

RECONSTRUCTION OF COLLECTIVE MEMORY
AND MEMORY OF PLACE:
FROM HERGELEN SQUARE TO MELİKE HATUN MOSQUE

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ABSTRACT

RECONSTRUCTION OF COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND MEMORY OF PLACE: FROM HERGELEN SQUARE TO MELİKE HATUN MOSQUE

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Shared memories help not only individuals but also groups to sustain their social existence. In order for memories to be shared, there is a need for a common ground where such memories accumulate, which is the collective memory. Architecture is concerned with collective memory with regard to its interactive relation with built environment. That is why collective memory is interlaced with physical environments and thereby with architecture. The architecture of a city is part of its collective memory through social interactions in places. Social memory and place memory are interconnected. However, in some cases triggering social memory can be a tool for politics by using architecture in order to change the memory of place.

Hergelen Square is located at Ulus district in Ankara and it has a value in terms of having Republican sites and buildings around. Recently, as part of a renovation project for that square, Melike Hatun Mosque was built. This paper explores the architectural features of the mosque and its relation to the urban context, and how it has changed the identity and memory of the place in which it is inserted. The political power expresses itself in the urban context with representations of space. Through

such architectural interventions the identity and meaning of places change in the collective memory of citizens.

Keywords: Memory of Place, Collective Memory, Political Spatialization, Place Identity, Mosque Architecture, Ankara.



ÖZ

KOLEKTİF BELLEĞİN VE YER BELLEĞİNİN YENİDEN İNŞASI: HERGELEN MEYDANI'NDAN MELİKE HATUN CAMİSİ'NE

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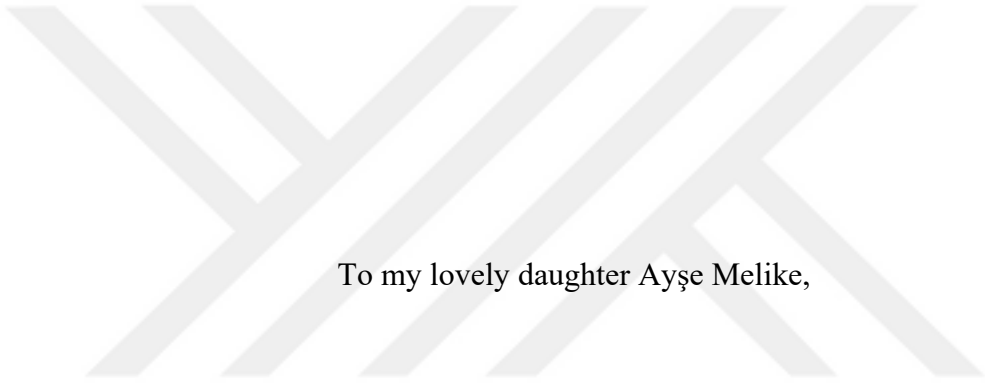
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Ortak hafıza sadece bireylere değil, kitlelere de sosyal varlıklarını sürdürmede yardımcı olur. Geçmişe ait anıların paylaşımı için bu anıların biriktirildiği ortak bir alana ihtiyaç vardır; bu da kolektif bellektir. Mimarlık kolektif belleğin yapılı çevreyle olan etkileşimiyle ilgilenir. Toplumsal hafıza, fiziksel çevreyle, dolayısıyla da mimari ile doğrudan ilişkilidir. Bir şehrin mimarisi, kent mekânları ile sosyal etkileşimler vasıtasıyla toplumsal hafızanın parçasıdır. Kolektif bellek ile yerin belleği birbirine bağlıdır. Bununla birlikte, mimarlık, yerin kimliğini ve toplumsal hafızayı yeniden şekillendirmek için siyasi bir araç olabilir.

Hergelen Meydanı Ankara'nın Ulus semtinde bulunan ve Cumhuriyet dönemine ait mekânlar ve yapıların bulunduğu değerli bir meydandır. Kısa süre önce meydanın yenileme çalışmaları kapsamında, bu alanda Melike Hatun Camii inşa edilmiştir. Bu tez camiinin kentsel bağlamdaki yerine göre mimari özellikleri ile inşa edildiği kent mekânının kimliğini ve hafızasını nasıl değiştirdiğini incelemektedir. Siyasi erk kentsel mekânda kendini mimarinin temsil ettikleri ile ifade eder. Yerin kimliğini değiştiren bu tür mimari müdahaleler, söz konusu mekânın kentlilerin toplumsal hafızasındaki anlamını değiştirir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mekânsal Hafıza, Kolektif Bellek, Siyasi Mekansallaşma,
Yerin Kimliği, Cami Mimarisi, Ankara





To my lovely daughter Ayşe Melike,

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¹ Zeynep Kezer. *Building Modern Turkey : State, Space, and Ideology in the Early Republic*. Culture Politics & the Built Environment. Pittsburgh (Pa: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015), 32.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aim and Scope of the Thesis

This study aims to examine the role of architecture and urban design in reconstructing collective memory and the memory of place in a political context for evaluating the transformation of a specific square in Ankara: Hergelen Square and Melike Hatun Mosque, which has been recently built in and occupy that particular place.

Our experiences form our memories. Individuals tend to share their memories with others in order to maintain their social existence. This need for sharing memories is critical not only for individuals but also for societies to endure. Collective memory is a socially constructed phenomenon. Individual memories are also affected by social construction. Memories, even the same memory, can be remembered and interpreted in different ways. Although our collective memories are created in the present, they can actually shape our past and accordingly our history. Since history is reconstructed by certain people and certain institutions, it is inevitable that collective memory also depends on political power. Strategically every political actor follows different strategies in order to hold power. Collective memory can also be a strategy to be politically effective by reconstructing the past/history.

Both individual and collective memory are interconnected with physical environments and thereby with architecture. It can be said that each architectural piece has its own experience and people create different memories in each architectural space. Architecture plays a crucial role in collective memory. In Turkey, mosques and mosque architecture, as specific physical environments, are

important components of collective memory: “Mosque space is conceptualized as a physical environment that cultivates the formation and transformation of individual, social, and collective memories.”² When we look back to the Ottoman history, mosque architecture had an immense role in displaying the political power, and in each period of Ottoman history, mosques were built in İstanbul, the capital of the Ottoman Empire and in other cities. However, after the foundation of the Turkish Republic, secularism prevented religion to have representational power, at least until the 1950s. Monuments dedicated to the War of Independence, Atatürk and the Republic, and cultural structures such as the Opera during the Early Republic period. In 1970s, Kocatepe Mosque was built between 1967 and 1987 as the first monumental mosque of the capital city. Today, new monumental mosques have been built recently at the focal points of Ankara. It can be argued that the urban design framework, which shaped the form of the center of the city based on the first plans prepared successively by Carl Cristoph Lörcher in 1924-1925 and by Hermann Jansen in 1928-1932, is reinterpreted by the authority to symbolize the dominant political understanding today. The mosque architecture is used for political aims; in other words, the “political power uses architecture as an apparatus for representing itself.”³ This thesis focuses on the Melike Hatun Mosque and Hergelen Square, both at the scale of urban design and at the scale of architecture, as an outcome of political decisions, within the scope of the most recent interventions. The questions of how the capital city of the Early Republican period was designed, what kind of urban spaces was created and how this urban spatial framework was re-appropriated by the political power with a different ideology in the last period in terms of urban design and architecture. This study is an attempt to analyze the effects of these abovementioned interventions on the collective memory and the memory of place.

² Meltem Gürel, Serpil Özalğlu, “Designing Mosques for secular congregations: Transformations Of The Mosque As A Social Space In Turkey,” *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research* 28, no.4 (Winter 2011): 336.

³ Elif Karaelmas, “Mosques Of Ankara: Objects Of Ideological Representation Since The 1950s” (M.Sc. diss., Middle East Technical University, 2014), 4.

1.2 Methodology

As a methodology, a theoretical framework of collective memory, memory of place, memory and built environment and public places will lead the thesis to set a sound basis for the case study. This framework will be achieved the works of key names such as; Emile Durkheim his strong ideas about society, Maurice Halbwachs' concept of collective memory, Henri Lefebvre's studies on production of social space, Aldo Rossi and his seminal work, *The Architecture of the City*, Kevin Lynch and imageability of city, Christian Norberg Schulz and identity of a place. The ideas raised in the current debates by academics are also reviewed.

Archival research was conducted for Hergelen Square and Melike Hatun Mosque. The situation of the square and the decisions taken and implemented for the square from the last period of the Ottoman Empire to the present have been examined from the archives. For this archival study, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality City Planning archive, Department of Cultural and Natural Heritage and Vehbi Koç Ankara Studies Application and Research Center (VEKAM) were visited. Çiğdem Belgin Tipi's master's thesis written in 1996, which is an important guide for Hergelen Square, has been examined in detail. Some photographs, in Tipi's thesis, which are understood to have been taken from the Municipal Planning Directory archive could not be found in the same archive today. Digital archives of Berlin Technical University Architecture Museum, VEKAM and some private newspapers were also used.

Lastly, an interview was held in Istanbul on 10 June 2021 with Muharrem Hilmi Şenalp, the architect of Melike Hatun Mosque and the founder of Hassa Architecture. Since recording was not allowed during the interview, the transcript of the interview could not be included in the thesis. In the interview, questions were asked to the architect about the design process of Melike Hatun Mosque and the importance of the mosque in terms of urban design.

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

Having introduced the aim, scope, and methodology in the very first chapter, this thesis is comprised of three main chapters and a conclusion.

The second chapter focuses on theoretical framework of the thesis, which is collective memory, memory of place and relationship between memory and built environment. It starts with Emile Durkheim's studies on the concept of "collective". Based on this, the theory of collective memory founded by Maurice Halbwachs was studied. The section on collective memory analyzes the process of recollection of the past and the relation between history, social memory and politics of memory. Urban environment and its association with collective memory will also be examined with respect to the space/place analysis. Finally, this chapter explores the relation of public places with collective memory.

The third chapter is about the historical outline of Ankara. In this chapter, the urban history of Ankara is studied and the changes and challenges that occurred in the past are discussed in particular. This chapter focuses on the plans and transformations made in the urban context in Ankara in the Republican period. In this context, the planning strategies realized in Lörcher, Jansen and Uybadin-Yücel Plans and the following periods will be examined. Atatürk Boulevard, which is the main axis of the central city first designed by Lörcher and later revised by Jansen, the two architect-planners who played important roles in determining the outlines of the central Ankara will be explored. In the final part of the chapter, the social and spatial transformation of Ankara will be investigated with respect to collective memory.

The fourth chapter scrutinizes Hergelen Square and Melike Hatun Mosque. It is necessary to understand the elements that define the square in order to figure out the past developments of the square. Therefore, the space defining elements of Hergelen Square will be analyzed in the first place. Then, the development of Hergelen Square will be surveyed in detail. Finally, this chapter analyzes Melike Hatun Mosque in

terms of its location in terms of urban design, its architecture, and its effects on the collective memory and memory of place.

In the conclusion part, the importance of Hergelen Square in Ankara and the context in which the Melike Hatun Mosque was designed in this square will be discussed. This discussion will be made by specifying the significance of collective memory and memory of place in urban design. The changes in the social, cultural and political context of Hergelen Square and how it gained a different meaning with the recently built Melike Hatun Mosque will also be examined.





CHAPTER 2

COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND BUILT ENVIRONMENT

Although the subject of memory is mainly studied in the field of psychology, since it is a concept about individuals, it has an interdisciplinary feature. Maurice Halbwachs, well known French sociologist, introduced the concept of collective memory in social sciences. As a subtitle of memory studies, collective memory is selective, socially constructed and includes space. Therefore the concept of collective memory has a crucial place in the built environment too.

This chapter starts with Emile Durkheim's thoughts on society. Maurice Halbwachs was influenced by Durkheim and Durkheim's findings on society led him to scrutinize the issue. Knowing Durkheim's studies on the society, and the concept of collective in particular, are critical for understanding Maurice Halbwachs' approach on collective memory.

According to Maurice Halbwachs, memory is collective. Communal being, consensus on the shared memories and experiences of the group are features of collective memory. How the past will be known, remembered and interpreted is determined by the people who formed that past together. Being a member of a society means sharing common shared values. These shared values form collective memory. Collective memory is expanded, improved and re-used with communication spaces. It is interconnected with physical environments and thereby public spaces. The effects of public spaces on collective memory and the politics of public spaces are also studied in this chapter.

2.1 Collective Memory

Brain of a human being is perfectly designed to organize and function the mechanism of our body, both physically and intellectually. Apart from the individual activities of a human being, it provides an ability to socialize, which is a considerable qualification of a lifetime. Socializing helps not only individuals but also groups to sustain their social existence. Society is constituted of interactions formed among people. Famous French sociologist Emile Durkheim is interested in the reasons and elements that bring the society together. The need for understanding the change in society and how it effects the attitude of a community led him to set the fundamentals about the framework of society. “He constructs a perspective that focuses on three issues: social facts, collective consciousness, and the production of culture in interaction.”⁴ Society holds social facts. They are “external to and coercive of the individual.”⁵ It means that society keeps its stability independently.

Collective consciousness is an impression among members of a community and is formed by communication. As a result of interaction, particular culture is produced. Even though Emile Durkheim did not point out collective memory explicitly, his theories on how society is constructed and held together guided many researchers to study regarding collective memory.

Maurice Halbwachs, who is an acknowledged French sociologist known for founding the concept of collective memory, was noticeably influenced by Emile Durkheim’s studies and ideas about social phenomena; society establishes a physical unit and this unit comprises all characteristics of individuals who are members of the same society. On the basis of this framework, Halbwachs studied specifically collective memory in society. Collectivity is a reciprocal phenomenon. Therefore, collective memory is addressed when memories are shared. Sharing requires an

⁴ Kenneth Allan, *Explorations in Classical Sociological Theory: Seeing the Social World* (USA: Pine Forge Press, 2005), 137.

⁵ Allan, *Explorations in Classical Sociological Theory*, 106.

environment including more than one person; a group, a community or a society. Collective memory is a socially established concept. According to Maurice Halbwachs, “the only way memory can be perceivable, verifiable and meaningful is externally, within the ‘social frameworks’.”⁶ “We can remember only on condition of retrieving the position of past events that interest us from the frameworks of collective memory.”⁷

Italian sociologist Paolo Jedlowski describes memory as:

“The capacity of a (living or artificial) system to respond to events by storing the resultant information and modifying its structure in such a way that the response to subsequent events is affected by previous acquisitions. In a more narrow sense, memory is taken to mean the human faculty of preserving certain traces of past experiences and having access to these – at least in part – through recall.”⁸

People do not remember and recall every memory in their lives. “Brain makes trimming the unnecessary connections between neurons.”⁹ That is why some memories need an impulse in order the related neurons to get linked and hence the remembering process happens. That impulse is social life and social interactions. One of the societal activities among people is to relive events happened in the past. What we experienced in the past becomes meaningful in a social context because sharing memories is an inner behavior. It is in the nature of a human being. Sometimes sharing is the maintaining of a life. Therefore, to remember and to recall memories are legitimized as a consequence of social relationships. In order for memories to be shared, there is a need for a common ground where such memories

⁶ Noa Gedi and Yigal Elam. "Collective Memory — What Is It?" *History and Memory* 8, no. 1 (1996): 36.

⁷ Lewis A. Coser, (ed.), *Maurice Halbwachs on Collective Memory* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 172.

⁸ Paolo Jedlowski. “Memory and Sociology Themes and issues,” *Time & Society* 10, no.1 (2001): 29.

⁹ Dana Suskind, *Otuz Milyon Kelime* (Ankara: Buzdağı Yayınevi, 2020), 70.

accumulate, which is the collective memory. The collective memory is socially produced. As Lewis Coser stated with reference to Maurice Halbwachs, it is “not a given but rather a socially constructed notion ... every collective memory requires the support of a group delimited in space and time.”¹⁰

There is a proverb in Turkish society. It says “tell me your friend I will tell you who you are.” The milieu that people are in is important on shaping the character and identity. Maurice Halbwachs works on collective memory in relation to social frameworks. Social interactions are fundamental on collectivity. Social environments that people enter effect the way people think, react, feel etc. In time, a collective thought is formed among the members of a specific community. Then it is transferred from generations to generations. For example, today we think that our thoughts on common incidents entirely belong to us. However, when we enter to a social group closest to us, they also talk about the same incidents and what they tell is very similar to our thoughts. Growing up, we listened to the opinions of our community. That's why we have similar ideas. That is how collective thoughts and memory are comprised of and remain much related to everybody's. Individual remembering and group remembering are reciprocally supportive. “Each memory is a viewpoint on the collective memory; that this viewpoint changes as my position changes that this position itself changes as my relationships to other milieus change.”¹¹ For that reason, the continuation of what people remember is constantly depend on the changes of relationships to different environments. In company with the diversity of milieus, the personal consideration actually represents the intricacy of the combination of various influences.

Memory as its word meaning is a storage of information. Collective and historical memories are also storages of information. However, they have remarkable

¹⁰ Lewis A. Coser, (ed.), *Maurice Halbwachs on Collective Memory* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 22.

¹¹ Maurice Halbwachs, Essay, In *The Collective Memory Reader*, 139-49. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 142.

differences in themselves. There are actually many differences between them but according to Maurice Halbwachs, it can be stressed that there are at least two distinctions can be taken into consideration. The first one is about limits. History science, as known, has particular periods and times. Definite beginnings and ends bring a certainty. There are no emotions and feelings that are mentioned in history. It has to be objective. For a historian, there are periods and in those periods, there are so many incidents that happened. That's it. What about the people who lived through all the incidents like wars, revolutions, great changes in economy etc. On the day after all those episodes, everyone would just have to maintain their lives from where it stayed. Probably no. People who encountered such important scenes do not remember them like a historian. This point separated the collective memory and historical memory. "In reality, the continuous development of the collective memory is marked not, as is history, by clearly etched demarcations but only by irregular and uncertain boundaries."¹² The way to recall collective memory is different from history. History just recorded significant events. However, collective memory does not have boundary. "The person does not remember events directly; it can only be stimulated in indirect ways through reading or listening or in commemoration and festive occasions when people gather together to remember in common the deeds and accomplishments of long-departed members of the group. In this case, the past is stored and interpreted by social institutions."¹³ Unlike history, collective memory is an interpretation of the past by social institution. The continuity of memory of a community depends on this perception of society.

The second differentiation is about giving priority to memories. Historians do not mention that some events are more important than others. They just give the details about what happened. Collective memory does not give equal significance to

¹² Maurice Halbwachs, Essay, In *The Collective Memory Reader*, 139-49. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 144.

¹³ Lewis A. Coser, (ed.), *Maurice Halbwachs on Collective Memory* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 24.

circumstances because events did not affect everyone in the same way. Community does not have to react impartially. For them, some events are really important and have psychological effects on the members of the community. That is why it cannot be said that collective memory is universal. Every collective memory is unique for certain communities. “History can be represented as the universal memory of the human species. But there is no universal memory. Every collective memory requires the support of a group delimited in space and time.”¹⁴

2.1.1 Reformation of the Past

From the time when we are able to understand what is happening in our environment until the death, we recorded so many memories. When living the moment, everything is very vivid and it seems that those scenes will remain in our minds forever. However, when time passed, we only remember certain details. Only some proportions of the moment. And we want to remind the scenes in the same way as they were experienced. However, we cannot remember in the same way. We remember an altered version of memories. We reproduce the memories constantly according to today’s conditions. At different periods of our lives, the way of remembering memories changes because we engage in different approaches about life. The details changed but the outline remains the same.

Social milieu is a fundamental factor of recalling memories. As explained, people do not remember all memories in their original form. The details change according to social milieus, according to community, according to the group that people are engaged in. Social environment effects the way of recalling memories. Particular ways of remembering shapes the collective memory of a community. Each society “has its own set of codes and customs, and its own history; in other words, it has its

¹⁴ Maurice Halbwachs, Essay, In *The Collective Memory Reader*, 139-49. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 145.

own particular collective memory, which serves as a reference to define what is important and meaningful for this particular group.”¹⁵ Therefore, the reconstructing process of memory depends on society. Through this way, a collective memory is protected.

“The mind reconstructs its memories under the pressure of society... Society from time to time obligates people not just to reproduce in thought previous events of their lives, but also to touch them up, to shorten them, or to complete them so that, however convinced we are that our memories are exact, we give them a prestige that reality did not possess.”¹⁶

That pressure on people provides the society remain the same. Collective memory focuses on the community. That is why similarity is more important than differences. Even the most personal experiences are usually results of influential social construction. Individual memories are mostly socially determined. Socially constructed activities or social networking are actually crucial for an individual's place in a society. Psychologically, collective memory helps individuals to make sense of their existential quests. Collective memory and individual memory are connected with each other. This relation provides that “every group immobilizes time in its own way and imposes on its members the illusion that certain zones have acquired a relative stability and balance in which nothing essential is altered.”¹⁷ The society and the conditions of today effect people's approach of remembering. If something needs to be remembered in the present time, the recalling process is done according to today's conditions. People select precise memories and may alter them according to their needs. “Our conceptions of the past are affected by the mental images we employ to solve present problems, so that collective memory is essentially

¹⁵ Erika Apfelbaum, Essay, In *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*, 77-92. (New Yor: Fordham University Press, 2010), 85.

¹⁶ Maurice Halbwachs. *On Collective Memory*.ed. by Lewis A. Coser, (London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 51.

¹⁷ Maurice Halbwachs, Essay, In *The Collective Memory Reader*, 139-49. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 149.

a reconstruction of the past in the light of the present.”¹⁸ How the current condition impacts the selective interpretation of the past matters for collective memory. In other words, the way of recalling memories is done through counting on the framework of social recollections. The members of a community or a specific group are able to reconstruct the past and hence a unity is succeeded among society.

2.1.2 History, Social Memory and Politics of Memory

In the previous section, the differences between historical memory and collective memory according to Maurice Halbwachs are mentioned. He particularly dwelt upon the distinction between collective memory and history. Collective memory is a socially set up construct, which means open to interpretation. On the other hand, history has to be objective. British historian Peter Burke's approach to written history is divergent from that of Maurice Halbwachs'. He thinks that writing a history is not the work of individuals only. “Neither memories not histories seem objective any longer. In both cases we are learning to take account of conscious or unconscious selection, interpretation and distortion. In both cases this selection, interpretation and distortion is socially conditioned.”¹⁹ After all, historians are human beings too. They belong to a specific society and they come from a distinct collective memory, social construct. It is reasonable to posit that writing history is not totally objective. They may state some of the events in different ways in order them to be much memorable. Such as glorifying specific persons entitled to relevant cases. At this point Burke raised an important question: “who wants whom to remember what, and why?”²⁰ This question refers that which variant of history is documented and maintained. It can be connoted that historical writing and reproduction of the past can influence the

¹⁸ Lewis A. Coser, (ed.), *Maurice Halbwachs on Collective Memory* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 34.

¹⁹ Peter Burke, Essay, In *The Collective Memory Reader*, 188-192. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 188.

²⁰ Peter Burke, Essay, In *The Collective Memory Reader*, 191.

balance of power within society. As explained in previous sections, each community or each society has their own specific collective memories. They constitute their own memories according to their own set of codes and customs by reducing some of the details.

The reproduction process of memory can become a tool for politics itself. The first connotation of collective memory is a subjective participation of a social community that mainly endures a communication of power. However, the political use of memory reduces the social factors. Social sensibilities are sacrificed for the sake of power relationships and political interests. Writing the history of memory must be more thorough hypothetically in integrating the relationship between the social, the political and the cultural. It is necessary to differentiate between the memory as an inquiring device to understand the past and the memory as a tool for understanding how communities construct the past. Otherwise, “if social history reduced the cultural to the social, cultural history often reduces the cultural to the political. Memory cleavages reflect political differences constructed beforehand. Political differences identify and explain memory origination. Memory thus becomes a prisoner of political reductionism and functionalism.”²¹ The role of the memory in writing history is a quite controversial issue in terms of its credibility. Political reductionism brings the matter of inventing traditions. The notion of invented traditions was introduced by British Marxist historian Eric Hobsbawm. This influential idea is actually a much broader discussion. It is an interdisciplinary field that “brings together historians, social anthropologists and a variety of other workers in the human sciences.”²² Here, it is related with writing history under the influence of political reductionism using collective memory. Eric Hobsbawm defines invented tradition as:

²¹Alon Confino, Essay, In *The Collective Memory Reader*, 198-200. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 199.

²² Eric Hobsbawm, *The Invention of tradition*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 14.

“Taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past...”²³

Peter Burke gives an example about legitimizing the existence of the nation states like Italy or Germany in the late nineteenth century.²⁴ He describes those times as an age of exploring national traditions by constructing monuments or determining special days. Aligned with Hobsbawm’s definition, this search for new traditions related with emerging nation states is actually establishing continuity with a suitable historic past. The new period for the states requires changes. These changes are “responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations.”²⁵ It is indeed a continuation of the past with invented traditions. Indoctrinating certain values of specific community is part of writing history. The role of memory here is vital for sustaining the collective memory. Politics reduced memory for the sake of collective memory and hence for the sake of unity in the community.

2.2 Memory and Built Environment

Memory is a source of social and individual experiences throughout a lifetime. It enables people to link between the past and the present by remembering. If people lose the ability to recall, it is equal to lose to attribute a meaning about the sense of themselves. Just like the memory, collective memory plays similar role for societies and communities. Collective memory provides the members of a community sharing

²³ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Invention of tradition*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1.

²⁴ Peter Burke, Essay, In *The Collective Memory Reader*, 191.

²⁵ Eric Hobsbawm, Essay, In *The Collective Memory Reader*, 271-274. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 271.

common identities, feelings and experiences. The loss of collective identity means alienating people from the group. It also means the loss of connection to the past.

Memory is interconnected with physical environments and thereby with architecture. The process of remembering is also associated with the environment. This environment can have anything; images, places, natural components, relations, etc. These elements may stimulate the process of recalling. Collective memories, likewise, are moderated through material setting and therefore it is interrelated with urban memory. Built environment is a source of urban memory. Urban memory;

“Seems to indicate cities as places where lives have been lived and still felt as physically manifest, shaping what is remembered beyond the discourses of architects, developers, preservationists, and planners. But it is also often strategically mobilized by those professions... Urban memory indicates the city as a physical landscape and collection of objects and practices that enable recollections of the past and that embody the past through traces of the city’s sequential building and rebuilding.”²⁶

Therefore, built environment moderates urban memory and through shaping what is remembered, collective memory is also modified. Accordingly, architecture as part of built environment has a significant role on collective memory through places of remembering.

Architectural pieces enable people experience spaces according to their own way. Hence, people have different memories, which are associated with architecture and urban environment. Since architectural spaces is also highly interconnected with their surroundings, places also have their own memories through their users. There is a relationship between an architectural building and its urban context. The production of space/place is a fundamental practice in the production of collective

²⁶ Mark Crinson, *Urban Memory History and Amnesia in the Modern City* (London: Routledge, 2005), xii.

memory, because societies perceive the space they produce as their images. In the first place, it is necessary to understand space/place concepts. Then in the light of these concepts, it helps to understand architecture, urban environment and cities. Their imprints on collective memory can be more understandable.

2.2.1 Space/Place

In daily life, it is widespread to use the word ‘space’ for various purposes. At the beginning of *The Production of Space*, famous French Marxist philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre posits that not so many years ago, the word ‘space’ was used with a mathematical content and defined as an empty area.²⁷ The concept of space does not refer to so many things. Other concepts attribute different meanings to space, such as living space, social space, etc. Social space has an impressive role in the social sciences. Lefebvre is known for having introduced notion of the production of social space. He suggests that:

“Before *producing* effects in the material realm (tools and objects), before *producing itself* by drawing nourishment from that realm, and before *reproducing itself* by generating other bodies, each living body *is* space and *has* its space: it produces itself in space and it also produces that space... the living body, creates or produces its own space.”²⁸

In everyday live, human beings create their own spaces momentarily. With the existence of human body itself occupies and constitutes a space. Lefebvre also defines space as “conceived of as being transformed into ‘lived experience’ by a social ‘subject’, and is governed by determinants which may be practical (work, play) or biological (young people, children, women, active people) in character.”²⁹

²⁷ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*. (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2011), 1.

²⁸ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 170.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 190.

The understanding of space is relatively possible with determinants like objects. It is not a predetermined concept. He introduced social space as a lived experience. He tried to explain that the 'lived' encounters and understanding of geological space are actually social. This concept actually emerged as a critique of modernization and suburbanization of cities in France. He witnessed major changes at his time. Cities and city life became ordinary due to industrialization. The change in cities is much related with social production. For example he criticized Soviet urban planners in *The Production of Space* for failure of producing socialistic space. “'Change life! Change society!’ These precepts mean nothing without the production of an appropriate space. A lesson to be learned from the Soviet constructivists of 1920-30, and from their failure, is that new social relationships call for a new space, and vice versa.”³⁰ He took very seriously the relationship between social production and the organization of city, urban. The change in society comes from new societal productions and junctions. These junctions are dependent to new spaces. Lefebvre posits that social space is not a socialized space.³¹ Social space is where socialization occurs, where intellectual environment is comprised of.

Place is a particular space. Place is defined as a characteristic of physical space. Just as space is not used separately as a geographical term and it has different types of meanings, place is also not a concrete form of a space alone. Place has social attributions like social space. However, place does not need add on like the word ‘social’. The major difference of place from space is a reference to locality and human values. Places indicate an effective relation between people and a particular setting. David Harvey defines place as “a mere position or location within a map of space-time constituted within some social process.”³² Places are social entities. In terms of its social characteristic, there are some notions emerged depending on place such as place attachment, sense of place or place identity etc. In order to talk about

³⁰ Ibid., 59.

³¹ Ibid., 190.

³² David Harvey, *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference*. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 294.

senses, identity and attachment, there has to be human values. Social presence of place provides these contexts occur in the issue. Place is somewhat a combination of social relations and material environment. Edward Relph defines places as “fusions of human and natural order and are the significant centres of our immediate experiences of the world.”³³ Interaction of human behavior and physical components generates a place. There is an intention in places. They are not abstract concepts. Places are phenomena of human experiences therefore there are full of meanings and values in a place. For that reason, sense of belonging to a place, sense of place or place identity are fundamental issues in environmental psychology. Physical background affects human behavior. Apart from the physicality, the quality of a built environment like places also depends on socio-cultural and psychological characteristics.

