller compared to the whole square. There is confusion regarding the order of the activities that takes place in the large square area as a result of the new configuration of the open spaces brought with the project.

The study by Sevin Osmay, that aimed at evaluating the environmental psychology related with the project proves that, those attempts to increase the effectiveness of the activities of the mosque were not successful due to the other improvements brought to other activities in the area, like tourist activities and commerce that surround the mosque. While the project was trying to improve the effectiveness of all of the activities in the area simultaneously, territorial problems especially between the tourist and religious activities occurred. The improvements of the technical means of the mosque, like the installation of better sound systems, and connecting previously used funeral area with the public square implied more effective control of the mosque over the area. Yet, the neutral character of the plaza also became equally encouraging for tourist activities. In fact, the neutral openness of the square increased the tourist activity, which also became more attractive through improved parking facilities for the busses that bring tourists to the area. This resulted in distraction of the religious ceremonies.

Reflecting the ideas of conservative people around the area, Emin Acar⁴¹² describes Melamilik, the sect of Hacıbayram as the fusion with God inside, and

⁴¹¹ From the interview with Abdulkadir ŞEHİTOĞLU and Şafak ÇAKIROĞLU, imams of Hacıbayram Mosque, June 2002

⁴¹² From the interview with Emin ACAR, to whom I was directed by the inhabitants of Hacıbayram. He was a member of the Parliament between 1973-77 from the Selamet Party, a conservative political party that was advocating the merits of religion in the social and administrative life. Since it is forbidden to have an office for religious activities, ACAR has the sign of a psychologist above the entrance of his house, on one of the corners of the square. Although the house ACAR uses is in a very poor condition with a low ceiling and very little light, it is possible to see people from all kinds of social strata who come to take advice from him.

being the server of life externally. When I asked his opinion about the project prepared for the area, he attracted attention to the ornamentation, which is according to him a "mere show-off", as a misrepresentation for Hacıbayram's teaching. He believes that everything introduced to the area with this project is excessively formal and there is not much consideration for the individual's participation with life through nature and religious activities. I would argue that, the built environment, with its strong formal appearance, de-emphasize the existence of the nature. As it is also mentioned in Evyapan's studies about Turkish Gardens, the engagement with nature should have been an important criterion for such a project. Like Acar, the *imam* of the mosque and many people also complain about the detachment from the nature due to the new project.⁴¹³ According to the *muhtar*, "this area became all stone because of this project; there is neither soil nor any plantation in the area anymore, the spirituality of the area has been seriously damaged."⁴¹⁴

Regarding the Hacıbayram Mosque, other problems that should be mentioned are in relation with basic practical activities. The *imam* mentioned that, an additional place is urgently needed for the increasing capacity of the mosque, and improvement in other related areas to serve better the prayers like modern toilets or places for *abdest* area should have been taken into consideration in the project.

The circulation problems of the traffic due to the unintentional use of the square as a car parking is maybe the most striking setback of the whole project. I believe that today, the conversion of the square to a parking place is related with the fact that the designed open area seems to belong no one, therefore everyone feels free to do whatever he wants to. Security problems around the mosque also come along with the control problem of the square.

The *imam* believes that, as the look of the area became more emptied-out, reflections of the social problems of the surrounding neighborhood became more visible around the mosque. Osmay stated that there is an unidentified activity

⁴¹³ From the interview with Sevin OSMAY, June 2002

around the trees near the historic remains, on the left-hand side of the stairs. *Imams* and *muezzins* claimed that people with a very low income, usually called as Gypsies, are as disturbing for the ordinary people visiting the area as well as for them.⁴¹⁵ Old houses, especially surrounding the northeast sections of the area, most of them having historical value are still in desperate condition. Very young kids wearing poor clothes walking around and asking people for money and angry looks from the windows of old houses in the neighborhood confirms the tensions based on social and economical problems in the neighborhood.⁴¹⁶

It is believed that the project prepared for the area did not bring any remedy for the social, economic problems within the Hacıbayram neighborhood. The people, who live in the neighborhood located on the northern side of the Hacıbayram area, was excluded due to their ethnic background and poor economical conditions. These people feel threatened by the project, as they perceive the studies as a sign of clearance of the area, which eventually would include the demolition of their houses. Besides salespeople around the mosque are treating these people as if they are not appropriate part of the area.⁴¹⁷

Sevin Osmay also mentioned that, small courtyards behind the shops, which were designed to be perceived as a transition from the modern unifying square to a fragmented organic fabric of surrounding neighborhood, are being used as a garbage area. Moreover, those shops facing Hükümet Square are dark and not felt as connected to the square. The owners of these shops are frequently changing, and upper storey shops are mostly used as storage areas.

