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Producing Representational Spaces for the Republican Memory in Samsun, Turkey

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Abstract

This article explores the spatialization of a collective memory in Turkey's north coast city of Samsun. In 1919, Mustafa Kemal Paşa's first step onto the *Bandırma*, the steamer that carried him from the Ottoman capital of Istanbul to Samsun, was also the first step of the Turkish struggle for independence. The dock that led him to the city and the hotel that accommodated him were also thus slated to be narrated as representational spaces of Samsun in the future. Decades later, for securing Samsun's historic role in Turkey's independence, the by-then abandoned Mantika Hotel, the dismantled *Bandırma* and the demolished Tobacco Dock were successively restored (1998), reconstructed (2001) and rebuilt (2009). Abstract spaces of the official historiography were physically produced in order to represent and remember. Within this context, the author scrutinizes the production of space in the particular case of Samsun and analyses it through Lefebvre's theoretical framework.

Keywords

space production – representation – collective memory – Samsun – Turkey

Samsun: The Birthplace of the Turkish Independence Movement and the Locus of Collective Memory

Since 19 May 1919 the city of Samsun has been considered a symbol of Turkish independence. But no one in the Black Sea port early that morning would have supposed that the appearance of an old steamer on the horizon would signify a milestone in Turkish history, as Nicole Pope and Hugh Pope imply in their

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book, *Turkey Unveiled*.[1] However, the succeeding chain of events ensured the day would be remembered: Mustafa Kemal Paşa, then Inspector of the Ninth Army Troops Inspectorate of the Ottoman Empire and eventual founder of the Turkish Republic, arrived in the north coast city with 18 military officers from the Inspection Headquarters to begin the Turkish independence movement, also known as the Anatolian National Struggle. Accurately named, it encompassed a strong national will for independence[2] and proceeded through different political and military steps (developed by Turkish revolutionaries after the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in World War I) until it culminated in the proclamation of the Turkish Republic on 29 October 1923.

The Ottoman empire's defeat effectively abolished the 600-year-old Ottoman Sultanate. Thus, in 1919, almost all regions of Ottoman territory were occupied by the Allies. British, Greek, French and Italian forces partitioned Anatolia; the Ottoman capital, Istanbul, as well as Izmir, one of the largest Ottoman cities, were occupied. Mustafa Kemal's intentions were to reorganize the remaining Ottoman military units in Anatolia and establish an organized national independence movement. At the 1927 Republican People's Party Congress, Mustafa Kemal Paşa (in 1934, he was given the honorary and unique surname of 'Atatürk' [father of the Turks] by the Turkish parliament) describes the dark atmosphere of those days in his famous six-day *Nutuk* ('The Speech'), which begins "I landed in Samsun on the nineteenth of May in 1919 …".[3] The country was at risk of losing its coastal lands to the Allies,[4] and the exhausted Ottoman government in centuries-old Istanbul was not demonstrating strong resistance to these developments. A multitude of sources support the fact that if Mustafa Kemal had not relentlessly strived for independence, Turkey would not be the country it is today.[5] From this perspective, his arrival in Samsun was the first move against Anatolian occupation, which would end on 24 July 1923 after a years-long war. Mustafa Kemal's appearance on 19 May could be viewed as an

1 Pope, Nicole and Hugh Pope, *Turkey Unveiled: A History of Modern Turkey* (New York: The Overlook Press, 2000), p. 52.

2 Kili, Suna, *The Atatürk Revolution: A Paradigm of Modernization*, translated by S. Zeybekoglu (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2007 [2003]), p. 203.

3 Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal, *Söylev 'Nutuk'* (Ankara: Kurtuluş Yayınları, 1997 [1927]), p. 1.

4 Atay, Falih Rıfkı, *Çankaya* (Istanbul: Bateş, 1998 [1968]), p. 178.

5 Akşin, Sina, 'Siyasal Tarih (1908–1923)', in *Yakınçağ Türkiye Tarihi*, ed. Sina Akşin (Istanbul: Milliyet, 1989), pp. 27–123; Simşir, Bilal, *Ankara Ankara, Bir Başkentin Doğuşu* (Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1988); Shaw, Stanford Jay, and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Atay, *Çankaya*; Aydemir, Şevket Süreyya, *Tek Adam: Mustafa Kemal* (Istanbul, Remzi Kitabevi Yayınları, 1967).

early projection of the birth of the Turkish Republic, the state that would rise from the political ruins of the Ottoman Empire.

Recent Turkish historiography questions emphasizing 'breaks' in history rather than considering continuities (such as the break experienced by the establishment of the Turkish Republic). It also questions glorifying one period over another. However, addressing the semantics of the official historiography is fundamental to understanding the social reality of Samsun's *spatial* experience, which the current study focuses on. Within the above conception, which the official historiography promotes more than it does Samsun's strategic function, Samsun has frequently been cited as a spontaneous and lyrical component of the national victory. Thus, associating the representational with the spatial in Samsun is contingent on this interpretation of history. The domain of remembrance in Samsun (which has been shaped by the official historiography) preconditions recalling the city's 'epic spaces' through a strategy of 'enduring' and 'remaining' momentous.[6]

That Samsun has attempted to consolidate its historical role at the turn of the twenty-first century through its discursive spaces (by means of an amalgam of its municipality, governorship, official chambers, ordinary citizens and local associations) provides a thought-provoking framework for a multi-faceted discussion. At this point, it is relevant to indicate that the desire to restore Samsun's place in the nationalist narrative may have been accompanied by other aspects such as commodification of the national memory and cultivation of the city through local touristic strategies. In point of fact, historical spaces are beyond compare as the cultural tourist attractions in the cities. Acting as an important mark of a historical event, "commemorative sites reshape the past to make it embraceable"' as David Lowenthal reminds us. For a diverse multitude of purposes, the past may be appropriated through over crafted theme parks,[7] sometimes revitalized with monuments, artefacts and buildings, and designated in the touristic guides, maps and city websites. In the case of Samsun, a twofold advantage through the consumption of historical symbols may be considered: economic and socio-cultural benefits as well as the cultivation of civic pride. A wider context and a further underlying factor of the enthusiasm for the spatialization of the Republican memory is supposedly the tension between the modernist ideals of secular social democrat republicans and the rise of a political islamist movement in Turkey especially

6 Lefebvre, Henri, *The Production of Space*, translated by D. Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 2012 [1974]), p. 229, p. 231.

7 Lowenthal, David, "The past as a theme park", in *Theme Park Landscapes: Antecedents and Variations*, ed. Terence Young and Robert Riley (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 2002), pp. 11–23.

in the late 1990s.[8] As Esra Özyürek states in her book, *Nostalgia for the Modern*, "the memory of a strong, independent, self-sufficient state and its secularist modernization project" is to some extent challenged by "the rise of political islam".[9] Accordingly, it can be argued that a republican symbolism dominated by the historical values and Kemalist emotions is triggered by the new representational 'visibility' of the islamic tendency within the production and practice of the public spaces. With a persisting influence in two decades, political islam became more and more visible in the public spaces of the cities, and this precipitated Kemalist citizens' desire to express their sentimental link to the republican ideology and its most powerful symbol Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.[10] Production of historical spaces in Samsun therefore should be understood in connection with these intertwined frames, since the aforementioned aspects and their superimpositions generate the significant character of the three spaces in question, the hotel, the steamer and the dock.