Architecture helps somewhere transform into a place. Architecture take into consideration all above features while designing. Human value is an indispensable truth in architecture. “The existential purpose of building (architecture) is therefore to make a site become a place, that is, to uncover the meanings potentially present in the given environment.”³⁴ “The final goal of architecture is creating and also protecting a place.”³⁵ If anywhere cannot hold the characteristics explained above, then there is a placelessness issue. Placelessness is a term introduced by the geographer Edward Relph. It is an environment without human values. It is an alienation from social environment. There is no meaning in placeless places. Relph suggests to respond human needs in designing with these words:

“A deep human need exists for associations with significant places. If we choose to ignore that need, and to allow the forces of placelessness to

³³ Edward Relph, Essay, In *The Urban Design Reader*, 119-124. (New York: Routledge, 2013), 120.

³⁴ Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Genius Loci: towards a Phenomenology of Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1996), 18.

³⁵ Mojtaba Parsaee, Mohammad Parva, and Bagher Karimi. “Space and Place Concepts Analysis Based on Semiology Approach in Residential Architecture The Case Study of Traditional City of Bushehr, Iran.” *HBRC Journal* 11, no. 3 (May 17, 2019): 371.

continue unchallenged, then the future can only hold an environment in which places simply do not matter. If, on the other hand, we choose to respond to that need and to transcend placelessness, then the potential exists for the development of an environment in which places are for man, reflecting and enhancing the variety of human experience.”³⁶

In order to get meaningful human experiences, places have social and ideological dimensions as well as material features. In order to respond the need for associating with places, it is important to understand the relation between architectural spaces and their surrounding places. There is a relationship between an architectural entity and its urban context. The place and an architectural space have a correspondence with each other. Aldo Rossi explains this relationship under the notion of *locus solus*. He stated: “the *locus solus* is a relationship between a certain specific location and the buildings that are in it. The locus emphasizes the conditions and qualities within undifferentiated space which are necessary for understanding an urban artifact.”³⁷ For the sake of civilization, human beings constructed their environments according to their needs. In time, the needs changed and hence there has been a contrast in the existence of the built environment. This change may cause to lose the value and nature of the original environment. This time it becomes hard to read an urban artifact. It supersedes the ‘*locus*’. *Locus solus* is actually a particularity of one part of the city and this particularity distinguishes *locus solus* itself.

2.2.2 Urban Environment and the City

What does a city include? Apartments, hospitals, schools, shopping malls, parks, open bazaars, public squares etc. There are several constitutions built for human beings to maintain their lives. How about the question of what is meant to be the

³⁶ Edward Relph, Essay, In *The Urban Design Reader*, 119-124. (New York: Routledge, 2013), 123.

³⁷ Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City* (New York: The MIT Press, 1982), 103.

inner philosophy of the entire structure of a city? It is actually crucial to analyze the dynamics of urban decisions. Etymologically, the word 'city' is much related with civilization. There are actually several roots of city but briefly stated that it is "from old French *citée* "town, city" (10c., Modern French *cit  *), from earlier *citet*, from Latin *civitatem* (nominative *civitas*; in Late Latin sometimes *citatem*) originally "citizenship, condition or rights of a citizen, membership in the community"". ³⁸ As etymology of the word suggests, it is about community membership. It is a matter of culture, human being. The inner philosophy of a city is much related with people. Architecture is the prominent factor of construction of the city. Here architecture is contemplated as a discipline acting autonomously in the development of the city. Human beings shape their environment with their aesthetic intentions and according to their own good. Architectural design process also proceeds with the same intention. The construction of the city, therefore, is indivisible from human intentions of creating better surroundings for life.

Each constitution in the city that mentioned above is an urban artifact according to Aldo Rossi. He brought the term of urban artifact forward. The meaning of the word 'artifact' is something man-made. Rossi defines urban artifact as comprehensive representation of the human condition in the city. ³⁹ To have a representative character requires serious responsibilities. Every decision made in the background for a city has to be consistent. The city consists of both natural and artificial elements. And they have to have a balance in between. This balance can only be achieved with intelligent decisions of design. City construction is complicated. One is dependent on the other. It is better for every element of a city to be clear and put on the right place. Overall, the city will be coherent and legible.

As a matter of human nature, people are constantly engaged in regulating and identifying their surroundings in order them to be comprehensible. This consistency

³⁸ "City." etymonline, n.d. <https://www.etymonline.com/word/city>.

³⁹ Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City* (New York: The MIT Press, 1982), 34.

is accomplished when a city is imageable. Imageability is about how clear an observer reads the environment. Kevin Lynch defines imageability as:

“It is that shape, color, or arrangement which facilitates the making or vividly identified, powerfully structured, highly useful mental images of the environment. It might also be called legibility, or perhaps visibility in a heightened sense. Where objects are not only able to be seen, but are presented sharply and intensely to the senses.”⁴⁰

Briefly, it is about physical quality of environment and its appeal to emotions in a meaningful way. Christian Norberg-Schulz defines a ‘strong’ place having all qualified characteristics mentioned previously with these words:

“The identity of a place is determined by location, general spatial configuration and characterizing articulation... Some places get their identity from a particularly interesting location, whereas the man-made components are rather insignificant. Others, instead, may be situated in a dull landscape, but possess a well-defined configuration and a distinct character. When all the components seem to embody basic existential meanings, we may talk about a “strong” place.”⁴¹

Our environment affects our emotions, moods. Depressive spaces can make us depressed, inversely, well lit spaces can make us peaceful. It can be said that the physical character of environment plays a social role too. In terms of emotional security and harmonious relationship with outside world, a good environmental image can be a term for city design. “Poor imageability may cause emotional insecurity and fear.”⁴² A city is not only a platform that addresses tangible needs; it also creates places that allow people to have interactions with other people. Qualified

⁴⁰ Kevin Lynch, Essay, In *The Urban Design Reader*, 153-166. (New York: Routledge, 2013), 158.

⁴¹ Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Genius Loci: towards a Phenomenology of Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1996), 179.

⁴² Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Genius Loci: towards a Phenomenology of Architecture*, 191.

social interactions are inevitable consequences of imageable places. Efficient surroundings are also essential for collective memories of group communication.

Lynch expresses this with the following words:

“At every instant, there is more than the eye can see, more than the ear can hear, a setting or a view waiting to be explored. Nothing is experienced by itself, but always in relation to its surroundings, the sequences of events leading up to it, the memory of past experiences.”⁴³

The behavior between environment, social interactions, individual and collective memories, and the city is actually reciprocal.

2.2.3 Collective Memory and Place

As suggested in the previous sections, Maurice Halbwachs does not consider memory from a biological perspective but instead sets out the social framework for forming and preserving individual memory. According to Halbwachs, there cannot be another memory outside of this social framework. An individual who grows up alone outside the human society may not have a memory. Memory is formed in the socialization process of the individual. Individual memory is socially determined. Even the most personal moments occur solely through the communication and interaction of social groups. Remembering is a social process too. Consciousness of the group in which the individual is included is effective in the act of remembering. No matter how personal, each recollection is associated with a set of thoughts that many others have. That is, remembering occurs together with all material and spiritual aspects of society.

Remembering process and memory is correlated with perception. The way people perceive and understand events differs from person to person. In addition to the

⁴³ Lynch, Essay, In *The Urban Design Reader*, 154.

different perception styles, there are many factors that influence perception. “Such perception is affected not only by culture and previous experience but by expectations which these generate and the consequent mental set which may affect how various specific objects are perceived.”⁴⁴ Therefore, differences of perceptions have an impact on remembering and memory processing. The way of relationships established with collective memory and the specificity of each of those relations make remembering individual and original.

Collective memory has spatial attributions as well as its temporal meaning. Past experiences leave traces in places, and these traces generate memories. Places are essential for the protection and continuity of memories. “Our memory of what we experience in place is place-specific: it is bound to place as to its own basis.”⁴⁵ In that sense, place memory is associated with the context of a place. The characteristic of an individual itself is also effective on place memory. The ‘context’ can be history, perception, image, remembrance and representational forms, etc. which have a great contribution to the connection between place, memory, and individual. Amos Rapoport, who is an architect and has studies about environmental behavior, suggests that “the individual and the environment form a system and their mutual interaction is partly determined by the physical environment and other people or, more correctly, the individual’s perception and interpretation of them and their significance. Environmental perception thus involves the present stimulus information, present context information as well as stored stimulus information.”⁴⁶ Places and memories that are created in places highly depend on different behaviors in the environment. As suggested above, these behaviors can be from the present or past.

⁴⁴ Amos Rapoport, *Human Aspects of Urban Form towards a Man-Environment Approach to Urban Form and Design*. (Oxford, NY, Toronto, Sydney, Paris, Frankfurt Main: Pergamon Press, 1977), 26.

⁴⁵ Edward S. Casey, *Remembering, Second Edition: A Phenomenological Study* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 182.

⁴⁶ Rapoport, *Human Aspects of Urban Form*, 26.

The contextual content is vital for place memory and relatedly for collective memory. Environmental perception is related to collective memory because it has a role in remembering. How people remember their surroundings, which is perception, affect how their memories are. Maurice Halbwachs illuminates the relationship between remembering and environment in the social framework with these words: “We ask how recollections are to be located. And we answer: with the help of landmarks that we always carry within ourselves, for it suffices to look around ourselves, to think about others, and to locate ourselves within the social framework in order to retrieve them.”⁴⁷ Urban landscape prompts visual memory, and hence remembering occurs. Through the urban landscape, it is triggered social and collective memory.⁴⁸ The concrete traces containing the characteristics of collective past create place memory by associating individual, social, historical, cultural, etc. values in minds. “An alert and alive memory connects spontaneously with place, finding in it features that favor and parallel its own activities. We might even say that memory is naturally place-oriented or at least place-supported.”⁴⁹ Consequently, during the perception of a place, the stimulus that causes association about an individual's mental and experiential experiences is the traces left by the place in memory.

2.3 Public Places and Collective Memory

From where we park our car in specific spaces to where we stand in line in supermarkets, there are countless spaces designated in our everyday social existence. The spatial behavior that people display in determined spaces is an integral part of our social reality too. How the spaces are interpreted is dependent on human

⁴⁷ Maurice Halbwachs. *On Collective Memory*. ed. by Lewis A. Coser, (London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 175.

⁴⁸ Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscape as Public History*. (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1995), 46.

⁴⁹ Edward S. Casey, *Remembering, Second Edition: A Phenomenological Study* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 186, 187.

institutions. “Space is one of the most powerful imprints a society produces.”⁵⁰ Without human factor, spaces are just empty and meaningless. “It is the collective intentionality, the capacity of humans to assign functions, to symbolize these objects beyond their basic presence that makes them part of the social reality.”⁵¹ Collective intentionality here refers to society factor in spaces. Matthew Carmona and his colleagues stressed the relationship between space and society in the book of *Public Places Urban Spaces: The Dimensions of Urban Design*. It is stated that:

“Space and society are clearly related: it is difficult to conceive of space without social content and equally to conceive of society without a spatial component. The relationship is best conceived as a continuous two-way process in which people (and societies) create and modify spaces while at the same time being influenced by them in various ways.”⁵²

It is people that attribute meanings to places. There can be different understandings and significations in one place. It differs from people to people. This diversity makes a place multilayered.

Cities contain many places. There are different types of places; such as restaurants, houses, buildings, streets, roads etc. Public places are one of those many places in the city. Public places are separated from private spaces. For example, houses are private and it is not possible to enter without permission. There are also some spaces confined with fences or distinct boundaries. Some parks are closed at a specific given time. “Public places, on the other hand, are expected to be accessible to everyone, where strangers and citizens alike can enter with fewer restrictions.”⁵³ This freedom

⁵⁰ İnci Basa, “Producing Representational Spaces for the Republican Memory in Samsun, Turkey,” *Turkish Historical Review* 7, (2016): 31.

⁵¹ Ali Madanipour. “Why Are the Design and Development of Public Spaces Significant for Cities?” *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design* 26, no.6 (December 1999): 880.

⁵² Matthew Carmona et al., *Public Places - Urban Spaces: The Dimensions of Urban Design*. (Burlington, MA: Architectural Press, 2003), 106.

⁵³ Madanipour. “Why Are the Design and Development of Public Spaces Significant for Cities?” *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design* 26, no.6 (December 1999): 880.

of such places provides many opportunities for the people of a city. It is an essential need for searching a social environment for human beings and open public spaces are favorable for this aim. Different architectural strata no longer generates a structural form to the city but also culminate in an experience of diversity.⁵⁴ German philosopher Jürgen Habermas defines the public sphere as a realm of social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed.⁵⁵ Public open places enables assembly and association for people. These assemblies actually have important role in the formation of a society. Public spaces, as mentioned, are the spaces of a social encounter. It is a place to come face to face with other society members, to know oneself, to define the society. “Urban public spaces, especially those with a cultural role in the “experience of modernity”, generously display the multiple and fragmented spirits of a contemporary city.”⁵⁶ This urban experience also contributes to having tolerance towards the unfamiliar with its multiplicity.

In the previous chapters, it is stated that memory is linked to places. Spatial frameworks are important for constituting and recalling the memory. Every community leave traces in places and through these traces, they revive their collective memories. The past is visible in the present through the relationship that memory establishes with place. This past is actually emerged as a reconstructed past. In that sense, collective memory operates mutually between the past and the present. Space/place mediates the reproduction of the past in the present, and it organizes the present and the future. İnci Basa argues that “architecture connects a society to its past and serves to carry the past events to the present perceptions.”⁵⁷ Cities are full of places that have many traces inheritance to specific community. Christine Boyer in

⁵⁴ M. Christine Boyer, “*The City of Collective Memory, Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1994), 19.

⁵⁵ Jürgen Habermas, Sara Lennox, and Frank Lennox. "The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article (1964)." *New German Critique*, no. 3 (1974): 49-55, 49.

⁵⁶ İnci Basa. “Transformation From Representational Space to Tolerance Space: The Juxtaposition of Ideal and Real in the Urban Public Area,” *METU Journal of Faculty of Architecture* 35, no:1 (2018): 221.

⁵⁷ İnci Basa, “Producing Representational Spaces for the Republican Memory in Samsun, Turkey,” *Turkish Historical Review* 7, (2016): 11.

The City of Collective Memory puts it with different words: “The city is the collective expression of architecture and it carries in the weaving and unraveling of its fabric the memory traces of earlier architectural forms, city plans, and public monuments.”⁵⁸ As Christine Boyer suggests, city and places in it carry traces from the past. The city is actually a representation of collective memory of community through architectural places. She states that city is like a theater of our memory.⁵⁹

2.3.1 Politics of Public Places

Throughout history, the governments in power want a control over the people. To control, it is important to track the society’s actions. Public open places are suitable for those actions. Therefore public place are important both for the state power in terms of authority and citizens for their societal enterprises. This political prospect makes the urban space an instrument for change and also for stability. Gregory Busquet examines the public place as a political space in the work of Henri Lefebvre and he states:

“Urban space is political in a number of regards. Firstly, it is a political product in so far as it is quite obviously subject to public policies: enacting urban policies at the national or local scale certainly echoes the vision of a specific and desirable evolution of society. Next, due to the link between space and social development in representations, it is tied to the question of the power that is held onto or conquered (power over the space but also over the social groups).⁶⁰

⁵⁸ M. Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory, Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1994), 31.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 31.

⁶⁰ Grégory Busquet, “Political Space in the Work of Henri Lefebvre: Ideology and Utopia.” jssj, December 2012, 3.

Public open spaces are political products because political activities that support the state or conflicts the strategies of governments can be organized. Concerning the state powers, controlling public places is ruling over the society in one sense. “Whoever controlled the streets controlled the city.”⁶¹ Public attitudes in streets are crucial for administering the city.

Such an important mission of public spaces actually dates back to old times. Greek agoras and Roman forums were not just market places. They were also places where people can gather and considered as the heart of the cities. Besides the economic activities, there were also political and cultural activities held. In open public places, there can be “a loggia, or open gallery, used by a military guard, or a high terrace from which laws and public statements were promulgated.”⁶² These are the possible elements, which Camillo Sitte defines for public places. And he gives an example of The Signoria Square in Florence that perfectly fits to the above criteria. What Sitte suggests actually shows once more the political character of a public open place. Laws and public statements are fundamental for a government. In consequence of expressed diverse voices and advancement of shared understandings, open public places are literally democratically and politically active. Güven Arif Sargın explores the democratic position of the public place in the work of Jürgen Habermas and he suggests that the main aim of the public sphere is to prioritize pluralism and public place makes a political but democratic scene functional.⁶³ In that sense, this function of public realm is a political instrumentalization of a space. Besides the social nature of public sphere, it is also an arena of political discussion and struggle. In democratic governments, manifesting opposition and making controversy visible are consequences of successfully using open public places.

⁶¹ Madanipour. “Why Are the Design and Development of Public Spaces Significant for Cities?” *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design* 26, no.6 (December 1999): 880.

⁶² Camillo Sitte, “The Art of Building Cities.” Google Kitaplar. Google.

⁶³ Güven Arif Sargın, “Kamu, Kent ve Polytika” in *Başkent Üzerine Mekân-Politik Tezler, Ankara’nın Kamusal Yüzleri*, ed. Güven Arif Sargın (İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, 2002), 9.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORY OF ANKARA, REPUBLICAN IDEOLOGY AND CONSTRUCTION OF COLLECTIVE MEMORY

As explained in the previous chapter, according to Maurice Halbwachs, history is objective. In contrast, British Historian Peter Burke posits that writing history is about selection, interpretation and distortion. Although Halbwachs argues that collective memory and history are opposite concepts, it may not be suitable to state to consider them completely independent because collective memory is a social phenomenon and has a selective structure. Historians could be selective during the history writing process. In the case of collective memory, society is also selective when they remember the past with respect to today's conditions. To know the history of Ankara is essential in order to interpret the transformation of social and spatial framework and to comprehend how collective memory is changed.

Ankara hosted many civilizations throughout history. Because of the city's location in Anatolia, there were many struggles for this geography from the first era of the history. Today, Ankara is the capital of Turkey. The Ottoman Empire, which was in an economic and political crisis in its late times, had to be replaced by a new and modern country. Ankara was chosen as the capital of the new country established after the War of Independence. The city entered a new period of modernization. In this process, collective memory has been transformed according to the ideals of the Republic. For this change, social and spatial reformations were held.

In this chapter, which civilizations came to Ankara throughout the history is studied. Every civilization tried to dominate themselves in the land and they had strong cultural codes. Each of them had these strong cultural codes in their collective memories and they reflected this to the geography with built environment like

Augustus Temple from Roman times. As we approach today, economic, political, cultural and social changes are mentioned. It is touched on what developments took place to create a modern city in the Republican era. Through the spatial developments in the city, it is also aimed at changes in society. It is studied that spatial and social transformations affect collective memory of the young Republic.

3.1 From the First Era to 19th Century

Ankara hosted so many civilizations throughout the history and therefore the city was one of the first settlements in Anatolia. It has been affected several cultures and political incidents and it developed with a variety of culture. Ankara is the point where roads from eight directions intersect and meet. This feature is the most important factor that reinforces its strategic position.⁶⁴ This has led many cultures to pass through Ankara. Some of them settled down in the area. That is why the city has many names from different sources in different centuries; *Anküra, Ankira, Ancyr, Ancyra, Ankura, Ankuriya, Angur, Enguru, Engürü, Engüriye, Angara, Angorah, Angora* and eventually in 17th century, the name *Ankara* was formally accepted by Ottoman authorities.⁶⁵

From the prehistoric artefacts found in and around Ankara, it is understood that Ankara was a settlement area in prehistoric times. However, it is not known when or by whom Ankara was founded.⁶⁶ Sevgi Aktüre states that there are three most important conditions necessary for the survival and settlement of the first cities are met at the point where Ankara is located; Çubuk Plain surrounding the city is a fertile agricultural area, the steep hillside top on which the city is built provides protection against enemy attacks and, the water required for the city is brought from nearby

⁶⁴ Suavi Aydın, et al., *Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü: Ankara* (Ankara: Dost Kitabevi, 2005), 97.

⁶⁵ Sevgi Aktüre, "16. Yüzyıl Öncesi Ankara'sı Üzerine Bilinenler", Essay, In *Tarih içinde Ankara: Eylül 1981 Seminer Bildirileri*, 3-48. (Ankara: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Ankaralılar Vakfı, 2000), 4.

⁶⁶ Afif Erzen, *İlkçağda Ankara* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2010), 26, 27.

sources.⁶⁷ This geographical superiority appealed to many civilizations who decided to settle down in Ankara, so they did.

3.1.1 Period Before the Romans

The period of Hittite Empire ended in the 12th century BC with the Aegean migrations from the west. In 8th and 7th centuries BC, Phrygians established the political union in the area.⁶⁸ The exact date of the emergence of Ankara as a city is not known. According to the findings, it was probably in the 8th century BC.⁶⁹ Therefore, it can be posited that the first urban settlement in Ankara dates back to the Phrygian period. “Remains indicate that the Phrygian city was established in today’s Ulus area, on and around Hacı Bayram mound, spreading over the flat areas on the southwest.”⁷⁰

In the 6th century BC, Persian Empire was founded in Iran and in the middle of the century, many regions in Anatolia were under the rule of Persians. According to the famous historian Herodotus, in Persian times, the ‘King’s road’ passed through Ankara. In the 4th century BC, Alexander the Great ended the superiority of the Persians in Anatolia with the eastern expedition.⁷¹ Turkish archeologist Sevim Buluç states that with the arrival of Galatian (Celtic) tribes to Anatolia at the beginning of the 3rd century BC, the fate of the city of Ankara undergoes a radical change.⁷² “The western kingdoms forced the Galatians into northeastern Phrygia, roughly

⁶⁷ Aktüre, “16. Yüzyıl Öncesi Ankara’sı Üzerine Bilinenler” (Ankara: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Ankaralılar Vakfı, 2000), 5.

⁶⁸ Aktüre, “16. Yüzyıl Öncesi Ankara’sı Üzerine Bilinenler”, 5.

⁶⁹ Ela Alanyalı Aral, “Ankara Kentinde Frig Dönemi İzleri –Frig Tümülüsleri Üzerine Bir Araştırma.” *Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Kültür Envanteri Dergisi*, no. 15 (2017), 169.

⁷⁰ Aral, , “Ankara Kentinde Frig Dönemi İzleri –Frig Tümülüsleri Üzerine Bir Araştırma,” 168.

⁷¹ Aktüre, “16. Yüzyıl Öncesi Ankara’sı Üzerine Bilinenler”, 5.

⁷² Sevim Buluç, “İlkçağda Ankara”, Essay, In *Ankara Ankara*, 21-32. (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1994), 25, 26.

corresponding to the modern province of Ankara.”⁷³ Galatians spread to Anatolia and started plundering. They sought suitable area for themselves to keep their families and their spoils safe.⁷⁴ Galatians consists of three tribes.⁷⁵ “The three tribes divided up their new territory, the Tolistobogii settling around Pessinus and Gordion, the Tectosages at Ankara, and the Trocmi along the banks of the Kızılırmak.”⁷⁶ The region where Galatians settled is called Galatia.

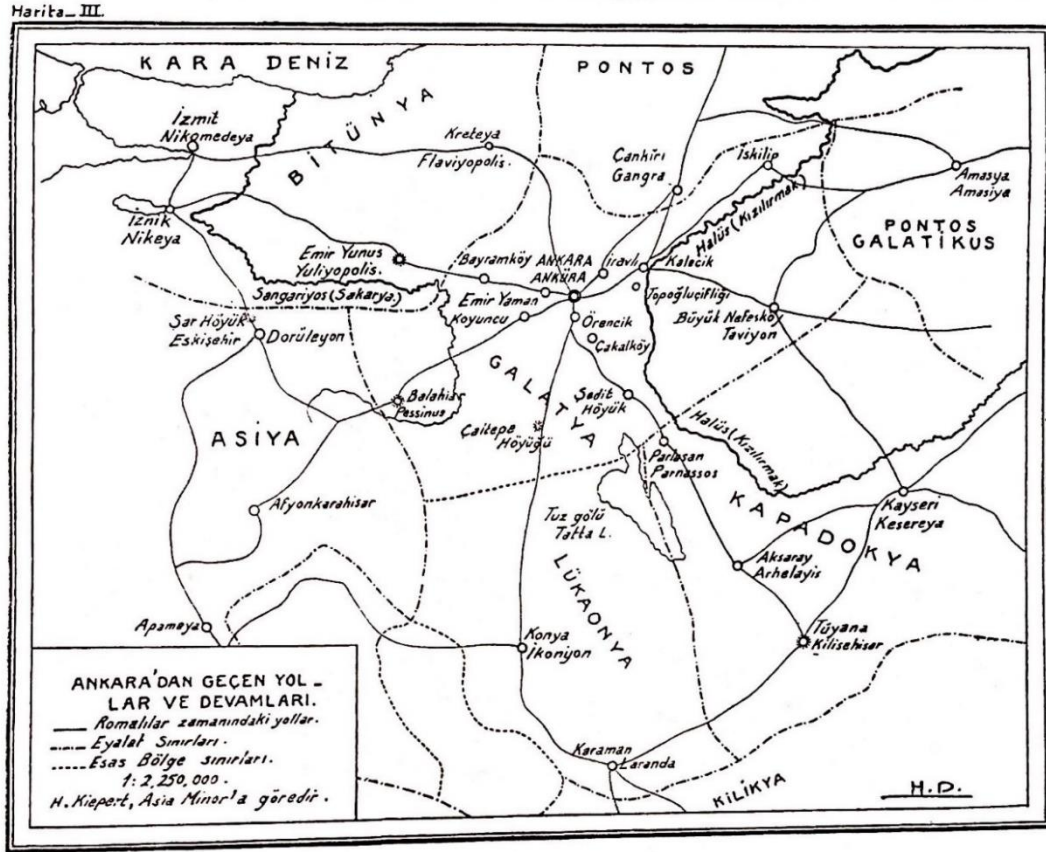


Figure 3. 1. Roads passing through Ankara and their continuation. (Source, Afif Erzen, *İlkçağda Ankara*.)

⁷³ Toni Marie Cross, and Gary Leiser. *A Brief History of Ankara* (Vacaville, Calif: Indian Ford Press, 2000), 66.

⁷⁴ Erzen, *İlkçağda Ankara* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2010), 41.

⁷⁵ Buluç, “İlkçağda Ankara”, Essay, In *Ankara Ankara*, 21-32. (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1994), 25, 26.

⁷⁶ Cross, and Gary Leiser. *A Brief History of Ankara* (Vacaville, Calif: Indian Ford Press, 2000), 66.

3.1.2 Roman Period and Arrival of Turks to Anatolia

The Romans, who took the Galatia region under their rule as a state, appreciated the geographical and military importance of Ankara and immediately made this city the capital city of Galatia.⁷⁷ After the Romans took Ankara under their rule in 25 BC, Ankara has become one of the most well-kept cities in the region.⁷⁸ The settlements of Galatia, which had rural characteristics rather than a dense urban texture, were disconnected from each other due to the natural barriers that separated them and the size of the rural lands. However, the Romans arranged the road system to connect them with the other cities.⁷⁹ During the Roman rule, there were many public buildings built in Ankara. Some of them are: Augustus Temple, Bouleuterion (city council building), Gymnasion (Palaestra), Theater, Amphitheatre, Hippodrome, festival place (next to the Augustus Temple), Agora, Columnar Road (between Augustus Temple and Çankırıkapı), Roman Bath, Zeus Temple, Zeus Taenos Temple.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Erzen, 52.

⁷⁸ Suavi Aydın, et al., *Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü: Ankara* (Ankara: Dost Kitabevi, 2005), 81.

⁷⁹ Suna Güven, "Bir Roma Eyaletinin Evrim Sürecinde Galatia ve Ancyra", Essay, In *Tarih içinde Ankara II Aralık 1998 Seminer Bildirileri*, 109-122. (Ankara: ODTÜ, 2001), 111.

⁸⁰ Aktüre, "16. Yüzyıl Öncesi Ankara'sı Üzerine Bilinenler" (Ankara: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Ankaralılar Vakfı, 2000), 7, 8.



Figure 3. 2. The Roman Theatre of Ankara. (Source, < <http://mimdap.org/2020/07/vandalizmden-zor-kurtulan-roma-tiyatrosu-arkeopark-olacak-2-bolum/>>)

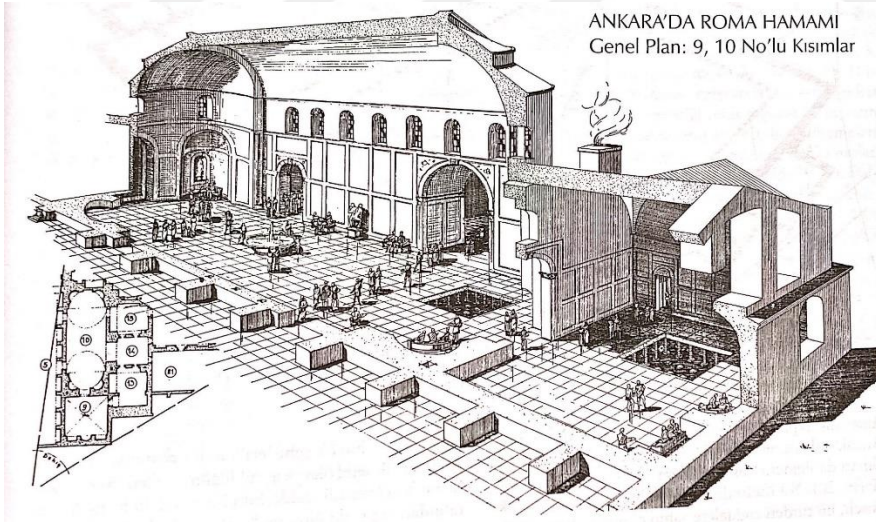


Figure 3. 3. Roman Bath in Ankara. (Source, Suavi Aydın, et. al., *Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü: Ankara*, 91.)



Figure 3. 4. Front view of the Augustus Temple. (Source, Afif Erzen, *İlkçağda Ankara*.)



