THE INTANGIBLE WITHIN TANGIBLE: CONSERVATION OF ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE AS A LOCUS OF MEMORY THE CASE OF ANKARA ULUCANLAR PRISON

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THE CASE OF ANKARA ULUCANLAR PRISON

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ABSTRACT

THE INTANGIBLE WITHIN TANGIBLE: CONSERVATION OF ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE AS A LOCUS OF MEMORY THE CASE OF ANKARA ULUCANLAR PRISON

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Focusing on the intangible dimension of built heritage, this thesis derives from the question of how to preserve and transmit memory in the conservation processes of heritage sites. An investigation into this question gains a particular gravity in heritage places signified with their memorial values rather than physical peculiarities, a.k.a. 'sites of memory'. Sites of memory also encompass 'sites of conscience', the 'difficult heritage' places associated with traumatic memories. Both are relatively recent categories of heritage that have been the subject of interest since the turn of the 21st century.

This study primarily conducts a theoretical inquiry into memory in and of itself and then its association with place and architectural heritage. Based on this theoretical inquiry, it presents a framework, which defines analysis methods to be followed and principles to be considered in the interpretation and conservation processes of heritage sites, particularly 'sites of memory', in order to conserve them together with their intangible symbolic content as a 'locus of memory'.

Further, in the case of Ankara Ulucanlar Central Closed Prison as a ‘site of conscience’, the study analyzes the collected memories/recollections through methods defined within this framework and portrays the ‘overall memory-image’ of the prison from the perspective of former political prisoners. This image itself emerges as a means of assessing the intangible symbolic content of the prison in relation to its physicality by visualizing the distribution and intensity of memories, the durational depth of certain localities, and indicating singular crystallized memory-images having symbolic gravity for the group.

Keywords: Architectural Conservation, Memory, Difficult Heritage Sites, Sites of Memory, Sites of Conscience.

ÖZ

SOMUT OLANIN İÇERİSİNDEKİ SOMUT OLMAYAN: MİMARİ MİRASIN BELLEK MAHALİ OLARAK KORUNMASI ANKARA ULUCANLAR CEZAEVİ ÖRNEĞİ

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Mimari mirasın somut olmayan boyutuna odaklanan bu tez, miras alanlarının koruma süreçlerinde hafızanın nasıl korunacağı ve aktarılacağı sorusundan yola çıkmaktadır. Bu soruya yönelik bir sorgulama, fiziksel özelliklerinden ziyade bellek değeriyle öne çıkan 'hafıza mekânları' özelinde ayrı bir önem kazanır. Hafıza mekânları, "vicdan mekânları" olarak adlandırılan travmatik anılarla ilişkili kabullenmesi "zor miras" alanlarını da kapsar. "Hafıza mekânları" ve "vicdan mekânları", kültürel miras çalışmalarında 21. yüzyılın başından itibaren ilgi konusu haline gelen nispeten yeni miras alanı kategorileridir.

Bu çalışma, ilk olarak, hafıza kavramının önce kendisine ve daha sonra yer ve mimari mirasla olan ilişkisine dair kuramsal bir araştırma yürütür. Bu kuramsal araştırmaya dayanarak, özellikle mimari hafıza mekânlarını yorumlama ve koruma süreçlerinde, sahip oldukları somut olmayan sembolik içerikleriyle birlikte bir "bellek mahali" olarak korunmasına yönelik, yere ilişkin hafızayı analiz etmek ve sürdürmek için uygun yöntemleri ve dikkate alınması gereken ilkeleri tanımlayan bir çerçeve sunar.

Sonrasında, bir vicdan mekânı olan Ankara Ulucanlar Merkez Kapalı Cezaevi örneğinde, cezaevine ait toplanan hatıraları sunulan çerçevede tanımlanan yöntemler doğrultusunda inceler ve eski siyasi mahkûmların perspektifinden cezaevinin "genel bellek-imgesi"ni oluşturur. Bu imgenin kendisi anıların dağılımı ve yoğunluğuyla birlikte belirli yerlerin hafızalardaki süreklilik derinliğini görselleştirir ve grup için sembolik ağırlığı olan tekil kristalize olmuş bellek-imgelerini işaret eder; böylece, hapishanenin soyut sembolik içeriğini, fizikselliğiyle ilişkili olarak değerlendirmenin de bir aracı olarak ortaya çıkar.

AnahtarKelimeler: Mimari Koruma, Bellek, Zor Miras Alanları, Hafıza Mekânları, Vicdan Mekânları

To my family

and

to the loving and living memory of my grandparents;

Meleke Sabriye & Tarık Görgünay and Salih Kaya Kutlu

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

C.C. Central Closed

C.P.C.U. Competition Project *Conservatory Ulucanlar*

SID Study ID

U.R.I.P. Ulucanlar Central Closed Prison Restoration Implementation Project

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Since the 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention, the meaning, content and definition of ‘cultural heritage’ have considerably evolved thanks to the acquisition of knowledge from varying conservation studies in parallel with the changing conjunctures as well as the interests of humanities and social sciences.

As the case studies in conservation activities have varied and the discussions have developed, ‘understanding the cultural heritage’ and ‘assessing its values’, the fundamentals of the modern conservation theory, have risen as the prior and the most important issue that leads the whole conservation and decision-making process. With the impact of global conjunctional changes influencing a wide variety of disciplines in the late 20th century, it is revealed that to understand the cultural heritage is not only to grasp its physical entity and peculiarities, but also to comprehend its meanings and associations for the society that it is rooted in or interacted with as well as its message from the past. This pursuit of modern conservation has brought about the perception of the cultural heritage as a complex entity, which is not limited to its physical/tangible—artistic, scientific, material and constructional—aspects and values, but also has an extensive non-physical/intangible dimension comprised of social, cultural, spiritual, memorial, and even feeling values, other than historical value. This recognition of the complexity of the cultural heritage has resulted in the enrichment of the value categories from tangible to intangible values, accordingly in the broadening the content of ‘cultural heritage’, first in the realm of tangible cultural heritage and then, after the introduction of ‘intangible cultural heritage’, in both simultaneously.

1.1 Definition of the Problem

The conservation methodology with a deep-rooted accumulation of knowledge on the materialistic aspects of heritage, stretching back to the early theories of restoration in the 19th century, has developed successful methods for understanding and evaluating the physical fabric of heritage. Contrarily, the methods for analyzing and interpreting the intangible/memorial aspects of sites are underdeveloped and yet in progress.

Today our perspective of conservation is surely so much different from the antique perspective that puts the 'memory' superior to its associated materiality and sees the 'preservation' of a monument as the preservation of its memorial function rather than its physical entity. However even today the intellectual inquiry on the relation of memory and place begs the question of whether memory can be preserved without preserving the memory-place in its entirety and whether a symbolic memorial that communicates the past narratives is sufficient to sustain memory in the future. As Nora has put forward by the concept of 'site of memory' (*lieu de mémoire*) memory can communicate through symbols. When a memory-place is a difficult heritage, the partial demolition of its materiality may become a symbolic manifestation of the end of a dark era. As in the case of Berlin Wall, the destruction images of which are a part of our global memory, the act of dismantling and the remains may turn into a symbolic memorial that sustains remembrance. If we take this modern reflection of the ancient world as one pole of treating difficult heritage, the other pole is to keep the memory-place intact either by mummification (petrification) or museumification which ensures to protect the entire past and its multiple narratives.

This thesis derives from the hypothesis that only if the principles/methods for analyzing memory in relation to places are studied and developed it will be possible to evaluate the memory-value and designate its communicators (memory-images) in the physical fabric. The proper intervention decisions, that lie in the range of the two poles stated above—one creates a symbolic memorial from

remains, the other preserves the memory-place intact—can be made through a methodological evaluation of memory in addition to the physical fabric. Furthermore these methods can only be filtered through principles derived from the theoretical study of 'memory' in and of itself and then in relation to place.

1.2 Aim and Scope

Focusing on the intangible dimension of heritage sites, this thesis mainly deals with the memory-value which has been concretely recognized as an integral component of cultural significance from the beginning of the 21st century.

Undoubtedly, every heritage place has a more or less intangible dimension comprised of its associations and meanings constructed in either collective/communicative or cultural memory of the groups connected with it. However, in the heritage sites signified particularly with their memory-value having a notable symbolic image in the living collective memory of the group, i.e., *sites of memory* along with *sites of conscience* containing the evidence of traumatic memories, the notion of memory and its understanding with regard to place gain much more importance within the processes of interpretation and conservation.

The primary aim of this thesis is to propose a framework for preserving and sustaining memory in the conservation of sites of memory. So as to constitute this framework through a theoretical inquiry into memory and place, the thesis intends to, on one hand, designate proper analysis methods for understanding and evaluating memory-value in relation to place, on the other hand, set out principles to be considered in order to conserve a heritage site as a locus of memory[1].

This thesis takes Ankara Ulucanlar Central Closed Prison as the case study primarily because it is a peculiar example of a 'site of conscience'. However, Ulucanlar prison as a case also provides other suitable conditions that make it

[1] Here, the term *locus* directly refers to the Roman *Ars Memorativa* tradition

possible to focus directly on the theoretical study of the relationship between memory and place to present and discuss the framework intended.

Ankara Ulucanlar C. C. Prison is the oldest prison complex of modern Turkey that was originally designed and constructed as a prison in Early Republican Era.

The prison complex built in the architectural style of *First National Architectural Movement* in 1925 was gradually clustered by the alterations and additions of new buildings due to the needs of the time, and is composed of a group of buildings that witnessed various phases of political history of Turkish Republic, particularly during the periods of the military coup d'états when masses were imprisoned with political accusations.

From its construction as a prison in 1925 to its closure in 2006 and to the present, it has turned into an iconic landmark in collective memory through the state-led violations of basic rights and liberties, revolts of inmates against these violations, and the detention and executions of those who opposed politically to the established state authority. As many prominent intellectuals, journalists, writers and poets became forced inhabitants of the Ulucanlar C. C. Prison with the accusation of being political criminals, the complex had also eventually turned into a milieu of literature and art.

The first interpretation[2] activities of the prison were given a start by the Chamber of Architects of Turkey Ankara Branch following the evacuation of the prison in the August of 2006. In December 2006 (under the special permission of the General Directorate of Prisons and Detention Houses affiliated with the Ministry of Justice) the Chamber organized a technical trip to the prison by an expert group/delegation. Therefore, Ulucanlar C. C. Prison, for the first time in its history, was exposed to a civic gaze and documented in such a way as to reach out a

[2] "Interpretation refers to the full range of potential activities intended to heighten public awareness and enhance understanding of cultural heritage site. These can include print and electronic publications, public lectures, on-site and directly related off-site installations, educational programmes, community activities, and ongoing research, training, and evaluation of the interpretation process itself" (ICOMOS 2008, 4).

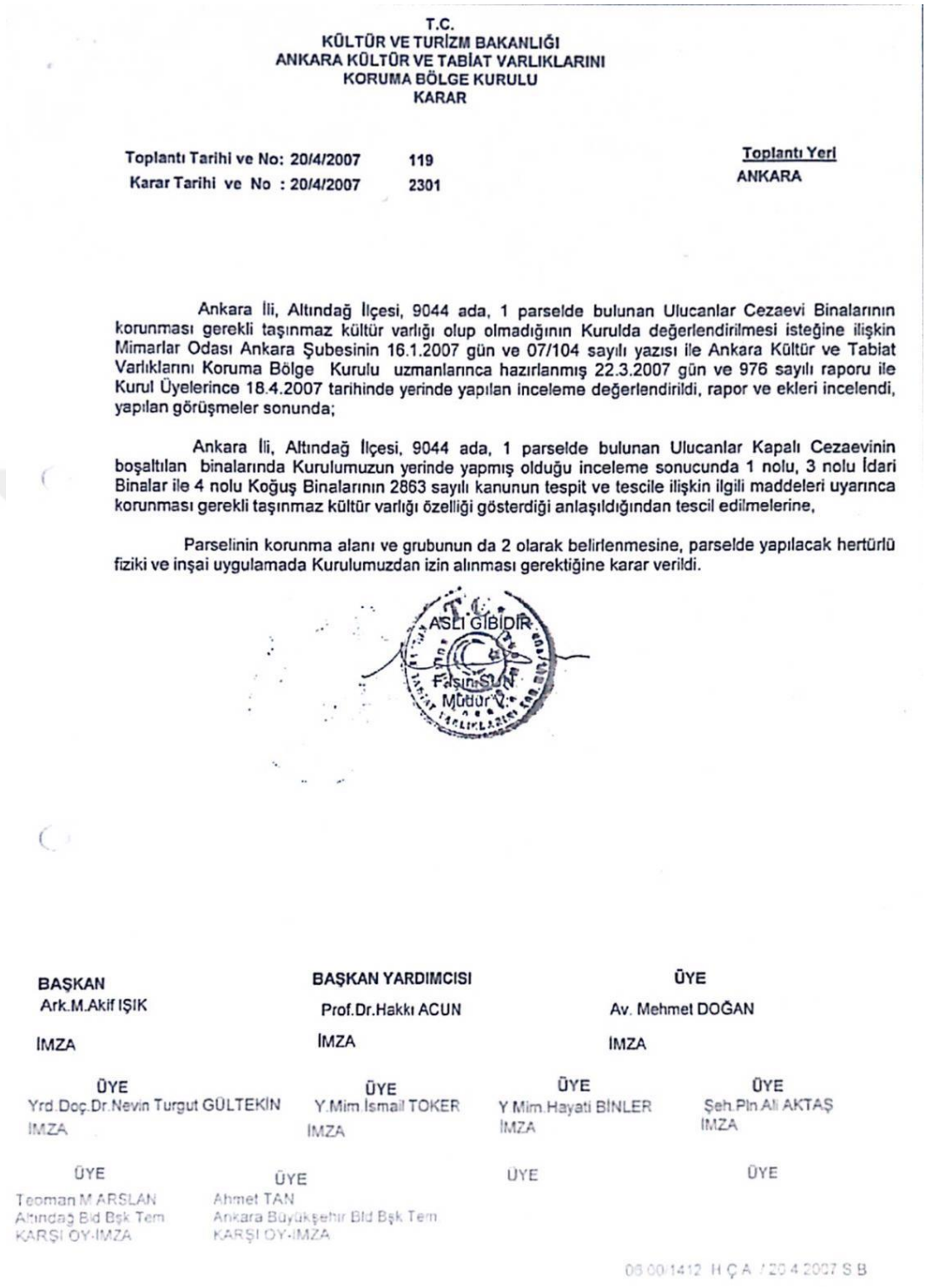
detailed visual archive comprised of photographs and videos. Based on the visual observations made during this first site visit, the Chamber of Architects of Turkey Ankara Branch prepared a technical report about the building stock together with a sketch plan of the prison, stressing its significance in respect to its historical/documentary, memory/identity, architectural, functional/economical and continuity values. With this report, the Chamber applied to The Regional Council of Ankara for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property for the registration call of the prison as a 'cultural property' on the 16th of January, 2007 and took the first step for the conservation of the site.

In order to raise public awareness and constitute a platform for discussions and ideas on the future of the prison, the Chamber of Architects of Turkey Ankara Branch, with the collaboration of Ankara Bar Association, held an architecture competition in two separate categories for graduate and under-graduate students of architecture. The national competition, titled 'Ulucanlar Central Prison Evaluation Project' was organized as the first of a competition series under the general title of 'Urban Utopias' that were about the industrial and modern heritage sites having the risk of ignorance and demolition. The competition announced on the 1st of February, 2007, resulted on the 6th of May in the same year.

Following the completion of the competition, the Chamber of Architects of Turkey Ankara Branch and Ankara Bar Association organized a series of events; first with the theme of 'Festival in Ulucanlar' (*Ulucanlar'da Şenlik Var*) between 18th-30th of May, then in the name of 'Towards the Social Forum of Architecture: Architecture Festival 2007' (*Mimarlığın Sosyal Forumuna Doğru: Mimarlık Şenliği 2007*) between 15th -27th of October, 2007 including panel discussions, exhibitions, film screening sessions and workshops on the Ulucanlar prison and its place in the collective memory. After 82 years from its establishment in 1925, the prison was opened to the public and visited by thousands of people from different walks of life, such as former ordinary and political prisoners and their families, students of art and architecture, photographers, etc. One of the valuable contributions of these interpretive efforts was the workshop on oral history

conducted with the participation of the former political prisoners of Ulucanlar. The collected interviews focusing on the memories of witnesses of the Ulucanlar Prison were further published with the title “The withness’ Ulucanlar, Oral History” (TMMOB 2010).

During the ongoing awareness rising activities, the prison complex was registered as a cultural property on the 20th of April, 2007 by the decree of The Regional Council of Ankara for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property after the application of the Chamber of Architects based on the consensus on the historical value of the buildings no.1, no.3 and no.4 (Fig. 1. 1.,2.).



T.C.
KÜLTÜR VE TURİZM BAKANLIĞI
ANKARA KÜLTÜR VE TABİAT VARLIKLARINI
KORUMA BÖLGE KURULU
KARAR

Toplantı Tarihi ve No: 20/4/2007 119
Karar Tarihi ve No : 20/4/2007 2301

Toplantı Yeri
ANKARA

Ankara İli, Altındağ İlçesi, 9044 ada, 1 parselde bulunan Ulucanlar Cezaevi Binalarının korunması gerekli taşınmaz kültür varlığı olup olmadığının Kurulda değerlendirilmesi isteğine ilişkin Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesinin 16.1.2007 gün ve 07/104 sayılı yazısı ile Ankara Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Bölge Kurulu uzmanlarınca hazırlanmış 22.3.2007 gün ve 976 sayılı raporu ile Kurul Üyelerince 18.4.2007 tarihinde yerinde yapılan inceleme değerlendirildi, rapor ve ekleri incelendi, yapılan görüşmeler sonunda;

Ankara İli, Altındağ İlçesi, 9044 ada, 1 parselde bulunan Ulucanlar Kapalı Cezaevinin boşaltılan binalarında Kurulumuzun yerinde yapmış olduğu inceleme sonucunda 1 nolu, 3 nolu İdari Binalar ile 4 nolu Koğuş Binalarının 2863 sayılı kanunun tespit ve tescile ilişkin ilgili maddeleri uyarınca korunması gerekli taşınmaz kültür varlığı özelliği gösterdiği anlaşıldığından tescil edilmelerine,

Parselinin korunma alanı ve grubunun da 2 olarak belirlenmesine, parselde yapılacak hertürlü fiziki ve inşai uygulamada Kurulumuzdan izin alınması gerektiğine karar verildi.

ASLI GİBİDİR
Fasıma SUN
Müdür V.

BAŞKAN
Ark.M.Akif IŞIK
İMZA

BAŞKAN YARDIMCISI
Prof.Dr.Hakkı ACUN
İMZA

ÜYE
Av. Mehmet DOĞAN
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Yrd.Doç.Dr.Nevin Turgut GÜLTEKİN
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KARŞI OY-İMZA

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Figure1.1. Registration decree of Ulucanlar Central Closed Prison as a cultural property by The Regional Council of Ankara for the Conservation Cultural and Natural Property

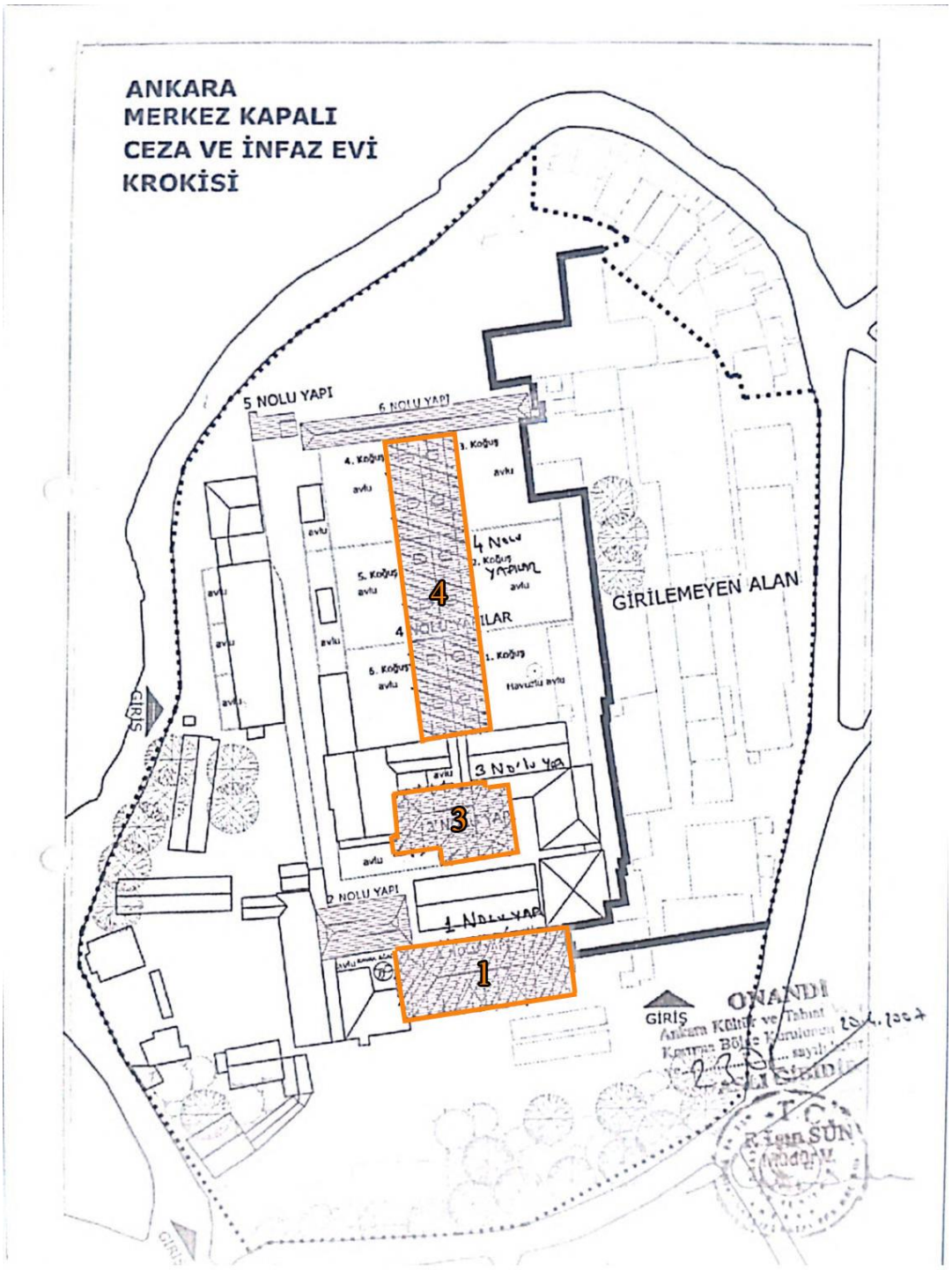


Figure1.2. The sketch plan of Ulucanlar Central Closed Prison showing registered buildings as an annex to the registration decree: No.1 Administration building, No.3 Infirmary building, No.4 The ward complex.

Accordingly, a protocol was signed by the Chamber of Architects of Turkey Ankara Branch, Ankara Bar Association, Ministry of Justice and Altındağ Municipality (on the 12th of February, 2008). With this protocol, the ownership of the prison lot was transferred from Ministry of Justice to Altındağ Municipality on the condition that it be used for social and cultural purposes as a museum and film studio. Following the protocol, Figen Kıvılcım Çorakbaş, Gürem Fahriye Özbayar Sargın and I (Zeynep Kutlu) as the 1st prize winner team of architectural project competition in the graduate category was assigned by Altındağ Municipality to prepare the restoration projects with the aim of transforming Ulucanlar C. C. Prison to Ulucanlar Prison museum, cultural and art center.

The concept project prepared for the competition constituted the preliminary stage, in which the research question of this thesis about how to preserve and transmit memory especially in difficult heritage places was originally asked by the project team in search for answers. Later, in the preparation phase of the restoration project, the project team, being aware of the unique memory-value of the prison, revised the previous concept project in line with the demands of Altındağ Municipality to the extent that they were reasonable in terms of the preservation of the values of the site.

Throughout the approval process of the projects, the Regional Conservation Council had a strong emphasis on the historical value of the prison for its being a monumental representation of the Early Republican Era. This was not surprising given the fact that the prison was registered by the council thanks to three buildings in the complex, which are determined to have historical value. The Regional Council had a certain position supporting the preservation of the historic buildings of 1925 by cleaning out the later additions and turning the prison into its original architectural design. Nevertheless, with the support of the Chamber of architects, the restoration projects approved by the council managed to preserve certain constructions of later periods having significance in the collective memory.

Our experience in the Ulucanlar prison restoration project revealed not only that the conservation of heritage in practice needs to develop an understanding of the memory-value of architectural heritage, but also that there is a lack for established analyzing methods and principles to follow in the decision-making processes of memory places, and these can be gained through the studies on the subject in an academic framework.

All in all, Ulucanlar Central Closed Prison has been chosen as the case for this study primarily because it is a peculiar example of a 'site of conscience' with architectural and historic documentary values. Besides, the prison stands as a suitable case that makes it possible to focus directly on the theoretical study in order to present the framework intended (defining the analyzing methods and the principles) for the preservation of memory-value, based on two major reasons;

- First, considering the fact that the intangible content of an architectural heritage cannot be understood independently of its physical fabric, all the data and evaluations related to the physical fabric of the prison were obtained during the preparation process of the approved restoration project, and so are available to be utilized in this study.
- Second, there exists a collection of interviews conducted with former political prisoners which can be used as the source of data in the memory-analyses, defined by the study.

1.3 Methodology and Structure

The thesis at hand is developed in two main parts, theoretical part and case study. Firstly, a theoretical inquiry is conducted for the conceptual grounding and subsequent presentation of the framework proposed for the conservation of architectural heritage as a locus of memory. Secondly, the proposed theoretical framework is applied to the case of Ulucanlar Central Closed Prison and the

findings of the study are discussed within the transformation process of the prison in practice.

The theoretical part is carried out in two consecutive chapters, namely chapter two and chapter three.

In chapter two titled ‘On the Concept of Memory: From Individual to Collective”, the concept of memory is examined; both the individualistic and collectivistic approaches to the theorization of memory are discussed covering both contemporary and historical perspectives. This chapter was concluded with a brief evaluation section.

Chapter three titled ‘Memory, Place and Architectural Heritage: A Framework for the Conservation of Architectural Heritage as a Locus of Memory’ is threefold. First of all, the association between place and memory is investigated. This part holds a phenomenological inquiry on the interrelationship between ‘place’ and ‘memory’ in an endeavor to explore it with relation to ‘body’ at the individual level and then examines its reflections at the collective level, drawing on Halbwachs’ and Nora’s works. Second, the place and consideration of ‘memory-value’ within the realm of architectural heritage conservation are reviewed from past to present. This part examines memory-value in relation to architectural heritage, taking on the issue from its reflections in antiquity to the interpretation and memorialization processes in ‘sites of memory’ and ‘sites of conscience’ of the 21st century. Third, following an overall evaluation of the theoretical part, a framework that presents the analyzing methods and principles to conserve a heritage site as a ‘locus of memory’ is proposed. Drawing on a broad theoretical background, the presented framework is mainly built on three theoretical pillars: Bergson’s, Halbwachs’ and Nora’s works on memory.

Chapter four includes the case study of the thesis and consists of two parts. In the first part, after the historical and architectural description provided for a comprehensive understanding of the prison, the memory-image of Ulucanlar Central Closed Prison is portrayed in accordance with the presented framework. In

the second part, the transformation process of Ulucanlar Prison, including the competition project *Conservatory Ulucanlar* and the approved restoration project of Ulucanlar Prison Museum, Cultural and Art Center, is explicated and discussed with the findings of the case study.

CHAPTER 2

ON THE CONCEPT OF MEMORY: FROM INDIVIDUAL TO COLLECTIVE

The concept of memory has been the subject of many philosophical and scientific inquiries beginning from the ancient times. Although it is an age-old concept that has been put up for discussions since the Classical Greek, it is possible to assert that "a new phase in the contemplation of memory" has been entered especially in the late 1970s and endured through the millennium (Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Levy 2011, 3). This new phase of growing interest in 'memory' is referred to as 'memory boom' which is generally seen as a combined outcome of various contributing factors.[3] And it manifested itself in the boost of inquiries on memory not only in the realm of science and scholarship but also in literature, art and media including "memoir writing, curatorial work, oral history projects, and the like" (4).

From the ancient treatises on memory to the extensive amount of memory related research accelerated by the memory boom of the late 20th century, memory has obviously been confirmed as a complex and so interdisciplinary concept which can hardly be explained by a single definition. The interdisciplinary context of memory studies encompasses a huge range of disciplines from philosophy and its sub-disciplines such as phenomenology, epistemology, philosophy of psychology, social theory and ethics, to social sciences, such as political science, anthropology, history, psychology, sociology, cultural studies and linguistics, and to applied sciences, such as neuroscience, neurology, cognitive psychology, genetics, etc. Furthermore, memory which has always been of notable interest in the history of

[3] See Section 3.2.2 Memory Boom & Its Reflections on Heritage: Memory-Value and Difficult Heritage.

philosophy has recently become the topic of a distinct field of philosophical study and research known as ‘philosophy of memory’ (Michaelian and Sutton 2017).

While each discipline defines the ‘concept of memory’ by processing its different forms or aspects, it is possible to comprehend the concept in a broader sense as “the basic form of our relationship to the past, of our existence in time” (Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Levy 2011, 6). Memory as a term is commonly used “to refer to instances where information of the past is made available for present purposes” (Werning and Cheng 2017, 7). Similarly, Sutton defines ‘memory’ in Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (2010) as “a diverse set of cognitive capacities by which we retain information and reconstruct past experiences, usually for present purposes.”

2.1 On Terminology and Taxonomy: Kinds of Memory

The vast amount of memory studies in a broad range of disciplines reveal that the traditional terminology used for the categories of memory has varied from writer to writer, summing up to an enormous number of categories in memory literature (Tulving 1972, 385). In 1972, Tulving, one of the cognitive psychologists and neuroscientists who made remarkable contributions to the understanding of memory, counted 25 or so memory categories in *Models of Human Memory*, a collection of essays published in 1970 (382). Thirty five years later, Tulving (2007a) published another essay entitled *Are There 256 Different Kinds of Memory?*, where he collected 256 memory terms from the interdisciplinary framework of memory studies.

It is obviously far beyond the scope and the aim of this thesis to cover all enounced categories of memory. Nevertheless, a brief outline of the widely accepted taxonomies and the introduction of a more-or-less common terminology structured within the two fundamental disciplines of memory studies, philosophy and

psychology, is considered to be relevant in order to grasp the full picture of 'individual memory' and then to focus on the collective memory.'

Even though the attempts to identify different forms of memory (or remembering) may well be traced back to Aristotle, it was the 1970s and 1980s when the existence of multiple forms of memory was concretely recognized and the commonly accepted and prominent taxonomies were structured in cognitive psychology and neuroscience.

One of the most influential taxonomies of memory has been a 'scalar taxonomy', that is, *the multi store model of memory* developed by Atkinson and Shiffrin in 1968 (Werning and Cheng 2017, 10). They proposed that human memory is divided into three stores having different durations in time: sensory register, short-term store and long-term store. Each one of them corresponds to a different type of memory. The sensory memory is limited to a several hundred milliseconds. The short-term memory, aka working memory, can store information up to 30 seconds (Atkinson, and Shiffrin 1968, 92). Finally, the long-term memory, which we refer to as 'human memory' in ordinary language, constitutes the relatively permanent information that can be durable for a lifetime.

The tremendous number of empirical studies in psychology and neuroscience confirmed the age-old apprehension of philosophy that (long-term) memory has many distinct forms and that it is impossible to structure a theory of memory unless its forms are distinguished and studied separately. Along with this, the studies organizing the long-term memories into taxa have emerged and developed. Indeed, there has existed a variety of taxonomies based on different and even controversial criteria from now and then. Among them, a 'hierarchical taxonomy' of memory, to which Squire and Zola-Morgan gave its last shape in 1988, has become a widely accepted and prominent one[4] (Werning and Cheng 2017, 11).

[4] To note here, alternative taxonomies have been proposed in philosophy resting on grammatical or phenomenological approaches so as to classify kinds of memory, or remembering. As an example of

In this hierarchical taxonomy, the domain of memory is distinguished between two main kinds (Fig. 2.1.). While one of them constitutes "the basis for conscious recollections of facts and events" (Squire 1992, 232), the other includes "a collection of unconscious memory abilities" like habits, skills, priming, and simple conditioning (233). The former kind of memory (which was earlier referred to as *explicit memory* or as *propositional memory*[5]) is named as *declarative memory* since the information it includes "can be declared or brought to mind as a proposition or image" through a conscious recollection. The latter kind of memory (which was earlier referred to as *implicit memory* or as *procedural memory*) is called *non-declarative memory* as an inclusive and neutral term for it involves a heterogeneous group of abilities that are simply 'not declarative' in common. In *non-declarative memory*, "the information is accessible only in performance," as experienced in the performance of the motor skills such as riding a bicycle, and so "not as a conscious recollection" (Squire and Zola-Morgan 1988, 171).

grammatical approach, Bernecker (2010, 19-23) has suggested "a classification in terms of the grammatical objects of the verb 'to remember'," and distinguished the following from one another: 'memory for objects (persons and things)', 'memory for properties', 'memory for events', and 'memory for propositions or facts'. On the other hand, Casey (2000, 48-64) has divided the act of remembering (on the basis of distinct phenomenological characteristics) into two categories including four main and four minor types. First, he discerned the main types of remembering as 'remembering simpliciter', 'remembering-that' 'remembering-how',' and 'remembering-to'. Second, he listed the subsidiary types of remembering as 'remembering-as', 'remembering-what', 'remembering on-the-occasion-of' and 'remembering the future.'

[5] In *Elements of Episodic Memory*, Tulving (1983, 8) splits memory into two main categories: *procedural memory* and *propositional memory*. While the former category of *operational/procedural memory* includes the perceptual-motor and cognitive skills, the latter category, which is labelled as *propositional memory,* includes the "knowledge that can be represented and expressed symbolically" and consists of two subordinate categories named *semantic* and *episodic* memory (9). Besides being referred to as the superordinate category that involves both semantic and episodic memory (as Tulving does), *propositional memory* is also occasionally used as a substitute for (only) *semantic memory* in the memory literature.

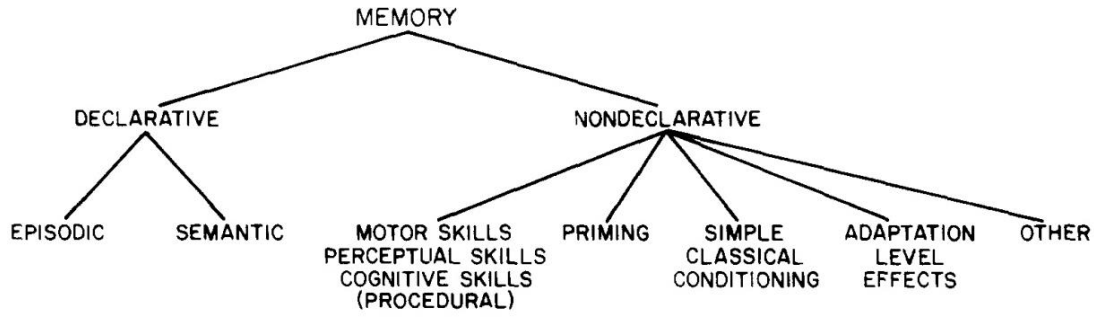


Figure2.1. Hierarchical taxonomy of memory (Squire and Zola-Morgan 1988, 171).

The *declarative memory* is the kind of memory which is usually meant when the words 'memory', 'remembering', 'recall' and 'recollection' are used in everyday language, and comprised of two separate and yet interrelated/interdependent systems, *episodic memory* and *semantic memory*, introduced firstly by Tulving in 1972. *Episodic memory* is basically "the memory of personally experienced events [and episodes]" (Werning and Cheng 2017, 11). In Tulving's words (1972, 385), it "receives and stores information about temporally dated episodes or events, and temporal-spatial relations among these events." On the other hand, *semantic memory* is the "general [atemporal] knowledge about oneself and the world" (Werning and Cheng 2017, 11).

The terminology introduced at the end of 20th century within the realm of psychology and also highly adopted by some philosophers was new, yet the focus on different kinds of memory was not (Michaelian and Sutton 2017). In fact, 'the kinds of memory' had long been a topic of interest in philosophy, stretching back to antiquity.

When the philosophical literature on memory is examined, there exists a general consensus on a tripartite division on the forms of memory*: habit memory*[6]*, factual*

[6] *Habit memory* corresponds roughly to non-declarative memory of psychologists and is used interchangeably with practical / rote / skill / operational / procedural memory among philosophers on occasion.

memory[7] and *personal memory*[8] (Bernecker and Bogart 2015). Despite the consensus on this tripartite division, in the philosophical literature rests a terminological problem, that is, the great multiplicity of terms due to the each writer's developing his/her "own technical term for the same construct" (Brewer 1995, 32). As an explicit example of this multiplicity, the memory of personally experienced events, aka episodic memory, being the most focused and examined kind of memory, has been referred to by a number of different terms, e.g., recollection/recollective memory (Bergson [1896] 1911; Brewer 1995), true memory (Russell [1921] 2001), perceptual memory (Broad 1925), personal memory (D. Locke 1971; Brewer 1986) and so on[9].

A quick historical overview shows that the early attempts to distinguish different kinds of memory may be traced back to Aristotle's differentiation between memory (*mnêmê*) and recollection (*anamnêsis*). However, the traditional philosophy, e.g., the British empiricists, associates 'memory' completely with the episodic/recollective memory, without implying any difference between its diverse forms. In modern philosophy, the first notable distinction within memory was that of Bergson's ([1896] 1911) between habit memory (*mémoire-habitude*) and episodic/recollective memory (*mémoire-souvenir*). Bergson's fundamental distinction was later followed by Bertrand Russell (1921). Respectively, in 1925, approximately 45 years earlier than the taxonomies of memory in psychology, Broad (1925, 221) firstly mentioned three basic kinds of memory: habit memory, episodic/recollective memory and semantic memory[10] (Brewer 1995, 21).

[7] *Factual memory* corresponds to semantic memory of psychologists and is used interchangeably with propositional memory on occasion.

[8] *Personal memory* corresponds to episodic memory of psychologists and is used interchangeably with recollective / experiential / direct memory among philosophers. In this thesis, the terms *episodic memory* and *recollective memory* are used interchangeably and so referring to the same form of memory.

[9] For a full list of terms used as a substitute for episodic memory, see Brewer (1996, 21).

[10] In the absence of an established terminology, Broad used the phrase 'the memory of propositions' for semantic memory and 'the memory of particular events, places, persons, or things' for episodic/recollective memory, and named the latter as *perceptual memory* due to its being closely analogous to perception from an empiricist viewpoint.

Consequently, this tripartite approach set the basis for further philosophical studies on memory (D. Locke 1971).

2.2 On Metaphysics and Phenomenology: Theories of Memory

The metaphysics of memory may broadly be understood as the inquiries on memory from the perspective of philosophy of mind (Michaelian and Sutton 2017). The phenomenology of memory can be simply defined as the study of the mental experience of remembering. In essence, they together reflect on the following question: if memory is taken as 'the basic form of our relationship to the past', how is this relationship with the past established? And both set the core of the studies in the field of 'philosophy of memory.'

The episodic/recollective memory, or *'*memory *par excellence*' in Bergson's words ([1896] 1911, 95), constitutes the central form of memory for phenomenological and empirical studies due to its experiential content that is possible to be accessed through conscious recollection of past events.[11] From an overview of the studies in the field of philosophy of memory may be derived two fundamental subject-matters concerning episodic/recollective memory, 'the objects of memory' and 'the memory-images'.

The object(s) of memory, to which we are related when we remember, is an issue discussed in the domain of metaphysics of memory transferred from the philosophy of perception. On the other hand, the ways in which memory-images are conceptualized directly relate to the conceptualization of memory and the phenomenon of remembering and so encapsulate the discussions on both the analogy between memory and perception and the difference between memory and imagination. The theories of memory (concerning episodic/recollective

[11]The phenomenological aspects of other forms of memory are quite elusive and hard to be studied in comparison to episodic/recollective memory.

remembering) develop from and rotate around these subject-matters which will be examined in the following section.

2.2.1 The Object(s) of Memory: Representative Realism Vs Direct Realism

Remembering as a mental experience is the awareness of past events that "do not exist at the time at which we are aware of them" (Michaelian 2016, 63). This acknowledgment constitutes the line of reasoning behind the dominant view of modern philosophy that remembering entails 'representations of past events' retained within the individual and thus builds the ground for 'the representative theory of memory'.

However, while the representative theory is generally held to be the traditional view within the philosophy of memory (Senor 2009), the philosophical debate over whether memory provides direct or indirect awareness of the past has historically had two opposing sides, namely, indirect/representative realism (the indirect/representative theory of memory) and direct realism (the direct theory of memory).[12] To put the competing claims of these two sides in simple terms, for direct realists, the primary object(s) of memory that we relate to when we remember is the past itself; for indirect/representative realists, it is the mental/internal representation(s) of the past, not the past itself directly.

As Bernecker (2008, 65) puts it, according to indirect/representative realists "one remembers something not by way of being directly aware of that thing, but rather a mediating image which represents that thing. To remember is to undergo a certain sort of mental experience. It is to experience a mental representation – usually called a "memory-image" – which reproduces some past sense-experience". In this regard, the representative theory of memory set the standard view of the traditional

[12] This debate is a continuation of the distinction between the representative realism and direct realism about perception. For further information see Bernecker (2008, 62-68).

philosophy advocated by the British empiricists, e.g., John Locke, David Hume and Bertrand Russell. Among his contemporaries, Thomas Reid stood exceptional for defending direct realism in his accounts of memory.

The strongly held idea of the 'memory-image' (or 'memory-trace') "acquired in past experience somehow 'represents' that experience, or carries information about it" has been very influential and seen "at the heart of the 'representative' or 'indirect' realism in the philosophy of memory" for a long period of time (Sutton 2010). In line with this, the representative theorists of memory have been in majority, albeit until recently. Today, the contemporary direct realist theories do not exclude the concept of memory-image[13]. In their accounts, they declare that the awareness (in remembering) is of the past, not of the memory-image. This is so because they define memory-image as "merely the vehicle of the remembered information", not a representation of it. This approach has resulted in an increase in the number of theorists in favor of direct realism (Bernecker 2008, 61-68).

2.2.2 Memory-Images: From Preservative to Generative Theories of Memory

Memory-images have been implied in almost every account on memory starting from Plato's, the first known writings on the subject in the Western canon. In the early accounts, metaphors were consistently used to mediate the conceptualization of memory-image, and so of the memory itself. For the ancient philosophers like Plato and Aristotle, memory-images were the images imprinted by perceptions upon the mind (or the soul) just like the imprints of a seal imprinted by a signet-ring upon a wax-block (Chappell 2017b, 399). In keeping with this ancient metaphor, the empiricist philosophers, such as J. Locke and Hume ([1739] 2009), equated the memory-images with the 'ideas' derived from 'impressions' while envisaging memory as "the Store-house of our *Ideas*" (J. Locke [1690] 2007, 75).

[13] Bernecker finds more appropriate to use the term 'memory-data' instead of 'memory-image'.

Another early and renowned analogical explanation for memory-images was the example (found in Wittgenstein) that carries the structural analogy between the musical sound and the grooves on a phonographic record over to the relation between the original experience and the memory-image. Along the same lines with this structural analogy, Martin and Deutscher (1966, 189) later interpreted the memory-image[14] as the "structural analogue of what was experienced".

These antecedent metaphors reveal two longstanding consensual agreements on the conception of memory. The first is that memory is basically a twofold process defined by the activities of 'collection' and 'recollection', of 'acquisition' and 'recall' (or, in scientific terms, of 'encoding' and 'retrieval'). The second is that "mental experience[s]…leave residue in the soul, or mind" during the activity of 'collection', which allows later the 'recollection' of the experience (Tulving 2007b, 65). This "residue" taken neuroscientifically as a neural change generated by a mental experience has been called by various terms such as memory-image, memory-trace, memory-data, engram, coding, representation, etc. (65). Among them, 'memory-image' and 'memory-trace' have been most widely referred to. In this study, they are used interchangeably on occasion, and yet the term 'memory-image' is preferred over the other due to the connotative character of the word 'image', which has been articulated in a broad range of accounts on the philosophy of memory from Aristotle's *eikōn* and Hegel's *bild* to Bergson's *souvenir image*. Although, in a phenomenological sense, the word 'image' has a particular connotation to the occurrence of visual imagery during recollection, the term 'memory-image' does not necessarily refer to a literal 'image' of visual kind.

Despite the consensus on the existence of memory-images, there are different opinions on their nature, each of which suggests a particular theory about (episodic/recollective) remembering on a spectrum ranging from preservative to generative conceptions of memory.

[14] Note that Martin and Deutscher (1966) prefer to use the term memory-trace in place of memory-image.

As implied in the early metaphors of memory-images, the preliminary accounts on memory took memory-images as the copies or analogues of past sensations, experiences or events that are completely static in nature. Memory-images were conceptualized as 'fixed', 'lifeless' and 'unchangeable' entities 'stored up' in the 'memory' spatially analogous to a 'store-house', 'ware-house' or 'repository'.[15] Thus, memory was held as a passive storage which preserves the copies of sense-experiences and reproduces them in a reduplicative manner when needed. This preservative conception of memory, the origins of which were rooted in the treatises of ancient Greek philosophers, is named *passivism* by Edward S. Casey (2000, 15). The models (or theories) having this preservative/passivist approach are categorized as *archival, storehouse, Xerox* models or *copy* theories of memory.[16]

Frederic Bartlett, in his foundational work 'Remembering' published in 1932, manifested the dynamic nature of memory-images for the first time and so put forth the (re)constructive character of memory in a series of experiments in the field of psychology.[17] His seminal study confirmed that memory is not a passive process which simply reproduces the stored information but an active process that constantly reconstructs it. This study defined the outset of the generative conception of memory, which is named as *activism* by Casey (2000, 15). The models (or theories) having this generative/activist approach are also called *correspondence* conception or *constructive/reconstructive* theories of memory.

Bartlett ([1932] 1995) opposed to the former preservative/passivist idea that memory-images (or memory-traces) are a group of traces bound to each other (which gives the associative character to memory) and that each trace of an

[15] The phrase of 'stored up' is taken from Ebbinghaus (1885) quoted in Tulving (1983, 157). The phrases of 'fixed', 'lifeless' and 'unchangeable' are Bartlett's ([1932] 1995). The metaphors of 'store-house' and 'repository' are of J. Locke([1690; 1975] 2007, 75). Finally, Tulving (1983, 5) extracted the phrase of 'ware-house' from the June 1807 issue of the *Philosophical Magazine*.

[16] While 'archival' and 'storehouse' are generic terms, 'Xerox model' is employed by Bernecker (2008 144-146) and 'copy theory' by Brewer ([1986] 1989, 41).

[17] Although Bartlett does not cite Bergson, Wagoner (2013) claims that there exists a not-yet revealed link between their works. Similarly, I think, Bergsonian ideas, such as 'dynamic scheme' and 'effort of memory', seem to have influenced Bartlett's study.

individual and specific event retains its unchangeable/static individuality having only the capacity of "simple re-excitation, or pure reproduction" of the original event. On the contrary, Bartlett conceptualized memory-images as 'dynamic', 'changing' and 'malleable' entities forming a dynamic "organised mass" which acts as a whole rather than as "a group of elements each of which retains its specific character"[18] (197). Bartlett states that our past impressions (or memory-images) do not stand fixed side by side as if they were in a 'store-house', but rather they get organized in models, or patterns, which are "living, constantly developing, affected by every bit of incoming sensational experience of a given kind" (200). These dynamic models are called 'schemata'. Bartlett explained 'schema' simply as "an active organisation of past reactions, or of past experiences," which operates (not in fragments but) "as a unitary mass" (*en masse*) behind all human cognitive reactions and influences them (201).

In his experiments, Bartlett showed that the perceptual processes as the first step of memory (also named 'collection' or 'encoding') demand "an effort after meaning," that is, an effort "to connect what is given with something else" for perceptual processes to be completed. In these processes, the 'schema' is utilized unwittingly so that "the immediate perceptual data have meaning, can be dealt with, and are assimilated" (44-45). In short, every 'encoding' (or collection) involves an unwitting schema-mediated 'retrieval' (recollection), and so our perceptions are in the first place mostly inferential 'schematic' constructions (33). As next step, every 'retrieval' stimulated by an immediate cue (or stimuli) is a bringing back together what has already been in the long-term memory and also an 'encoding' performing as a feedback, which leads to changes in the contents of the 'schema' and hence affects the whole by reconstructing it.[19] Overall, memory is "a complicated

[18] The phrases of 'dynamic', 'changing' and 'malleable' are Tulving's (2007b, 65).
[19] This also reveals that the reconstructive process of memory operates in a mutually interlocking relation of semantic and episodic memory. Likewise, so Tulving (1972, 392) states, the semantic memory strongly influences the episodic memory at both encoding and retrieval stages.

process, both constructing the item initially at encoding and reconstructing it later at retrieval" (Senor 2017, 326).

In Bartlett's words ([1932] 1995), remembering is summarized as "an imaginative reconstruction, or construction, built out of the relation of our attitude towards a whole active mass of organised past reactions or experience, and to a little outstanding detail which commonly appears in image or in language form…The attitude is literally an effect of the organism's capacity to turn round upon its own 'schemata', and is directly a function of consciousness" (213). Simply put, according to the general theory of Bartlett, memory is a 'schematically' determined (re)construction of the past which slightly draws apart from imagination due to its dependence to a 'schema'.

To slightly digress, Bartlett was also one of the early scholars to mention the social influences on the construction of individual memory. For, he argued, the tendencies of organized social groups (that form conventions, sentiments, traditions, customs, institutions, etc.) have a strong influence on the formation of individual 'schemata' of group members, the memory of individuals is fundamentally dependent on the social context in which they operate.

After Bartlett, the copy theories or store-house models of memory have been strongly discredited and the reconstructive/generative character of memory is widely accepted in almost every field of memory studies. Nevertheless, the preservative conception of memory is still somewhat present in a considerable amount of current philosophical research. All things considered, in the domain of memory, the mainstream position held for episodic/recollective remembering appears as "the partial reconstructive view" (or moderate versions of preservative and generative conceptions) which basically suggests that "stored information provides the raw materials out of which the subject constructs representations of the past" (Michaelian and Sutton 2017). Brewer as a proponent of 'the partial reconstructive view' explains the episodic/recollective remembering as such: "recent personal memories retain a relatively large amount of specific information

from the original phenomenal experience (e.g., location, point of view) but that with time, or under strong schema-based processes, the original experience can be reconstructed to produce a new nonveridical personal memory that retains most of the phenomenal characteristics of other personal memories (e.g., strong visual imagery, strong belief value)" (Brewer 1986, 44). However, it is a fact to note that generative conception of memory is on the rise and the new millennial theories of memory stem from thoroughly generationist ideas (Michaelian and Sutton 2017).

From a general review of memory studies can be classified three prominent theories of (episodic/recollective) remembering, namely the *empiricist*, the *causal* and the *simulation* theories[20], each having different attitudes towards memory ranging from preservative to generative perspectives.

The first and the earliest one is the empiricist theory, which reflects the preservative paradigm inherited from the classical Greek heritage. The empiricist theory constituted the dominant view of the traditional philosophy on memory and has been influential from the end of 17th century till the second half of the 20th century (Michaelian and Sutton 2017).

From a preservative and representative realist perspective, empiricists envisage memory as the repository of 'ideas' or 'conceptions' that are the "slightly faded copies of sensory experiences" (Bernecker 2008, 146). For an empiricist, these 'ideas' are the preserved images of perceptions and both the imagination and memory draw on these images. Thus, it is essential for an empiricist theory to identify a mark or sign, namely, a "Memory-Indicator" (Holland 1954), which is "a phenomenological signature" so as to distinguish remembering from perceiving and imagining (Teroni 2017, 27). With this, the phenomenological aspects of episodic/recollective remembering have stood as a central theme in the empiricist theories.

[20] In this study, the epistemic theory is omitted from the classification for being related rather to semantic memory than episodic memory.

As would be understood from the statement of Russell ([1921] 2001, 130) that "[m]emory demands…an image, [and]…a belief in past existence", the 'occurrence of visual imagery' together with an accompanying 'belief-feeling of knowing' (or 'belief-feeling of reality' that the content of imagery really existed) are the two fundamental features mostly seen as memory-indicators in the phenomenology of remembering.

For many empiricists, the visualized representations of past episodes (or memory imagery) were a defining feature of episodic/recollective memory (Brewer 1995, 23). Along with this, the phenomenological characteristics of memory imagery were described in a number of accounts. Among them, the mostly mentioned phenomenological aspects of memory imagery are their 'vividness' when compared to imagination, their 'dimness' when compared to perception and their 'spontaneity'.[21]

To the 'feeling of knowing', an early memory-indicator dating back to the empiricist treatises of J. Locke, 'feeling of pastness' and 'feeling of familiarity' were later added as prominent memory-indicators (which accompany the visual imagery during episodic remembering) by Russell ([1921] 2001) for the first time and discussed by those who either oppose or favor them in some aspects.[22]

To slightly digress from the empiricist view of early modern philosophers, the 'episodic feeling of knowing' is still treated as a phenomenological accompanier of the episodic memory in contemporary literature (Dokic 2014). The notion of 'the episodic feeling of knowing' is in close contact with the concept of 'autonoetic (self-knowing) consciousness' first proposed by Tulving (1985). To quote from Tulving (1985, 1), 'autonoesis' is "an individual's awareness of his or her existence and identity in subjective time" and provides the individual with the capability of "mentally traveling through time to re-experience an event" (Michaelian and

[21] See Brewer (1995, 23-24) for the full list of the phenomenological characteristics of episodic/recollective memory imagery.
[22] For a detailed review of the empiricist theory of memory, see Holland (1954).