Within this understanding, the article illustrates how the commentary agents of Samsun's official historiography are *re*-produced as representational spaces. It problematizes the paradox in the production of these spaces by arguing that their concrete spatial definitions establish a vagueness compared to their clear cognitive presence in collective memory. The paper also demonstrates how the contradictions in the ostensible cohesiveness of the "perceived, conceived and lived"[11] realms have much to contribute to the liveliness of the conception of space in this specific case. An interesting question regarding historicization through a temporally counterposed spatiality is nurtured in the *remembrance realm*'s dialectical relationship with the city's modernization process. Observing space production in Samsun and identifying its specific complexities, this study aims to contribute to the gradually broadening scope of recent literature on revitalizing familiar conceptualizations of space and (or) constructing new understandings.

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8 From a temporal viewpoint, more than the restoration of the Mantika Palas (1995–1998), its pompous reopenning in 2006 after its interior renewals, the spatial productions of the *Bandırma* (2001) and the Tobacco Dock (2009) can be analysed within this context of 'tension'.

9 Özyürek, Esra, *Nostalgia for the Modern: State Secularism and Everyday Politics in Turkey* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006), p. 2.

10 Özyürek, *Nostalgia for the Modern* discusses creatively how nationalist and modernist state ideology spread through the private spaces of the citizens in the 1990s and how it has become commodified. Within this context, she explores the feeling of nostalgia shared by the Kemalist republicans.

11 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, pp. 38–41.

The date of *19 May 1919*, the city of *Samsun* and the *Bandırma* have been eminent figures in the Turkish collective memory since the foundation of the Republic. The *Tütün İskelesi* (Tobacco Dock), upon which Mustafa Kemal disembarked, and the *Mantika Palas*, the hotel where he stayed during his time in Samsun, are nationally remembered as revered abstract spaces. Proud of Samsun's historic appointment and conscious of the touristic importance of the past's material evidence, Samsun's citizens and the local political authorities, the municipality and the governorship, decided to concretely perpetuate and re-produce them.[12] The *Mantika* Hotel had been abandoned, the *Bandırma* had been dismantled and the Tobacco Dock had been demolished, but reinforced by a civic commitment, the Samsun municipality and governorship moulded the city's *representational spaces* out of history's semantics and restored, reconstructed and rebuilt them (see Figure 1). Implicit in the idea of spatial re-production was appreciating Samsun as the concrete locus of the Republic of Turkey's collective memory.



FIGURE 1 *A satellite map showing the locations of Mantika Palas, Bandırma Steamer and Tobacco Dock in Samsun*
SOURCE: GOOGLE EARTH, @2015 BAŞARSOFT IMAGE, 10.12.2015

12 In the webssite of the Samsun Governorship, besides a detailed section entitled *Atatürk and Samsun*, another section, *Tourism City of Samsun*, mentions, for instance, the steamer *Bandırma* with a special emphasis. As an important national icon and a historical symbol, it seems to be the 'certitude' of the past, thus, arousing in visitors a feeling of 'here, a national history existed'; see, Lowenthal, "The past as a theme park", p. 16.

Although the year of 1919 dominantly marks Samsun's past, its history reaches back to the early Bronze Age. Early Hittite settlements were followed by the Greek settlement of Amisos in 750 BC. The phonetic harmony between the two names reinforces the idea that Samsun was generated from Amisos.[13] In 47 BC the city became part of the eastern Roman Empire. In the thirteenth century Samsun was under Seljuk rule, and by the fifteenth century it had come under Ottoman rule.[14] A fertile area, Samsun sits along the Black Sea between the deltas of Anatolia's two long rivers: the *Kızılırmak* (Red River) and the *Yeşilırmak* (Green River), or the *Halys* and the *Iris* of antiquity.[15] By the late nineteenth century, tobacco had become the region's most important crop,[16] and still is.

Today, Samsun is one of Turkey's largest cities, with its greater area incorporating about 1.5 million people. With its vibrant social and business life, it is the Black Sea region's major urban centre. Samsun's economic growth and modernity is symmetrically combined with a desire for embracing its historical identity. As Marshall Berman states in *All That is Solid Melts into Air* the twentieth century created contradictory dynamisms: a desire for growth in economy, pleasure and knowledge (which can destroy the past's physical and social landscapes as well as the emotional connections to those realms), and the desire to be rooted in a stable and coherent social past.[17] Besides the national aspects and circumstances, attempts of historicization in spatial terms can be also viewed in a global perspective as the dialectical dynamic of this modern development. This shared vision of history has cultivated a strong sense of *space* in Samsun's citizenry that appears to be strengthening its tenuous connections to the past. Such attempts can be interpreted as an endeavour to support "the public memory narratives (rather than freezing the past)" through the creation of *memory sites* guided by the *memory politics* of republican discourse.[18] Within

13 Samsun Kültür Turizm, Amisos'tan Samsun'a, Samsun adının kaynağı, http: //www .Samsunkulturturizm.gov.tr/14.10.2013.

14 Sarısakal, Baki, *Bir Kentin Tarihi: Samsun* (Samsun: İl Kültür Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 2002), pp. 12–23; Samsun Valiliği *Atatürk's Province: Samsun 2000* (Ankara: Kültür Ofset, 2000), pp. 65–9; Öz, Mehmet, *XV–XVI. Yüzyıllarda Canik Sancağı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1999), pp. 21–2; Samsun Valiliği Kültür Müdürlüğü, *Geçmişten Günümüze Kültür Değerleriyle Samsun* (Samsun: Erol Ofset, 1997) pp. 17–22.

15 Samsun Belediyesi, *Samsun Tarihi, Samsun Coğrafyası, Samsun Turizm, Kültür ve Sanat Hareketleri* (Ankara: Nuve Matbaası, 1977), pp. 69–74.

16 Yolalıcı, M. Emin, *XIX. Yüzyılda Canik* (*Samsun*) *Sancağı'nın Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1998), p. 80.

17 Berman, Marshall, *All That is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (London, New York: Verso, 1983 [1982]), p. 35.

18 Huyssen, Andreas, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford, 2003), p. 94.

these interconnected frames, what once (to paraphrase Berman's title)[19] *melted into air* in terms of *space* was called back to acquire a material form: the abandoned *Mantika Palas*, the dismantled *Bandırma* steamer and the demolished *Tütün İIskelesi*. Grateful to and given courage from the permanent discourse of *19 May* that helped establish its pride, Samsun, by its local political and civic initiators' efforts, has now solidly rebuilt its past in the present as *an act of remembering*.[20]

Maurice Halbwachs states that every collective memory unfolds within a spatial framework: although impressions may change or disappear over time, physical space is a reality that sustains.[21] Likely unwittingly, Samsun citizenry heeded Halbwachs' call to pay attention to space, that is, to the real space that can make an actual experience possible rather than only to the abstract space that has been narrated by official historiography and reconstructed in people's minds. This historiography is based on accounts from Atatürk himself (*Nutuk*), on narrations and documents of those who witnessed and recorded the independence movement and the establishment of the Republic. Banking on their reliability, the vanished spaces of Samsun were re-created in accordance with these accounts. The civic and local political determination to reproduce the spaces of memory seems to also follow Aldo Rossi, who declares that a "city itself is the collective memory of its people".[22] Within this understanding, like memory, a city is identified with the notions of place and objects. The city constructs its urban singularity in time through the places and objects, what characterize its certain locality. Rossi's manifestation associates collective memory with a city's urban structure, architecture, landscape and artifacts. That is to say, the connection between citizenry and spatial elements of the city becomes a city's primary representation over the years. Historical artefacts, the important elements of Rossi's concept of permanence in the city, are remarkably influential in urban experience due to their symbolic functions as temporal records of past. This argument asserts that the concepts of urban collective memory and permanence are determined by space and time, by local sites of past and current events. Although reversed in process for the hotel, the steamer and the dock, Samsun's citizenry believed in the importance of spatial references to capture memory. Once shaped only by the *relationship* of events and space, and narrated by historiography, the collective memory of 19 May 1919 has now become an enduring feature through the *shaping* of space.