Figure 3. 5. Augustus Temple (Source, Enis Batur, ed. *Ankara Ankara*, 58.)

In AD 1st century, Ankara was highly developed. The 2nd century was the city's brightest era under the Roman Empire rule. However, in the 3rd century, a considerable regression began. It is understood from some inscriptions that many public buildings were in a ruined state.⁸¹ Until the 7th century, Ankara was in the hands of the East Roman Empire. By that time several important incidents have taken place; spread of Christianity, founding a Church in Ankara and, Justinian's Plague in 542. There were considerable amount of population died because of the plague. In 7th century, Ankara was a target of Arab raids for the first time. Sasanians from Iran also wanted to occupy the region. By 10th century, Ankara has been constantly exposed to Arab attacks. Then in 1071, the War of Malazgirt occurred. After the

⁸¹ Semavi Eyice, "Bizans Döneminde Ankara." *Anadolu Araştırmaları*, no. 14 (1996): 243–64. <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/iuanadolu/issue/1160/13590>, 245.

1071 Malazgirt War, the Turkmens came close to Ankara.⁸² The settlement of Turks in large groups in Byzantine cities began after 1071. The first settlers to the Anatolian cities were the soldiers of the Seljuk commanders.⁸³ Turkish dominance was consolidated in Ankara and this is understood from the fact that the first Turkish inscriptions began to appear at the end of the 12th century.⁸⁴

After Anatolia passed under the rule of the Seljuks, there were significant developments in the east-west transit trade, and a great accumulation of capital was achieved through this route. In the 12th century, between Istanbul-Konya-Tabriz, a trade route was operating. Due to transit trade, in the 13th century, cities such as Konya, Kayseri, and Sivas, located on the main roads, showed a remarkable development during this period. However, the same growth rate did not occur in cities such as Ankara that are located on secondary roads. The most evident proof of this will be revealed by comparing the small and unpretentious religious structures such as small mosques and masjids built in Ankara whereas many large and spectacular buildings such as Gök Madrasa, Çifte Minaret, and Buruciye Madrasa were built in Sivas for example. In the 14th century, Ankara was under the rule of the Ilkhanians. After Ilkhanians, Ankara was administered by *Ahi* community.⁸⁵ The *Ahi* community played an important role in Turkification of Anatolia, especially in Ankara. That is why it is essential to explain this subject briefly.

Ahi organization is a union of tradesmen and craftsmen. Muslim Turks, who came to Anatolia, did not just bring their political aspects; they also got their culture. When Seljuk sultans conquered new regions in Anatolia, the first thing they did was to place tradesmen and artisans there.⁸⁶ *Ahi* organization has a versatile social structure.

⁸² Suavi Aydın, et al., *Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü: Ankara* (Ankara: Dost Kitabevi, 2005), 106, 118, 119, 120, 122, 128.

⁸³ Aktüre, "16. Yüzyıl Öncesi Ankara'sı Üzerine Bilinenler", 14.

⁸⁴ Suavi Aydın, et al., *Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü: Ankara*, 129.

⁸⁵ Aktüre, "16. Yüzyıl Öncesi Ankara'sı Üzerine Bilinenler", 15, 16.

⁸⁶ Ramazan Karaman, "Türk Ahi Teşkilatının İşleyişi ve Çorum Tarihinde Ahilik." *Hitit Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* 7, no. 1 (June 2014): 95.

From the middle of the 13th century, the organization played an important role in regulating social life of Anatolia.⁸⁷ In addition to being a formation aiming at social welfare, it was a kind of training institute based on individual virtue and dedication. Between the collapse of the Seljuks and the establishment of the Ottoman Empire, the *Ahi* organization has great importance in the political life of Anatolian cities. According to the observations of Ibn Battuta, the *Ahi* chief becomes the ruler of the city in regions where the Sultan has no influence. In the period of uncertainty, Konya, Bayburt, Aksaray, Niğde, Kayseri and Ankara were governed by *Ahi* order.⁸⁸ Thus, with the development and organization of *Ahi* community in Anatolia, the following results were obtained⁸⁹:

1. The transition process of Turks from nomadic life to settled life accelerated.
2. Turkish people started to participate in production and trade activities.
3. Turkish tradesmen and craftsmen have become privileged thanks to the solidarity between them. They have a voice in the economy of the city.
4. The main rules put by the *Ahis* formed the basis of the laws and regulations prepared in this field during the Ottoman period.

In 1363, Sultan Murat I. took Ankara by negotiating with *Ahi* community without a battle. The city played an important role as a border city in the process of Ottomans' conquest of Anatolia. In the period between the end of the 14th century and the end of the 15th century, many mosques and masjids were built on the slope outside the Ankara Castle and on the flat area in front of it. The only document that gives the physical appearance of the city of Ankara in the middle of the 16th century is the sketch of the city drawn by Dernschwam in 1555. This document shows that Ankara is a large, open city with no ramparts located on the castle's plain.⁹⁰ In the 16th and

⁸⁷ Ali Yılmaz Gunduz, et al., “Ahilik Teşkilatında ve Günümüzde Tüketicilerin Korunmasına Yönelik Çalışmalar Üzerine bir Değerlendirme.” *Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi, İİBF Dergisi* 14, no. 2 (2012): 38.

⁸⁸ Suavi Aydın, et al., *Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü: Ankara* (Ankara: Dost Kitabevi, 2005), 136.

⁸⁹ Aktüre, “16. Yüzyıl Öncesi Ankara'sı Üzerine Bilinenler”, 18.

⁹⁰ Aktüre, 20, 21.

17th centuries, with the new *hans* and artisan bazaars added to the city, it is observed that the commercial center of the city moves on the northwest axis.⁹¹ Because of the *Celali* rebellions, at the beginning of the 17th century, a city wall was built surrounding the whole settlement. It can be seen very clearly from the engraving by Pitton de Tournefort. According to Sevgi Aktüre, this wall shows that the city is different from the rural area, specializing in a non-agricultural production sector.⁹² In the 18th century, although the wall surrounding the city had been worn out and completely lost its function, it remained in place as a symbol of urban integrity.⁹³

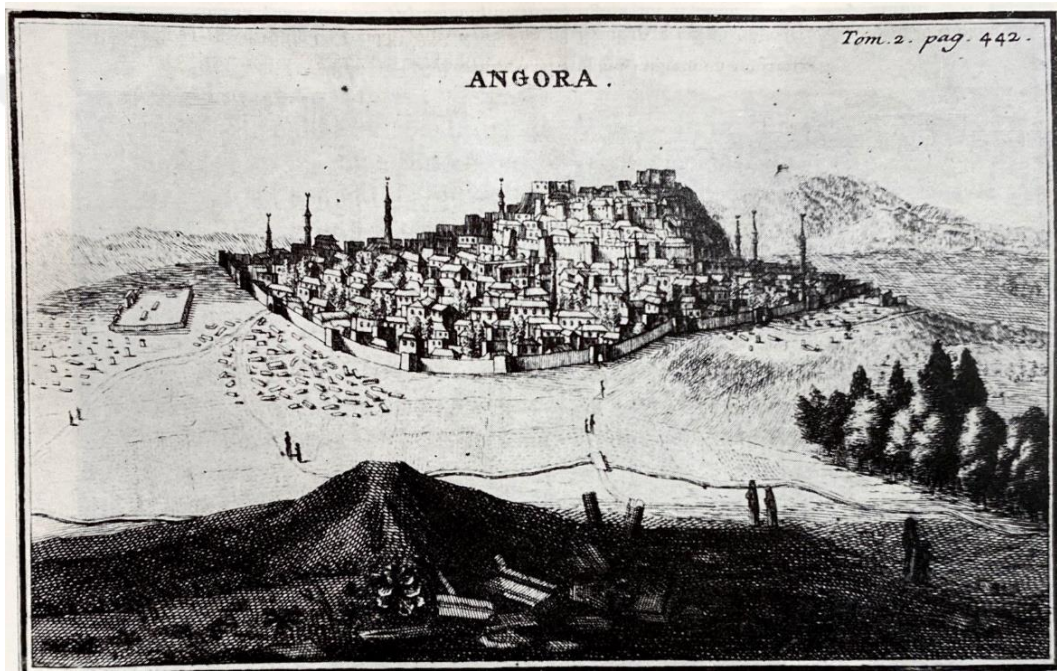


Figure 3. 6. Ankara engraving in Pitton de Tournefort's travel book. The city walls are clearly seen. (Source, Semavi Eyice,, *Ankara'nın Eski Bir Resmi*)

⁹¹ Neriman Şahin Güçhan, “16-19. YY. Nüfus Tahminlerine Göre Osmanlı Ankara’sında Mahallelerin Değişim Süreçleri Üzerine Bir Deneme”, Essay, in *Tarih içinde Ankara II Aralık 1998 Seminer Bildirileri*, 123-154. (Ankara: ODTÜ, 2001), 129.

⁹² Sevgi Aktüre, “17. Ve 18. Yüzyıllarında Ankara”, Essay, In *Ankara Ankara*, 87-108. (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1994), 87, 88.

⁹³ Aktüre. 1994, 105.

3.1.3 Economy in Ottoman Times

As stated above, in Ankara, there are craftsmen and tradesmen to a significant extent. They manufacture all the craft items of that time. All manufacturing is for the local market, except one. There is a type of fabric called *sof*, called also as Angora woolen textiles by the Europeans. This special fabric is made out from *tiftik keçisi* (Angora goat). Only *sof* was manufactured for the global market.⁹⁴ In 1640, famous traveler Evliya Çelebi passed through Ankara. He stated that, some French tradesmen wanted to manufacture the same fabric in France. However, the fabrics they manufactured did not have the same quality.⁹⁵ This proved that *sof* is special to Ankara. Outside Ankara, the goats could not grow with the same way elsewhere, and consequently, their feather could not be sufficient. Angora goats, the source of wealth of Ankara, and their feathers are unique in quality.⁹⁶ In 1555, traveler Busbecq crossed through Ankara and he asserted in his letter that even wearing *sof* is for elites, even Sultan Suleiman does not want to wear any fabric other than this one.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, with the industrialization in Europe in 18th century, manufacturing *sof* in Ankara has entered a period of recession.⁹⁸ The city praised by travelers in the 16th century turned into a dull city towards the end of 18th century.

⁹⁴ Mehmet Ali Kılıçbay, “Sof Şehri Ankara”, Essay, In *Ankara Ankara*, 65-72. (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1994), 67.

⁹⁵ Kılıçbay, 70.

⁹⁶ Semavi Eyice, *Ankara'nın Eski Bir Resmi tarihî Vesika Olarak Resimler - Ankara'dan Bahseden Seyyahlar - Eski Bir Ankara Resmi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1972), 75.

⁹⁷ Aktüre, “16. Yüzyıl Öncesi Ankara’sı Üzerine Bilinenler”, 21.

⁹⁸ Sevgi Aktüre, “17. Ve 18. Yüzyıllarda Ankara”, Essay, In *Ankara Ankara*, 87-108. (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1994), 90.



Figure 3. 7. Color reproduction of the painting in Amsterdam *Rijksmuseum*. The shearing of angora goats is seen in the lower right corner of the picture. (Source, Semavi Eyice, “Ankara'nın Eski Bir Resmi”)

In the 19th century, Ottoman Empire was incorporated into the world economic system with rapid political, economic, and social changes. It was also a period of the Empire's collapse, along with other imperial structures. After the signing of the *Sened-i İttifak* in 1808, there were many innovations have been made in the country. One of the developments that determines the course of these innovations is the industrialization of Europe. This had an impact on the social structure and social/political orientations of Anatolia. The leading feature of these developments is creating dualities in the Ottoman social structure: new conflicts were added to the existing Muslim – Non-muslim segregation, the distinction between the proponents of the reform movement and traditionalists among Muslims, etc.⁹⁹ In sum, unable to industrialize in the industrialized world, the Ottoman Empire is in an economic and political collapse.

⁹⁹ Suavi Aydın, et al., *Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü: Ankara* (Ankara: Dost Kitabevi, 2005), 195.

The innovations of the period were for westernization. Especially in İstanbul, outcomes of those westernization attempts were clearly seen. However, in Ankara and generally in most of the other Anatolian cities, urban spaces did not change significantly.¹⁰⁰ One of the important developments in this century is the arrival of the railway to Ankara in 1892 December. As a result of this development, the amount of land opened to agriculture has expanded, agricultural production, prices and exports increased. With the development of economic conditions, there have been changes in the population distribution in the internal regions.¹⁰¹ Yet, the arrival of the railway did not create a substantial change in Ankara's local space organization,¹⁰² except the opening of the İstasyon Avenue and the construction of a number of public buildings in this direction. In this period, Elmadağ water was connected to the city at a distance of 20 km in April 1890. The establishment of the Local Government Organization, the establishment of the Postal Administration, the creation of the Tulumba Organization are among the other zoning initiatives.¹⁰³

3.2 The city of Turkish Republic

In the beginning of the 20th century, Ankara was a mid-sized Anatolian town which was neglected and in disrepair due to the fires and the effects of wars. Aptullah Kuran describes Ankara as “the city that symbolized the spirited determination of the Nationalists during the Turkish War of Independence was a small Anatolian town

¹⁰⁰ Serim Denel, “19. Yüzyılda Ankara’nın Kentsel Formu ve Konut Dokusundaki Farklılaşmalar Essay, In *Tarih içinde Ankara: Eylül 1981 Seminer Bildirileri*, 129-152. (Ankara: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Ankaralılar Vakfı, 2000), 130.

¹⁰¹ Erdal Yavuz, “19. Yüzyıl Ankarasında Ekonomik Hayatın Örgütlenmesi ve Kent İçi Sosyal Yapı” Essay, In *Tarih içinde Ankara: Eylül 1981 Seminer Bildirileri*, 195-206. (Ankara: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Ankaralılar Vakfı, 2000), 201.

¹⁰² İlber Ortaylı, “19.Yüzyıl Ankara’sına Demiryolunun Gelişi, Hinterlandının ve Hinterlandaki Üretim Eylemlerinin Değişimi” Essay, In *Tarih içinde Ankara: Eylül 1981 Seminer Bildirileri*, 207-219. (Ankara: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Ankaralılar Vakfı, 2000), 215.

¹⁰³ Mehmet Tuncer, *Ankara (Angora) Sehri Merkez Gelisimi (14.-20. Yy)* (Ankara: Kultur Bakanligi, 2001), 66.

that sprawled at the foothills of a steep citadel crowned by a study fortress.”¹⁰⁴ After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the country was occupied and Ankara became the headquarters of the War of Independence. National Assembly was held for the first time in Ankara on 23rd of April, 1920. And the Republic was proclaimed in 1923. Due to geographical reasons and politically being distant from outside forces and since “Mustafa Kemal was sure that he would find the necessary social support for this new formation in Ankara, depending on the immense cooperation of the city during the Independence War,” Ankara was proclaimed as a new capital of the new Republic.¹⁰⁵ Chosen as a capital, the economy and physical qualities of Ankara began to change. It was populated by new comers to the city. There was a fast acceleration of urban development. The city was pioneered to be the first planned city of the Republic.

This new political regime established a homogeneous Turkish identity against the heterogeneous structure of the Ottoman Empire and tried to redefine its past and its future within the framework of this homogeneous social identity. The new regime also planned to make innovations in social, political and economic context. We call these radical changes in the framework of social, political and economic life as a modernization project.¹⁰⁶ This modernization project helped to reconstruct the collective identity of the new country. The new city will represent the desire and ideals of the young nation. At the same time, it will be the place of a new way of administration and a new way of life.

Ankara underwent many critical governmental and social transformations. Building a city from its ashes has physical, social, cultural, and economic difficulties. This

¹⁰⁴ Aptullah Kuran, *Selçuklular'dan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye'de Mimarlık* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2012), 671.

¹⁰⁵ Elif Mihçioğlu, “The Physical Evolution of The Historic City of Ankara Between 1839 and 1944: A Morphological Analysis” (PhD Thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2010), 181, 182.

¹⁰⁶ İnci Yalım, “Ulusal Devletin Kamusal Alanda Meşruiyet Aracı: Toplumsal Belleğin Ulus Meydanı Üzerinden Kurgulanma Çabası”, Essay, in *Başkent Üzerine Mekân-Politik Tezler, Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri*, ed. Güven Arif Sargın, 157-214. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, 2002), 167.

section of the thesis will explain the physical and socio-cultural consequences of the decisions on Ankara town planning. Before analyzing the socio-cultural dimensions of the new capital, the urban agreements and developments will be explored.

3.2.1 Urban Development of Ankara

Decline of the Ottoman Empire resulted in many consequences. One of the consequences was to find a new center for ruling the country. Aptullah Kuran made a comparison between İstanbul and Ankara stressing the situations of Fatih Sultan Mehmet and Mustafa Kemal Pasha. He stated that after conquering İstanbul, the Conqueror declared the city as a capital because at those times it was a rational decision because of the location and strategic choices. However, the situation was not suitable to Mustafa Kemal Pasha. As Aptullah Kuran stated, “İstanbul was no longer the glorious metropolis that it had once been. It symbolized decadent cosmopolitanism, which the Nationalists found incompatible with the spirit of the new Turkey.”¹⁰⁷ Ankara was the headquarter of the War of Independence and the place where the National Assembly was met. This is the main reason why it was designated as the capital city of the newly founded Republic of Turkey. Its being located at the center of the country was another reason of its selection. “Ankara’s close proximity to water and coal resources, extensive land conducive for a new city establishment, and connection to all the regions of the country by railway” were some of the decisive factors behind selecting the city as a capital.¹⁰⁸ Gazi Mustafa Kemal made comments on the issue of selecting Ankara as a capital with editors of influential newspapers on January 16th, 1923. He stated:

¹⁰⁷ Aptullah Kuran, *Selçuklular'dan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye'de Mimarlık* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2012), 672.

¹⁰⁸ Nevruz Cinar Ozdil, et al., “Emergence and Evolution of the Urban Public Open Spaces of Ankara within the Urban Development History: 1923 to Present.” *Journal of Planning History* 19, no. 1 (February 2020): 26–51. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1538513219848434>. 28.

“According to my thinking, the question of the seat of government must be viewed from two perspectives. First of all, the seat of government must be a place to withstand any type of military offensive. Therefore one naturally considers the central regions of the country. ... Secondly, it must be so situated that the government can see all parts of the country with equal clarity. When we retire to a corner, we tend to forget those parts of the motherland that are farthest from us.”¹⁰⁹

As explained previously, Ankara was not a well-kept city in Anatolia. The city had a lack of suitable facilities. The emptiness of the city was also one of the reasons to choose. Because it will be easily built as requested. “Ankara’s built environment provides a fertile ground for examining the untidy process by which republican ideals of a modern urban life and a new political culture were translated into action.”¹¹⁰ Gönül Tankut posits in her book *Bir Başkent’in İmarı* that capital cities are being built to symbolize the world-views of country leaders.¹¹¹ Decisions for the city’s zoning will be an indicator of a strong power. The urban planning strategies had to be successful because the image of the city is an outcome of Turkish modernization and hence the young Turkish Republic. That is why constructing a new city itself is above all a political claim.¹¹²

Achieving successful urban planning was vital for other Anatolian cities. Ankara was a candidate to be a model for the rest of the country. Zeynep Kezer argues: “Indeed the founding fathers of the republic considered building a new capital in Ankara to be integral to their twin goals of modernizing the country and forging a new political

¹⁰⁹ Kuran, 675.

¹¹⁰ Zeynep Kezer. *Building Modern Turkey : State, Space, and Ideology in the Early Republic*. Culture Politics & the Built Environment. Pittsburgh (Pa: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015), 19.

¹¹¹ Gönül Tankut, *Bir Başkent’in İmarı: Ankara: 1929-1939* (Cağaloğlu, İstanbul: Anahtar Kitaplar, 1993), 15.

¹¹² Bülent Batuman, “Mekan, Kimlik ve Sosyal Çatışma: Cumhuriyet’in Kamusal Mekanı Olarak Kızılay Meydanı”, Essay, in *Başkent Üzerine Mekân-Politik Tezler, Ankara’nın Kamusal Yüzleri*, ed. Güven Arif Sargın, 41-76. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, 2002), 42.

order.”¹¹³ The expectation from the modern Ankara is not only representative, it is to be a capital that can fulfill the understanding of the new worldview and reflect the lifestyle that suits it. “In the modern town planning approach, modern cities are functionally segregated in different parts designated for such purposes as production, residential areas, commercial uses, and public spaces.”¹¹⁴ The aim was the same for Ankara. To do this, a number of urban planning projects were developed for Ankara. After explaining those town planning strategies, it will be discussed whether the city succeeded in that aim or not.

3.2.1.1 The Lörcher Plan

With the proclamation of the Republic, considerable number of people moved to Ankara. Even before the declaration of the city as capital, soldiers, generals and government officials started to come to Ankara. This situation increased the need for housing and governmental buildings. For this reason, zoning work had to be started immediately. “Between 1923 and 1927 Ankara grew somewhat haphazardly. This was primarily the result of the pressing need for the construction of basic government facilities.”¹¹⁵ There was obviously a need for institutional change in Ankara in order to speed up the growth of the city. Therefore, Ankara Şehremaneti was established in 1924 as the first municipality organizational initiative and the Expropriation Act, which was put into action in 1925 to expropriate 400 hectares, were the two major leaps for the city’s development.¹¹⁶ In the first years, there were not a coordinated planning. The new settlement areas were mostly located on the empty plots of the old city or on the outer edges of the old city.¹¹⁷ However, rapid population growth has revealed the necessity of a major city planning. For a planned urban

¹¹³ Zeynep Kezer, *Building Modern Turkey : State, Space, and Ideology in the Early Republic*, 17.

¹¹⁴ Nevruz Cinar Ozdil, et al., “Emergence and Evolution of the Urban Public Open Spaces of Ankara within the Urban Development History: 1923 to Present.” 27.

¹¹⁵ Cross, and Gary Leiser. *A Brief History of Ankara* (Vacaville, Calif: Indian Ford Press, 2000), 144.

¹¹⁶ Nevruz Cinar Ozdil, et al., 28.

¹¹⁷ Gönül Tankut, *Bir Başkent’in İmarı: Ankara: 1929-1939*, 44.

development, there was a need for an urban planner. “Due to the absence of professionals in the urban planning field, European architects and urban planners were invited for the urban planning of the city.”¹¹⁸ Ankara Şehremaneti requested a plan for Ankara from İstanbul based private construction company.¹¹⁹ Carl Christoph Lörcher who was a German architect, became the first planner of Ankara. The first plan was Lörcher’s urban development plan which was designed in 1924.

With Lörcher's urban plan, it was aimed to establish a modern and planned capital for Turkey. Lörcher thought that the old city has its own powerful grounds, the new city should be founded around the old city. He developed three plans: one was for old city but it was not approved, the second one was for the new city and the last one was a combined plan for both new and old city. The last two plans were approved. The reason why the commission rejected the first plan for the old city is that the plan was because it was found inapplicable. Trying to expand the old town created bureaucratic and economic difficulties. The establishment of the new city will make it easier to achieve its integrity through an easier and healthier process, while the old texture will not be damaged.¹²⁰ The rest of the plans were compulsorily accepted because of the housing crisis.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Nevruz Cinar Ozdil, et al., 28.

¹¹⁹ Ali Cengizkan, *Ankara'nın İlk Planı 1924-25 Lörcher Planı*,(Ankara: Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı, 2004), 35.

¹²⁰ Cengizkan, 57.

¹²¹ Tankut, *Bir Başkentin İmarı: Ankara: 1929-1939*, 54.

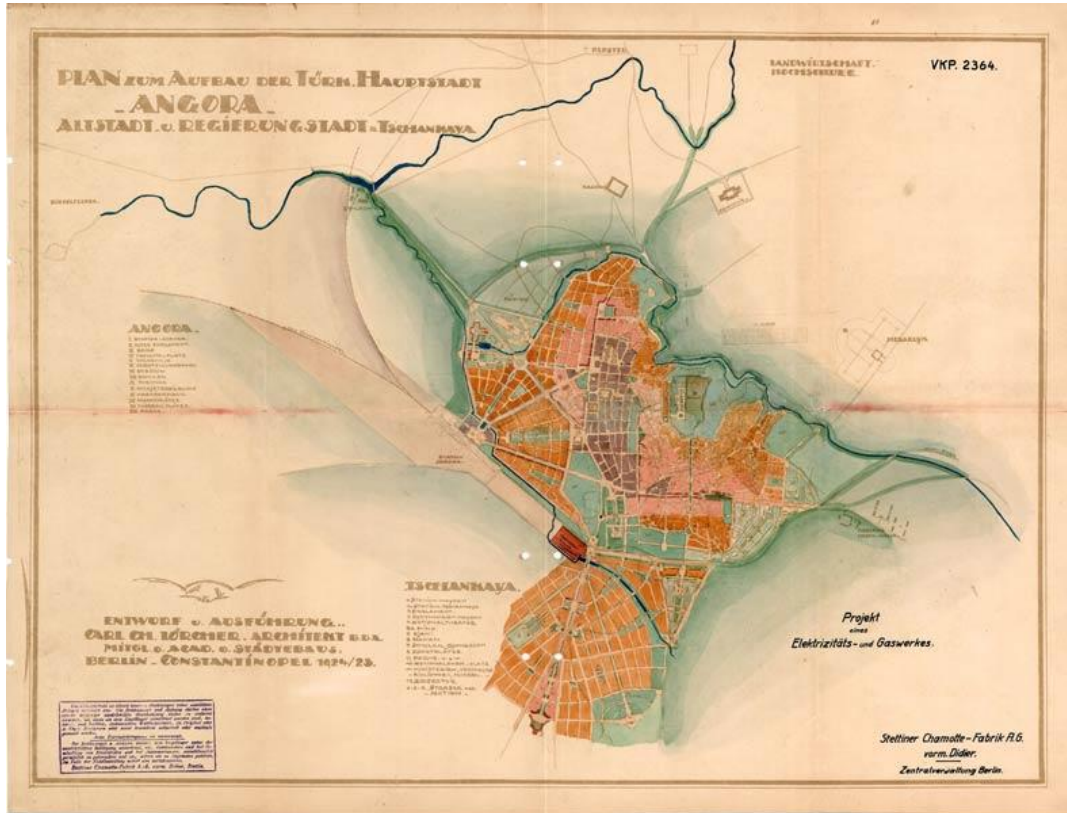


Figure 3. 8. Lörcher Plan. (Source, Ali Cengizkan, *Ankara'nın İlk Planı 1924-25 Lörcher Planı*, 245.)

In the combined plan for the new and old city, Lörcher concentrated on the city's existing core in the North, and he also recognized incipient trends toward a southbound expansion in a two-part plan. In the North, around Ulus, he used the Citadel as a reference point for organizing the city's layout.¹²² "Zoning, creating interconnected public open spaces, and new residential areas according to Ebenezer Howard's garden city approach were the planning principles of his plans."¹²³ The new city part was considered as the administrative center of the capital. One- or two-story buildings, wide streets, low-density traffic roads, series of squares, parks, and

¹²² Zeynep Kezer, *Building Modern Turkey : State, Space, and Ideology in the Early Republic*, 30.

¹²³ Nevruz Cinar Ozdil, et al., 29.

greenways were proposed in the 1925 new city plan.¹²⁴ Lörcher placed a systematic emphasis on green space planning. What he proposed was trying to connect green spaces in old and new cities. “In addition to the open green spaces, several public squares named Millet (today’s Ulus Square); Hukümet, Tiyatro, Gazi, Yıldız, İstasyon, Hacı Bayram, and Kale (Citadel) in the old city; and Cumhuriyet (today’s 15 Temmuz Kızılay Milli İrade Square), Sıhhiye, Zafer, Lozan, squares in the new city part were proposed in the Lörcher Plan.”¹²⁵ He also designed radial boulevards and some of them were built. New administrative buildings (the new National Assembly Building, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), banks (Ziraat Bankası, İş Bankası, Osmanlı Bankası), residential structures (Evkaf Apartments), cultural institutions (Ethnography Museum, Turkish Hearths Association), and recreational facilities (Ankara Palas, Millet Bahçesi) were positioned according to his precepts.¹²⁶

It is seen that an axial design is dominant in Lörcher's plan. Apart from the main Atatürk Boulevard, there were many axes connected to this main road. Ali Cengizkan commented on the design of Lörcher as:

“It is seen that new roads are made with triangulation technique. As a result of this approach, which is the product of a Baroque understanding, it is seen that all of the old Ankara and a certain part of the New City were formed within these large-scale triangular urban blocks. It is observed that this understanding has been changed with later contemporary practices, sometimes by preserving the squares proposed by the Lörcher Plan and connecting them with new 'parallel roads', and sometimes by newly opened roads within the texture.”¹²⁷

¹²⁴ Ibid., 29.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 29.

¹²⁶ Zeynep Kezer, 32.

¹²⁷ Ali Cengizkan, *Ankara'nın İlk Planı 1924-25 Lörcher Planı*, (Ankara: Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı, 2004), 59.

This triangulation technique has produced many strong axes. Strong perspectives emerged along these axes. Ankara Castle is a significant element that Lörcher wanted to emphasize through these perspectives. In the article he published at the beginning of 1925, Lörcher defines the Citadel of Ankara as follows: “The idea of viewing the very beautiful Castle (Zitadelle) whenever possible and attracting the city here is often repeated... Lörcher says, “The desire to include the elegant (beautiful) Castle in the city's panorama from as many viewpoints as possible has been fulfilled elsewhere.”¹²⁸ Lörcher emphasized that the visual references to the Castle were frequently used in urban planning. Ali Cengizkan continues about the notion of beautiful Castle:

“This approach, which would crystallize as the concept of "Crown of the City" in Jansen's 1928 Competition Plan, first appeared in the Lörcher Plan and was put into practice in the Ulus district. Establishment of Istasyon Street and Cumhuriyet Street; The visual relationship of Opera with the Citadel; the visual relationship of the “*Millet Bahçesi*” with Hacı Bayram and the Temple of Augustus; relationship of Ulus Square with Kale; considering Hacet Tepesi as a sub-focus were the contribution of the Lörcher Plan and they were both preserved and improved in the 1932 Jansen Plan.”¹²⁹

All these perspective relations reveal the significance of the axes and their visual connection with the Castle of Ankara. The main axis determined by Lörcher has the parliament building at one end and the Castle at the other end. This situation shows that Lörcher emphasizes monumentality together with axiality. Parliament building is the most imposing building as a monumental structure in the city and the Castle is another remarkable structure. By placing a monumental parliament building on the other end of the main axis, on which the castle is at one end, he may have actually

¹²⁸ Cengizkan, 85.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 85.

aimed to symbolize the authority of the newly established state the sovereignty of the Nation, on which the new Republic was founded.