Sutton 2017). In contemporary phenomenological approaches, *autonoetic consciousness* and the feeling of *mental time travel* are the prevalent characteristics of the experience of episodic remembering.[23]

The most influential theory of episodic/recollective remembering in the second half of the 20th century has been the 'causal theory', which entails a preservative approach to a degree and a thoroughly representative realist view in the comprehension of memory[24] (Michaelian and Sutton 2017).

According to the causal theory of memory, remembering a particular past event is characterized by a 'causal connection' between one's original experience of that event and its representation in his or her memory. In Robins' words (2017, 80), for a causal theorist "remembering requires that one's representation of a past event be *because of* or *due to* [one's experience of] that event in some causal sense", and so "simply an accurate representation of one's past experience" is not sufficient for it to be regarded as remembering. In the causal theory, memory-trace[25] is an essential component to provide the necessary causal connection.

The idea that memory entails a causal relationship between a past experience and its subsequent representation (recollection) was not new at all, but the decisive role of an appropriate causal connection in designating whether one is remembering or not was underemphasized when Martin and Deutscher published their influential paper on "what it is to remember" in 1966 that provided the outline of causal theory.

Martin and Deutscher (1966, 173) put forth that "To remember an event, a person must not only represent and have experienced it, but also his [or her] experience of

[23] For detailed information on the concepts of *autonoetic consciousness* and *mental time travel* in episodic remembering, see Tulving (2001) and (2002).
[24] Although the basics of causal theory depend on a representative realist view, Bernecker (2008) in *The Metaphysics of Memory* argues for a direct realist version of the causal theory of memory.
[25] In causal theory, the term 'memory-trace' is deliberately used to stress the distinction of its new outlooks from the old connotations of 'memory-image' used in previous accounts.

it must have been operative in producing a state or successive states in him [or her] finally operative in producing his [or her] representation." Simply put, they introduced the idea that remembering requires the existence of a memory-trace which must be caused by the original experience and contribute to the production of its representation. Thus, the memory-trace constitutes the causal connection that links the gap between the past experience and its representation. Along with this, the causal theory have ruled the cases of *relearning* and *nonmemorial retention* out from the domain of remembering and since then constituted the standard view in the philosophy of memory, while having controversial debates over the detailed characterizations of memory-traces (Michaelian and Sutton 2017).

Following the causal theory, the beginning of the 21st century is marked with the new simulation theories of (episodic/recollective) remembering, which have a completely generationist conception of memory.

As a matter of fact, between 1970s and 2000s, the concept of episodic memory has considerably evolved from being understood as a system that is specialized "for storing and retrieving representations of experienced events" to being described as a single function of a major system that is "responsible for 'mental time travel' into *both* past and future" (Michaelian 2016, 97-98). This recent "conception of episodic remembering as a form of constructive mental time travel" in psychology has paved the way for a great amount of comparative research (supported by brain-imaging technologies) on the representational and phenomenological characteristics of 'remembering the past' and 'imagining the future' (Michaelian and Sutton 2017). The research results have revealed that there are considerable similarities between remembering the past and imagining the future so that it is almost impossible to make a firm distinction between them. *Episodic memory* that serves for remembering past events, *episodic future thought* that serves for imagining possible future events and *episodic counterfactual thought* that serves for imagining alternatives to past events are all observed to be the similar products of a general episodic construction system, which makes use of the information

gained from the experiences of the past events (Michaelian 2016). This new perspective has led to new simulation theories, "which see remembering as a process of imagining past events, a process in which a causal connection to the remembered event is at best incidental". At the end of the day, the simulation theory accepting the episodic memory and episodic future thought as undistinguishable cognitive processes "suggests that our episodic knowledge of future events may be on a par with our episodic knowledge of past events" (Michaelian and Sutton 2017).

It would not be wrong to say that the simulation theory has radically undermined the epistemological role of memory and challenged the somewhat traditional line of thought of the causal theory that appeals to the existence of an appropriate causal connection, that is, a memory-trace, relating the experienced episode to the episodic memory. However, while the simulation theories are on the rise day by day, there is a vast block of researchers in line with the traditional conception of memory objecting against the simulation theories and even "the idea of mental time travel" itself (Michaelian and Sutton 2017).

2.3 On the History of Philosophy of Memory: An Overview From Antiquity till the Memory-Boom of the 20th Century

Once the history of the concept of memory is observed, it reveals to be hard to speak of a continuous, chronological progress that can be traced through centuries before the memory boom of the 20th century (Rossington and Whitehead 2007, 4). Rather, as Tulving (1983, 3) stated, the history of thinking about memory constitutes a wave-like curve with ups and downs. This curve started from a peak point in around 400s BC when ancient Greek philosophers gave the first accounts on the philosophy of memory in the Western canon. After a gradual decline following the Classical Greek philosophy on memory, the curve reversed up in 17th and 18th centuries by the empiricist accounts of early modern philosophers on memory and later roughly at the end of the 19th century, the second peak was

reached—what is also known as the first memory-boom. Eventually, after a yet another decline, there occurred the third and final peak at the beginning of 1980s, namely the second memory-boom. In the following section, this historical continuum of memory discourse will be examined with reference to the canonical works of eminent thinkers who marked their time and beyond.

2.3.1 Classical Antiquity

2.3.1.1 Greek Legacy: Plato and Aristotle

Plato (427-347 BC) is the first known philosopher in Western canon who gave serious philosophical thoughts on memory. In the philosophy of Plato,[26] memory represents the "knowledge-over-time". Plato's main reflection on memory, as Chappell (2017a, 385) filters through his dialogues, is that "memory is the temporal dimension of knowledge, and remembering the temporal analogue of understanding". This idea of memory as "the basis of knowing and understanding" sets the common view of ancient Greek philosophers, which is later shared by Roman rhetoricians (Richards 2007, 21).

In *Theaetetus* (191c-d), Plato introduces the famous 'seal imprint metaphor' that explains memory as a wax-block on which our perceptions are imprinted just like the imprints of a seal. However, for Plato, as articulated in his best known dialogues *Meno* (81c-86e) and *Phaedo* (72e-77a), the soul is not only recurrent and immortal but also, for that reason, has all the knowledge of the world even before life begins. There is nothing that has not been learned but the knowledge innate in the soul has to be recollected.

In Plato's view, as Chappell (2017a, 391) puts, perceptions (or sense impressions) are not themselves our source of knowledge; rather, they are just the reminders of

[26] Unless otherwise mentioned, all references to Plato are from the collection, *The Dialogues of Plato*, published in 1892.

our knowledge of the world innate in us. At the end of the day, recollection (*anamnêsis*) for Plato is "the revival of knowledge acquired before birth" (Rossington and Whitehead 2007, 4), and learning is actually the recollection of the internal knowledge (Chappell 2017a, 390).

As another leading ancient philosopher, Aristotle[27] (384-322 BC) follows Plato's seal imprint metaphor in his contemplation of memory. But, unlike Plato, Aristotle takes perceptions (or sense impressions) as the basic source of knowledge for learning and understanding, particularly in *De Anima* (*On the Soul*) (432a7-9).

According to Aristotle's theory of knowledge, as explicated in *De Anima* (henceforth, *DA)*, when one perceives anything through five senses, an image of that perception is preserved in the soul. These images formed belong to the rational (or intellectual) faculty and the soul uses them when thinking for "the soul never thinks without an image" (*DA*, 431a17). On the basis of his reflections in *De Anima*, Aristotle articulates his theory of memory and recollection in the treatise *De Memoria et Reminiscentia* (*On Memory and Recollection*—henceforth, *DM*), where he argues that memory and imagination belong to the same perceptual part (or, in other words, the image-making part) of the soul (*DM*, 450a22-450b25). However, insofar as the images in the soul (*phantasmata*) involve the cognition of the time elapsed and the cognition of a thing experienced in the past, becoming an *eikōn* as "a sort of copy and a reminder" of the original thing, such images are then the images of memory, not the images as thoughts (450a15-450b20). Therefore, just like thinking, "memory…is not without an image" (450a13-14). Yet, unlike thinking, "memory is of the past" (449b15). From an historical perspective, Aristotle's image-based preservative theory of memory can be seen as the origin of the empiricist theory emerged in the 17th century (Fig. 2.2.).

[27] All references to *De Anima* are from *Aristotle: De Anima* (2016) translated by Chriptopher Shields. All references to *De Memoria et Reminiscentia* are from *Aristotle on Memory* (2004) translated by Richard Sorabji, which is reprinted in *Theories of Memory: A Reader* (2007).

In *De Memoria et Reminiscentia* (451a18-453b7), Aristotle further makes a distinction between memory (*mnêmê*) and recollection (*anamnêsis*)[28]. For Aristotle, on the one hand, memory is an unwitting affection that depends on the existence of incidental association; on the other hand, recollection is a conscious "recovery of knowledge or sensation which one had before" and needs a "deliberate effort" (Yates 1966, 33-34). Moreover, he introduces two related principles to be utilized in the effort of recollection. The first is the principle of association that suggests starting "from something similar, or opposite, or neighbouring" (*DM*, 451b18) to what one tries to recollect. The other is the principle of order that suggests recovering the original order of the past events or sense impressions since "the things that are easiest to remember are those which have an order" (Yates 1966, 34). Aristotle's somewhat method of recollection is regarded "as the first formulation of the laws of association through similarity, dissimilarity, [temporal] contiguity" (Yates 1966, 34). And along with this, Aristotle mentions 'places' as the mnemonic starting-points for recollection (*DM*, 452a13). The image-based theory of Aristotle emphasizing the associative and visual character of memory was in touch with the line of thought behind the techniques of mnemonics using images and places, which later turned into an art or craft called *Ars memorativa*.

[28] Aristotle takes memory (*mnêmê*) and recollection (*anamnêsis*) as two forms of remembering rather than two forms of memory. As understood from the following definition of Aristotle; "For whenever someone is actively engaged in remembering, he always says in his soul in this way that he heard, or perceived, or thought this before" (*DM*, 449b23), both forms of remembering entails declarative memory.

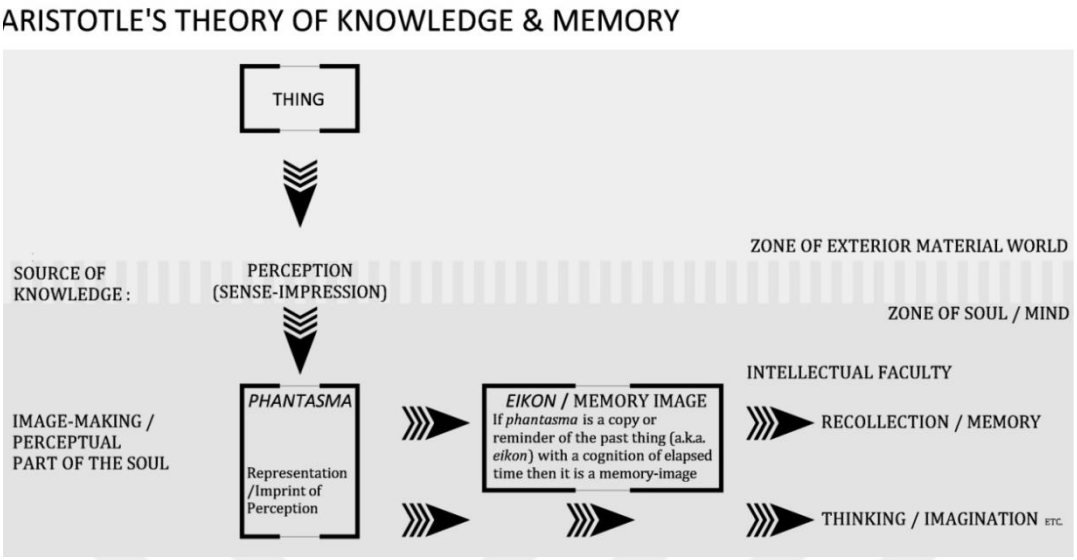


Figure2.2. Aristotle's theory of knowledge and memory.

2.3.1.2 Roman Legacy: *Ars Memorativa*

The philosophical (or dialectical) memory of Classical Greece was eclipsed by the rhetorical (or artificial) memory in Roman times. While, for Greek philosophers, remembering was an intellectual faculty as a way of thinking and reasoning; for Roman rhetoricians, it was an art performed by a series of learned mnemonic techniques and practices that enhance the rhetorical ability for persuasion (Richards 2007, 21).

In three fundamental Latin sources on rhetoric of the first century BC and AD, namely, the anonymous *Ad. C. Herennium* (henceforth, *AH*), *De Oratore* (henceforth, *DO*) of Cicero and *Institutio Oratorio* of Quintilian, memory was handled as a part of rhetoric training and the general principles of classical mnemonics intended to strengthen artificial memory were discussed. In each of these rhetorical Roman handbooks, a version of the banquet story of Simonides[29] was commonly narrated as the scene where 'the art of memory' (*Ars memorativa)*

[29] See Section 3.1 On Memory, Place And Architecture.

was discovered through the understanding that "order is what most brings light to our memory" and "the keenest of all our senses is the sense of sight" (*DO* II, lxxxvi. 353- lxxxvii. 357). Along with this, the 'place system' was introduced as the most important technique of rhetorical memory training to provide the visual and orderly arrangement that a good memory requires.

The place system, or the mnemonic of places (*loci*) and images (*imagines*), depends on visualizing a place or background in the mind which is called *locus* and orderly placing the vivid images or representations of what one wants to remember in this imagined memory place, *locus* (Fig. 2.3.). As described by the anonymous author of *Ad. C.* Herennium, a *locus* is either a real or imaginary place "set off on a small scale, complete and conspicuous," such as "a house, an intercolumnar space, a recess, an arch, or the like" so that it can easily be grasped by the memory; and, an image is "a figure, mark, or portrait of the object we wish to remember" (*AH* III, xvi. 29- xvii. 30). For a rhetorician, the *loci* preserve the order of the facts in a speech and the images represent the facts themselves. The art of memory was then conceptualized as an 'inner writing', where the place is the wax-tablet and images are the letters written on it (*DO* II, lxxxvi. 354- lxxxvii. 355), somewhat resembling the seal imprint metaphor of ancient Greek philosophers.



Figure2.3. Human image on a memory *locus* (Yates 1966, 118).

2.3.2 Middle Ages and Renaissance

In the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, memory training was still a central part of the education. However, in the early Middle Ages, the imaginative technique of place system was replaced by another classical method for memorizing texts word by word (*Memoria verborum*), firstly introduced by Quintilian in his *Institutio Oratorio. Memoria verborum* (or grammatical memory) depended on the rote-learning through the ritualized repetition of texts and was regarded to be 'an art of reading' used especially for memorizing biblical texts in the early monastic tradition (Richards 2007, 23). This meditative state of reading was seen as the way of turning "the text onto and into one's self" and tropologically associated with the digestive activities like 'chewing the cud'—where the text is the food and memory is the stomach (Carruthers [1990] 2007, 51). In the late Middle Ages and Renaissance, the imaginative techniques of rhetorical memory were re-introduced. Especially in the 15th and 16th centuries of Renaissance, the technique of place system was developed in great abundance of *Ars memorativa* treatises and on a wide variety of memory *loci*, such as memory theaters, visual alphabets, cosmos as the spheres of the universe, signs of zodiac, etc. (Richards 2007, 23).

2.3.3 Early Modernity

2.3.3.1 The Enlightenment Empiricits: John Locke and David Hume

Centuries after the ancient Greek philosophers, the philosophical memory, or the philosophy of memory, reappeared on the historical scene thanks to the treatises of Enlightenment empiricists like John Locke at the end of the 17th century and David Hume in the 18th century.

In accord with Aristotle's theory of memory and the famous ancient seal imprint metaphor, both J. Locke and Hume claimed from an empiricist perspective that all knowledge derives from perceptions, and ideas are the imprints/images that are the

faded copies of perceptions/sense-impressions preserved in the memory and reproduced/repeated during remembering (Fig. 2.4.).

To put in his words, J. Locke ([1690] 2007, 75) conceived memory as "the Store-house of our *Ideas*…[which are] actual Perceptions in the Mind". The novelty in Locke's treatise, which influenced the contemplation of memory in the 18th century and the following Romantic Period, was to associate mental self-consciousness with memory (Rossington 2007, 71), as would be seen in his statement that "the Mind has a Power, in many cases, to revive Perceptions, which it has once had, with this additional Perception annexed to them, that it has had them before" (J. Locke, [1690] 2007, 75). By this, Locke not only pointed out the function of memory in sustaining self-consciousness but also, in Ferguson's words (1996, 509), indicated its importance "for anchoring a sense of individual continuity over time" and so its central role in the formation of personal identity. As Ferguson (1996, 509) asserts, Locke's conception of memory as the keeper of the sense of individual continuity have implied two tasks of memory: First, "[it] opened the way for considerable flexibility and innovation; it freed individuals from having to repeat the same actions continually and introduced them instead to a vision of their own possible progress and development"; second, "[it] provided a theater that one could regularly open to compete with the theater of immediate experience."

In keeping with the philosophical reflections on the role of memory in individual continuity and personal identity, Hume ([1739] 2009) in *A Treatise of Human Nature*, the classical treatise of empiricist tradition, identified memory and imagination as the two faculties that reproduce our sense-impressions—in accord with Aristotle's idea that memory and imagination belong to the same, image-making part of the soul. Along with this, Hume specified memory-indicators, which are the first of their kind, in order to distinguish between the ideas of memory and the ideas of imagination on an empirical ground. As the first memory-indicator, he compared them on the basis of force and vivacity suggesting that the ideas of memory have greater degree of force and vivacity than the ideas of

imagination. For Hume, the second memory-indicator has to do with the order of the ideas: While memory preserves the temporal order and position (the form) of original impressions, imagination changes and rearranges them.

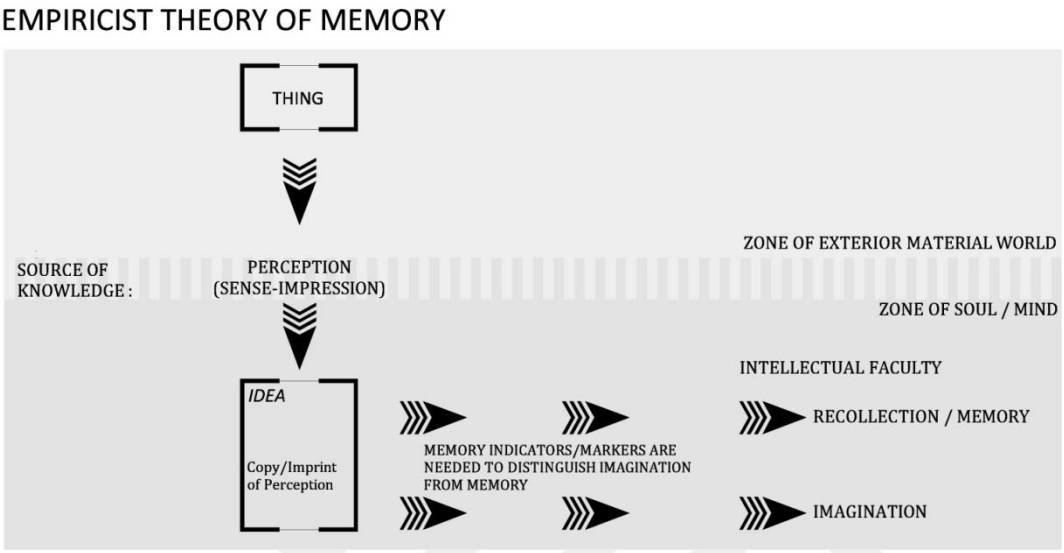


Figure2.4. The empiricist theory of memory.

2.3.3.2 Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel: Recollection (*Erinnerung*) and Memory (*Gedächtnis*)

In the first half of the 19th century, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, one of the eminent philosophers of German idealism, put forth an unprecedented understanding of memory as an outcome of a subjective creative process in contrast to the former naïve empiricist passive conceptions of it (Fig. 2.5.). In the 'Philosophy of *Geist*'[30], the third part of *The Encyclopaedia of the Philosophical Sciences*, Hegel ([1830] 1894) asserted that the action of the intelligence as theoretical spirit is *cognition* (65). Further, the act of cognition is in essence the actualization of intelligence, which constructs the 'subjectivity of the spirit' and, by providing the subject with the thought, enables "the subject's freedom – the

[30] The original German term '*geist'* has been translated as either mind or spirit. But spirit is commonly used in contemporary translations.

freedom of thinking and the practical freedom of the will as individual, subjective will" (Nuzzo 2012, 84). This actualization process of intelligence involves the stages of intuition, recollection, imagination and memory all together. By implication, in Hegel's philosophy, recollection (*Erinnerung*) and memory (*Gedächtnis*) are differentiated from each other and yet both play a vital role in the construction of subjective spirit, the attainment of thought and the spirit's freedom.

In Hegel's philosophy of subjective spirit, the development of intelligence (or theoretical spirit) has three crucial faculties or activities, which are successively *intuition, representation* and *thought*. Recollection (*Erinnerung*) and memory (*Gedächtnis*) together with imagination (*Einbildungskraft*) are the functions that operate for *representation (Mental Idea)*.

Hegel takes recollection (*Erinnerung*) as the first phase of representation (*Vorstellung*), but he does not use *Erinnerung* in the ordinary sense of the term 'recollection'. For Hegel, recollection (*Erinnerung*) is, as Inwood (1992, 188) explains, "the internalization of a sensory INTUITION [which is the content of sensation] as an image (*Bild*); the image is abstracted from the concrete spatio-temporal position of the intuition, and given a place in the intelligence (which has its own subjective space and time)." In line with this, Hegel identifies the intelligence, at its early phase, as a "night–like mine or pit in which is stored a world of infinitely many images and representations [or recollected intuitions], yet without being in consciousness" (Hegel [1830] 1894, 71). Unlike the empirical accounts on memory that conceive memory and imagination "as contesting faculties", Hegel's theory of memory incorporates imagination as a complementary function that operates progressively in 'reproductive', 'associative' and 'creative' modes in order to take images out of this 'night-like mine or pit', form the content of memory (*Gedächtnis*) and so make intelligence operate by itself (Rossington 2007, 73).

After the phase of recollection (*Erinnerung*) comes the second phase, imagination (*Einbildungskraft*). First *reproductive imagination* recognizes the reference of the

internalized image to an external present intuition and so supplies the connecting link between them, also known as the link of association. At this stage, the recollected intuition (the internal image) still represents itself (the original intuition). But as the intelligence gains the power to use its content of internal images through this reproductive and associative capacity, it "wields the stores of images and ideas belonging to it, and…thus…freely combines and subsumes these stores in obedience in its peculiar tenor." This constitutes the next stage of *creative imagination* where the intelligence forms new 'syntheses' with the data derived from external intuitions and internal images. In this stage, the internal images (recollected intuitions) turn to be representatives of something different and gain separate meanings from their source intuitions, to put simply, they turn to be 'signs' (Hegel [1830] 1894, 72-76). At the end of the day, Hegel claims, memory (*Gedächtnis*) is the third and last phase of representation (*Vorstellung*) where these internalized signs, simply words and names, are fixed to their connotations (meanings) and formed the content of memory. Moreover, *Gedächtnis* has three progressive forms: the first is 'retentive memory' that "retains words and their meanings, enabling us to recognize and understand words", the second is 'reproductive memory' that "enables us to utter words on our own account," and the last is 'mechanical memory' (mature *Gedächtnis*) that sustains "the memorizing of words without regard for their meaning" (Inwood 1992, 188). To Hegel, the mechanical memory (*Gedächtnis*) is the prerequisite for thinking (*Denken*).

To put it simply, Hegel ([1830] 1894, 85) suggested that "[w]e *think* in names" and that memory retains names, in opposition to the Aristotelian idea that soul thinks with 'images' and to the following image-based theories of memory. Therefore, for Hegel, the ancient mnemonic techniques that transform words to images, such as place system, were impoverishing memory (*Gedächtnis*) by deposing it back to the phase of imagination (*Einbildungskraft*) and were susceptible to misremembering (by associating accidental links) and forgetting. In addition, Hegel refused the use of 'laws of association' as a phrase, claiming that associative relations cannot be called 'laws' since there are innumerous possible subjective links of association,

which brings about a high degree of contingency. Instead, Hegel preferred to use the phrase ‘links of association’ and stressed that the links of association in remembering, which have mostly been seen as pictorial or perceptive (or intuitive), could also be understood in ‘intellectual’ terms, such as “likeness and contrast, reason and consequence” (73).

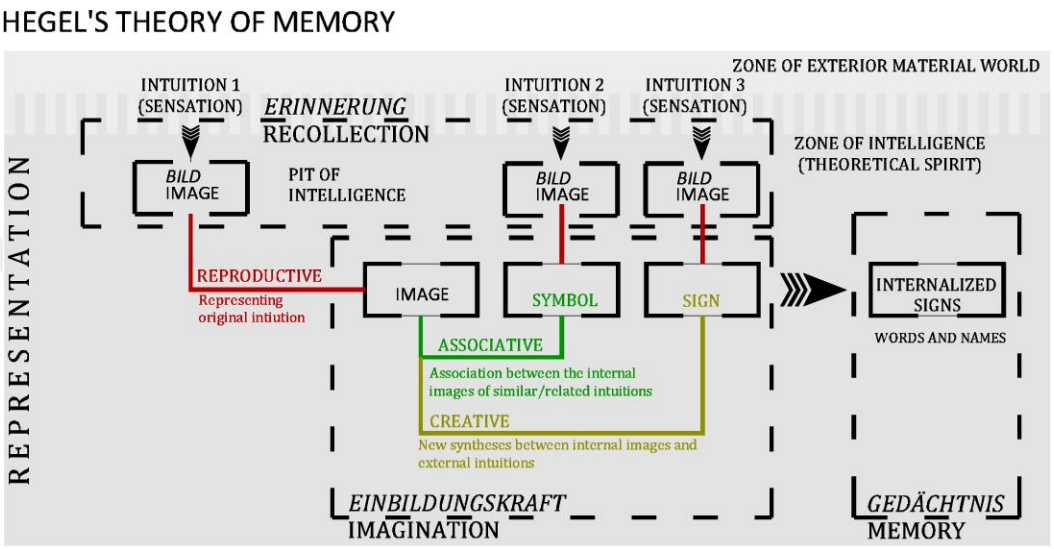


Figure2.5. Hegel’s theory of memory.

2.3.4 Late Modernity: Memory Crisis Vs (First) Memory-Boom

It is a fact that the social and intellectual life in the 19th century was under the influence of two major contesting ideas; one is ‘progress’ and the other is ‘nostalgia’ as a side effect of the former (Boym 2001, 10). As a consequence of upheavals in social, political and technological terms (i.e. French and American revolutions, industrialization, urbanization etc.), the beginning of the century witnessed a rupture in tradition and a following suppression of memory on behalf of progress. This suppression of memory, however, led to its resurrection triggering a reactive emotion of nostalgia followed by the advent of romanticism.

The romantic memory[31] of the 19th century, taking its inspiration from J. Locke, was identified with the notions of individual consciousness and identity, which were believed to have provided the individual with the necessary setting for moral evaluation (i.e., in order to derive lessons from the past, take the responsibility of his/her actions and avoid the repetition of similar mistakes) and so with the chance of progress in the future. All in all, the gist of romantic memory was not to lose the past so as to win the future (Ferguson 1996).

However, in the late 19th century, modernism took memory as an obstacle in the way of progress and brought about an unprecedented rejection of the past with a fierce questioning of memory, which also found its echoes in the writings of Karl Marx and Nietzsche. For example, once Marx ([1852] 2007, 99) argued "[t]he social revolution of nineteenth century can only create its poetry from the future, not from the past," he turned against memory and regarded past as a burden to be freed from for the emancipation of man. In parallel with Marx, Nietzsche considered the act of forgetting, or the feeling of 'unhistorical', as essential as remembering or memory for the happiness of the individual. That is, he was in favor of the struggle between memory and forgetting in that "the unhistorical and the historical are necessary in equal measure for the health of an individual, of a people, and of a culture" (Nietzsche [1874] 2007, 104).

At the end of the day, the first memory boom of the modern period occurred in the late 19th century, particularly between 1890s and 1920s, counteracting to and in synchronization with the 'memory crisis'[32] induced by modernism.

[31] For more information on 'romantic memory', see Ferguson (1996).
[32] Boyer (1994, 26) called the historical rupture point between the modernists and traditionalists, which haunted the late 19th century and the early 20th century, 'memory crisis' in the sense of "a problematization of the normal relationship of the present to the past."

2.3.4.1 Henri Bergson: Dynamic Scheme and Memory-Image

Henri Bergson is one of the leading philosophers of the first memory boom in the late 19th century whose insights on individual memory have not only been influential in its time but also dominated the contemporary reflections on the concept beginning from the memory boom of the mid-20th century (thanks especially to Deleuze's writings on the phenomenon of *Bergsonism*) to the present. While proposing a profound philosophical analysis of the subjective experience of time, in which memory has the key role, Bergson developed a pioneering and innovative theory of memory in *Matter and Memory* (1896) and made further elaborations in his essay *Intellectual Effort* (1902) by introducing the concept of *dynamic scheme* seen as "a fundamental structure of Bergson's philosophy" (Freiberga 2009, 242).

In *Matter and Memory,* Bergson ([1896] 1911) sought essentially to invalidate the age-old dichotomy of the 'matter', which has been somewhat related to 'perception', and 'memory', which has been broadly taken as the 'representation' of the matter. For Bergson, this dichotomic separation is non-existent in practice and could be possible only in theory, when two hypothetical 'pure' states of perceiving and recollecting are presumed to exist, which he called *pure perception* and *pure recollection.* Pure perception is the mere contact of the mind with the matter, which is taking place in the absence of memory and so not complicated or enriched by memory (39). Conceptually speaking, pure perception is in essence the matter itself. On the other hand, pure recollection, in Bergson's terms, "is, by hypothesis, the [absolute] representation of an *absent* object" as a repetition or reproduction of it (83).

Undermining the previously held empiricist approach that takes perception and recollection as two pure and separate phenomena, Bergson explicated memory as an active, dynamic undivided whole comprised of the intermingling and simultaneous functioning of perception and recollection. Along with this, Bergson

introduced the concept of 'pure memory' as "the totality of one's past experience preserved as an integral whole in an unconscious, virtual state" (Perri 2017, 511). In other words, pure memory is a latent, virtual memory that is not yet actualized by being translated into images but always there to derive images from at the time of recollection.

First of all, in Bergson's philosophy, a matter or material object is an image, which is neither a 'thing' nor a 'representation': It is "an existence placed half-way between the 'thing' [of realist] and the 'representation' [of idealist]" (Bergson [1896] 1911, vii-viii). Thus, Bergson called "matter [material world or universe] *the aggregate of images, and* perception of matter *these same images referred to the eventual action of one particular image, my body*" (8). Then, the body, as Bergson understood it, occupies "the centre of action: it receives and returns movements" (4). That is, whereas any change in material world (or external images) influences the body and "transmit[s] movement to it," any slight change in the wholeness of body "gives back movement to" and changes all external images conditioned by it, and so alters the perception of matter (the material world/universe) just like a turn of a kaleidoscope (4-12).

Further, Bergson ([1896] 1911) characterized the living body as the wholeness of matter and spirit, which he believed to be grasped in the phenomena of memory "in its most tangible form" (81). Briefly, as the interaction between the body and the material world indicates, perception is "not a kind of photographic view of things, taken from a fixed point" (31), and the living body as an integral whole of matter and memory is the central image by which every perception is conditioned. With this, Bergson put forth the key idea profoundly articulated throughout his work that "there is no perception which is not full of memories" (24). During every perception, so he asserted, "[w]ith the immediate and present data of our senses we mingle a thousand details out of our past experience. In most cases these memories supplant our actual perceptions, of which we then retain only a few hints, thus using them merely as 'signs' that recall to us former images" (24). Therefore,

"[h]owever brief we suppose any perception to be, it always occupies certain duration, and involves consequently an effort of memory which prolongs one into another a plurality of moments" (25)—meaning that perception and memory are actually inseparable in practice and simultaneous in action.

According to Bergson ([1896] 1911), memory, the practical function of which is "the utilizing of past experience for present action,—recognition, in short," survives in the living body "under two distinct forms: first, in motor mechanisms; secondly, in independent recollections" (87). These two different but complementary forms of actual memory are called 'habit memory' (*mémoire-habitude*) and 'recollection memory' (*mémoire-souvenir*).[33] Firstly, habit memory (or motor memory) is an implicit and nonrepresentational form of memory that is basically the sum of sensori-motor systems (or motor habits) formed by repeated actions and amassed in the body (92). This memory is "the complete set of intelligently constructed mechanisms which ensure the appropriate reply to the various possible demands…[and] enables us to adapt ourselves to the present situation" (195); however, it does not represent the past in memory-images, it simply acts it (92). Secondly, the recollection memory (or true memory) is "the explicit representation of some event or episode from one's past life" in the form of memory-images (Perri 2017, 511).

After defining two distinct forms of memory, Bergson ([1896] 1911) distinguished memory into three processes, which do not occur apart from one another: pure memory, memory-image and perception. Pure memory is an unconscious latent state of memory, which entails the whole of our lived experience in all its details, but is not yet translated to memory-images. Memory-images are the explicit images of past events or episodes with certain temporal and spatial details, collected from the pure memory to the light of the consciousness. These memory-images, in which pure memory manifests itself during recollection, constitute the recollection

[33] It was Bergson who made such a distinction between different forms of memory for the first time.

memory (*mémoire-souvenir*) and constantly interlace with the images of perception in present. Finally, perception is the contact of the living body with the image of the matter in present. It is always completed, filled or enlarged with memory-images that work for the interpretation of the perceived image.

Bergson ([1896] 1911) depicted these three processes as consecutive segments (AB, BC and CD) of a continuous line (AD), along which our thought shifts from pure memory to memory-images and then to perception in a single movement (Fig 2.6). The images of perception interpenetrated with memory-images, as an outcome of this single movement, turn back to pure memory (170). Metaphorically speaking, this movement can be understood as the condensation or crystallization of pure memory into images or ideas, and then their evaporation back to the nebulous mass of pure memory. By this, strongly opposing to the empiricist approach, Bergson asserted that the body does not "store up recollections" but instead forms them (233). It chooses the useful memory (from the virtuality of pure memory) efficient to "complete and illuminate the present situation" and actualizes it by bringing back to present consciousness in the form of explicit memory-images (233-234). So, both perception and recollection are always the acts depended on consciousness, not pure replicas of objective realities. Overall, contrary to the empiricist view, Bergson argued that recollection (or memory-image) is never a weakened repetition/reproduction of a perception and so that recollection and perception are not different in degree or intensity, but different in kind or nature.

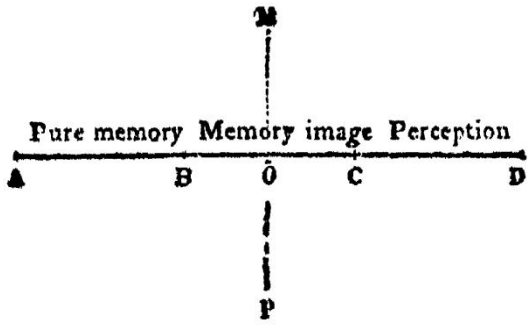


Figure2.6. The movement of consciousness from pure memory to perception (Bergson [1896] 1911, 170).

As Bergson ([1896] 1911, 80) put it simply, "[m]emory, inseparable in practice from perception, imports the past into the present, contracts into a single intuition many moments of duration [*durée*]" via the aforementioned three-processed but single movement from pure memory to perception. So, this movement not only composes the past within the body (as pure memory) but also constitutes the 'duration' (*durée*) within the present perception. This movement is, in fact, an act of consciousness that builds itself up and brings self-freedom. Deleuze (1991, 51) captures this Bergsonian idea in the following sentence that "[d]uration is essentially memory, consciousness and freedom." Then, from a Bergsonian perspective, the entire past (which manifests itself in pure memory) is, in principle, within the present (which manifests itself in perception). Past and present always interlace with each other and coexist together.

Finally, reconciling the two different forms of memory with the movement of consciousness (from pure memory to perception), Bergson ([1896] 1911) visualized his theory of memory[34] with his famous diagram of an inverted cone (SAB) (Fig 2.7). This cone represents "the totality of recollections" amassed in the memory. The base of the cone (AB) represents the virtual pure memory, the whole past within the body, which is the plane of dream. The summit of the cone (S) represents the habit or bodily memory, which is always on the plane of action (P). This plane of action is the "actual representation of universe" where the body "receive[s] and restore[s] actions emanating from all the images of which the plane is composed" (196-197). Between these two extreme planes, as Bergson articulated, there exist thousands of different planes of consciousness, which stand for an infinite number of repetitions of one's physical life, figured as the sections of the cone (211).

[34] This theory may also be seen as a theory of time, consciousness and experience of being.

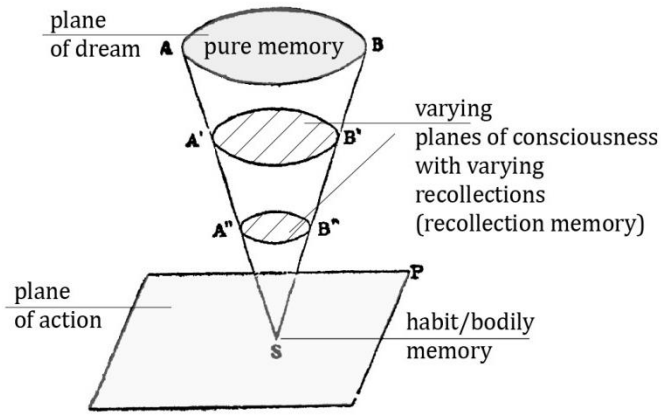


Figure2.7. Bergson's theory of memory (Bergson [1896] 1911, 211).

A conscious self stays on neither of the two extreme planes, but moves between them: either up expanding or down contracting the content of consciousness, in a mutual relationship between pure memory and habit memory, which constantly operates to provide the useful support for the present action (211-212). On one hand, pure memory provides all the virtual past to the habit memory in order to guide the sensori-motor mechanisms and gives "to the motor reaction the direction suggested by the lessons of experience;" on the other hand, sensori-motor mechanisms supply the body with the instantaneous perception of the present and give the means for the act of recollection, which is the effective materialization or crystallization of pure memory into memory-images in the present consciousness (197). While the former is the act of habit memory guided by pure memory, the latter constructs the recollection-memory. From this dual but complementary interaction derives, at every moment, an infinite number of possible states of consciousness and recollection-memory (219). So, as Bergson put, "our recollections were repeated an infinite number of times in these many possible reductions of our past life. They take a more common form when memory shrinks most [*on the lower planes of consciousness closer to the plane of action in the diagram of the cone*], more personal when it widens out [*on the higher planes of*

consciousness closer to the plane of dream in the diagram of the cone[35]], and they thus enter into an unlimited number of different 'systematizations'" (220).

In the essay *Intellectual Effort*, Bergson (1902) further elaborated on his theory that habit memory[36] not only maintains the nonrepresentational motor habits of movement, but is also responsible for the mechanical (instantaneous or autonomous) recollection that occurs without any effort (in the sense of an image calling up another image spontaneously) as a result of the mechanism of association by likeness, contiguity, etc.. This mechanical recollection, Bergson added, happens "on one and the same plane of consciousness" as a horizontal movement and may enable to recall all parts of a complex memory. In this regard, for Bergson, the technique on mnemonics from classical antiquity that strengthens the *Memoria verborum* by the rote-learning through repetitive reading of texts is a good example of producing a memory habit (189-193).

Furthermore, recollection is almost always partly mechanical and partly intellectual (voluntary) recollection. As Bergson (1902) exemplified in the diagram of cone, intellectual recollection consists in moving between planes of consciousness in a definite direction (from the higher plane of pure memory to lower planes nearer to present perception) until the plane where pure memory is materialized in images. This vertical movement of consciousness that enables the active reconstruction of memory-images in every recollection is accompanied by an intellectual effort, which Bergson named 'effort of memory' or, more exactly, 'effort of recollection' (188-189).

Likewise, intellection, when confronted with a perception, appears in two kinds. One is 'automatic intellection' that responds automatically with an instantaneous proper act, and the other is 'true intellection' that demands an intellectual effort to interpret and comprehend. Similar to the effort in recollection, in every perception

[35] The notes in Italic are mine.
[36] To stress Bergson's point once again, in every act of habit memory, the contracted pure memory turns into a compass, giving direction for sake of the present action.

with true intellection exists an intellectual effort to collect and reconstruct the memory-images in order for filling the gaps of interpretation, providing the meaning and bringing recognition (203-205).

Deducing from the 'place system', the classical mnemonic technique of the art of memory in antiquity, Bergson (1902) pointed out that an intellectual (voluntary) recollection of a complicated whole is made possible by obtaining "a schematic view of the whole". In the place system, as aforementioned in the section 'Roman Legacy: *Ars Memorativa*', the *locus* provides the scheme and the images hierarchically ordered in this scheme represent the dominant ideas, the subordinate ideas attached to them and so on. In a similar line of thought, Bergson characterized pure memory as a whole organized in a scheme and identified the intrinsic nature of pure memory as its schematic organization. He thus related the mnemonic feature of the ancient technique of *loci* and *imagines* to the overlapping between its schematic ordering and the schematic nature of pure memory (194).

For Bergson (1902), pure memory, in its virtual state, is essentially the schematic simple idea that represents the past within the individual and develops into multiple images when needed. In a more comprehensible sense, it is an abstract outline of structured relations, which Bergson called *dynamic scheme* that guides the individual in all efforts of intellect (195-196). It is *dynamic* because any intellectual effort (such as recollection, perception, interpretation, comprehension, attention, etc.) demands a movement "from the abstract to the concrete, from the scheme to the images" and consists in the transformation of abstract relations (pure memory) into the peculiar reconstruction of memory-images like a cloud condensing to singular drops (214). And conversely, in any intellection, the images formed are translated back into the virtual scheme of relations (pure memory), from the concrete to the abstract this time. In Bergson's words "the image turns round towards the scheme in order to modify or transform it" like drops evaporating to the cloud (213). Therefore, the scheme is always active, to some extent flexible, and so dynamic.

Although, Bergson (1902) claimed, "[t]he scheme is something not easy to define, but of which each of us has the feeling" (196), he seemed to have envisioned pure memory (the dynamic abstract scheme of the past within individual), in between the lines of *Matter* and *Memory*, as a mobile nebulous mass. This mass is something like Milky Way[37] organized from infinite number of points that stand for our all past experiences or episodes. Among those points, there are particular ones that shine dominantly and are easy to catch; and around them, there are generic/repetitive ones that interpenetrate each other forming a cloud, "a vague nebulosity" (Bergson [1896] 1911, 223). Similar to how a telescope is adjusted by zooming in or out to see singular stars in a cloudy mass, a work of adjustment is always involved in remembering the past, which is, in Bergsonian terms, recollecting images from the virtuality of pure memory. In this work of adjustment, at first, we are directed (by the act of habit memory) to the relevant region of pure memory; and then, by the double movement of our consciousness (via contraction and expansion), we collect and reconstruct the relevant images for the present intellection. In brief, as Bergson put, the past in the individual (pure memory) is not a system formed of fixed, independent and *on a par* recollections stored side by side (223) but rather a hierarchically organized *dynamic scheme* that not only directs us in perceiving the material world, but also always actively dominates our recollections of the past[38].

All in all, Bergson's integrated theory (of different forms of memory) conceives memory as "the intersection of mind and matter" (Bergson [1896] 1911, xii) and hence has one foot in metaphysics and the other in psycho-physiology. Bergson's understanding was, to some extent, in parallel to Hegel's conception of memory as a subjective and creative process, which is the central feature for the actualization of spirit through actions and perceptions/intuitions and for the constitution of

[37] The analogy of Milky Way and the concept of virtuality in the individual is encountered in and taken from (Lawlor 2020).
[38] Note that, in *Remembering*, Bartlett ([1932] 1995) provides an empirical validation for Bergson's schematic understanding of pure memory, depending on experimental data.

consciousness and self-freedom. However, Bergson's innovative theory, for the first time, identified memory as an active process that constantly reconstructs past through the consciousness of present rather than a passive process that stores the fixed copies of perceptions and then reproduces them during recollection. This radical insight undermined the empiricist tradition resting on the Greek legacy and particularly on the Aristotelian idea that "memory is of the past" (*DM*, 449b15). Instead, from a Bergsonian perspective, memory is of the present and, as Freiberga (2009, 238) well puts, "it is not that we *have* memory, but we *are* memory."

Bergson's conception of memory has been influential on many philosophers, researchers and literary writers of his time and later generations.[39] As an early example from the world of literature, Bergsonian moments can be traced in Marcel Proust's distinction[40] between *voluntary memory* (*mémoire volontaire*) and *involuntary memory* (*mémoire involontaire*), where Proust translates Bergson's pure memory into involuntary memory (Benjamin 2007b, 157-158). As Walter Benjamin (2007a) points out, Proust distinguishes "a life as it actually was" from "a life as it was remembered by the one who had lived it" and identifies life with the latter in a Bergsonian manner. For Proust, so Benjamin explains with a poetic analogy, memory of life (which corresponds to autobiographical memory) is not the sum of one's lived experiences but "a Penelope work of forgetting", that is, a woven (textual) work which takes its shape by means of the voids provided by forgetting rather than remembering (202).

Another figure, this time from psychology, influenced by the gravity of Bergson's philosophy of memory was Frederic Bartlett. Bartlett's well-known experimental work, *Remembering*, which was evaluated as the dawn of the prevailing generative/reconstructive theories of contemporary memory discourse, seems highly inspired from Bergson's conceptions of 'effort of memory/ effort of

[39] Among those inspired from Bergson's works are Emmanuel Levinas, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Jean-Paul Sartre, Paul Ricouer, and Gilles Deleuze (Ansell-Pearson 2018, 73).
[40] This distinction is found in his monumental novel, *À la recherche du temps perdu* (translated both as *Remembrance of Things Past* and *In Search of Lost Time*) written between 1908-1922.

intellect' and 'dynamic scheme', especially in his employment of the concepts like 'effort after meaning' and 'schemata'. All things considered, it may be concluded that Bergson stands as the pioneering figure who set the central tenet of modern memory that "[m]emory is an image of the past constructed by a subjectivity in the present" (Megill 2011, 196).

2.3.4.2 Sigmund Freud: Mystic Writing-Pad

Another significant figure, who contributed vastly to the studies on individual memory in the early 20th century, is Sigmund Freud. He is, above all, the first scientist in psychology who postulated the existence of 'repressed memories' in the unconscious and the founder of psychoanalysis as an analytical treatment, the central therapeutic function of which is "to bring repressed memories of early psychic life to consciousness" (Bohleber 2007, 331). The repressed memories refer to the inaccessible memories of traumatic events, which are locked up in the unconscious and blocked from conscious recall since they are "too painful or shameful to be recalled to consciousness without external therapeutic help" (A. Assmann 2006, 212). Through his studies on memory of trauma, Freud discovered that repressed memories are frequently transferred to an act, such as a repetition in behavior, and constantly stay influential on the perceptions of the individual although they are not explicitly recollected in the form of consciously accessible memories. In this respect, Freud is also known to be the first to introduce the 'unconscious' mind of individual as well as its implicit governing role on human actions.

Freud's theory of memory was formulated from a partial reconstructive perspective that stands halfway between the preservative and generative/reconstructive theories of memory. According to Freud, the copies of perceptions were preserved in the memory as memory-traces. Yet these memory-traces were not isolated elements preserved intact in a pure and fixed form of the original stimuli (as they were held in the primitive preservative theories of memory). For Freud, there were "several

superimposed systems of memory" by which same memory-trace was encoded several times and provided with multi-layered associations in time. However, since the unconscious drives led to displacements and repressions of memories (due to taboos, trauma, etc.), recollection always involved a reconstructive attempt for 'filling in gaps in memory'. In brief, Freudian recollection was a process of continuous 'retranscription' (or rearrangement) and reconstruction in relation to present circumstances (Bohleber 2007, 331-332). In his psychoanalytical studies, as Boyer pointed out (1994, 25), Freud "believed that the recollection of repressed memories was a partial reconstruction, a fictional retelling that actually took the place of personal histories now lost from sight. Delving in to the deep structure of dreams and concealed forms of expression that condensed, distorted, or displaced the real materials of life, Freud aimed to impose or narrate a connected story from these underlying and fragmentary meanings and thus restore continuity to the patient's everyday life."

Freud ([1925] 2007) clarified his notion of the unconscious by adapting a reinterpretation of the ancient 'seal imprint metaphor' of memory to his theory. He referred to the mechanism of a new apparatus called 'Mystic Writing-Pad' so as to explain the relation between the unconscious and conscious (perceptual) mind. The Writing-Pad is composed of a wax slab with a thin two-layered sheet[41] over it (115). When one writes on the sheet pressing with something pointed, the lower layer of the sheet adheres to the dark wax in the grooves and so the writing gets legible. Once this (two-layered) sheet is lifted from the wax slab, the writing on the sheet disappears but its traces remain permanently on the wax and get visible at certain times in appropriate lights. For Freud, while the wax slab that keeps all traces of the past stands for the unconscious, the thin sheet represents the perceptual apparatus of the mind, which takes perceptions accompanied by the consciousness (116-117).

[41] The thin sheet is fixed to the wax slab only at the top end and has two layers detached from each other except at their two ends; the upper layer is a celluloid transparent covering, the lower layer is a translucent waxed paper.

All in all, Freud and Bergson, in theorizing memory, shared a common claim on the existence of a latent state of memory in the individual, which was referred to as the 'unconscious' by Freud and 'pure memory' by Bergson.[42] And, they both accepted the guiding "role of unconscious memories within recognition" (Lawlor 2020). To conclude, the path-breaking works of Bergson and Freud in the early 20th century not only provided unprecedented insights about memory but also shaped the modern discourse on individual memory.

2.4 On Collective Memory

Needless to say, collective remembrance is an age-old notion embedded in the social practices ever since the human communal life existed. However, its peculiar rise in the historical scene occurred in the aftermath of the French Revolution, once the abrupt change and discontinuity between past and present induced a widespread concern in the Western thought, bringing up the issues of 'historical continuity' and 'collective cohesion' for discussion. In these circumstances, the conception of 'memory' gained currency as a means of continuity and cohesion in the social context, and particularly for its use in the formation of national identities, besides its common comprehension as a human faculty for recognition and understanding. As Barash (2017, 255-257) pointed out, Hegel's ideas in the *Phenomenology of Spirit* may be given as an example reflecting this currency from the early 19th century, where memory was identified "as a source of collective identity" and so as "the source of historical continuity and development."

Nevertheless, 'collective memory' was not considered to be a theoretical topic in the memory discourse until the early 20th century, that is, when the mere individualistic focus of Bergsonian-Proustian memory was criticized in the writings

[42] The line of thought in Freud's studies was so in touch with Bergson's philosophy that Bergson declared in his essay, *The Creative Mind* published in 1922, "[m]y idea of integral conservation of the past more and more found its empirical verification in the vast collection of experiments instituted by the disciples of Freud" (Ansell-Pearson 2018, 180).

of Walter Benjamin and Maurice Halbwachs. Recognizing the influence of social perspective in individual memory, Benjamin (2007b, 159) stated in his essay, *On Some Motifs in Baudelaire*, that "[w]here there is experience in the strict sense of the word, certain contents of the individual past combine with material of the collective past. The rituals with their ceremonies, their festivals (quite probably nowhere recalled in Proust's work) kept producing the amalgamation of these two elements of memory over and over again." In agreement with Benjamin's critique, Halbwachs, a student of Bergson, announced the concept of 'collective memory' for the first time in 1925 in his theoretical work, where he reconciled the Bergsonian philosophy on individual memory with Durkheimian sociology (Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Levy 2011, 16).

2.4.1 Maurice Halbwachs: *La mémoire collective*

Maurice Halbwachs, who is now acknowledged to be among the pioneers of the contemporary memory discourse, clearly explicated the intermingling relationship between memory and 'social frame' in his first major work, 'The Social Frameworks of Memory' (*Les Cadres sociaux de la mémoire*) published in 1925. Having articulated to invalidate the notions of 'the purely individual state of consciousness', and so, 'the purely individual memory', Halbwachs ([1925] 1992) introduced the concept of 'collective memory' of which individual memory may only be considered to be "a part or an aspect" (53).

To begin with, Halbwachs recognized the Bergsonian conception that identifies memory as the reconstruction of the past in regard to the present consciousness which is an outcome of an intuitive duration, and generally followed the terminology of Bergson's theory on the individual memory. Nevertheless, he totally opposed to Bergson's individualism, and rejected his primary philosophical reflection on the subjective perception of inner time, namely 'individual duration' and the notion of individualistic consciousness. In an endeavor to demolish the Bergsonian emphasis on subjective time, Halbwachs took time as a 'social

construct' from a Durkheimian point of view and stressed the collective representation of time, namely 'collective duration' which in effect constructs the collective consciousness and memory (Coser 1992, 7-8). Later, in his posthumously published work, *La mémoire collective*, Halbwachs ([1950] 1980, 127) verbalized his understanding of time as a social framework as follows: "[t]ime is real only insofar as it has content—that is, insofar as it offers events as material for thought...Moreover, it is large and substantial enough to offer the individual consciousness a framework within which to arrange and retrieve its remembrances."