19 Berman, *All That is Solid Melts into Air*.

20 Berman, *All That is Solid Melts into Air*, p. 36.

21 Halbwachs, Maurice, *The Collective Memory*, translated by F.J. Ditter and V.Y. Ditter (New York and London: Harper & Row, 1980 [1950]).

22 Rossi, Aldo, *The Architecture of the City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1982), p. 130.

Space as a Powerful Agent of Remembrance

Space is a vague concept, and philosophers, scientists, psychologists, sociologists, geographers, historians, urban planners, architects and others each understand and use it in different ways. Doreen Massey, in her landmark book *For Space*, discusses how space can be imagined and how well-established assumptions can be *re*conceptualized to "liberate the space" from some "chains of meanings—which embed it with closure" —and set it into other chains of "heterogeneity" and "openness".[23] If we think of space as an 'archive' of various appearances,[24] we should consider its physical associations as well as its discursive and enunciative forms of presence. The current study refers to space as a complex (and not necessarily symmetrical) intersection of the mental, social, historical and physical realms. The intricacy and irregularity of this intersection make each space unique and worth examining for a better understanding of the built environment, whether constructed through "statements"[25] or through wood, brick and mortar. The strong presence of statements, which together form a discourse, may support or veil the perception of material space.

In the Samsun case, we see a dominant historical discourse that gives voice to a collective consciousness of Samsun's symbolic, rather than factual, importance. A national holiday (celebrating Atatürk and designated Youth and Sports Day) on 19 May initiated by Atatürk and the Samsun citizenry;[26] rituals and ceremonies on that day in stadiums (high-school students' parades and athletic performances) in every Turkish city; Mustafa Kemal's remarks in his *Nutuk*[27] about the importance of his landing in Samsun; his sentimental declaration of 19 May as his birthday; the official historiography; written and visual historiographic documents; foreign and local historians' acknowledgement of the day's importance; as well as poems, anthems, sculptures and paintings, systematically shape people's conceptions of Samsun. This national spirit is certainly not central to Samsun, but it originated there and Samsun is always included in republican discourse as a historical scene.

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23 Massey, Doren, *For Space* (London: Sage, 2005), p. 19.

24 Foucault, Michel, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, translated by A.M. Sheridan Smith (London: Routledge, 1995 [1969]), p. 130.

25 Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, p. 79.

26 Uzun, Hakan, "Milletin İradesiyle Oluşan Bir Bayram: Atatürk'ü Anma 19 Mayis Gençlik ve Spor Bayramı ve Atatürk Döneminde Kutlanışı", *Karadeniz Araştırmaları*, 6 (2010), 109–25; Akbulut, D. Ali, "Samsun'un Gazi Günü Ya Da 19 Mayis Bayramı", *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, 11 (1995), 771–9.

27 Atatürk, *Söylev 'Nutuk'*.

However, the recent political understanding dominated by the Justice and Development Party[28] has come to regard these countrywide ceremonies, once a symbol of Turkey's modernization process and the power of national identity, as being outdated. These celebrations were cancelled in 2012 on the premise that the demonstrations strive to recreate and relive the past through an early twentieth-century celebration format. Under the gradually increasing influence of the non-official historiography, existing historical narratives are being reconstructed. Samsun citizenry has reacted to this reconstruction in the context of the 19 May celebrations via a declaration publicized by 38 local non-governmental organizations (who call themselves the *19 May Platform of Celebrations*), including the Chamber of Architects, the Young Businessmen's Association, the Association for Supporting Contemporary Life, the Association for Kemalist Thought and the Union of Turkish Women. Zuhal Aydınol, spokesperson for the Platform and president of the Samsun branch of the Turkish Association of University Women, stated that the organization was committed to celebrating 19 May with more enthusiasm than ever.[29] Samsun's evident civic pride and passion certainly stem from its extraordinary frame of historical reference, but perhaps the city's fear of losing its place in the country's historical discourse was the fundamental reason for creating something tangible around the events of 19 May that could be understood by all Turks to add to the city's collection of historical, administrative and public attractions.

How, then, does this study conceptualize the production of space, both through the historical embeddedness of space and through space's immediate connections? How did Samsun endeavour to be the locus of remembrance? Could spatial emphases on the iconic places involved in the events of 19 May, 1919 cast light upon the original environment as the locus of remembrance? Has reproducing the representational spaces associated with this event strengthened the tenuous bond between the authenticity of space and the fluency of time?

In the 1970s, French urban sociologist Henri Lefebvre proposed the concept of space as a social product by introducing a theoretical triad; without this theory, a comprehensive understanding of space would not be possible. The triad includes *spatial practice* (reproduction of space via daily routines of

28 Founded in 2001, the Justice and Development Party won four general elections in 2002, 2007, 2011 and 2015. Discussions and concerns about the party's committment to the modernization project of the Kemalist republican ideology have dominated the Turkish political discourse since 2002.

29 *Samsun Kent Haber* 28.02.2012. 19 Mayis Tepkisi, http: //www.samsunkenthaber.com/ 14.10.2013.

society: perceived space), *representations of space* (a conceptual model for producing spaces for planners, architects, technocrats and administrators: conceived space) and *representational space* (space directly lived through its associated images and symbols: lived space).[30] Like Lefebvre, Michel de Certeau refers to space in terms of its practice and representation, and discusses complexity of the "ordinary practioner's" experience of the city. To him, the fragmentary histories of the individual are materialized in the form of a place.[31] Scholars from many disciplines (including de Certeau) have continually examined Lefebvre's interpretation of spatial architectonics from all angles, for example, in terms of its soundness, its interdisciplinary bonds and its reconciliatory role in mental, social, historical and physical understandings of space.[32] The current study also uses Lefebvre's theoretical assistance to discuss space production, analysing the process of producing representational spaces in Samsun by interrelating the representations of space and spatial practice. An efficient process of space production embodies a variety of domains, and giving meaning to various domains necessitates unveiling the intentions of the public and the decision-makers alike. In the Samsun case, these intentions are deep-rooted in the history of its citizenry and give a discursive cohesiveness to Samsun's representational spaces.