Along the main axis, other important public buildings, banks, cultural institutions such as museums and squares were placed as mentioned above. “The power of the axis directly depends on the connection established between the two points and supporting elements along it.”¹³⁰ Each of the squares along the axis as supporting element was allocated for special events. For example, Hakimiyet-i Milliye and Zafer Squares represent the national sovereignty and the victory of Turkish people in the War of Independence.

Carl Christoph Lörcher’s Ankara development plan for influenced all the planners who came after him, both as a result of being the center of the region he designed and his right decisions. Nevertheless, Lörcher’s development plan was only partially achieved. The effects of the declaration of Ankara as the capital on urbanization could not be taken into account. There were problems arising from the rapid population growth within a short time following the declaration of capital. The planned capital of a newly formed state was expected to be thorough. This perfectionism wanted by the newly established capital did not tolerate the plan's inadequacy. All these reasons caused an unfinished plan. After all, with Lörcher’s plan, part of the new city was outlined. The north-south and east-west axes, which are the main road connections, have also been finalized.¹³¹

3.2.1.2 The Jansen Plan

To control uncoordinated developments, raising urban problems, and respond to growing complaints, in 1927, the government organized an international

¹³⁰ Özgür Dinçer, “Axiality In The Process Of Space Organization In Architecture” (M.Sc. diss., İzmir Institute of Technology, 1999), 18.

¹³¹ Tankut, *Bir Başkentin İmarı: Ankara: 1929-1939*, 65, 66.

competition. Three renowned city planners from Germany and France were invited to prepare their plans for the future development of the capital city. German architect Herman Jansen's urban development plan was selected among others, as his plan was found as being the most applicable one for the development of the new capital, as well as being the most appropriate to the national character. Jansen's difference from others in attitude is that he can propose modest solutions and put forward concrete thoughts by getting inside information.¹³² The Jansen Plan was approved by a decision of the Council of Ministers on 23 July 1932.¹³³ The plan proposed a simple zoning for the capital Ankara and was carried out the urban development that was started according to the 1924-25 Lörcher Plan. In this framework of zoning, he defined urban zones such as Larger Houses Zone, Amele (Workers') Quarter, High Schools (Universities) Area, Tandoğan Airport Area.¹³⁴ The plan proposed Ulus as the city center and the preservation of the traditional urban fabric around the Citadel with a few enhancements.¹³⁵ Most of his proposals were implemented. Some of them were as follows:

- Connecting the old city to Çankaya, Atatürk Boulevard has been expanded and opened in the north-south direction as the city's most important artery. He defined Talatpaşa Boulevard in the east-west direction. These two main arteries are planned to cross the city.
- The low-altitude lands between the old city and the Station are reserved for sports and recreation uses with open areas such as Youth Park, 19 Mayıs Sports Site, Hippodrome, Cebeci Stadium.

¹³² Tankut, 74.

¹³³ Suavi Aydın, et al., *Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü: Ankara* (Ankara: Dost Kitabevi, 2005), 392.

¹³⁴ Ali Cengizkan, "Türkiye İçin Modern Ve Planlı Bir Başkent Kurmak: Ankara 1920-1950." goethe.de. Accessed March 13, 2021. <https://www.goethe.de/ins/tr/ank/prj/urs/geb/sta/trindex.htm>.

¹³⁵ Nevruz Cinar Ozdil, et al., 31.

- High points such as castle, Kocatepe, Hacettepe, Rasattepe, Maltepe in the city have been evaluated and their visual importance has been increased as a viewpoint.¹³⁶
- Defining six squares: Ulus, Hacettepe, Opera, Samanpazari, Istasyon (today's Demokrasi Square), and Hacı Bayram squares around the Citadel in the old city part.
- Emphasizing the city's political capital function by locating a separate district (Administrative Quarter) for the government buildings in the new city.¹³⁷



Figure 3. 9. A look toward the north at Ankara's main north-south axis, Atatürk Boulevard. (Source, Kezer, Zeynep. *Building Modern Turkey: State, Space, and Ideology in the Early Republic*, 32.)

¹³⁶ Tunga Köroğlu, Ebru Ölmez, "Cumhuriyetin 75. Yılında Planlama Sergisi." *Planlama* 4 (2002): 7–21, 13.

¹³⁷ Nevruz Cinar Ozdil, et al., 31, 33.

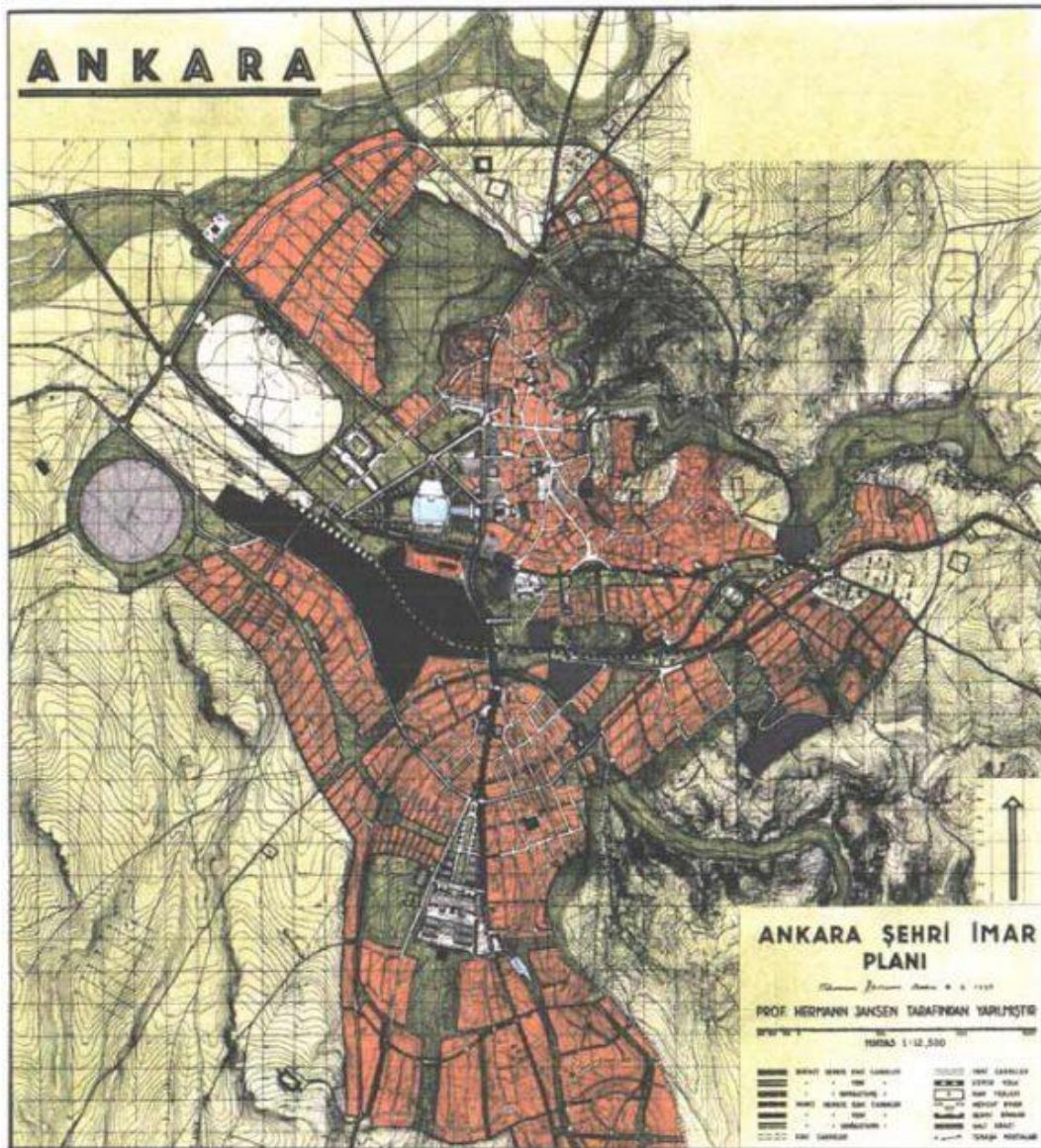


Figure 3. 10. Ankara City Development Plan by Jansen. From this plan, overall it is clear that the density of green areas is remarkable. (Source, < <https://www.arkitektuel.com/hermann-jansenin-ankara-plani/>>)

Hermann Jansen was influenced by the Austrian architect Camillo Sitte's approach that praised the artistic values of historic towns. For this reason, he had great

sensitivity and respect for the historical and natural environment.¹³⁸ Supposedly, that is why he wanted to distinguish the historical context of the city from the new town area. Like Lörcher, Jansen also tried to connect green axes elements across the whole city. “The natural valleys, hills, and lakes were connected to the city by greenways; parks, sports areas, gardens, and pedestrian pathways were designed for a healthy nation.”¹³⁹ In that sense, the Youth Park (Gençlik Parkı) had a decisive role. With its great area, the city would have a large green space. In addition to being green, it had a great sociocultural importance. It would greatly help the transformation of daily life in accordance with modernization project of the Republic. There are lots of leisure and recreational activities in the park including a big pool, an open-air theater, sports areas, tea gardens, and restaurants.¹⁴⁰

The Atatürk Boulevard as the main “protocol axis” of the city was maintained in Jansen’s Plan. “Some elements that the Jansen Plans of 1928 and 1932 could not abandon 'not because they were written once, but because they were qualified' were put forward in the Lörcher Plan.”¹⁴¹ However, Jansen Plan is not dominant in terms of its axes. Jansen also conserved the perspectives and viewpoints. Inside of the triangular parcels of the plan did not have distinct lines as Lörcher’s plan did. When the two plans are compared, triangular parcels are observed in Jansen's plan that are more compatible with topography.

¹³⁸ Tankut, 103.

¹³⁹ Ozdil, et al., 31.

¹⁴⁰ Ozdil, et al., 31.

¹⁴¹ Ali Cengizkan, *Ankara'nın İlk Planı 1924-25 Lörcher Planı*, (Ankara: Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı, 2004), 84.

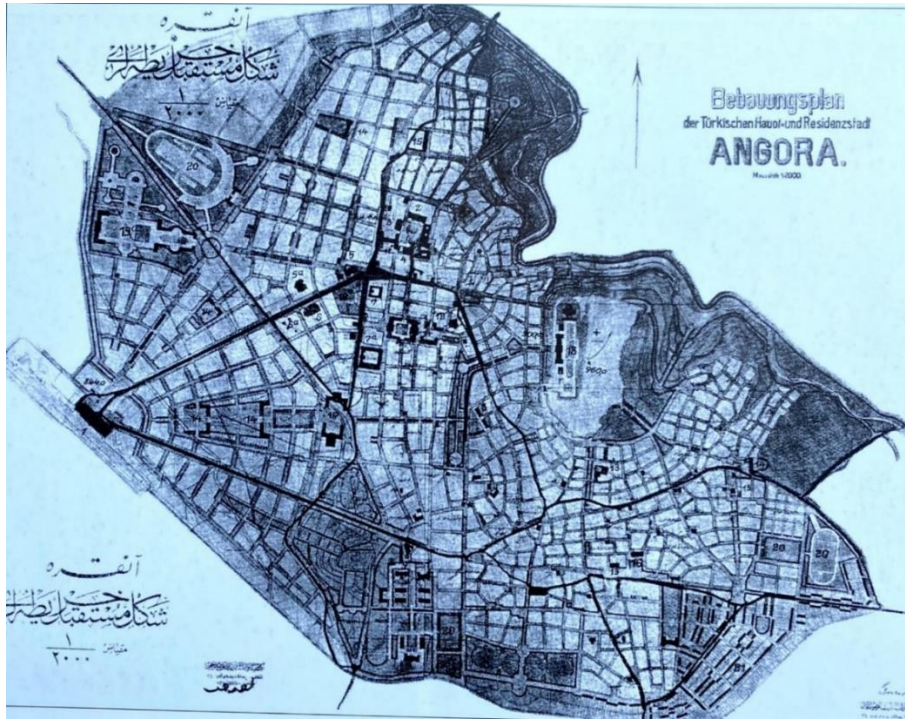


Figure 3. 11. Lörcher's old town plan in 1924. The axes in triangular were distinct. The axial language was dominant. (Source, Ali Cengizkan, *Ankara'nın İlk Planı 1924-25 Lörcher Planı*, (Ankara: Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı, 2004, 39.)

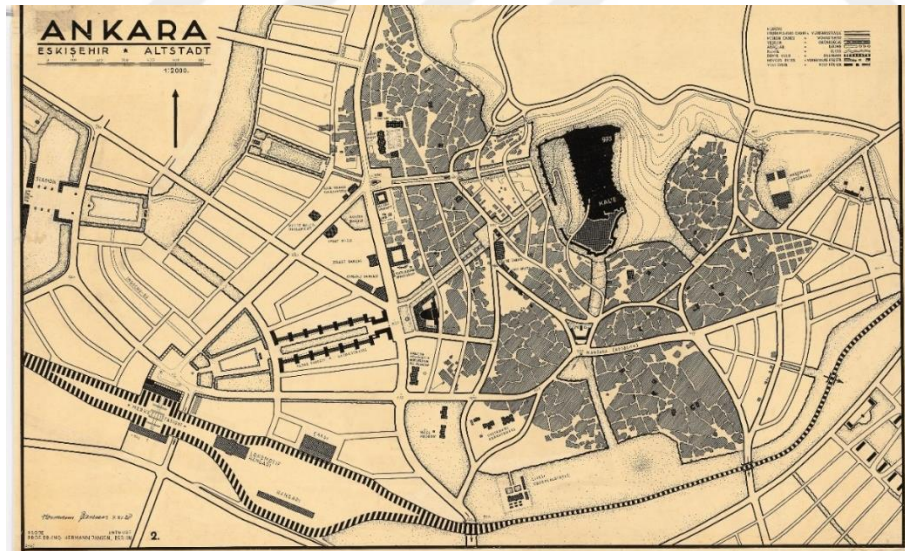


Figure 3. 12. General development plan of Ankara old town by Jansen in 1928. The axes were not dominant as in Lörcher's plan. Inside of the triangular parcels are more compatible with geography than Lörcher's. (Source: Technical University Berlin Architecture Museum Inv. No:22584, <https://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php>)

3.2.1.3 Uybadin-Yucel Plan and Its Aftermath

After the Second World War, there have been changes that led to the acceleration of urbanization in the world. Turkey was also affected by this situation and big cities started to be exposed to intense immigration. With this immigration phenomenon in Ankara, the city was subject to a rapid population increase. Jansen Plan envisages the population up to 300.000 in 1980. However, due to the continuing population growth, the city's population exceeded this number in 1950.¹⁴² This caused more need for housing and urban services. There were started to appear squatter developments in the periphery of the city. Because of such problems as stated by Özdil et al.;

“Jansen's responsibility as the consultant was terminated by the Planning Administration Committee at the end of 1938 on the grounds that there was no need of his consultancy anymore. The city developed according to the decisions of the Planning Administration Committee until the next urban development plan competition.”¹⁴³

Despite the problems that it encountered, this plan is stated to be the first urban plan that was implemented to a great extent. Much of proposed green public spaces were implemented and added to the city. The protection of the old city area was accomplished and a connection between the old and the new city was successfully attained. General opinion of the public towards the plan was positive.

Irregular squatter developments in the periphery, housing problems and continuing migration from small cities forced zoning management to a new competition for a

¹⁴² Tunga Köroğlu, Ebru Ölmez., 15.

¹⁴³ Ozdil, et al., 34.

new urban development plan. The second development plan competition, held in 1957, was also an international competition. “The winners of the competition were Nihat Yücel and Rasit Uybadin, architects whose plan proposal was approved in 1957. The population projection of the plan was 750,000 in 1987.”¹⁴⁴ According to Gönül Tankut, this time, nevertheless, it is an unconscious effort seeking a solution in a crisis situation. The second Ankara zoning plan does not have a broad perspective that will bring a solution to a rapidly growing city. And she continues, for this reason, it did not go beyond legalizing old mistakes.¹⁴⁵

According to Yücel-Uybadin development plan: Kızılay was determined as a new city center. Meanwhile, Ulus district still developed its commercial activities.¹⁴⁶ Özdiş et al. states;

“The 19 May Sport Complex, Atatürk Forest Farm, Hippodrome, Cebeci Stadium, Güvenpark, Hacettepe Park, Gençlik Park, Kurtulus Park, and Zafer Square-Parks were some of the public open spaces that were created in the Jansen Plan and kept in the Uybadin–Yücel Plan.”¹⁴⁷

Lörcher and Jansen gave an intense importance to green spaces and greenways for leisure and recreational activities. Atatürk Boulevard was also designed both as a main artery of the city and a promenade for people to walk and spend time in green. In Yücel-Uybadin plan, the boulevard began to lose its character. Because the buildings on the boulevard increased by up to ten to thirteen stories in height as a result of the density increase law.¹⁴⁸

The plan was in operation between 1958 and 1968. It played a major role in the formation of the current urban pattern of the central city of Ankara today. The high-

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 36.

¹⁴⁵ Tankut, 18.

¹⁴⁶ Mehmet Tunçer, “Ankara’da Tarihsel Çevrenin Korunmasına Yönelik Politikalar”, Essay, In *Tarih içinde Ankara II Aralık 1998 Seminer Bildirileri*, 75-107. (Ankara: ODTÜ, 2001), 76.

¹⁴⁷ Özdiş, et al., 37.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 37.

rise apartment development and the increased industrial uses in particular parts of the city are some of the implications of this plan. Like the previous development plans, the population projection was exceeded in 1965, instead of 1987.¹⁴⁹ The Yücel-Uybadin urban planning, which does not predict social forces well, has created a dual structure, with regular apartment blocks on the one hand and squatters on the other. Eventually, as Gönül Tankut posits, this plan also did not bring great solutions either. “Subsequently, the Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Bureau was established in 1969 by the National Security Council. The Bureau initiated the first planning practice on a metropolitan scale in the country.”¹⁵⁰ There was no competition for the third plan prepared for Ankara. Besides, Ankara has reached the metropolitan scale. With this reason, the master development plan, which was produced in 1975 and aimed for the year of 1995, is a master plan that aimed to solve the problems of the big city at a metropolitan scale.¹⁵¹

3.3 Social and Spatial Transformation and Collective Memory

Social change brings a new identity with it and this change substantiates through redefining the relation between the past and present. Collective memory is the foundation of such social change. The production of space is a fundamental practice in the production of collective memory, because societies perceive the space they produce as their images. In that sense, space production is also prominent in social change. In this part, the modernization of Ankara and the creation of new public spaces defined according to the new regime will be examined. In addition, the effects of new decisions in the city on social change and collective memory will be discussed.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 38.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 38.

¹⁵¹ Gönül Tankut, *Bir Başkentin İmarı: Ankara: 1929-1939*, 18.

In the previous chapter, the theoretical framework of collective memory is explored in detail. It is asserted that the collective memory is highly dependent on the social framework and it also has spatial attributes as well as temporal ones. It is possible to argue that collective memory is the collection of impressions of the social and spatial changes that take place in the city over time on the inhabitants. These impressions are an important legacy of the city, which is transmitted as a record from generation to generation, mostly verbally. In the case of Ankara, exactly what happened was social and spatial changes to constitute new collective memory in the name of nationalism. Or the formation of a new collective memory and social identity established a radical change in the society and directed spatial configuration in the city. Güven Arif Sargın argues, “As the images of this period clearly depict, constructing a new bourgeois identity as well as making an official memory through the forces of spatial transformation were the constituent elements of the nationalist policies and perspectives.”¹⁵² Upon this reciprocal process, with well-defined institutions and shared beliefs and values, social change will occur.

As the capital of the young republic, Ankara was determined to leave the existing Ottoman social and spatial structure by establishing a new city behind. What was intended by leaving Istanbul and making Ankara the capital: to establish a new and exemplary city where modern, contemporary, western life can be born, to develop the life patterns of the national bourgeoisie to be created by the republic to set an example for other Turkish cities, to symbolize the achievements of the republic in the birth of this modern city.¹⁵³ Building a modern capital from scratch could only be achieved by republican intelligence and dedication. This was what happened at the beginning of the republican period. “What could be considered as old, traditional,

¹⁵² Güven Arif Sargın, “Displaced Memories, or the Architecture of Forgetting and Remembrance.” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 22, no. 5 (October 2004): 659–80, 661.

¹⁵³ İlhan Tekeli, “Ankara’nın Başkentlik Kararının Ülkesel Mekan Organizasyonu ve Toplumsal Yapıya Etkileri Bakımından Genel Bir Değerlendirilmesi” Essay, In *Tarih içinde Ankara: Eylül 1981 Seminer Bildirileri*, 317-335. (Ankara: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Ankaralılar Vakfı, 2000), 321.

or stagnant was then abandoned and excluded from the republican imaginations: for the state elite as well as the new bourgeois, the emerging nation's memory was finally a *tabula rasa*.¹⁵⁴

3.3.1 Space Production of the Nation-State

To enter a new phase of modernization and abandon the old traditional order, it is necessary to define a new relationship of the society with the past and the future. For the new national identity, it was almost a must to stand against the past. Changing spatial practices and bringing new ones were one of the actions of opposition to the past. Space production is a fundamental action in the production of collective memory. Societies perceive the space they produce as their own images. Therefore, space production is an important issue in the organization of the new order, and Ankara, the image of the nation-state, is a platform where the new order will realize itself.

As a space production, public arenas are natural parts or reflections of urban life and culture. In the case of Ankara, remembering through public spaces had an immense role in creating collective memory. The act of remembering is also critical to perceive the ideological content of the public sphere through concrete forms. There was a remembering technique in ancient Greek. In principle, the system was based on determining related images for information to be kept in mind with a particular layout. Orators used the architectural medium and images to memorize their speech. What was discovered here was the importance of order and perception of vision in the act of remembering memory. It was the architectural setup that provided the order. The visual perception was provided by images. This effect of spatial construct on memory has enabled us to look at the political aspect of the public sphere from a new perspective. And, the produced space will begin to be perceived as the

¹⁵⁴ Güven Arif Sargın, 661.

domination that political images try to establish on memory.¹⁵⁵ In that sense, memory is not just a storage of experiences, it is a system that affected by particular layouts and images for the sake of recalling. As stated in the theoretical chapter, remembering happens in the light of the present because today's environment has effects on the act of perceiving. The modified perception does not recall the exact past, it recalls an image from the eyes of the present that remained in our memory.

According to this remembering process, recalling is actually a powerful tool for reproducing the social perception system. If the representation of reality changes constantly, then the common social thought could be changed depending on the altered reality. As the social context changes, the past must also be reconstructed to affirm it. Remembering is actually a reconstruction process of the past. Society establishes a different relationship with the past according to the context in each period. And, it creates a different social memory by reconstructing the elements to be remembered and forgotten. Turning points help to determine the elements whether to be remembered or forgotten. Another point in the remembering process is the placement of memories systematized by milestones in concrete spaces. After a while, turning points begin to be remembered by being represented in a single event or personality.¹⁵⁶ In the case of Ankara, the single event to be remembered was the War of Independence and the most important actor of that single event was Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. This turning point helped to construct the collective memory that belonged to the Nation.

Turkey (as a nation-state) entered a nation-building process in order to maintain its political existence. As a result of this process, it was intended to construct a national identity and a collective memory specified for the state.

¹⁵⁵ İnci Yalım, "Ulusal Devletin Kamusal Alanda Meşruiyet Aracı: Toplumsal Belleğin Ulus Meydanı Üzerinden Kurgulanma Çabası", Essay, in *Başkent Üzerine Mekân-Politik Tezler, Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri*, ed. Güven Arif Sargın, 157-214. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, 2002), 159.

¹⁵⁶ İnci Yalım, 162.

“The 'national identity' is formulated in meanings generated by nationalist discourse that are 'reactivated, reinterpreted and often reinvented at critical junctures of the histories of nation-states' in the definitions as to who and what constitutes the 'nation'. Recent literature on nationalism, making clear the fact that 'national identity' can only be understood with reference to its selectiveness and constructedness in terms of how the new identity is supposed to be.”¹⁵⁷

The values that are desired to be adopted are produced as representative forms in the public sphere for the sake of creating national identity. For this aim, while the state selectively constructs its past on the one hand, it also ensures that the social memory, which will reproduce its own values, is kept active with some practices. What could be the practices? A secular educational system, memorial ceremonies and monument construction are the practices and representative forms that encourage to create a collective memory and national identity.¹⁵⁸ The public spaces that the Republic of Turkey produced in the first phase were mostly spaces where representational forms created by architectural, ceremonial and bodily practices were introduced and internalized.

Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square was one of the fine examples that reflects the political images on establishing a collective memory. The name of the square later changed as *Ulus* Square. Ulus square, as a public space, was one of the most significant public spaces in the embodiment of the ideological map on which the Republican administration is emulated.¹⁵⁹ As stated above, ceremonials and bodily practices are compelling practices for the new ideology to Turkish people's lifestyles. Ulus Square becomes a permanent stage for commemoration ceremonies and performances and a

¹⁵⁷ T. Elvan Altan, “The Forming of the National in Architecture.” *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, 1-2, 19 (1999): 31–43, 32.

¹⁵⁸ İnci Yalım, 164.

¹⁵⁹ Güven Arif Sargın, “Kentın Kamusal Kimliđinin atkılanmasında İdeoloji Ve İdeolojik atışma.” *Dosya*, February 2009, 66.

preview of the publicity that the nation-state will organize in urban space. Celebrations of the first and second anniversary of the opening of the parliament, protests against the news of the invasion coming from the front during the war, celebrations for regained cities, marches, meetings, ceremonies when sending the army to the front, and the most magnificent, the celebrations of the Great Victory, all took place in the Hakimiyet-i Milliye (Ulus) Square during the years of the War of Independence and after. In this way, the foundations were laid for the continuation of the commemoration ceremonies, which have become one of the important forms of transmission of collective memory, within the framework of the nation-state.¹⁶⁰



Figure 3. 13. Ulus Square *Zafer Anıtı* (Victory Monument) (Source, <https://www.milliyet.com.tr/galeri/eski-ankara-53408/7>>)

¹⁶⁰ İnci Yalım, 179.



LA CÉLÉBRATION DU X^e ANNIVERSAIRE DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE TURQUE A ANKARA
La prestation de serment des boy-scouts devant le monument du Ghazi.

FFT0001403

Nous avons relaté dans notre précédent numéro les grandes manifestations qui ont eu lieu en Turquie à l'occasion du X^e anniversaire de la République. La plupart des gravures que nous avons publiées à cette occasion se rapportaient aux fêtes données à Istanbul. Non moins magnifiques ont été les cérémonies et les défilés dont la nouvelle capitale, Ankara, qui ne compte, elle aussi, que dix années d'existence, a été le théâtre. Une des scènes le plus significatives,

que nous reproduisons ici, a été le rassemblement et la prestation de serment des boy-scouts devant le monument du Ghazi. Plus de 60.000 Turcs étaient venus à Ankara de tous les points de l'Anatolie pour prendre part aux réjouissances populaires et à l'exaltation du régime qui a rendu à la Turquie son indépendance nationale et transformé en quelques années ses institutions et ses mœurs. — Phot. Maurice Bayen.

Figure 3. 14. Celebration of the Republic at Ulus Square around the Victory Monument. (Source,
< <https://historyontheorientexpress.tumblr.com/image/172682880091>>)

3.3.2 The Role of Monuments in the Construction of Collective Memory

In the process of constructing and reproducing social and collective identity and memory within the framework of the established nation-state, monuments have a significant role. A monument is the physical structure in which the idealized images are brought together to form a discourse. In addition, it is a structure that enables to remember a selected past in the perspective of the present.¹⁶¹ “Monuments are usually paid for or at least sanctioned by the state and represent what must be remembered according to established power, although they can also stand for challenges to that power.”¹⁶² As well as remembering, with monuments, there could also be selected ideologies that had to be forgotten. There are several achievements that were meant to be gained through monuments. The space which a monument defines may also become a platform of democratic attendance. The location turns into a special place for commemorating specific events or military triumphs. Here, the monuments that were planned to be positioned at critical points of the city, obviously points to a new cultural sphere and an apparatus on the way to make people adopt the new identity.

The first of monument in Ankara was the Zafer Anıtı (Victory Monument) created in 1927 by the Austrian sculptor Heinrich Krippel. The Victory Monument was built under the leadership of Yunus Nadi Bey, owner of Yeni Gün Newspaper, with the financial contributions of the Turkish nation. A nationwide campaign was launched to have the monument built.¹⁶³ The monument was composed of an equestrian statue of Atatürk on the top of a plinth, with two “Mehmetcik,” the Turkish soldier and the Turkish woman carrying ammunition to the battlefield, a composition that

¹⁶¹ İnci Yalım, 196.

¹⁶² Mark Crinson, *Urban Memory History and Amnesia in the Modern City* (London: Routledge, 2005), xvi.

¹⁶³ “Atatürk Hakkında Bilmek İstedığınız Herşey.” İşte Atatürk. Accessed July 1, 2021. <https://isteaturk.com/g/icerik/Ulus-Ataturk-Aniti-Ankara/1470>.

narrated the Turkish people's struggle in the War of Independence.¹⁶⁴ This monument, with its defined public space, will base the social memory and power of the new regime on this turning point. This first monument of the new republic was meant to lay the foundations of national consciousness and independence in the most recent war and the victory immediately after it. The monument has a direct and persuasive effect on memory due to its visual relationship with the public. "The Ulus Zafer Anıtı was an emotional public response to Mehmetçik's victories as well as a social reflex to celebrate the new nation." The direct message of the monument could be the resistance against enemies and, authority and political identity of the new ideology. The theatrical composition of the statues of woman and soldier is persuasive and emotional.