From a sociological perspective, Halbwachs ([1925] 1992) asserted that an individual as a social being—when in a waking state[43]—is always a member of one or more groups and so a participant in several social milieus. Accordingly, people acquire, recollect and localize their memories in social frameworks confined in time and space (38). So, to put in Halbwachs' words, "[n]o memory is possible outside frameworks used by people living in society to determine and retrieve their recollections" (43).

According to Halbwachs, since the consciousness of an individual is not isolated and sealed off, it constantly merges with others' through either direct interaction with other individuals or indirect interaction through external representations embodied in signs and symbols (i.e., words comprising the language, ideas/notions, visual images, and their more elaborated forms such as idioms, myths, narratives, beliefs, conventions, customs, traditions, public performances like ceremonies, commemorations as well as works of art, craft and architecture). Through both ways of interaction there occurs, in effect, the blending of memories within a social frame: People not only help each other to recall their shared recollective memories, either by evoking the forgotten ones or covering the gaps in the slight ones, but

[43] Halbwachs (1992, 171-172) claims that the only one area of human experience which is totally independent from social context, including time and space, is "the experience of dreams." Thus, in dreams, memory-images flutter around in a fragmented state without any organization as a result of the absence of social representations they are anchored in.

also borrow memories from each other. As A. Assmann (2008, 50) explicates, once memories are turned to be external representations, i.e., in the form of a narrative or a visual image, "[they] become part of an intersubjective symbolic system and are…no longer a purely exclusive and unalienable property. By encoding them in the common medium of language, they can be exchanged, shared, corroborated, confirmed, corrected, disputed, and even appropriated." Therefore, in any social frame, the experienced memories of individuals get interwoven indistinguishably with the ones borrowed from the social context so that they constitute a totality, which is simply what Halbwachs called 'collective memory'. However, as will be further elaborated, for Halbwachs, collective memory is not just a total of individual memories but, in effect, is the social scheme derived from this interconnected totality, only within which individuals are capable of thinking and remembering.

In line with Bergson's theory of memory, which suggests the constant intermingling of past and present (re)constructing each other, Halbwachs ([1925] 1992) argued the totality of interwoven memories within a group, a.k.a. collective memory, forms not only the image of the past but also the image of the present and constitutes the basic idea or the viewpoint of the group, a.k.a. collective thought. To put it another way, collective thought is, in essence, collective memory, which is both 'the container' of the potential multiplicity "of collective recollections or remembrances" (189) and 'the contained' unity as the guiding shared data/conceptions in the perceptions and recollections of the group members (174).

Rephrasing the Bergsonian claim that there is no perception without memory and vice versa (168-169), Halbwachs ([1950] 1980, 51) put forth that any present perception of an individual cannot take place without the memory of words and ideas/notions, which are the communicative tools invented and imbued with meaning within the social milieu, and appropriated by the individual. Thus, individual perception as well as individual memory draws on the collectively shared data or signs and symbols that provide him/her with the base to construct

'the meaning'. As Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Levy (2011, 19) have clearly explained in accordance with Halbwachs' thought, "[a]ll individual remembering, that is, takes place with social materials, within social contexts, and in response to social cues. Even when we do it alone, we do so as social beings with reference to our social identities, and with languages and symbols that we may use in creative ways but certainly did not invent." Thus, collective memory, as Halbwachs explicated it in resemblance to the Bergsonian concept of *dynamic scheme,*[44] denotes to the whole scheme or system of social conventions, wherein the individual thought is anchored and by which the individual is capable of the act of recollection. In this respect, for Halbwachs, the memories of individuals within a group conform to the social conventions and reside in the collective thought of that group, and eventually become a part of group's collective memory.

Overall, collective memory is a social construction of the past from the present viewpoint of a group which constitutes a 'social frame', that is, "an implicit or explicit structure of shared concerns, values, experiences, narratives" (A. Assmann 2008, 51). Collective memory is obviously not a "mystical group mind"; as Coser (1992) rightfully states, it is in fact "individuals who remember, not groups or institutions, but these individuals, being located in a specific group context, draw on that context to remember or recreate the past" (22).

In this respect, two points need to be underlined. In the first place, "[e]very collective memory requires the support of a group delimited in space and time" (Halbwachs [1950] 1980, 84). As a result of it, there are as many collective memories as there are groups in a society. An individual belongs, simultaneously or at different times, to several groups of varying sizes with changing distances to him/her, in other words with changing degree of connections to his/her lived experiences and/or events that constitute his/her past. While family, social class, religious community are the examples most commonly referred to, any group of

[44] As a reminder, *pure memory* (of an individual) organizes itself within a *dynamic scheme* as an outline of structured relations, which directs the individual in all efforts of intellect.

people who came together "by a shared task, mutual devotion, common ancestry, or artistic endeavor" (32) including professions, political parties, associations, corporations, trade unions, armies as well as the neighborhood, the peer group, the generation etc., have distinct collective memories constructed by their members. In the second place, every collective memory has or, in Bergsonian terms, 'is' a duration which enables an individual participating in it to stretch back some distance into past and have a contact with that distant past.

With the aim of explicating the limits of collective memory in time, in other words, the extents of its duration, and drawing a clear line between collective memory and history, Halbwachs ([1950] 1980) distinguished between two sorts of memory, "autobiographical memory" and "historical memory"[45]. These are actually the two (extreme) poles in an imaginary scale of duration which represents the distance that an individual can stretch back in time within the framework of memory.

On one hand, autobiographical memory is the "internal memory" of self-experienced events in one's own life—yet shaped or oriented with reference to the shared conceptions of the social frame in which they are experienced—and is also the sort of memory having the shortest duration delimited by one's lifespan. On the other hand, historical memory is the "external memory" comprised of still-remembered residues of events in the history of the group. It has the longest duration and so reaches out the most distant past related to one's remembrances. The former draws on the latter's schematic framework of time so as to locate itself in the historical timeline with reference to the temporal landmarks/reference points which are offered by the latter (52). However, it must be noted that Halbwachs also referred to 'historical memory' as a vague notion since its content may belong to either 'memory' or 'history', which, in Halbwachs' view, are two ultimately opposing phenomena (78).

[45] Other alternative terms that Halbwachs ([1950] 1980, 52) offers for this duality are 'personal memory' and 'social memory'.

Regarding the conceptual discussion about whether 'historical memory' is memory or history, Halbwachs ([1950] 1980) described the key characteristic of memory as distinct from history, that memory grounds itself on a lived and continuously living past than a past learned from written or visual records (68). The past, or the duration any collective memory contains, is to be "included within the sphere of thought of existing groups" (106): It is to be directly contacted through and connected to living traditions, practices, experiences, ideas of a group without any break in continuity, and so highly influential on the appearances, attitudes, gestures, ways of thinking as well as places of living generations (66). As Boyer (1994) put, "for Halbwachs, memory was based on lived experience, something that reached out of the past and seized the individual in the manner of naïve and immediate knowledge. Memory had to be linked to lived experience; otherwise it was reduced to 'history'" (26).

Given that Halbwachs ([1950] 1980) took history—in accord with the common understanding of his era—as an objective and abstract representation of the past in opposition to memory[46], he asserted that "[g]eneral history starts only when tradition ends and the social memory is fading or breaking up" (78). As Boyer (1994, 133) noted "[a]s long as memory stays alive within a group's collective experience, [Habwachs] argued, there is no necessity to write it down or fix it as the official story of events. But when distance appears, conferring its distinctions and exclusions, opening a gap between the enactments of the past and the recall of the present, then history begins to be artificially recreated." For Halbwachs, the transformation of memory into history brings about "the evaporation of live experience and meaning" involved by its duration (A. Assmann 2008, 60), and accordingly, memory is superior to history in regard to its cohesive role in society.

[46] Here, it has to be noted that in the 19th and early 20th centuries, history and memory were two polarized notions in the intellectual discourse as different from their complementary and interactive relationship today. For the chronological evolution of their relationship, see Section 2.4.3 Memory and History.

Halbwachs ([1950] 1980) distinguished 'collective memory' from 'formal/written history' in, at least, two ways (80): First, history is "a record of changes" while collective memory is "a record of resemblances" (86). History is a collection of the notable events that distinguish periods from each other and "divides the sequence of centuries into periods" (80). However, collective memory comprises one duration unified by a continuous development, which "is marked not, as is history, by clearly etched demarcations but only by irregular and uncertain boundaries" (82). In this respect, "[i]t is a current of continuous thought whose continuity is not at all artificial, for it retains from the past only what still lives or is capable of living in the consciousness of the groups keeping the memory alive" (80). Second, given that collective memory is multiple and there are as many collective memories as there are groups, history is "unitary" so "that there is only one history" (83).

Halbwachs ([1950] 1980) eventually returned to the question of whether historical memory is an aspect of collective memory and answered it by stressing the connection between its content and the life of the group. He simply pointed out that if the historical memory is understood as the sequence of events and dates in the formal history of a nation, learned from history textbooks and totally external to the remembrances and the current life of the group, then it does not represent the essence of what Halbwachs called collective memory (77). But if historical memory is identified with "residues of events by virtue of which groups claim a continuous identity through time" (Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Levy 2011, 19), and if those events constitute a part of the 'living history' rather than the written one, have a spontaneously continuous and authentic connection with group's lived experiences and practices (i.e. oral tradition or oral history, commemorative practices etc.), and so retain in the collective consciousness, then they all fall under the umbrella of collective memory.

In consequence, Halbwachs admittedly "elaborated his concept of collective memory primarily in relation to the interwoven social frameworks of smaller groups" (Barash 2017, 259), which have relatively short durations with no

formal/written history, such as family (having three to five intergenerational coexistence), association and generation. In those groups, memory is transmitted mainly in oral communications, in the form of narratives or anecdotes, as well as through certain objects and places associated with them. Accordingly, he deliberated about involving the largest and distant frameworks like nations, governments and the church that have formal/written histories, selected monuments, official museums, etc., into the sphere of collective memory.

2.4.2 Contemporary Criticisms of Halbwachs' Concept of Collective Memory and New Perspectives

Today, Halbwachs' ideas on collective memory, as having been confirmed nearly a century later, induced a thoroughly new field of scholarship in the terrain of social sciences and humanities as well as in the field of the cognitive and natural sciences. Besides, his peculiar emphasis on the spatial and physical dimension of collective memory brought up the topic of collective memory as a central theoretical concern in architecture, urban design and architectural conservation, especially with a renewed interest in 1980s, aka the second memory-boom of 20th century.

However, once Halbwachs' concept of collective memory regained attention at the turn of the 21st century, it has been heaped with important criticism based mainly on two motives. The first was about the vague and wide spectrum of Halbwachs' collective memory, which has conflated various mnemonic phenomena, different in kind and nature. The second had to do with the sharp distinction that Halbwachs made between collective memory and history. The discussions relying on the conceptual ground of these criticisms have paved the way for new perspectives on theorizing and clarifying the concept of collective memory.

2.4.2.1 Jeffrey K. Olick: Collected Versus Collective Memory

To begin with the first criticism, Olick (1999) noted that Halbwachs fused at least two distinct phenomena under the umbrella of collective memory: socially framed individual memories and collective commemorative symbolic representations along with mnemonic traces. Given the fact that these two phenomena are distinct in ontological terms and demand different methodological strategies, Olick's objection is that Halbwachs did not offer "an integrated paradigm that identifies the unique structures involved in each of these and shows how they are related." Consequently, the term collective memory has been used indiscriminately in a wide range of application fields "to refer to aggregated individual recollections, to official commemorations, to collective representations, and to disembodied constitutive features of shared identities; it is said to be located in dreamy reminiscence, personal testimony, oral history, tradition, myth, style, language, art, popular culture, and the built world" (336). Due to the over-breadth and vagueness of the term's content, further studies that employ collective memory as a conceptual tool are required to make a clarification of its scope in advance so as to be able to make a proper analysis with an appropriate methodology.

In order to overcome this lack of conceptual clarification to some extent, Olick (1999) suggested distinguishing the methodological approaches to the aforementioned two distinct fundamental phenomena of collective memory as 'collected' memory approach and 'collective' memory approach.

First, so Olick (1999) argued, the 'collected' memory approach is based on the individualistic principles of psychology and studies "the aggregated individual memories of members of a group." This approach presumes that "individuals are central: only individuals remember…and any publicly available commemorative symbols are interpretable only to the degree to which they elicit a reaction in some group of individuals" (338). Accordingly, the collected memory studies deal mainly with the ways how individuals perceive and remember an event as well as

date or place. They "do not necessarily begin by assuming the existence of a collectivity" (339) and thus "can avoid many of the potential reifications and political biases of approaches that begin with collectivities and their characteristics" (338). The collected memory approach is most commonly applied in the oral history projects "which often aim at recovering the lost or neglected memories of those who have been disenfranchised" (338).

Second, the 'collective' memory approach examines "collective phenomena *sui generis*" (Olick 1999, 333), and so focuses on the representations of the past that exist outside the minds of individuals, that is, all sorts of memories externalized and objectified as symbols (speeches, texts, images, memorials etc.) employed in a social framework. From a collectivist perspective, collected memory approach by itself is held insufficient for studying collective memory since collective symbolic representations are believed to "have a degree of autonomy from the subjective perceptions of individuals" (341).

Certainly, powerful institutions and larger social groups (such as nations, states, church, governments etc.) constantly exert a certain degree of influence on memory by means of their manipulative force on its symbolic representations. For the sake of existential continuity or political advantage, social and political groups may "value some histories more than others, provide narrative patterns and exemplars of how individuals can and should remember, and stimulate memory in ways and for reasons that have nothing to do with the individual or aggregate neurological records" (342). Therefore, memories are subject to invention, transformation in meaning and oblivion under the control or influence of contending groups and institutions. If so, the social and cultural patterns of memory are not always shaped and cannot be merely explained through the spontaneous/organic intertwining of individual memories, but can be elucidated by examining the symbolic representations of the past with recourse to the dynamics of collective perspective. In this respect, the collective memory approach (via an examination of external collective representations) inquires social and cultural patterns in remembering and

forgetting and in transmission and transformation of memory, as well as the role, use or abuse of memory in the formation of political ideology and in construction of collective identities (identity politics) within the terrain of social, cultural and political sciences.

At the end of the day, Olick (1999) proposed to pursue a simultaneously and reciprocally operative methodological strategy that intends to bridge between the individualist 'collected' memory approach and the collectivist 'collective' memory approach, and thus offered the synthesizing term of 'social memory studies' so as to refer to "a wide variety of mnemonic processes, practices, and outcomes, neurological, cognitive, personal, aggregated, and collective" (346).

2.4.2.2 Peter Burke: History as *Social Memory*

The second fundamental criticism of Halbwachs' work was about his distinction, in a strict sense, between collective memory and history. So as to elucidate this criticism, how the notions of 'history and 'memory' as well as their in-between relationship have transformed from the early to the late 20th century are to be mentioned briefly in the first place.

As a matter of fact, the late 20th century (especially from the 1980s to 1990s) has witnessed a radical change in the conception and representation of the past. The 'modern' idea of past as an unchangeable entity 'written in granite', 'fixed' and 'closed' was no longer as it was before, once it was dismantled into pieces in the postmodern (post-Cold-War) era, along with the break-down of grand narratives and the disintegration of monolithic identities, in regard to various contributing factors in the global arena which also simultaneously induced the second memory boom of 20th century. New constructions of the past are dispersed around via the resurgence of oppressed memories of minor identity groups neglected until then. This new fragmented past was "no longer written in granite but rather in water" (A. Assmann 2008, 57).

Accordingly, history has diversified in parallel with memory so long as more social groups claimed their presence and gained visibility. Therefore, it seemed no longer universal and objective. It has been acknowledged that, just like remembering the past, writing about it also belongs to a group and is a reconstruction arranging the past from a given group perspective (Barash 2017, 258). Historical writing, almost in equal measure to memory, involves "the process of selection, interpretation and distortion as conditioned, or at least influenced" by the identity, loyalties, and prejudices or biases of the social group who writes it (Burke 1997, 44).

These conjectural changes of the 1980s and 1990s, consequently, triggered "a new awareness of the interactions between history and memory". The former polarization between the two has been replaced by a complementary interactive relationship, "each one adding something that the other cannot supply" (A. Assmann 2008, 61). Historiography has developed an interested in memory from two different points of view. On one hand, memory has been utilized "as a historical source". As a result of it, oral testimonies and traditions have been of great significance and even induced an 'oral history' movement. On the other hand, memory has become itself "a historical phenomenon" (Burke 1997, 46). It has turned to be an object of study, and there has developed a new branch of historiography called 'mnemohistory' that examines "the modes of remembering as a form of social and cultural practice" (A. Assmann 2008, 62).

As an obvious consequence of the transformations in the intellectual discourses, Halbwachs' radical opposition between memory and history lost its validation and has become a subject of criticism about his work, first asserted by Peter Burke, and then developed by Aleida and Jan Assmann.

Burke has "proposed to fuse together memory and historical understanding under the single rubric of 'social memory'"[47] in regard to their common reconstructive character (Barash 2017, 258). For that purpose, he has listed five particular mediums for transmission of social memory; oral traditions, 'recorded' documents of memory (memoirs, written narratives etc.), images, actions (act of skills as they transmit from master to apprentice or rituals of commemoration etc.) and space (Burke 1997, 47-48). Also, he has emphasized the common feature of 'schema' which is analyzed in all these mediums and is "associated with the tendency to represent - and sometimes to remember - a given event or person in terms of another[s]" (Burke 1997, 49-52).

2.4.2.3 A. Assmann and J. Assmann: *Communicative* and *Cultural Memory*

In parallel with Burke, Aleida and Jan Assmann proposed to conceive 'collective memory' as an umbrella term "to include all forms of comprehension of the past, both group memory and long-term historical awareness" (Barash 2017, 258). So what they suggested was to further distinguish different formats of memory "such as family memory, interactive group memory, and social, political, national, and cultural memory", under the umbrella term of 'collective memory' when need be (A. Assmann 2008, 55).

Given that Halbwachs deliberately kept his concept of collective memory apart from the realm of cultural history, excluding "traditions, transmissions, and transferences", A. Assmann and J. Assmann have conversely included the histo-cultural sphere as a form of collective memory. Nevertheless, they have also attempted to preserve the distinctive framework, which Halbwachs set for collective memory (J. Assmann 2008, 110). Thus, under the heading of collective memory they made an initial fundamental distinction between two main categories;

[47] To note, the German art historian, Aby Warburg firstly used the term 'social memory' (*soziales Gedächtnis*) in 1920s referring to the memory at the cultural level. Nonetheless, as Confino (1997, 1390) asserts, Warburg did not attempt to theorize his concept (of social memory) systematically.

‘communicative memory’ on social level and ‘cultural memory’ on cultural level (J. Assmann [1988] 1995; 2008; 2011). In this categorization, communicative memory corresponds “roughly to the collective memory of living generations in the sense of Halbwachs” and ‘cultural memory’ encompasses “the entire heritage of a literary, legendary, and historical past” (Barash 2017, 258).

Communicative memory consists of the shared memories within a social frame that are “based exclusively on everyday communications” (J. Assmann [1988] 1995, 126). As Halbwachs once theorized, memories of individuals are built up “in a milieu of social proximity, regular interaction, common forms of life, and shared experiences” (A. Assmann 2006, 213). These embodied memories based on lived experiences are preserved and transmitted especially in oral tradition/communication in the form of stories, anecdotes, idioms, etc., as well as in the physiognomy of people, gestures, objects and places in-use. Accordingly, they display a distinct unifying social function beyond the individual memories and transcend the lifespan of individuals by having a limited temporal horizon (duration) till they vanish with their last carriers usually within a period of eighty to one hundred years which equals three to, sometimes, five generations co-existing. (J. Assmann [1988] 1995, 125; A. Assmann 2006, 213).

The term ‘communicative memory’ has also been used by A. Assmann (2006, 213-215) interchangeably on occasion with the term ‘social memory’ referring to a category that entails a whole range of non-institutional, informal memories with short and clear temporal limits in social sphere such as family memory, interactive group memory, generational memory and so forth.

On the other hand, according to A. and J. Assmann, ‘cultural memory’ is the whole institutionalized and objectified past that is “characterized by its distance to everyday life”, while ‘communicative memory’ is non-institutional and “characterized by its proximity to the everyday” (J. Assmann [1988] 1995, 128-129; 2011, 17-18). So, as A. Assmann (2006) states, it is like “to cross a threshold in time” to pass from the sphere of communicative/social memory to cultural

memory. Once the embodied or lived memory of a social group is externalized and embedded in more durable carriers of external symbols and material representations (such as artifacts like statues, monuments, memorials, museums or other *lieux de mémoire*[48] like texts, images, myths, legends, rituals, feasts, dances etc.) their limited temporal range is "infinitely extended in time" and so they pass from the intergenerational, ephemeral sphere of social memory to the transgenerational, long-term status of cultural memory (215). A. and J. Assmann ([1988] 1995) explicate this transition process from social to cultural level as cultural formation, that is, the crystallization of living everyday communication or collective experience "into the forms of objectivized culture" (128).

Before moving on to the Assmanns' theory of cultural memory, it must be noted regarding the roots of the concept of 'cultural memory' that the German art historian, Aby Warburg (1866-1929) is actually the first scholar who referred to the memory in the cultural sphere yet prefered the term 'social memory' (*soziales Gedächtnis*) to name it. Although Warburg did not take the next step to theorize his concept of social memory systematically, he firstly implied the role of cultural objectivation in the stabilization and transmission of cultural memory for historical ages and "treated images, that is, cultural objectivations, as carriers of memory" (J. Assmann 2008, 110). Warburg was specialized in iconic memory (*Bildgedächtnis*), and in his famous project called *Mnemosyne*, he attempted to portray the 'afterlife' (*Nachleben*) of classical antiquity in Western culture by tracking "the transmission of primitive and ancient motifs [images] to later societies" and also argued that "[a]ll human products…,and artistic work in particular, were expressions of human memory transmitted through symbols from ancient times" (Confino 1997, 1390).

In touch with Warburg's prototypical understanding, cultural memory as the Assmanns define it constitutes a broad category of collective memory, which is disembodied into symbolic representations of the past. Since cultural memory is

[48] See Section 3.1.2.2 In the Work of Pierre Nora: Sites of Memory—*Lieux de Mémoire.*

“exteriorized, objectified, and stored away in [durable] symbolic forms” that are capable of transference from one situation to another and transmission from one generation to another, it has an unlimited temporal horizon (J. Assmann 2011, 17). So unlike informal communicative/social memory, it is, as J. Assmann ([1988] 1995) puts, anchored in the past on fixed points which “are fateful events of the past, whose memory is maintained through the cultural formation (texts, rites, monuments) and institutional communication (recitation, practice, observance)” (129). It relies as much on memorials, monuments, museums, as it depends “on various modes of education and repeated occasions for collective participation” (such as national or religious ceremonies, celebrations, anniversaries, and official holidays of commemoration) (A. Assmann 2006, 215). Therefore, all institutional long-term memory formats such as political memory, national memory etc. fall under the category of cultural memory.

All in all, cultural memory is “a collective concept for all knowledge that directs behavior and experience in the interactive framework of a society and one that obtains through generations in repeated societal practice and initiation” (J. Assmann [1988] 1995, 126). It safeguards the store of collective knowledge in the context of which myth and history merge encompassing a body of cultural forms transposed and inherited through generations, namely cultural heritage. From this collective knowledge “a group derives an awareness of its unity and peculiarity” (132), sees the reflection of its self-image and obtains “a kind of identificatory determination in a positive ("We are this") or in a negative ("That's our opposite") sense” (130). Thus, the Assmanns argue, the utmost characteristic of cultural memory is that it provides “*the concretion of identity*" in a society, and sets a context of heritage on which the ‘cultural identity’ is based.

J. Assmann ([1988] 1995, 130-133) listed the other fundamental characteristics of cultural memory as following; It has a “*capacity to reconstruct*” in order to adapt “its knowledge to an actual and contemporary situation” (130). It goes through a “*formation*” process which involves “the objectivation or crystallization of

communicated meaning and collectively shared knowledge" for "its transmission *in the culturally institutionalized heritage of a society*" (130). It depends on "*organization*"; first in the form of institutional support (ie. for its learning, transmission, interpretation or celebration on special occasions), second in the form of its cultivation by specialists (131). A. Assmann (2008, 55; 2006, 217) lists various forms of organization through which communicative/social memory is transferred to a more generalized cultural level as "emplotment of events in an affectively charged and mobilizing narrative; sites and monuments that present palpable relics; visual and verbal signs as aids of memory; commemoration rites that periodically reactivate the memory and enhance collective participation." Cultural memory not only provides *identity* but also gives rise to an "*obligation*" to remember by sustaining collective knowledge in two aspects: "the *formative* knowledge in its educative, civilizing, and humanizing functions" and the *normative* knowledge defining the system of values/ norms in a society "in its function of providing rules of conduct" (132). Its final characteristic is listed as "*reflexivity*" since it constantly draws on its own context while reconstructing itself. Accordingly, it is not only practically reflexive in the sense that its archaic symbolic forms are reflected in the formation of relatively contemporary ones but also conceptually reflexive in that it portrays the self image of the group from the viewpoint of its own social system (132). As J. Assmann ([1988] 1995, 133) summarizes, cultural memory is concretized in cultural heritage: "Through its cultural heritage a society becomes visible to itself and to others. Which past becomes evident in that heritage and which values emerge in its identificatory appropriation tells us much about the constitution and tendencies of a society."

According to J. Assmann ([1988] 1995, 130), cultural memory exists in two modes; either in the mode of actuality or in the mode of potentiality. Active cultural memory "refers to what a society consciously selects and maintains as salient and vital items for common orientation and shared remembering" and "is preserved by specific practices and institutions against the dominant tendency of decay and general oblivion." Archival cultural memory, on the other hand, constitutes the

background for the former and stands only accessible only to specialists in libraries, archives depositories, centers of documentation, and data banks. (A. Assmann 2006, 220-221). This latent mode of cultural memory also constitutes, in a Freudian manner, the realm where the "unconscious and repressed aspects of past group experience" having to do with collective traumas are contained until they get active (Barash 2017, 258).

2.4.3 Memory and History

Memory and history (in the sense of historiography) had an evolving relationship and went through three stages from pre-modern to post-modern times. Briefly, in the pre-modern stage, before the foundation of 'modern history' as a critical scholarship in the 19th century, memory and history were not clearly separated from one another and seen as identical notions. Thus, this first stage was "marked by the *identity of history and memory*" (A. Assmann 2008, 57). In the following modern phase, historiography emerged as a discipline with its own standards in the pursuit of true and objective telling of the past and strictly separated itself from memory (59). This second or modern stage was identified "by a *polarization between memory and history*" (58). Finally, the post-modern period has brought out a new vision of 'past' revealing its reconstructive nature (in terms of both remembering and writing about it): and this third stage has been "characterized by a new interest in the *interactions between memory and history*." Accordingly, memory came to be seen as a complementary historic source and phenomenon in historiography (61).

Table2.1 Differences between memory and history (A. Assmann 2008, 61).

MEMORY	HISTORY
-is an embodied form of memory -stresses differences and exists in the plural -is linked to the identity of an individual, a group, or institution -bridges the past, present, and future -is highly selective, deploys forgetting -creates values and meaning, and provides motivation and orientation for action	-is a disembodied form of memory -provides a universal frame and exists in the singular -is disconnected from the identity of individuals, groups, or institutions -separates the past from present and future -develops an event and impartial attention -searches for truth and tries to suspend values, disconnected from action

Given that collective memory and history are linked and interacted with each other, they are by no means identical (Ijabs 2014, 992). The preliminary distinction between them and the superior social functions of memory over history were set forth by Halbwachs, the founding father of the concept of collective memory.[49] Sixty years after Halbwachs, the historian Pierre Nora has provided 'a rethinking' of Halbwachs' theory of collective memory with a re-articulation of the distinction between memory and history. Nora's monumental work, *Les Lieux de Mémoire*,[50] conceptually developed and presented 'sites of memory' (*lieux de mémoire*) of the French past as a 'symbolic typology' by entailing "both ideas and the material realities that structure France's national identity" (Kritzman 1996, x). Nora's efforts

[49] See Section 2.4.1 Maurice Halbwachs: *La mémoire collective*

[50] It was originally published in seven volumes between 1984-1992, translated into English first in a three-volume edition by Columbia University Press under the title of *Realms of Memory*, later in a four-volume edition by University of Chicago Press under the title of *Rethinking France: Les lieux de mémoire*.

may well be seen as an extension of Halbwachs' collective memory grounded on social sphere into the cultural memory of a nation (A. Assmann 2008, 60).

Memory, as Halbwachs and Nora put it, distinguishes itself sharply from history in many respects. In the first place, memory refers to a 'sacred context' including "the variety of forms through which cultural communities imagine themselves in diverse representational modes" (Kritzman 1996, ix). It is a "complex social process in which a society or social group constructs and reproduces its relation to the past" and is directly linked to and influential on the "emergence, transformation, and extinction of social identities" (Ijabs 2014, 992). However, history is, in essence, an intellectual activity "rooted in the evidence derived from the study of empirical reality" (Kritzman 1996, ix).

To quote from Nora (1989), "[m]emory is life," embedded in the social practices and knowledge of living societies. It is an actual phenomenon, which is "in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of its successive deformations, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived." It has a holistic and selective nature, 'weaves' itself within the dual work of remembering and forgetting, and meet its needs by accommodating the facts that suit it. It belongs to the present rather than the past and constitutes a bridge between them. History, on the other hand, presents an abstract and mostly 'incomplete' "reconstruction,…, of what is no longer," in need "for analysis and criticism" (9), and grounds directly on the past, separating it from the present (8). While "[m]emory takes root in the concrete, in spaces, gestures, images, and objects; history binds itself strictly to temporal continuities, to progressions and to relations between things" (9). Finally, as Halbwachs originally said, memory is 'a record of resemblances,' specific to the group and "by nature multiple" but history is 'a record of changes' in the pursuit of being 'universal' and thus belonging "to everyone and to no one" (9).

2.4.4 Collective Memory and Collective Trauma: Social Remembering and Forgetting

In this closing section, I would like to briefly discuss the social function of *collective memory* in relation to *collective trauma*.

In social theory, there are two dominant approaches to collective memory. First, from a Durkheimian perspective, it is taken as a fundamental "resource of social integration in the present." Second, from a Freudian perspective, it is seen "as mainly unconscious source of tensions, discontents, and strains in society" (Ijabs 2014, 992).

According to the former approach, by means of the dialectics of social remembering and forgetting, collective memory constitutes the shared values and meaning with reference to a shared image of the past, holds the society together and provides the motivation for the useful social action. Nevertheless, its diversified nature is *ipso facto* a potential of conflict. Especially in cases where a particular collectivity is segregated from or prioritized over the others, collective memory may tend to underline the differences or the struggles between them, resulting in social division or disintegration.

For the latter, "collective memory of a society consists of sedimentary, mainly negative experiences of the past that continue to work in present." It relies on collective traumas such as wars, conflicts, genocide, mass violence, famines, epidemics, large-scale catastrophes etc., all of which "produce discontinuities, ruptures, and identity crises influencing the present- day social life" (Ijabs 2014, 992). In line with Freud's legacy that the inaccessible repressed traumatic memories unconsciously govern the present actions of an individual, collective traumas "excluded from public representations of collective memory tend to return in various ways, like collective aggression, xenophobia, authoritarian longings, or different psychosocial disorders", unless they are brought to light through a process of dialogue at the public level (993).

From both approaches can be clearly inferred that collective memory and collective trauma operate in a close but usually latent contact in the collective consciousness, as is the case in the mechanisms of memory and trauma at an individual level. In a social context, the ways in which collective traumas and their public representations are dealt with depend on whichever of these two approaches towards collective memory is predominant over the other. And there exists usually a political struggle between those who call for their ignorance, forgetting and oblivion for the identity affirmation of dominant collectivity and those who claim their remembering through public memory processes for a true reconciliation and social reconstruction. However, from the turn of the 21th century, the postmodern era is marked with *memorialization* activities especially in post-conflict societies, converting the disruptive event of the past to an opportunity for social innovation and change in order to promote an effective democratization for all constituent groups of the society and so to sustain a 'never again' mentality (ICSC 2012).

2.5 A Brief Evaluation on the Concept of Memory

To briefly summarize, the conception of memory has dramatically evolved from the empiricist consideration of the 17th century, which relied on the preservative paradigm (inherited from the ancient Greek legacy) taking memory as a 'storehouse' of unchangeable/static copies of sensory experiences/perceptions, to the contemporary generative conception (of simulation theories) acknowledging it more as a function for totally imaginative time travel into both past and future.[51]

Putting aside the controversial generative theories that radically undermine the reliability of memory together with its epistemological role, the common conception of memory today embraces a 'partial' reconstructive view that recognizes dynamic and reconstructive nature of memory based on the works of Bergson ([1896] 1911) in philosophy and of Bartlett ([1932] 1995) in psychology.

[51] See Section 2.2.2 Memory-Images: From Preservative to Generative Theories of Memory.

Following in the footsteps of Bergson and Bartlett, memory or, to be more precise, recollection is now widely acknowledged as a conscious reconstruction of the past in the light of the data obtained from the present. According to both theorists, the act of recollecting requires an intellectual effort ('effort after meaning' in Bartlett's terms and 'effort of memory' in Bergson's) and by this effort, we construct representations out of a schematically organized active whole of virtual past within us (which is called 'dynamic scheme' by Bergson and 'schema' by Bartlett).[52]

Although the term 'memory' is usually reserved in the field of psychology for the recollective/episodic memory or "the memory of personally experienced events" (Werning and Cheng 2017, 11), the domain of memory is distinguished between *declarative memory* and *non-declarative memory* as two distinct kinds. While declarative memory is held responsible for all conscious recollections that occur in the form of a proposition or image within our mind (encompassing *episodic memory* and *semantic memory*), non-declarative memory involves the unconscious performative part of memory mostly related to our body (encompassing *procedural memory*).[53]

As a matter of fact, a prototype of this preliminary distinction is first posited by Bergson ([1896] 1911) as 'recollection memory' (*mémoire-souvenir*) and 'habit memory' (*mémoire-habitude*). Further, in his pioneering theory of memory, Bergson explicates the interrelated, complementary operation of these two forms of memory in every act of remembering. In a sense, they might be different in form but inseparable in practice since every recollection is partly mechanical (by way of body) and partly intellectual (by way of mind) (Bergson 1902). To put differently, bodily/habit memory constitutes the essential core for the explicit recollection of the past so that in its absence recollection/recollective memory is not attainable.

[52] See Section 2.2.2 Memory-Images: From Preservative to Generative Theories of Memory, for Bartlett's theory of memory and Section 2.3.4.1 Henri Bergson: Dynamic Scheme and Memory-Image, for Bergson's theory of memory.
[53] See Section 2.1 On Terminology and Taxonomy: Kinds of Memory.

CHAPTER 3

MEMORY, PLACE AND ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE: A FRAMEWORK FOR THE CONSERVATION OF ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE AS A LOCUS OF MEMORY

3.1 On Memory, Place[54] and Architecture

The first insights on the close relationship between memory and place stretch as far back as the *Ars memorativa*[55] tradition emerged in the ancient Roman mnemonic handbooks;

> …And I am thankful to Simonides of Ceos, who is said to have been the first to introduce the art of memory. According to this story, Simonides was dinning at Crannon in Thessaly at the house of Scopas, a rich nobleman. When he had finished singing the poem that he had composed in Scopas' honor, in which he had written much about Castor and Pollux for the sake of embellishment, as poets do, Scopas reacted with excessive stinginess. He told him that he would pay him only half the agreed fee for this poem; if he liked, he could ask for the rest from his friends the Tyndarides [Castor and Pollux], who had received half the praise. A little later, the story goes on, Simonides received a message to go outside: two young men were standing at the door, who were urgently asking for him. He got up and went outside, but saw no one. In the meantime, precisely while he was gone, the room where Scopas

[54] To note that space and place are two distinct and yet related notions. Space, in its pure form, refers to an abstract, "homogenous and extended realm, amenable to a purely mathematical understanding, within which…'places' may…be situated" (Malpas 1998, 24), while place is identified as a bounded, particular physical location which is experienced and imbued with meaning and value due to the presence of human existence. Place is, in short, a 'meaningful space' where human life, in terms of actual daily life practices, takes place, and so the term 'place', in distinction to space, implies a strong emotional tie between an individual or a group of people and a particular physical location. Accordingly, the phenomenon of memory conceptually relates more to 'places' than 'spaces'. However, the concept of 'space' characterized by human participation, which is on occasion called as 'lived space' or 'existential space', refers to a more comprehensive understanding of 'space 'as a system of places' in concrete and qualitative terms. Lived space as such is *ipso facto* distinguished from 'homogeneous' or 'mathematical' space, for its regions are *per se* differentiated as right/left, up/down, front/back simply by the involvement of the body. Moreover, while places are thought to be located within space, each place also defines its own space comprised of the three-dimensional organization of its elements (Norberg-Schulz 1979, 11-12).

[55] See Section 2.3.1.1 Greek Legacy: Plato and Aristotle.

> was giving his banquet collapsed, and Scopas, together with his relatives, was buried under the fallen roof and died. When their families wanted to arrange their funeral, but could not possibly distinguish them because they had been completely crushed, it was reportedly Simonides who, from his recollection of the place where each of them had been reclining at table, identified every one of them for burial. Prompted by this experience, he is then said to have made the discovery that order is what most brings light to our memory. And he concluded that those who would like to employ this part of their abilities should choose localities, then form mental images of things they wanted to store in their memory, and place these in the localities. In this way, the order of the localities would preserve the order of the things, while the images would represent the things themselves; and we would use the localities like a wax tablet, and the representations like the letters written on it.

Cicero (DO II, lxxxvi. 351- lxxxvii. 355)

The foregoing story portrays the Ciceronian version of the mythical scene where the principles of the 'art of memory' (*Ars memorativa*) were discovered by the poet Simonides of Ceos. As the story has it, after the tragic incident, the poet's unwitting recollection of places provided him with the capacity to identify the deceased bodies. Through this experience, Simonides realized that "the order of the localities would preserve the order of the things [to be remembered]" and acknowledged the mnemonic characteristic of 'place' due to its innate preservative power. Consequently, he invented the famous mnemonic technique, the so-called 'place system' or 'method of *loci*.' In this technique, a *locus*, which may be either a real or fictitious place, maintains a scheme on which the images (representations) of the things to be remembered are orderly placed. In this respect, the perpetual recollection of these things is sustained by revisiting and moving through that particular *locus* in one's mind (Casey 2000, 183).

Memory is inherently a spatial phenomenon as much as it is temporal. Yet, thus far we have seen that, while the temporal aspects of memory and remembering have been a common concern in both philosophical and psychological studies, the alliance of memory and place, as well as the importance of place for memory have been mostly overlooked or neglected. In this respect, the classical *Ars memorativa* tradition stands as, in Casey's words, "one salient piece of evidence that the relationship between memory and place is at once [taken] intimate and profound" (Casey 2000, 183).

Once an inquiry is intended on the relationship between memory and place, one might put it bluntly for an opening remark, so did Donohoe (2004, 1), that, "[i]t is not a far stretch to understand that memory is always implaced. A simple thought experiment will point out that it is impossible to remember an event from one's own past without realizing that the event happened in a place however hazy the memory of that place might be. Experience is implaced; memory likewise is implaced." Here, the crucial point in the memory-place relationship is the implicit acknowledgement of places as being far more than mere settings for memories as well as experiences. The intrinsic bond between memory and place manifests itself now and then, both through the mnemonic power of places, which has been addressed in from the ancient treatises[56] to the contemporary social studies discussing the role of places in collective memory and identity, and through the remarkable memorability of places found in the psychological phenomena of 'nostalgia'[57] and 'topophilia.'[58] Thus, how memory and place are related to one another is worth inquiring into and will be examined in this section.

Following Casey's line of reasoning in his phenomenological study on *Remembering*, we may suggest that the elucidation of this question fundamentally lies in the 'bodily basis' of memory. According to Casey (2000), memory is 'implaced' for its being 'embodied': "To be embodied is *ipso facto* to assume a particular perspective and position; it is to have not just a point of view but a *place* in which we are situated. It is to occupy a portion of space from out of which we both undergo given experiences and remember them" (182). Simply put, memory and place are connected by way of 'body' and a true understanding of place memory is possible only through "a prior understanding of body memory" (145). Nevertheless, as Casey asserted (2000, 144), the bodily form of memory has mostly

[56] Besides the aforementioned *Ars memorativa* tradition of Roman rhetoricians, Aristotle also suggests 'places' as the mnemonic starting-points for recollection (*DM*, 452a13).
[57] *Nostalgia* etymologically refers to the sentiment of pain (*algos*) due to the displacement from home (*nostos*).
[58] *Topophilia* is a strong sense of loving (*philia*) of a place (*topos*), usually merged with the sense of identity.

stayed out of sight in theoretical studies because, memory has almost always been thought to be in the mind and remembering has usually been seen as the equivalent of recollection as a mere mental act entailing the representation of the past in mental images or words. The oversight of body memory, has subsequently, resulted in the oversight of memory and place association.

In this chapter, I will first hold a phenomenological inquiry on the interrelationship between 'place' and 'memory' in an endeavor to explore it with relation to 'body' at the individual level and then examine its reflections at the collective level drawing on Halbwachs' and Nora's works.

3.1.1 A Phenomenological Inquiry on Memory and Place

The pursuit of a phenomenological understanding of the relationship between memory and place calls for a brief inquiry into 'place' and its association with 'body' established during experience, that is, when memory is in the making at individual level. In this part of the study, the interrelation between body and place will be examined first and then, on the basis of the insights provided from that, the innate bond between memory and place will be construed. Finally, having a closer look at architecture, the phenomenology and memory of architecture will be discussed.

3.1.1.1 On Body and Place

To begin with, Aristotle, in the *Physics* (henceforth, *PH),* characterizes the notion of 'place' or *topos* of a thing as a container or "surrounder" of it. For Aristotle, place is "the first unchangeable limit [or boundary] of that which surrounds" (*PH,* 212a20), and so thought of as an inner "surface" of a container, "like a vessel" rather than a void (*PH,* 212a28-29). In line with this, he explicitly declares that "a body is in place if, and only if, there is a body outside it which surrounds it" (*PH,* 212a31). Furthermore, given the premise that "everything is somewhere and in

place" (*PH*, 208b33-209a1), place comes "prior to all things" in Aristotle's view—nothing can exist without it, yet it exists without the others—and thus its power or potency to contain things is exceptional.

Besides his considering the priority of place together with the inevitability of implacement, Aristotle was the first to observe that the designation of parts of place, such as right/left, above/below, ahead/behind, is relative to our bodily position (*PH*, 208b14). From this can be deduced that place, even from its earliest conceptions, has been acknowledged to be "something not merely characterizable but actually experienced in qualitative terms…by the body" (Casey 1997, 204).

Following Aristotle's emphasis on the bodily position and place correlation, it was Immanuel Kant who discovered and thoroughly investigated the bond between body and place (Casey 1997, 204). In his essay, *Ultimate Ground of the Differentiation of Directions in Space* of 1768, Kant demonstrated—for the first time in Western thought—that the body (due to its two-sidedness e.g., right and left hands, chest and back, head and feet) is the source that provides the necessary directionality to sustain 'orientation' in physical space. Kant ([1768] 1988, 366) argued that the three dimensionality of physical space, which can be thought as three planes intersecting each other at right angles, follows from the directionality of body along these planes. As Casey (1997) put it, the body in Kantian sense constitutes "the pivot around which the three dimensions of spatial extension arrange themselves and from which they ultimately proceed" (208) and so, the body—not the mind—is *a priori*, the basis of orientation that "shapes and supports the particularity of place" (210).

Among the early 20th-century philosophers, Alfred North Whitehead is particularly noteworthy for his arguments, resonating with those of Kant, about the pivotal role of the body in the scene of place. Stressing the *withness of the body* as a fundamental factor contributing to our experience of the world and so of places,

Whitehead suggested that we are always *with* a body to perceive[59] and our "most primitive perception is 'feeling the body as functioning'" (Whitehead [1929] 1978, 81). The body experiencing itself (i.e., the actions of its organs) in the perceptual scene, in turn, conforms to its own environment, in the sense of both its 'most immediate environment' of bodily organs and its 'remote environment' of physical world, and so gains a unique efficacy by means of this 'settled past' in itself which Whitehead called *causal efficacy*. Causal efficacy, as Whitehead defined it, is "the hand of the settled past in the formation of the present" by way of body (quoted in Casey 2000, 174).

Accordingly, by virtue of this bodily *withness*, the body becomes not only "the starting point for our knowledge of the circumambient world" inheriting "the direct knowledge of 'causal efficacy'" (Whitehead [1929] 1978, 81), but also an active part of the perceptual scene, namely the scene of place, rather than "a mere mechanism for registering sensations" (Casey 1997, 213). Consequently, there is a reciprocal relationship between the action of the body and place. As simply put in Whitehead's statement; "the presented locus is defined by some systematic relation to the human body-so far as we rely, as we must, upon human experience" ([1929] 1978, 126).

Edmund Husserl, the principal founder of phenomenology, was another influential philosopher of the 20th century who reflected on the place and body correspondence by drawing on his well-known notions of 'life-world' (*Lebenswelt*) and 'lived body' (*Leib*). In the Husserlian tradition, 'life-world' is referred to as "the surrounding world of life" which is experienced by the 'lived/living body'. In line with Whitehead's *withness of the body*, Husserl, in his *Crisis of European Sciences*, emphasized the 'privileged position' of the human body, considering that "it is always experienced as 'here' wherever and whenever [we] move." He defined

[59] To put in Whitehead's words ([1929] 1978); "we see the contemporary chair, but we see it *with* our eyes; and we touch the contemporary chair, but we touch it *with* our hands" (62). This is so because " we feel *with* the body" (311).

lived body as "'the bearer of the I' and the locus of sensations felt by this I", and so recognized it to be "the persisting point to which all spatial relations appear to be connected" (quoted in Casey 1997, 217). For Husserl, the body not only constitutes the 'zero-point' of orientation and the center of experience as in Kant's ideas but also participates in and organizes the perceptual life-world around itself as in Whitehead's view (218).

Nonetheless, from Whitehead's *withness of the body*, Husserl singled out the *kinesthesia* as the basis of the deep correlation between the life-world and the lived body. To him, *kinesthesia*[60], "the inner experience of the moving or resting body as it feels itself moving or pausing at a given moment," fundamentally influences the accompanied perception. Casey succinctly explains this Husserlian view, "*if* I move my body in a certain way, *then* things will appear differently—including the places in which they appear"; therefore, "the way I feel my own body being/moving in a place will have a great deal to do with the way I experience that place itself." To summarize with Husserl's own words, "[t]he place is realized through kinesthesia, in which the character (*das Was*) of the place is optimally experienced" (quoted in Casey 1997, 219).

Likewise, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, one of the outstanding philosophers of the mid-20th century who was strongly influenced by Husserl, in his seminal work *Phenomenology of Perception*, found the 'origin of space' in kinesthesia (or the bodily movement) and regarded it as 'productive of space' (Casey 1997, 229).

According to Merleau-Ponty, insofar as the body moves in and orients itself towards space, the space becomes familiar and gets 'expressive' through 'the 'expressive movements' of the same body, by "having its own physiognomy and moods, its affectivity and style." Thus, the two essential features of space are 'expressiveness' and 'orientedness', both of which originate from the lived-moving body (Casey 1997, 230). On the other hand, through the kinesthesia (i.e., the

[60] *Kinesthesia*, the etymological roots of which are found in *kinêsis* as movement and *aisthêsis* as sensation/perception, means a sensation of movement.

posture and the movement of the body), a *body schema* (*schéma corporel*) structures itself during the perception of space, or in particular, the 'place-world'. And, the ongoing *body schema* operates in a circular relation between body and place-world (as a system/standard of bodily movements) in the ongoing placial perception. As Morris (2004) simply explains, "[t]he schema comes from movement and belongs to movement; it is dynamic through and through." The phenomenon of *body schema* is essentially based on the bodily habits that are formed by repetitive movements. This schema, Morris adds, "is inherently developmental and labile; and…crosses over into the places in which we form habits, the places we inhabit" (33).

All in all, in Merleau-Ponty's philosophy, *inhabitation* denotes to the habituation of the body to a particular space, turning it into a place-world by way of expressive movements and bodily orientation. Accordingly, place-world is, by definition, "a world we inhabit by means of our habituated/habituating bodies" (Casey 1997, 233). Therefore, Merleau-Ponty ([1945] 2005) remarks that "[we] must…avoid saying that our body is *in* space, or *in* time. It *inhabits* space and time" (161) and adding that "I am not in space and time, nor do I conceive space and time; I belong to them, my body combines with them and includes them. The scope of this inclusion is the measure of that of my existence" (162). As the quote makes it clear, the body is principally 'of' the place rather than 'in' it (171).

Thus far, we have traced through the philosophical premises of four thinkers—Kant, Whitehead, Husserl and Merleau-Ponty—and arrived at the conclusion that the body and place have an intertwined connection that reveals itself once their existential 'essence' is 'viewed' from a phenomenological point of view. That is to say, we are in place and part of it thanks to our embodied existence and, in turn, place originates from as well as is shaped by our bodily existence and particularly by our bodily movement (kinesthesia). Then, the body and place encompass one other and fuse into each other, losing their separateness (Casey 2000, 200). This sort of understanding of the intrinsic bond between place and body in perception also suggests that the 'lived body', and, in particular, the 'body memory' stand as

the core in explicating the association between place and memory as well as identity—which, in turn, resonates with or justifies Halbwach's statement that "the residents resemble the[ir] locale"([1950] 1980, 66).

3.1.1.2 On Body Memory and Place Memory

In the preceding 'On Body and Place' section we have seen that both Whitehead's notion of *causal efficacy* and Merleau-Ponty's *body schema*, are related to the idea of an embodied past, which is 'settled and actual' within the lived body and operative in the formation of present perception. So, as Casey (2000) put, both notions involve the premise that it is by way of *lived body* "the immediate present comes into being by conforming to the immediate past" (174). However, neither of these philosophers explicitly discuss their notions in relation to the matters of memory; yet they rather emphasize their ingrediency in perception.

As the historical overview of theories of memory made clear, Henri Bergson is the first and utmost important philosopher who acknowledged the pivotal position of the living body as 'the center of action' and uttered the notion of bodily/habit memory. Devoting a rigorous attention to the bodily memory, he structured his theory of memory on the integration of *pure memory* and *habit memory*.

In *Matter and Memory*, as examined in the section 'Henri Bergson: *Dynamic Scheme* and *Memory-Image*', Bergson argued there is no recollection/recollective memory (or episodic memory in modern psychological term) in the absence of bodily/habit memory. To put differently, recollective or episodic remembering is bodily and mental at the same time, and the habitual body memory constitutes the essential core for the explicit recollection of the past in memory-images. As a reminder, drawing on the notion of *motor scheme*[61] Bergson reflected on the schematic nature of *pure memory* calling it *dynamic scheme*. For Bergson, the

[61] This is a notion quite similar to Merleau-Ponty's *body schema* and yet translated indifferently from French into English as *motor diagram* in *Matter and Memory*.

habitual body memory was not limited to mere motor habits of movement but also was responsible for the mechanical (instantaneous or autonomous) recollection that occurs without any effort.

In his phenomenological study *Remembering*, Casey (2000) offers a comprehensive understanding of *body memory* as a prerequisite stepping stone for examining *place memory*. In the first place, he defines the habitual body memory as "an active immanence of the past in the body that informs present bodily actions in an efficacious, orienting, and regular manner" (149). He articulates, in parallel with the Bergsonian reflection (in particular, on the co-existence of past and present), that in habitual body memory "the past is *embodied* in actions" (149), and "becomes an active ingredient in what we are doing in the present" (150). Thus, through the actualization of body memories, the past exists to act in the present, in a constant fusion of the 'settled' (past) with the 'spontaneous' (present), resulting in a 'co-immanence of past and present' (167-168). Furthermore, he argues the habitual body memories are *efficacious* as they comprise an 'effective-history' integral to the lived/living body, *orienting* as they maintain the familiarization with one's surrounding world and *regular* for having an order/scheme of action relied on *the rules of sequence* and *timing* in order to be actualized (151-153).

From all those insights about how *body*, *place* and *body memory* are related to one another can be inferred two constitutive premises. First, there is no memory at all without a bodily component. Second, there is no bodily existence without being-in-place. Together with these premises, we have figured out that through *inhabitation*, *place* gets woven into our *body memory* and then into our recollections.

To paraphrase from Donohoe (2004, 3), insofar as we inhabit places by way of our body, places inhabit our recollections by way of our body memory. This is how memory and place strongly associate with each other and constitute the notion of *place memory*. As a consequence of that association, places interwoven with and embodied in memories become exceptionally mnemonic so that they reawake memories, and places are vigorously memorable so that we remember them even

without deliberate attempts in a way that our body re-places us in them. In parallel with this, Casey (2000) states that "*in remembering we can be thrust back, transported, into the place we recall*. We can be moved back into this place as much as, and sometimes more than, into the *time* in which the remembered event occurred. Rather than thinking of remembering as a form of re-experiencing the past *per se*, we might conceive of it as an activity of *re-implacing*: re-experiencing past places" (201).

Casey (2000, 189-194) proceeds to construe *place memory* or the memory of place by examining the functions of body memory that are operative within it. In accordance with the aforementioned ideas of Husserl and Merleau-Ponty on body and place, Casey considers the body's position-taking capacity (*Body as intra-place*) together with its kinetic-kinesthetic dimension (*Body as inter-place*) and singles out the orienting function of the lived body. It is on the basis of orientation that, "[b]ody memory establishes the familiarity that is requisite to the full realization of place memory" (193). To quote from Casey, "[p]laces are empowered by the lived bodies that occupy them; these bodies animate places, breathe new life into them by endowing them with directionality, level, and distance—all of which serve as essential anchoring points in the remembering of place" (197).