Local Knowledge of Samsun and Time-Travelling through its Representational Spaces: a Hotel, a Steamer and a Dock

To accurately think about and know Samsun is to grasp its complex relations. Historic, contemporary and future values, as well as political, social, cultural and economic characteristics mark cities as a dynamic subject of research. Within this broad field, however, the central concerns of a wide range of issues on urban thinking are the production, representation and conceptualization of space, as Huber, for instance, illustrates through Berlin, Bryant illustrates

30 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 33, pp. 38–9.

31 Certeau, Michel de *The Practice of Everyday Life*, translated by S. Rendall (Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), p. 93.

32 Karplus, Yuval, and Meir, Avinoam, "The production of space: a neglected perspective in pastoral research", *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 31 (2013), 23–42; Gardiner, Michael E., "Henri Lefebvre and the 'Sociology of Boredom'", *Theory, Culture and Society*, 29 (2012), 37–62; Watson, Victoria, "How Henri Lefebvre missed the modernist sensibility of Mies van der Rohe: vitalism at the intersection of a materialist conception of space and a metaphysical approach to architecture", *Journal of Architecture*, 12 (2007), 99–112; Moran, Joe, "History, memory and the everyday", *Rethinking History*, 8 (2004), 51–68.

through Prague and as Gigova illustrates through Sofia.[33] Parallel to the theoretical agendas of the above examples (which are, however, for capital cities) the current study interprets local knowledge of Samsun by referring to the production, representation and conceptualization of its spaces. Representational spaces may generally and thinly be viewed as conceptually "closed";[34] such a view provokes excavating coexistent meanings and gaps through a non-dogmatic commentary on these spaces.

An architectural prospect of the binary relationship between history and city indicates that historical process is not only textually documented but also displayed publicly through a city's architecture in spatial terms.[35] Many cities possess strong spatial outcomes in accordance with their national role,[36] but although Samsun witnessed a symbolically exceptional event in Turkey's history, the city contained limited spatial reflection of it. That historical representation "blankets the city like the snow falling in a souvenir bubble", as in Robert Shields's lyrical metaphor,[37] but until recently, Samsun had lacked buildings and monuments emblematizing its unique identity. In line with this metaphor, architecture connects a society to its past and serves to carry the past events to the present perceptions. Samsun, however, sustained its historic meaning only in historiography. To legitimize Samsun's identity, its citizens and local government spatially materialized that section of history by re-creating and re-inventing the the *Mantika* Hotel, *Bandırma* and the Tobacco Dock.

The *Mantika Palas*

The *Mantika Palas*, a modest two-story building,[38] was made ready for Mustafa Kemal and his men by order of the governor of the time. Established in 1909 by Jean Ioannis Mantika, it was one of Samsun's first hotels, after the Concordia

33 Huber, Nicole, "Center or nexus: Berlin's 'new' politics of belonging", *Journal of Urban History*, 32 (2005), 82–103; Bryant, Chad, "Zap's Prague: the city, the nation and Czech elites before 1848", *Urban History*, 40 (2013), 181–201; Gigova, Irina, "The city and the nation: Sofia's trajectory from glory to rubble in WWII", *Journal of Urban History*, 37 (2011), 155–75.

34 Massey, *For Space*, p. 95.

35 Momen, Mehnaaz, "Remembering Laredo: spatial reflections", *Space and Culture*, 10 (2007), 115–28.

36 Sargin, A. Güven, "Displaced memories, or the architecture of forgetting and remembrance", *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 22 (2004), 659–80.

37 Shields, Robert, "A guide to urban representation and what to do about it: alternative traditions of urban theory", in *Re-presenting the City*, ed. Anthony D. King (Hampshire and London: Macmillan Press, 1996), pp. 227–52, p. 228.

38 located in Kale Mahallesi, Mecidiye Caddesi.

and the Oriental, which were constructed in the late nineteenth century. Enhanced by its view of the sea, the *Mantika* was an elegant space that served European food and where many foreign languages were spoken, as noted in the *Annuaire Oriental 1912*.[39] However, this elegance was hardly recognizable in 1919's difficult environment. The underutilized and therefore functionally modest hotel could only accommodate its unexpected but esteemed guests by borrowing beds from the military hospital, and other furniture from the houses and offices of prominent citizens (see Figure 2). "Space is the envelop of time" in Lefebvre's words.[40] The future leader of Turkey stayed only a few days in the *Mantika* but left lasting memories.

On his second visit to Samsun five years later, Mustafa Kemal and his wife Latife Hanım stayed at Şahinzade Remzi Bey's house for four days. A house is the most particular representational space for a person's sense of belonging. This sense overlays the physical space[41] and builds a symbolic bond between the person and the space. In addition to his sentimental attachment to Samsun, could *Mantika* become a 'house' for Mustafa Kemal that would more strongly connect him with the city? In 1926, the keys to the *Mantika* building



FIGURE 2 *The* Mantika Palas *in 1938*
HTTPS://COMMONS.WIKIMEDIA.ORG/WIKI/FILE:MANTIKA_PALAS,_1938.JPG / SOURCE: SAMSUN YEREL TARIH GRUBU / PUBLIC DOMAIN, 12.12.2015

39 Sarısakal, *Bir Kentin Tarihi: Samsun*, p. 313.

40 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 339.

41 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 39.

were presented to him in Istanbul by the Samsun governorship and an official delegation as an expression of the city's thanks for creating an independent Turkey. While working on the Alphabet Reform (replacing the prevailing Arabic script with the Latin alphabet, a very important component of the modernization programme), Mustafa Kemal came to Samsun on 16 September 1928 (Figure 3). He again stayed at the *Mantika*, where the furniture from his first visit remained. In a letter he wrote that day, he said that even his cigarette package from 19 May 1919 was on his table.

His last visit to Samsun (for a meeting with the young people of the Turkish Association) began on 22 November 1930 (Figure 4). He attended lessons in a high school and participated in a concert with the Turkish Association. He spent four days at the *Palas*, which must have become a real home for him.

After his death in 1938, the building was expropriated by the municipality with the intent of creating a museum, but that plan was not realized until six decades later. The upper floor was arranged as a museum and the entrance floor served as a local civic library, but the building could not sustain this parallel significance corresponding to its past position. Despite its historical eminence, the *Mantika* remained vacant until its transfer to the Ministry of Culture in 1995. Restorations were begun and the building became a museum in 1998 (see Figure 5).[42] The restoration process was collaboratively supported by the Samsun governorship, Samsun City Private Administration and the Samsun municipality. In 2006, the museum was 'reopened' after its renewal under the coordination of Samsun Atakum Rotary Club, the Samsun governorship, Samsun City Private Administration, the Samsun municipality and the Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects-Samsun City Coordination Committee.