Another monument designed by Italian sculptor Canonica is Atatürk monument also known as 'Gazi Heykeli' on the Atatürk Boulevard that was designed as the main protocol axis of the capital city. This monument illustrates Atatürk standing in military dress.¹⁶⁵ As stated previously, milestones are important for the remembering process. In the last days of Ottoman Empire, there were several wars occurred in the land of Turkey. Among those complicated events, the War of Independence was the most important milestone for the new republic and Gazi Mustafa Kemal was the commander of the war who saved the country from enemies. His leadership was a turning point for the fate of the country. The specific monument of Atatürk represents again the power of the head of the country and hence it was for the new identity and collective memory.

¹⁶⁴ Bülent Batuman, Identity, Monumentality, Security." *Journal of Architectural Education* 59, no. 1 (August 4, 2005): 34–45, 37.

¹⁶⁵ Bülent Batuman, 37.



Figure 3. 15 Atatürk Statue (Gazi Heykeli) on the Atatürk Boulevard.
(<https://i.pinimg.com/originals/cb/52/f1/cb52f1e7249f9aa92b73fe63b2468db4.jpg>)

Except for the above monuments, there was another masterpiece called as Zabita Abidesi, later its name was changed as Güvenlik Anıtı. It was designed by the Austrian sculptors Anton Hanak and Josef Thorak in 1931. The location of the monument is in the Kızılay Park facing towards the square.

“In his proposal, a massive eight- by ten-meter block rested on top of a raised platform, the sides of which contained two-meter high reliefs. There would be two bronze male figures in front of the block, depicting a police officer and a gendarme in their uniforms. For the other side of the block, Hanak proposed a relief entitled ‘the Family,’ with a larger mother figure in the center embracing her children, with five small figures surrounding her and taking refuge under her extended arms”¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁶ Batuman, 38.

The other two mentioned monuments were erected with reference to the War of Independence. However, this time Güvenlik Monument appeared with its significant stress on the core of the society. Güven Arif Sargin argues “Unlike the Ulus Zafer Anıtı, the theme was now the civic qualities of bourgeois nationalism, and the idea of ‘home’ rather than ‘the War of Independence’ was the primary issue to represent the Turkish nation's not-quite-known public domains.”¹⁶⁷ In the first years of the republic, military achievements were much of importance because military forces of the country saved the land during the big war. In the upcoming years, being noticeable as civic became more critical. Reconstructing the collective memory is not just about having military achievements, it also requires changes in civilian life towards modernization.

Apart from the physical entities, in reconstructing collective memory process, bodily practices have critical functions like the ceremonials mentioned above. The new regime sought to create a national bourgeoisie that would be the bearer of its ideals. This new class was responsible for accelerating social change by demonstrating the forms of action required to be modern and civilized. As Serpil Özalöglu states “They are called ‘lifestyle carriers’ as well, because they had a mission of spreading modern/new social manners to the public.”¹⁶⁸ Their modern and modified bodily practices in public spaces means to reach the modernity of the West. In that sense, public spaces are of great value not only for monuments but also for the socialization of the public. Architect and town planner Güven Bilsel explains this as the following:

"Places, which provide the formation of livable urban spaces and are original spaces of social life, should include a series of activities as well as dimensions of form and meaning. In this way, spaces can be created that accommodate

¹⁶⁷ Güven Arif Sargin, “Displaced Memories, or the Architecture of Forgetting and Remembrance.” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 22, no. 5 (October 2004): 659–80, 668.

¹⁶⁸ Serpil Özalöglu, “The Lived Spatiality of Ankara (1935-1950) through the Memories of Its Citizens.” Essay. In *Power and Culture: New Perspectives on Spatiality in European History*, 19–43. (Edizioni Plus-Pisa University Press, 2008), 31.

urbanism as a way of life and where different social groups come together and are in communication.”¹⁶⁹

Public places were just a great opportunity for nurturing an urban culture and displaying a series of activities. These places are suitable platforms for people from similar social groups to encounter and get in touch with each other. Ulus Square was used for ceremonials, protests, meetings etc. The square was also used for daily purposes of the public such as meeting with friends, family walks through the square or just a transition area between markets. These defined the square in a social aspect.



Figure 3. 16. *Havuzbaşı* Statue in Kızılay Square.
(<https://i.pinimg.com/originals/e5/ae/dc/e5aedc92ebd10da0405842b796e5e703.jpg>)

In the new city region in Ankara, there was a fountain located in the middle of the Kızılay Square. “A fountain with a baroque bronze statue of a female figure with nymphs. Later the square was named as *Havuzbaşı*.”¹⁷⁰ Around the fountain became a recreational area and in time, the place turned into a gathering point for the new

¹⁶⁹ S. Güven Bilsel, “Kent ve Kentli Kültürü, Kimlik Sorunsalı, Yaşanılan Kentsel Mekan ve Ankara.” *Dosya*, February 2009, 51.

¹⁷⁰ Bülent Batuman, “Identity, Monumentality, Security,” 36.

national bourgeoisie. There were concerts, live musics held in the square. With such organizations, public life began to change in the light of modernism.

“Some embassies also contributed to the new music movement initiated by the Republic; the Soviet Union had people listen a concert from Moscow, with the initiative of Germany, an international pianist such as Professor Kempf offered concerts to people of Ankara at the Embassy and *Halkevi* (People’s House). These were featured in the newspaper news as unforgettable music evenings. In addition, the Presidential Orchestra giving concerts in Havuzbaşı, which is organized as a park in Yenışehir, is another indication of this purpose plan.”¹⁷¹

This social change, which was realized in accordance with the Western culture, could only be possible with the personalization of individuals in their bodily practices with such above mentioned organizations. The transformation of these practices into a habit would play an important role in forming the national identity and collective memory of the Republic that defines itself in the international arena, starting from the individual and reaching the social level.

¹⁷¹ İnci Aslanoğlu, “1930-50 Yılları Ankara’sının Eğlence Yaşamı İçinde Gazino Binaları”, Essay, In *Tarih içinde Ankara II Aralık 1998 Seminer Bildirileri*, 327-340. (Ankara: ODTÜ, 2001), 328.



CHAPTER 4

HERGELEN SQUARE AND MELİKE HATUN MOSQUE

Throughout history, Ankara has hosted many civilizations. The city has undergone many material and spiritual changes. Sometimes it was in its golden age, and sometimes it became untouched due to neglect. Before the proclamation of the Republic, the city looks like a neglected and devastated provincial town due to wars. In such an atmosphere, Hergelen Square was one of the essential points of Ankara. It was also one of the critical squares of Ankara in the years after the Republic. In line with the plans made for the capital city, suggestions were made for Hergelen Square. None of these proposals could be realized for a variety of reasons. Over time, it has lost its function and importance with the interventions made. According to the latest arrangement, there is Melike Hatun Mosque in Hergelen Square today. With the effects of all these interventions, the square has a disintegrated character. Undoubtedly, this non-holistic character is reflected in the memory of place and the collective memory.

In order to understand the past developments of the area thoroughly, it is necessary to know today's definers of the square. That is why this chapter begins with the space defining elements in the surrounding of the square. With a concrete image of today's condition of the site, the historical developments will be examined next. Then the square will be considered from social and cultural perspectives. Specially, the sculpture of Otto Herbert Hajek that was placed next to this square in 1990s will be examined. Because Hajek's sculpture is critical to the historical and socio-cultural development of the square. According to the latest arrangement in Ulus, Melike Hatun Mosque was built on the square. The mosque is quite a different structure in terms of its scale and architecture. The architecture of the structure has had a strong

on the spatial character of the square. The architecture of the mosque and its relation with Hergelen Square will be studied under separate section.

4.1 Space Defining Elements in Hergelen Square

At the end of the 19th century, Ankara looked like a small and neglected town and it had a poor economy. After the railway reached Ankara in 1892 and later after the city was declared the capital of the Republic, there was an improvement in the city's economy. The enhancement in the economy and the increase in trade caused changes in the spatial structure of the city. One of the areas where this change is clearly observed is Hergelen Square. The train station is located on the south-west side of the town according to Ankara castle. Hergelen Square is located between the train station and the settlements on the southeastern outskirts of the castle hill. "It functioned as a kind of gate-way or gathering point orientating people to Ankara Castle. In fact it was a public space welcoming outsiders or travelers and facilitating their engagement with the active town life."¹⁷² With this feature, the area was actually a lively urban point placed in a historic place close to Ankara castle. Before examining the developments of the square in detail, the elements that define the square today will be examined. To understand today's condition, location and the definers of the square eases to understand its modifications in the past and to evaluate the transition in collective memory.

Hermann Jansen proposed a development plan for Ankara in 1929. Jansen planned the city as consisting of two main transportation axes. The first one starts from Ankara castle towards Çankaya. This axis is called Atatürk Boulevard. Elif Mıhçıoğlu explains this as:

¹⁷² Emre Demirel, . "The Haptic and Visual Considerations of Public Spaces: Otto Herbert Hajek's Proposal for Hergelen Square in Ankara." *Online Journal of Art and Design* 7, no. 1 (January 2019): 202–19, 205.

“The major artery of the whole city center for the first time, modifying the existing avenues of Bankalar (or Dar-ül Muallimin), former Cumhuriyet, Çankırı Avenues, and connecting them on north-south axis. This axis was planned as the most important artery connecting the Old City to the New City with a holistic approach.”¹⁷³

Most of the buildings were governmental buildings on that axis. The second one (İstanbul and Adnan Saygun Streets today) started from Atatürk Orman Çiftliği and continued with parks including the project of Youth Park, recreational areas, and sport areas.¹⁷⁴ Two major axes intersects at the point of Hergelen Square. This situation turns the square into a strategic point. This intersection point actually was like an open-air architecture museum where Republican and modernization ideologies dominated. There are many buildings that still exist today around the area. The Youth Park (Gençlik Parkı) is also one of the main definers, a significant public space opening to Hergelen square. The main pedestrian axis of the park connects the central station to this square. The first differentiation in the spatial structure of the square was made in order to meet the accommodation requirements of the passengers coming to the city.¹⁷⁵ Still today there are several hotels on the east side of the square. There are precious republican buildings that define most of the borders of Hergelen Square: the Ottoman Bank (1926), TEKEL Directorate Building (1928) and Ziraat Bankası (1926-29) by Giulio Mongeri, 2nd Vakıf Apartment (1928-30) by Kemalettin Bey, Exhibition House (1933) by Şevki Balmumcu, Emlak Bankası (1933-34) by Clemens Holzmeister, Gazi High School (1936) by Ernst A. Egli, İller Bankası (1937) by Seyfi Arkan and lastly The Youth Park (1936-43).

¹⁷³ Elif Mıhçıoğlu, “The Physical Evolution of The Historic City of Ankara Between 1839 and 1944: A Morphological Analysis” (PhD Thesis, Middle East Technical University, n.d.), 208.

¹⁷⁴ Serpil Özaloğlu, “İller Bankası’nın Yıkılmasının Düşündürdükleri,” <http://www.arkitera.com/gorus/1054/iller-bankasinin-yiktirilmasinin-dusundurdukleri> (accessed December 10, 2018).

¹⁷⁵ Çiğdem Belgin Tipi “Hergelen Meydanı Çevre Düzenleme ve Korumasına İşkin Öneriler” (M.Sc. diss., Gazi Üniversitesi, 1996), 100.



Figure 4.1. 1. Exhibition House (today Opera Building) 2.The Youth Park 3.Ottoman Bank 4. Vakıf Apartmanı 5. Ziraat Bankası 6. TEKEL Directorate Building 7. Emlak Bankası 8. The Tomb of Karyağdı Hatun 9. Hotels around the square 10. Gazi High School 11. İller Bankası. (Source: Google Maps, Edited by author.)

Ottoman Bank is located in the northwest of the square, at the corner of Atatürk Boulevard and Istanbul Street. The building was designed by architect Giulio Mongeri in the first national architectural style with its rounded corners, pointed arches, corbels and ornaments. First National Architectural Movement aimed to combine Seljuk and classical Ottoman architectural styles instead of western architectural forms with new construction techniques such as reinforced concrete,

iron and steel.¹⁷⁶ TEKEL Directorate and Ziraat Bankası were also designed by Giulio Mongeri and located in the northwest side of the square on the Atatürk Boulevard. General Directorate of the State Monopolies (TEKEL –İnhisarlar İdaresi) is a modest, charming example of the National Style of the late 1920s.¹⁷⁷ Typical corner tower of the movement was preferred. Structural and decorative elements of Ottoman architecture were used in the details. This building is mostly considered as strong representative of the First National Style with its well-fit styling and balanced scale.

Ziraat Bankası that was also designed by Giulio Mongeri, is also an outcome of the same movement in those years. The building has a wide and high rectangular hall. The ceiling of the hall, which is the main place of the building, is covered with large colored stained glass. With its huge, bastion-like corner towers and very high storeys, the Agricultural Bank seems somewhat out of proportion with its immediate environment, particularly when compared with TEKEL building.¹⁷⁸ Shaped with Seljuk and Ottoman architectural elements, the front facades were designed symmetrically to the entrance, while the rear and side facades were designed more simply. With raising the corner masses in buildings, separating the floors with moldings, using Seljuk motifs on the wide eaves, for each floor, use of different arched windows, overhangs, domes and pilasters, these structures reflect the characteristics of the 1st National Architecture style.

Vakıf Apartmanı is also an example from the First National Architectural Movement by Kemalettin Bey. It is located next to the Ottoman Bank, which is in the northwest side of the square too. “Second Vakıf Hanı stands out as the most interesting apartment, with forty rental apartment units of various sizes, double-storey shops on

¹⁷⁶ Damla Çinici, “Başkent Ankara’Nın İnşasında Etkin Bir Mimar: Giulio Mongeri Ve Yaşam Öyküsü.” *Ankara Araştırmaları Dergisi* 3, no. 1 (June 14, 2015), 25.

¹⁷⁷ Yıldırım Yavuz and Süha Özkan, Essay, in *Modern Turkish Architecture*, 55-68. (Chamber of Architects: Ankara, 2005), 63.

¹⁷⁸ Yıldırım Yavuz and Süha Özkan, 63

the ground level, and a sizeable auditorium for the performing arts at its center.”¹⁷⁹ Many technological innovations have been applied according to the conditions of the time like central heating, elevators, modern bathroom fixtures etc. This structure was built with the reinforced concrete technique, which has been applied extensively. It includes the possibilities offered by this technique among all the productions made by its architect.

Between 1933 and 1934, the building was first constructed by architect Şevki Balmumcu as an Exhibition House and later converted into an opera house by Paul Bonatz. Opera Building was important for the social and cultural activities in Ankara. Since there was one Opera Building in the city, the cultural circulation has also affected Hergelen Square. It is located in the southwest side of the square. This structure has taken its place as a great success in the architectural environment of Turkey. It was kind of a representative of the modernization movement of the period. During the 1930s and the first half of the 1940s, the building hosted many national and international exhibitions. It was transformed into Theater and Opera Stage in 1946 by the decision of Ministry of Education.¹⁸⁰ For this transformation, there were lots of changes made in the physical appearance. Its façade has become very different from the original.

In 1934-35, Celemens Holzmeister designed Emlak Bankası building. When examined from the outside, it shows a similar form of Holzmeister structures (like ministry buildings) and a formalist approach that conforms to neo-classical architecture. Marble and Ankara stone are specifically used materials. The reinforced concrete construction is three storey with a basement. Emlak Bankası is located in the north of the square. In the east side of the square, there is Gazi High School which was designed by Ernst Arnold Egli. He was a pioneering modernist architect during the Republican Period. The façade of the L-shaped mass was designed in accordance

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 60.

¹⁸⁰ Elvan Altan Ergut, “Bina Kimlikleri Söyleşisi 5 ‘Sergi Evi ve Opera Binası.’”

with the International Architecture style of the period with a functional and plain understanding. It has been designed to separate the spaces that serve different functions from each other. The monumental entrance on the western facade and the rounded corners of the mass draw attention.

İller Bankası building was designed by architect Seyfi Arkan and was located on the south side of the square. It was one of the successful achievements that function is highlighted in architecture. The building had many features that made it distinctive in modern understanding. The simple use of concrete, Ankara stone, bronze and metal brass enriched the building. According to Yasemin Gürel, İller Bankası building was ultimately modest and moderate in modern approach.¹⁸¹ The Opera Building was first proposed in Jansen plan for Hergelen Square, across the Youth Park and next to İller Bankası building. In order not to shadow the importance of the suggested future Opera House, Seyfi Arkan deliberately chose to use a simple architectural language in his design. “Four-storey horizontal mass consists of two office wings joined in an L-form and rested on a podium-like ground floor. Its most interesting arrangements were inside, in the bank hall and director’s storey, where the interior surfaces were shaped in an undulating manner.”¹⁸² Its simplicity of expression and design was an uncommon practice at that time and it is an instructive example of Arkan’s modernist approach. Due to the latest project that was implemented in Hergelen Square, İller Bankası building was demolished in 2017.

The concept of ‘urban park’ in Western cities is aimed to be created in Ankara. The first project of the Youth Park was carried out by Herman Jansen. Later, French architect, urbanist and garden architect Theo Leveau was commissioned to design

¹⁸¹ Yasemin Gürel, “Seyfi Arkan: Bir Erken Modernist” in *Modernist Açılımda Bir Öncü Seyfi Arkan*, ed. Ali Cengizkan, A. Derin İnan and N. Müge Cengizkan (Mimarlar Odası Yayınları: Ankara, 2012), 40.

¹⁸² Afife Batur, “To Be Modern: Search For A Republican Architecture” Essay, in *Modern Turkish Architecture* 71-96, ed. Renata Holod, Ahmet Evin and Suha Özkan (Chamber of Architects: Ankara, 2005), 92.

the Park.¹⁸³ In the 30s, before the Youth Park was opened, there were no venues for activities other than the Güven Park and Kızılay Garden in Yenışehir, a few coffee shops, a couple of restaurants and a cinema. The opening of the Youth Park was the most important intervention that changed the daily life of the city dwellers.¹⁸⁴ The park was designed to accommodate a variety of entertainment, recreation and sports opportunities for everyone, from children to the elderly. It was opened in 1943. The park has undertaken the task of being an urban park that reflects the modern and attractive atmosphere of Ankara and at the same time represented the ideals of the republic.

Lastly, on the northeast side of the square, on one of the backstreets (Doğan Street), there is a historic tomb, a “türbe” that has had an importance for the citizens of Ankara. The Tomb of Karyağdı Hatun was built in 1577.¹⁸⁵ Culturally, the people of Ankara go to the tomb and make their prayers commemorating Karyağdı Hatun. Especially at weekends, going to tomb is one of the social activities of the people.

¹⁸³ Erman Tamur, *Suda Suretimiz çıkıyor: Ankara Dereleri üzerine Tarihi Ve güncel Bilgiler* (Ankara: Kebikeç, 2012), 105.

¹⁸⁴ Zeynep Uludağ, and Hilal Aycı. “Modernin Güçlü Sahnesi Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Ankara’ında Kolektif Belleğin İnşası Ve Toplumsal Unutma Süreci.” *Kent Araştırmaları Dergisi* 7, no. 20 (December 2016), 757

¹⁸⁵ Ayça Nur Kıp Akyol, “Karyağdı Hatun Türbesinden Operaya Bir Opera Etnografisi” (Phd. diss., Ankara Üniversitesi, 2016), 47.



Figure 4. 2. (Left Picture) The Tomb of Karyağdı Hatun (Source: <http://wowturkey.com/forum/viewtopic.php?t=6799&start=195>)

Figure 4. 3. (Right Picture) The entrance of the tomb. (Source: Ayça Nur Kip Akyol)



Figure 4. 4. Tomb of Karyağdı in 1923. (Source: VEKAM Digital Archive, <https://libdigitalcollections.ku.edu.tr/digital/search/searchterm/hergele>)

When examining the elements that define the square, each of them plays a crucial role in Ankara's nation-state building process and socio-cultural life of the city. From this point of view, this location has a critical importance in the construction of urban, architectural and collective memories of Ankara residents. From the first national

architecture movement to international style, there are various styles that have been applied to the buildings around Hergelen Square. These styles were adopted by the new and young Republic. The Youth Park and the Tomb of Karyağdı Hatun define Hergelen Square from recreational, cultural and social uses. There is a variety in the elements that define the square. All those above mentioned structures are in line with Republican ideology. Suggestions were made for the square to support this ideology, but none of them were fully implemented. This caused the square to have a disintegrated character. Nowadays, with the latest arrangement for the square, a new perspective has been added. The Melike Hatun Mosque design and square arrangement gave the square a completely new religious meaning. The next section covers the developments of the square from the past to the present.

4.2 Development of Hergelen Square

Before examining the development process of Hergelen Square in detail, the physical construction in Islamic cities and later in Turkish and Ottoman cities will be briefly mentioned.

The old Turkish cities present a tripartite structure consisting of *kale* (castle), *şehristan* (city) and *rabad* parts. The inner castle was surrounded by a strong wall with towers. The *şehristan* in which the castle is located is also limited by walls. In the *şehristan*, where the big neighborhoods are located, the houses are built close to each other. *Rabad* is the area where more commercial activities take place, outside *kale* and *şehristan*.¹⁸⁶

The concept of the “Islamic city” is defined as an urban image with external features such as a winding narrow street, a dead-end street, a house with a courtyard.¹⁸⁷ The

¹⁸⁶ Adalet Bayramoğlu Alada, *Osmanlı Şehrinde Mahalle* (İstanbul: Sümer Kitabevi, 2008), 31, 32.

¹⁸⁷ Stefan Yerasimos, “Tanzimat’ın Kent Reformları Üzerine,” Essay, In *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri*, 1-18. (İstanbul: Tarhi Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996), 10.

Islamic city presents a functionally triple spatial and institutional structure consisting of the large mosque located in the center, the bazaar and commercial units around it, service structures such as *kervansaray*, *han*, *hamam*, and separate neighborhoods. The mosque not only constitutes a focal point for the arrangement of the physical space of the city, but also has been evaluated as a social, political, intellectual and legal center in addition to its religious functions. The mosque is considered the main determinant in the establishment and integration of the community system.¹⁸⁸ In Islamic cities, it is also not clearly indicated that there was no large open areas. The mosque has an essential role of urban design. There is a city structure that grows and develops around the mosque which is located at the center. Stefan Yerasimos stated that there is no public spaces in the Islamic city and he continues: “In addition to private properties belonging to private individuals, the ruler and foundations, there are areas that are under the common ownership of neighbors or the whole community.”¹⁸⁹ This is also valid for Ottoman cities. As a result of the introverted Ottoman society and the political systems that dominate the society, there are no planned public open spaces like squares in the cities. The open areas were formed spontaneously around the masjid and fountain or in the markets.¹⁹⁰ The reforms, known as Tanzimat, which were initiated in the Ottoman Empire in the direction of westernizing the state and society since 1839, also concern the urban decisions.¹⁹¹ After Tanzimat reforms, In Ottoman cities, changes began in the name of westernization, especially in İstanbul. For example, “Government Square (Hükümet or Vilayet Meydanı) created under the effect of Tanzimat reforms was the governmental center since late 1890s, with a major spacious square in the city of 1924.”¹⁹²

¹⁸⁸ Alada, *Osmanlı Şehrinde Mahalle* (İstanbul: Sümer Kitabevi, 2008), 38.

¹⁸⁹ Yerasimos, , “Tanzimat’ın Kent Reformları Üzerine,” 10.

¹⁹⁰ Alpaslan Aliagaoglu, and Abdullah Uğur, . “Osmanlı Şehri.” *SDÜ Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 219.

¹⁹¹ Yerasimos, , “Tanzimat’ın Kent Reformları Üzerine,” 1.

¹⁹² Elif Mihçioğlu, “The Physical Evolution of The Historic City of Ankara Between 1839 and 1944: A Morphological Analysis” (PhD Thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2010), 61.

Ankara consisted of castle the city grew around the castle. At the periphery of the city, there are city walls. “The outer City Walls were constructed between 1604 and 1607.”¹⁹³ According to 1839 map, the City Walls define the borders of the city of Ankara clearly... Outside the City Walls, the surrounding areas were used as the open utility areas of the city.¹⁹⁴

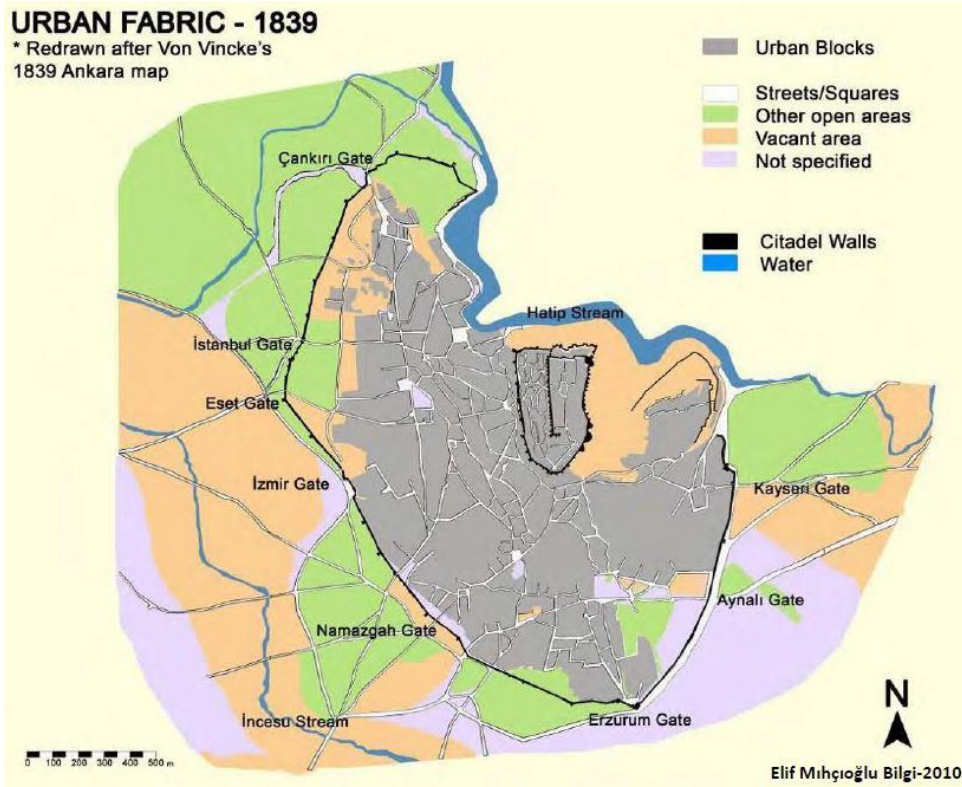


Figure 4. 5. 1839 Ankara Urban Fabric. The gates on the city walls. (Source: Elif Mihçioğlu, “The Physical Evolution of The Historic City of Ankara Between 1839 and 1944: A Morphological Analysis”, 39.)

Hergelen Square is located at the south-west side of the city walls and it was an area outside of the city center. There are many gates of city walls of Ankara. According to the maps prepared by Elif Mihçioğlu, the square is clearly located in front of İzmir

¹⁹³ Elif Mihçioğlu, “The Physical Evolution of The Historic City of Ankara Between 1839 and 1944: A Morphological Analysis”, 35.

¹⁹⁴ Mihçioğlu, 40.

Gate. As explained in the historical chapter of the thesis, Ankara was on the trade route. The fact that Hergelen Square is located in front of one of the city's gates shows that this square was a place where trade was made and caravans stopped.

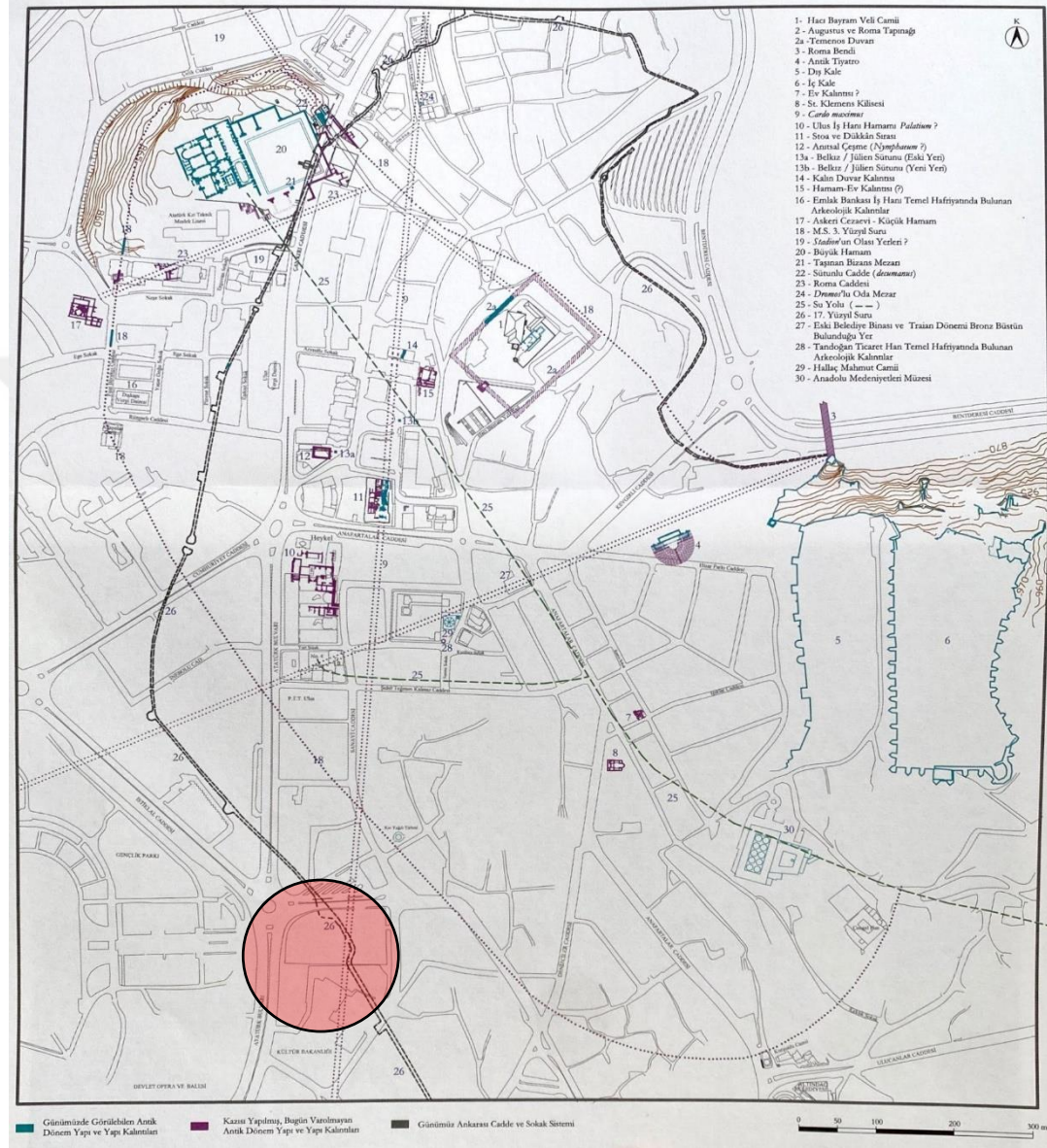


Figure 4. 6. Ankara Urban Fabric. Hergelen Square is on the outer city walls. (Source: Musa Kadioğlu, et. al., *Roma Döneminde Ankyra*, 2018.)