Furthermore, Casey (2000) points out the intrinsic affinity between place and memory both in their function and nature. It is worth noting that, such an affinity was first pointed out by Bergson, who revealed the similar nature of the *locus* (used in the mnemonic 'method of *loci'* of *Ars Memorativa*) and *pure memory* in regard to their common schematic organization.[62]

In resonance with Aristotle's contention of place as a 'container', Casey (2000) stresses the common task of memory and place to hold or contain things together due to their preservative capacity (202). Then, he identifies the structural

[62] See Section 2.3.4.1 Henri Bergson: Dynamic Scheme and Memory-Image.

components of their parallel nature as *horizon*, *pathway* and *things*. Respectively, *horizon* denotes to a sense of enclosure bounded or defined by the intrinsic 'aura'[63] or 'atmosphere' that any memory or place involves. *Pathways*, as the term implies, are the lines of movement or relation, in some resemblance to "associative networks" of memory defined by cognitive scientists. And *things* refer to the fixation or focus points within the movement arranged by *pathways* (203-206). Casey's characterization of memory and place as "an [delimited] openness to traversal by multiple pathways" relating and organizing the *things* within (205), resonates highly with Bergson's conception of memory as a *dynamic scheme* and *memory-images*. Besides, Casey finds place, just like memory, selective in its holistic nature and strikingly posits that "*place is selective for memories*: that is to say, a given place will invite certain memories while discouraging others" and "*memories are selective for place*: they seek out particular places as their natural habitats" (189).

The dialectical relationship between the place memories and the human psyche, which reciprocally possess and shape each other through the *lived body*, was also a concern for the philosopher Gaston Bachelard. In *The Poetics of Space*, Bachelard ([1958] 1994) reflected on the innate correlation between the human psyche and the childhood home, the "human being's first world" (7), based on the premise that the memory images of the house "are in us as much as we are in them" (xxxviii). In agreement with Casey's arguments, Bachelard wrote that "over and beyond our memories, the house we were born in is physically inscribed in us. It is a group of organic habits" (14); and thus "[w]e are the diagram of the functions of inhabiting that particular house, and all the other houses are but variations on a fundamental theme" (15). In this line of thought, he even introduced *topoanalysis*, "the

[63] Casey (2000) discerns *aura* as the third component of the *mnemonic presentation*—which implies "*all that* we remember on a given occasion" (65). The other two components of *mnemonic presentation* are the *specific content* and the *memory frame*. While the *specific content* is the focus object of remembering, *memory frame* or "the setting within which specific content is presented to us" (68) stand together with *aura* stand "in the background of our awareness" during remembering (66).

systematic psychological study of the sites of our intimate lives" (8), as an auxiliary of psychoanalysis.

In the pursuit of an inquiry into place memories, Casey (2000) upholds that the phenomenon of place possesses its own inherent features beyond body's crucial contribution to its realization (197). The totality of these features comprises the 'atmosphere' of the place[64], which are occasionally called 'character', 'aura' or 'ambiance' and coincide with or, at least, relate to the Roman concept of *genius loci*, 'the spirit of place'.

This perceptual 'atmosphere' of the place insinuates itself into and defines what Casey called the *aura* of the mnemonic presentation that place memories have. Also Pallasmaa (2014) confirms that "we could well speak of the atmosphere of a place, which gives it its unique perceptual and memorable character and identity" (20). However, since this atmosphere is unique to place, it should call for a discussion within the phenomenological particularity of that place. The following section inquires into the phenomenology and memory of architectural place as far as it is relevant to the subject.

3.1.1.3 On Phenomenology and Memory of Architecture

To begin with, a place appears as a 'total' and yet a threefold phenomenon with three basic intertwined elements. The first is its *structure* including, in Norberg-Schulz's terms, *space* and *character* place possesses. The second is the actions/activities or the experiences place offers denoting to its functional aspects. And, the third is the personal or shared meanings and significance associated with it and is derived especially from the 'memories' of the first two. The 'identity',

[64] 'Atmosphere' is occasionally used as a general comprehensive term, referring to an overall impression of an experienced place—see Pallasmaa (2012, 2014). But it may also be discerned as one of the phenomenological components of place experience—see Seamon (2015).

‘spirit’ or ‘atmosphere’ of a place may as well be explicated with reference to these three elements.

Norberg-Schulz (1979) conceptuallizes ‘place’ as an ‘existential space’, which is structurally combined of *space* and *character* and involves two psychological functions of *orientation* and *identification* (5). For him, while ‘space’ is “the three-dimensional organization of the elements which make up a place”, ‘character’ is related to ‘*how* things are’, and refers to “[o]n the one hand, a general comprehensive atmosphere, and on the other the concrete form and substance of the space-defining elements” (13-14). In other words, character is about the “technical realization” or “building” of place (15). As long as man orientates himself in place by bodily movements or actions, he identifies himself with that place through his habituation to and formation of symbolic bonds and meanings with it (19). Along with this, Norberg-Schulz (1979) defines architecture as a “concretization of existential space” (5), having the ‘existential purpose’ “to make a site become a place, that is, to uncover the meanings potentially present in the given environment” (18).

For how we experience buildings constitutes the basis of how we remember them, our reflecting on the ‘memory of architecture’ requires a phenomenological view. Being the pioneering architectural theorist of the 1970s and having engaged in the intellectual pursuit of a ‘phenomenology of architecture’, Norberg-Schulz (1979) discerned the ‘spatial organization’ of a place (which denotes to the relation of its elements of various types) from its ‘characterization’ (which refers to the articulation of those elements in terms of form, texture, color etc.), so as to analyze and understand, in a hermeneutical manner, the whole structure of the phenomenon of place by means of its parts, and vice versa. Through this comprehensive understanding of the physical structure of place, together with all the communicative and symbolic meanings unfolded by human involvement, he pursued to identify the expressive ‘spirit’ of particular places.

As to Norberg-Schulz (1979), the inside-outside relationship constitutes the primary phenomenal aspect of any particular place and thus "the very essence of architecture" (63). In accord with this, Robert Venturi (1977) argues that "[a]rchitecture occurs at the meeting of interior and exterior forces of use and space" and defines 'the wall (the point of change)' between inside and outside as an "architectural event" (86). As having been acknowledged since from Aristotle who conceived place as a containing boundary, the enclosing character of 'boundary' of a place that offers and organizes the dialectics between interior and exterior (i.e., how it separates and connects the two domains) is a governing factor both in the identity and unique experience of place. In more concrete terms, the boundary of architectural space implies to walls, floor and ceiling and is characterized by their articulation via form, material, building structure/construction technique, light receiving elements such as openings etc.

Besides the character of the boundary, the 'spatial organization' is another outstanding aspect of man-made place, which has been studied considerably in architectural theory, especially with a particular influence of Gestalt principles. Kevin Lynch's work published in 1960 with the title of 'The Image of the City' is prominent among others. In his work, Lynch studies the observer's mental image of a place and introduces five basic spatial elements—*path*, *edge*, *district*, *node* and *landmark*—on which the image of place and so the observer's orientation in place are based. Regarding architectural organization, it must be noted that, in modern architectural discourse, the 'organization' in terms of space or façade is commonly considered in touch with Gestalt principles.

Since about 1910, when the Gestalt theory emerged from the findings and ideas of the Berlin school of Gestalt psychology, it had a huge impact on architectural theory and practice. The Gestalt (German term for 'form' or 'shape') theory puts stress on humans' visual perception of forms and shapes and offers the principles of their organization that govern the visual perception. In this theory, simple and basic principles, such as *figure-ground relationship*, *proximity*, *similarity*, *closure*, *symmetry*, *continuity* and *simplicity*, are proved to be operative in the formation of

the perceptual image of a formal composition in human mind and memory by simplifying and organizing its parts to define the whole.

As Pallasmaa (2012) put it, Western architectural theory, which since Renaissance has been "almost exclusively engaged with the mechanisms of vision and visual expression" as well as form, harmony and proportion, was so much influenced by the Gestalt theory that "[t]he perception and experience of architectural form has most frequently been analysed through the Gestalt laws of visual perception" (32). The tenets of Gestalt theory have surely provided valuable information about our two-dimensional visual perceptual image, and so memory image, of forms based on our sense of sight. Nevertheless, the direct transfer of this theory into architecture has been questioned by some architectural theorists and critics due to its foundation on two-dimensional visual criteria alone.

Among them were Kent C. Bloomer and Charles W. Moore (1977), who, in *Body, Memory, and Architecture*, one of the first studies examining the role of the 'body' and the senses in the experience of architecture, criticized "the historic overemphasis on seeing as the primary sensual activity in architecture" for having detached us from our bodies (49). Drawing on James J. Gibson's revolutionary work in the perceptual psychology penned in 1966, Bloomer and Moore argued that "the most essential and memorable sense of three-dimensionality originates in the [multi-sensory] body experience" (x).

To note in passing, Gibson replaced the notion of five Aristotelian senses by a new consideration focusing on "the type of information received instead of on the physiological details of the receptor" and took the senses as "seeking mechanisms" called 'perceptual systems' rather than "passive sensation receivers." Adding a 'basic sense' for orientation in space, on which all other perceptions depend, Gibson listed five perceptual systems as the basic-orienting system, the auditory system, the haptic system, the taste-smell system, and the visual system (Bloomer and Moore 1977, 33).

Bloomer and Moore (1977) suggested that Gibson's *basic-orienting* and *haptic* systems[65] together construct "our understanding of three-dimensionality, the sine qua non of architectural experience" (33). In resonance with the philosophical-phenomenological background of the convergence of body and place[66], Bloomer and Moore put the whole body at "the center of the perceptual experience" of architecture (36) and introduced the 'body-image theory'—closely in touch with Merleau-Ponty's concept of *body schema*. They defined the body-image[67] "as the complete feeling, or three-dimensional Gestalt (sense of form) that an individual carries at any one moment in time, of his spatial intentions, values, and his knowledge of a personal, experienced body" (37).

As to the body-image theory of Bloomer and Moore (1977), we then perceive the settings around us drawing on the psychic image of our bodies which we develop "fundamentally from haptic and orienting experiences early in life" (44). Regarding the haptic sense as the primordial of all senses in human evolution, they added that "[o]ur visual images are developed later on, and depend for their meaning on primal experiences that were acquired haptically…Thus haptic experiences which include the entire body give fundamental meanings to visual experiences, while visual experiences serve to communicate those meanings back to the body" (44). In the same way, we experience and assign meanings to buildings first through "the haptic interaction of body form with built form" (59) via the body movement within the 'choreography' encouraged by the architecture. The haptic perception constitutes the basis for the experience and memory of architecture, both of which have a multi-sensory nature with the integration of visual, auditory, olfactory aspects as well.

[65] In brief, *basic-orienting* system provides our postural sense of up-down and the ground plane, and *haptic* system refers to "[t]he sensibility of the individual to the world adjacent to his body by the use of his body" and involves the entire bodily sensations of pressure, warmth, cold, pain and kinesthetics (Gibson 1966, 97).
[66] See Section 3.1.1.1 On Body and Place.
[67] Phrases as 'body-percept' or 'body-schema' may also be used in substitution of 'body-image'.

In accord with Bloomer and Moore's arguments, Juhani Pallasmaa (2014), a Finnish architect, architectural theorist and critic, stressed the notion of *architectural atmosphere* as the most important aspect of architectural experience, instead of the visible building form. He delineated the atmosphere as "the overarching perceptual, sensory, and emotive impression of a space, setting, or social situation" (20), and argued the architectural atmosphere as if it were a surrounding material substance, which we grasp haptically and so emotionally, "in a diffuse and peripheral manner" before we identify the details of the place visually and intellectually, "through precise and conscious observation" (19). According to Pallasmaa, the atmosphere of architecture is unconsciously embodied via an interaction and fusion of multiple senses "such as the senses of orientation, gravity, balance, stability, motion, duration, continuity, scale, and illumination". Furthermore, this complex multisensory experience of atmosphere "projects a temporal process, as it fuses perception, memory, and imagination" (19).

The architectural atmospheres experienced and so remembered through the entire 'body' (rather than mind) also coincide, to some extent, with Casey's notion of *aura*, the third component of the *mnemonic presentation*. Casey (2000) delineates the *aura* of a memory as a surrounding *atmosphere* "characterized by a particular emotion or group of emotions, lending to this atmosphere its dominant tonality" (78).

Holding a *sui generis* phenomenological perspective towards architecture, David Seamon (2015) discerned three ways in which buildings work as places, namely: *lifeworlds*, *architectural atmospheres*, and *environmental and human wholes*. For Seamon's conception of *architectural atmospheres* resonate largely with that of Pallasmaa, the other two themes ('buildings as *lifeworlds*' and 'buildings as *environmental and human wholes'*) will be briefly covered here.

Seamon (2015) describes *lifeworld*, in a Husserlian way, as "the everyday realm of experiences, actions, and meanings typically taken for granted and thus out of sight as a phenomenon." While we can speak of a lifeworld for each living individual or

group, we can also speak of a lifeworld of a place or of a building. For a building refers to "a constellation of actions, events, situations, and experiences all associated with and activated by the individuals and groups that make use of that building," it may well sustain several lifeworlds and involve "a spectrum of varying place encounters, situations, and meanings—some experienced more or less the same by all users, and others experienced more or less differently."

In this respect, one of the aims of a phenomenological approach to architecture, for Seamon (2015), was to outline "a lived typology of architectural lifeworlds" by exploring and identifying the experience of user groups with the building on the basis of "lived commonalities and differences." It was also implied that the lifeworlds of a building may shift over time, since buildings can change physically as well as their functions and users.

Considering the 'lifeworld of places', Seamon (1980) introduced the concept of *place-ballet* in one of his early writings, where he defined it as a fusion of *time-space routines* and *body-ballets* of users in regard to place. While *time-space routine* refers to "*a set of habitual bodily behaviors which extends through a considerable portion of time*" (158), the *body-ballet*, in Seamon's words, is "*a set of integrated behaviors which sustain a particular task or aim*" (157). For Seamon, the *place-ballet* is an explicit dimension of lifeworld that "joins people, time, and place in an organic whole and portrays place as a distinct and authentic entity in its own right" (163), and thus a significant concept "which might be of value in creating, regenerating and protecting places" (164).

The third theme Seamon (2015) proposed entails how buildings sustain *environmental and human wholes* and puts emphasis on the "lived integration and connectedness between building and users". More specifically, what Seamon called the "lived topology" of a building constitutes the focus of the inquiry, and involves the examination of "the particular ways in which a building's spatial configuration of rooms, corridors, and other physical spaces plays a role in sustaining particular

human actions and interactions within the building and between the building and its surroundings."

Considering *environmental and human wholes*, Seamon (2015) further mentioned two exemplar studies in architecture which analyze and handle the spatial organization of a place in relation to the movement patterns and social relations that it constructs. One of them is the well-known work of the architect Christopher Alexander, *A Pattern Language*, which marked out 253 spatial patterns (in both town and building scale) in the way to solve 'problems' commonly encountered in the experience of place by identifying the physical configuration with the social interactions offered by them. The other is the study on the theory of *space syntax* set out in *The Social Logic of Space* by the architectural theorists Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson in the early 1980s (Fig. 3.1., 2.). The *space syntax* theory was, in essence, not phenomenological but quantitative as an approach. It dealt "with the way in which a system of spaces is related together to form a pattern, rather than with the more localised properties of any particular space", and analyzed the 'space configuration' of places by decoding them into diagrams of relation that reveal the social or cultural information they carry (Hanson 1998, 23).

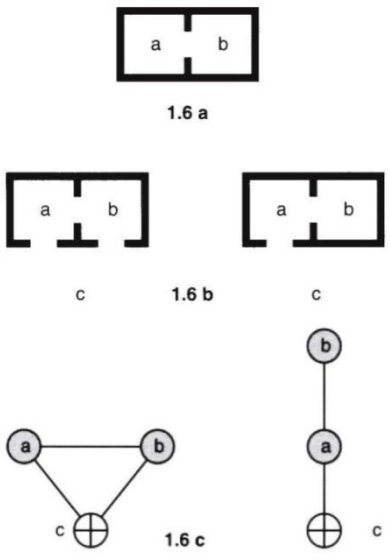


Figure3.1. Space Syntax Theory: Basic configurational relationships (Hanson 1998, 23).

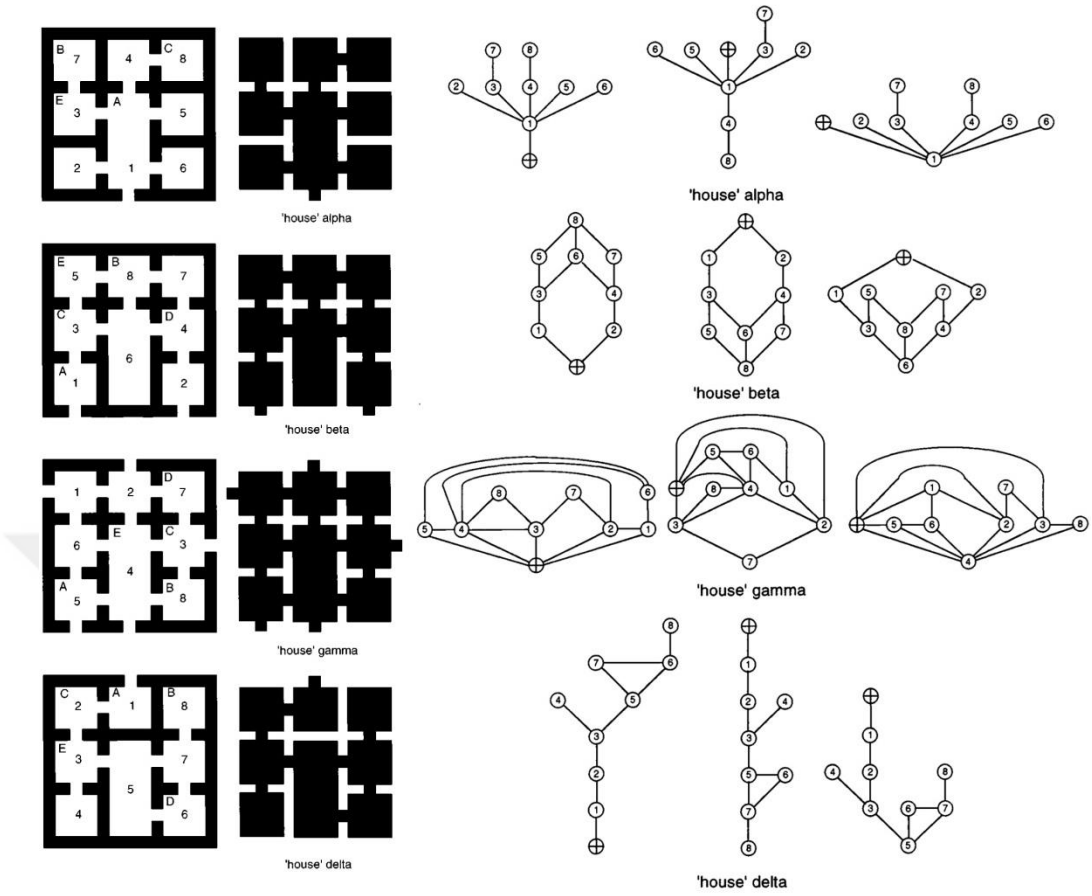


Figure3.2. Space Syntax Theory: Plans and open spaces of four houses (on the left), and their configurational diagrams (on the right) (Hanson 1998, 25-26).

Although Seamon (2015) identified three phenomenological components of architectural experience (*lifeworld*, *atmosphere* and *environmental and human wholeness*) and construed them separately, he concluded that place is a 'total' phenomenon and its experience lies on the unique composition of these three intermingled components.

Certainly, the phenomenological aspects operating in the experience of architectural place lay the preliminary basis for the formation of its 'memory' and 'meaning', and so prevail upon its remembrance at both individual and collective levels, which are essentially interconnected. Besides, architecture, for being a 'living cultural production', stands as a store and carrier of memory by itself. Thus, as the final subject-matter of this section, I would like to look into the embodied

memory in architecture and, following Beaudry (2003,4), focus on the building's relationship to time and to history.

Regarding the building's relation to time, as Beaudry (2003) argued, any building unavoidably acquires the traces of its duration. While these traces may be purely due to the passing of time like the environmental deterioration of materials or the accumulation of patina, they may well constitute "the indexical marks of its use over time" like "the scratches and blemishes, coats of paint and cosmetic facelifts, additions and subtractions," at the end of the day, "the events and activities which occur [in the building] transform and construct a narrative about its age" (4). In allusion to Freud's mystic writing-pad metaphor for the superimposed layers of memory, a building evokes a *palimpsest* denoting to a rewritable canvas that retains the multi-layered traces or memories of recurrent change over time.

On the other hand, in its relation to history, a building as a physical construction that belongs to a certain time and place is inevitably a crystallization of the social, cultural and aesthetical aspects of its spatio-temporal context. Through its formal arrangement, articulation and style, a building constitutes from scratch a concretization of a language of symbolic forms that carries the expressions of the socio-cultural memory of its own builders, as was the case in the *Orders* of a Greek temple or the frescoes of a Roman atrium house.

3.1.2 Collective Memory and Place

3.1.2.1 In the Work of Halbwachs

Halbwachs, who introduced the collective memory as a theoretical concept, was aware of the innate correlation between human-being and his environment. He thus underscored the reciprocal relationship between the groups and their physical surroundings by positing that "place and group have each received the imprint of the other" (Halbwachs [1950] 1980, 130).

Halbwachs ([1950] 1980) explicated that the group "not only transforms the space into which it has been inserted" depending on the collectively shared conceptions (of relations, values, meanings and concerns), "but also yields and adapts to its physical surroundings." Thus, he added, "[t]he group's image of its external milieu and its stable relationships with this environment becomes paramount in the idea it forms of itself, permeating every element of its consciousness, moderating and governing its evolution" (130). In other words, the group shapes its local environment, as well as being shaped by it. For the physical environment, in turn, acts on the 'collective thought' of the group as a milieu of collective memory.

Together with the physical/concrete space, Halbwachs ([1950] 1980) considered the presence of territorial zones divided by invisible boundaries having legal, economic or religious aspects. On the whole, he conceded that "every collective memory unfolds within a spatial framework" (139). In short, as Middleton and Brown (2011) put it, "[in] the spatial locations occupied by the communities…,community's particular view of the past comes to appear timeless—a 'larger and impersonal duration' that marks the thought of individual members" (48). And this spatial framework is essential for collective remembering, and to support and sustain the collective framework of the group that inhabit it.

Halbwachs' insights on the place as a locus of collective memory are became more relevant to heritage studies today than they were first announced in the early 20th century, as the scope of heritage has expanded considerably, since then, from monuments of history to 'sites of memory', in a way that validating his ideas.

3.1.2.2 In the Work of Pierre Nora: Sites of Memory—*Lieux de Mémoire*

Following Halbwachs' tradition almost sixty years after, the French historian Pierre Nora reviewed the concept of memory and its symbolic representations in the collective sphere—that exist in either material or immaterial form—by taking into account the up-to-date conjunctural dynamics of the post-modern era.

The new post-modern era was by and large marked with a discontinuity and disjunction between the past and the present and brought about, what Nora (1989) called, "the acceleration of history" along with "[a]n increasingly rapid slippage of the present into a historical past" (7). At the height of postmodernism, the crisis or "rupture of equilibrium" between past and present not only triggered a memory boom[68] but also resulted in an urge to recover the barely survived remains of a collectively shared past for the sake of anchoring memory, before they disappear into history. At this point, Nora developed the concept of *lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory) referring to these symbolic representations of the past's existence in the present, which are at the junction of the memory and history.

In the first place, Nora (1989) distinguished between two forms of memory. One is the 'real', 'spontaneous' memory of traditional societies, having an organic evolution, free from extrinsic manipulations. The other is the memory of modern societies—which he called 'modern memory' in correspondence to Assmans' notion of 'cultural memory'—established by and/or represented with a particular influence of several institutions or social and ethnic identity groups, and thus found in multiplicity.

That being the case, Nora's *lieux de mémoire* are modern repositories or anchors of memory that somehow remained apart from social practices due to the invalidation or decontextualization of their *raison d'être*. They are no longer a part of the living spontaneous memory of everyday life and yet undergo a process of reconstitution under the control or influence of multiple institutions, shared interests or identity groups in an endeavor of a conscious self-representation. Hence, *lieux de mémoire* are the characteristic elements of 'modern memory', which "[fundamentally] refer to institutionalized forms of collective memories of the past" (Szpociński 2016, 246).

[68] See Section 3.2.2 Memory Boom & Its Reflections on Heritage: Memory-Value and Difficult Heritage.

Nora (1989) situated *lieux de mémoire* 'between memory and history' primarily because they emerge at the passage from 'living' memory to 'living' history[69]. Once, he argued, traditional spontaneous memory disappears, a deliberate historicization of memory aiming "to collect remains, testimonies, documents, images, speeches, any visible signs of what has been" is stimulated (13). This passage (from memory to history) reveals the need for every social group "to redefine its identity through the revitalization of its own history" (15). That's why, albeit contradictory in nature, "[t]he moment of *lieux de mémoire* occurs at the same time that an immense and intimate fund of memory disappears, surviving only as a reconstituted object beneath the gaze of critical history" (12). And thus, in Nora's words (1989), "[*l*]*ieux de mémoire* are simple and ambiguous, natural and artificial" at the same time (18).

In his monumental work *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, Nora reflected on the nature and designation of *lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory) and also, quiet prominently, drew the preliminary framework of research strategies to investigate and interpret all those multiple forms of past's existence in the present, in harmony with their nature. He defined the concept of *lieu de mémoire* as "any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community" (Nora 1996, xvii). With this definition, *lieux de mémoire* include not only places, edifices or statues with memorial associations but also concepts and practices (such as commemorations, mottos, rituals, ceremonies, legends, myths and, street names), and objects (such as inherited property, manuals, emblems, basic texts and, symbols).

Nora (1989) posited that *lieux de mémoire* "are *lieux* in three senses of the word—material, symbolic, and functional" and these "three aspects always coexist" (18-

[69] The term 'living history' was introduced by Nina Assorodobraj in: Assorodobraj, Nina. 1963. "Living History (Historical Consciousness: Symptoms and Research Proposals)." *The Polish Sociological Bulletin*, no.8, 11-30.

19). He highlighted that two fundamental criteria are to be satisfied in a *lieu de mémoire*. First is "a will to remember". For a place to emerge as a *lieu de mémoire*, the dominant governing impulse should be its symbolic or metaphorical content that provides a particular remembrance, rather than its materiality or functionality. Second is "the intervention of history, time, and change". Any *lieu de mémoire* constitutes a 'mixed' and 'hybrid' place assigned with diverse meanings and values by different groups in the course of time. Sites of memory are always under an on-going re-signification process. And, in Nora's words, they "only exist because of their capacity for metamorphosis, an endless recycling of their meaning and an unpredictable proliferation of their ramifications" (19).

On this basis, Nora (1996) set out a perspective of "a new kind of history" called "history of the second degree" to investigate *lieux de mémoire*. This history is interested in the memory of the past rather than the past itself. It less deals with the events and 'what actually happened' in the past than their diverse, even contested meanings, significations and varying influences in the present. Relying on a 'polyphonic study' that assures the existence of different voices, it examines how the collective images of the past were constructed, tracks their transformation through the course of time and investigates their role, traces and influence in the present collective thought or identity. The 'history of the second degree', in Nora's words, aims "neither a resurrection nor a reconstitution nor a reconstruction nor even a representation but, in the strongest possible sense, a 'rememoration'", and has an interest "in memory not as a remembrance but as the overall structure of the past within the present" (Nora 1996, xxiv).

Since the turn of the 21st century, Nora's conception of *lieux de mémoire* has become a common subject-matter of heritage studies, and thus his seminal work has been highly influential and widely used in conservation activities.

3.2 On Memory and Architectural Heritage

3.2.1 From *Monumentum* to Heritage: Overview of Changing Perceptions

From the early examples of restoration in the Renaissance to the 20th century when the initial international policy guidelines for protection and conservation of cultural heritage were issued after the World War II, historic monuments[70] had been the first and sole subject matter of 'Western' architectural conservation practice.

A historic monument has always been in touch with the concept of 'memory', which can be observed in the etymological roots of the word 'monument'. Etymologically, the word 'monument' comes directly from the Latin word *monumentum,* which means 'memory, memorial, funeral monument or document' and so 'something that recalls memories'. In Latin texts, *monumentum* was also used for buildings as well as statues and writings (Jokilehto 1986, 39).

Monumentum is derived from the Latin verb *monēre* which means 'to remind, to bring to (one's) recollection', and the word *monēre* can be traced back to *moneō* (from Proto-Italic meaning 'to remind', 'to warn'), *monéyeti* (from Proto-Indo-European meaning 'to remind', 'to warn') and finally to *men-* which means 'to think' (Online Etymology Dictionary, n.d.; Wordsense.eu Dictionary, n.d.). From this etymological perspective can be deduced that a historical monument has always stood for a memorial, a reminder of something of its time or past generations. The word 'monument' first entered English in late 13th century, naming a 'tomb' or 'grave' and mainly addressed a burial place which commemorates the deceased. From roughly the 15th and 16th centuries, the English word 'monument' has reached its familiar use to name "a structure or edifice to

[70] The concept of monument includes both artistic and architectural works which are recognized as the historical representations of their own era and accepted in the art-historical canon of their time. As Jokilehto (1986, 9) states, the concept of 'environmental conservation' had not fully developed as a part of conservation practice until the World War II.

commemorate a notable person, action, period, or event" (Online Etymology Dictionary, n.d.).

From antiquity to the mid-20th century, so Jokilehto (1986, 7) defined, the ways in which historic monuments were treated can be classified into three approaches, each of which displays a different perception of monument, and so a different attitude of preservation or restoration.

In antiquity, while "the Greek word for 'monument' was [purely] related to 'memory'", monuments in the Roman period had political or moralistic implications and "served as reminders of the power of the governors". The memorial purpose or the symbolic message of a historic monument was held superior to its material form. Preservation of a historic monument meant to preserve its memorial function rather than its physical entity. This attitude emphasizing the preservation of 'memory' rather than the material form of the monument reveals itself in particular cases. In the 5th century BC, when the Persians devastated Athens, Athenians intentionally kept the remains of the destroyed temples as the memorials of this historical incident instead of rebuilding them. In a way, they preserved a multi-layered memory: they not only kept the memory of their temples but also the memory of the 'impiety of the barbarians'. Even when this decision was reversed, in the time of Pericles, some column drums from the temples burnt by Persians were inserted into the northern wall of Acropolis, as a memory and reminder of Persian impiety (Fig. 3.3.). Likewise, in Rome, after the loss of many historic buildings due to the fire of Nero, we find in the writings of Pausanias "the example of the protection of a remaining pillar of a burnt house as a memorial to its distinguished owner, Oenomaus, in Olympia" (Jokilehto 1986, 24).



Figure3.3. Greece's oldest war memorial on the Acropolis: Column drums from the temples burnt by Persians, built into the northern wall of Acropolis. https://www.petersommer.com/blog/archaeology-history/athens-war-memorial.

In Roman times, monuments were reminders of the power of their builders and, as Jokilehto stated, "there was a greater respect for the original builder than for the material form of the building". The Rebuilding of Pantheon by Hadrian in the 2nd century AD is a good example of this perception. When Hadrian rebuilt the Pantheon in a new form, in the name of 'restoration', he conceived the monument as still the work of Agrippa, the builder of the first building , and indeed 'preserved' the main 'purpose' of the monument which was to be the reminder of the respect of the original builder (Jokilehto 1986, 24).

Jokilehto defines the first approach that relates the significance of the monument to its 'purpose', either memorial or functional, and puts the non-material aspects of the monument over its material substance as a traditional approach, stretching back to antiquity. In this approach, monuments were 'preserved' insofar as their memorial and functional purposes were sustained. Therefore, the essence of 'restoration' was to "keep intact the function of the monument…through renovation and renewal, even by improvement, which rarely showed concern for the material substance" (Jokilehto 1986, 7).

Up to the 19th century, when the theoretical thoughts and critical debates on the restoration of historic monuments began to develop, the traditional approach to 'restoration', which appeared to be rather perceptive and practical than theoretical, had a long history of prevalence.

The second approach, which Jokilehto (1986, 4) referred to as 'romantic restoration', was established in the Italian Renaissance and, particularly in the 19th century, evolved into the first European theory on the restoration of historic monuments known as 'stylistic restoration'.

The Renaissance can be simply described as a new awareness of the 'past' and rediscovery of the classical world in terms of philosophy, literature, art and architecture. In Jokilehto's words (1986, 24), Renaissance was "a moment of new awareness of the cultural values threatened by the destruction of monuments of Antiquity, a recognition of the patriotic significance of these monuments to modern world, and of their value as a testimony of the early phases of Christianity." In the Renaissance, with the new cognition of 'past' as a remote, vanished and long-awaited time,[71] a strong feeling of 'nostalgia' governed the perception and the restoration attitude towards monuments. The ancient monuments were recognized as ''nostalgic remains of the past", as the material fragments that symbolized the greatness of Rome in terms of being the capital of an ancient civilization and the capital of Christianity by the Italian humanists and artists of 14th and 15th centuries (7).

Early architectural treatises of the Renaissance in the 15th century, e.g., those of Leon Battista Alberti and his successors, regarded antique monuments of art and architecture as models "to be learnt from, to be imitated and to be surpassed". Not

[71] As one of the earliest humanists of the Italian Renaissance of the 14th century, Petrarch divided history into two periods; *historiae antiquae,* which is the 'classical world' ended with the fall of the Roman Republic, and *historiae novae,* which is the recent, ongoing time, contrasting the former glory of ancient Rome with its present miserable state. Petrarch's cognition of the 'past' as a remote and completed time was something altogether new since the Christian thinkers before Renaissance had accepted history "as continuous from the Creation to their own time" (Jokilehto 1986, 11).

only the monuments of antiquity but also the medieval works of architecture were to be preserved and protected as a sign of "respect for the achievement of past generations," and to be restored or completed harmoniously with the general design criteria of the original architecture, in order to give them "new actuality, new function and new life as a part and reference of present society" (Jokilehto 1986, 7). These early treatises of the Renaissance may be seen as the first seeds of an attitude that relates 'the authenticity of a monument' to its architectural design and form, that is, to its inherent aesthetical/artistic qualities, and so, from an aesthetical point of view, associates authenticity with the materialistic aspects of the monument.

Yet another structural change in the Western culture after Renaissance occurred in the 19th century. The nineteenth century was essentially marked by 'the idea of progress' generated through the political and industrial revolutions of the late 18th century (Boym 2001, 9). The French and American revolutions constituted a milestone in the Western mentality by providing the abrupt experience of change and a rupture between the present and the past. Through these revolutions, nationalism developed as a significant political movement of the nineteenth century and, in domino effect, led to the collapse of empires, opened the way for the formation of new nation-states and provoked the urge to define national identities along with national histories in the nation-building processes.

The traditional sense of memory, which was identical with 'history' before the nineteenth century (Assmann 2008, 57), was established on the didactic accounts of subjective storytelling, mythical narrations, religious doctrines, lived traditions and experiences (Boyer 1994, 21). In the early 19th century, 'memory' was nevertheless trivialized and "replaced by a constructed linear series of events [in a cause-effect relationship]" labeled as 'modern/official history' in pursuit of a 'true and objective' representation of the past (130). This is when 'memory' and 'history' were separated from one another and polarized for the first time (Assmann 2008, 57).

The suppression of 'memory' on behalf of 'progress' and the rupture in the continuum of tradition resulted in the resurfacing of memory along with a reactive emotion of nostalgia, which was synchronized with the advent of romanticism. This was the first memory boom of the modern period that prevailed between the years from the 1890s to the 1920s and played a key role in the formation of national identities (Winter 2006, 55). That memory boom, which was "rooted in the collapse of empires, the origins of new nation-states, a nostalgia for vanishing worlds and cultures, in industrial and urban alienation," embraced the invention of new traditions for the construction of national pasts, the wide-spread recognition and preservation of national monuments and the designation of national commemoration days on national calendars for the first time.[72] This was also the period when major intellectuals, such as Henry Bergson, Sigmund Freud, Marcel Proust, Virginia Wolf, Maurice Halbwachs, introduced remarkable accounts on memory (Blight 2009, 243).

Simply put, in the context of the 19th century Western culture, with the evolution of nationalism after the French and American revolutions and the emergence of romanticism as a reaction against industrialization, "the desire to protect and restore national monuments as concrete evidence of a nation's history" became predominant (Jokilehto 1986, 7). The historical monuments were recognized as the bearers and representatives of national memory and identity. As a matter of fact, the nostalgic drives embedded in the Renaissance were also at work in the 19th century nation-building process to create a common identity within and between generations. In a sense, the formation of national identity and memory embraced a feeling of nostalgia not simply as a 'longing for the past' but as a 'longing for a ideal' that is believed to exist in the past and so as a search for an 'imagined past'.

[72] French historian and philosopher Mona Ozouf points out in *Festivals and the French Revolution* (1988) that the first truly national commemoration in Europe was produced at the end of the 19th century, which focused on July 14, 1789, the date of the Fall of Bastille (quoted in Gillis 1994, 8).

Similarly, the nostalgic perception of monuments that began in the early Renaissance sought to understand and imitate the original architectural intentions of the monument but, at the turn of the 19th century, evolved into a stylistic understanding of restoration that maintains "the superiority of the ideal over the [architectural] material" (Tomaszewski 2003). In *The Future of Nostalgia,* Svetlana Boym (2001, 49) defines the 'past' for a restorative nostalgic[73] as "a value for the present…not [as] a duration but a perfect snapshot", adding that "the past is not supposed to reveal any signs of decay, has to be freshly painted in its 'original image' and remain eternally young". At a conceptual level, Boym's words used to describe the past (for a restorative nostalgic) may well be applied to describe the intervention of 'stylistic restoration' to monuments, aiming to create 'new', 'fresh', 'neat', 'frozen', 'original' images of them.

Firstly, James Wyatt's 'principle of 'uniformity' at the end of 18th century, and then Eugene-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc's principle of 'unity of style' in the 19th century, both resulted in severe alterations in buildings by integrating yet removing their original parts for the sake of 'a uniformity in the style of original'. The goal was to "return it [the building] to the hypothetical ideal and original form" (Tomaszewski 2003). As Viollet-le-Duc defined in *Dictionnaire Raisonné De L'architecture Française Du XIe Au XVIe Siècle* in 1854, 'to restore' meant "to reestablish [the building] in a finished state, which may in fact, never have actually existed at any given time" (quoted in Chung and Kim 2010, 26). With no credit given to continuity and historical stratification, national monuments "tended to become

[73] In her classical study, *The Future of Nostalgia,* Svetlana Boym distinguishes two kinds of nostalgia. The first is 'restorative nostalgia', and the other is 'reflective nostalgia'. Restorative nostalgia proposes to rebuild the past in its original image as a whole by patching up all the memory gaps (Boym 2001, 41). Yet, reflective nostalgia pursues the fragmentary reflections on the past while constructing the future. So while restorative nostalgia features in the formation of "national memory that is based on a single plot of national identity" (XVIII), reflective nostalgia is more about the cultural, social and individual memories in their full diversity. In this thesis, the use of the term 'nostalgia' in relation to restoration corresponds to Boym's concept of 'restorative nostalgia'. Note that, here, the word 'restorative' does not refer to the *architectural* restoration but to the *restoration* at a conceptual level.

‘frozen illustrations’ of particular, [or even ‘imagined’] moments in the history of the nation” (Jokilehto 1986, 7).

In ‘romantic restoration’ the authenticity of the monument was related to its architectural design and form. Along with the emphasis on aesthetic/artistic values, another approach having more to do with the material substance of monument than its form developed. This third approach, as Jokilehto defines, “aimed at the conservation and re-evaluation of the authentic object, preserving its historic stratification and original material, and avoiding falsification” (Jokilehto 1986, 7). Although the examples of this attitude were present in the Renaissance, this approach mainly developed as a reactive movement against ‘stylistic restoration’ in the 19th century and was called either ‘conservation movement’ or ‘anti-restoration movement’. The criticism against the stylistic (which may well be referred to as romantic or nostalgic) restoration practices of the time resulted in the replacement of the word ‘restoration’ with ‘conservation’. The anti-restorationists, like John Ruskin, William Morris and Camillo Boito, “were conscious of the ‘historic time’”, and claimed that “each object or construction belonged to its specific historic and cultural context, and that it was not possible to recreate this with the same significance in another period; the only task that remained possible was the protection and conservation of the authentic material of the original object of which the cultural heritage finally consisted” (298). The contribution of the age marks, which are formed by the passing of time, and past historic repairs to the character of the buildings were recognized. In stylistic restoration, those were removed as they have never existed in the pursuit of an original perfect image. For anti-restorationists, reconstruction was not acceptable, if additions were necessary, they were to be made in a contemporary manner revealing their distinction from the authentic architectural material (8). Briefly, the material authenticity and the value of the monument as a ‘document’ were fully emphasized. It was “the genuine monument and not its modern replica that is the nation’s real heritage” (4). This new understanding of the monument as a ‘unique document’, which was to be read through survey and preserved with its entire material authenticity, was developed

in Italy and called *restauro filologico*. *Restauro filologico* was identified with the principles of *Carta del Restauro* proposed by Camillo Boito in 1883.

At the turn of the 20th century, particularly in 1903, Alois Riegl, an Australian art historian, published his classical essay, *The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Origin*, which can be seen as the preliminary document of modern conservation theory. His essay is referred to as "the first and most profound formulation of values-based preservation" (Lamprakos 2014, 420) which revealed that monument is a multi-dimensional complex entity comprised of varying and even contradicting values and that any conservation approach derives from the evaluation of a particular set of values attributed to the monument. With a comprehensive analysis of the values of monuments, Riegl not only rationalized the two former approaches of the 19th century at odds with one another (stylistic restoration and conservation/anti-restoration movement) but also reconciled them by conceding that their value systems are both inherent in the complex nature of the concept of the monument.

Riegl defines a monument "in its oldest and most original sense…[as] a human creation, erected for the specific purpose of keeping single human deeds or events (or a combination thereof) alive in the minds of future generations" (Riegl 1982, 21) and then distinguishes two value categories for monuments.

The first is 'commemorative values' which are the values of the past, and the second is 'present-day values'. Further, Riegl classifies commemorative/past values into three groups, namely intentional commemorative value, historical value and age-value (Fig. 3.4.). As Lamprakos argues, commemorative values imply three perceptions of monument in three consecutive stages: the perception of the monument "as the bearer of a collective memory" (intentional commemorative value), the perception of the monument "as an historical document" (historical value) and the perception of the monument "as a testimony to the endless cycle of life and decay" (age-value) (2014, 420). In each successive stage, the perception of the monument evolved and the definition of the monument expanded by

encompassing the former and in turn by embracing a larger number of buildings as monuments (424).

The second value category in conflict with the commemorative/past values is 'present-day values'. Present-day values include use-value, relative-art value and newness-value. Use-value deals with whether or not a building meets human needs. Relative-art value refers to the changing artistic tastes according to *Kunstwollen* ('the will to art') of the time. Finally, newness-value stands for the public desire for newness. As a consequence, Riegl claims that any practice of conservation must take into account, negotiate and evaluate these conflicting sets of values.

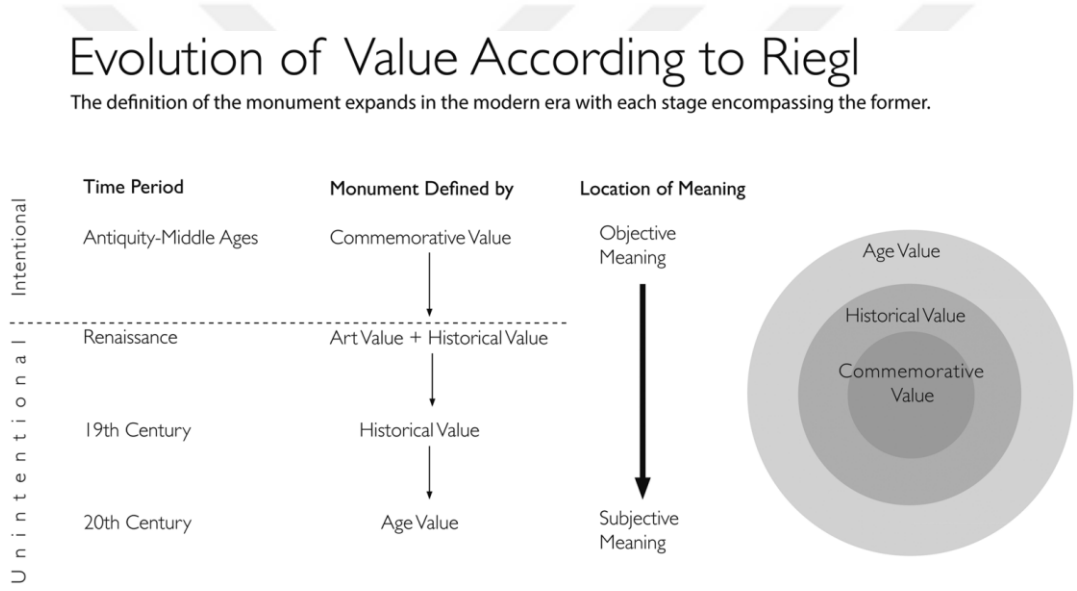


Figure3.4. Evolution of value according to Riegl (Lamprakos 2014, 421).

Riegl further distinguishes monuments into two categories on the basis of intentionality and unintentionality. The intentional monuments have to do with intentional commemorative value, while the unintentional monuments either with historical value or with age-value. The commemorative value of intentional monuments both in the antiquity and in medieval ages has been determined by their makers and so the meaning given to monuments is held objective. However, the commemorative values of unintentional monuments have been determined by the

changing perceptions of the viewer and thus there has always been an element of subjectivity (Riegl 1982, 23).

According to Riegl, from the Renaissance to the 19th century, 'art-historical value' was the leading value ascribed to (unintentional) monuments and attributed only to the monuments of artistic canon of the time (*Kunstwollen*) (Riegl 1982, 22). In the 19th century, the leading value turned to be 'historical value' which, in Riegl's words, "arises from the particular, individual stage that it [the monument] represents in the development of human activity in a certain field". With this, monuments came to be perceived as historical representations, and so the interest was in the original status of the monuments (not in the traces of passed time, which will be the case in the following century) (34). Finally, Riegl announced the 20th century as the century of age-value. As opposed to historical value which "singles out one moment in the developmental continuum of the past and places it before our eyes as if it belonged to the present," age-value "appreciates the past for itself" and takes the dated appearances of the monument in its entirety (38).

For Riegl, the entire 19th century restoration of monuments, the so-called romantic/stylistic restoration, was based on the valorization of 'originality of style' which he called the historical value, and 'the unity of style' which he referred to as the newness-value (Riegl 1982, 46). The late 19th century characterized by the conservation/anti-restoration movement, however, came to appreciate the monuments because of their age-value. It was that contradiction between newness-value and age-value which resulted in conflicting approaches to the restoration of monuments.

To sum up, Riegl has not only put forward a historical overview of the perceptions of monuments from antiquity to the 20th century but also formulated the value system as a basis of conservation practices. His value-based system stands as the very core of studies on assessing the 'significance' of architectural heritage. Riegl's critical evaluation of differing and even contradicting values of architectural heritage paved the way for conservation activities to gain a scientific character by

aspiring to a systematic gathering of data from the study of architectural heritage and a positivistic methodology in the documentation, evaluation and decision-making processes (Lamprakos 2014, 423).

Riegl's comprehensive outlook on the values of monuments was followed by the critical restoration theory in Italy in the 1930s, the so-called *restauro critico* defined by Giulio Carlo Argan, Roberto Pane and Cesare Brandi. The theory, as Jokilehto states, is "based on a historical-critical evaluation of the object". It is a conservative approach in the sense of "considering all significant historic phases," but at the same time "it takes into account both historic and aesthetic aspects, and allows for a reintegration of a work of art under specific conditions, if this can be achieved without committing an artistic or historic fake" (Jokilehto 1986, 8). Thus, *restauro critico* synthesized the two previous approaches of the 19th century via the critical historical evaluation of works of art in the pursuit of truth without any falsifications.

In the late 19th century, it was Camillo Boito who had introduced the perception that sees the monument as a 'document' of all historic phases, which the monument has gone through starting from its original state, and refers the authenticity of the monument to its documentary value (Jokilehto 1986, 335). Boito's notion of historic monument as a 'document' or 'text' that should be read through a philological survey of the material, the so-called *restauro filologico*, was further developed in the late 1930s by Giulio Carlo Argan. Argan accentuated "the scientific character of restoration" that "required historical and technical competence [rather than artistic skill]" (413). For both Boito and Argan, any restoration process should rely on a philological survey of a work of art, that is, the 'reading' of its physical fabric in relation/comparison to its material entity and contextual examples, which allows "the rediscovery and display of the original 'text' of the object." The understanding of the original construction, additions and alterations of monument throughout time via the philological survey of its physical fabric set the basis of critical judgments on what is to be conserved with regard to

its historical or artistic values and what can be removed without any loss of significance or what should be removed to avoid trivialization. All in all, this point of view diverted the scope of conservation practices from artistic to critical (as well as scientific) domain (413).

After the entire 19th century, when attitudes towards and debates on the perception and treatment of monument evolved from one-dimensional into multi-dimensional, from artistic to critical comprehension of its nature, the modern conservation theory in the 20th century stemmed from the critical historical evaluation of the monument through a clear understanding of its materiality philologically and historically (Argan and Brandi) and the assessment of its values (Riegl).

At the dawn of the modern conservation theory, the physical/tangible aspects of the monuments together with their historical significance were of the utmost concern. The authenticity of monuments was associated with their materialistic features, which can be seen as a continuation of "the western 'materialistic' approach to the values of a historical monument," (Tomaszewski 2003) beginning from the early examples of restoration in Renaissance. The scope of values attributed to monuments was then limited mainly to their historical, aesthetical/artistic and use values. Although Riegl was one of first figures to address the 'past' of a monument as a 'commemorative' value, he and his contemporaries in the conservation field did not yet fully recognize the intangible dimension of historic buildings, that is, their associative aspects and values for the collective, shared (social) or individual memories. Apart from its pure physical formation, the 'meaning' of a work of art in relation to its socio-cultural context, where it is rooted in or interacted with, was an issue out of the scope of conservation studies, but a subject matter of art history of the time.[74]

[74] In 1939, the art historian Erwin Panofsky developed the iconological method for the interpretation of art works and studied their meanings in relation to their social and cultural contexts.

The framework of the modern conservation theory has been reflected in the formulation of the principles of first international documents on restoration and conservation of monuments. First, the Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments (Carta Del Restauro), which was adopted in the 1st International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments in 1931, outlined the modern international conservation policy. Further, the Venice Charter, International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, which was adopted by ICOMOS in the 2nd International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments after the World War II in 1964, announced the international guidelines of restoration and conservation. The Venice Charter has been the most influential and fundamental document on conservation theory as it is accepted and reflected in national legislations and 'regional charters' in many parts the world (Jokilehto 1986, 421).

The Venice Charter, which set the pioneering principles for the architectural conservation in 1964, dealt with the 'historic monuments' and their settings. While the charter had a focus on the protection of the physical/tangible aspects of the historic monuments, it introduced the 'cultural significance' as a quality acquired by "not only great works of art but also more modest works of the past" with "the passing of time" and addressed the historical value of architectural heritage "by recognizing historical monuments and sites as accumulations rather than single-dimension [artistic] objects" (Bumbaru 2006, 46). The conceptual approach presented in the charter regards any historic building or setting that shows an evidence of a civilization, a historic development or a historic event as a living witness of past and so having historical value (ICOMOS 1964).

After the adoption of Venice Charter, the subjects of the conservation activities have rapidly expanded from 'historic monuments', the first subject matter of conservation, to the broad spectrum of the concept of 'cultural heritage'. In 1972, UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage defined the preliminary scope of 'cultural heritage' as encompassing

monuments, groups of buildings and sites associated with "outstanding universal value". Confining the scope of 'cultural heritage' to tangible entities, the convention designated the value categories for 'monuments' and 'groups of buildings' as historical, aesthetical and scientific values, and for the first time, contained cultural values—in addition to historical and aesthetical values—by taking into account the ethnological / anthropological characteristics of 'sites'.

3.2.2 Memory Boom & Its Reflections on Heritage: Memory-Value and Difficult Heritage

As a matter of fact, beginning from the late 20th century, specifically in 1970s and 1980s, there has been a particular rise in memory studies, the so-called 'memory boom', as a consequence of varying and multiplying impulses in the global arena. The first and utmost impulse was the Holocaust after the surfacing of the Post-War narratives of its victims. The Holocaust, the genocide of European Jewry by Nazi Germany between 1941 and 1945, has inspired "a range of reflections on the notion of memory, trauma, and history" (Winter 2007, 364). It has been a focus and catalyst in the acts of public commemoration so that "remembering the Holocaust has formed a significant part of a broader pattern of the commemoration of victims of twentieth-century war" (365). Successively, the traumatic memories of suffering under the times of conflict and war or under the oppression of dictatorial regimes, including the Post-Cold War, Post-Apartheid Regime in South Africa, Post-Colonial narratives, have spread in different parts of the world, particularly in North and South America, South Africa, Australia, the Middle East, Africa and Asia, by means of the advanced information technologies, which rendered possible to access the audio-visual records of victims, the opening of achieves and the increase in the scholarly studies. Remembrance has come into "a subject of intense public debate", which has not only taken on the memories of recent victims of inhumanity but also unearthed the long-buried traumatic memories, as in the case of Post-Civil War Spain where commemorative acts emerged sixty years after the

war (Winter 2006, 54). The memory boom of the late 20th century was not the first time in history when memory became a subject of focus and fascination, but it was the first to provide ground-breaking reflections on the notions of 'memory', 'identity' and 'heritage'.