Museums, as 'memory keepers', encourage society to remember the chosen periods, events, people and images.[43] They enjoin visitors to preserve a faculty of remembrance and develop a capacity for recall through displays, and sometimes through buildings themselves. Lowenthal, sharp-wittedly, draws attention to the role of 'forgetting' in the museum realm by saying "without forgetting, recall would be useless". It may be asked whether the socially passive years of the building imply a gradually fading memory. Yet the state of forgetting may also mark the true value of the building as a representational space. Thus, a strong motivation becomes noticeable to capture the memory within a more institutionalized mode, and ends up with a meticulously

42 Samsun Valiliği, *Atatürk's Province: Samsun 2000*, pp. 15–17.

43 Lowenthal, David, "Memory and oblivion", *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 12 (1993), 171–82.



FIGURE 3 *Mustafa Kemal's Samsun visit in 1928*
HTTPS://COMMONS.WIKIMEDIA.ORG/WIKI/CATEGORY:HISTORICAL_IMAGES_OF_SAMSUN SOURCE: SAMSUN/YEREL TARIH GRUBU / PUBLIC DOMAIN, 12.12.2015



FIGURE 4 *Mustafa Kemal's Samsun visit in 1930*
HTTPS://COMMONS.WIKIMEDIA.ORG/WIKI/CATEGORY:HISTORICAL_IMAGES_OF_SAMSUN/SOURCE: SAMSUN YEREL TARIH GRUBU / PUBLIC DOMAIN, 12.12.2015



FIGURE 5 *The* Mantika Palas*, now called the Gazi Museum*
BY COURTESY OF MERVE KURT

organized museum, where everything is displayed in the care of a prescribed curatorial formalism.

Compared to the discursive existences of the steamer and the dock, the hotel displays a relatively more concrete spatiality (see Figure 6). Still, one may speculate that its significance as a representational space is notable because of the connections it establishes with the other two spaces. Within the building, one feels the structure's strong links to the collective memory of the historical event, which cognitively unify it with the steamer and the dock (see Figure 7). This paradigm apparently has the mystic power of turning the naïvely articulated exhibition spaces (containing static displays) into a lively realm of remembrance in spatial practice.

The spatial practice may be argued to be under the control of "the association between the spatial and the fixation of meaning",[44] a status endorsed by the representational. Yet, via the *Mantika's* urban setting, central and open to everyday life, and its enclosed indoor spirit, resisting temporality, the arguments that "through representation we spatialize time" and that "it is space to tame the temporal" are intertwined, reminding us of a 'slippage' that evidently occurs whenever "representation is equated with spatialization".[45]

Visibility of the history through its related spaces is a modern urban matter. In fact, protection of the republican values and its visual representation in the public realm through images, monuments, sculptures have been a state policy and tradition since the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923. Thus, the restoration facility for an effective representation of the republican collective memory can be viewed as a typical performance of such an understanding. However, the 1990s' enthusiasm in the Samsun case seems to be more related to an urban consciousness rather than a state based initiation, in terms of possessing a unique segment of events in the country's historical turn. The attempts of revitalization of Mantika Palas in Samsun simultaneously build up the historically differentiated identity of the city, thus, privilege the ordinary *Samsunlu* by materializing his/her special connection with Mustafa Kemal and marks that urban plot as a rare landmark of consuming this identity. The material presence of this connection (through the purified façade presentations, well-curated interior images, old photographs illustrating an idealized '*Atatürk and our city of Samsun*' relationship) informs generously the websites of the municipality and the governorship, ministry of culture and tourism, city guides, documentations of civic local groups with historical and cultural interests, inasmuch as the Republican memory plays its role in Samsun-perceptions

44 Massey, *For Space*, p. 20.

45 Massey, *For Space*, p. 20, p. 29.



FIGURE 6 *The* Mantika Palas *(middle) and its immediate surroundings in 2013; interior of the* Mantika Palas; *Mustafa Kemal's bedroom and bathroom*
BY COURTESY OF MERVE KURT



FIGURE 7 *Gazi Museum exhibition hall; model of the* SS Bandırma *in the Gazi Museum; representation of the* Tobacco Dock *in the main exhibition hall*
BY COURTESY OF MERVE KURT.

of the people. Fortunately, located in a very dense urban texture and not isolated as an abstract space, Mantika Palas (Gazi Museum) establishes genuine associations with the city more powerfully than the properly regulated memory-consumerist relationships.

Bandırma Vapuru, The Steamer *Bandırma*

This Approaching is the Bandırma Ship
The entirety of Anatolia waiting eagerly
This approaching is the Bandırma Ship
Mustafa Kemal's gaze purer than the sky itself
If Mustafa Kemal removes his grey cap
His golden hair dances with the wind
His attire is free of all military distinction
The faith of Turkey inscribed in his palm
Black Sea spread vast beneath his feet
The Bandırma Ship inches her way
Anatolia, the war veteran, awaits
Mustafa Kemal approaches, the ship draws near
The land bows down in greeting
A blond hero within the ship
Mustafa Kemal, the immortal
The moment you set foot on Samsun
The entire nation waved with your wind
Like our crimson flag[46]

The steamer *Bandırma*, this lyrically nationalized object, was built in 1878 in Paisley, Scotland (see Figure 8). She was designed as a 47.7metre[47] cargo ship and originally named the *Torocarderto*, sailing five years as a freighter under this name. In 1883 she was purchased by a Greek ship owner, and renamed the *Kymi*. In 1894 the Ottoman Maritime Co. purchased and renamed her the *ss Panderma*, using her as a passenger and cargo vessel in the Marmara Sea. In 1910 that company was reorganized into the Ottoman Transportation Co., whicho again renamed her, this time as the *ss Bandırma*. Serving as a mail ship, it was during this period that she made her now-famous voyage, carrying

46 Yaşin, Özker, *Şu Yaklaşan Bandırma Vapuru*, http://www.meb.gov.tr/belirligunler/19mayis/siirler/bandirma_vapuru.htm, 14.10.2013, here translated by Bora Basa.

47 *Bandırma* was 6.83 metres in width and 4.27 metres in height.

Mustafa Kemal to Samsun. In 1924 she was decommissioned and in 1925 she was demolished in Haliç Feneri in Istanbul.[48]

Due to the steamer's historical role in building the Turkish Republic, she was always considered a significant representational space, even after her destruction. In 2001, with the Samsun Governorship's decision (initiated by the City Private Administration),[49] a replica was built to the *Bandırma*'s original shape and size by Taşkınlar Shipbuilding Co., and it was opened in 18 May 2003 as a museum in East Park, a recreation area 23 km east of Samsun's city centre between the coastline and the highway (see Figure 9).[50] The Bandırma museum project in the East Park area (3000 m2) was included in the 2000–2001 investment programme of Samsun City Private Administration. The Private Administration was composed of the elected representatives of the political parties and headed by the governor. It acted as a democratic platform to identify the problems and give voice to public concerns with regard to various