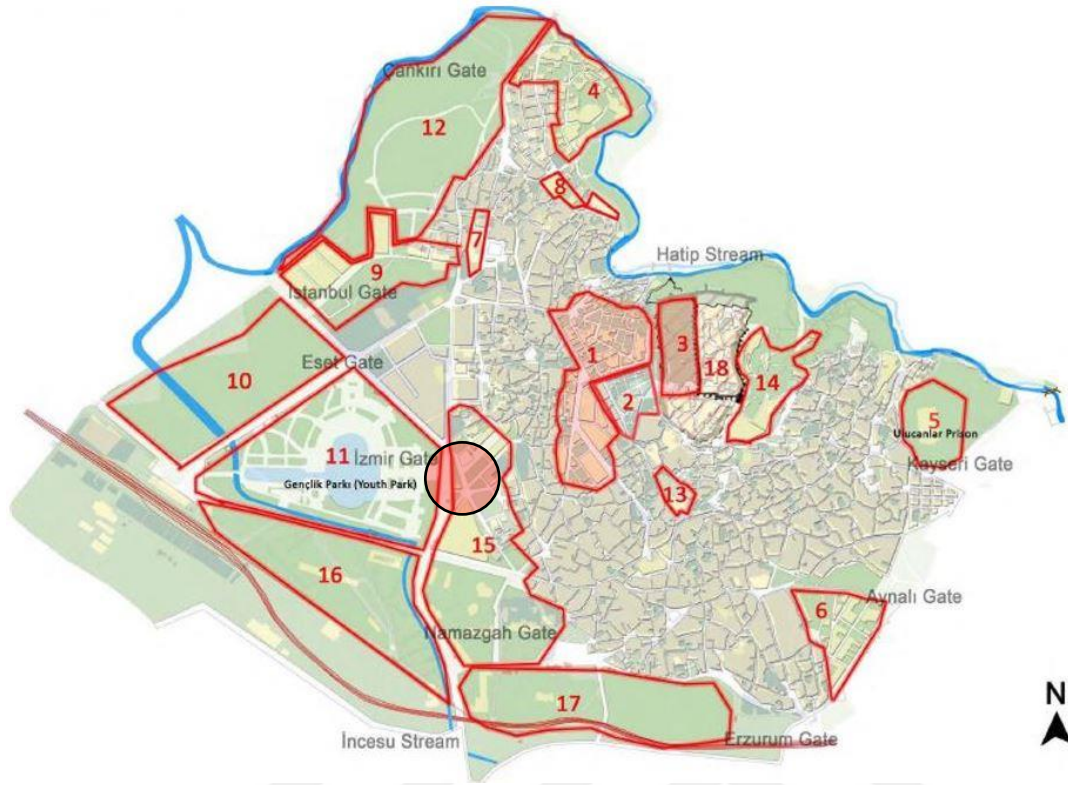


Figure 4. 7. This map shows that Hergelen Square is located in front of İzmir Gate. (Source: Elif Mihçioğlu, “The Physical Evolution of The Historic City of Ankara Between 1839 and 1944: A Morphological Analysis”, 115.)

The map in the Figure 4.7 shows the change of urban fabric character from 1924 to 1930s with respect to the transformation of urban blocks and open areas.¹⁹⁵ According to the analysis made by Elif Mihçioğlu, the 11th block indicated in the map was transformed into Youth Park. And according to the Figure 4.5 which indicates the gates of Ankara, Youth Park is located in front of İzmir Gate. Since Hergelen Square is next to the Youth Park, the square is also located in front of İzmir Gate.

¹⁹⁵ Elif Mihçioğlu, “The Physical Evolution of The Historic City of Ankara Between 1839 and 1944: A Morphological Analysis”, 113.

4.2.1 The Name of the Square

Squares, with their multi-layered living structure, are changing within the framework of the dynamics developing within the city. For this reason, squares are in constant contact with urban identity and urban memory. With the interventions in the squares, the identity and memory of the city is changing. One of these interventions is naming. “Naming the living environment with the language used by the society is important in terms of integration with the geographical space. With naming, places or objects have obtained identity.”¹⁹⁶ Hergelen Square has also experienced many interventions, developments and differentiation from the past to the present. As a result, it has undergone many name changes; *Hergele*, *Hergelen*, *İtfaiye*, *Opera*. Today, the square is known as Hergelen. Şeref Erdoğan describes the square as follows:

It is one of the oldest historical squares of Ankara. A very green plain stretching from one end to the other. We can call it the hippodrome of those years, surrounded by poplar trees... The characteristic of this plain is that the heirloom *cirit* game is played here... Those who went to the military would be sent off from this square again... People who had a stable in Ankara of those years used to feed cows. They would take the cows to this square to deliver them to the shepherd Kel Mevlüt. The shepherd would bring them back to this area after grazing them. The herd of horses and cows in Anatolia, especially in Ankara, is called *Hergele*. Over time, buildings were built. The space has shrunk. A mill was built, it didn't work. Ankara Fire Department (İtfaiye) settled in this building, it became the *İtfaiye* Square. Then the Opera House was built, it became the Opera Square.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁶ Alpaslan Alişaoğlu, and Alper Uzun, . “Şehinsel Toponimi (Hodonimi): Türkiye İçin Bir Tipoloji Denemesi.” *Coğrafi Bilimler Dergisi*, 2, 9 (2011), 124.

¹⁹⁷ Şeref Erdoğan, *Ankara'nın tarihi Semt Isimleri Ve öyküleri* (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 2002), 73, 74.

Nevzat Gözaydın states that the name Hergele has another meaning. “Hergele” means stray, dying old horse herds living on an empty plain watered by a stream running through the city. Later, the bus terminal was opened. Since people from other cities came there, its name started to be mentioned as Hergelen Square.¹⁹⁸ The word Hergelen means that everyone comes. Later, Ankara Fire Department found at Hergelen Square. A senior fire officer stated that he came to the Fire Department in Ankara in this square and worked there.¹⁹⁹ Then the square named as İtfaiye, as Şeref Erdoğan indicated.

Naming the squares creates a memory for people. There are ideologies found in space in a continuity. These ideologies take a place people's daily lives and in their memories by naming. To change these ideologies adopted by people can occur by changing the names of places. Lorenzo Mantovani explains the importance of place names as follows:

“The importance of place names lies in their ability to give an identity to a place and to define its borders. Place names are also mnemonic codes for local stories, activities and traditions. Thus they become important for two reasons: first, they can tell us something about physical elements of a landscape from centuries ago – thousands of years ago, in some cases. Second, they give us an idea of the perceptions and memories of the local communities, even when those physical elements are no longer present.”²⁰⁰

Elements that constitute the square are dynamic. People react differently to changing conditions. City development, political reasons, land use and population size give rise to different responses. As a matter of fact, the name change took place in Hergelen Square due to various changes. While it was a free place where animals roamed around, the name was wanted to be changed to *Opera* because the Opera

¹⁹⁸ Nevzat Gözaydın, “Başkent’Te Yer Adları Üzerine.” *Türk Dili* 68, no. 794 (February 2018), 24.

¹⁹⁹ Abdurrahman Kılıç, “Bir İtfaiye Duayeni Baki Akansel”, 2.

²⁰⁰ Lorenzo Mantovani, . “Philology and Toponymy. Commons, Place Names and Collective Memories in the Rural Landscape of Emilia.” *Philology* 2 (2016), 242.

House was built around it. This is an ideological attempt. However, today people of Ankara prefer to use Hergelen for the name of this square. As Mantovani suggested above, even though the elements of herd or animals are no longer existed in the square, people use *Hergelen* because in their collective memories, this area is identified with the variety of activities that took place at that time. In the process, a mismatch occurred between the toponymy and the collective memory.

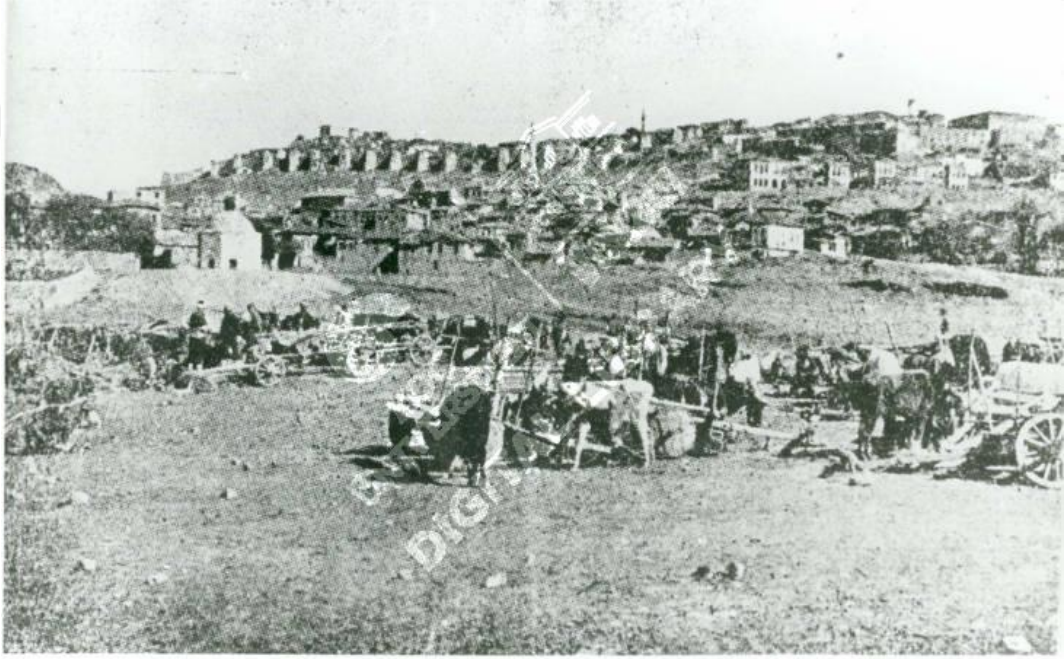


Figure 4. 8. In Hergele square, there are the market place, villagers and tumbrels, Karyağdı Tomb, Hacıdoğan and Yeğenbey neighborhoods and Ankara Castle behind, 1923 (Source: VEKAM Digital Archive, <https://libdigitalcollections.ku.edu.tr/digital/search/searchterm/hergele>)

4.2.2 Transformation of the Square in the Early Republican Period

Hergelen Square is located on one of the two important axes connecting the Station and the Castle in Jansen plan, which is Atatürk Boulevard. It is a plain where cattle were gathered and caravans lodged at the beginning of the 20th century. The square, which has existed naturally for a long time, was redesigned as a theatre square within

the framework of Lörcher's plan. The area of Hergelen Square is defined on the main axis extending between the Exhibition House, the eastern entrance of the Youth Park and the Gazi High School building of Ernst Egli.²⁰¹ The design of the square marked by buildings reflecting the national architecture of the early Republican ideology. The aim of the Hergelen Square design was to represent these architectural achievements. Later, this fundamental principle could not be continued for the square and many disconnected structural changes occurred in the square. This process eroded the semantic content of the square and interrupted the memory it carried.

As mentioned before, spatially, the first differentiation in the area was the hotels built for the accommodation of the passengers coming to the city. In the first years of the Republic, there was a mill in the square and wheat were brought by camels and were ground by the mill.²⁰² In 1926, a flour factory belonging to Ankara Municipality serves in Hergele Square.²⁰³ The first proposal in the framework of a plan for the square was brought by Lörcher. Ali Cengizkan explains Lörcher's design about the square as follows:

“Hergele(n) Square and the Karyağdı Tomb around it was an empty space in the early years of the Republic where the sarcophagus and Ankara (Hittite) lions, which have been moved to the museum today, stand. Lörcher Plan determined the visual axis of Gazi and Latife primary schools and Kale. And regarding the arrangement of the square, he suggested a series of inner squares in the direction of the Station square, looking from the main entrance of today's Youth Park. Thus, Lörcher laid the foundations for the development of this point in the form of Opera Square in the Jansen Plan with the proposal of Theater Square. However, the Theater, whose urban stain was

²⁰¹ Mustafa Sevinç, “Bir Hafıza Mekanı Olarak Kent Meydanı Ve Dönüşümü: Otto Herbert Hajek'in Ankara Hergelen Meydan Projesi Örneği.” *Akdeniz Sanat Dergisi* 13, no. 24 (July 19, 2019), 56.

²⁰² Çiğdem Belgin Tipi, 101.

²⁰³ Bekir Koç, and Mehmet Murat Baskıcı. *Bozkırdan Sanayinin başkentine: Ankara Sanayi Tarihi* (Ankara: Ankara Sanayi Odası, 2013), 60.

determined in the Jansen Plan, was dissolved as a cramped texture in the direction of the Castle, and after the decision and implementation of the Exhibiton House to be converted into Theater and Opera in 1946, it remained an empty space.”²⁰⁴

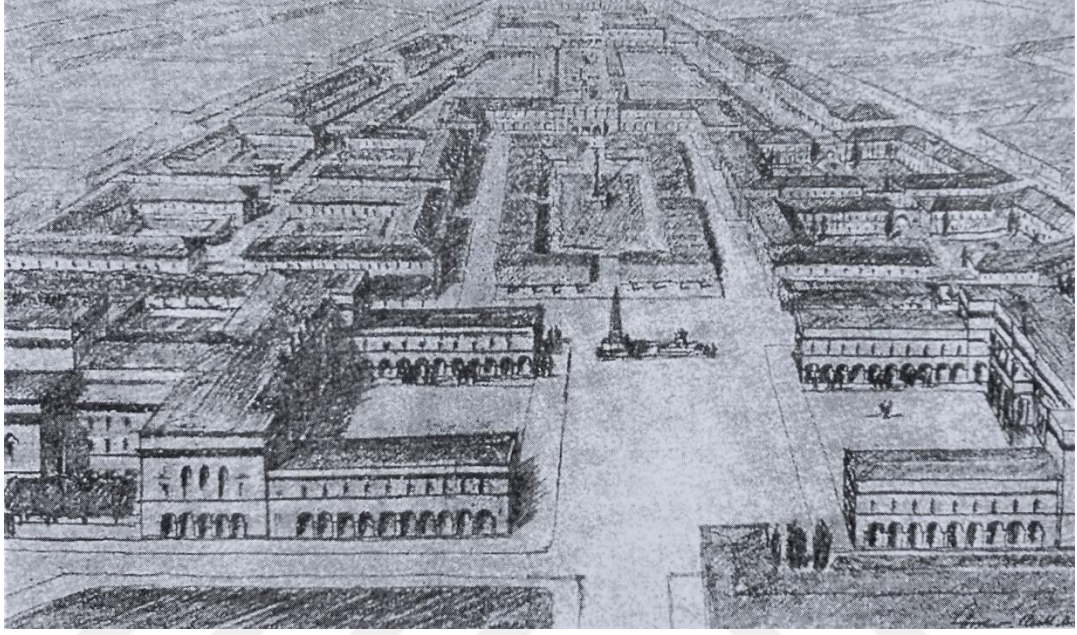


Figure 4. 9. A bird's eye view of the Station between the Theater Square and the school and playgrounds in front. Hand sketch by Lörcher in 1924. (Source, Ali Cengizkan, *Ankara'nın İlk Planı 1924-25 Lörcher Planı*, (Ankara: Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı, 2004), 65.)

As Cengizkan posited, Hergelen Square, which was separated as the Theater Square in Lörcher, was considered as the Opera House in the Jansen Plan. However, the Opera House could not be implemented on the proposed area.²⁰⁵ If the Opera House would have been constructed in Hergelen Square, the square would have a definition in accordance with the new image of the capital. Since this did not happen, the square

²⁰⁴ Ali Cengizkan, *Ankara'nın İlk Planı 1924-25 Lörcher Planı*, (Ankara: Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı, 2004), 64.

²⁰⁵ Raci Bademli, “Hergelen Meydanı.” Essay. In *Ankara söyleşileri: Kasım-Aralık 1993*, edited by Çimen Bayar, 7–11 (Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi, 1993), 8.

remained idle. Then the project of Youth Park stressed Hergelen Square. The pedestrian axis between the central station of the city and Hergelen Square was strengthened by the Youth Park and the water element in it. The Square became a center of attraction as the Youth Park was completed in 1943 and joined the life of the city and thus started to guide people.²⁰⁶ As a result, the activity of the square began to increase and its function began to change.

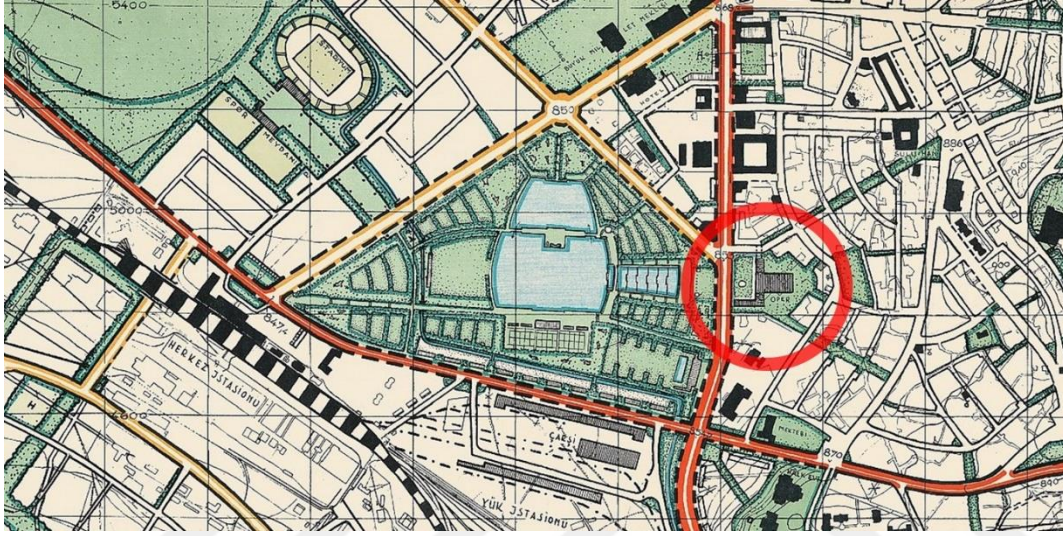


Figure 4. 10. Hergelen Square in Ankara Development Plan 1:4000. Inv. No. 22642. 1932. (Source: Technical University Berlin Architecture museum. <https://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?p=79&POS=41.>)

In 1940s, Municipal Workers' House and Venereal Diseases Hospital located in the south of the square add a definition to the square. The intercity bus terminal was located in the area during the 1940-1950 period. In the same period, a fire department established behind Emlak Bankası. The mill was demolished and instead there was a public house for workers of fire department built. After World War II, in the north of the square, small and makeshift barracks with wooden carriers, covered with wood, tin or zinc, are formed. These haphazard barracks or shops will later turn into

²⁰⁶ Çiğdem Belgin Tipi “Hergelen Meydanı Çevre Düzenleme ve Korumasına İlişkin Öneriler” (M.Sc. diss., Gazi Üniversitesi, 1996), 100.

a Flea market. The 1960s constitute the most active period of Hergelen Square. Various commercial relations continued, people gathered and dispersed throughout the day and there was an intense pedestrian circulation.²⁰⁷

Due to its proximity to Ulus city center, including some units belonging to the municipality, having a bus terminal and strong connection established between the station and the square, it has been a place frequented by people. Thus, it has gained activity and intensity with the functions it contains. After the 1970s, the area gradually lost its importance with the shift of the central business district towards Kızılay and its density decreased. The area to the north of İller Bank started to be used as a parking lot. With this shift, Hergelen Meydanı completely lost its square characteristics. All these arrangements made the square gain a detached and interrupted feature.

In 1986, a project competition for Ulus Historical Centre was organized and the competition winners Raci Bademli and his team's proposal for the site included a public square and a statue to be built in front of Egli's Gazi high school.²⁰⁸ In this project, a series of projects have been designed for enhancing the historical identity of the city, such as urban conservation, rehabilitation and renovation in the Ulus district of Ankara. Raci Bademli, who became the Head of the Planning Department of the Metropolitan Municipality, outlined the project as follows:

“Two main pedestrian systems have been proposed in the context of the urban design approach adopted in Ulus planning. The first system roughly consists of the axis from the station building to Ulus, Hükümet and Hacıbayram squares and then to Ankara Castle. The second system, on the other hand, starts from the station building and follows the Youth Park axis and comes to the rectangular Hergelen Square proposed between Gazi High School and

²⁰⁷ Çiğdem Belgin Tipi, 102.

²⁰⁸ Ece Kumkale Açıkgöz, . “Keeping the Pulse of Heritage Awareness in Ankara: Two Historic Sites, Two Interventions.” *Journal of Contemporary Urban Affairs* 3, no. 2 (2019), 67.

Atatürk Boulevard. Later, it leaves the square and reaches Kale via Samanpazarı.”²⁰⁹

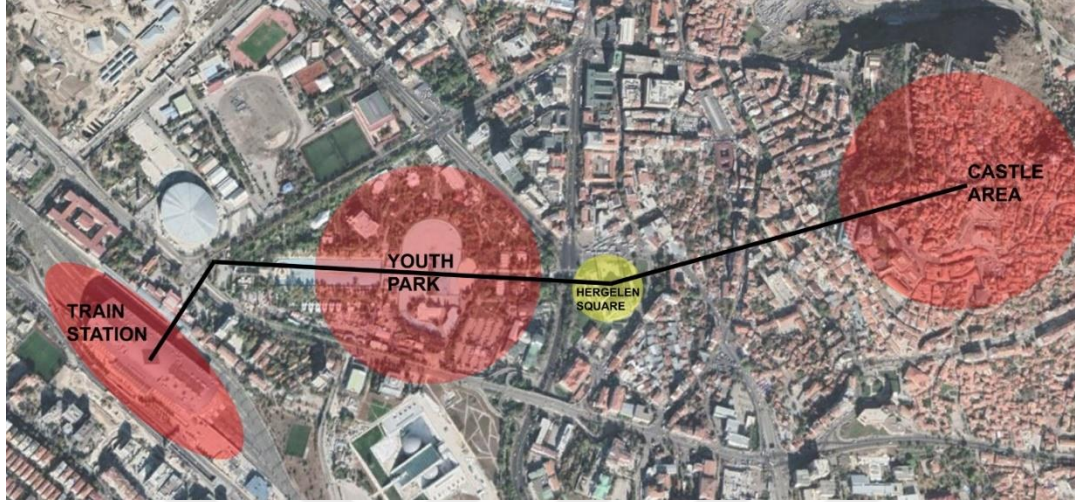


Figure 4.11. The second pedestrian system that Raci Bademli proposed. (Source: Google Maps, Edited by author.)

One of the important contributions of the plan was the sculpture to be built in front of Gazi High School. There were two squares, one fully open, one covered with trees, and a triangular area again was to be afforested as envisioned for the area in front of Gazi High School. The SANART Organization, the German Cultural Association and the German Embassy applied to the Metropolitan Municipality for the internationally renowned artist Otto Herbert Hajek to commission a sculpture for Ankara, thinking that it would be a cultural gain for the city.²¹⁰ For that purpose, the square in front the high school was allocated for Otto Herbert Hajek’s sculpture. In the other square and triangular area, there were trees for landscaping. The Hergelen Meydan project of Hajek could not be fully completed with applications contrary to the "Ulus Historical City Plan" project. In addition, sculpture has become useless due to neglect. The sculpture of Otto Herbert Hajek will be examined in another

²⁰⁹ Raci Bademli, “Hergelen Meydanı.” Essay. In *Ankara söyleşileri: Kasım-Aralık 1993*, edited by Çimen Bayar, 7–11 (Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi, 1993), 8.

²¹⁰ Raci Bademli, 10, 11.

section of the chapter because at that time, specific significance was attributed to the sculpture for the square. Ece Kumkale Açıkgöz interpreted that Hajek's sculpture was not suitable for this particular area with following words; "The Square was used as car park for decades while the sculpture neighbored an informal market where the second hand goods were sold. This is why Hajek's sculpture could not be a part of an urban integrity."²¹¹ However, still there was an attempt for a cultural integration with the sculpture. According to Raci Bademli, as pointed above, the axis along the train station, the Youth Park, Hergelen Square, Hajek's Sculpture, Gazi High School and Ankara castle was a strong visual attention. In that manner, the attempt of cultural integration via sculpture had an immense role.

Some other decisions taken for the area in Ulus Historical City Plan are as follows:

- Removal of the bus parking area and stops in the north of Hergelen Square,
- Conversion of Gazi High School in the east of the square into Gazi Cultural Facility,
- In order to define the square and to make it functional, a part of the area in the north and south of the square is reserved as "Municipal Rent Facilities" and "Hotel Place" for cultural and tourism purposes, respectively, and the area below these uses as "City Bazaar" and "Parking lot".
- Expropriation of private parcels in the west of Gazi High School and demolition of the buildings in the parcels.²¹²

Among these decisions, only the parcels in front of Gazi High School were expropriated and the buildings in these parcels were demolished. Other decisions could not be implemented. Then the empty parcels were allocated for Hajek's sculpture, as stated before.

²¹¹ Ece Kumkale Açıkgöz, 67.

²¹² Çiğdem Belgin Tipi, 102.



Figure 4.12. Aerial View of Hergelen Square and Hajek's Project on the west side of Gazi High School. The large amount of the square was used as parking lot. (Source: Çiğdem Belgin Tipi, "Hergelen Meydanı Çevre Düzenleme ve Korumasına İlişkin Öneriler, 204.)

The expropriated parcels consisted of convex and single row parcels towards Gazi High School. As reported by Raci Bademli:

"We have come to the opinion that these parcels, which have survived to the present day with a few four-storey buildings built in the 1940-60 period, is not a piece of tissue that is worth giving data to the design of Hergelen Square. We decided that it would be a more consistent approach to reveal the registered Gazi High School building by eliminating this building block."²¹³

²¹³ Raci Bademli, 8.

However, according to the explanation report of Ulus Historical City Center Conservation and Development Plan by architects Kamutay Türkoğlu and Ahmet Uzel in March 1990, the Uğrak Hotel in these parcels was registered as a relic that should be preserved. It was built in 1928. The other two buildings added to this building adjacent to both side facades are dated 1936 and 1948. Although these two buildings are not registered, they bear the original lines of their period.²¹⁴ Raci Bademli and his team proposed to make the Uğrak Hotel's reliefs and use the façade features in one of the new buildings around the square.²¹⁵ Thus, the demolition of the building was thought to be acceptable. After the expropriation process, these buildings were demolished. The area obtained by demolishing the Uğrak Hotel and its adjacent buildings was allocated to Otto Herbert Hajek for his sculpture. Yet, the façade features of the demolished building were not used in any of the newly constructed buildings. "Ulus Historical City Center Conservation and Reconstruction Plan" approved by Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Council in 1990 was canceled on January 14, 2005.²¹⁶ Apart from the area where the sculpture was made, the square continued to be used as a parking lot.

²¹⁴ Kamutay Türkoğlu, and Ahmet Uzel *Ulus Tarihi Kent Merkezi İmar Planı Açıklama Raporu*, 5.

²¹⁵ Bademli, 11.

²¹⁶ "Mekan: Ulus Ankara'da Yitmekte Olan Kültür Ve Tabiat Varlıkları: Mekan, İnsan Ve Kentin Tarihi." Şehir Plancıları Odası Ankara Şubesi (2019), 7.



Figure 4.13. Some details of Uğrak Hotel. (Source: Çiğdem Belgin Tipi, “Hergelen Meydanı Çevre Düzenleme ve Korumasına İlişkin Öneriler, 215.)



Figure 4.14. Uğrak Hotel and adjacent buildings before the demolition (Source: Çiğdem Belgin Tipi, “Hergelen Meydanı Çevre Düzenleme ve Korumasına İlişkin Öneriler, 185.)