The concept of memory had been discerned as essential to the formation of identities, particularly national identities, long before the memory boom of the late 20th century (Winter 2006, 55). This antecedent concept of memory had its own unity and certainty, which was defined and controlled by the institutions of power i.e. dynasty, church or state. In other words, it was "a means to constitute and fortify identities" (55) and hence a means of legitimation that performs a unifying function. Similarly, heritage, as the material evidence that bears and recalls memory, has always been an integral part of identity formation. The urge to construct a common identity within and between generations for the present and to sustain it in the future has been embodied in the urge to define and conserve its 'heritage' for the future. Thereby, the content of heritage was molded within the value framework of the constructed identities[75] (Gillis 1994, 16), and had always been 'identity-affirmative' in nature (Macdonald 2009, 2).

However, the memory boom of the late 20th century has been characterized by a new conception of memory which burst out from the disintegration of the monolithic identities of the past (Winter 2006, 55). From then on, memory has diversified by encompassing "subjectivities, hybridities, multiple subject positions" that resulted from varying and even contradicting narratives of different identity groups having social, ethnic, religious or ideological backgrounds which were hitherto negligible to the 'grand narrative' (55). It was the time, so A. Assmann (2008, 61) put, when "new memories emerged and old ones were seen in a different light." The perception of the past as a fixed, closed and unchangeable entity has been reversed by the emergence of new and fragmented narratives (57).

[75] For further information on memory and identity, see (Gillis 1994).

In accordance with the dismantled and multiple memories and identities, visible markers of the past, such as plaques, information boards, museums as well as buildings and sites, have come to multiply in the physical environment. More and more buildings and sites are regarded as the witnesses of the past of particular communities or groups that seek to "ensure that they are publicly recognized through identifying and displaying 'their' heritage" (Macdonald 2009, 1). At the end of the day, this new conception of memory in its multiplicity had a profound influence on the expansion of the content of the heritage. [76]

Within this context of postmodernism, Pierre Nora published his influential work, *Les lieux de mémoire*, between 1984 and 1992, on the symbolic representations of memory comprising French national identity and introduced the concept of *lieu de mémoire*—site of memory—[77], which has subsequently turned to be a widely referred concept in heritage studies, especially in the interpretation and management of places with memorial aspects.

With respect to heritage, Riegl (1982) had announced the distinctive value of the 20th century as 'age-value' which appreciates the past of a historic building as a whole and manifests itself in all visible traces of time (32). He had attributed universal validity to age-value for its appeal to emotions and predicted its dominance in the future. From today's point of view, age-value, due to its potential to embrace all multiple past narratives, seems to stand as a precursor of 'memory-value' which appears to set the framework of heritage studies and expand its content in the late 20th century. In a sense, memory-value, which can be used interchangeably with 'intangible value' or 'associative value', seems to have become predominant and turned into the governing value of the new century.

As the scope of heritage has enlarged by newly defined categories, i.e., modern heritage, industrial heritage, etc., a particular category of heritage which was

[76] Also note that the massive growth of tourism and its economic contribution had an impact on the development of the content of heritage.
[77] See Section 3.1.2.2 In the Work of Pierre Nora: Sites of Memory—*Lieux de Mémoire.*

hitherto ignored, even refused and 'silenced' by demolitions came into being. This category is called by various terms such as 'dissonant', 'dark', 'negative' or 'difficult' heritage because of its opposition to the established identity-affirmative nature of heritage. In this thesis, the term 'difficult' is preferred to define this particular heritage over the other terms that carry negative connotations.

'Difficult heritage' is a specific place, or to use Nora's terms, a site of memory (*lieu de mémoire*), with material evidence linked to 'bad' or traumatic memories of atrocity or perpetration. This heritage is distinctively 'difficult' in terms of interpretation and presentation since it "threatens to trouble collective identities and open up social differences" (Macdonald 2009, 4), and contentious, as in all sites of memory, because it includes conflicting views and requires careful interpretation of these differing views (ICSC 2018, 26). Sharon McDonald (2009) defines 'difficult heritage' as "a past that is recognized as meaningful in the present but that is also contested…for public reconciliation with a positive, self-affirming contemporary identity" (1).

In the past, the traumatic memories of atrocities against humanity and their material traces were usually exiled to the realm of forgetting by means of ignorance or silencing via demolition. However, with the changing perceptions and shift to co-created pasts, this previously denied materiality of the past has turned to be the medium of 'public reconciliation' in the post-conflict peace building processes (ICSC 2018, 7). The public recognition and confrontation it ensured has become an act of public amends and forgiveness. Besides, these material traces of traumatic memories, a.k.a. difficult heritage, are preserved as a reminder of the inherited 'dark' past but in order to prevent its recurrence in the future.

Before the intense discussions on the interpretation and preservation of 'sites of memory' and 'difficult heritage' began in the conservation field roughly in the 21st century, certain places gained World Heritage recognition on the basis of their memory-value and being difficult heritage and so were inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage list.

The Island of Gorée, the largest slave-trading centre on the African coast in Senegal during the international slave trade from the 15th to the 19th century, was one of the early sites to be inscribed on the World Heritage list in 1978 as a "memory island," "a reminder of human exploitation" and as "a sanctuary for reconciliation" (Fig. 3.5.) (UNESCO, WHL Ref. 26, n.d.).



Figure3.5. Views from Island of Gorée © Richard Veillon. https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/26/gallery/&maxrows=42

Subsequently in 1979, Auschwitz Birkenau German Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp that displays "the conditions within which the Nazi genocide took place" was inscribed on the list as "the symbol of humanity's cruelty to its fellow human beings in the 20th century" (Fig. 3.6.) (UNESCO, WHL Ref. 31, n.d.).



Figure3.6. Views from Auschwitz Birkenau Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp © UNESCO. https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/31/gallery/&maxrows=24

After a break of nearly two decades, Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome) which is "the only structure left standing in the area where the first atomic bomb exploded on the 6th of August 1945" was listed in 1996 as a "stark and powerful symbol of the most destructive force ever created by humankind" and also as an

expression of "the hope for world peace and the ultimate elimination of all nuclear weapons" (Fig. 3.7.) (UNESCO, WHL Ref. 775, n.d.).



Figure3.7. Views from Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome) ©UNESCO. https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/775/gallery/&maxrows=17

The common and predominant significance of all these places is their being reminders of memories of inhumanity that convey a lesson for the future and serve as "a dreadful warning against any recurrence of the events which took place there" (Meskell 2018, 149). This constitutes their 'outstanding universal value' that had them inscribed on the list with reference to the criterion (vi) of the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention—that is, "to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance" (UNESCO, Criteria, n.d.).

On the basis of the international documents on heritage conservation, the intangible dimension of built/architectural heritage is discerned to cover basically two distinct but symbiotically interrelated frameworks. On one hand, there exists a broader framework "within which tangible heritage takes on shape and significance" (Bouchenaki 2003). This may be called the *macro-intangible environment* and is related with the socio-cultural context from which the architectural heritage is rooted.[78] On the other hand, there is a *micro-intangible environment* which emerges

[78] On a side note, the intangible cultural assets that make up the components of the cultural context are recently taken as a distinctive form of heritage, which ought to be studied, assessed and safeguarded independently on their own. With the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003) the 'intangible' or 'living' cultural heritage is defined as "the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills—as well as the instruments, objects,

within any architectural heritage during the period from its creation to its being the subject of conservation. While an architectural heritage inheres an intangible dimension in its design—encompassing its haptic experience, atmospheric aspects, the functional scheme of relations it offers and/or the message attached to its existence via form and style—it also constitutes a stage of time, space and user collocation and produces its own associations and meanings in the collective and individual memories through its duration, namely its memory-value on individual and collective levels. The conservation of this micro-intangible environment within architectural heritage is the primary concern of this thesis.

The Nara Document on Authenticity (ICOMOS 1994) emerged as the first international document concerning the larger intangible framework, a.k.a. the cultural context, to which tangible cultural heritage belongs. The document emphasized both the integrity and the diversity of intangible and tangible expressions and/or values in a cultural context from where the authenticity of the heritage stems. Subsequently, *The Burra Charter* of 1999 took the lead, this time, to point out the intangible framework emerged within places and the gravity of its involvement in the conservation activities and practices.

In November 1999, the revised version of Burra Charter adopted by ICOMOS Australia (1999) declared clearly the intangible aspects associated with the places of cultural significance (in other words, the micro-intangible environment of built heritage) for the first time. The charter defined the cultural significance as "aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations" that is embodied in the place; not only in its fabric and setting, but also in its use, associations and meanings (2). The associations between people and a place, and the meanings of a place derived from people's memories were expressed as components of cultural significance to be respected, retained and not to be obscured by means of the investigation for their interpretation,

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artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith—that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage" (5).

commemoration, continuation and revival (8). In the section of 'Code on the Ethics of Co-existence in Conserving Significant Places', the charter put a specific emphasis on the diversity of the associated groups in a pluralist society and the pre-requisite of the acknowledgment of their overlapping and contradicting values in any conservation practice (20-21).

Since the turn of the 21st century, the intangible dimension of tangible heritage, or what we may call the memory-value referring to the associations and meanings a place has in the realm of collective and individual memories, has become a focal subject of discussions, conventions and charters. In addition, the concept of 'site of memory' has been widely accepted and recognized as a category of heritage in conservation studies to address places renowned for their memorial aspects and the interpretation of these places has been a study topic of utmost importance. Accordingly, the sites having cultural significance due to their memory-value have firmly increased in number in the World Heritage List[79]. As an example, Robben Island, the political prison in South Africa, was inscribed the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1999 as a natural and cultural world heritage site for being a symbol of "the triumph of democracy and freedom over oppression and racism" (UNESCO, WHL Ref. 916, n.d.). As being "a traditionally non-aesthetic site symbolizing a very recent conflict", its inscription to the list was a clear indicator of the perception that memorial/symbolic values attached to sites or architectural edifices may constitute the basis for their valorization as 'cultural heritage' (Bouchenaki 2003).

In parallel with these developments, a new concept of 'site of conscience' has emerged "at the crossroad of Human Rights advocacy and heritage conservation" (ICSC 2018, 14). And, in the same year of 1999, The International Coalition of Sites of Conscience (ICSC) has been founded as a worldwide network of places of

[79] Until now, 12 sites are inscribed to the World Heritage List on the basis of criterion (vi) alone. The most recent one inscribed by the Committee in 2017 is Valongo Wharf Archaeological Site in Rio de Janeiro "where slaves from Africa were landed after being transported across the Atlantic" (ICSC 2018, 22).

traumatic memories, including historic sites, place-based museums and memory initiatives/memorials (ICSC 2012, 7).

A ‘site of conscience’, which is both a ‘site of memory’ and ‘difficult heritage’, is distinguished since it “actively confronts the history of what happened at that site and spurs visitors to reflect and act on the history’s contemporary implications” (ICSC 2018, 25). Unlike other sites of memory (defined officially after a long duration needed for the sedimentation of memorial values and understanding its significance), sites of conscience particularly commemorate recent events of conflict in the living collective memory (a.k.a. communicative or social memory) as a part of efforts for post-conflict social reconciliation and integration. Thus, the memorialization processes in these sites focus mainly on the future and connect with “the past only insofar as it can teach and inspire communities to act upon related issues today” (25).

As officially defined by the coalition, sites of conscience aim to “activate the power of places of memory to engage the public with a deeper understanding of the past and inspire action to shape a just future” by connecting the struggles of the past to the movements for human rights of the present with the motto ‘from memory to action’. In this respect, they

• “interpret history through site;
• engage in programs that stimulate dialogue on pressing social issues;
• promote humanitarian and democratic values as a primary function; and
• share opportunities for public involvement in issues raised at the site” (ICSC 2012, 7).

3.2.3 Interpretation of Sites of Memory and Memorialization in Sites of Conscience

The interpretation process in heritage conservation involves all the potential activities intending “to heighten public awareness and enhance understanding of

cultural heritage site" (ICOMOS 2008, 4), and constitutes a very important integral component in recognizing and conserving the significance of a heritage site.

Given that there is a wide variety of potential techniques and tools for site interpretation, the key principal objectives for interpretive activities have been set out clearly in *The ICOMOS Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites* a.k.a. *Ename Charter* (2008) as following: The first principle on 'Access and Understanding' aims to facilitate understanding and appreciation of heritage sites through public awareness and engagement by prioritizing "physical and intellectual access by the public to cultural heritage sites" (7). The second principle on 'Information Sources' seeks to communicate the meaning of heritage site to a range of audiences "based on evidence gathered through accepted scientific and scholarly methods as well as from living cultural traditions" including reflections on "alternative historical hypotheses, local traditions, and stories" (8). The third is about 'Context and Setting', which aims to safeguard the tangible and intangible values of heritage sites related to "their wider social, cultural, historical, and natural contexts and settings" (9). The fourth is concerned with 'Authenticity' and emphasizes the conservation of authenticity of a heritage site by avoiding "the adverse impact of intrusive interpretive infrastructure, visitor pressure, inaccurate or inappropriate interpretation" while communicating its significance and cultural values (5). The fifth principle on 'Sustainability' encourages the sustainable conservation of heritage sites through an interpretation plan that provides social, financial and environmental sustainability by "promoting public understanding of, and participation in, ongoing conservation efforts, ensuring long-term maintenance of the interpretive infrastructure and regular review of its interpretive contents". The sixth has to do with 'Inclusiveness' and emphasizes "the involvement of stakeholders and associated communities in the development and implementation of interpretive programmes". Last but not the least, the seventh principle on the importance of 'Research, Training, and Evaluation' encourages to "develop [appropriate]

technical and professional guidelines for heritage interpretation and presentation, including technologies, research, and training" (6).

On the basis of the Burra and Ename Charters, The ICOMOS Australia Burra Charter Practice Note on Interpretation (2013) has further outlined an overall approach for planning and implementing interpretation by stressing the need for an interpretation plan. Briefly, the key steps in an interpretation planning process are discerned as making and updating an inventory of the assets and resources of the heritage place, defining the audience(s), developing an interpretation policy, defining key interpretive themes and stories, establishing appropriate methods and techniques of interpretation, and finally implementing the plan (ICOMOS Australia 2013).

Subsequently, in 2014, the final text of Nara +20 meeting (held in the 20th anniversary of *The Nara Document on Authenticity*) reviewed the key development issues in the theory and practice of heritage conservation and highlighted them as the increasing diversity of heritage processes along with "the dynamic interrelationship between tangible and intangible heritage", the continuous evolution of cultural values over time in perceptions and attitudes, the multiplicity of stakeholders involved like virtual global communities that did not exist in the previous century, the acknowledgement and involvement of conflicting claims and interpretations and the role of cultural heritage in sustainable development (ICOMOS 2014).

Within this framework of contemporary issues related to conservation and interpretation efforts of any heritage site (outlined by the Ename, Burra, and Nara +20 documents), sites of memory are particularly challenging and require over-emphasis on some. Their distinctive peculiarities may well be discerned, first, in their recognition and secondly in the adoption of an appropriate code of practice for their interpretation and conservation (ICSC 2018).

To begin with, the initial recognition of places having memorial aspects may usually be informal or community-based, unlike other heritage places recognized

formally. Later on, due to the significance of place, its recognition can be formalized by an official body, NGO or corporate bodies. While it can "take the form of legal designation at local, or national, and, sometimes, exceptionally, international level", it may also remain entirely informal (as in the cases of purely local significance like "sites memorializing traffic fatalities within the local community"). According to the study of ICSC (2018, 9), a reasonable lapse of time is preferred to have passed between the memorialized event and the formal recognition of its place as a heritage place in order to provide the critical distance allowing "a proportionate understanding among stakeholders of the nature, character and significance of an event." However, sites of conscience are exception to this rule since they are a part of the resolution for recent conflicts and events.

Secondly, regarding the adoption of an appropriate code of practice for interpretation and conservation, the sites of memory require over-emphasis mainly on three critical issues.

The first is the acknowledgement of the diversity of stakeholders and their involvement in the interpretation process. The associative values of a site of memory can be identified by many different groups. Besides the heritage professionals and authorities, these groups can involve a broad range of communities and interest groups, such as "local communities, other [remote or dispersed] communities with interest in a particular place or type of heritage, and groups, which are sometimes marginalised, such as youth or the elderly, women, indigenous peoples or the descendants of those associated with a particular place in the past" (ICSC 2018, 9). In any conservation activity related to these sites, heritage authorities and professionals are responsible to involve all stakeholders, "not forgetting those communities with little or no voice" (ICOMOS 2014).

The second challenging issue is the divergent, even conflicting understanding of the values associated with the place. Any heritage site can have a variety of meanings for different communities, and the narratives of these communities can sometimes contradict with each other. However, the sites of memory particularly

require dealing with multiple narratives of multiple communities having usually divergent or conflicting viewpoints. And, a sensitive treatment in their interpretation is essential not only to be inclusive of all competing narratives, but also to avoid causing divisions and fostering irreconcilable conflicts. As put in Nara +20 text, to handle situations when competing values and meanings exist, "credible and transparent processes are required to mediate heritage disputes", and "[t]hese processes would require that communities in conflict agree to participate in the conservation of the heritage, even when a shared understanding of its significance is unattainable" (ICOMOS 2014).

The third issue concerns the evolution potential of a place's cultural values. Given the dynamic living nature of memory which constantly reconstructs itself in respect to current needs and conditions, and especially in places with memorial aspects, the perceptions and meanings associated with the place are also subject to change over time. Therefore, in sites of memory, as mentioned in Nara +20 text for all heritage sites, "the identification of values and the determination of authenticity [should] be based on periodic reviews that accommodate changes over time in perceptions and attitudes, rather than on a single assessment" (ICOMOS 2014), and it should be ensured to "leave space for evolving understanding of the events being remembered at the site in the future" (ICSC 2018, 9).

Considering these special issues together, in the interpretation and the assessment of significance of a site of memory 'consultation' takes a very essential part in and constitutes an important source of knowledge for understanding the place besides the knowledge gathered through its physical investigation and historical research. For the conservation or memorialization projects carried out in sites of memory, a public/community consultation process that brings together a diverse range of stakeholders should be undertaken so as to inform them about the project, ask about their memories, needs and opinions related to place, and understand the associations, meanings and significance of the place for them.

Particularly in memory places like sites of conscience where there are controversial viewpoints on history, the interpretive framework should be based on broad consultation at multiple levels (local, national, international) and conducted with ethical approaches under the supervision of heritage professionals (ICSC 2018, 9). The supervision of heritage professionals is especially important when the interpretation process is carried out by the governments or their agencies or by other bodies that may also have a political agenda (10).

Memorialization efforts in sites of conscience refer to "*processes* through which memory is perpetuated" as a means of remembering, honoring and recognizing the disruptive events of the past and constitute an integral part of the transitional justice processes in post-conflict societies (ICSC 2012, 11). Memorialization processes pursue to confront "both the history of what happened at the site and its contemporary implications" (7) in the light of the post-conflict goals of reconciliation, recognition, healing and truth-seeking. In this respect, they prioritize the public engagement and education in the way "to build a culture of democracy that is based on respect for human rights while ensuring non-repetition of violations" and creating a 'never again' mentality for a peaceful future (16). Therefore, memorialization in sites of conscience, as "a thoughtful process of reflecting on the past" rather than as a process of honoring the victor's justice, apart from documentary evidence, mainly relies on "a genuine consultation with those most affected by violence" (3). The consultative process should involve the survivors, ask them about what should be remembered, and most importantly constitute an arena for the dialogue and discussion of different parties for the sake of rebuilding public communication, trust and sense of community with common goals. It should be acknowledged that any memorialization effort is almost always contested since truths are not absolute, and "any narrative for a site is an interpretation of the known evidence for it." As to The International Coalition of Sites of Conscience (ICSC), there are four truth concepts to be dealt with in sites of conscience;

• “Official truth – public and official acknowledgement or denial of what happened;

• Narrative truth – the narratives told by victims, witnesses and perpetrators;

• Social truth – established through public interaction among all stakeholders;

• Healing truth – truth which helps repair damage and prevents the recurrence of civil violence” (ICSC 2018, 19).

In this respect, sites of conscience should cautiously and thoughtfully provide a milieu of an ongoing social dialogue and peace education for future generations, raising issues of social justice in an ethical and pluralist approach.

To conclude, as ICSC outlined (2012), “monuments and memorials are just one aspect of memorialization” and memorialization can incorporate “more organic, less permanent initiatives that fulfill community needs such as “museums, commemorative ceremonies, apologies, the renaming of public facilities, reburials, and memory projects” (11). As a last remark, “the success of a memorialization project depends on its ability to meet the broader community needs and the role it plays in long-term community engagement” (12).

3.3 A Proposed Framework for Conservation of Architectural Heritage as a Locus of Memory

Drawing on the overall inquiry pursued in the preceding chapters (first, on the concept of memory covering its contemporary and historical theoretical perspectives, and second, on the relation between memory and place), this section aims to set out a proposal for analyses and principles to provide the preservation and transmission of ‘memory’ in the conservation processes of architectural heritage sites signified with their memory-value (i.e., sites of memory and/or sites of conscience).

3.3.1 Bases for Inferences

From the research conducted within the scope of this study might be inferred that the intrinsic association between memory and place, which was recognized even in antiquity by Aristotle, grounds mainly on two bases;

- the natural affinity between memory and place: Dynamic scheme and memory-images,
- the interweaving correlation between body and place: Body memory

3.3.1.1 The Intrinsic Affinity between Memory and Place: Dynamic Scheme and Memory-images

The 'place system' or 'method of *loci'*—the mnemonic technique that draws on the places (*loci*) and images (*imagines*)—of *Ars memorativa*[80] tradition of Roman rhetoricians stands as the earliest indicator of the profound relation between memory and place. And, this relation is not left unnoticed by the theorists of memory like Bergson and Casey.

Bergson (1902) presented the dynamic schematic nature of *pure memory* in his essay *Intellectual Effort* where he described pure memory as an abstract outline of structured relations called *dynamic scheme* that guides the individual in all efforts of intellect (195-196). In the same way, a *locus* (place) provides a scheme and brings an order to the objects located within it. Given the intrinsic schematic organization of memory, Bergson argued, obtaining a schematic view of a complicated whole has a mnemonic effect that makes its recollection possible. For a place, particularly an architectural place, is as well a scheme of relations in its pure form, memory and place exert a common similarity in their nature, and due to their overlapping schematic feature, have an intrinsic mnemonic association that reveals itself clearly in the classical 'method of *loci'* of *Ars memorativa* (194).

[80] See Section 2.3.1.2 Roman Legacy: *Ars Memorativa*.

In his phenomenological study on *Remembering,* Edward S. Casey (2000) also pointed out the intrinsic affinity between place and memory, and identified the structural components of their parallel nature as *horizon*, *pathway* and *things*. In resonance with Bergson's description of memory as a *dynamic scheme* that organizes the *memory-images*, Casey's conception of memory is comprised of *pathways* as the lines of movement relating and organizing *things* within a *horizon* (203-206).

Consequently, Bergson's 'scheme' or Casey's 'pathways' constitute the links between memory-images (or memory-traces) that bring about the associative character of memory and correspond to "associative networks" of memory as defined by cognitive scientists.

3.3.1.2 The Interweaving Correlation between Body and Place: Body Memory

Our survey on the philosophical premises of Kant, Whitehead, Husserl and Merleau-Ponty demonstrated that body and place are closely intertwined with an existential competence to shape mutually each other.

To put it briefly, the body has a pivotal role in the scene of place. On one hand, it is the origin of orientation, center of action and experience. Therefore, only by way of body and its movement (kinesthesia), a place can be realized and its character can be experienced and unfolded. On the other hand, particularly through kinesthesia, the 'lived body' combines with space and becomes an active part *of* it, rather than simply being *in* it. In this reciprocal relationship between the lived-moving body and place, they both shape and fuse into each other to the extent of losing their separateness.[81]

[81] See Section 3.1.1.1 On Body and Place.

This mutual influence between body and place relies basically on the bodily form of memory. As seen throughout this research (in Whitehead's notion of *causal efficacy*, Merleau-Ponty's *body schema* and in Bergson's bodily/habit memory), the body, which orientates in place via bodily movements or actions, in fact structures a bodily memory out of its orientation. This embodied active past, usually considered as a bodily or motor scheme,[82] informs present bodily actions and perceptions, and establishes the familiarity of the body to its surroundings. To put differently, through body memory, we habituate to places by structuring ourselves to fit into them and, thus we *inhabit* places "by means of our habituated/habituating bodies" (Casey 1997, 233). Through *inhabitation*, places get woven into our body memory first and, then into our recollections. Therefore the actualization of body memories brings about the place memories and body memory stands as the core to elucidate the strong association between memory and place.[83]

All in all, the bodily component of memory in essence underlies the interweaving correlation between place and human being, which causes them to shape and belong to one another. And, this bodily basis constitutes the essential core in establishing the close tie of place with human psyche and memory, which has long been a theoretical theme in the Western thought, as would be found in Bachelard's *topoanalysis* (the investigation of inhabited places as an auxiliary of psychoanalysis), or in Halbwachs' particular emphasis on the role of places as being the bearer of collective identity and memory.

[82] While Merlau-Ponty names as *body scheme*, Bergson ([1896] 1911) calls the same notion *motor scheme* (translated as *motor diagram* in *Matter and Memory*). Further, in touch with the conceptions of both philosophers, Bloomer and Moore developed the *body-image theory* in regard to architectural experience. To note here, Bergson emphasized the similarity between *bodily/ habit memory* and *pure memory* in having a schematic structure.

[83] See Section 3.1.1.2 On Body Memory and Place Memory.

3.3.1.3 Basic Inferences: Order and Bodily/Haptic Experience

The first of these two bases has to do with the schematic affinity between memory and place and brings up 'order' as an important notion as something to become aware of and maintain. The second concerns the body and place correlation, which indicates the need for an understanding of 'bodily/haptic experience' and particularly 'bodily movement' in a place to be conserved as a locus of memory.

The historical overview of memory in this study has shown that the notion of 'order' was recognized long ago in antiquity and, more specifically, by Aristotle for the first time as one of the two principles to be utilized in recollection. Along with this, *Ars memorativa* was founded on the understanding, to put in Cicero's words, that "order is what most brings light to our memory" (*DO* II, lxxxvi. 353-lxxxvii. 357). Nonetheless, the body memory has not been a concern until the late modern era, that is, when Bergson developed his theory. Although Bergson did not assess the body memory in relation to place, his perspective has provided a new insight about body, memory and place relation particularly in architectural theory.

It may be noted in the passing that the schematic nature of memory which is the reason behind the mnemonic effect of maintaining 'order', also brings about its associative character. In line with this, the other principle of Aristotle for recollection was the principle of association that portrays *similarity*, *contrast* and *contiguity* as the three generic ways in which we associate things (*DM*, 451b18). Although it is quite obvious that memory is associative, as Hegel ([1830] 1894, 73) put it, association is in and of itself a subjective and creative process so that it is almost impossible to explain it by laws or principles. Instead, we may speak of 'links of association' that are practically innumerous, having high degree of contingency and encompassing perceptive and intellectual aspects (i.e., likeness and contrast, reason and consequence etc.) at the same time. Therefore, links of association have not been regarded as an additional base for the principles to be presented in the coming section. However, they might be used occasionally as

mnemonic tools (particularly on the basis of the three basic ways—similarity, contrast and contiguity as suggested by Aristotle).

3.3.2 Analyses and Principles for a Locus of Memory

In light of the inferences obtained so far, this section aims to present the primary analyses and outlining principles for the conservation of architectural heritage sites as a locus of memory. Based on the purpose of the study, following analyses and principles are determined to recognize, assess and preserve the intangible dimension of heritage sites with peculiar memory-value, in addition to the assessments and decisions related to their physical fabric. As having more to do with the intangible dimension of architectural heritage, the application of the presented framework gains a particular gravity in the conservation efforts of 'sites of memory', including 'sites of conscience' as well.

Within the scope of the presented framework, 'site of memory' is taken as "a specific location with architectural or archaeological evidence, or even specific landscape characteristics which can be linked to the memorial aspects of the place" (ICSC 2018, 11). In line with Nora's view, they refer to heritage places with memorial significance, which are in the transition from the living collective memory into cultural memory, by becoming the subject matters of interpretation and conservation processes implemented under the supervision of institutions, associations, shared interest or identity groups in the community. Additionally, 'collective memory' is used in a Halbwachsean sense as the non-institutional, informal memory of living generations and corresponds to Assmanns' concept of 'communicative memory' on social level.[84]

[84] See Section 2.4.1 Maurice Halbwachs: *La mémoire collective* and Section 2.4.2.3 A. Assmann and J. Assmann**:** *Communicative and Cultural Memory*

3.3.2.1 Memory-Analyses

In the first phase of the conservation process for understanding the significance of a site of memory, two preliminary steps need to be taken essential to analyze and assess memory in relation to place.

The first is to identify the *collective duration* of the site, and the other, is to translate this duration into the form of a *dynamic scheme and memory-images*.

3.3.2.1.1 Collective Duration of the Site

In any interpretation or conservation activity held in sites of memory, significant particularly for their memorial aspects, the historical research should rather proceed to identify a *collective duration*, which is active on the collective recollection of the site, than aim at a chronological record of events occurred in that particular site.

To put in Bergsonian terms, memory is in essence a duration (*durée*) that enables an individual participating in it to stretch back some distance into past and have a contact with that distant past. Following the footsteps of Bergson, Halbwachs as well defines collective memory of a group as a 'collective duration' that is influential in the collective thought and actions of the group in the present.

Likewise, every site of memory has a *duration*, which is active in the consciousness of the groups that are connected to the site. Therefore, in a site of memory, the historical research should undertake the task of determining the extents of the *collective duration* of the recollections related to the site in the first place. In other words, it should identify how far into past those recollections stretch and which time periods they are involved in.

In the *collective duration* of the site, there might be missing periods since they are long forgotten. But there might also be other vividly remembered periods that characterize the memorial significance of that particular site. Therefore *collective*

duration of a site of memory differs from a historical timeline with equal segments of time recording chronological order of historical events.[85]

In the interpretation of a site of memory, what stands as the primary source of information is a public/community consultation that involves all the associated groups along with a query by browsing public information sources—such as media, newspapers, journals, memoirs, podcasts, blogs, etc.. In pursuit of Olick's strategy, which intends to bridge between the individualist 'collected' memory approach and the collectivist 'collective' memory approach, both the collected memories of individuals and the collective representations of the site in the public sphere should be included.[86] In the end, all collected data should be carefully and ethically analyzed without preconceptions in the light of the principles and critical issues aforementioned in *Interpretation of Sites of Memory and Memorialization in Sites of Conscience*.[87]

3.3.2.1.2 Dynamic Scheme and Memory-Images (or Memory-Traces)

In the next step to analyze memory, the *collective duration* of the site should be represented into a scheme and memory-images.

As Bergson (1902) and Bartlett ([1932] 1995) put it, memory in and of itself constitutes a scheme connecting the memory-images that are the representations of the past events or episodes. This scheme, which can be defined as an organized mass of our past impressions, is active on our perceptions and recollections, and also dynamic since it is in an ongoing change within itself.

[85] To note here, for a site of memory, the data of the chronological order of the historical events can also be collected in historical research, however it is more appropriate for the relevant historical documents to be a part of an archive related to the site rather than being used in the interpretation of the site. In addition, any new historical finding reached in the historical research should be presented with confirming historical evidence.
[86] See Section 2.4.2.1 Jeffrey K. Olick: Collected Versus Collective Memory.
[87] See Section 3.2.3. Interpretation of Sites of Memory and Memorialization in Sites of Conscience.

Metaphorically speaking, this schematic mass can be pictured as Milky Way organized from innumerous points that stand for our all past experiences or episodes. While some of these points are particular, so shiny and easy to catch, some that are more generic and repetitive come together and form a cloudlike "vague nebulosity" (Bergson [1896] 1911, 223). Just like singular stars get visible when a telescope zooms in a cloudy mass, these nebular mass of past experiences have the potential to crystallize into images when they are focused on. Between these infinite number of points scattered as nebulous or shiny singular spots there are also latent links that associate them with each other in regard to innumerable aspects.

Likewise, every place has a latent and intangible dimension comprised of individual and collective memories. And this dimension can be depicted into a scheme relating the memory-images (or memory-traces) of the past experiences occurred in that particular place. In the case of schematizing place memories, a memory-image (or memory-trace) may either denote to the location of a specific incident that is part of collective memory or constitute 'a symbolic image'—such as an object, furniture, painting even an action or movement—that represents or recalls the repetitive/generic experiences characterizing the individual recollections of the place. In sites of memory, this intangible layer of place memories is essential to be visualized on the scheme of the place and analyzed to interpret the site for making conservation decisions.

In the process of its formation, the scheme of place memories has some characteristics to be taken into consideration. First, it is a dynamic scheme in an ongoing change process over years and has a multi-layered nature like a *palimpsest* with superimposed layers of memory. In this respect, it can be configured with reference to time periods of memory-images providing a base to analyze both the change over time and the prominent periods in the remembrances regarding place. Second, if there exist obvious links between the memory-images (as simultaneity or succession in time, reason and consequence relation, similarity etc.) then those

links may as well be depicted for a better understanding. Third, as in the metaphor of the Milky Way and a telescope, the detail of the content of the scheme should be adjusted according to the case and the scope of the conservation project.

As a final note to the *Memory-Analyses* section, following the two essential analyses of place memories, further analyses can also be organized in the quest to fulfill the principles of 'a locus of memory' set out in the succeeding section.

3.3.2.2 Principles for the Conservation of Architectural Heritage as a Locus of Memory

From the theoretical research conducted in the preceding chapters can be inferred seven principles for preservation of architectural heritage as 'a locus of memory'. The principles presented in this section develop on the basis of two fundamental mnemonic notions as 'order' organizing the relations and 'bodily/haptic experience'.

- **Principle of Sequence:**

Considering the mnemonic peculiarity of obtaining the order of things and the regular character of body memory relying on *the rules of sequence* and *timing* in order to be actualized,[88] the first principle is about retaining the familiar 'sequence of memory-images.'

For an architectural heritage to be conserved as a 'locus of memory', the 'sequence of memory-images' is an essential constituent to be recognized and maintained. This is so because, on one hand, the mnemonic character of places is closely related with their capacity to organize things and provide orderly sequences for the users to encounter them, as seen in Roman *Ars memorativa* tradition. On the other hand, the character of a place is realized via the bodily experience and memory is constructed based on these sequences of encountered images. Particularly in an

[88] See Section 3.1.1.2 On Body Memory and Place Memory.

architectural place, design takes its form and gives its message by way of these sequences. In the same line of thought with Pallasmaa (2012, 62) who argues "[t]he door handle is the handshake of the building," it may be suggested that the following sequence of images offered by the building certainly constitutes its own characteristic connection with the users.

In the scene of place, the sequence of images corresponds to the sequence of encountered spaces, and can be retained by keeping the original directionality of the routes/pathways. Therefore, in the conservation of architectural heritage as a locus of memory, the identified memory-images (via the memory-analysis of *dynamic scheme and memory-images*) are important to continue to be encountered in their familiar sequence regardless of the interventions as additions or subtractions in the physical fabric.

According to the principle of sequence, in cases of heritage conservation where the physical fabric remained even intact, but directionality of circulation routes are reversed e.g., entrance points are changed by using the service entrance of the building as the main entrance, there happens a significant deficiency in the intangible wholeness of the heritage. In the conservation projects, especially in those carried out in sites of memory, the directionality of circulation routes organizing the familiar sequence of vistas is notable to be understood and preserved.

- **Principle of Schematic Order:**

The second principle relies directly on the basic inference of our theoretical research that the schematic *order* of the whole retains its memory, and is introduced also as a principle to relate this theoretical inference with the concrete examples of conservation interventions.

Considering the intervention decisions about the missing parts having memory-value, the representation of the missing part—be it an architectural element or a

space—in respect to its composition or arrangement provides its mnemonic preservation at intangible level.

Since the significance of architectural heritage, especially in sites of memory, derives from the symbolic content rather than materiality, representing the scheme of the missing parts (e.g., tracing the scheme of a missing space on the ground) rather than reconstructing them stands as a proper way of preservation in accord with the values of the site. This understanding also resonates with Boym's (2001) perspective of 'reflective nostalgia'.[89]

- **Principle of Space Configuration:**

As revealed by the studies on space configuration—e.g., the theory of *space syntax* set out by the architectural theorists Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson[90]—the relationship between spaces of a place constructs and arranges the social or cultural interaction characterized within that place. And, it stands as an important constituent of the intangible dimension of a place conserved and/or restored on account of its architectural or historic documentary values.

In this respect, when adaptive reuse of an architectural heritage is considered in the conservation process, characteristic spatial configuration should be understood as a diagram of relations and safeguarded at least at this diagrammatic level in the designation of the adaptation interventions.

To give a concrete example (derived from space syntax diagrams), if two separate spaces have no direct passage it is proper to keep them unrelated. However if two separate spaces are related to each other with a direct passage, while it is possible to increase the number of the passages but it is not proper to block this one passage with the purpose to safeguard the relations on the diagrammatic level. Likewise, it is important to utilize spaces in respect to their configurational characteristics in adaptation process, e.g., if a space is characteristically a circulation area providing

[89] See Footnote 73 for Boym's 'Reflective Nostalgia' notion.
[90] See Section 3.1.1.3 On Phenomenology and Memory of Architecture.

access to more private spaces, it is relevant to use them by safeguarding their characteristics of publicity and privacy.

- **Principle of Boundary (Inside-Outside Relationship):**

Beginning from Aristotle, the boundary of a place, which offers and organizes the dialectics between interior and exterior—how it separates and connects the two domains—has been discerned as a governing factor in the unique experience and memory of place.[91]

The principle of boundary, in essence, denotes to the character of the 'wall', which is, in Venturi's terms (1977), the point of change between inside and outside, that is where architecture occurs. Together with the principle of space configuration, the relation between the interior and exterior characterized by the boundary (e.g., as permeability/impermeability organizing physical access or solidity/transparency organizing visual access) should be recognized and sustained in the making of conservation decisions.

- **Principle of Haptic Atmosphere:**

The research on memory and place association has shown that our experience of place are largely dependent on a haptic perception rather than visual perception.[92] We tend to grasp haptically and emotionally an atmosphere of place almost like a surrounding material substance, and construct our memory of place based on this bodily perception.

The notion of 'atmosphere' of place somehow converges or coincides with the concept of 'spirit' of place. And, as it implies a total multi-sensory impression of the place received from the integration of visual, auditory and olfactory senses, its intangibility is not easy to crystallize into concrete components. However, the atmospheric varieties in the haptic interaction between the body and the built form

[91] See Section 3.1.1.3 On Phenomenology and Memory of Architecture.
[92] See Section 3.1.1.3 On Phenomenology and Memory of Architecture.

are more obvious to be observed in some cases, e.g., between the spatial patterns like grid and labyrinth—while former characterized with continuous pathways, latter with ruptured paths and a high density—or between a pit like spatial volume and an open one or between foggy and bright illumination etc.

For places having with memory-value, these atmospheric features are utmost important to be considered and sustained in conservation processes.

- **Principle of *Kinesthesia* / Bodily Movements:**

Kinesthesia is the basis of the deep correlation between body, memory and place. It is an integral constituent of the experience and memory of place.[93]

Provided the Bergsonian premise that "the past is *embodied* in actions" (Casey 2000, 149), the kinesthetic dimension or choreography of place should be acknowledged and employed as an input for the conservation decisions, especially in sites of memory.

In accordance with the 'principle of sequence', the organic relationship between place and body should be understood and safeguarded to present the genuine realization of place, taking into account common regular body movements or actions as well as positions, levels or directionality of body in the scene of place. Particularly in cases of conservation where new bodily routines are proposed via new routes offering new levels or positions for body, it should be ensured to provide and sustain the information of the original bodily experience of place for the users and visitors—just as all new additions should be distinguishable from the original in the physical fabric, as specified in the Venice Charter (ICOMOS 1964).

In places strongly associated with a peculiar bodily movement, action or experience, these bodily movements or experiences may stand as memory-images to be preserved, presented and re-experienced.

[93] See Section 3.1.1.1 On Body and Place.

A good example would be Villa Grimaldi Peace Park (*Corporacion Parque por la Paz Villa Grimaldi*) in Chile as a notable site where the memorialization process draws on the kinesthesia (Fig. 3.8.). The site is a former epicenter used for interrogation and torture of political prisoners during the military dictatorship following the violent coup d'état of 1973, and totally torn down at the end of the dictatorship. In the conservation process of this site having almost no physical evidence, the common blindfolded walk of all prisoners was singled out as a symbolic 'memory-image' for evoking the experiences of the victims in order to preserve and transmit the memory of the site. The 'walk through Villa Grimaldi' (or *recorrido*), which is guided by a former victim of torture, was considered as a memory path on which the body itself remembers through the act of walking (Taylor 2011, 243).

While the experience of 'walking through' has been preserved as a means of remembering, perceptive aspects accompanying this experience have also been involved in the memorialization efforts. In recognition of the experience of the victims who, because they were always blindfolded, only saw glimpses of the ground as they were moved from one place to another by looking downwards, the original pieces of pavement found at the site have been used in the making of colorful plaques on the ground so as to identify the spots of demolished buildings (Fig. 3.9., for example, the "Torture Room"). In the same manner, the smell of roses that prisoners recalled from that walk has also been represented by a memorial of rose garden (Fig. 3.10.) (ICSC 2012, 33-34). As Taylor (2011, 243) puts it; "[t]he routine – the walk through Villa Grimaldi – offers a clear example of 'restoration of behavior.'" Further, she defines this 'walk through' as 'a durational performance' of trauma in accordance with the repetitive and bodily nature of traumatic memories.

All in all, as a site of memory that has almost completely lost its physical components, Villa Grimaldi Peace Park is a good example of conservation of a heritage site as 'a locus of memory' based solely on the evaluation of intangible components of the site. In addition to the principle of kinesthesia, Villa Grimaldi

project also complies in some ways with the principles of schematic order and sequence, presented in this study.

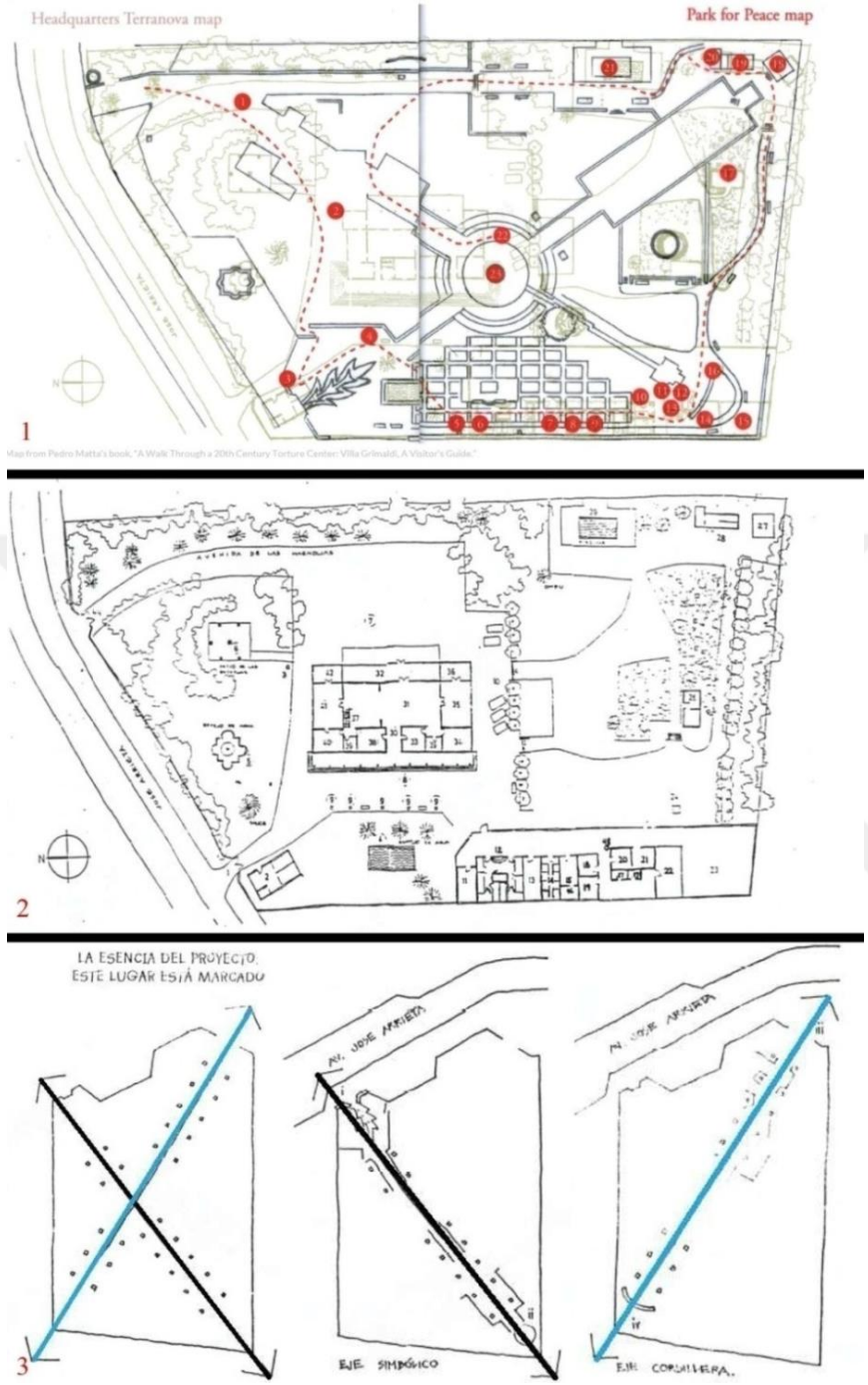


Figure3.8. 1.Site plan of the project, superimposed on the original site plan. 2.Original site plan. 3.The essence of the project: The axes of the 'walk through' on which the project is based.

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/320963573_Antropologia_do_lugar_na_Villa_Grimaldi_espaco_publico_e_pluralidade_de_simbolismos_na_paisagem_urbana_chilena



Figure3.9. The memorial plaques on the ground marking the spots of demolished structures.
1.https://www.researchgate.net/publication/320963573_Antropologia_do_lugar_na_Villa_Grimaldi_espaco_publico_e_pluralidade_de_simbolismos_na_paisagem_urbana_chilena

2.https://commons.m.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Plaza_de_La_Paz,_Villa_Grimaldi.jpg



Figure3.10. The memorial rose garden dedicated to the women held at the site. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/320963573_Antropologia_do_lugar_na_Villa_Grimaldi_espaco_publico_e_pluralidade_de_simbolismos_na_paisagem_urbana_chilena

- **Principle of Lifeworlds**

In close relation to the preceding 'principle of *kinesthesia*', the last principle is about the lifeworlds of a place[94].

As Seamon (2005) pointed out, 'a typology of lifeworlds' should be outlined for a fully phenomenological understanding of place and the preservation of its memory. The user groups in a place should be identified and their commonalities or differences in experiencing the place should be studied. Additionally, the zones belonging to each lifeworld should be considered, and the relational context of these lifeworlds should be understood to be sustained. Seamon (1980) puts forth the *place-ballet* as a significant concept which is "of value in creating, regenerating and protecting places" (164).

[94] See Section 3.1.1.3 On Phenomenology and Memory of Architecture.

CHAPTER 4

THE CASE OF ANKARA ULUCANLAR C. C. PRISON: THE PORTRAYAL OF ITS MEMORY-IMAGE FOLLOWING THE PROPOSED FRAMEWORK AND EVALUATION OF THE APPROVED RESTORATION PROJECT

4.1 Understanding the Prison: History, Image and Memory-Image

4.1.1 Historical Background

4.1.1.1 An Overview of the Historical Development in the Spatial Form of Pre-Republican Ankara

The city of Ankara, having been inhabited since Paleolithic times (Erzen 1946, 27), is one of the oldest settlements of Anatolia (Aktüre 1978, 110), which has gone through the established historical and cultural eras of Anatolia sequentially. The initial spatial form of the city, known from archeological evidences, dates back to Phrygian times, 8th century B.C and is comprised of a citadel located at the summit of a steep hill commanding the settlements at the skirts of the citadel and on the plain (Erzen 1946, 29).

In Roman period, the city was remarkably expanded towards the outside of the citadel and gained the status and character of a "metropolis" (Aktüre 2000, 7; Erzen 1946, 53). Following the decline of the political and economical stability of Roman Empire at the end of 3rd century A.D., an outer fortress surrounding the settlements, which had gradually expanded towards the skirts of the citadel and the plain, was constructed in 270 A.D. As a result, the city lost its open character and

turned into a fortified city including two rings of fortresses: the inner fortress/the citadel and the Roman outer fortress (Aktüre 2000, 9).[95]

During the Byzantine Rule, in the second half of 7th century, the city went through a significant transformation in terms of its form as a result of the threat of Sasanians and Arab invasion (Altındağ Belediyesi 1987, 8). The settlement retreated to the inside of the citadel and thus the settlement once on the plain vanished. The walls of the inner fortress/citadel were elevated and an outer fortress with thick walls which surrounded the diminished city at the skirts of the citadel was constructed. In other words, the "metropolis" of Roman period turned into a "border city" (Aktüre 2000, 11-12). The two rings of Byzantine fortresses: the inner and the outer fortress, which are still noticeable today, have taken their final forms by repairs and additions made during the Seljukid and Turkish principalities periods, and the city maintained its existence as a fortified 'border/garrison city' till Ottoman period (20).

In the early Ottoman period, in the 14th and 15th centuries, only fact that gives clue about the spatial form of the city is the construction of a plenty amount of mosques and masjids at the skirts of the castle and on the plain, indicating the expansion of the settlement towards the outside of the castle (Aktüre 2000, 20-21).

The sixteenth century, the apogee of the Ottoman Empire, was also the peak era of Ankara city with the growth of commercial activities and thereby the growth of population. The progress in the socio-economic aspects and the shift of the character of the city from a fortified "border/garrison city" to a "commerce city" (Aktüre 1978, 111), had certain reflections on its spatial form and the settlement expanded extremely towards the plain outside of the second ring of fortress, towards the south and west directions (Aktüre 2000, 21). At the beginning of 17th century, in 1607-1608, a third ring of fortress, surrounding the expanded

[95] The Roman outer fortress does not exist today. However, there are evidences to suggest that the Roman outer fortress of 3rd century A.D. had been built in the place of the third ring of fortress which was going to be constructed in 16th century, in Ottoman period (Aktüre 2000, 9).

settlements, was constructed as a result of the threat of Jelali revolts (Aktüre 1978, 117). By the completion of the third ring of fortress with ten gates, the city gained its earliest classic appearance with tree rings of fortresses located at different levels from high to low, which is depicted in the earliest visual and oral accounts of travelers.

Simeon, in the beginning of 17th century, in 1618-1619, describes the city as 'a lively city surrounded by tree levels of fortresses' (Aktüre 1978, 120). Consistently, in the gravure of the traveler, Pitton de Tournefort who visited Ankara in 1701 (Eyice 1972, 74) and in the gravure of traveler, Paul Lucas who arrived Ankara in 1705 (76), Ankara, at the beginning of 18th century, was depicted as a settlement encompassed by tree leveled rings of fortresses. While the gravure of Lucas is a schematic gravure with a contribution of imagination where the city is depicted only with its most peculiar structures (Fig. 4.2.), the gravure of Tournefort gives a realistic view of the city and includes not only the settled area of the city, but also the unsettled area of the city out of the fortresses, and indicates the cemeteries and empty lands outside the fortress (Fig. 4.1.). To note here, it has recently been understood that Tournefort's gravure was reverse-printed in the original source and indeed portrays Ankara settlement looking from the west.[96]

[96] As Yavuz İşcen who made a detailed analysis of the gravure stated, the archeologists Musa Kadıoğlu and Kutalmış Gökay made the first determination that the gravure was reverse-printed, in their article "Yeni Arkeolojik Araştırmalar Işığında Ankara", published in Anadolu Journal in 2007. http://yavuziscen.blogspot.com/2021/05/blog-post_12.html

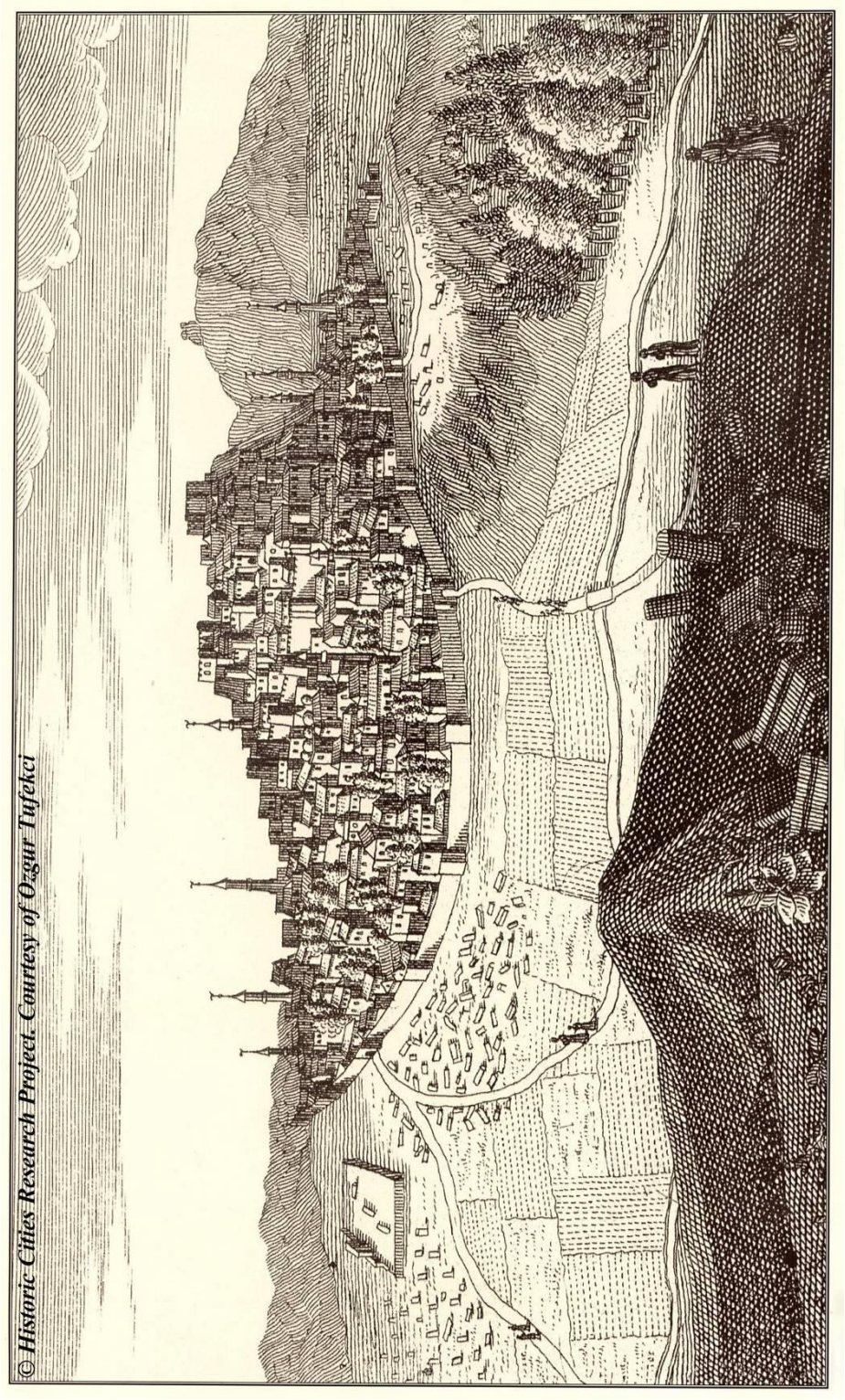


Figure4.1. The gravure of Ankara by Pitton de Tournefort, 1701 (From the preliminary project report prepared in the scope of U.R.I.P. from K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive).