As Osmay states, in spite of all those setbacks observed in the area, bakeries from all over the city still come to the narrow road on the north of the mosque to give away their left over breads as a charity. Women from all over the city continue to

⁴¹⁴ From the interview with Sevin OSMAY, June 2002

⁴¹⁵ From the interview with Mehmet Akif DESTİCİ, *muezzin* of the Hacıbayram Mosque for 9 years, June 2002

⁴¹⁶ From the interview with Mehmet Akif DESTİCİ, *muezzin* of the Hacıbayram Mosque for 9 years, June 2002

⁴¹⁷ From the interview with Sevin OSMAY, June 2002

come here to visit Hacı Bayram Veli's *türbe*. People from very different social strata crowd the plaza, and the Hacıbayram Mosque is still considered the most revered religious place in the city.



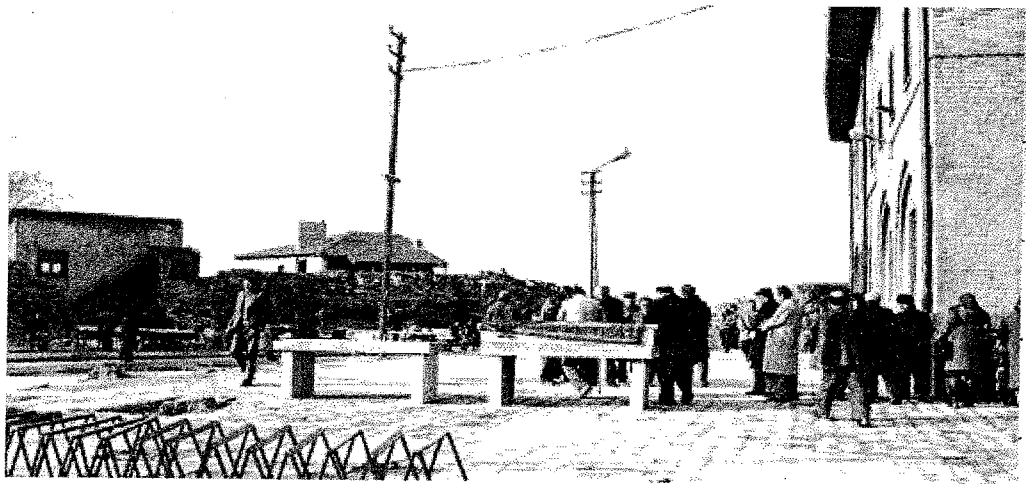


Figure 53: Project area before the project was implemented (Abdi Güzer's Archive)



Figure 54: Colonnaded structure at the southern side of the plaza, during implementation (Abdi Güzer's Archive)

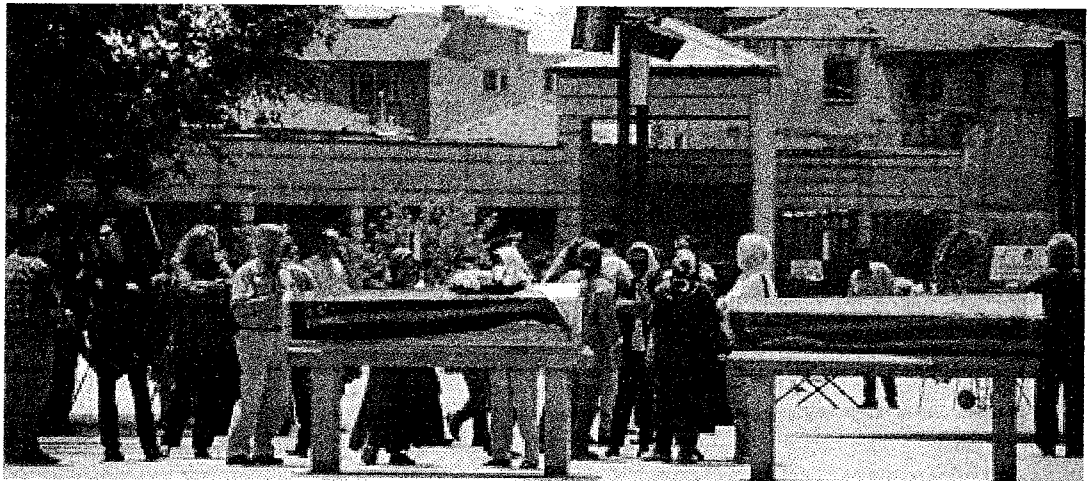


Figure 55: Funeral Activity at Hacıbayram, after the project has finished (Photograph by Özkan Karababa)