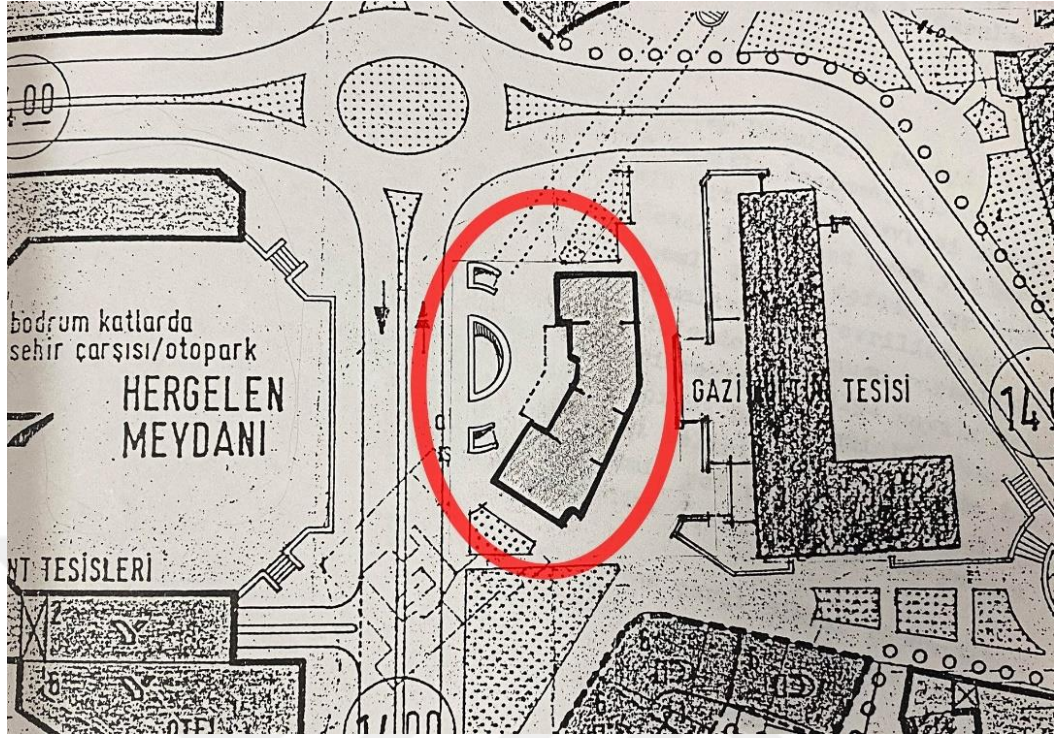


Figure 4.15. Uğrak Hotel and adjacent buildings from the conservation plan proposal. (Source: Kamutay Türkoğlu, and Ahmet Uzel *Ulus Tarihi Kent Merkezi İmar Planı Açıklama Raporu*, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Zoning Archive)

Ankara Metropolitan Municipality declared Ankara Historical City Center, which includes Ulus, as "Ankara Historical City Center Renovation Area" on 15 July 2005. After the Renewal Area decision, the Metropolitan Municipality agreed with Hassa Mimarlık for the preparation of renovation projects and conservation plans. According to the plan prepared by Hassa Architecture Firm, for the area defined as Hergelen Square, an underground parking lot and square decision was made. Although the plan was severely criticized, this decision was welcomed positively.²¹⁷ However, overall the Hassa Plan was canceled in 2008 as a result of the lawsuit filed

²¹⁷ Mehmet Tunçer, "Ankara Tarihi Kent Merkezi Yenileme Alanı Koruma Planı, Niteliği Ve İptaline İlişkin Gerekçeler." *Ankara Araştırmaları Dergisi* 1, no. 2 (December 2013), 21.

by the Chamber of City Planners due to its non-compliance with the conservation principles.

Ulus transition period protection principles and terms of use, which were determined later, remained in effect between 2008-2014. Practices against the principles of conservation were made through fragmentary projects. After the Hassa plan was canceled in 2008, the "Ulus Historical City Center Conservation Master Plan" prepared by Makbule İlçan & UTTA Planning was approved on 14 October 2014. However, this plan was also canceled in 2016 as a result of the lawsuits filed. Since the cancellation of the UTTA plan in 2016, many unlawful practices have been carried out in Ulus and its surroundings based on the Transition Period Protection Principles and Terms of Use. Renovation works continued in areas such as Kale and Samanpazarı, especially in the Hacıbayram area, and an important modern heritage examples such as İller Bank was destroyed.²¹⁸



Figure 4.16. The construction of Melike Hatun Mosque and İller Bankası building next to it before its demolishment. (Source: <http://www.mimdap.org/?p=194061>)

²¹⁸ "Mekan: Ulus Ankara'da Yitmekte Olan Kültür Ve Tabiat Varlıkları: Mekan, İnsan Ve Kentin Tarihi." Şehir Plancıları Odası Ankara Şubesi (2019), 8, 9.

In the turmoil of these plans and litigation processes, Melike Hatun Mosque construction began. It was frequently stated by the public that registered structures such as İller Bank and Law School were under threat due to the mosque construction initiated.²¹⁹ According to the situation report prepared by The Chamber of Architects, İller Bankası building was registered in 1980. It was restored in 2005. The new square and the mosque project began to be implemented in 2013. In 2014, the decision of register on İller Bankası building was removed in order to allow its demolition. In 2016, the building was emptied and left uncared. On the 16th of June, 2017, the building was completely demolished.²²⁰

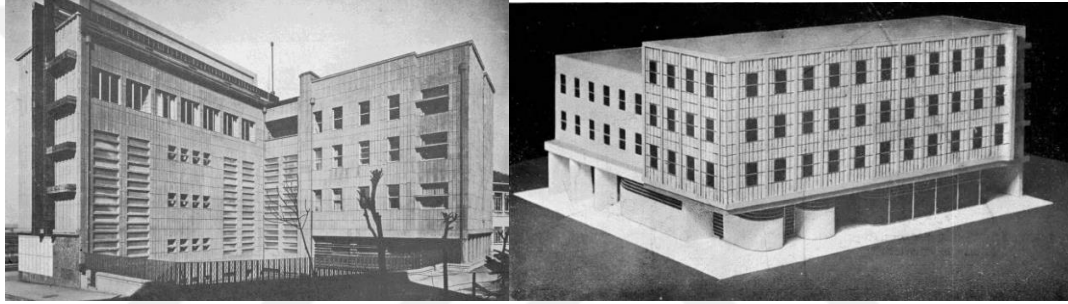


Figure 4.17. Back facade of İller Bankası. (Source: <http://www.mimarlarodasiankara.org/download/IllerBankasiDurumRaporu.pdf>)

Figure 4. 18. Axonometric view of İller Bankası. (Source: <http://kot0.com/seyfi-arkanin-iller-bankasi-yikilmak-isteniyor/>)

The architect of İller Bankası building Seyfi Arkan (Seyfettin Nasih) was one of the leading architects during the Early Republican period and was a key actor in the modernization movement. He was also called as Atatürk's architect. Seyfi Arkan "pointed out how he was striving to achieve the goals of the Republican revolution through the use of science and technology, a widespread attitude in architectural

²¹⁹ Müge Cengizkan, "Moderne Yönelik Yeni Bir Yıkım Tehdidi Daha: Seyfi Arkan'ın İller Bankası Binası." *mimarlikdergisi*, 2015.

²²⁰ TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi, "Tescilli Kültür Varlığı Olarak İller Bankası Durum Raporu" June, 2017.

circles at the time.”²²¹ His mission also indicates that he was truly a modernist architect at his time.

The building had an extensive place for Turkish architects among the structures built in the Early Republic period. According to Yasemin Gürel, İller Bankası building was ultimately modest and moderate in modern approach.²²² Opera Building which was proposed in Jansen plan was across the Youth Park and next to İller Bankası building. In order not to shadow the importance of the Opera House, Seyfi Arkan deliberately chose to use simple language in his design. The building, which uniquely combined the simplicity of expression and design, was an instructive example of Arkan's modernist approach. In the interview with Muharrem Hilmi Şenalp, the architect of the mosque, he stated that İller Bankası should have been protected. And he continued: “According to the understanding of that period, it had a proper design with the use of materials and architectural understanding. That's why it had to be protected. I also said that it should be conserved. The Board [of Conservation of Cultural Assets] decided to demolish it and to build the same building to another corner of the same land. However, they did not.”²²³ This specially designed structure belonging to İller Bankası (the Bank of Municipalities), which played an important role in the technical development of the provinces of Turkey, was demolished as a result of an unfortunate decision. The area partly obtained of İller Bankası was used for the mosque construction and square arrangement. Today, there is only Melike Hatun Mosque on the square and there are a car park, a shopping center and exhibition areas under the square.

²²¹ Yıldız Sey, “To House The New Citizens: Housing Policies and Mass Housing” in *Modern Turkish Architecture*, ed. Renata Holod, Ahmet Evin and Suha Özkan (Chamber of Architects: Ankara, 2005), 165.

²²² Yasemin Gürel, “Seyfi Arkan: Bir Erken Modernist” in *Modernist Açılımda Bir Öncü Seyfi Arkan*, ed. Ali Cengizkan, A. Derin İnan and N. Müge Cengizkan (Mimarlar Odası Yayınları: Ankara, 2012), 40.

²²³ Muharrem Hilmi Şenalp, Interview by the author. Personal interview, İstanbul, June 10, 2021.



Figure 4.19. The demolition of İller Bankası (Source: <http://www.mimarlarodasiankara.org/download/IllerBankasiDurumRaporu.pdf>)

4.2.3 Socio-cultural Use of Hergelen Square

Hergelen Square's function and density has changed many times from the beginning of the 20th century until today. Taking into account its location in the city, it is clear how important the square is for the city and its inhabitants to bring it to the city by reorganizing it. While it was an area where cattle roamed, it became the critical point of one of the two important axes of the planned city. "Hergelen Square had always contributed to cultural accumulation; it had always been more than a mere open space, it came to being as a social institution rooted back in ancient times. Accordingly, Hergelen Square was a significant gathering place where important celebrations, meetings and rituals took stage."²²⁴ For a while, it was one of Ankara's first haunts. The first stop of those who migrated to Ankara from neighboring

²²⁴ Emre Demirel, "The Haptic and Visual Considerations of Public Spaces: Otto Herbert Hajek's Proposal for Hergelen Square in Ankara." *Online Journal of Art and Design* 7, no. 1 (January 2019), 207.

provinces to work was Hergele Square. Buses to provinces such as Konya, Kırşehir, Kayseri and Afyon would also depart from the square. There was an interesting solidarity between the bus drivers and the owners of the hotels in the square. Hotel owners provided passengers for buses and drivers provided customers for the hotels.²²⁵



Figure 4.20. “A look toward the North at Ankara’s main North-south axis. The main Ankara branch office of the Ottoman Bank occupies the triangular lot. To its right is the multiuse apartment building designed by Mimar Kemaleddin.”²²⁶ Hergelen Square is located on the right side of the boulevard. There are people gathering in and around the square. (Source: Zeynep Kezer. *Building Modern Turkey: State, Space, and Ideology in the Early Republic*, 32.)

Hüseyin Nihad Erer, who worked as a tax office manager in Ankara for a period, used the following statements in his monologue poetry book of *Hergele Meydanı*: “The fellow countryman with his hands in his trouser pockets is always here.”²²⁷ Here he meant Hergelen Square with his word “here”. In the following, he stated as

²²⁵ Suavi Aydın, et al., *Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü: Ankara* (Ankara: Dost Kitabevi, 2005), 531.

²²⁶ Zeynep Kezer. *Building Modern Turkey: State, Space, and Ideology in the Early Republic*. Culture Politics & the Built Environment. Pittsburgh (Pa: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015), 32.

²²⁷ Hüseyin Nihad Erer, *Hergele Meydanı* (Ankara: Güven matbaası, 1962), 8.

follows: “Tonight the black train brought the party members to the Hergele Square ... Party members from the four corners of the country to the big congress. I don't know which political party is.”²²⁸ It is understood from here that there is an easily accessible link between the train station and Hergelen Square. If this connection is understood even in 1962, when the book was written, Hergelen Square, located on the axis of the Station – Castle, emphasized by Raci Bademli, is even more critical. It is understood from Erer's book that there is an active circulation of people in the square in general. Although the author complains that the square is neglected and muddy, the square is in the daily lives of the city dwellers.

Since the planned arrangements for the square were not realized, the square, which was used as a parking lot, lost its pedestrian crossing point feature mentioned above. With the sculpture designed and made in the area allocated to Otto Herbert Hajek by Raci Bademli and his team, it was aimed to revive the square from a sociocultural perspective.

4.2.3.1 Otto Herbert Hajek’s Sculpture in Hergelen Square

Previously stated that a part of the area that emerged with the demolition of the buildings in front of Gazi High School was allocated to Otto Hajek. The main aim of Raci Bademli and his team about the demolishment of buildings was to expose the architecture of Gazi High School designed by Ernst A. Egli. Bademli states that if the sculpture was done successfully, Egli's work would be revealed, and another German would have made a sculpture right in front of it after a break of 50-60 years.²²⁹ And the critical axis between train station and castle along with Hergelen Square would be much more distinct.

²²⁸ Hüseyin Nihad Erer, 36.

²²⁹ Raci Bademli, “Hergelen Meydanı.” Essay. In *Ankara söyleşileri: Kasım-Aralık 1993*, edited by Çimen Bayar, 7–11 (Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi, 1993), 11.

Otto Herbert Hajek was an artist who was known with his abstract paintings and sculptures. His works mainly based on geometrical combinations of heavy materials with primary colour details.²³⁰ He designed over 40 architectural spaces in various cities including Frankfurt, Wiesbaden, Stuttgart, Munich, Bonn, Heidelberg, Mainz and Ankara. The issue of the freedom of art and the independence of the artist from politics constitute a crucial part of Hajek's work.²³¹ Hajek's works interpret the dialogue of art with society through the urban environment by integrating sculpture and architecture. Artist; "My workshop is where I work. My travel destination within my workshop can be a street, a square, a neighborhood. It is such a workshop that it is a workshop of works and being influenced" and expresses the importance of the environmental in his works. Hajek explains the nature of art, emphasizing the dialectic of artistic and social space, in a triple development chain that is "nature-nature", "art-nature" and "social-nature".²³² The artist, who sees colors as a style that determines movement and direction in his works in public spaces, aims to increase the spatial effect with the colors that characterize him frequently (blue, red, yellow, sometimes white and gray, silver and gold, orange and earth yellow). And with this increasing effect, he aims to establish relationships with the people who live in that space. The determination of his works, which create an alarm effect in the urban centers that have lost their identity, creates and activates a political force in the society. In this sense, Hajek's works undertake public duties in urban living spaces.²³³ Spatial and urban symbols of his works enable individuals to participate in aesthetic experience in everyday life. With this aesthetic experience, the individual redefines the surrounding environment with a creative process.

Hajek planned to realize the above-mentioned purposes in his sculpture, which he designed in Ankara. He also aimed to include the society in the artistic process in the

²³⁰ "Otto Herbert Hajek." Santa & Cole, November 30, 2020.

²³¹ Sevna Aygün, "Otto Herbert Hajek Hergelen Meydanı Çevre Düzenlemesi Ulus", 80.

²³² Mustafa Sevinç, "Bir Hafıza Mekanı Olarak Kent Meydanı Ve Dönüşümü: Otto Herbert Hajek'in Ankara Hergelen Meydan Projesi Örneği.", 57.

²³³ Sevna Aygün, "Otto Herbert Hajek Hergelen Meydanı Çevre Düzenlemesi Ulus", 81.

space it was designed for. Prof. Hajek perceives the Gazi High School, which is behind the square in his project, as a wall. It aims to draw the castle seen from afar to the center of the city.²³⁴ In the square, Hajek sees orientation in the composition of cones and cylinders; basic forms express freedom and color. Water and light games also bring movement to the new formation. Vivid colors are also reflective colors. In the daytime, the sun and clouds will be reflected in colors. Thus, daily life will be seen in colors. The signs in the square target the school both with their colors and sizes. For this reason, the school's color is changed to yellow.²³⁵ Bayar Çimen commented on the sculpture with following words:

While the Gazi High School to be painted emphasizes joy, liveliness and life with its yellow color, the castle and Ankara stone that remain in the distance will descend down into the green. Yellow color is more durable than other basic colors and will bring a permanent new definition to the city. Hajek wanted to add the sun and the yellow color to the space-light-shadow relations that are desired to be achieved in the square. The yellow color would once again shine under the influence of the sun and emphasize “the vitality of orientalism.” And thus, a new step would be taken for the improvement of Ankara. The school entrance was highlighted by a column painted in red. Hergelen Square and Hajek Sculpture would be the sign of the city of Ankara in the future. The trees that filled the square and triangle areas on both sides of Hergelen Square reflected the nature / nature relationship; Prof. Hajek's colorful sculpture expresses artistic nature.²³⁶

²³⁴ Bayar Çimen, “Hajek Meydanı.” Essay. In Ankara söyleşileri: Kasım-Aralık 1993, edited by Çimen Bayar, 12 (Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi, 1993), 12.

²³⁵ Bayar Çimen, “Ankara'nın Yeni Meydanları.” *Mimarlık* no. 250, 1992, 13.

²³⁶ Bayar Çimen, “Kentsel ve Mimari Mekanda Sanat Hergelen Meydanı Otto Herbert Hajek.” *Mimarlık* no. 256, 1994, 65.

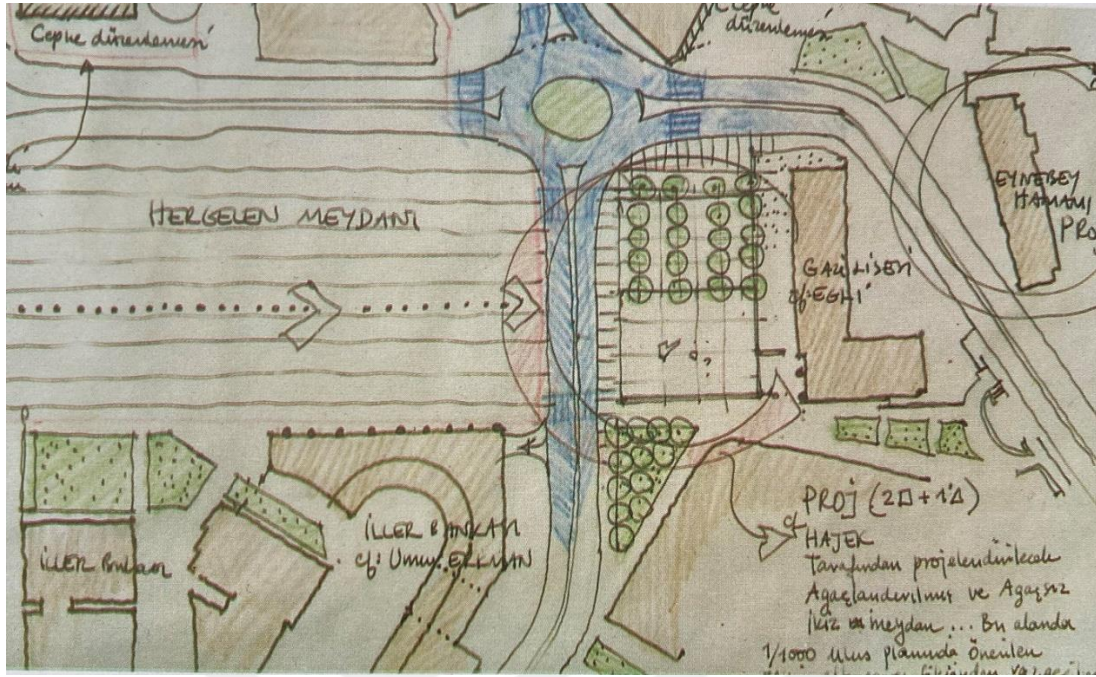


Figure 4.21. Sketch of the area allocated to Otto Hajek for his sculpture. (Source: Raci Bademli, “Hergelen Meydanı.” Essay. In *Ankara söyleşileri: Kasım-Aralık 1993*, 9.)

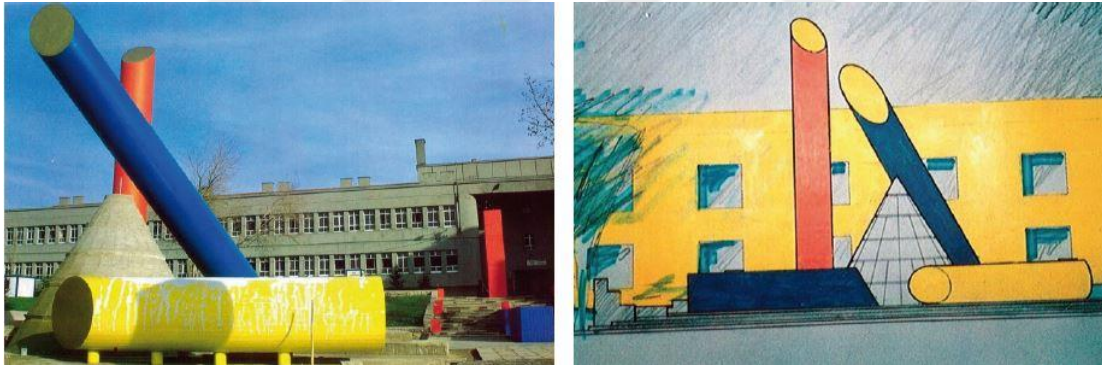


Figure 4.22. Hajek’s sketch of the sculpture. His design of yellow wall as a background for sculpture (Source: Mustafa Sevinç, 57.)

As explained above, each element of Hajek’s sculpture reflected a specific thought and attribution according to the area’s location and meaning. He did not want to stick to the implicit meaning of traditional monumental logic, which was the direct expression of certain events and histories. Instead, he supported the re-understanding and interpretation of history and the environment by individual consciousness. The

elements of the sculpture did not point directly to anything. As Mustafa Sevinç stated:

“By creating a contrasting relationship within the space, they problematize their presence there for those who look at them. Undoubtedly, this process points to a memory model captured by the conscious activity of individuals, vitality and experience, as opposed to the direct object-related structure of memory.”²³⁷

Emre Demirel explains Hajek's interpretation of the square through the concept of hapticity;

“Hajek’s way of engaging with the square suggests hapticity as an alternative approach to the one neglecting the human being's emotional and social involvement with the city. Hapticity is related to bodily movement: it renders squares and public spaces as an experiential reality which prioritizes bodily contact with the environment; it acts like a stage for rituals, bodily actions and performances, which make the site open to further bodily and social dialects.”²³⁸

The role of the sculpture was not just to contribute a physical unit in the area. One of the purposes of that art piece was to rehabilitate the square from its problematic atmosphere. The approach of hapticity is much suitable for the case of the sculpture. Hajek aimed to constitute a spatial relation between people and the sculpture. This relation could exist in consequence of experiences of society. This experiential qualities of the area aimed to create social interactions. This type of communication was to bring a new identity to the square. However, as stated in previous section, because of the unsuitable surrounding of the sculpture and the continuation of use of

²³⁷ Mustafa Sevinç, 59.

²³⁸ Emre Demirel, . “The Haptic and Visual Considerations of Public Spaces: Otto Herbert Hajek’s Proposal for Hergelen Square in Ankara .” *Online Journal of Art and Design* 7, no. 1 (January 2019), 203.

parking lot, Hajek's sculpture could not be part of an urban integrity. It had to be preserved for its ideas and purposes in the design process. But it was demolished during the construction process of Melike Hatun Mosque. Architect Muharrem Hilmi Şenalp, the designer of the square and the mosque, pointed out that they did not touch the Hajek sculpture in their design. He also conveyed that the sculpture could coexist with the mosque.²³⁹ During the interview with Hilmi Şenalp, the office prepared the renders of the mosque and the square arrangement. According to those renders, Hajek sculpture was there. The demolition decision did not belong to Hassa Architecture.

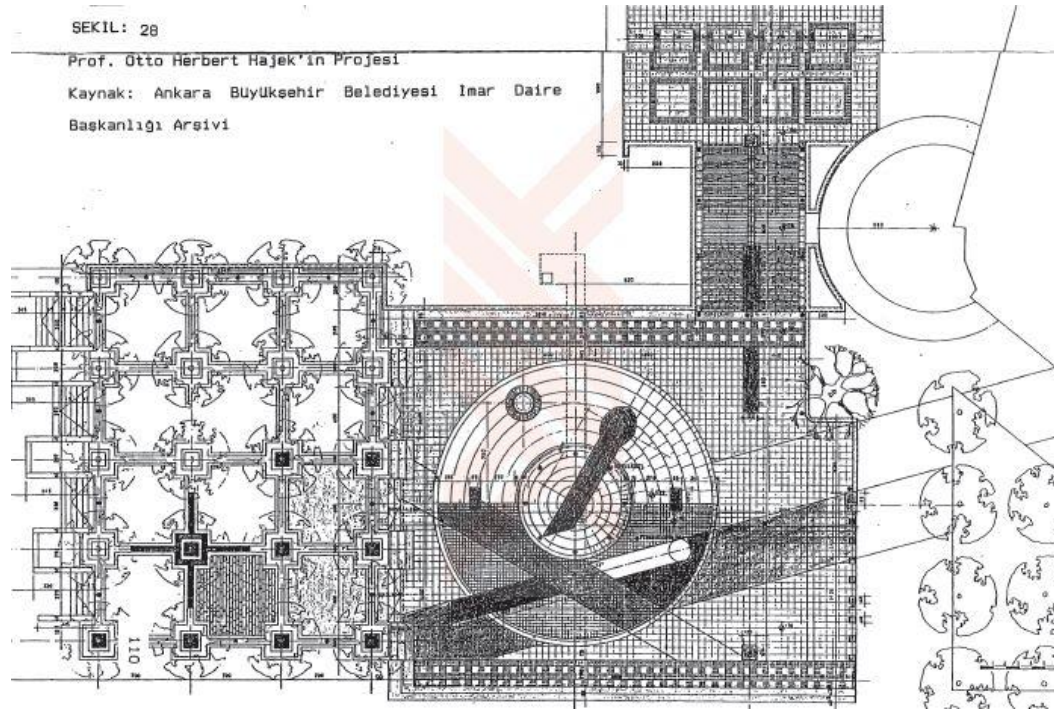


Figure 4.23. The Sculpture Project of Otto Herbert Hajek. (Source: Çiğdem Belgin Tipi, “Hergelen Meydanı Çevre Düzenleme ve Korumasına İlişkin Öneriler, 110.)

²³⁹ Hatice Kübra Ata Arslan, and Muharrem Hilmi Şenalp. Melike Hatun Camisi ve Çevre Düzenlemesi. Personal, June 10, 2021.

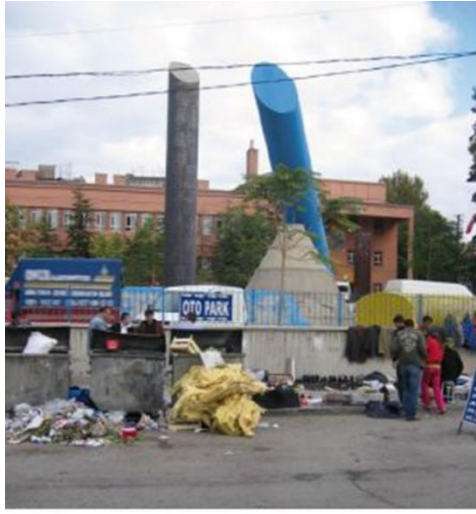


Figure 4.24. Some photographs show the misuse of sculpture. They prove that the sculpture could not fit the urban integrity. (Source: Mustafa Sevinç, 59.)



Figure 4.25. Hajek Sculpture in Melike Hatun Mosque project render. (Source: Hassa Architecture Office)

4.3 Melike Hatun Mosque and Hergelen Square

According to the latest arrangements, there was a mosque planned to be built for the square. In addition to the mosque, there was also a rehabilitation intended for the area. Melike Hatun Mosque, which started to be built in 2013, was completed in 2017. It looks like the 16th century Ottoman mosques with its architectural style. In addition, the scale of the mosque has a quite dominating character and scale. The reason of selection in the style and the size of the structure would probably be related with political power of the current governmental perspective. There is an attempt to change the identity of the region and as a consequence, the place memory also altered with this huge structure. In this section, the mosque will be analyzed with regards to architectural mimicry of Ottoman mosques. Because the buildings around the square were designed in a particular way to define the square and its surroundings as a new allocation for the new Republic. This specific environment is marked by the scale and architectural style of the new mosque. Analyzing the architecture of the mosque helps to examine the change in the memory of the place. Depending on this change, the collective memory related with the place was also affected.

Before examining the architecture of the mosque, it is necessary to present the relationship between the mosque and the square and the location of the overall design. It is previously stated that Hergelen Square is located at the intersection point of two main axes of Ankara. One is Atatürk Boulevard, north-south axis, another is the main east-west axis. Muharrem Hilmi Şenalp commented on the decision of the location of Melike Hatun Mosque. He stated that: “In the first years of the Republic, plans were made by foreign city planners. This is the plan of modernity. It destroyed the old. We wanted to build it at the intersection of crossroads and at the end of the protocol road axis, in the heart of Ankara.”²⁴⁰ From this statement of Hilmi Şenalp, there is not information only about the location of the mosque, it is also understood

²⁴⁰ Muharrem Hilmi Şenalp, Interview by author. Personal interview, İstanbul, June 10, 2021.

that critical urban design decisions were made against the plans made during the Republican period. Also this decision of bringing the old into the area is an issue of collective memory and history. Şenalp criticizes the design of modernity in Early Republican times. Designing an Ottoman style mosque is a postmodern approach to re-establish our connection with the past. Christine Boyer criticizes postmodern architecture with reference to Maurice Halbwachs as follows:

“Postmodern art and architecture assumed that images and artifacts bear the record of the past; they either speak historical role or relay memories to present. But history and memory, as Halbwachs accounted, are actually opposing terms, the one manipulable and re-presentable in a play of lost significance, while the other is plural, alive, and cannot be appropriated.”²⁴¹

Melike Hatun Mosque has elements that highly remind the Ottoman past. This historical role of the mosque shadows the collective memory of the citizens related with the Early Republican features of the capital city. The square was characterized by certain Republican buildings and public open spaces such as the Youth Park and Atatürk Boulevard. These buildings and spaces defined the identity of the place and marked the memory specific to the area. The recent intervention of building a new mosque and the rearrangement of its surroundings has created a discontinuity in collective memory. “History fixes the past in a uniform manner; drawing upon its difference from the present, it then reorganizes and resuscitates collective memories and popular imagery, freezing them in stereotypical forms.”²⁴² The mosque manipulates the place and represents itself having a mission to retrieve the missing old in the area.

Classical mosque architecture usually has a courtyard. The courtyard functions as a preparatory area for prayers and it also serves as gathering place for congregation.

²⁴¹ M. Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory, Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1994), 67.

²⁴² Boyer, 67.