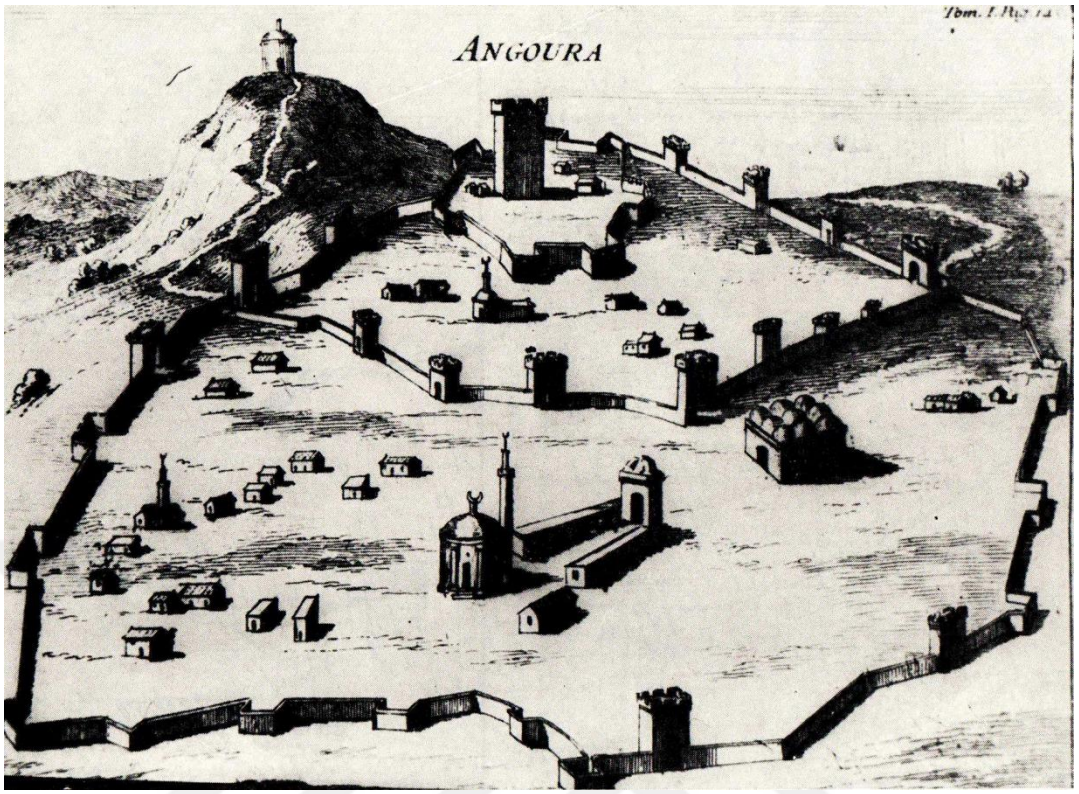


Figure4.2. The gravure of Ankara by Paul Lucas, 1705 (Eyice 1972).

The map of Vincke, drawn in 1838, shows the boundaries of the city and the ten gates of the third ring of fortress. The map displays the long-lasting stability in the spatial form and the boundaries of the city during the period from the beginning of 17th century to the 19th century (Aktüre 1978, 123). In the map, the outside of the fortress is still not a residential area. There exist empty agricultural lands and cemeteries that are consistent with the gravure of Tournefort (Fig. 4.3.).



Figure4.3. The map of Vincke, 1838 (Eyice 1972).

Towards the end of 19th century, Ankara, once a populated lively commerce city in 16th century, entered a period of depression in terms of commercial and economical activities, following the decline of Ottoman Empire in 18th and 19th centuries due to the change in the trade routes and the development of the west (Altındağ Belediyesi 1987, 9). While the city was retaining its boundaries, some new developments affected its spatial form. A new house type, called "*bağ evi*", which was scattered outside of the city and used for temporary residence emerged. An immigrant quarter, called "*Boşnak Mahallesi*"-today named "*Sakarya Mahallesi*" came into being outside the Kayseri Gate of the fortress, in the south of the cemetery circa 1878, as the first planned quarter of the city that has grid-iron plan differing from the organic traditional fabric. Finally, İstanbul-Ankara railway, as the first stage of Berlin-Baghdad railway route, was constructed in 1892. Although the construction of the railway caused a relative viability in the commercial activities of Ankara (Aktüre 1978, 127), the city of Ankara, by the beginning of 20th century was portrayed as a poor and degraded city by travelers (Denel 2000, 129)[97]. A large section of the city was affected from the big fire in 1917 and some parts of the city, especially Armenian quarter, was at the point of collapse. The city was left unattended and in poverty after the war years.

4.1.1.2 The Establishment of the Central Prison of Early Republican Ankara

Following War of Independence, with the convening of the Turkish National Assembly (TBMM) in Ankara, Ankara was proclaimed as the capital city of young Turkish Republic in 13th of October, 1923. Its proclamation as the capital city marked the beginning of a new era for Ankara and the city entered a stage of rapid and planned growth and development (Altındağ Belediyesi 1987, 9). Ulucanlar

[97] Charles Texier portrays Ankara as "a sad and decrepit city despite its thick walls".

Prison Complex is one of the public structures built during this rapid development and construction process in the 1920s and 30s in Ankara.

The Ministry of Population Exchange, Development and Settlement (*Mübadele, İmâr ve İskân Vekâleti*) founded in October 1923, firstly prepared a report which outlined the principles and the urgent needs of the development of the Ankara city including the foundation of municipality and the preparation of a development plan. In line with this report, Ankara Municipality (*Ankara Şehremaneti*) established in 1924, prepared a map of Ankara displaying the form of Ankara city in 1924 (Fig. 4.4.) and ordered the first plan of Ankara from an enterprise called *İstanbul Keşfiyat ve İnşaat Türk Anonim Şirketi (Société Anonyme Turque d'Études et d'Entreprises Urbaines)* that operates in İstanbul with German capital. In this way, the first plan of Ankara city prepared by German architect Dr. Carl Christoph Lörcher was submitted to the Ankara municipality on the 30th of May, 1924 (Cengizkan 2004, 36). C. C. Lörcher prepared three plans for Ankara subsequently; the 1924 old city plan (at 1:2000 scale), the 1925 new city (*Yenişehir*) plan (at 1:1000 scale) and 1924-1925 combined new-old city plan (at 1:10000 scale as a 'context plan') (45).

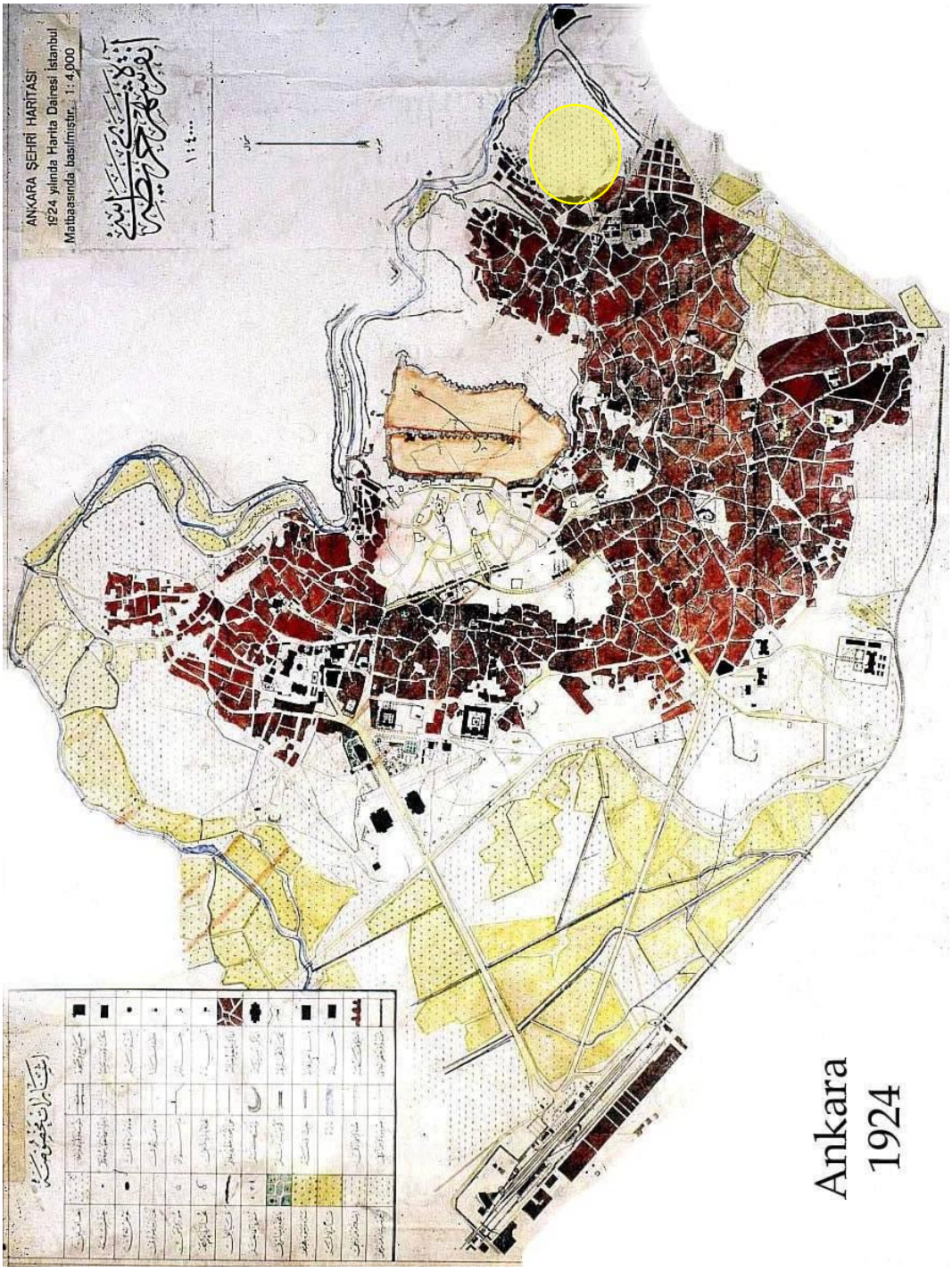


Figure4.4. The map of Ankara, prepared by *Ankara Şehremaneti*, 1924 (From the preliminary project report prepared in the scope of U.R.I.P. from K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive).

In 1924-1925 Lörcher plan (Fig. 4.5.), a modern prison for the capital of the new Republic was offered to be constructed on the hill at the south edge of the planning area, near the agricultural lands. The decision for the location of the prison was explained in the plan report that "the neighborhood has been deemed appropriate [for the prison] as there are lands and fields to be plowed around, which makes it possible to encourage the prisoners to do useful work and to ensure their rehabilitation through work, and reintegrate them into the society"[98] (Cengizkan 2004, 157). Although Lörcher's 1924 plan, for the old city was not approved by the municipal commission and not implemented due to inapplicable design ideas transforming the historical fabric, Lörcher's 1925 plan for *Yenişehir* immediately put into practice guiding the development of the city, and the new modern prison was also constructed together with the constructions in the new city.

[98] "12) *HAPİSHÂNE: Bunun için de III numaralı planda münhasıran kroki hâlinde bir mahall ira'e edilmişdir ki muharrir-i âciz Ankara' yı tedkîk ve ziyâreti esnâsında bu mahalli müsâ'id bulmuşdur. Bi'l-hassa civârda sürülecek arâzî ve tarlaların mevcûdiyeti mahbûsîni müsmir bir sa'ye sevk eylemek ve sa'y-i amel yolunda ıslâh-ı ma'neviyâtlarına hizmet ederek bunları cem'iyet beşeriyeye i'âde edebilmek için mahal-i mezkurun münâsebet-i mahsûsası görülmüşdür*", (Cengizkan 2004, 157: *1924-1925 Lörcher Planı: Türklerin Başkenti Ankara'nın Yapılaşma Planı/ Eski Şehir ve Yönetim Şehri = Çankaya, 1:10000* Plan Raporu 8-14).

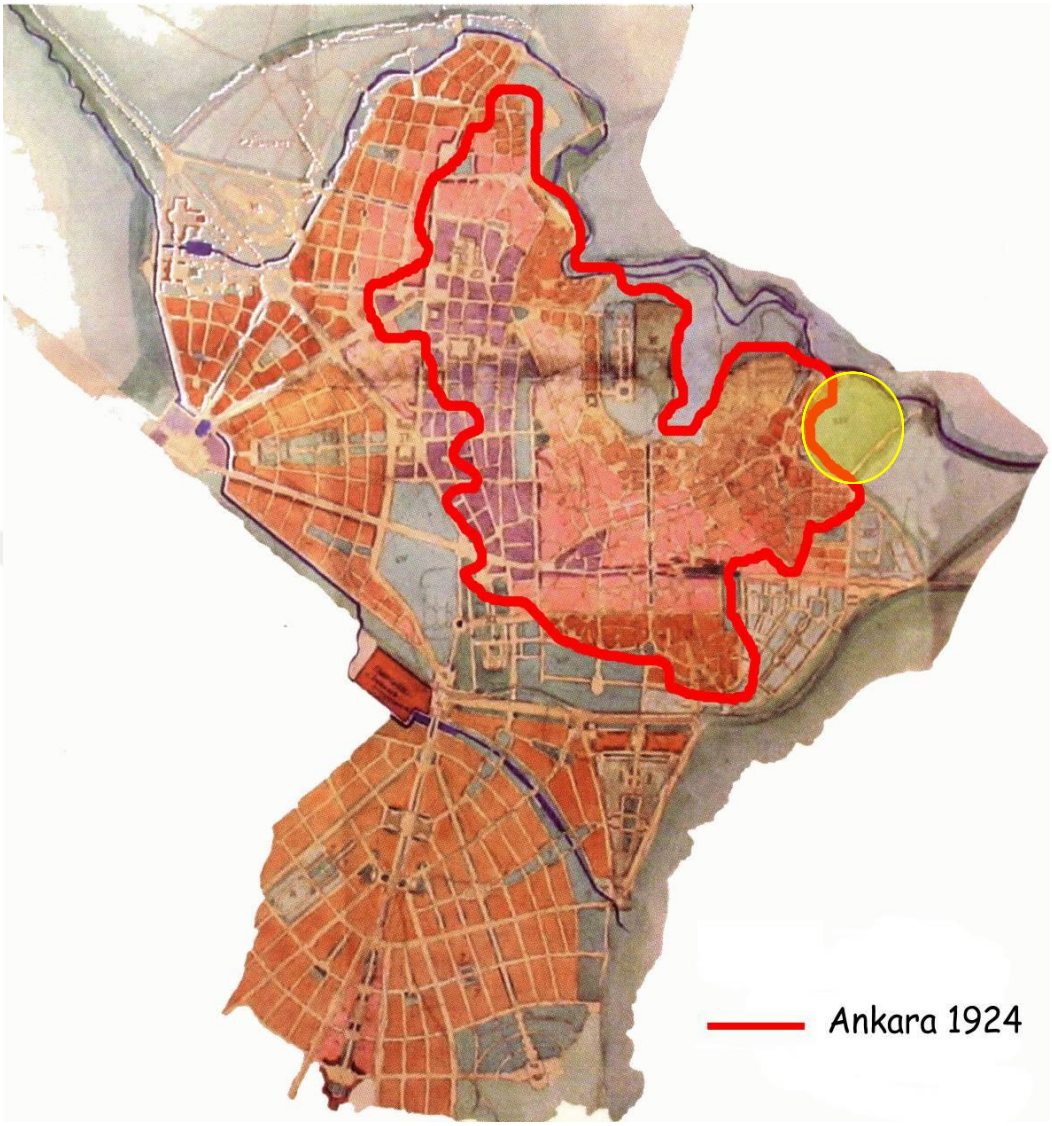
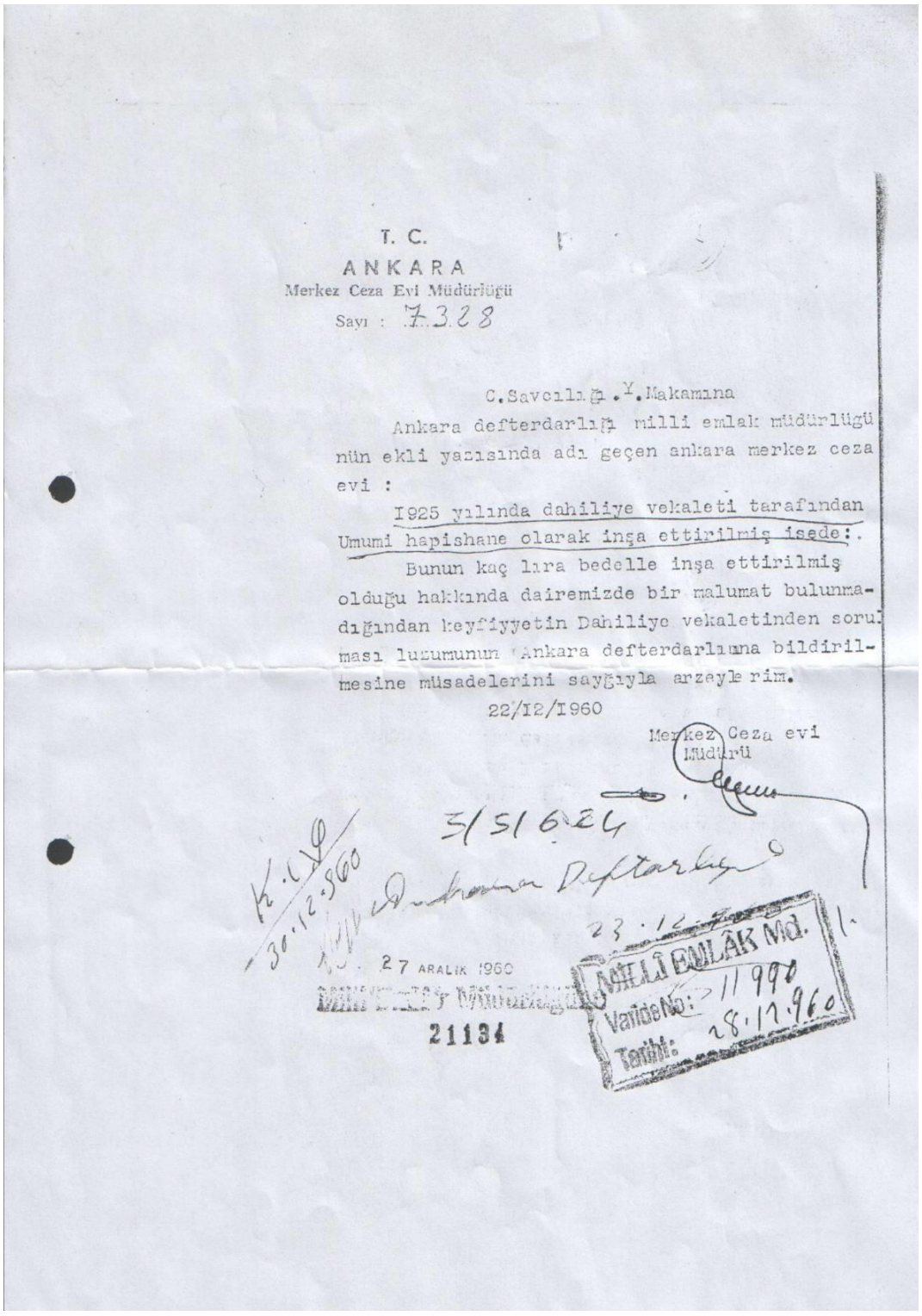


Figure4.5. 1924-1925 Lörcher's 'context plan' at 1:10000 scale (From the preliminary project report prepared in the scope of U.R.I.P. from K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive).

All in all, Ulucanlar Central Prison (then called Cebeci Detention House—*Cebeci Tevkifhanesi*) was established in 1925, on a hill nearby the late Ottoman residential areas of Hamamönü/Ulucanlar district, to the southeast of Ulus, according to the decision of 1924-1925 Lörcher plan. The correspondence document between Directorate of the Central Prison (*Merkez Cezaevi Müdürlüğü*) and the Directorate of National Property (*Milli Emlak Müdürlüğü*) dated 1960, reached in the Ministry of Justice Archives, also confirms the information that the prison was built by the Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1925 as a 'Public Prison' (Fig. 4.6.,11.).



T. C.
ANKARA
Merkez Ceza Evi Müdürlüğü
Sayı : 7328

C.Savcılığı .Y.Makamına

Ankara defterdarlığı milli emlak müdürlüğü nün ekli yazısında adı geçen ankara merkez ceza evi :

1925 yılında dahiliye vekaleti tarafından Umumi hapishane olarak inşa ettirilmiş isede:.

Bunun kaç lira bedelle inşa ettirilmiş olduğu hakkında dairemizde bir malumat bulunmadığından keyfiyyetin Dahiliye vekaletinden sorulması lüzumunun Ankara defterdarlıuna bildirilmesine müsadelerini saygıyla arzeylerim.

22/12/1960

Merkez Ceza evi Müdürü

3/51624

K.C.D 30.12.960

27 ARALIK 1960

21134

ASRİ BOYAK Md. Varide No: 11990 Tarih: 28.12.960

Figure4.6. The correspondence document reached in the Ministry of Justice Archives, 1960 (From the preliminary project report prepared in the scope of U.R.I.P. from K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive).

As deduced from the historical development of the spatial form of Ankara city, the construction site of the prison was a historically non-residential area at the edge of the old settlement, surrounded by the late Ottoman residential quarters in the west and south, and by agricultural lands in the east and north. Aktüre (1978) indicates that the land outside the Kayseri gate, where prison is located today, was used as a cemetery area before the Republican period, like the west part of the city outside the fortress depicted in Tournefort's gravure. In both the map of Vincke, drawn in 1838 and the map of Ankara city prepared in 1924 by Ankara Municipality, the prison lot is seen clearly as an empty land, without any constructions and ruins on it.

Although it is narrated in the oral tradition that there were some structures used as military barrack/depot or horse stable in the site before the prison was built and those have been re-used in the construction of the prison, historical documents and physical evidence do not validate this narrative.



Figure4.7. The south façade of Ulucanlar C. C. Prison, photograph from1927 (Cangır 2007, 1:145).

1927, Ulucanlar



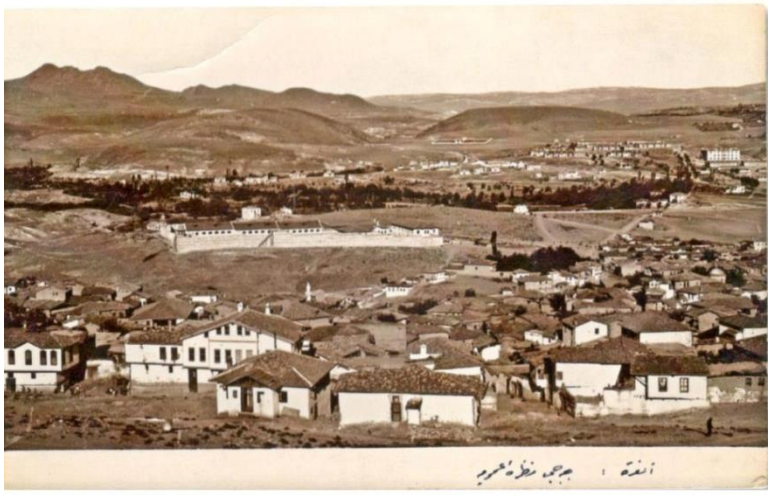
Figure4.8. The south façade of Ulucanlar C. C. Prison, photograph taken from southeast, in 1927 (Cangır 2007, 3:2177).

1930, Ulucanlar



Figure4.9. The south façade of administration building, photograph from 1930 (Cangır 2007, 3:2176).

1928, Cebeci



1930, Dikimevi



1938, Dikimevi



Figure4.10. Ulucanlar C. C. Prison, photographs taken from west, respectively, in 1928 (Cangır 2007, 2:893), 1930 (2:853) and 1938 (2:1105).

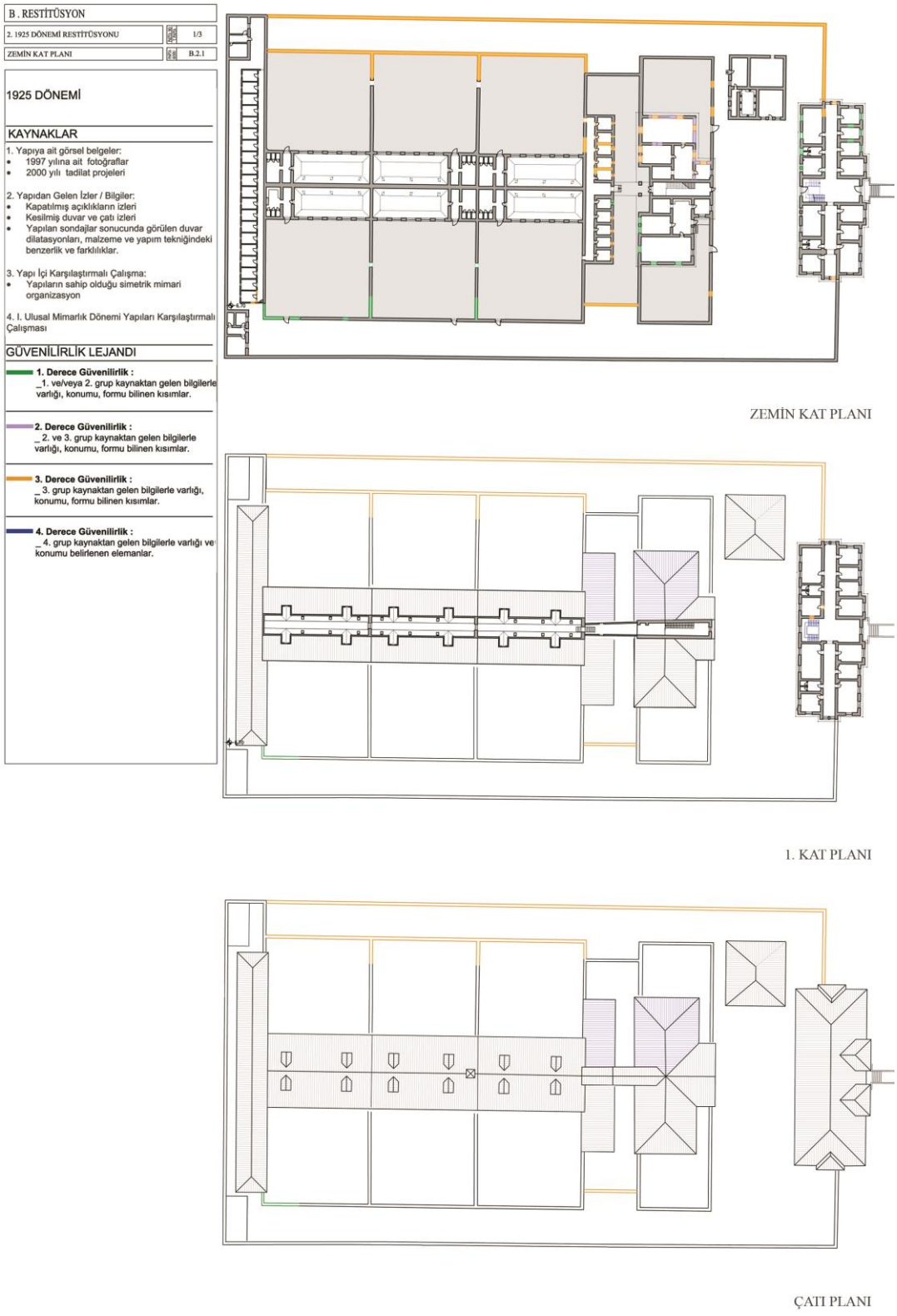


Figure4.11. Restitütion Study of Ulucanlar C.C. Prison; 1st stage in 1925 (Prepared for U.R.I.P. from K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive).

4.1.2 The Image of Ulucanlar Central Closed Prison Complex in 2006[99]

Ulucanlar Central Closed Prison is located in Altındağ district, in Ulucanlar quarter, on a hill at the east of Ankara Castle, at the edge of Ulus, historical town center of Ankara. The entrance of the prison is, today, placed on Ulucanlar Street which was completed in 1955. Ulucanlar Street lies between Anafartalar and Plevne Streets and is one of the important axes that connect the historical town center to the main arteries of Ankara city. The Prison is an important component of Ulucanlar Street and has a strong visual relation with Ankara Castle and the historical town center due to its topographic position (Fig. 4.12.).

[99] This section is an overall description of the architectural aspects of Ulucanlar Central Closed Prison, right after it was evacuated in 2006, and includes, in general terms, the data obtained from the documentation study and physical fabric analyses, and the evaluations of the historical periodization and restitution studies, conducted within the scope of U.R.I.P. by K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd.

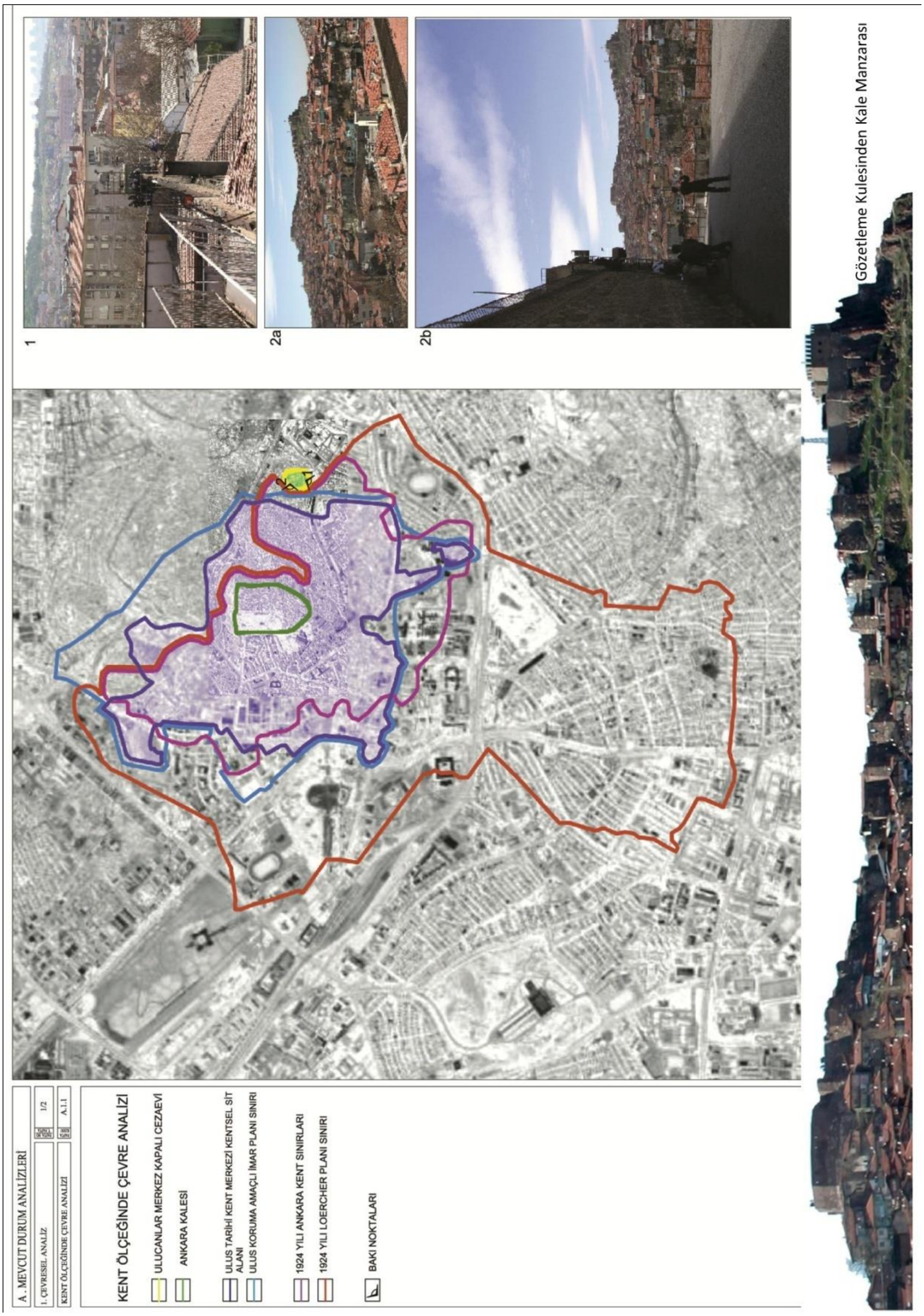


Figure4.12. The location of Ulucanlar Central Closed Prison: Environmental analysis in the context of Ankara city center (Prepared for U.R.I.P. from K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive).

4.1.2.1 Outside the Walls

Ulucanlar Central Closed Prison Complex stands on a lot, in Ulucanlar residential neighborhood, surrounded by a rounded street (Yönü Street) except for the northwest direction where a residential area adjacent to the prison lot was located in 2006. The complex has been constructed in a rectangular shape along the north-south axis leaving open areas in the north and southwest directions of the lot. To the east of the closed prison has been situated the semi-open prison complex as a separate prison, accessed by an independent entrance from the south.[100]

[100] The semi-open prison complex with controlled entry and exit was a transition zone for prisoners between the imprisonment and freedom. The complex consisted of several recent structures, mostly used as production ateliers, where prisoners nearing the end of their sentence in the Closed Prison or presenting good behavior were assigned to fulfill some responsibilities in the production of various products. The semi-open prison was in use when Ulucanlar Central Closed Prison was evacuated in 2006, and its transformation project was held later by another project team following its evacuation in 2011.

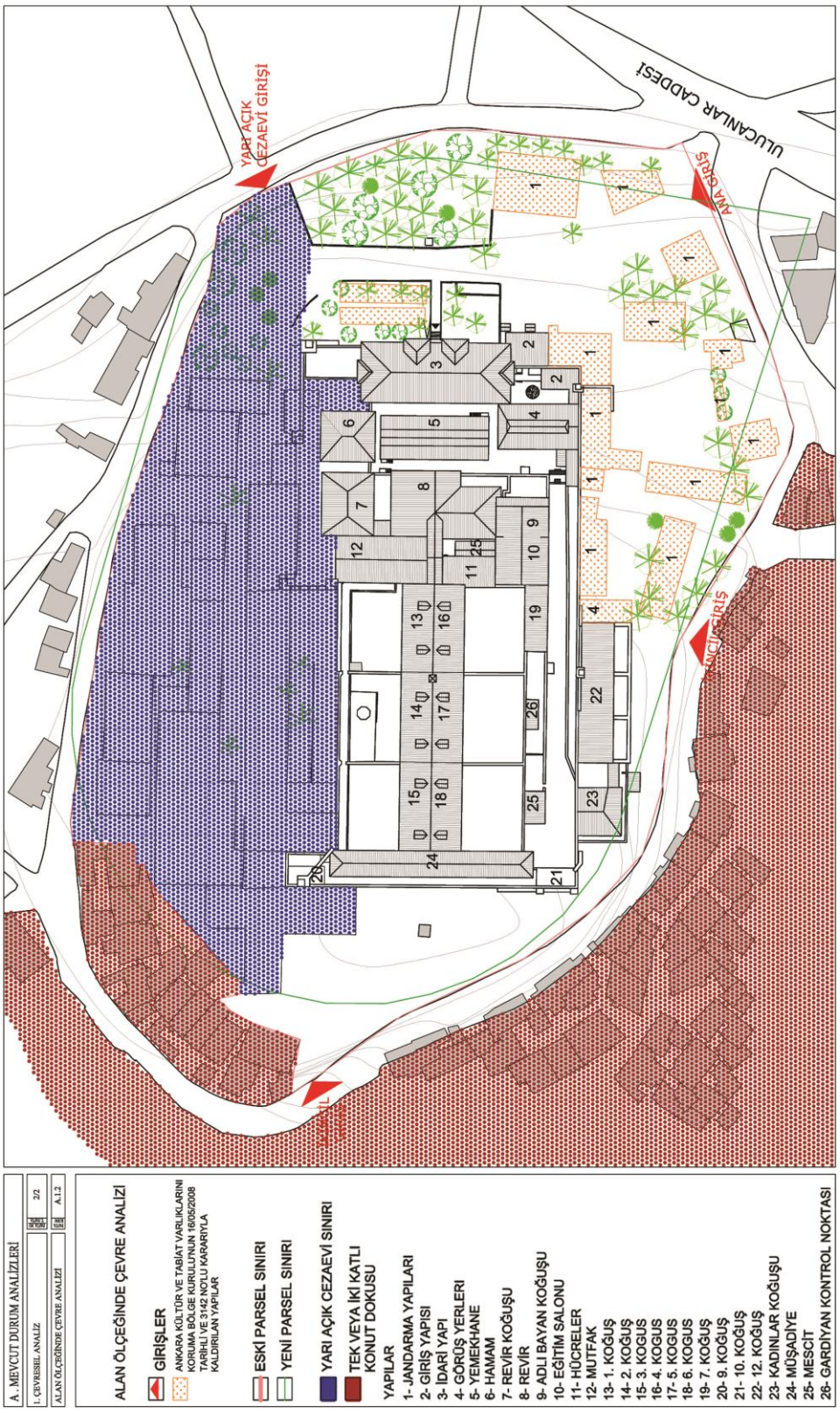


Figure4.13. Site plan of Ulucanlar C.C. Prison with its nearby environment (Prepared for U.R.I.P. from K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive).

The main entrance to the lot of the Ulucanlar Central Closed Prison Complex has been on the Ulucanlar Street at the southwest corner of the prison lot (Fig. 4.14.), providing access towards the open-area outside the prison walls where several one-storey shack-like structures of the gendarmerie were located (Fig. 4.13., No.1). The outside of the prison walls within the lot was in the use and full control of the gendarmerie's authority (Fig. 4.15.,16.). From there with staircases, the soldiers could reach directly to the towers over the prison walls for the surveillance of the prisoners.



Figure4.14. Main entrance to the lot from Ulucanlar Street (K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive).

The complex was surrounded by high and thick masonry walls with surveillance towers and walkway platforms on them, which were located on the west, north and east directions. To the west wall was attached two adjacent ward buildings. The one to the north was the political women's ward (*Siyasi Kadınlar Koğuşu,* Fig. 4.13.,No.23) with its courtyard having an independent entrance from the outside of the prison walls. To the south of the women's ward was located a ward building (Fig. 4.13.,No.22) having three separate ward units, each of which was comprised of a ward space with an enclosed courtyard and accessed from inside the prison. This tripartite ward building was named 12th ward (*12. Koğuş*) and reserved for the criminals convicted of 'check-bill mafia' related crimes, which have emerged in the conjuncture of the 1980s in Turkey.



Figure4.15. The shacks of the gendarmerie, outside the walls (K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive, taken by Altındağ Municipality).



Figure4.16. The shacks of the gendarmerie, outside the walls (The Chamber Archive, taken by Tezcan Karakuş Candan).

On the south facade, the administration building (Fig. 4.13.,No.3) has been situated between the blind walls of the prison. The wardens and administrative staff could use this administration building to enter and leave the complex. The administration building was built in the architectural style of *First National Architectural Movement*. It had a monumental look standing out as the first structure to be noticed from the main entrance of the prison lot, with its rhythmic and symmetrical façade organization and classical architectural elements (i.e., jack arch slabs, pointed arched openings articulated with jamb linings, wide eaves with wooden slatted ceilings).

To the west of the administration building, attached to the south masonry wall of the prison was the single-storey entrance building (Fig. 4.13.,No.2), which was used to provide the entrance of the prisoners and visitors (Fig. 4.17.). The entrance

building had two separate entrances (Fig. 4.18.). The one located between two gendarmerie huts was reserved for the prisoners. Through this door the prisoners were taken into the place called *Kapıaltı* where they were registered as prisoner of Ulucanlar on arrival. The second entrance was to the west of the *Kapıaltı* door and for the visitors alone. Those who came to visit the prisoners were taken directly to the visit chambers in the visitation building (*Görüş Yapısı,* Fig. 4.13.,No.4) on the days of the permitted prison visit. The entrance building and the visitation building had an organic relation and similar architectural peculiarities might be inferred that they were designed together in a later period after 1925.[101]



Figure4.17. The entrance building and the administration building, south facade (K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive).



Figure4.18. The entrance building, prisoners' entrance door opening to *Kapıaltı* on the right, visitors' entrance door on the left (K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive).

[101] In the photographs showing the original architectural layout of the prison complex belonging to the years 1925-1930, it is seen that both the entrance building (Fig. 4.13.,No.2) and the visitation building (*Görüş Yapısı*, Fig. 4.13.,No.4) did not exist yet.

4.1.2.2 Inside the Walls

Ulucanlar Central Closed prison evacuated in 2006 had an almost completely different architectural image from the historic prison built in 1925, due to the excessive additions and changes made in different periods according to the transient needs of the day. After innumerous alterations, within the high masonry walls, the plan scheme of the prison was taken the form of a labyrinth comprised of long narrow hallways connecting wards and their enclosed courtyards together and with other service structures, which render the original plan scheme and historical buildings almost unrecognizable (Fig. 4.19-22.).



Figure4.19. View to north from the surveillance tower near the southwest corner (The Chamber Archive, photos taken by Tezcan Karkuş Candan are merged and made panoramic).



Figure4.20. View to southeast from the surveillance tower near the northwest corner (K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive).

In the general plan layout of the prison complex, the buildings for the confinement of the prisoners, such as wards, cells and isolation chambers (*müşahede*), were mostly placed on the north of the complex, whereas the service buildings—such as refectory (*yemekhane*), kitchen (*mutfak*), infirmary (*revir*), bath (*hamam*), masjid (*mescit*), education hall (*eğitim salonu*)—were situated in the south of the complex

comprising a zone of service functions located behind (to the north of) the administration building (Fig. 4.23.).

As a matter of fact, these two main zones stemmed from the original function scheme of the historic prison dated back to 1925 and mainly permeated the present state despite the excessive additions and changes in the physical fabric over the years. However, as a result of the insufficient capacity of the prison in the face of the increasing number of prisoners in recent years, three wards were implanted in the service zone—those were children's ward (*Sübyan Koğuşu*) arranged on the ground floor at the eastern end of the administration building and the two wards, one of which was reserved for criminal women, located to the west of the infirmary (*revir*).



Figure4.21. View to northeast from the surveillance tower above the ward *12. Koğuş* (The Chamber Archive, photos taken by Tezcan Karkuş Candan are merged and made panoramic).



Figure4.22. View to southeast from the surveillance tower above the ward *12. Koğuş* (The Chamber Archive, photos taken by Tezcan Karkuş Candan are merged and made panoramic).



Figure4.23. Physical Fabric Analyses: Function zones (Prepared for U.R.I.P. from K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive).

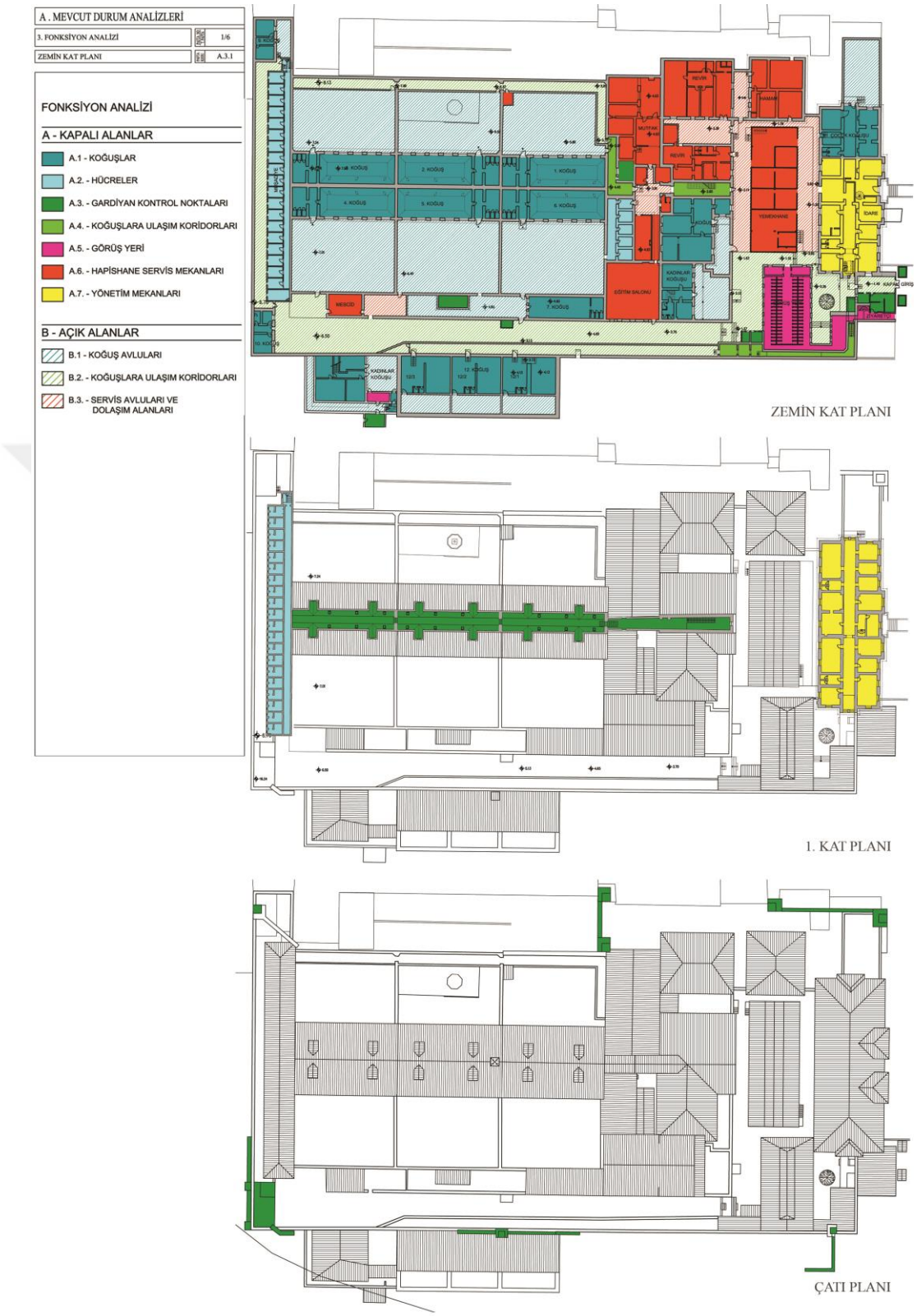


Figure4.24. Physical Fabric Analyses: Use of buildings (Prepared for U.R.I.P. from K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive).

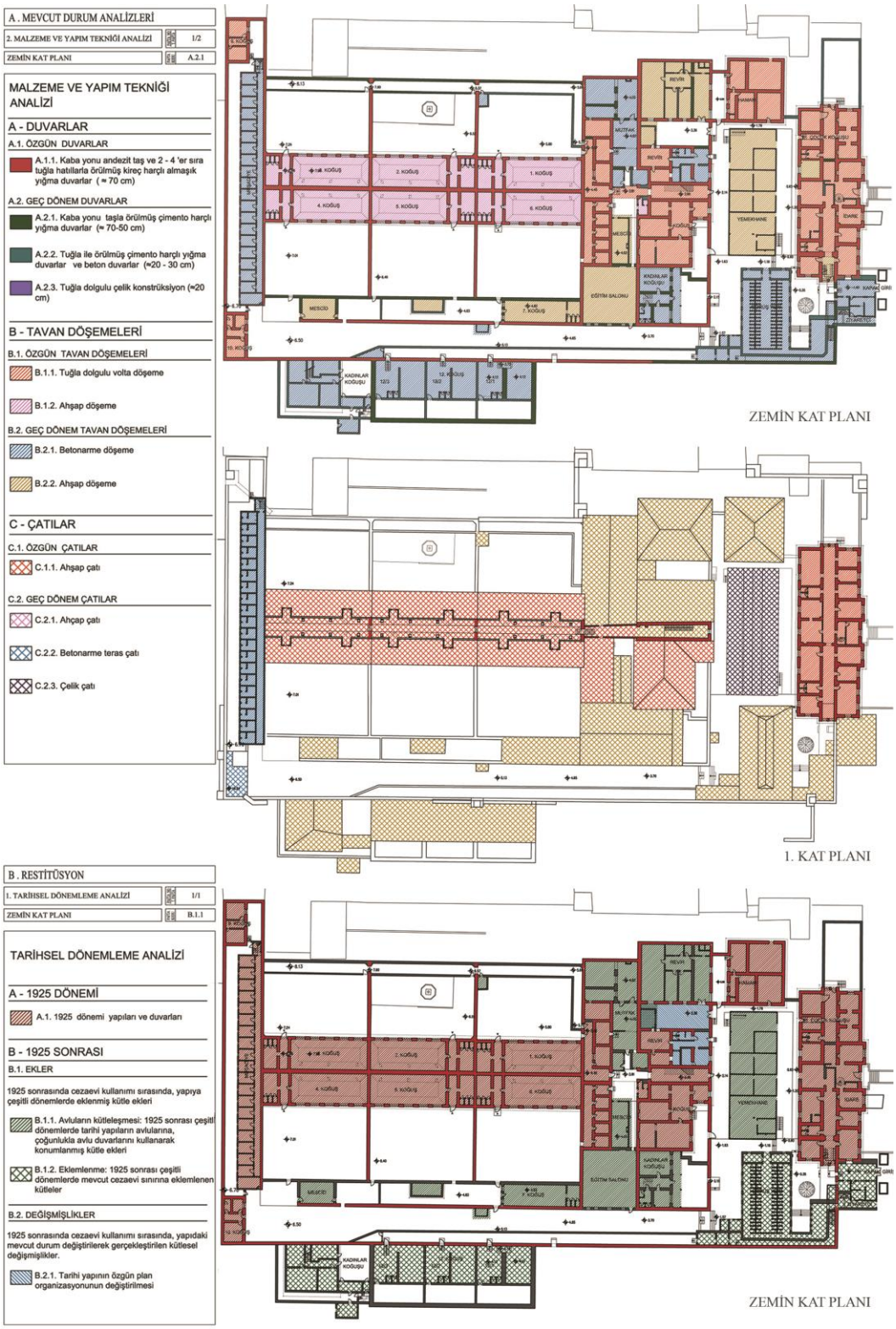


Figure4.25. Physical Fabric Analyses: Materials & Construction techniques on the top, historical periodization on the bottom (Prepared for U.R.I.P. from K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive).

4.1.2.2.1 The Service Zone

To begin with describing the service zone of the prison, the refectory (*yemekhane*) building (Fig. 4.13,No.5) stood right behind the administration building (Fig. 4.26.). It was a two-storey steel construction that had been lately added to the complex, probably at the beginning of 1990s and almost filled the previously open area surrounded/enveloped by bath building (Fig. 4.13,No.6) to the east, infirmary building (Fig. 4.13,No.8) to the north, visitation building (No.4) to the west and the administration building to the south (Fig. 4.13,No.3). It has been revealed that unlike the refectory building, the bath and infirmary buildings are the original components of the historical prison complex of 1925 (Fig. 4.25.). This conclusion was deduced from their classical architectural elements with pointed arches and jambs and the construction technique of their masonry walls with alternating stone and brick.



Figure4.26. The refectory building (*yemekhane*) (K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive, taken by Altındağ Municipality).