Figure 56: Terrace Shops at Hacibayram, 2000 (Photograph by Özkan Karababa)



Figure 57: Terrace shops at Hacibayram, 2000 (Photograph by Özkan Karababa)



Figure 60: “Daily workers” waiting by the main stairs of the plaza, Hacibayram Square, 2000 (Photograph by Özkan Karababa)



Figure 61: Hacibayram Square, 2000 (Photograph by Özkan Karababa)

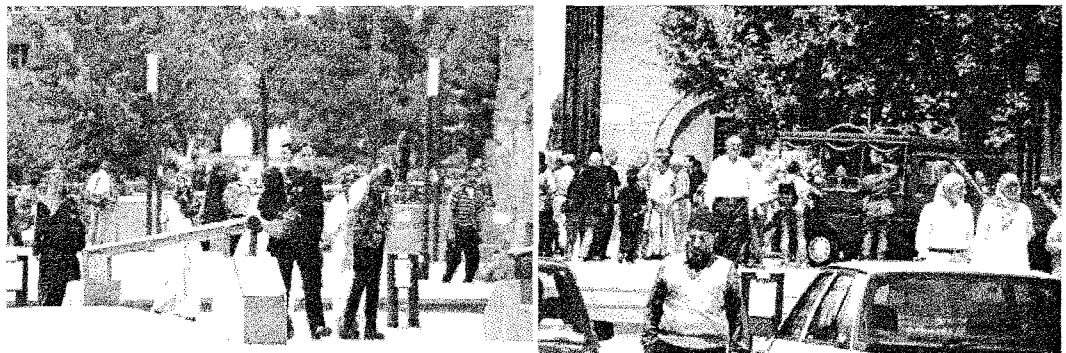


Figure 62: Hacibayram Square, 2000 (Photograph by Özkan Karababa)

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Halbwachs defines that collective memory is a social formation that is related to the value system of the social group. As an essential part of group communication, it is a bounding apparatus that keeps group members together. The studies of Halbwachs underline that the physical environment, through its permanency is one of the important components of the content of collective memory. While the stability of the physical objects of daily life provides one with an image of permanency, their arrangements, shapes, and their aesthetic features reflect the occupations and preferences of the society. Physical environment, as an important part of collective memory, therefore reflects the identity of a social group. Halbwachs also underlines that, since the present day concerns determine the identity of the social group, interest of the society in the past and the collective memory has a dynamic nature.

Studies about the importance of the traditional historic fabric of the city, that criticize the rapid transformation of urban landscape parallel to deterministic theories of modernism, are closely related with the subject. For example, “City Planning According to Artistic Principles”⁴¹⁸ written by Camillo Sitte was a reaction to the transformation of Vienna in the second half of the 19th Century that touches upon very central issues of collective memory. Camillo Sitte, who was a prominent figure in the 20th Century for the increasing awareness about the importance of the traditional fabric of the city, was also influential on Hermann

⁴¹⁸ SITTE, C., *City Planning According to Artistic Principles*, 1965 (first published in 1889)

Jansen's planning studies for Ankara. His urge to leave the deterministic planning principle of modernism is related with the importance of the traditional fabric for collective memory. He felt Vienna lost much from her identity when the old city walls were torn down for the *Ringstrasse*.