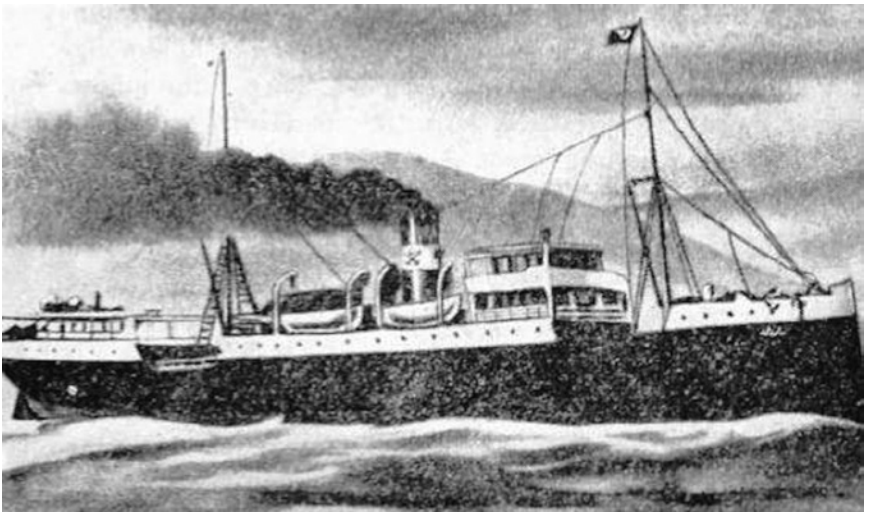


FIGURE 8 *The* Bandırma*, a commonly used image*
HTTPS://COMMONS.WIKIMEDIA.ORG/WIKI/FILE:BANDIRMA_VAPURU.PNG / PUBLIC DOMAIN, 12.12.2015

48 Özakman, Turgut, *Vahidettin, Mustafa Kemal ve Milli Mücadele* (Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 2007 [1997]), pp. 285–7, p. 291; *Bandırma Vapuru*, http://www.bandirmavapuru.org/, 12.10.2013.

49 See, http://www.samsunkulturveturizm.gov.tr/TR,59877/bandirma-vapuru.html, 11.10.2015.

50 In 2001–2002, the landscape design and environmental planning was done by the Samsun municipality, and in 2005, Samsun municipality took over the possession of Bandırma Museum.

urban issues. Here, in the case of the *Bandırma*, restoring an authentic scene (by faithfully resembling the original) for a present visibility of the national memory was paramount due to the absence of its physical original. Local newspapers' celebration of the site on each occasion (visits of politicians, eminent social figures or groups) has denoted the *Bandırma* as an aura of national past in the citizens' public mind and marked Samsun as a victorious realm of past.[51] "Being in the Bandırma steamer carries us back to those days (of independence movement)" says the head of the Turkish bar union during his visit .[52] Through the experience of the representational space, nostalgia "dwells on a certain period" and evokes sentimental bonds with a "bygone time".[53] Modernist republican ideals, that were supposedly a permanent national tradition until the 1990s, are no longer safely embraced by the entirety of society in todays' conservative climate.

The exact model of the *Bandırma* stimulates a romanticized feeling not only serving the local citizens' civic pride but also the precious memories of all the admirers of the modernist early republican past, such as the widespread passion of Atatürk portraits, memoirs, books and Turkish flags, in stark contradiction with the growing religious codes of behaviour and republican values.[54]

Carrying Mustafa Kemal Paşa from Istanbul to Anatolia at a critical juncture of Turkish history occasioned the *Bandırma*'s perception as a symbolically eminent representational space. She embodies Lefebvre's indication of representational space as alive and redolent with symbolic elements, and as sourced in history.[55] The replica of the *Bandırma*, which is the representation of her space in Lefebvrian terms, intersects with society's collective memory and with individual imagery derived from pre-existing knowledge. The replica has its own practical impact, yet the steamer's historical bonds are undoubtedly also significant in the spatial practices of visitors cognizant of the events. An extensive spatial context has been created wherein the order of the space-time relationship has become intertwined.

51 See, SAM-SEV for the Samsun's local newspapers, http://www.samsev.org.tr/eweb/samsun.html, 10.12.2015.

52 http://www.habergazetesi.com.tr/bandirma-muze-gemisi-ziyaretci-akinina-ugradi-53274h.htm *Haber Gazetesi* 19.05.2015. Bandırma Müze Gemisi Ziyaretçi Akımına Uğradı, 10.12.2015.

53 See, Lowenthal, "The past as a theme park", p. 17.

54 See, Özyürek, *Nostalgia for the Modern*, for the secular social democratic republicans' intense expression modes of modernist and Kemalist sentiments both in public and private (domestic) realms.

55 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*.



FIGURE 9 *Replica of the* Bandırma *behind Turkish flags*
BY COURTESY OF MERVE KURT

The representation of space as embodied in the replica encapsulates strong loyalty to the historical status of 19 May's events and to the reality of the form, but it is arguable whether a nonfloating, newly built and freshly painted replica in a relatively remote park as an article of replicated history has enough symbolic power to correctly convey the old and tired original, and to achieve the desired concept of the representational space. The accompanying wax figures of Mustafa Kemal, his men and the crew, his cabin with representative furniture, all as if frozen in a historical play, seem to turn the spatial practice into the realm of an epic (yet primitive) correspondence (see Figure 10).

It is reasonable to presume that representations of space and representational spaces give different inputs into the production of space, according to their particular attributes,[56] but the specific mode of production in the case of the *Bandırma* creates unusual interconnections between conceptualizing the space as a perfect one-to-one reproduction and appropriating that space through the associated mental pictures that overlap her physical space.

56 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 46.

Tütün İskelesi, The Tobacco Dock

As its name suggests, the Tobacco Dock was originally built to facilitate shipping the Samsun-area's high-quality tobacco to Istanbul and to foreign markets via English and Austrian merchants (see Figure 11 and Figure 12).[57] The Tobacco factory[58] (with the factory workers, employees, foreign merchants; the residential areas close to the factory settlement; the lively street life) was not only a major source of the local income, but also an important component of the urban culture and texture.[59] As an essential part of this texture, the Tobacco Dock linked Samsun's main economic output – tobacco – with the outside world. Via the narrow-gauge railway on the dock, tobacco containers were transported from the large warehouse nearby to waiting ships.[60] Relational to its function, the dock, despite its structural simplicity, had an important role in Samsun's everyday life.

In the construction haze of the 1950s, the Tobacco Dock lost its significance. Once extending far into the Black Sea (see Figure 13), it was dismantled in 1954 during coastal landfill projects[61] undertaken to build a larger port. After the advent of Turkey's multi-party regime in 1945, the Democrat Party won the 1950 national election, and for the first time since 1923, the Republican elites of the one-party regime (the Republican People's Party) were replaced by a new group of politicians, composed of entrepreneurs, industrialists, manufacturers, landowners and engineers. In this transitional period, urban development projects were considered so important that few objected to the Tobacco Dock's demolition.

A physical re-acknowledgement of the dock's significance took five decades. By then, rebuilding it in its original location was impossible, but a replica was constructed by the Samsun municipality's initiative in 2009 about 500 meters away in the form of a long platform, 45m by 400m, at the end of which 'floats' an 'anchored' representative *Bandırma*, a flat podium constructed in the ship's original size and shape, with two masts (see Figure 14). Within a larger scale, the 'new' dock was integrated into an urban park project, Kurtuluş Parkı (Independence Park). It was located at the end of a straight avenue perpendicular to the coastline (Protocol Avenue), which connects the Mantika Palas

57 Erler, M. Yavuz and Edinsel, Kerim, "Samsun'da Tütün Üretimi (1788–1919)", *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi,* 4 (2011), 230–47.

58 Established in 1887, it was owned by the French company Reji until the state's ownership in the Republican period.

59 Kurt, Merve, "The concept of Authenticity in the Protection of Industrial Heritage: The Case of Samsun Tobacco Factory Building", Bilkent University, master's thesis, Ankara, 2014.