In the north of refectory building, stood the most crowded and compact part of the complex consisting of many adjoining structures with tiny open spaces between them. This part was at the same time the most changed area in the plan scheme of the historic prison.

In the middle of the south wall of this cluster (looking across the refectory building) was a classical monumental entrance façade with arched openings, covered with a hipped-roof having a wide wooden eave. The depressed arched

entrance at the center of the façade led to a hallway located at the symmetrical axis of the complex along the north-south direction. As pointed out in the restitution study of the prison[102] (Fig. 4.11.), this hallway was the central spine of the historic complex as the axis of both inner circulation and surveillance (Fig. 4.28.). It originally not only linked the historic wards of the complex (Fig. 4.13,No. 13-18) in the north with the service zone in the south on the ground level, but also provided access to the surveillance corridor in the attic of the wards via the staircase located in it. This surveillance corridor was designed for the wardens to watch the inmates in their wards through the openings on the ceiling. However, due to the ruptures in the original circulation by new walls added over the years, the hallway, in 2006 was providing a relatively direct access only to the east half of the historic wards (Fig. 4.13,No.13-15), namely *1. Kısım* (1st Section) and was the sole link between them and the south rest of the complex. On the other hand, the access from the hallway to the west half of the historic wards, namely *2. Kısım* (2nd Section), had turned into a labyrinth-like path, where the circulation flow was constantly interrupted by walls.



Figure4.27. The infirmary (*revir*), (K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive).

To the east of the entrance façade of the central historic hallway were situated the infirmary and its dormitory with a small enclosed courtyard in between them (Fig. 4.27.). This east wing was accessed via the entrance on the south wall facing the refectory building, first by entering the enclosed courtyard. To the west of the same façade two imprisonment wards with enclosed courtyards in front were located.

[102] U.R.I.P.

These wards were reached through their courtyards having independent entrances on the south wall. The ward to the west (Fig. 4.13,No.9) was specialized for criminal women prisoners.



Figure4.28. Historic spine hallway and surveillance corridor (K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive).

Before the corridors leading to the wards, the historic hallway opened to a tiny open-space, which was also dedicated to the service functions. This small inner courtyard evoked an intense ‘claustrophobic’ feeling not only due to the structures that enveloped it tightly but also due to the bridge over it (leading to the surveillance corridor in the attic of the ward complex from the historic hallway) (Fig. 4.29.). At the three corners of the space beneath the bridge (in the northeast, southeast and southwest) were located small shops used as buffet, cobbler and barber on occasion. To the east side of the courtyard was the kitchen (Fig. 4.13,No.12) and to the west side was the masjid (Fig. 4.13,No.25) together with the education hall (Fig. 4.13,No.10) reached through a passage beside the masjid.



Figure4.29. Inner courtyard (K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive).

From the northern wall of this inner service courtyard, the ‘service zone’ ended and the ‘Prisoners’ zone’ that included wards, cells and isolation chambers (*müşahede*) for the confinement of prisoners began.

4.1.2.2.2 The Prisoners’ Zone

The buildings for imprisonment were mainly to the north of the complex—excluding the aforementioned two wards (Fig. 4.13.,No.8-9) in the service zone and the children’s ward arranged in the administration building (Fig. 4.13.,No.3).

In order for the prisoners to reach the Prisoners’ zone from *Kapıaltı*, there were three main routes, through which they were led to their wards designated according for the crime they were convicted of (Fig. 4.30.).



Figure4.30. *Kapıaltı* and Visitors’ entrance (K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive).



Figure4.31. Visitors' chambers (K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive).

One of these routes has been arranged as a separate long and narrow hallway that leads via a tunnel from *Kapıaltı* directly to the ward *12. Koğuş*, attached to the west wall of the prison (Fig. 4.32.).



Figure4.32. The hallway and *12. Koğuş* (K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive).

In order to reach the wards inside the historic prison walls, the prisoners had to pass from *Kapıaltı* to the small courtyard with a tall poplar tree surrounded by visitation building (*Görüş Yapısı,* No.4). This courtyard could be identified as the most 'sacred' spot in the prison where the political executions of the dark periods of the military coup d'états of Turkish political history were held (Fig. 4.33.). And, those who were executed are in the living memory of generations, and still collectively mourned by the folks.



Figure4.33. The execution courtyard (K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive).

After the 'execution courtyard', there were two different routes leading to the wards since the zone of imprisonment was distinguished between two separate sections. While the east half of the historic wards (including *1. Koğuş, 2. Koğuş, 3. Koğuş*, Fig. 4.13.,No.13-15) constituted the 1st Section (*1. Kısım*), the west half of the historic wards (including *4. Koğuş, 5. Koğuş, 6. Koğuş*, Fig. 4.13.,No.16-18) together with the ward *7. Koğuş* (Fig. 4.13.,No.19) comprised the 2nd Section (*2. Kısım*).

The hallway like an alley parallel to the west wall of the prison was the common route to the wards in the 2nd Section (*2. Kısım*), which was also leading to isolation chambers (*müşahede*, Fig. 4.13.,No.24), the wards *9. Koğuş* and *10. Koğuş* (Fig. 4.34.). The alley, which ended with the *Hilton* ward (*10. Koğuş*) in the north, was humorously referred to as 'Menderes Boulevard' (*Menderes Bulvarı*) among the prisoners, probably as it was a known circulation path providing access to a large part of the prison. Finally, the wards in the 1st Section were reached through the aforementioned historic hallway in the infirmary (*revir*) building.



Figure4.34. *Menderes Bulvarı* (K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive).



Figure4.35. Isolation chambers and *9. Koğuş* (K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive).

This hallway opened to the inner service courtyard, on the north wall of which existed two entrances: The one to the east opened to the corridor leading to the east half of the historic wards (*1. Kısım: 1. Koğuş, 2. Koğuş, 3. Koğuş*) and the other to the west opened to the corridor leading to the west half of the historic wards (*2. Kısım: 4. Koğuş, 5. Koğuş, 6. Koğuş, 7. Koğuş*). While the eastbound corridor was the only route to the 1st Section (Fig. 4.36.), the corridor to the 2nd Section was a secondary access for this section in 2006, usually used by the wardens.

Both of these corridors with adjacent entrances have turned to opposite directions, passed in front of a series of spaces and reached to the ward complex. In the

westbound corridor, the small rectangular spaces lined up side by side were the dungeon-like ‘dark’ cells of the old prison (*Münferit*) where the prisoners were held alone and were totally sealed in 2006 not to be opened. As understood in the restitution study of the prison, the spaces in the eastbound corridor were also prison cells in the original layout, however have lost their original characteristics with the changes to fulfill the daily needs of the prison. Therefore, in 2006 one half was in use of the kitchen and the other half was used from the corridor as a room by wardens(Fig. 4.36.).



Figure4.36. Route to 1st Section of historic wards (K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive).

In the prisoners’ zone, the historic ward complex, which stretched along the north-south axis and consisted of six similar ward units with courtyards, was the most prominent ward structure containing the largest wards of the prison. It was composed of three consecutive pairs of wards, each of which was arranged symmetrically along the north-south axis. As pointed out in the restitution study of the prison, *7. Koğuş* with its courtyard was constructed as an additional ward building to the complex on the area divided from the courtyards of the west half of historic wards (Fig. 4.13.,No.16-18) by additional walls(Fig. 4.37.). The long narrow courtyard in front of the ward *7. Koğuş* was called ‘Şeftali Alley’ (*Şeftali Sokağı*) by the prisoners. In the courtyard of the ward *7. Koğuş* was a warden’s

checkpoint (Fig. 4.13.,No.26), and to the north of *7. Koğuş* was a masjid, which was also a later addition to the prison.



Figure4.37. *7. Koğuş* (K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive).



Figure4.38. *1. Koğuş* (K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive).

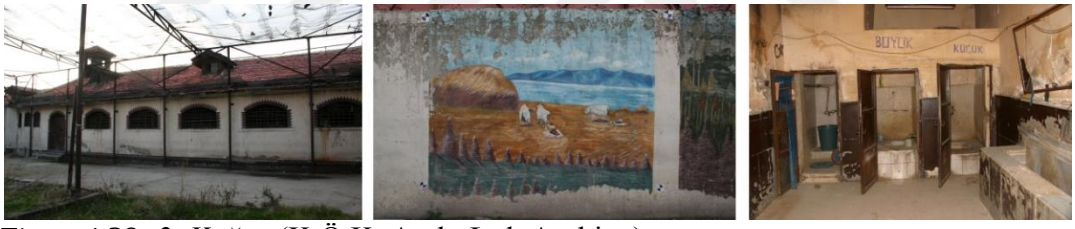
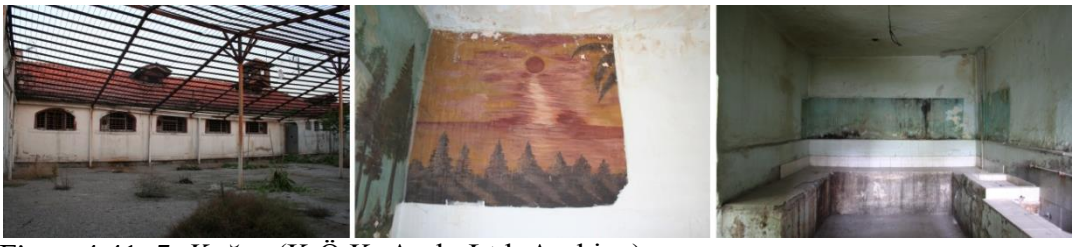


Figure4.39. *2. Koğuş* (K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive).



Figure4.40. *4. Koğuş* (K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive).


Figure4.41. *5. Koğuş* (K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive).

To the north of the historic wards the building with the isolation chambers (*müşahede*, Fig. 4.13.,No.24) were situated extending along the east-west direction. The ground floor of this elongated building, which ran parallel to the north wall of the prison, was understood to be a part of 1925 historic prison from its construction technique in masonry using stone and brick. However its first floor was a later addition constructed in reinforced concrete frame. In 2006, the ground floor, which contained the old cells for individual confinement was completely abandoned in disrepair as it had not been used for years.

To the west and east of isolation chambers were two small scale ward buildings, *9. Koğuş* and *10. Koğuş* (Fig. 4.13.,No. 20-21) located at the north corners of the prison complex. The ground floor plans of these two ward buildings were arranged symmetrically according to the same plan scheme, and both had similar architectural elements (i.e., jack arch slabs, arched-window openings) and construction technique in accord with the architectural peculiarities of the buildings belonged to the historical prison complex of 1925. Therefore, these two ward buildings were also understood to be one-storey masonry constructions involved in the original prison complex of 1925. Also, in the photographs taken in the years between 1925 and 1930, an onion domed surveillance tower could be seen on the terrace roof of both buildings.

The ward building at the west corner, *10. Koğuş*, was transformed into a two-storey structure with an upper floor and an exterior staircase addition. For years, it was

referred to as the *Hilton or Muhalif Hilton*[103] ward among the prisoners of Ulucanlar, as it accommodated important figures in the world of politics, art and literature. Its roof was used by the gendarmerie forces as a surveillance platform to watch the prisoners in the ward courtyards from above and could be reached by stairs from outside the walls of the prison.

The ward to the east, *9. Koğuş* largely preserved its original architectural mass, and the remains of the historic surveillance tower, which was used until the evacuation of the prison, survived on its roof. In 2006, the ward was reserved for the criminals convicted of the crimes related to radical Islamic organizations.

4.1.3 The Memory-Image of Ulucanlar Central Closed Prison Complex in 2006

Ulucanlar C. C. Prison, from a general perspective, had four main user groups corresponding to four main different lifeworlds within the prison: The first of these was the administrative staff along with the wardens, which constituted the 'authority' having power and control over the prisoners inside the prison walls. The second was the armed gendarmerie soldiers who, as 'the eye of the authority', were responsible for the security by performing constant surveillance over prisoners. The third and smallest group was the visitors, who were the relatives or friends of prisoners, taken into the prison complex on the days of the permitted prison visit. Finally, the fourth and largest group consisted of the prisoners.

Each group also had its own physical territory defined and separated by either physical/visible or legal/invisible boundaries. Therefore, the prison complex involved four main function/user areas for different lifeworlds. They were, respectively, the area of wardens, which included the entire prison complex, the area of gendarmerie force, which included the upper surveillance level comprising

[103] The ward *10. Koğuş* was named the *Hilton* ward, referring to the luxurious Hilton hotels, since it hosted, like a hotel, famous prisoners.

the surveillance towers and walkway platforms on the outside walls of the prison, the area of visitors, which consisted of the visitor entrance and the visitation building, and finally the prisoners' area, which had a two-stage use for prisoners consisting of the areas for confinement (like wards and isolation chambers) and the areas for service function that prisoners can use with restricted and controlled access.

The relation between these four main lifeworlds within a system of boundaries (including either physical confinement walls or legal user areas) constituted the basic relational context, which not only produced the functioning mechanism of the prison but also constructed its base 'memory' scheme common in its all remembrances. The physical elements of the prison that materialize this base scheme can be grouped as confinement elements and surveillance elements. Accordingly, both the confinement elements, that is, the confining walls, iron bars, the iron doors as passages between two restricted zones, and the surveillance elements, that is, surveillance towers, walkways and windows, constituted the common memory-images of the prison mechanism from a broader perspective.[104]

This section is intended to analyze the (re)collective memory of Ulucanlar C. C. Prison (within the social framework of former political prisoners) and see beyond the aforementioned base memory-scheme by crystallizing specialized memory-images in both physical and conceptual terms. From an architectural point of view, this study seeks to indicate particular localities or architectural elements having an invisible durational and symbolic gravity and to provide an insight for the assessment of Ulucanlar prison as a 'site of conscience'.

In order to depict and crystallize Ulucanlar C. C. Prison's living (re)collective memory (of 2006), prison recollections/memories—collected by two separate studies from a group of former prisoners, the majority of whom were male leftist

[104] The premise of the competition project *Conservatory Ulucanlar* was grounded on this base memory scheme, and the project aimed to sustain it as a way of preserving memory.

political prisoners[105]—were examined and analyzed in this study. As defined in the section 'A Proposed Framework for Conservation of Architectural Heritage as a Locus of Memory', memory-analyses were carried out in two reciprocal stages. The first stage involved identifying the collective duration of the site. The second contained transforming this duration into memory-schemes and memory-images. The visualization of (re)collective memory on the plan scheme is expected to provide a durational perspective for the spaces of the prison complex. This may, in turn, provide guidance in the processes of architectural conservation, interpretation, memorialization and museumisation of Ulucanlar C. C. Prison as a site of conscience.

4.1.3.1 Data: Source and Content

The main data of this study relied on the recordings of three-day long interviews made with a total of 17 former prisoners—16 political, 1 ordinary/judicial—in the oral history workshop organized in 2007 by the Chamber of Architects of Turkey Ankara Branch (TMMOB 2010), and the original transcriptions of the interviews conducted with 11 former prisoners—10 political, 1 ordinary/judicial—in 2014 by Tuğçe Aysu for her master's degree thesis, "Turning Ulucanlar Prison to Ulucanlar Prison Museum: The Politics of Creating a Memory Place" (Aysu 2015).

All of the former political prisoners out of 16—14 males and 2 females—who participated in the oral history workshop were leftists and identified themselves as

[105] From a Bergsonian point of view, *pure memory* of a heritage place can be conceptualized as the virtual/latent totality of past experiences lived in its lifeworlds. Therefore, a study in pursuit of portraying *collective/recollective memory* of a site of memory requires, in principle, to include and analyze the recollections of individuals from all lifeworlds as much as possible. However, sites of conscience as a 'difficult heritage' category differ from sites of memory. In sites of conscience, the memorialization processes are to focus on the victims of the past injustices occurred in that site rather than the executors of the authority who produced those injustices. So these processes rely on "a genuine consultation with those most affected by violence" (ICSC 2012, 3). In the case of Ulucanlar C. C. Prison, the political prisoners together with the child prisoners comprise the two groups most affected by the dark past of the prison.

‘socialists’ and ‘revolutionaries.’ All the interviewees of the workshop, including one ordinary/judicial prisoner, had stayed in Ulucanlar C. C. Prison in different times and for different time periods within the years between 1966 and 1986. In Aysu's study, one out of 10 male former political prisoners identified himself as a rightist. All of them, including one ordinary/judicial prisoner, had stayed in Ulucanlar C. C. Prison in different times and for different time periods within the years between 1982 and 2000.

All in all, memory-analyses were made relying on the memories of Ulucanlar’s witnesses, 26 political and 2 ordinary/judicial former prisoners in total. These memories shed light on varying themes, such as physical conditions, daily practices, and prison *racon*—as ways/order of living specific to the prison lifeworld—as well as the impact of the country politics on the prison atmosphere. Thus, they allowed the portrayal of the overall image of Ulucanlar C. C. Prison in the memory of former political prisoners from the mid-60s to the early 2000s.

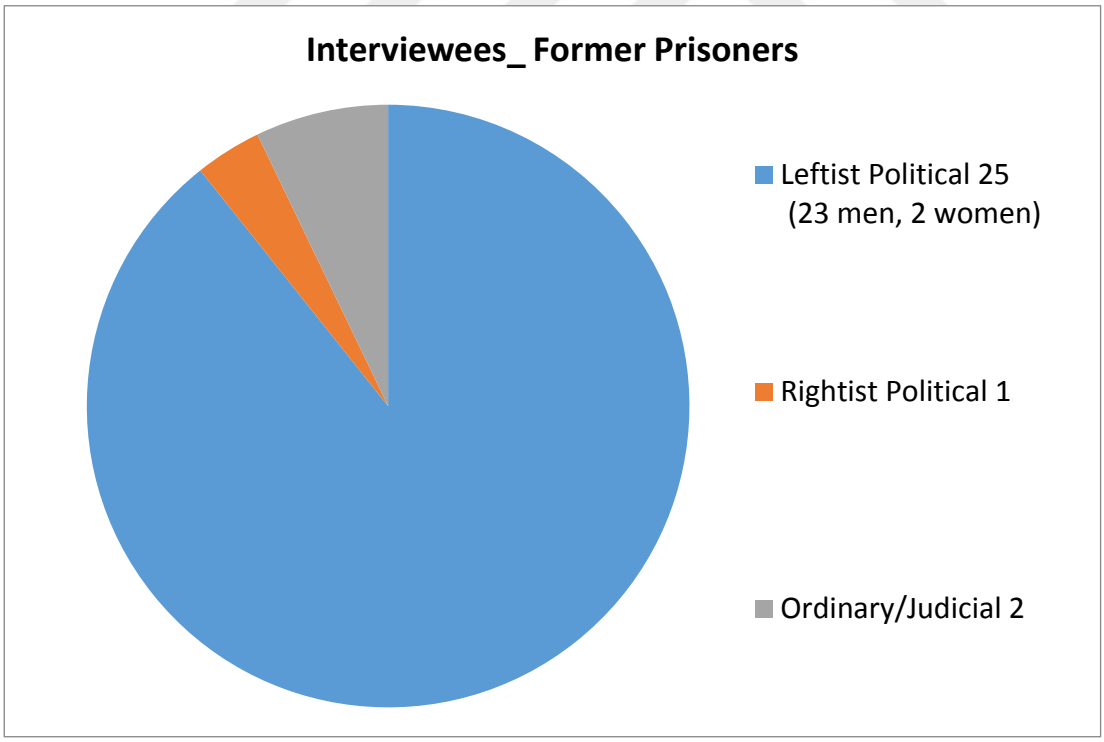


Figure4.42. Distribution of interviewees according to their imprisonment status.

Oral history study was conducted before the restoration and museumisation process of Ulucanlar C. C. Prison. This study was carried out physically in the wards of the prison by bringing together groups of former prisoners who simultaneously served time. It constituted a good example of the fact that memory unfolds better in the social and spatial framework that it belongs to, especially when the informants are given enough time for concentration and focus. Thus, the declarations collected in this study were able to contain detailed narratives and depictions on various themes, allowing to clearly capture the changes in the memory-schemes of the 1966-86 time period.

On the other hand, the one-on-one interviews in Aysu's study were conducted after the transformation of Ulucanlar C. C. Prison into a museum, and mostly included the opinions of the interviewees on the spaces and the content of 'Ulucanlar Prison Museum.' However, both from the answers given to Aysu's question "What do you remember from your time spent in Ulucanlar?" and from the in between lines of the museum evaluations could be inferred a framework for the recalled events as well as the meaning and perception of Ulucanlar for the interviewees from the 1982-2000 time period. The changes in memory-schemes for these years were nevertheless more ambiguous as these declarations were more superficial compared to those obtained in the oral history study.

4.1.3.2 Memory-Analyses

4.1.3.2.1 Method

Before the memory-analyses, a data-sheet was formed for each informant. In these sheets—which also contained brief personal information about the informant like name, social identity, political identity and imprisonment status, if available—the memory declarations were classified according to their temporal context. Some of

the informants had stayed in Ulucanlar C. C. Prison for more than once. Therefore, based on the 'individual duration'[106] of informants, the temporal context of declarations was primarily defined by the information on which stay of the informant these declarations belonged to (e.g., first stay, second stay etc.).

At first step, the types of memory declarations (belonging to 'declarative memory') were identified. Accordingly, the declarations were sorted into two main types, episodic memory (as the memory of personally experienced events in the prison) and semantic memory (as the memory of general or atemporal knowledge about the prison). Subsequently, under these two main types, the declarations were divided into two sub-groups according to the information they provided about the experienced events/past impressions, as generic/repetitive (GN) and particular (PR).

The generic/repetitive experiences or impressions (of the recollected period) were named as GN1, if they were about the informant's own social group; and as GN2, if they were about other groups in the prison. On the other hand, the recollections of particular events were named as PR1, if they belonged to the individual and his group; and as PR2, if they were the recollections of events publicly known via public information sources and so collectively recollected by larger groups. With this typology, it is intended to visualize the (re)collective memory of Ulucanlar C. C Prison on the plan scheme with different display techniques according to its types.

In the next step, *places accommodated* and *places and/or architectural elements mentioned* by the informants, the *themes* covered, and, if discerned, *memory-images*—as either objects or concepts/ideas—were filtered out from the content of these declarations. In the light of the inferences obtained from the theoretical study, the themes were grouped under three main categories: 1- Physicality, 2- Movement/Action and 3- Relations/Order.

[106] As defined in Section 2.4.1., individual duration refers to subjective perception of inner time.

Following the filling of data-sheets, the *collective duration* of the site was formed by examining the durational depth (which can be considered as an invisible dimension or distance in time stretching into the past) active in the consciousness of the group. This collective duration, as elaborated by Halbwachs who followed in Bergson's footsteps, not only constructs the present collective thought of the group but also constitutes the bond to connect the group to the site and provides, in Norberg-Schulz's terms (1979, 5), the *identification* of the group with the place.

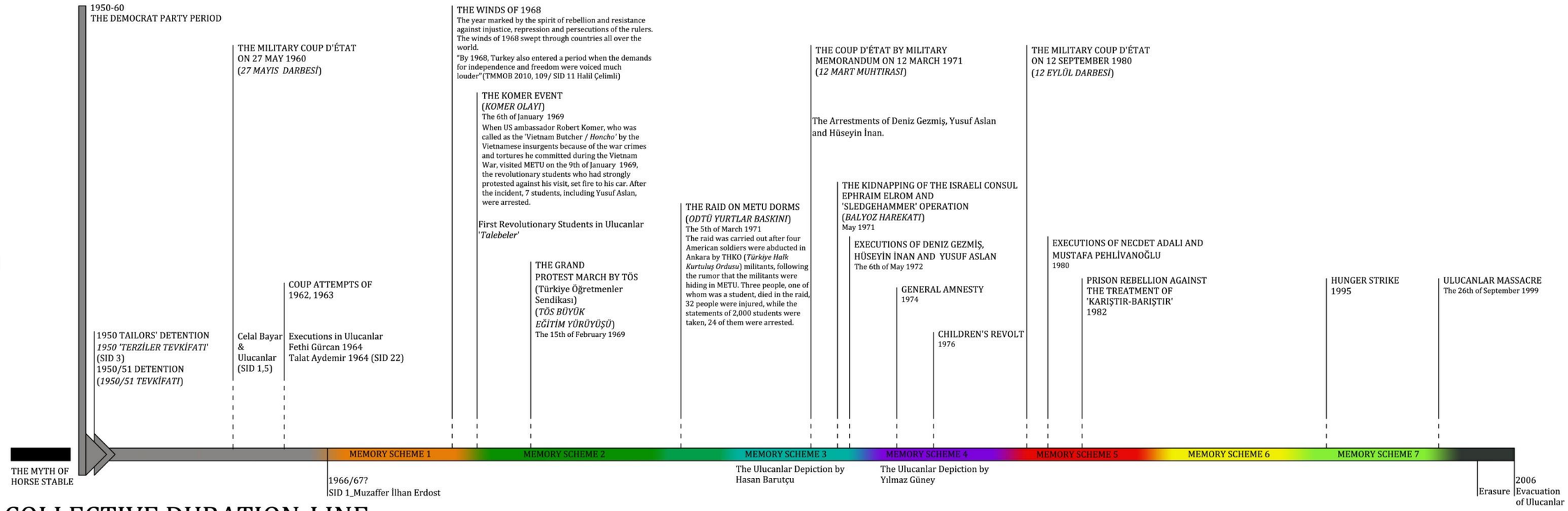
During the formation of the collective duration, former memory-schemes were discerned from the collected recollections and designated by colors and numbers.

In the line of thought of Bergson and Halbwachs, memory-scheme of a place may well be seen as having to do with how a place is recollected as a total phenomenon in a social framework. It sums up to an overall remembered perception/impression or 'idea' of a place within a social, spatial and temporal context, and has a dynamic nature in an ongoing change process. While it can be said that a memory-scheme is simply based on the 'relational context' within a place, this relational context is in itself a complex intertwined whole of social relations within and between groups, and of relationship between the group and the place (including time-space routines formed out of daily actions). This relational context even involves psychological components like feelings and emotions shared by the group members. The change in the memory-scheme usually proceeds in time and is not necessarily related to a major historic/political event or a significant visible change in physical fabric.

4.1.3.2.2 Collective Duration, Dynamic-Schemes and Memory-Images

Collective Duration

In consideration of all the collected declarations of the informant group, it was seen that collective duration of the prison extended back to '1950/51 Detentions' held by the Democrat Party Government as a wave of arrests, persecutions and incarcerations of left-wing political dissidents.



COLLECTIVE DURATION-LINE

Figure4.43. Collective duration of Ulucanlar C. C. Prison.

It has to be noted here in passing that, looking back from the 1950s, we encounter an oral narrative shared among prisoners regarding the period before the establishment of the prison. This narrative has it that buildings of the prison were used as a 'horse stable' before they were converted into a prison. The earliest written source referring to this myth of 'horse stable' is the 'Ankara Closed Prison Report' penned by Yılmaz Güney (1976) in the beginning of his novel named '*Soba, Pencere Camı ve İki Ekmek İstiyoruz* / Stove, Window Glass and Two Breads We Want.' However, given the historical and physical evidence, this narrative is more likely to be a transformed metaphoric depiction of the overcrowded and poor living conditions in Ulucanlar. Whether it is factual or not, the 'idea' or conceptual image of 'horse stable' is a strong collective representation of Ulucanlar C. C. Prison in oral tradition.

To proceed with the most distant past in the collective duration of the prison, the '1950/51 Detentions' were marked by the incarceration of prominent socialist political figures. The political detainees of Ulucanlar (recollected by the informants) were leading intellectuals, poets and folk poets—namely, Orhan Suda, Behice Boran, Ruhi Su, Enver Gökçe and Ahmet Arif. Except Behice Boran incarcerated in the political women's ward (*Siyasi Kadınlar Koğuşu*, Fig. 4.13., No.23), all detainees were known to be imprisoned in the ward *9. Koğuş* (Fig. 4.13., No. 20).

Other (semantic) declarations regarding the memory of Ulucanlar as a prison in the period between 1950 and mid-1960s were about the imprisonment of parliamentary deputy Osman Bölükbaşı in the ward *10. Koğuş* (Fig. 4.13., No. 21); the incarceration of veteran journalists of the Turkish press, Ahmet Emin Yalman and Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, because of their articles in opposition to the Democrat Party government; and lastly the anecdote, 'The Staircases of Celal Bayar'[107] narrated by

[107] To quote the anecdote from Muzaffer İlhan Erdost (SID 1), "It was a half built staircase on the right side, near the window. The upstairs room was being prepared for Celal Bayar [the former president who was incarcerated after the military coup d'état of 1960] and as the stairs were so steep, they thought he would not be able to climb them and decided to build an elevator instead.

Muzaffer İlhan Erdost (SID1), which is about the exterior staircase of the same ward, *10. Koğuş*. All in all, the wards *9. Koğuş*, *10. Koğuş* and Political Women's ward were the places of Ulucanlar C. C. Prison having the longest depth of duration in the collective memory of informant group.

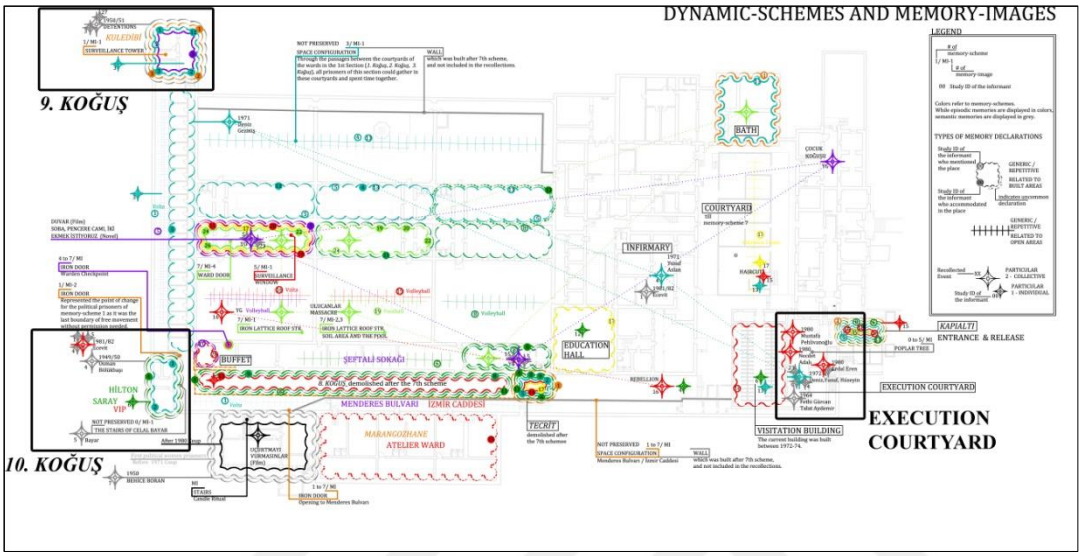


Figure4.44. The places of Ulucanlar C. C. Prison having the longest depth of duration in the collective memory of informant group.

As to the memory of Ulucanlar as an execution epicenter, it stretched back to the executions of coup plotters, Fethi Gürcan and Talat Aydemir, held in the execution courtyard in 1964.

From the period between 1950 and mid-1960s, there is no episodic memory included in the study since the earliest witness of Ulucanlar, Muzaffer İlhan Erdost as SID 1, had recollections of the period posterior to his first entry in 1966/67. Accordingly, there are no informative declarations about the prison life from this period, which was displayed in grey color in the collective duration-line. On the other hand, 'life' in Ulucanlar C. C. Prison from 1966/67 to 2004 (including physical conditions, daily routine and activities, order and relations) came to light

With the cancellation of his transfer to the prison, the dismantling of the staircase was cancelled halfway too" (İnandım 2020). This quotation is translated by the author. All direct quotations in this section are author's translations unless stated otherwise.

thanks to the episodic declarations of the informants. And, this period was displayed in different colors in reference to their designated memory-schemes[108] in the collective duration-line.

Before proceeding to memory-schemes, it has to be stated that as deduced from the declarations of all informants, the prisoners' lifeworld actually encompassed two separate lifeworlds having different physical and social environments. One of them was of female prisoners and the other was of male prisoners. As Ayten Canatan (SID 7) put it bluntly, "[w]omen's wards and men's wards are essentially different, and so they should be discussed under different categories. They present two different images of prison. Accordingly, apart from the physical environment, the issues also differentiate. It doesn't seem so likely to me to find a common ground between the two, other than being confined" (TMMOB 2010, 128). Within both of these separate lifeworlds, there were two main prisoner groups, political prisoners and judicial prisoners. Based on the collected declarations from 26 former male and 2 former female prisoners, the way/order of life of these prisoner groups in the men's wards was quiet different from each other even if they shared the same physical environment. On the other hand, the political and judicial prisoner groups in the women's ward were more merged and shared a common way/order of life.

Consequently, at the beginning of the study, three main social frameworks of memory were discerned in the informant group of former prisoners as male political prisoners, female political prisoners and male judicial prisoners. Nevertheless, as only two informants from each of the last two groups (2 female political and 2 judicial prisoners) were involved in the study, it was possible to detect the memory-schemes on a temporal continuum only within the social framework of male (leftist) political prisoners.

Given this framework, seven memory-schemes were designated in accordance with the changes in the remembered perception (recollection) of Ulucanlar C. C. Prison.

[108] As will be mentioned in the following pages, these schemes are from the perspective of former male leftist political prisoners.

This remembered perception depends on a total relational context affected by multiple factors, including the changes in the group's relation to the place (e.g., in group's physical environment, organized order of life, daily activities or in the development of familiarity and adaptation with the place), the changes in the relations between groups (e.g., in the physical environment and/or psychological atmosphere within judicial, rightist or leftist political prisoner groups) as well as the changes in the relations between the group and authority (e.g., in the dosage of restrictions and control, and the degree of repression or violence of the current authority over prisoners). While these changes may proceed in parallel with the outside political alterations, they may well emerge from the dynamics within the prison, independent of the outside factors (e.g., a new treatment plan for prisoners, the attitude of a new prison prosecutor, and a prison break attempt).

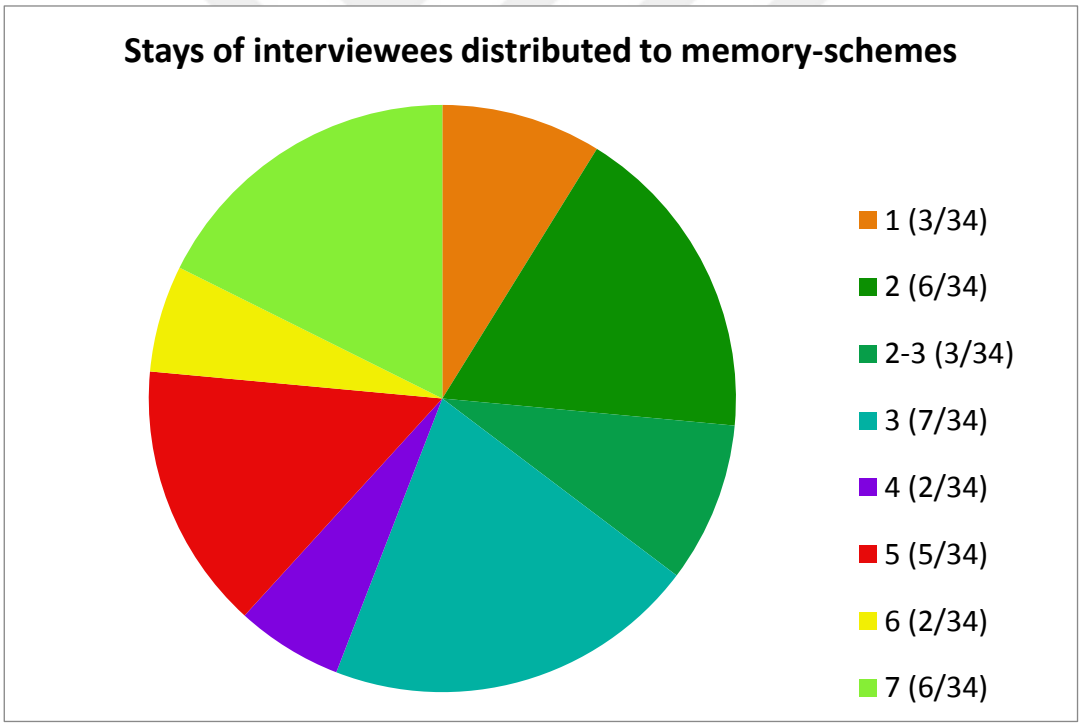


Figure4.45. Distribution of stays of interviewees according to designated memory-schemes.

As to clarify the memory-schemes of Ulucanlar C. C Prison[109], each scheme will be first outlined addressing the main aspects that characterize and distinguish it. Then, focusing on the architectural layout of the prison, specific places or elements identified as 'memory-images' will be covered throughout all schemes in pursuit of an overall understanding of dynamic memory of the prison over time.

Memory-Schemes: Distinguished Characteristics

In memory-scheme 1, Ulucanlar C. C Prison was portrayed as a continuation of its memory belonging to the period between 1950 and mid-1960s.

In this scheme covering roughly the years between 1966/67 and 1968/69, the political detainees consisted of left-wing intellectuals, publishers, journalists and/or writers, who were incarcerated on charge of socialist (Marxist-Leninist) publications; and they were few in number. As Oktay Etiman (SID 5) put it, "[in] the 60's, this [Ulucanlar] prison mainly housed judicial prisoners or patients from other provinces or those brought [temporarily] for their trials in Ankara" (TMMOB 2010, 114).

The political prisoners stayed together as a group in the ward *9· Koğuş*, which was specifically reserved for them. And in this scheme, the daily life was led individually rather than collectively within an organized group.

In memory-scheme 2, the social profile of the political prisoners in Ulucanlar C. C. Prison changed noticeably as groups of university students began to be put behind bars in parallel with the rise of the revolutionary youth movement in Turkey. These revolutionary students were called as '*Talebeler* / Schoolboys' among the judicial prisoners as well as the wardens.

To put in Oktay Etiman's (SID 5) words, "[i]n the period before the 12 March Memorandum, *talebeler* / schoolboys were arrested on grounds of either handing out political leaflets or resisting the police at a rally. They generally would stay for

[109] To stress once again, designated memory-schemes and images belong to the perspective of left-wing former political prisoners.

a week or ten days [in Ulucanlar]. This was the case as we approached 1970" (TMMOB 2010, 84). Those students from the outstanding universities located in Ankara (e.g., METU, *Mülkiye*, *Ziraat*, *Hacettepe*)[110] usually stayed in Ulucanlar in small groups (8 or 10 students at a time) and for short time periods. They were allocated to the wards *7. Koğuş*, *8. Koğuş* and *10. Koğuş*[111], and served time together with judicial prisoners in an overcrowded condition.

In this scheme covering the time frame from 1969 to 1970, the revolutionary students, as a newly emerged group of prisoners in Ulucanlar, started to get organized inside and outside the prison. Their needs, such as free legal support by lawyers, daily necessities like edible food and books to read etc., were met by the organization of Revolutionary Youth. They acted as an organized community inside the prison, too, and led a 'commune life/order' having its own rules, independent from non-political prisoners even if they shared the same wards with them. Therefore, they appeared to have constituted an alternative organized power in opposition to the prison authority, and this caused the authority to take a tolerant attitude towards them.

Their political stance against the injustices or violence exerted by the authority (against the judicial prisoners) earned them respect among other prisoners, too. To quote from a former judicial prisoner, Kemal Çeliker (SID 10) who witnessed the prison administration's refraining from an abuse of power in the presence of *Talebeler*, "…in time of *Talebeler*… they [authority] were holding back from them. Because in their presence, they couldn't do injustice, they wouldn't have a man beaten" (TMMOB 2010, 123).

Sinan Cemgil and Taylan Özgür, who stayed in the ward *10. Koğuş*, Aydın Karagözoğlu and Mustafa Kemal Çamkıran, who stayed in the ward *7. Koğuş* and

[110] The informants of this scheme were in majority from METU. For the sake of clarity, *Mülkiye* stands for Ankara University's Faculty of Political Sciences, *Ziraat* for Ankara University's Faculty of Agriculture, and *Hacettepe* for Hacettepe University.
[111] Ali Artun's stay (SID 12) in the ward *1. Koğuş* for three weeks stands as an exception since *1. Koğuş* is out of the wards identified with memory-scheme 1.

İrfan Uçar were the leading figures of the student youth movement in Ankara, remembered in this memory-scheme of Ulucanlar.

While the memory-scheme 2 can be regarded as the first phase of *Talebeler* in Ulucanlar C. C. Prison, it can also be recognized as the archetype of successive memory-schemes belonging to the leftist political prisoner group in Ulucanlar. The way/order of life organized in this scheme was transmitted from one scheme to another in years. Hüseyin Esentürk (SID 16 from memory-scheme 5) expose this continuity as follows: "…we thought that we did some things for the first time, however, [in the oral history workshop] it has turned out that they had a past" (TMMOB 2010, 162).

The memory-scheme 2, as the first phase of *Talabeler* in Ulucanlar, was marked by warm relations within prisoner groups and "no serious tension" between them was experienced. This is mainly because, as Ahmet Sönmez (SID 6) put it, "the right-left polarization did not emerge yet" (TMMOB 2010, 92).

The memory-scheme 3, on the other hand, can be taken as the second phase of *Talebeler* that covered the time frame just before and after the '1971 Coup' by memorandum issued on March, 12. Between the memory-scheme 2 and 3, there exist a noticeable transition period in which the student political prisoners constantly increased in number, developed their organization system in the prison and continued to stay in the wards of the 2nd Section (*2. Kısım*) of the prison, namely, *7. Koğuş*, *8. Koğuş*, together with *5. Koğuş* and *6. Koğuş*.

The memory-scheme 3 was a continuation of the memory-scheme 2 in terms of daily routines of the commune life of political prisoners in Ulucanlar. However, it was also identified with increased political violence both inside and outside the prison due to the ideological polarization at the national level. The non-violent student movements had in time transformed into armed resistance and violent struggles. The students as political prisoners of Ulucanlar were now convicted of serious crimes and exposed to heavier punishments in the prison (i.e., solitary confinement in the isolation cells).

While this scheme of Ulucanlar was associated physically with the wards in the 1st Section (*1., 2.* and *3. Koğuş*) where the leftist political prisoners were confined, it was historically marked by the arrestments of Deniz Gezmiş, Hüseyin İnan and Yusuf Aslan. It was thus characterized with the recollections of their time spent in Ulucanlar and their being hanged in the execution courtyard.

The memory-scheme 4, in the aftermath of the incarcerations and executions held by the post-coup government, was identified with the presence of rightist political prisoners in Ulucanlar. The prison was then divided into two ideological zones. While the leftist political prisoners were located in the 2nd Section, the rightist political prisoners stayed in the 1st Section. This was a time when the tension between these contending groups was at its peak.

A comprehensive depiction of the entire prison in this scheme was provided by Yılmaz Güney (1976) in 'Ankara Closed Prison Report' written as a prologue to his novel *Soba, Pencere Camı ve İki Ekmek İstiyoruz.* In this novel based on the lived experiences during his imprisonment in the ward 7. *Koğuş*, Güney disclosed the wrongdoing and abuses committed against the child prisoners of Ulucanlar by focusing on the events taking place in the children's ward, *4. Koğuş* (*Sübyan Koğuşu*). In particular, he reported the revolt of the child prisoners, which occurred in Ulucanlar, in 1976 with the demands of window glass, stove, firewood, two loaves of bread a day, a bath once a week, doctor, medicine, bed, and an end to the abuses of wardens (Güney 1978, 382-383). As a matter of fact, Güney was exiled from Ulucanlar to Kayseri Prison in 1976 for supporting children's revolt and making it known to the public.

The novel *Soba, Pencere Camı ve İki Ekmek İstiyoruz* of 1978 was, at the same time, a criticism of the then existing system that plunged the young children of the slums into an inevitable and brutal cycle of crime. With his novel, Güney, for the first time, addressed the oppressed and exploited children of Ulucanlar who stayed in wards *4. Koğuş* and *11. Koğuş*. Whereas, so Güney (1978, 382) wrote, while *11. Koğuş* (the ward arranged on the ground floor of administration building) was for

the children up to the age of 14, *4. Koğuş* was reserved for the prisoners from 14 to 18 years of age. As to his observations, these children were treated as 'slaves' and 'proletarians' of the prison since "all the burden and torment [of the prison] was on their shoulders" (355). Later in 1983, Güney adapted his novel to a screenplay, '*Duvar* / The Wall', which became a classic in the Turkish film historiography.

The memory scheme 4 was associated with Yılmaz Güney together with his ward *7. Koğuş* and his depiction of Ulucanlar (both in *Duvar* and in *Soba, Pencere Camı ve İki Ekmek İstiyoruz*) with a particular attention to the children's ward, *4. Koğuş*.

The memory-scheme 5 emerged in the aftermath of the 1980 military coup. It was characterized not only with the treatment of '*Karıştır-Barıştır* / Mix-Reconcile' but also with the rebellions and uprisings of the prisoners against this dysfunctional treatment.

In this scheme, the rightist and leftist political prisoners were forced to be confined to the same wards and/or cells. Even though these rival political groups had their own representatives to resolve the emerging disputes, it did not suffice to end the extremely tense and violent atmosphere in the political wards of Ulucanlar. There occurred so many fights, injuries and even deaths in the wards. Halil Çelimli (SID 11) defined the everdaylife in the political wards as living in a 'terrorized situation' adding that "it was not possible to sleep comfortably in the wards at that time" for this reason (TMMOB 2010, 128).

The informants of the study, from this scheme, declared three particular events that occurred in Ulucanlar C. C. Prison. These were the execution of Mustafa Pehlivanoğlu, the execution of Necdet Adalı and a prison rebellion took place in *Menderes Bulvarı* / *İzmir Caddesi*, against the treatment of 'Karıştır-Barıştır.'

The memory-scheme 6 was differentiated from memory-scheme 5 by the withdrawal of the treatment of 'Karıştır-Barıştır'. The political prisoners were once again held in separate wards according to their political identity, as an outcome of the rebellions.

From memory-schemes 5 to 7, the political prisoners in Ulucanlar were exposed to worse conditions in an incremental manner. There was an increase in the abuse of power by the authority and oppressive attitudes towards political prisoners.

Accordingly, memory-scheme 7 might be referred to as the darkest times of Ulucanlar C. C. Prison for the political prisoners started hunger strikes and death fastings as a form of resistance against the ongoing injustices and the building of F-type high security prisons.

On the 26th of September, 1999, the prisoners' boycott of the daily count due to the worsening living conditions of Ulucanlar ended up with the operation conducted by the state authorities. The operation has turned into a massacre, namely Ulucanlar Massacre, in which ten prisoners were killed and 78 wounded.

In the aftermath of the Ulucanlar Massacre, the political prisoners of Ulucanlar were transferred to new F type high security prisons. Thus, Ulucanlar C. C. Prison was completely reserved for judicial prisoners in the early 2000s.[112]

4.1.3.3 Memory-Image of Ulucanlar C. C. Prison: Evaluation

From all memory-declarations involved in the study, it is deduced that the memory of Ulucanlar C. C. Prison is conglomerated at three main thematic spots, each being an integral component of the fixed time-space routine of the prison system in almost all memory schemes.[113] These three locations also constituted the successive stations of the prisoner's entrance sequence to the prison. They were *Kapıaltı*, the entrance and release point of the prison, *Tecrit*, a.k.a. *Müteferika*, as the 3-day mandatory isolation place for prisoners before being sent to their permanent wards, and finally the incarceration area comprised of the ward and its restricted open area, where a prisoner would serve his sentence in Ulucanlar.

[112] SID 18 told that in the 2000s, there were hardly any political prisoners left in Ulucanlar.
[113] Only the informants of the 7th scheme did not refer to *Tecrit (Müteferrika)*.

Kapıaltı and *Tecrit* were two fixed places in the architectural layout of the prison. The incarceration area of political prisoners, however, could change in different memory-schemes. It must be noted here that the *Tecrit* structure did not exist in 2006 since it was already demolished in the early 2000s.

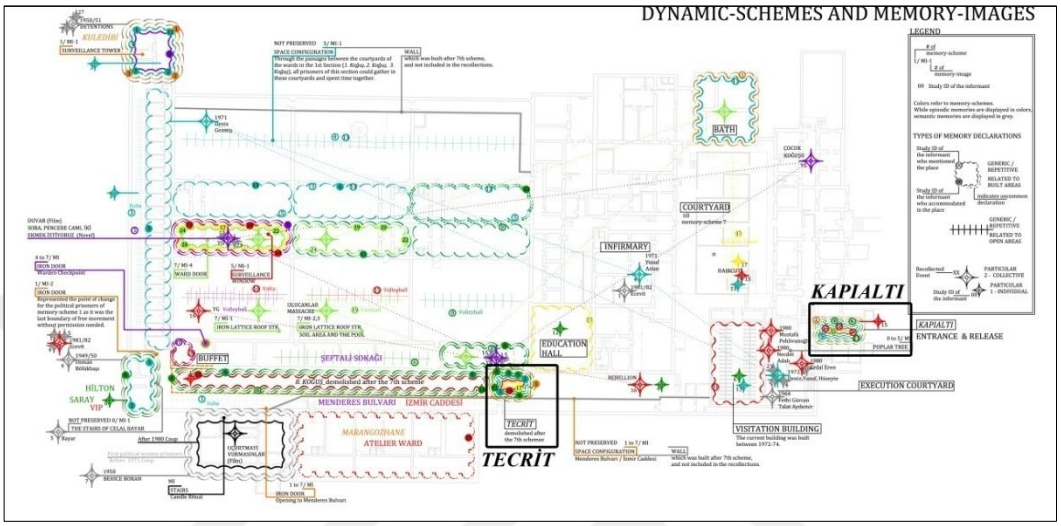
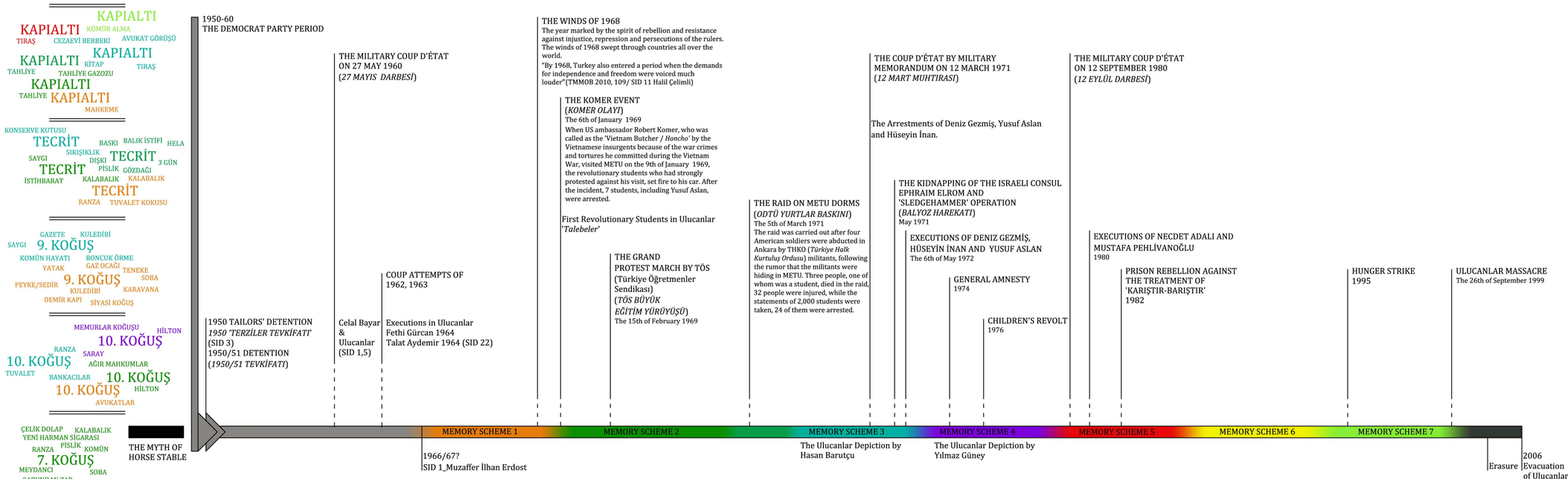


Figure4.46. The most intensified recollective memory spots in Ulucanlar C. C. Prison.