When the inside of the mosque is completely filled, it can also be used as a prayer area. Especially during Friday prayers, the congregation moves to the courtyard area. In classical mosque design, courtyards are generally surrounded by walls. Within the courtyard, there is also an ablution fountain that also serves for cooling in hot weathers. Ablution is a ritual of cleaning and purification performed before prayer. “In traditional mosques, ablution fountains are generally seen as freestanding structures, which are called *şadırvan*, mostly placed in the middle of the courtyard.”²⁴³

In the design of Melike Hatun, there is not any closed courtyard. Hergelen Square, which merges with the courtyard, actually functions as the courtyard of the mosque. Hilmi Şenalp stressed this specific issue with following words: “We tried to pull the mosque back in the area given to us and create a square in front of it. We did not create a courtyard. There are porticoes at the entrance of the mosque, they are also open to the outside.”²⁴⁴ Designing the courtyard as an open square itself is an issue to be focused on in terms of urban design and collective memory. As explained above, the courtyard also functions as a spare area during prayer times, depending on the occupancy of the mosque. The extra courtyard area used for prayer is also called *son cemaat mahalli* which means the last area that congregation uses for prayer. Even the architectural style of Melike Hatun Mosque is classical, what Şenalp suggested for the mosque about the courtyard actually does not fit the classical mosque design. Designing and using the square like a mosque courtyard is also against the publicity of the place. As the following photographs taken from during a Friday prayer time show that in the center of Ankara, in Hergelen Square that is a public space used by people from different worldviews, from different genders etc., is to be reserved to the community of prayers, in a way visible to all. In other words, the religious space is merged with the public realm that surrounds it. However, it is

²⁴³ Özgür Ürey “Use Of Traditional Elements in Contemporary Mosque Architecture in Turkey” (M. Sc. Diss., Middle East Technical University, 2010), 54.

²⁴⁴ Muharrem Hilmi Şenalp, Interview by author. Personal interview, İstanbul, June 10, 2021.

to stress here that the classical mosque architecture actually preserves the privacy of the prayers by protecting the last prayer area in an enclosed courtyard. The aim of the architect was to bring the Ottoman history into the heart of Ankara by designing an Ottoman style mosque as a historical reference in the capital city of the Republic. However, eliminating the main element of courtyard actually misled the historical reference. It is possible to argue that there is a deliberate political motivation behind these urban and architectural design decisions. “Collective memories are not only localized and indexed to a social group, but need to be kept alive by ritual practices, traditions and repetitions.”²⁴⁵ With these interventions and ritual practices open to all, the collective memory related with the place is actually reconstructed as desired.



Figure 4. 26. People perform Friday prayer outside the mosque. (Source: Author's archive)

²⁴⁵ Can Bilsel, “Architecture and the Social Frameworks of Memory: A Postscript to Maurice HALBWACHS' ‘Collective Memory.’” *Iconarp International J. of Architecture and Planning*, 4.



Figure 4. 27. Friday prayer outside the mosque under porticoes. (Source: Author's archive)

According to the latest arrangement of Hergelen Square by Muharrem Hilmi Şenalp, there is a fountain for ablution in the square. As stated previously, fountains are generally located inside the courtyard. People perform ablution in the courtyard and not in public. This situation is not only an act of reconstruction of the past, but also an attempt of introducing an invented tradition. Accordingly, it is an attempt to change the collective memory.



Figure 4. 28. Ablution area in the square. (Source: <https://www.trthaber.com/foto-galeri/ankara-melike-hatun-camii/18511/sayfa-1.html>)

At first sight the architectural style of the mosque recalls Ottoman style to minds. While the mosque itself is debatable at a place that was characterized by architectural styles that symbolized the Republican periods, the very resemblance of classical Ottoman mosque brings up some questions in minds. There seems a deliberate decision about choosing an Ottoman mimicked mosque. Here, it is not about an exact replica of Ottoman mosques but there is an effort to keep the imperial image with a certain resemblance to Ottoman mosques. Homi Bhabha defines the result of mimicry as “almost the same but not quite.” Bülent Batuman explained this with reference to colonized societies;

”Mimicry constantly troubles the colonizer’s authority by minimizing its difference and simultaneously fails the colonized’s capacity for fully assuming the identity of the colonizer. In a similar fashion, what is at stake in the case of mimicking classical Ottoman mosque architecture is the desire

of the nationalist-conservative subject to imitate the glory of the imperial image.”²⁴⁶

Although ‘mimicry’ associates the meaning of copying, it is not exactly the issue of duplicating. It is an issue of images “produced with components of different examples; i.e., the plan scheme of one particular mosque and the number of minarets of another, etc.”²⁴⁷ In the minds of Turkish people, there are certain mosque elements and images that were produced based on authentic Ottoman mosques. For example the dome, half domes and porticos are reminiscent of classical Ottoman mosques. With its scale and tectonic features, the current politic environment treats Melike Hatun Mosque as a masterpiece. According to Prof. Ali Uzay Peker, one of the features that makes a masterpiece a masterpiece is its innovative character according to technological conditions of its age.²⁴⁸ For example, Great Sinan made structural innovations as well as on ventilation, natural lighting etc. in his designs. However, in the case of M. Hatun Mosque, it does not seem any innovation that is worth to mention in our today’s technological world. The only thing mentioned about the mosque is its scale, people capacity, facilities having meeting rooms, five storey car parking areas, exhibition halls etc. There has unfortunately not any feature that is path-breaking.

²⁴⁶ Bülent Batuman, *New Islamist Architecture and Urbanism, Negotiating Nation and Islam through Built Environment in Turkey* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 46.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 43.

²⁴⁸ Ali Uzay Peker, “Masterworks of Medieval Architecture in East and West,” (Lecture Notes, Middle East Technical University, Feb 15, 2018).



Figure 4. 29. Melike Hatun Mosque with its dome and half domes (Source: Author's archive)



Figure 4. 30. Interior view from Melike Hatun Mosque (Source: Author's archive)

The architect of the mosque, Muharrem Hilmi Şenalp, describes Melike Hatun Mosque as a building in a classical Ottoman – Turkish architecture style, a construction every detail of which is original, not a copy.²⁴⁹ The effort that is tried to make it a classical Ottoman architecture mosque, actually, turned the mosque into a mimicked mosque and a “conscious imitation,” not an original interpretation. Even the design of the birdhouse is exactly an imitation from Ottoman mosques. Our Ottoman predecessors thought about birds and they designed independent birdhouses or they integrated them on the walls of mosques. Hilmi Şenalp just applied the same birdhouse template on his mosque design.

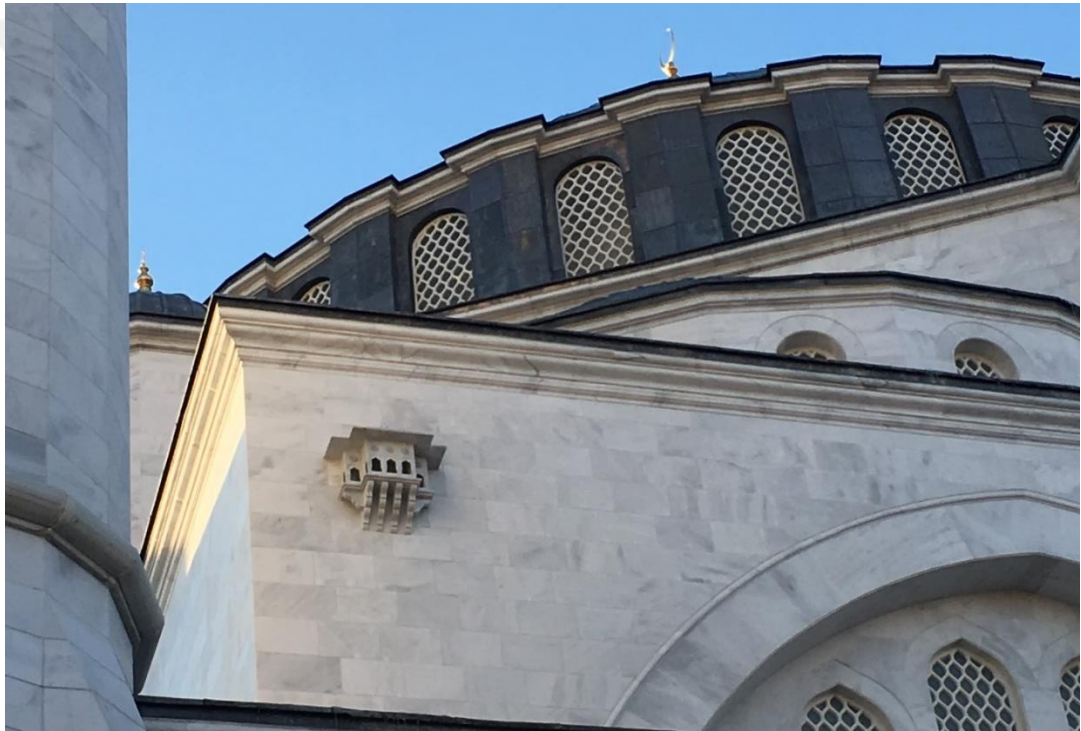


Figure 4. 31. Bird house of Melike Hatun Mosque (Source: Author’s archive)

²⁴⁹ Medya, Piri. "Melike Hatun Camii Dualarla Açıldı." *Yeni Şafak*. October 27, 2017. Accessed December 23, 2018. <https://www.yenisafak.com/gundem/melike-hatun-camii-dualarla-acildi-2805574>.

There is something questionable about another claim of Hilmi Şenalp on modern mosque design. “Rejecting categories of ‘modern’ and ‘contemporary’ in mosque architecture, Şenalp argued that one cannot speak of ‘modern’ mosque as it is not possible to speak of ‘modern Islam’: ‘What we call modern is the continuation of someone else’s tradition’”²⁵⁰ However, there is no strict rule about mosque design in Islam, would it be a modern or an eclectic interpretation from different styles. Modern Islam and modern mosque architecture are completely different subjects to discuss.



Figure 4. 32. Marmara University Faculty of Theology Mosque and Cultural Center (Source: <https://www.hassa.com/tr/proje/marmara-universitesi-ilahiyat-fakultesi-camii-ve-kultur-merkezi>)

The design of Marmara University Faculty of Theology Mosque also belongs to Muharrem Hilmi Şenalp. The dome design draws attention first in the building. The

²⁵⁰ Bülent Batuman, *New Islamist Architecture and Urbanism, Negotiating Nation and Islam through Built Environment in Turkey* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 52.

architect designed the dome, using the traditional swallow (*kırlangıç*) dome technique of 1000 years, inspired by the Turkish triangles, which are widely used in Seljuk and Ottoman architecture. He created an original structure by interpreting the minarets of the mosque with an original interpretation. Compared to Melike Hatun Mosque, two entirely different design vocabulary are seen in this mosque. During the interview with Hilmi Şenalp, it was asked the reason of the difference between them. He replied as: “It is necessary to learn the classic correctly. For this, it must either be demolished or rebuilt. We can build mosques such as Marmara Faculty of Theology Mosque today, because we could rebuild classical mosques. Marmara Theology Mosque is an interpretation of the classic.”²⁵¹ In other words, he expressed that there should be classical designs for original and modern interpretations. “Imitating and building to seek and find what is lost are different.”²⁵² He associated finding and seeking the lost to an archaeological excavation. And he defines the design of Melike Hatun Mosque as an archeological excavation, not an imitation.

Yeşilvadi Mosque can be another example for one of the modern mosques in Turkey. It was designed by the architect Adnan Kazmaoğlu by Kiptaş Architecture Office. It was commissioned by the Municipality of Istanbul in 2004. Kiptaş shares the same ideology with the current political environment and Hilmi Şenalp but the style of Yeşilvadi Mosque is quite modern. In addition:

“The traditional elements are used in a totally new and innovative way, both in terms of their forms and the materials used... Yeşilvadi Mosque is an interpretation of a domed mosque, which is made up of two different sized domes brought together in order to increase the spatial quality.”²⁵³

²⁵¹ Muharrem Hilmi Şenalp, Interview by author. Personal interview, İstanbul, June 10, 2021.

²⁵² Muharrem Hilmi Şenalp, “Türk Ve İslam Dünyası’nın Kültür ve Medeniyet Vizyonu Ne Olmalıdır?”.

²⁵³ Özgür Ürey, “Use of Traditional Elements in Contemporary Mosque Architecture in Turkey” (M.Sc. diss., Middle East Technical University, 2010), 130.

One can actually speak of modern mosque like the case in Yeşilvadi Mosque. Instead of interpretation as in the example, there is a case of imitation in Melike Hatun Mosque. Being modern does not mean to ignore traditional elements. Interpretation helps to use traditional elements in design. Just like in the design of Marmara University Faculty of Theology Mosque.

Muharrem Hilmi Şenalp was also asked about the scale of the mosque during the interview. He explained as: "We tried to find a scale that could describe its surroundings. If I wanted to make it more visible, I could move it closer to Atatürk Boulevard. But we didn't do it to create spaciousness in that area. I didn't want to eliminate the concept of the square." Finding a scale that could describe surrounding is a critical point. The office deliberately selected a scale that dominates the environment. However, the square was already described by the buildings around.

4.3.1 Evaluation of the Melike Hatun Mosque with respect to collective memory and memory of place

Ankara, the new capital of the nation state, is being built by the architect planners of that period in line with their own understanding. Planners were trying to create a spatial setting suitable for the ideology of Early Republican period. What we call the capital is not only a place with modern buildings and beautiful parks, but beyond that, it is planned and built as a city with some places and monumental structures that symbolize the nation state in the understanding of that period. Ankara was one of the cities that needed that spatial framework compatible with the understanding of the nation state. This spatial framework, which started with Lörcher, continued with Jansen's developments, and the growing city became the scene of larger-scale plans. This part of the chapter specifically examine Melike Hatun Mosque with respect to the powerful urban axes of Lörcher and Jansen Plans under the notion of collective memory and memory of place.

Lörcher held the axial organization in his urban design. These axes had very effective role in cognitive maps of people. Because Lörcher designed monumental structures at the ends of axes. For example, the Castle was the focal point of most axes. At one side of Atatürk Boulevard, there was a parliament building designed as a monumental structure. Along the axis, Lörcher defined a number of cultural structures such as Ethnography Museum and Painting and Sculpture Museum which are monumental structures at a high point, public buildings, and recreational areas on the axis. Jansen Plan maintained many axes of Lörcher's. The Early Republican period, while establishing a nation-state, is building a city environment to support a new collective identity, for the nation. While doing this, it uses cultural structures, art and sculptures. Later, monumental structures continued to be built at the end of the major axes of the early republican period. However, this time, the way the dominant ideology expresses itself changed. The collective memory that the nation state tried to establish in the early period of the Republic was to be altered. Kocatepe Mosque is the example of such attempt in 1970s. It is today located at the end of Mithat Paşa Boulevard which is one of the main axis of Ankara and like Ankara Castle, the mosque is quite visible from many point of Ankara. As a monumental structure, instead of cultural institutions, the dominant understanding of that period wanted to define itself with a religious structure. The case of Melike Hatun Mosque in Hergelen Square is the same issue of representing today's dominant understanding.

Hergelen Square is located at the intersection of Atatürk Boulevard, which is the main axis, and the middle axis of the Youth Park. The location of the square is actually an end point of the strong perspective axis through the Youth Park. It is at the end of a perspective axis that can be seen when looking in the direction of Youth Park from the train station. With its size, Melike Hatun Mosque can easily be perceived as a monumental structure from inside of the Youth Park and from İstanbul Street. As explored in the beginning of the chapter, the area is mainly characterized by the Early Republican spaces, buildings and art works. Lörcher in his design defined Hergelen Square as a theatre square which is a cultural institution. Jansen

determined an Opera House for the square, which is also a cultural structure. Therefore, the question of why a mosque was built at a point defined by elements that characterized the ideology of the Early Republican period and why that point located on the Atatürk Boulevard, at a point where two perspective axes (that of the Youth Park and İstiklal Avenue) intersect, was selected arises.

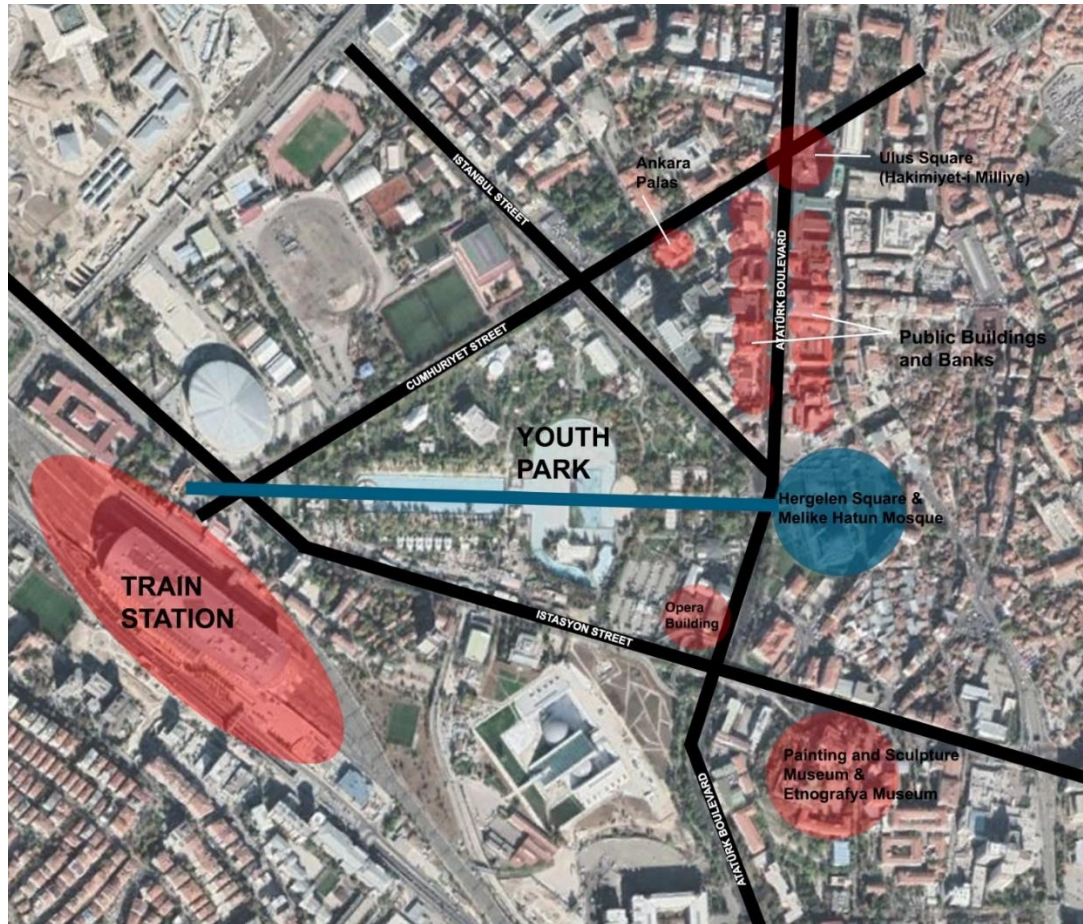


Figure 4.33. The main axis around Hergelen Square and the perspective axis through the Youth Park. (Source: Google Maps, Edited by author.)



Figure 4.34. Photograph from the Youth Park towards Ulus in 1950. 2nd Vakıf Apartment is seen on the left. (Source: (Source: VEKAM Digital Archive, <https://libdigitalcollections.ku.edu.tr/digital/collection/FKA/id/1084/rec/35>)



Figure 4. 35. Photograph from the Youth Park with the view of Melike Hatun Mosque. 2nd Vakıf Apartmen is on the left. (Source: Author's archive)

The figures 4.34 and 4.35 look in the same direction from inside the Youth Park. When the two photographs are compared, it is clearly depicted that in the second one, Melike Hatun Mosque stands out at the end of the perspective axis. The mosque overshadows the Second Vakıf Apartments Building which is one of the important Early Republican buildings by the architect Kemalettin Bey.

In the theoretical chapter, it is explained that public realm is the political conceptualization of a space. Public spaces can be used by government to influence people. The early republican era was trying to form a new collective identity, a nation, independent of the Ottoman Empire. Today, the government aimed to build a new collective memory with a classical Ottoman style mosque design with reference to history. By changing the identity of the city and memory of place, the collective memory of the people is changing too. Ottoman history is the common past of Turkey and therefore has a place in our collective memory. But the Ottoman Empire fell apart for various reasons and the Turkish nation had to turn a new page. For this reason, it was necessary to leave Ottoman past behind and find new forms of representation. Melike Hatun Mosque, built in the Ottoman style in Ankara, the capital of the Republic, reminds us of the Ottoman magnificence. It gives the message that we are the continuation of the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, the location where the mosque was built is focal point where strong perspective axes intersect, a place that can be seen from many places. The mosque with its architectural style that is not unique to the region, is imposed on the urban environment. With its monumental scale and architectural style, Melike Hatun Mosque has changed the identity of the place and will affect the collective memory of people.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

As explained in the theoretical chapter of thesis, collective memory is socially constructed notion. Maurice Halbwachs states that collective memory needs a group and a space that the group engaged in. Here space indicates physical environment of people. In order to remember a memory, it is needed an impulse. Physical environment supplies that impulse for memories to come out. Architecture is an integral part of this physical environment.

Memory establishes a relationship with the place in which it is located. Thanks to this relationship, we redefine space as a concept that encodes our past experience. Space becomes a tool for the recuperation of our past experience in memory. In this respect, cities where human action occurs also have a spatial content. Cities exist as memory models, combining the past, present and future with both its physical and social environment. Therefore, the city undertakes the functions of recalling and keeping the memory alive. As Halbwachs posited, collective memory needs a physical environment. Each community leaves certain traces in the space in order to keep their memories active and revives their memories through these traces. From this point of view, the city squares are the places where the city's self-memory is formed and where it becomes clearly visible. They play a vital role in the acquisition and preservation of memory.

Along their various functions throughout history, squares appear as open spaces that societies assume very remarkable. They are the reference and attraction point of the city and the places where the people gather. Squares are public places shared by the citizens in common. "They create a gathering place for the people, humanizing them by mutual contact, providing them with a shelter against the haphazard traffic, and

freeing them from the tension of rushing through the web of streets.”²⁵⁴ The characteristics of the squares are a reflection of the development and social organization of the city. Habermas describes public places as realms of social life and in consequence of this social life, a public opinion formed. And squares as public areas also carry traces of memories of public. They have historical and social indications with specific elements that define their environment. With its history, important elements and location, public places can also be a political tool. For governments, open areas are essential in terms of public attractions. As illustrated in the theoretical part of thesis, there can be various organizations held in open public areas such as opposing or supporting demonstrations against the government or cultural activities etc. “Public spaces of a city have always had political significance, symbolizing the power of the state.”²⁵⁵ With this power, the memory of place can be altered. Collective memory of people too. In that sense, the context of an area in a city is crucial for the minds of public.

Sustaining the city and urbanism as a public space is directly related to the multi-layered historical texture and the existence of public spaces of the city center. Urban centers with their historical places bear a highly significant place for collective memory, which is an important component of the public sphere.²⁵⁶ Public remembers through urban spaces, so remembering is an integral element of urban culture. Spatial practice is the practice of simultaneously memorizing and preserving in memory. Hergelen Square is one of the public places of Ankara that enable community to practice the space. With its multi-layered historical context, it has an extensive place in urban memory. “Spatial elements play an essential role in the formation of the

²⁵⁴ Paul Zucker, *Town and Square: from the Agora to the Village Green*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 1.

²⁵⁵ Madanipour. “Why Are the Design and Development of Public Spaces Significant for Cities?” *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design* 26, no.6 (December 1999): 880.

²⁵⁶ Candaş Bilgel, “Kentsel Dönüşüm, Çözülen Kentler ve Parçalanan Kamusal Alan”

collective memory of urban society.”²⁵⁷ In order to sustain urban consciousness, the element in the square should be consistent.

In the old Turkish cities, Islamic cities and Ottoman cities until the Tanzimat reforms, there was not any planned square. Hergelen Square was one of the unplanned squares located outside the city of Ankara in Ottoman times. According to the maps, it was situated in front of one of the gates, İzmir Gate, on the previous city walls. Since Ankara is on the trade route, caravans stopped at this square. The square, which was also used as a livestock market, was actually a spontaneously created stopover that was not spatially very well defined. With the proclamation of the Republic and Ankara becoming the capital, the city has been subject to a substantial urban transformation process. Hergelen Square has gone through many spatial changes too. Plan proposals were made by European urban designers for Hergelen Square and its surroundings, with an urban design understanding compatible with the ideals of the Republic.

The development process, which started with Lörcher’s proposal for building a theatre and continued with Jansen's proposal of an opera house for the square. These were monumental building proposals placed at the ends of perspective axes in conformity with a classical European urban design understanding. However, they both could not be implemented. Then, as mentioned before, it entered a period of irregular plannings. This irregular planning process caused residents to have a fragmented memory. The disintegrated character of the square eroded urban consciousness of public. Thus, it is hard to redefine the square as a concept that encodes past experiences. An important condition for preserving what belongs to the urban memory is the formation of the instinct of the urban dweller to own the

²⁵⁷ Yousef Daneshvar Rouyandozagh, and Ece Kumkale Açıkgöz. “Sustaining the Social Memory in a Historic Neighborhood: The Case Study of Uch Dukkan Neighborhood in Ardabil City in Azerbaijani Region of Iran,” 335.

urban.²⁵⁸ The disintegrated feature of the area damaged the urge of preserving urban memory.

Irregular and incomplete planning of the square restrained the creation of social bond with the square. With Otto Hajek's sculpture, there was a try to establish a bond. However, it could not be a part of an urban integrity. "It all comes back to community process. No public art can succeed in enhancing the social meaning of place without solid base of community support."²⁵⁹ Large area of parking lot and the flea market did not let people to internalize the art piece of Hajek. Spaces that can establish social bonds can create resistance points in front of transformations that absorb urban continuity and nuances.²⁶⁰



Figure 5. 1. View from İstanbul Street also called as protocol road. The Vakıf Apartment and the Ottoman Bank are on the left. The scale of the Mosque is apparent in terms of its surrounding. (Source: Author's archive)

The latest arrangement of the square consists of a large mosque called Melike Hatun Mosque. After all the irregular planning attempts, actually the latest plan made the square gain the characteristic features of the square. "Squares are empty spaces defined by the designed environment. In addition, in order for a place to be defined

²⁵⁸ İnci Basa, "Kentsel Hafızanın Sürdürülebilirliği: Bir Mimarlık Stüdyosu Deneyimi." *Sanat ve Tasarım Dergisi*, 32.

²⁵⁹ Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscape as Public History* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1995), 75.

²⁶⁰ İnci Basa, 33.

as a square, it must be pedestrianized as a priority.”²⁶¹ Today, the area is pedestrianized and has become a gathering point and an atmosphere that people can share their ideas. There is a place of assembly and association for people and an opportunity to encounter to one another. However, a large part of the area allocated for the mosque and as scrutinized previously, the design and the style of the mosque does not fit the urban and historical context of Ankara. The style of the mosque is defined as an interpretation of the classic by the architect Muharrem Hilmi Şenalp. Although he does not express himself as modern, when examining other designs of the architect, they can be seen as original and modern in their architectural language. However, in Melike Hatun's design, it can be posited that there were ideological reasons that shaped the architectural design. In addition, the architect defended the choice of such a scale in the mosque. The scale was consciously picked for dominating the environment. Again, defining the square in a different scale and style, unlike the elements that define the area, may result from political decisions.

It was posited that there was no planned square in Ottoman cities before the Tanzimat. Most of the existing squares were spontaneously shaped open spaces. Hergelen Square was actually a square that was also formed spontaneously, used as a livestock market place and frequented by caravans. During the planning period of Ankara, the square was attempted to be re-defined by European urban planners. However, this square could not be re-identified, either as a theatre square as proposed by Lörcher, or a square in front of a monumental opera house as proposed by Jansen. Considering that the plans that were prepared for this area later could not be implemented, the following argument could be maintained: Hergelen Square might be a public open space that should have remained empty. The location of the square is not suitable for any architectural and monumental structure that would dominate its surroundings. Because there are already several buildings from different periods,

²⁶¹ Çiğdem Varol et. al., *Başkent'in Meydanı Kızılay'ın Dönüşüm Öyküsü*. Edited by Alev Ayaokur (Ankara: Koç Üniversitesi VEKAM, 2019), 15.

including the Early Republican period that define the perimeters of the square. Any monumental structure designed for the square is capable of disrupting the character of the place.

The decision of designing Melike Hatun Mosque as part of an urban design project and with a historicist, monumental architectural style was a conscious political urban decision. This is also understood from the statement of Hilmi Şenalp as he stressed: “we tried to find a scale that could describe its surroundings.” They consciously wanted to reshape the area with reference the mosque. This intervention has created a discontinuity in the public sphere of Hergelen Square in terms of collective memory. As Christine Boyer expresses for postmodern historicism: “The discontinuities and ruptures, difference and otherness they uncritically celebrate impose severe consequences on the public realm of the city. They have caused any sense of collectivity to disappear and undermined any attempt to take critical stance.”²⁶² Today, there is an otherness in Hergelen Square, located at the gate of the old town. By manipulating historical references in the design of the mosque, the identity and memory of the place has been drastically changed. The atmosphere of the place, that was once characterized both by historic structures, and the public open spaces and buildings from the Early Republican period, has been radically altered under a certain political approach which was concretized in the architecture of Melike Hatun Mosque.

The continuation of any political structure depends on the power of the memory and identity of urban and spatial practices. Urban and spatial practices and accordingly architecture have an immense role in the perpetuation of memory and identity of a city. Melike Hatun Mosque imposes itself in an urban context, which was characterized by spaces and works of the Early Republican period in particular. Yet, at the same time, it has displaced the preexisting spatial relations with its scale and

²⁶² M. Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory, Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1994), 480.

the way it merged the religious space of the mosque with the public space of the square. It has changed the character of the place both with the scale and architectural style, and also by changing the social practices that take place there. As Meltem Gürel and Serpil Özalöğlu pointed out, “the mosque has been not only a place for religious practices but also a social space, allowing the formation of individual, social, and collective memories.”²⁶³ Melike Hatun Mosque dominates its urban context and the surrounding. It is an attempt to change the memory of place with the aim of altering the collective memory of the citizens by spatializing a political discourse. Until the last arrangement for the square, it was not possible to mention about a steady urban memory for Hergelen Square. With the complete rearrangement of the public open space and the construction of a monumental mosque in the middle of it, the character of the *locus* has been drastically changed.

²⁶³ Meltem Gürel, Serpil Özalöğlu, “Designing Mosques for secular congregations: Transformations Of The Mosque As A Social Space In Turkey,” *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research* 28, no.4 (Winter 2011): 336.



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