60 Sarısakal, *Bir Kentin Tarihi: Samsun*, pp. 38–9.

61 Yılmaz, Emine K., "Samsun Kenti Kıyı Dolgu Alanının Peyzaj Mimarlığı Açısından İrdelenmesi ve Öneriler", University of Ankara, master's thesis, 2007.



FIGURE 10 *The* Bandırma, *full-scale; wax figure of a crewman; wax figures of Mustafa Kemal (third from the left) and his men*
BY COURTESY OF MERVE KURT

and the sea. In accordance with its symbolic meaning, this section of the Protocol Avenue (known as the pathway of Independence) was opened in 19 May 2009, the 90th anniversary of Mustafa Kemal's symbolic 'first step' on the dock. As previously mentioned, this step was to be regarded as the first step of the Turkish struggle for independence in the official history.

The 'concrete' *Bandırma* representation was apparently built to lend authenticity to the dock but the coexistence of the 'other' *Bandırma* a few kilometres away creates confusion. The light materiality of the dock places it far from any dominant form of space, but it does entirely possess the emblematic quality of representational spaces. Yet it cannot embrace its poise without falling into self-recrimination because of its incorrect location (although models of Mustafa Kemal and his men are on the dock, as if attempting to buffer the truth of the space against the false placement). The view of Samsun from the dock, an information sign and the fine-finished surface of a memorial wall (see Figure 15) as an urban extension of the dock increase the unusual effect. The 'new' dock's ambiguous physical existence causes one to think of this space in the manner of Heynen and Loeckx's witty remark regarding a "staging of displacement that provokes shift of meanings".[62] In fact, the abstract ground on which the dock stands was a discursive site of history and the dock itself grew from the citizenry's desire to prevent that period from remaining underrepresented.

Similar to the re-creation of the steamer, the dock was built as a mimesis of the former one in a naïve and emotional fashion. It was produced in accordance with a civic wish and ideal to transcend the fictitious realm and experience a particular space. However, the realization of the project allows it to be viewed also through a variety of purposes and interests. The local political authorities' administrative and financial support can be connected with the dual component of the spatial experience of the area by the visitors. The presence of the dock serves to provide the city with both a prestigious national status and economic, as well as cultural, benefits through these visits.[63] Its ersatz and theatrical nature is tolerated by the nationalistic sentiment. The

62 Heynen, Hilde and Loeckx, Andre, "Scenes of ambivalence: concluding remarks on architectural patterns of displacement", *Journal of Architectural Education*, 52 (1998), 100–8.

63 The official website of the Samsun municipality highlights the project as "The spot, where the great leader Atatürk first stepped for lighting the flame of the National Independence, has attained the prestige it deserves", http://www.samsun.bel.tr/samsun.asp?samsun=66-kurtulus-yolu# (18.12.2015) A local support for the project can be viewed through the ordinary citizens' reviews on popular traveller websites. An uncomplicated representation of the past and its undemanding experience create a realm of preference. The 'new' dock reassures the local doubts that this place is an enduring national memory and it is a historical heritage of Samsun.

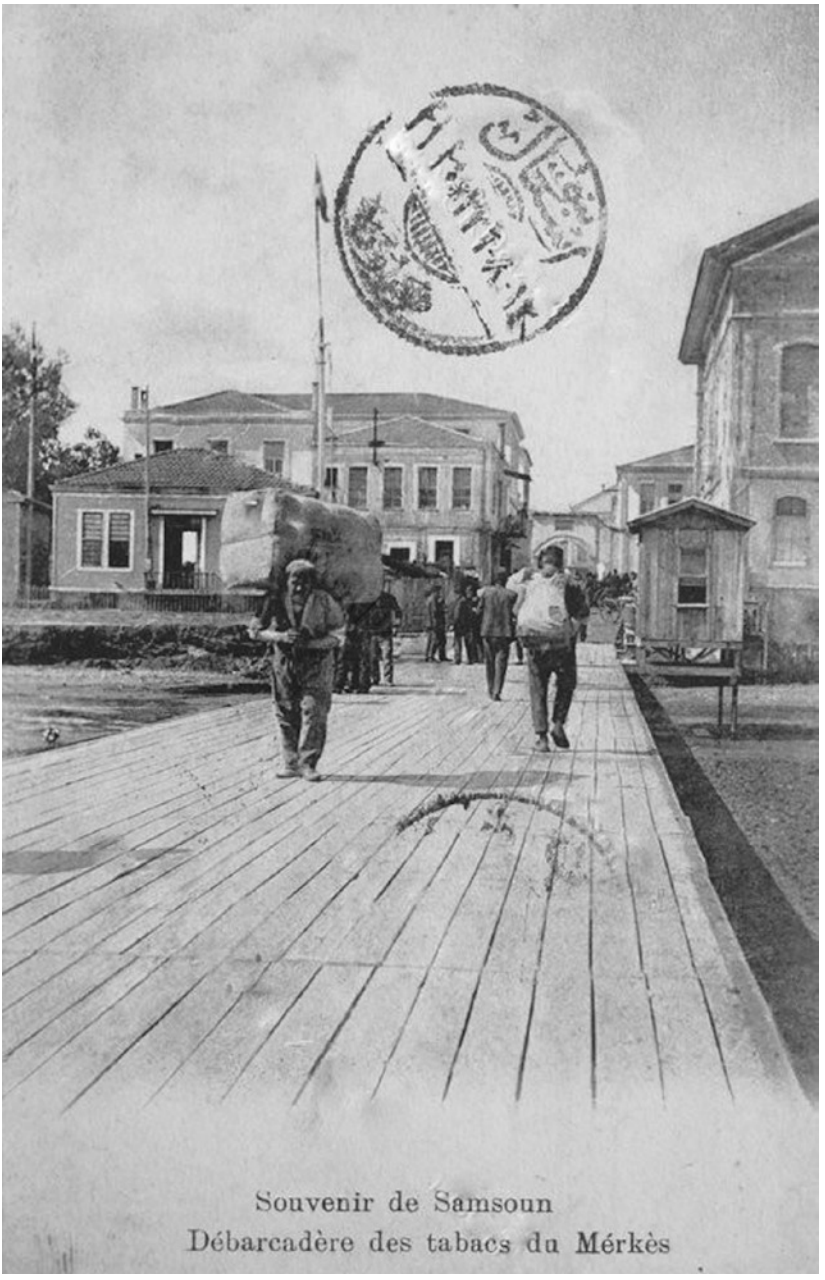


FIGURE 11 *The original* Tobacco Dock *in 1911*
HTTPS://COMMONS.WIKIMEDIA.ORG/WIKI/CATEGORY:HISTORICAL_IMAGES_OF_SAMSUN / SOURCE: SAMSUN YEREL TARIH GRUBU / PUBLIC DOMAIN, 12.12.2015



FIGURE 12 *View of the city from the* Tobacco Dock *in early 1910s*
SOURCE: SAMSUN YEREL TARIH GRUBU / PUBLIC DOMAIN