The importance of city walls, castles, and other historic monuments for the identity of the city and for the Collective Memories of the citizens is related with the permanency of these structures. Those urban structures, which have a permanency throughout the history, can be determined through studying the morphological transformation of the city. Rossi argues that, there are certain parts of the city that keep their permanency while the city evolves through time. Furthermore, the city tends to grow around historical monuments and alongside important routes that has continuity throughout the history of the city. Similar to important memories of a person, which does not fade by time due to its significance for the identity of the person, important historic buildings, which were regarded as cornerstones of the identity of the city, keep their permanency and become key elements for the morphological transformations of the urban environment. Nevertheless, Rossi underlines that not all historical elements that preserved should be regarded as important for collective memory. For Rossi, those historical buildings diligently preserved due to their historical information, but lost their connection with social life should be regarded pathological. Utilizing Marcel Poëte's theory that defines the city as a living organism, Rossi claims that the city itself should determine the preservation of historical elements by keeping them as urban generators and important centers of social life.

However, because collective memory is a constantly modified notion parallel to changing priorities of the society, the determination of urban elements that are important for collective memory is complicated. Due to this dynamic nature of collective memory, it is difficult to make strict definitions about the importance of urban elements for collective memory. Besides, in the city of today, it is difficult to find any urban element that is considered important for every social group in the city. Therefore, investigation about the dynamics of social life in present day, and understanding the relations between different social groups in a society are the

essential precepts to determine the urban elements that are important in the construction of collective memory.

In order to understand the dynamics that control the evolution of urban morphology, one should understand how a society perceives the urban environment. As mentioned before the perception of environment is closely related with the present day concerns of the society. The study of Bachelard, "The Poetics of Space" opens up the discussion about the perception of the environment. According to Bachelard the physical environment has a unique meaning, which he names as *inter-subjectivity*⁴¹⁹ that is determined through the confrontation of the past of the object with its future. However, the inter-subjectivity of the physical environment can only gain its meaning through the *creativity*⁴²⁰ of the observer. Therefore, the expectations of the observer, his/her cultural background, and subjective preferences are also as important as the unchanging physical aspects of the environment. The theory of Bachelard, which is based onto the relation between the individual and his/her environment, can be juxtaposed on the relation of social groups to their urban environment. Nevertheless, relation of the city with the past is more complicated since the city, unlike small and unified social groups or individuals, houses many social groups having different expectations from the past.

Maurice Halbwachs' theory on collective memory was actually based on a social group, the members of which share the same cultural or intellectual basis. Therefore the concept can hardly be employed to a whole city. In fact, emphasizing memory of the society as reflected upon the form of the city relates the concept of collective memory with the memory crisis in the contemporary city. Today, while the notion of collective memory of a city is considered appealing by many designers as an opportunity for the re-creation of the unified "good old city" of the 19th century, this tendency is also criticized due to its totalizing inclination

⁴¹⁹ BACHELARD, G. *The Poetics of Space*, 1994, pp. xxiv, xxv

⁴²⁰ BACHELARD, 1994, pp. xxiv, xxv

as it conflicts with the multicultural life of the contemporary city.⁴²¹ When the notion is imposed onto a city, the term might imply the exclusion of some social groups. In other words, in the contemporary city, collective memory can easily be perceived as a totalizing perspective that aims to suppress identities of those social groups that are culturally unrelated with the official ideology.

The project recently implemented in the Hacıbayram Area, prepared by a design team from METU is an exemplary case study that opens up the above discussions on collective memory and Urban Design. In addition to rendering the peculiarities of the site and history of the area, this project presents evaluation of the collective memory concerns of the society. Different approaches to the area presented during the course of its design prove that the meanings attributed to the historical buildings on the site, and the presentation of these historical buildings to the society are not only related to the Collective Memories of the social groups that occupy the area, but also regarded equally important for the nationalistic identity. The inclination to relate the subject with the nationalistic concerns should be related with the fact that the client of the project was the central government instead of locally organized groups.

In the project, historical layers, historical buildings having different qualities, and the present day discussions about the identity of the Turkish society induces a comprehensive discussion about the collective memory of the society in the area.

In the booklet prepared for the Project Competition on Ulus-Historical Center, which includes the Hacıbayram project area, it is underlined that one of the main objectives of the study was to create an example for a modern city merged with the traditional Ottoman center.⁴²² Therefore I would say that the project has to be evaluated at two different levels in terms of social interests. While concerns of Collective Memories of different social groups in the area demand their own

⁴²¹ BOYER, M. C., *The City of Collective Memory*, 1996, p.185. See 2.4. The Image of “The City of Collective Memory”

⁴²² *Project Competition on Ulus-Historical Center*, Ankara Büyük Şehir Belediyesi İmar Dairesi Başkanlığı, 1985

interests, sensitive to the local stories and traditions of the area, another perspective towards the area and the meanings attributed to historic buildings is created by nationalistic interests.

The plaza inserted to the area aims at introducing a modern/western urban language and emphasizes the historical value of the Hacıbayram Mosque. This attitude is understandable as a political decision to utilize the modern urban environment in order to encourage the formation of a modern society. However, for the social groups living in the area, who are not particularly interested in this nationalistic ideal, domination of the abstract architecture of modernism in the area may seem irrelevant if not disturbing.

Emphasis put on the historical value of the mosque underlines that the area is considered as a historic site, and appreciated due to the historical information attached to its fabric. The emphasis put onto the historic information transforms the status of the mosque. The Hacıbayram area, previously thought as a religious magnet due to the use value of the mosque, transforms into a historic site, which should be revered not only for the existence of the Hacıbayram Mosque, but also for the existence of the Temple of the Augustus and the other layers below the surface of the plaza due to their historic values.

The shift in the meaning of the area also brings some practical consequences. In the name of the preservation of the historic value, the use value of the mosque is limited. As the historical meaning is accentuated, the mosque is distanced from the public in order to preserve the historic information as close as to its original form. For example the urge of the *imam* for the enlargement of the mosque and to have additional buildings that would increase the effectiveness of the mosque were not considered in the project. Instead the design of the plaza emphasizes the current visual features of the mosque. The plaza, stretching between the mosque and the main pedestrian approach from the southwest corner of the site, functions as a grandiose stage for the mosque and for the temple. The level difference between the pedestrian approach and the plaza that elevates the historical buildings strengthen the stage effect of the plaza.

The message given with the Hacıbayram project is that the Turkish society should be able to appreciate the historical value of the building as well as the religious-use value as a sign of her progress in the process of modernization. The appreciation of the historic value of the mosque by the society would be the verification of the improvement in the modernization efforts of the Turkish society. However, the project can hardly be considered successful as an urban revitalization attempt. And I believe this failure should not be regarded as the failure of the society in her modernization efforts. People in the area, using the plaza, the mosque, and other facilities surrounding the mosque, underline that the setbacks of the project are related with the fact that the new environment failed in improving the social life. Many people express that after the project, the Hacıbayram became all stone and lost much from its holy meaning. The concerns of the *imam* of the Mosque about the lack of “social control” of the plaza, brief the main problem about the project. Although the project aimed at preserving the social life in the area, as an urban form the plaza doesn’t correspond to the social life in the area, and doesn’t contribute to the Collective Memories of social groups. Therefore social groups don’t feel a sense of belonging to that abstract modern space.

I consider Gönül Evyapan’s attempt to utilize traditional architectural elements as an inspiration for creating a modern environment as a better alternative that might be related with the Collective Memories of the social groups using the area. For example the utilization of the geometry as a reference to traditional Islamic art, in Evyapan’s proposal in the design of the plaza, which is also utilized as an important ornamentation means in the mosque could correspond to the Collective Memories of social groups. These patterns that control the level differentiations and the floor patterns of the plaza are familiar forms for people using the mosque, since these forms are quite similar to those, which are used as ornamentation in mosques. Concerns of Evyapan’s proposal are close to the expectations of local social groups, which provide the project with the potency to contribute to the Collective Memories of social groups in the area.

Every urban design project poses the question of identity of the society, which is constantly modified according to changing interests of social groups. Because of

the dynamic nature of social identity, the designer cannot consider any definition of the social identity as sure. Determination of the meanings of historical urban elements for society is one of the most challenging questions of the designer. Given any moment and location, it is essential to investigate the social dynamics of the society in order to suggest a successful urban design that can support the Collective Memories of local social groups. This thesis with its theoretical discussion about the collective memory and the examination of the projects at Hacıbayram area, pointed to the multiplicity of social groups with different memories related with one area and the importance of the urban environment as a part of the Collective Memories of these social groups. Today, after the implementation of the project, social groups in the area, transform the urban environment in Hacıbayram. For the social groups in the area, the plaza doesn't have the prestigious meaning that was aimed in the project. The maintenance problems in the area should not be considered solely as a municipal and economic problem, but should rather considered in relation with the unwillingness of the social groups to internalize the project. This lack of internalization is in fact a sign of lack of the vital relationship between the urban environment and the Collective Memories of these social groups using the area.

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