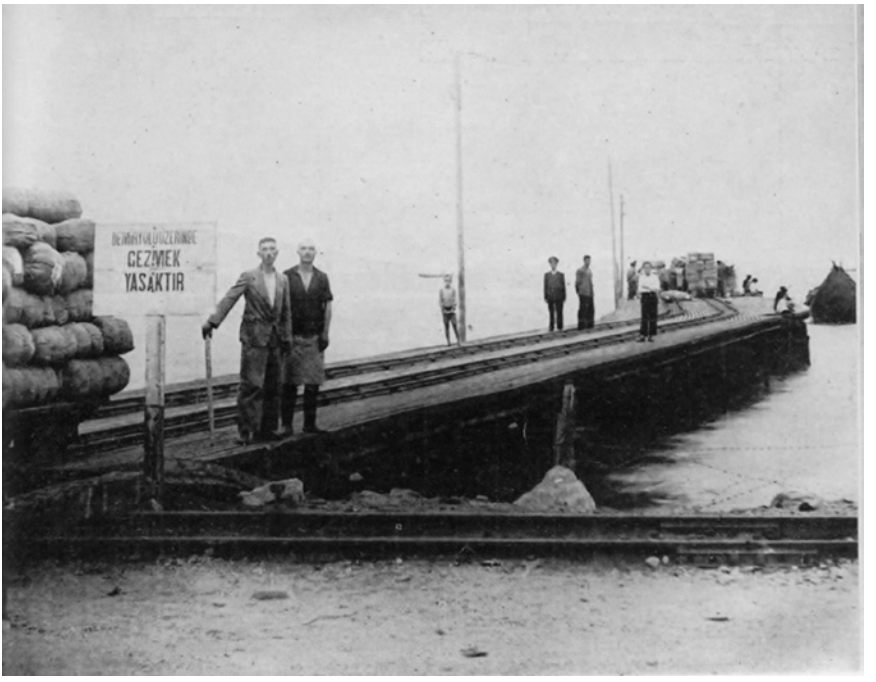


FIGURE 13 *The* Tobacco Dock *in 1938*
HTTPS://COMMONS.WIKIMEDIA.ORG/WIKI/CATEGORY:HISTORICAL_IMAGES_OF_SAMSUN/SOURCE: SAMSUN YEREL TARIH GRUBU / PUBLIC DOMAIN, 12.12.2015



FIGURE 14 *'Concrete' representation of the* Bandırma*; replica of the* Tobacco Dock*; wax figures of Mustafa Kemal and his men on the dock*
BY COURTESY OF MERVE KURT



FIGURE 15 *The sign translates as "Pathway of Independence and the Dock"; View of Samsun from the* Tobacco Dock; *memorial Wall of Independence*
BY COURTESY OF MERVE KURT

interplay between fictitious and real corresponds to an idiosyncratic conception of space containing concrete and abstract existences at the same time.

Different in shape but similar in memory-consuming ideology with many other themed spaces, the 'new' Tobacco Dock and its 'concrete' *Bandırma* thematise the past by taming the present environment and eliminating the untidy reality. The spatial practice of the area becomes a 'themed experience'[64] under the absolute control of a photographic depiction. The tailored details, perhaps conceived as the prime virtue of the 'new' dock to represent the past genuinely, disclose contrarily a vague historical knowledge – lacking substance beyond simply what is there. The constructed past, thus, develops a concrete illusion through a 'ready to be consumed' materiality with derivative references to a patriotic historical narrative and a vague scholarship.

Conclusion: Production of Space against Collective Forgetfulness

The current study identifies the production of space as an interlocking process stemming from society's desire to remember with its fear of forgetting. Yet this process is far from the simplicity of an idealized civic desire when it is grounded in the wider contexts of sociocultural, political and economic realms. These realms in their intertwined nature create a societal energy that may end up with present spatial outcomes that resist forgetting the past, as in the case of Samsun. The Republican historical narrative claims a nationalist standing for this northern coast city for its very early spatial witness to the events. In the written account of these events, the 'past' had been 'themed' throughout the spatial attributions.

Producing representational spaces in Samsun showed a remarkable conscious attempt to integrate spatial practice with Republican memory through a pattern of 'real' places, the hotel, the steamer and the dock. It is not surprising for a city to ensure the preservation of its historical memory by employing all its political, social and economic mechanisms, since there is a worldwide consciousness for the historical aspects' role in the mental construction of a city's identity. The desire to recapture the Republican memory in spatial terms, however, may have a special meaning within Turkey's current political climate, where the status of this memory has become weaker in relevance in the reigning political discourse of the Justice and Development Party. The will to reproduce these representational spaces in Samsun can be seen, to an extent, as a reaction against the 2000s' political discourse, which emphasizes Turkey's

64 See, Lowenthal, "The past as a theme park", p. 13.

Ottoman-Islamic past rather than its national and Republican memory, and moreover, as a response to the circles that tend to ignore Samsun's officially narrated historical role.

Not only in terms of Samsun's citizens' genuine beliefs and local politics' commitments to city image, but also in general terms, space is one of the most powerful imprints a society produces. Even as spatial 'slices', such as have been created in Samsun from a linear and uninterpreted chronologised historiography, the space still powerfully exploits the moment through its myriad conceptualizations. It provides a "depthless horizontality of immediate connections".[65] Samsun's representational spaces, with their dependence on the 'agency'of history, are perceived and lived through the vague temporality caused by the representation of the past imposed upon the present. The supremacy of the space then derives from the multitude of conceptualizations it potentially possesses and (or) processes, and does not necessarily derive from the authority or genuineness of the form.

No matter how flourishing or unpretentious its physical materiality may be, a space is foremost a conceptual and social product. A modest hotel or a simple steamer, and even a dock, becomes an important actor when it is understood within its unique complex network of perceived, conceived and lived realms. This paper thus asserts that despite the paucity of aesthetic or functional qualities, each discussed space in this case forcefully illustrates the capacity of the theoretical triad (spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces) through Lefebvre's claim of this triad being more than an "abstract model".[66]

The triad grasps the *concrete* in this coastal Anatolian city, rather than being merely an 'ideological mediation' with a limited import. The main issue arising, then, is whether or not the subject (i.e., the user, the visitor of the space or the passerby) may "move from one realm to another without confusion". Whether the perceived, conceived and lived realms establish a certain cohesiveness is "another matter", says Lefebvre, implying that such a "cohesive whole" would only be possible in "favorable circumstances".[67] Of course, the triad in Samsun cannot constitute a cohesive whole due to the dominating role of the representational space over the other two realms, which are delusively regarded as of lesser significance. However, the absence of cohesiveness does not indicate a deficiency of the space, but implies multiple challenges that spatiality pretends. Here, the subject is confused because the representations of

65 Lowenthal, "The past as a theme park", p. 76.

66 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 40.

67 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 40.

space (architectural conception and knowledge, design matters, plans, drawings) are reduced to unresponsive components. The spatial practice, that is, the interaction of society with that space, also cannot be interpreted without understanding the dominance of the associated historic symbols. Spatial practice, then, can be deciphered as a combined act of collective remembering and a reaction against collective forgetting. Even the dominance of representational spaces, whose refinement is currently, but possibly only temporarily, backed by collective memory, cannot project a confident conceptualization of space due to the ever-changing and fluid nature of spatiality itself. On a wholly speculative note, the ostensibly 'quiet' spaces of Samsun are, perhaps for these reasons, 'lively', 'spirited' and 'stimulating'.