COLLECTIVE DURATION-LINE

DYNAMIC-SCHEMES AND MEMORY-IMAGES

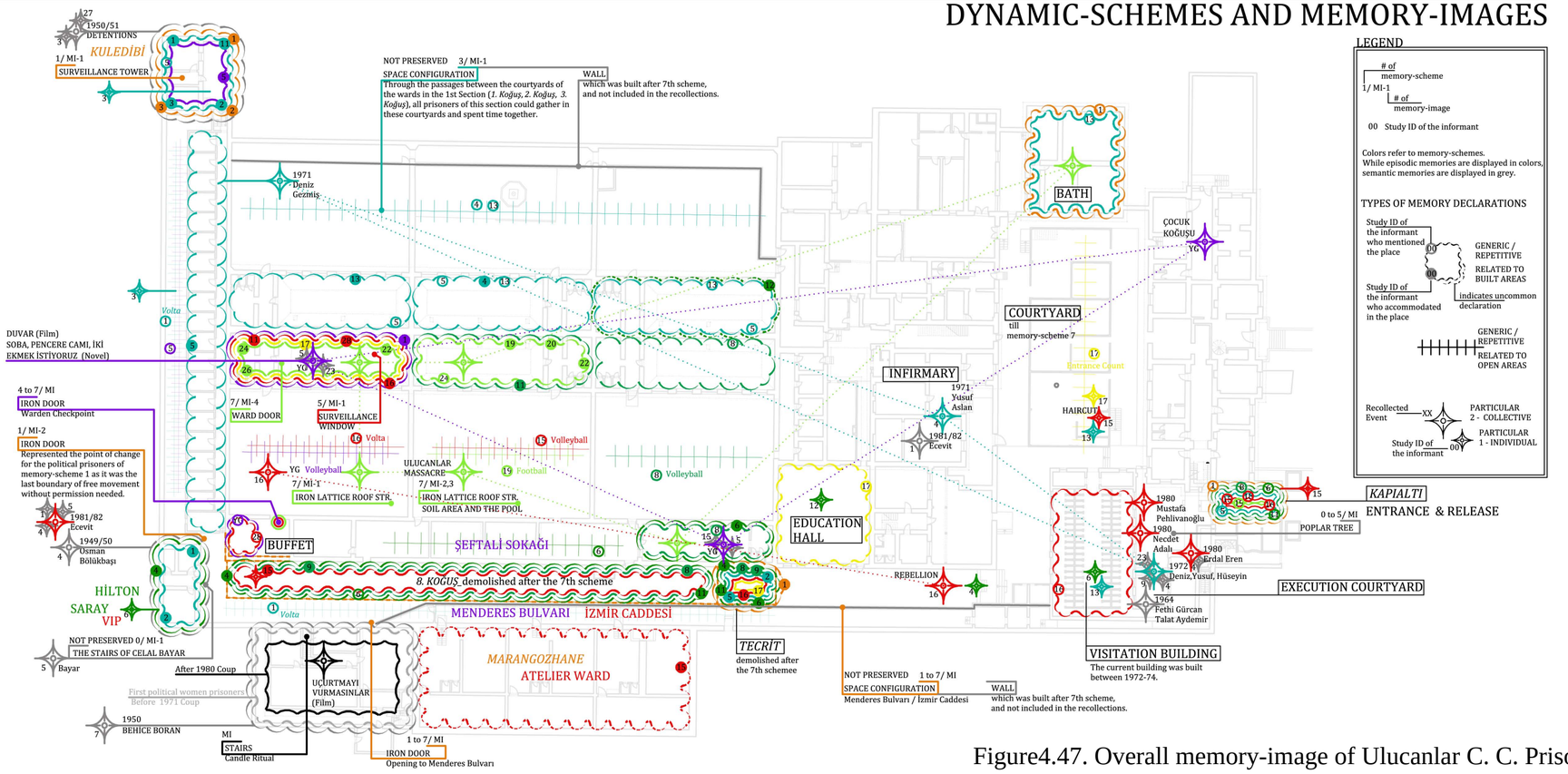


Figure4.47. Overall memory-image of Ulucanlar C. C. Prison.

At *Kapıaltı*, the prisoners were registered to the prison. The passage through *Kapıaltı* was opened to a new lifeworld, where the inmates had to leave most of their rights and freedom outside the prison walls. Yılmaz Güney (1976, 9) refers to this passage as the moment one turns from a human being to a 'prison property' and describes the execution courtyard (to which *Kapıaltı* opened) as follows: "[t]he newcomers were searched there. Your pockets were emptied, your belt was taken, and you were searched thoroughly. Your belongings, including your money, were confiscated if need be."

Kapıaltı (or sometimes the execution courtyard) was the place for the 'ceremonial' search of prisoners by a group of wardens, with accompanying verbal and physical violence. For especially young judicial prisoners, it was identified with a 'welcoming beating' (SID 14, TMMOB 2010, 145).

Tecrit (*Müteferrika*) was usually the second destination for the prisoners after *Kapıaltı*. The prisoners who passed through the execution courtyard were taken to the second courtyard of Ulucanlar located behind (to the north of) the administration building. There, the male prisoners were given a prison haircut. That is, their hair was almost totally shaved. In his recollection of hetting his own prison haircut, Hasan Barutçu (SID 13, TMMOB 2010, 138) in his recollection of getting his prison haircut depicted an example of the cases when a large number of detainees entered to the prison together. To paraphrase from him, the prison barber would make a strip of hair shave to everyone in order to make the entrance procedure less time consuming and also to force the prisoner to go to the prison barber and have a paid, proper shave later on. After the haircut, the prisoners were taken to *Tecrit* (*Müteferrika*).

Tecrit was an isolation ward where all new prisoners were kept for at least 3 days upon arrival in Ulucanlar. On paper, the aim of this procedure was to provide the prison administration with a necessary time to inspect the prisoner in detail before he was let into the common wards of the prison. In practice, however, it was deliberately arranged by the prison authority as a tool of intimidation and

repression on newcomers. As to his own recollection of *Tecrit*, Hüseyin Sünger (SID 8) explained it as follows: "We were brought into Ulucanlar, we were stuffed in *Tecrit* like a hoard of fish for 3 days. The rational purpose of the isolation was to determine whether a new comer had a contagious disease or something else, and if so he was to be separated, but in practice, that was not the purpose it served though. It was the administration's way of introducing the essence of prison life, all that challenge, oppression" (TMMOB 2010, 99).

Since *Tecrit* was "a place like a disaster" (SID 1, TMMOB 2010, 46), the days spent there were described as the worst days of imprisonment by almost all informants. It was a small, dirty, extremely overcrowded, stinky and stuffy ward.

Yılmaz Güney (1976, 10) portrayed *Tecrit* as follows;

> The isolation ward was a 3 by 7 meters fusty, dirty room with a 3 to 3 and a half meters height, where prisoners were kept generally for 3 days. The ward had a capacity of 16 people, with 8 bunk beds located side by side. At times, 70 to 80 people were stuffed up in this very ward, where they are made to share an extremely filthy toilet. As being devoid of basic human needs such as fresh air, hygiene, running water and filled with all sorts of pests like lice, fleas, cockroaches, bedbugs around, it served as a source of numerous contagious diseases. Even those who entered there in healthy conditions came out sick and daunted…
>
> Newly arrived prisoners got well acquainted with the repression and unfairness of the prison there. They witnessed the better handling of the privileged ones by the administration, seeing some taken to the regular wards instantly, skipping the time in the isolation, some not being forced to have a haircut…
>
> 3 or more days long isolation was the darkest times of the prisoners. Instead of the infirmary, those who were brought in to be hospitalized from other prisons were also kept in the isolation ward. The persecuted, injured ones were also at the mercy of the wardens.
>
> The ones in the isolation were just served stale bread and were not permitted to see anyone other than their lawyers. After the rough start in the prison life, the distribution process started. The prisoners felt relieved to be transferred to the wards…

From memory-scheme 2 to 5, as the informants noted several times, left-wing political prisoner group organized within the prison had enough influence over the wardens and the administration so that they could quickly get their friends out of *Tecrit* (SID 4, TMMOB 2010, 68). On a final note, although the *Tecrit* ward

physically stood in the architectural layout as seen in the photograph of 1997, the procedure of *Tecrit* was not mentioned only in the memory-scheme 7.[114]

After *Tecrit*, the third and usually permanent location of the prisoners was the incarceration area, encompassing the ward and its open area being used by the prisoners of that ward. As aforementioned, the incarceration area could change for political prisoners in different memory-schemes.

However, it was seen that the main alley leading to the wards of the 2nd Section (referred to as *Menderes Bulvarı* in the memory-schemes 1 to 5 or as *İzmir Caddesi* in the memory-schemes 5 to 7) was imprinted in all memory-schemes as a common memory-image. The space configuration of the alley with its elements, that is, the education hall, *Tecrit* and *8. Koğuş* on the right side, and 12. Koğuş (Atelier ward) and political women's ward opening to the alley on the left side was constantly pointed out by the informants from all schemes.

In memory-scheme 1, the ward *9. Koğuş* was reserved for the political prisoners, as it was the case in the period between 1950 and mid-1960s. The ward *9. Koğuş* was located at the farthest corner to northeast of the prison complex. Implying to the surveillance tower located above the ward, it was also called *Kuledibi* meaning 'under the tower'. Regarding the placing of political prisoners in the ward *9. Koğuş*, Vahap Erdoğdu (SID 2) says that "[t]he 9th ward was a prison itself within the prison. The ones to be punished in the prison were exclusively put there. Also the ones [from judicial prisoners] who had rivals inside were put there to be protected from hostile activity. This is why it was the ward with the most difficult conditions and reserved as a political ward" (TMMOB 2010, 54).

As an isolated ward long reserved for political prisoners, the ward *9. Koğuş* was itself a durational memory-image (for political prisoners) belonging to both memory-scheme 1 and the period preceding this scheme.

[114] It is not known whether this was due to the withdrawal of the procedure or because the events of this memory-scheme 7 overshadow those happened in *Tecrit*.

Except the ward *9. Koğuş*, the two physical memory-images referred to in the declarations of the informants were the surveillance tower above the ward and the iron door opening to the corridor between the wards *9.* and *10. Koğuş*. From the declarations it is also understood that these two memory-images had both haptic and emotional contact with the prisoners of the ward *9. Koğuş*. The historic tower, rising above the ward with an armed soldier standing on it, provided a constant feeling of surveillance among the prisoners with its shadow over the ward's courtyard. On the other hand, the iron door, next to the ward *10. Koğuş*, represented the point of change for political prisoners as it was the last boundary of free movement without permission needed. And, it repeatedly reminded them of the feeling of being confined with its opening sound heard every hour at the wardens' check time.[115]



Figure4.48. Vahap Erdoğdu, Süleyman Ege, Abdullah Nefes and Mete Dural in the courtyard of the ward *9. Koğuş*, in 1972 (TMMOB 2010, 82).

[115] During their watch, the wardens were tasked with winding the clocks at particular locations of the prison, as an indication that they controlled that particular area. One of these control clocks was near the ward *9. Koğuş*.



Figure4.49. Memory-scheme 1 and its architectural memory-images: 1.Surveillance tower (Muzaffer Erdost standing in front) (TMMOB 2010, 80). 2.Iron door (K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive).

In memory-scheme 2, revolutionary students as the political prisoners were located in the wards *7. Koğuş*, *8. Koğuş* and *10. Koğuş*. In these wards, they stayed together with judicial prisoners in an overcrowded condition. The informants of this scheme mostly stressed rather their way/order of life as a commune in the prison than the specific aspects of the physicality they were living in. Therefore, the outstanding memory-images of this scheme were rather conceptual than physical, and they might be outlined as 'solidarity' 'unity' and 'organization' within the group.

However, *8. Koğuş* was the most cited ward structure in the declarations of this scheme, and in a way emerged as a memory-image associated with the first revolutionary students in Ulucanlar, a.k.a. *Talebeler*. The ward *8. Koğuş* (together with *Tecrit*) was demolished in the early 2000s. As to the informants, it had a different plan organization than the single-volume ward spaces of Ulucanlar. It consisted of small juxtaposed rooms, each of which was opened to a long and narrow corridor.

Güney (1978, 339-340) portrayed the architecture of *8. Koğuş* as follows;

> The 8th ward had 10 cell-like rooms, all of which opened to a narrow corridor. The rooms number 4 and 8 had a capacity of 4 people, and the others 8. Those rooms with a capacity of 4 used to be solitary disciplinary cells, with a bathroom inside. The rooms with an 8 person capacity were made by demolishing the separating walls and joining two cells. The toilet holes were blocked up with concrete, the rooms were stuffy, damp and quite small for the inhabitants.

Figure4.50. The wards accommodated by political prisoners in memory-scheme 2 and photos of the ward *8. Koğuş* (photo 1 and 2, İnandım 2020; photo 3, TMMOB 2010, 80).

Memory-scheme 3 encompassed the recollections of the times when Deniz, Yusuf and Hüseyin were incarcerated in Ulucanlar. Therefore, the places carved in the minds of informants were about where the three were imprisoned or seen in the prison. For example, the infirmary (*revir*) building was mentioned only twice[116], one for its being the place where Yusuf was held after he was brought wounded to Ulucanlar. Similarly, *Müşahede* building (isolation chambers) was the place associated with Deniz since he was imprisoned there.

In this scheme, while the *9.* and *10. Koğuş* continued to be wards for political prisoners, the physical environment for young revolutionary prisoners (*Talebeler*) involved the wards *1.,2.* and *3. Koğuş*. The space configuration of the courtyards of these wards having passages between them formed a dominant memory-image that constructed the social interaction between prisoners during their days of imprisonment.

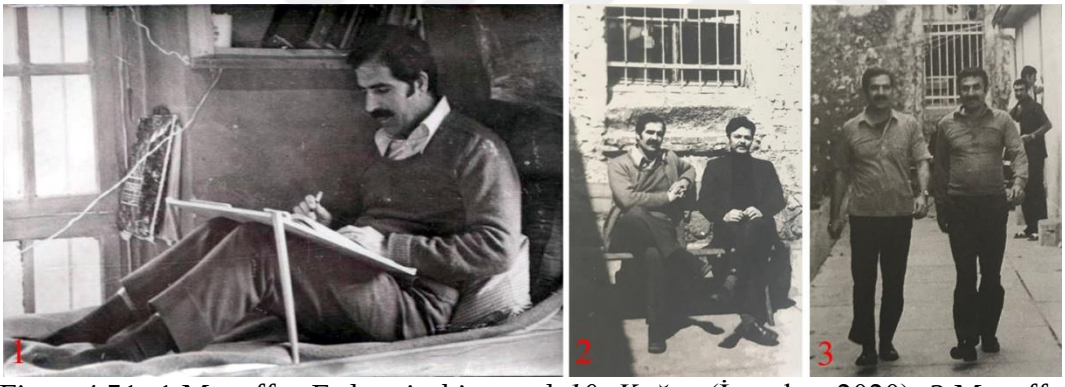


Figure4.51. 1.Muzaffer Erdost in his ward *10. Koğuş* (İnandım 2020). 2.Muzaffer Erdost with Muharrem Kılıç in front of the ward *10. Koğuş* (TMMOB 2010, 81). 3.Muzaffer and İlhan Erdost pacing in front of the ward *10. Koğuş* along Menderes Boulevard (81).

While narrating his days in Ulucanlar, Tuncay Çelen (SID 4) alluded to this additional wall: "[t]hose walls did not exist here. The courtyards of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd wards were united and prisoners of those three wards were able to meet. We had

[116] Former judicial prisoner, Kemal Çeliker (SID 10) also mentioned infirmary as "the ward for the deputies and magnates" (TMMOB 2010, 124).

a very spacious courtyard for ventilation. The doors were opened in the morning and closed at 5 p.m. after counting" (TMMOB 2010, 69).

The ward *10. Koğuş*, both in memory-scheme 2 and 3, was used to house political prisoners. However, in all semantic declarations of Ulucanlar, it was described as a ward reserved for deputies, civil servants and bureaucrats, and accordingly called *Hilton* or *Saray* / Palace. To put in Güney's (1978) words, the *10. Koğuş* was "the ward of the prison bureaucracy" (355). After the *10. Koğuş* came the infirmary (*revir*) as 'the ward for the deputies and magnates' in Ulucanlar[117] (SID 10, TMMOB 2010, 124).

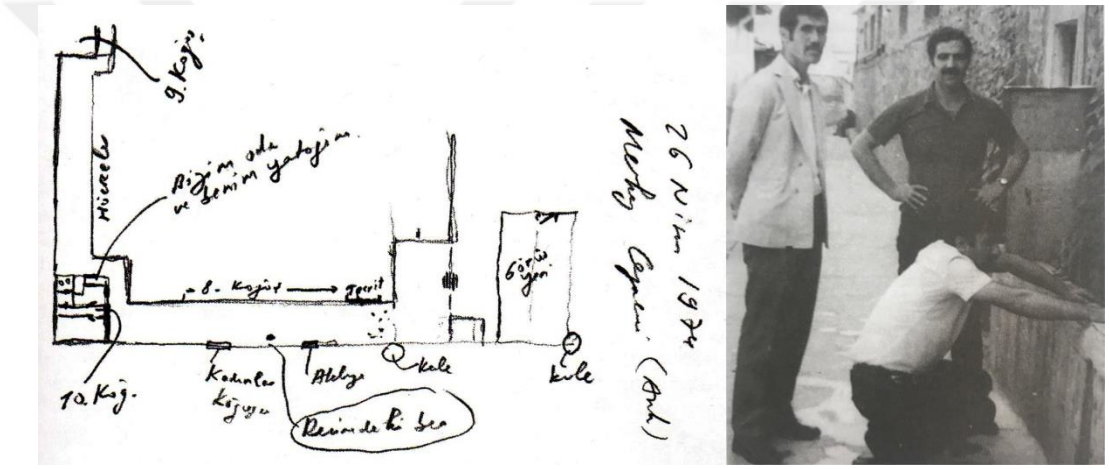


Figure4.52. Muzaffer Erdost's sketch indicating his location (TMMOB 2010, 79) when the photo on the right was taken (TMMOB 2010, 80).

Memory-scheme 4 may well be named 'The Ulucanlar of Yılmaz Güney'. Although there are only two informants of this scheme in the study, we have a detailed depiction of Ulucanlar C. C. Prison in terms of physical and living conditions, thanks to Güney. Two main issues emphasized by him can be summarized as the inhumane physical conditions of the wards in Ulucanlar Prison and the exploitation of child prisoners in the prison system. The historic wards

[117] The ward *10. Koğuş* was commonly referred to as the ward where former president Celal Bayar and former prime minister Bülent Ecevit stayed. However, as to some other declarations, neither of them stayed there. To some, Celal Bayar was not brought to Ulucanlar at all, and to other, Ecevit was actually hosted in the infirmary (*revir*) ward.

named as '*Tabutluk* / Coffin' were overcrowded, dirty and also in a state of disrepair and squalor, having glassless windows and leaking roofs.

To quote from Güney (1978, 11-12) for an overall depiction of the wards of Ulucanlar;

> The prison mainly consisted of six sections:
>
> A- The 1st section comprised of the wards *1., 2.* and *3. Koğuş* together with the isolation cells called *Münferit*
>
> B- The 2nd section comprised of the wards *4., 5., 6., 7. and 8. Koğuş* together with *Tecrit*
>
> C- The ward *11. Koğuş* reserved for children up to 14 years old
>
> D- Infirmary (*revir*)
>
> E- The back of the prison where located the wards *9.* and *10. Koğuş* and *Müşahede* (isolation chambers)
>
> F- And women's ward
>
> Other than the isolation chambers, infirmary and women's wards, the prison wards had bunk beds with an approximately 550 person capacity. The ward *3. Koğuş* was closed due to an ongoing renovation and we, as some hundred people were forced to sleep packed like sardines.
>
> Under given circumstances, the ward 9. *Koğuş* of 12 people capacity was closed. The ward *10. Koğuş* of 12 people capacity was kept as *masjid*, even if it was renovated with the money from the prisoners.
>
> The wards *1., 2., 3., 4., 5.* and *6. Koğuş* had a capacity of 70 people but generally was roomed by up to 130 to 150 people. Prisoners slept over the steel cabinets, even there was an high risk of falling and getting injured, as it was preferable to sleeping on the concrete.
>
> 130 to 150 people struggled to live in this 3 by 7 meters room…We didn't have running water for days, the toilets got clogged frequently. As that many people, we were only given couple of cookers…
>
> In our wards, lice, fleas, cockroaches, bedbugs, rats were in abundance. We were often scanned for lice and those with lice were scolded or even got beaten. It is prohibited to be infected with lice when we were living in a sea of them. We desperately befriended all those pests, shared our food with them.
>
> Our wards were damp, filthy, stuffy all year long….The roofs were not in good shape, basins and bowls were put under the dripping places…The lights were never switched off, we got used to that.
>
> On snowy days, the roofs, the yards, the tracks were shoveled by youngsters, devoid of proper clothing, under the swearing and beating of the wardens.

> In those big wards, there was a single heating stove that hardly worked. The wood and coal we were given was never enough to heat up the place.
>
> Some of the windows didn't have glass, we tried to cover them with newspapers, cardboards and clothes. Being cold and shivering were regular practice.

As mentioned earlier, in this scheme, left-wing political prisoners were located in the 2nd Section of the prison together with the ward *9. Koğuş*. However, the ward *7. Koğuş* where Güney stayed, and the ward *4. Koğuş* where child prisoners and revolutionaries were held, were the two mostly recalled places of Ulucanlar from this scheme. Additionaly, the ward *11. Koğuş*, reserved for kids under the age of 14 was mentioned for the first time by Güney in the memory-scheme 4.

Furthermore, in his novel, Güney's depiction of the protagonist Mustafa's entrance to Ulucanlar prison draws attention to four points concerning the architectural layout of Ulucanlar in this scheme. These are; the sequence of the route from *Kapıaltı* to *4. Koğuş*, the architectural description of the second courtyard as a garden, the depiction of the life in Şeftali Street, and finally the door of the courtyard of the *4. Koğuş*.

First, Mustafa was taken to his ward *4. Koğuş* from *Kapıaltı*, passing through successively, the execution courtyard (without any mention of visitation building), the garden behind administration building (to which *11. Koğuş* was opened), the historic hallway, the courtyard of the ward *6. Koğuş*, Şeftali Street and finally, the door of *4. Koğuş*. If Güney's narrative is considered together with Muzaffer İlhan Erdost's (SID 1) recollection of his entrance, it is understood that in this scheme the inner route (through central historic hallway) was used to take prisoners to their wards in the 2nd Section. However in all other schemes, Menderes Boulevard / İzmir Street was signified as the main route for prisoners to access the 2nd Section.

Second, the garden (in place of which stood the refectory structure in 2006) was depicted as a large pleasant area with trees, benches and a small ornamental pool, and where the prisoners had their hair cut.

Third, Şeftali Street, the main circulation route between wards, was expressed as a bustling lively crowded street with a buffet (selling the 'famous' prison sodas) at its northern end.

Finally, the courtyard door of the ward *4. Koğuş*, was controlled by a warden and the prisoners of *4. Koğuş* were not allowed to pass without permission.

Beginning from memory-scheme 4 to 7, the leftist political prisoners of Ulucanlar were held in the ward *4. Koğuş*.[118] As seen in the 7th scheme, the ward 5. *Koğuş* was as well reserved for political prisoners. Accordingly, the relatively fresh memories of Ulucanlar C. C. Prison as a site of conscience were densely conglomerated in these two wards.

It was seen that the courtyard door of the ward *4. Koğuş* as a warden checkpoint turned into a memory-image among political prisoners, beginning form memory-scheme 4. On the other hand, the iron lattice roof structures covering the courtyards of the wards *4.* and *5. Koğuş*, which were constructed after a prison break executed in the beginning of the 1990s, were the most-referred-to architectural elements from memory-scheme 7. These roof structures as an obstacle standing between the prisoner and his limited sky, were the embodiment of a severe punishment for prisoners, and memory-images of 7th memory-scheme. The other recalled architectural elements from this scheme, were the pool and soil area with trees in the courtyard of the ward *5. Koğuş*. Apart from the physical boundaries, like walls and iron bars that reminded the prisoners of being inside and confined, the elements of nature, like soil, sky and trees reminded them of being outside and free, and thus had a particular mnemonic and emotional significance for prisoners.[119]

[118] Bülent Tanık (SID 15, from memory-scheme 5) mentioned that during his imprisonment, he first stayed in the Atelier ward (*12. Koğuş*), then transferred to the ward *8. Koğuş*. Nevertheless, according to Tanık, neither of these wards was thoroughly referred to as 'political wards' at that time (TMMOB 2010, 160).

[119] To note here, while roof coverings were demolished in the process of the preparation of restoration projects, the courtyard of the ward 5. Koğuş was covered with concrete after memory-scheme 7.

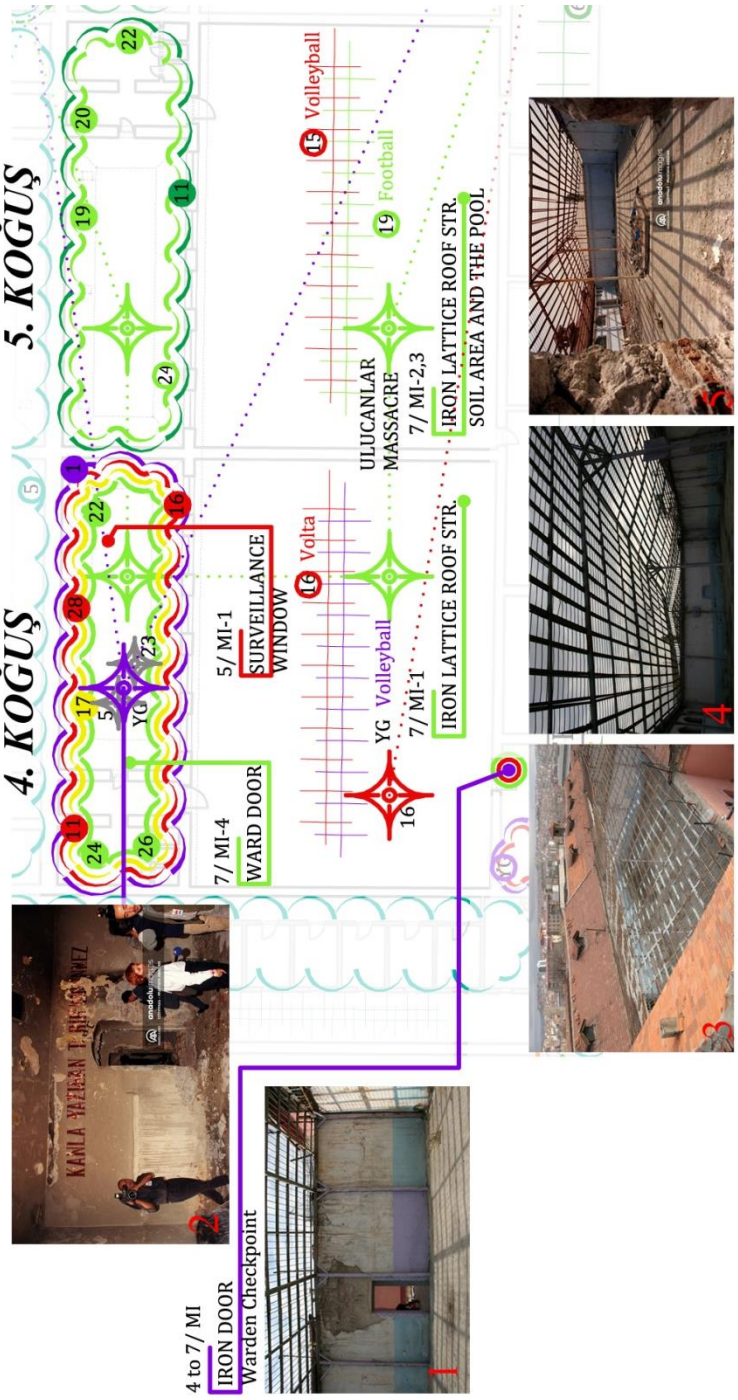


Figure4.53. Memory-scheme 7 and its architectural memory-images: 1.Courtyard door. 2.Ward door with the inscription above. 3. and 4.Iron lattice roof structures. 5.The pool in the courtyard, (photo 1, 3 and 4 are from K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive; photo 2 and 5 are from Anadolu Images and taken right after the massacre in 1999).

Finally, the places, where prisoners were killed and wounded during Ulucanlar Massacre, were addressed by the informants as the wards, *4.*, *5.* and *7. Koğuş* and *hamam*.

As for the daily routine and activities of the prisoners in the Ulucanlar Prison, since the wards were always so overcrowded, the prisoners spent their time in the courtyards from the morning when the doors were opened until the evening when the wards were closed with a daily count. In almost every memory-scheme, the life in the courtyards was depicted in the same way. Prisoners spent their days pacing and stringing beads making them into rosaries, purses and pouches, in the yards. The act of pacing in the prison yards was called *volta* and was unique to the prison lifeworld with its own rules. As Ahmet Sönmez (SID 6) put it,

> *Volta* has a unique order to itself. No one party interferes with the *volta* of the other and this is a reinforcing practice in regards to respect and morale. *Volta* is typically made by 2 people, if it is a party of 3 then it has its own specific way. The longest possible track from the longest possible courtyard is chosen and the walking is done in a thread-like order. The one who starts the *volta* also determines the pace. When I was here, there were people who had been serving for some 20 years and people who had just arrived couple of days ago. Needless to say, seniority came with its perks.

(TMMOB 2010, 117)

Prisoners also played volleyball and football in the courtyards.

Regarding the use of open areas, it was seen that the open area of the 1st Section (comprised of the yards of the wards *1.*,*2.* and *3. Koğuş*) was used by all prisoners of this section as a unified open area. On the other hand, the courtyards of the wards in the 2nd Section were divided into parts, each of which was used by one or more specific wards. However the order of use changed from time to time.



Figure4.54. Aerial photograph Ulucanlar C. C. Prison taken in 1997 (Archives of the Ministry of Justice).

In the aftermath of Ulucanlar massacre (that is, following the end of memory-scheme 7), within a couple of years, the generic 'image' of the prison in the memories seemed to have changed drastically: *Tecrit* and *8. Koğuş* were demolished. The ward *12. Koğuş* was detached from the main alley, *Menderes Bulvarı*, by an additional wall that provided an independent hallway with access to the ward. In a similar way, the door of the women's ward opening to *Menderes Bulvarı* was closed with a wall and the entrance to the ward was arranged independently from the outside of the prison. All traces of the massacre on the walls of the wards *4.*, *5.* and *7. Koğuş*, including writings and bullet marks were covered up. In the same period, as would be deduced from the 1997 aerial photograph, the passages between the courtyards of the wards in the 1st Section were also closed along with other changes in the layout of the prison and an additional wall was built in order to form a corridor reaching to each courtyard independently. Whether purposely or not, this was a process of gradual degradation

of so many memory-images associated with the prison, and so a period of memory erasure for Ulucanlar C. C. Prison.

4.2 Transformation Process of Ulucanlar C. C. Prison to Ulucanlar Prison Museum, Cultural and Art Center

4.2.1 The Initial Approach: From a Heterotopia to an Urban Utopia, 'The Competition Project *Conservatory Ulucanlar*'[120]

The Conservatory Ulucanlar Concept Project was the 1st prize winner in the graduate category of the architectural competition organized by the Chamber of Architects of Turkey Ankara Branch for developing ideas on the transformation of Ulucanlar Central Prison into the future relying on the evaluation of the past and the building stock characteristics of the prison.

The competition project process constituted the initial phase in which not only the first questions about the contradictory challenge regarding the conservation of the prison as a difficult heritage site were raised, but also the preliminary approach to guide and make the conservation decisions of the restoration implementation project for Ulucanlar Central Closed Prison was developed.

Besides being a monumental representation of the prison architecture in the Early Republican Period, the Ulucanlar prison complex, has been signified during its 81 years of lifetime as the scene of many state-led persecutions of political opponents regarded as a 'black mark' on the name of Turkish democracy and has turned into a symbolic image of the struggle for democracy in the collective memory of the folks in Turkey. It has constituted a particular example of modern architectural heritage

[120] In this section, written and visual documents/materials, produced by the project team have been utilized with the permission of project team members; Figen Kıvılcım Çorakbaş and Gürem Fahriye Özbayar Sargın.

and a ‘site of conscience’—as being both a ‘site of memory’ and a ‘difficult heritage’ site at the same time. Accordingly, the impulse to conserve the prison for the future was derived from, in Nora’s terms (1989, 19), ‘the will to remember’ its intangible content, that is, from its memory-value, in addition to the historic documentary and architectural values embedded in its physicality.

Considering the intangible and tangible values integrated within the prison, reflecting on its transformation into the future has brought about a contradictory situation demanding answers to two challenging questions about;

1- How to transform the prison, which is a ‘dark’ site of traumatic memories of the past, into a hopeful living place for the society and how to convert the negativity associated with it into the positivity for the future while sustaining its memory-value together with the architectural and historic documentary values it has.
2- How to sustain the intangible dimension of a ‘site of memory’ via architectural solutions.

The main approach of the Conservatory Ulucanlar project set by the project team has been to associate the intangible values of the prison with its functioning mechanism rather than its physicality as a whole, and to sustain the ‘memory’ of the prison through reconstructing the components that produced its ‘negative’ previous punishment-oriented mechanism in a new ‘positive’ way.

In line with this approach, first, the functioning mechanism of the prison was construed and deconstructed into the concepts that produced it, and then, the physical associations of these concepts were designated so as to be retained and yet reconstructed in a new ‘positive’ way by somewhat reversing their existential purpose. On the other hand, regarding the architectural and historic documentary values they possessed, the buildings remained from the historic prison complex of 1925 were retained and reserved to be restored for the future use of the complex (on the basis of the intervention decisions made through a detailed implementation project depending on the international principles of conservation).

The preparation process of the competition project gave us a basic understanding of the prison in terms of its both tangible and intangible aspects, yet drawing on a limited research due to the restricted time frame.

The information on the properties of the physical fabric of the prison was based on the technical report and the sketch plan prepared by the Chamber together with the visual examinations done during a daily site visit arranged for the contestants. On the other hand, with the aim to understand the intangible memorial content of the prison, a basic research was conducted based on information gathered from the public information sources like media articles, news in newspapers and online media, and the remarkable events, which took place in the prison and deeply embedded in the collective memory of the masses, were put on a timeline.

In the light of these information (on tangible and intangible content), a basic overall analysis of the prison complex was prepared; The buildings remained form the historical complex of 1925 having architectural and historic documentary value,[121] and the buildings served for the imprisonment function having intangible value were mapped and the location of the remarkable events, which were designated and put on the timeline were marked in the plan scheme of the prison with reference to the periods when they occurred.[122]

[121] It should be added here that due to the limited research and data (in the lack of a detailed documentation phase involving the analyses related to physical fabric and a restitution study along with an historical research yet) all remaining components of the historic complex could not have been identified at that time, as was later revealed in the restoration project of the prison.

[122] To note, the timeline of the remembered events related to the prison at the social level and its transference into a schematic representation on the plan layout may be seen as primitive intuitive attempts/models for the proposed memory-analyses for ‘sites of memory’, that are, ‘collective duration of the site’ and ‘dynamic scheme and memory-images’, however, both of which, as aforementioned, should in practice be an output of a much more comprehensive data comprised of memories which were gathered both in ‘collected memory’ and ‘collective memory’ approaches of Olick.

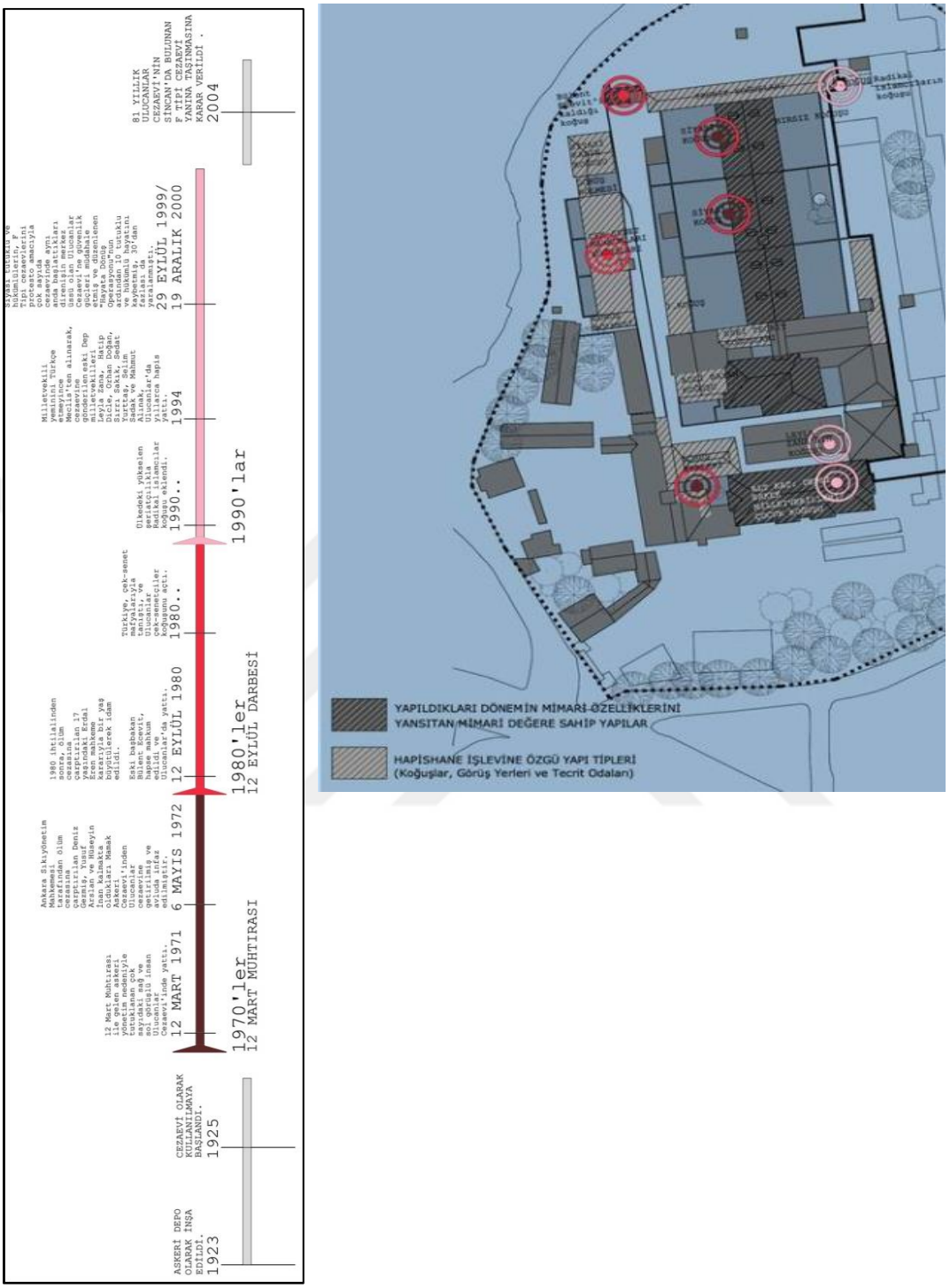


Figure4.55. Basic analyses regarding tangible and intangible significance (Prepared for C.P.C.U.).

Further, the functioning mechanism of the prison was conceptually construed and three concepts, which produce and characterize this mechanism, were identified together with their physical associations within the prison. The first was the 'out of context' position of the prison in both conceptual and physical terms. The second was the concept of 'border/boundary', since the confinement mechanism consisted of multilayered networks of both visible and invisible boundaries. And, the third was 'the see/being seen dyad' as in the panoptic system of surveillance, described by Foucault ([1975] 1995).

To be **out of context** can be taken as a common characteristic of prison buildings which are deliberately designed to be unrelated to their immediate surroundings and the larger city. Similarly, Ulucanlar Central Closed Prison, which was decided in the 1924-1925 Lörcher plan to be built on the edge of the settlements and the social life, has been an isolated and independent complex from its environment since its establishment.

The **border** of prison buildings is commonly fixed and unchanging, while the border of the city is flexible and changeable over the years. In the case of Ulucanlar C. C. Prison, the surrounding walls of the prison complex have constituted one of the most impenetrable borders in the city. And inside these walls, the confinement mechanism of the prison has been produced by multilayered networks of boundaries that resulted in fragmented spaces connected with a discontinuous circulation as in the form of a labyrinth.

The system of boundaries in Ulucanlar prison was composed of two types; the visible physical boundaries and the invisible legal boundaries. The physical impenetrable boundaries of incarceration were the walls of the wards, the walls of the ward courtyards, the walls of isolation chambers/cells and the walls separating the visitor and the prisoner in the visitation chambers. On the other hand, there were four main function areas for different lifeworlds, which were separated by legal boundaries; these were the area of gendarmerie, the area of visitors, the area

of wardens and the area for the prisoners. Unlike other zones, the prisoners' area had a two-stage use for prisoners consisting of the areas for confinement like wards and isolation chambers and the areas for service function that prisoners can use with restricted and controlled access.



Figure4.56. Legal user areas on the right, physical confinement walls on the left (Prepared for C.P.C.U.).

Finally, **'the see/being seen dyad'** used for the anonymous surveillance of the prisoners is vital component of the functioning mechanism of the prison. As Foucault ([1975] 1995) pointed out in his explanation of the *Panopticon,*[123], 'the see/being seen dyad' in the panoptic surveillance turns the prison structure to a mechanism that "automatizes and disindividualizes power" (202) and creates "a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power" (201), as an apparatus of punishment and discipline. In Ulucanlar

[123] *Panopticon*, allegedly designed by the British social theorist Jeremy Bentham in the 18th century, is an architectural structure which conducts anonymous surveillance on inmates to maintain the unceasing practice of discipline on them through its design.

Central prison the panoptic surveillance of the prisoners was carried out from the surveillance corridor built in the attic of the historic ward complex, used by the wardens and from the surveillance towers used by the gendarmerie. 'The see/being seen dyad' resulted in the formation of two separate levels in the prison mechanism; one was the upper level for the observers, which were either gendarmerie force or the wardens, the other was the ground level for the observed prisoners.

In the project for the transformation of Ulucanlar Prison, it was decided to sustain these three concepts that produce the prison's functioning mechanism have been decided to be sustained. Accordingly, the overall decisions taken were as follows;

1- The historic buildings of architectural value are to be preserved and restored,
2- The walls constituted the system of boundaries for fulfilling the confinement function of the prison and the zones belonging to different lifeworlds are to be retained,
3- The two levels for the observer and the observed that fulfill 'the see/being seen dyad' are to be sustained.

In this respect, the functional scheme of the project traced the characteristic lifeworld zones of the prison and replicated their relational context. The area, which was open to the visitors of the prisoners was reserved as a park and designed as an urban space open to the use of the community in the surrounding residential quarters. The upper level used by the wardens and the gendarmerie for surveillance in the old prison was reserved for an upper structure used for the exhibition function. Through this upper structure, both the scheme of the old prison, which can be observed from above, and its memorial past were presented. The service area of the prison was reserved for the cultural facilities to be used by the nearby neighborhood. Finally, the confinement area of the old prison has been reserved to be utilized as a conservatory complex by art students.

In addition, the project aimed at the memorialization of the dark past of the prison through reconstructing the associations of these concepts in a new ‘positive’ way by conceptually and/or physically reversing their existential purpose in order to convert the place of dark memories to a hopeful living place for the society;



Figure4.57. 3D view of the complex (Prepared for C.P.C.U.).

Out of Context Vs. Within the context: The ‘out of context’ position of the prison was reversed by re-situating the prison in the ‘urban context’ by establishing visual and physical connections with the surrounding residential fabric, the historical city center, Ankara Castle and the new city.

Four different types of relations were established with Ankara Castle and the Historical City Center:

1- The physical connection established with the historical fabric in the immediate vicinity by proposing walking routes in the city,
2- The unique view of the castle viewed from the exhibition spaces and the visual connection established with the city through urban vistas
3- Symbolic connection with the city through the kites flown from the Kite Park
4- Connection with the whole city through a radio station named Radio Ulucanlar.

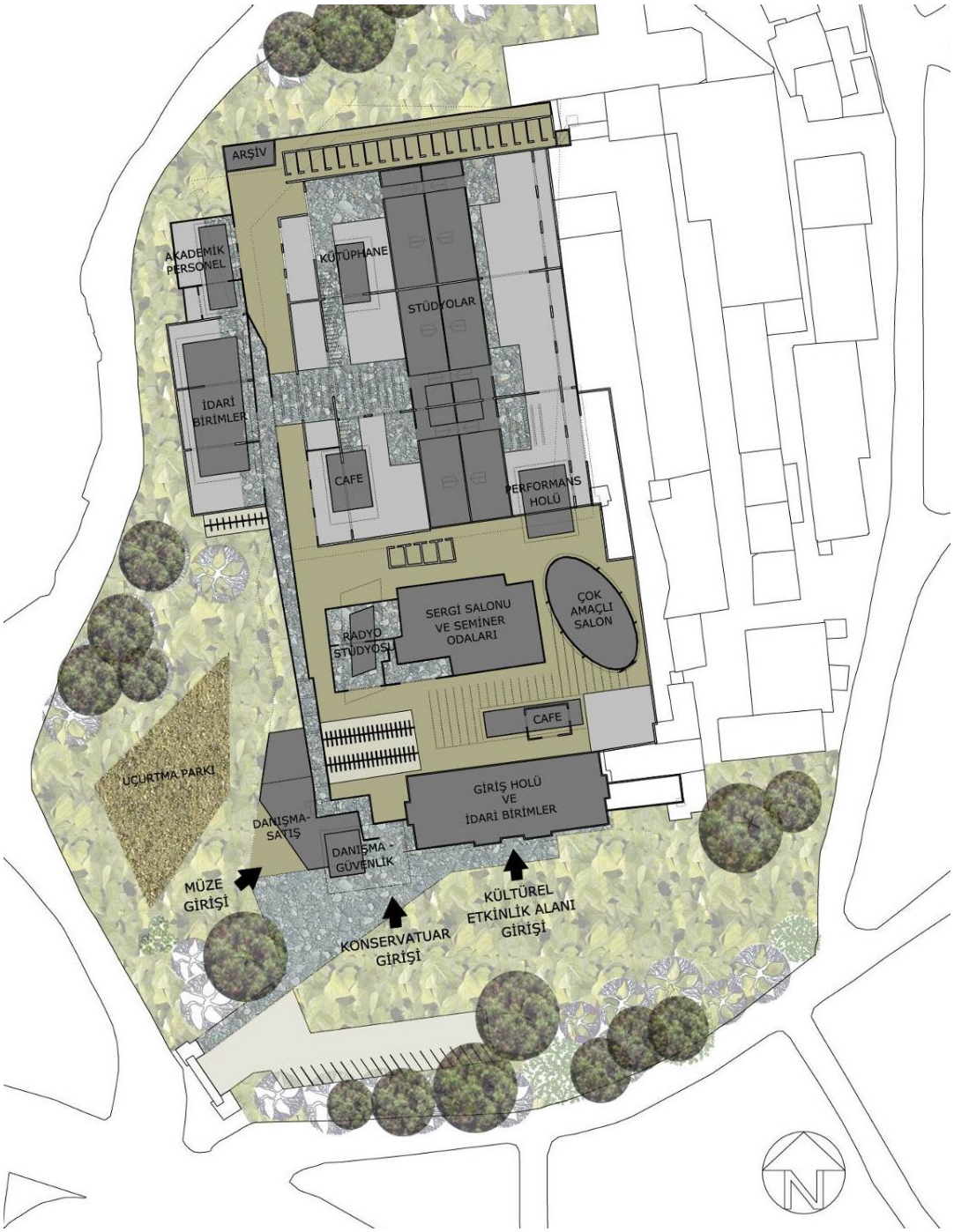


Figure4.58. Ground floor plan of *Conservatory Ulucanlar* (Prepared for C.P.C.U.).

W/Borders Vs. W/o Borders: The border walls of the old prison were retained in the complex. Yet, their restricting function was eliminated and their impermeable nature was reversed by opening gaps on them to provide permeability at the ground level. New structures added to the complex were deliberately placed in such a way to pass through these walls by ignoring their existence; however from the upper structure these walls could still be observed, which evoked the fragmented confinement scheme of the old prison.

The See/Being Seen Dyad: This dyad of the prison mechanism has been sustained by being reconstructed between the museum in the upper structure and the conservatory at the ground level. Yet, the 'negative' punishment function of 'the see/being seen dyad' has been reversed with the 'positive' will of the art produced in the conservatory to be seen.

Exhibiting the prison from the observer's level was at the same time a symbolic representation of the fact that anyone except for the ones experienced the trauma of the prison is always at the position of the observer. Finally the execution courtyard was left quite and dehumanized as a symbol of mourning for the lost ones.



Figure4.59. 3D views of *Conservatory Ulucanlar* (Prepared for C.P.C.U.).

4.2.2 Ulucanlar C. C. Prison Restoration Project: Historical Value Vs. Memory-Value

The process of preparing the restoration projects of Ulucanlar C. C. Prison was marked by the competing dynamics between the historical value and memory-value of the prison complex. On one hand, the Regional Council (of Ankara for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property) had a certain preliminary position supporting to return to the original architectural design of the historic complex of 1925 by cleaning out the later additions. On the other hand, the Chamber of Architects (of Turkey Ankara Branch) and the project team (assigned to prepare the approved restoration projects of the prison, K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd.) supported the preservation of certain 'non-original' structures imprinted on memories, regarding the complex as a place of memory, and more specifically, as a 'site of conscience.'

Before the process of the preparation of restoration projects of Ulucanlar C. C. Prison was given a start on the 12th of June 2008, the Regional Council had already decreed (with Decree-Date.16/05/2008 and Decree-No. 3142) the demolition of the gendarmerie structures on the prison lot, the refectory building (*yemekhane*) and the political women's ward. The demolition decree for refectory and gendarmerie shacks was given by the Council on the grounds that "the demolition of the unregistered additional buildings, outbuildings, barracks and cottages that were built later, will reveal the original texture and character of the registered structures." Besides, the political women's ward was decided to be teared down as its corner crossed the renewed border of the prison parcel. The demolition of the political women's ward together with gendarmerie structures were carried out by Altındağ Municipality in July 2008.

From June to August of 2008, a preliminary project was prepared by K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. (with the main conservation decisions for the transformation of Ulucanlar C. C. Prison to Ulucanlar Prison museum, cultural and art center) and submitted to the approval of the Regional Council.

The preliminary project followed the main approach of the completion project *Conservatory Ulucanlar* by emphasizing the imprisonment mechanism of the prison together with the elements that constructed it (i.e., the system of boundaries referring to function/user areas and physical boundaries of incarceration—such as the walls of the wards, the walls of the ward courtyards, the walls of isolation chambers/cells and the walls separating the visitor and the prisoner in the visitation chambers—and 'the see/being seen dyad').

In the *Conservatory Ulucanlar* project, the representative elements/communicators of imprisonment mechanism were symbolically retained in the pursuit of transforming the prison into a new milieu of life for the future, which intend to memorialize the past at the same time. On the other hand, in the preliminary project commissioned to transform Ulucanlar C. C. Prison into a 'prison musem', was decided to preserve all the places where people were confined and bordered (i.e., wards, isolation chambers/cells, visitation chambers) regardless of their construction periods or architectural features and let these places exhibit themselves and the life in prison.

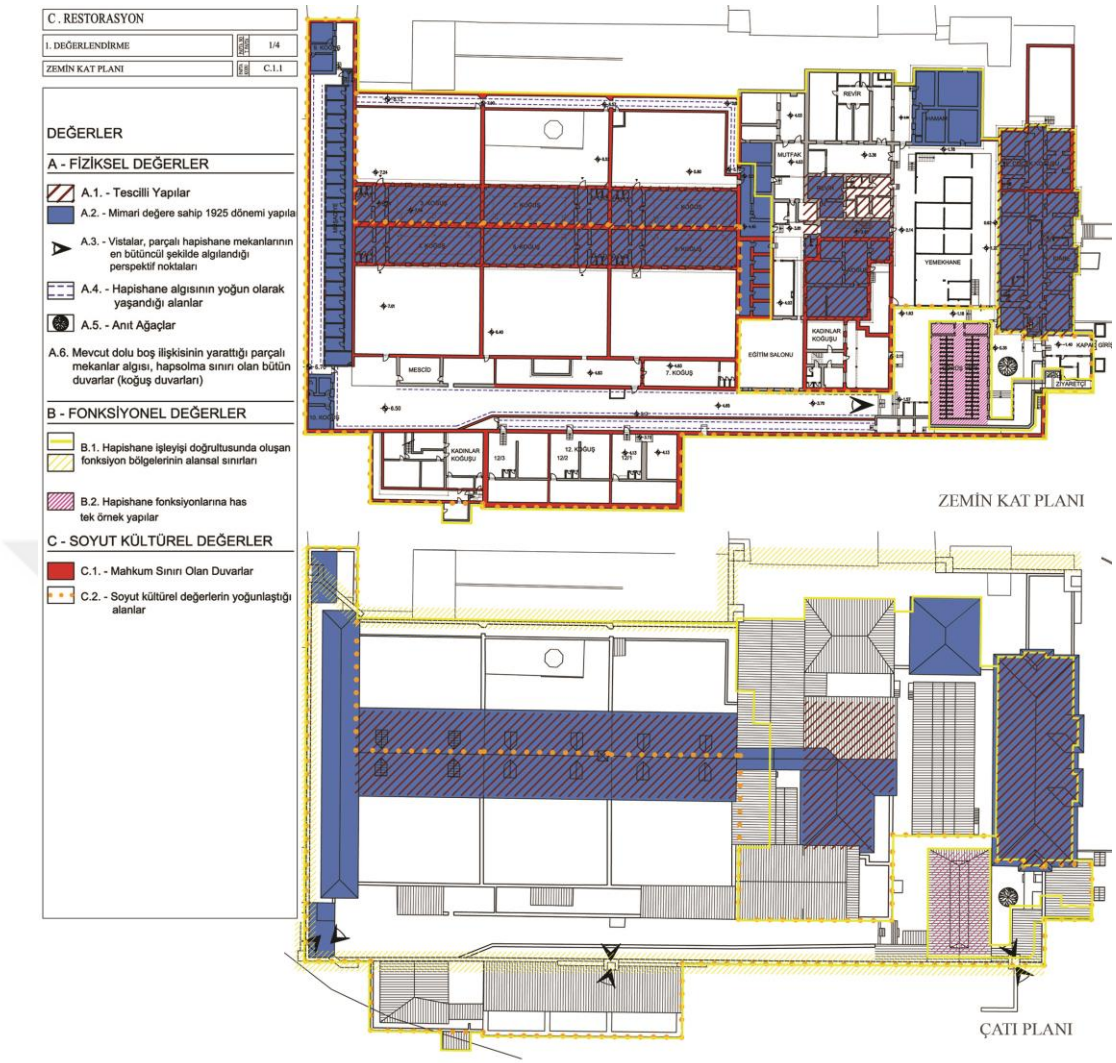


Figure4.60. Evaluation of the values of Ulucanlar C. C. prison (Prepared for U.R.I.P. from K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive).



Figure4.61. Evaluation of the buildings of Ulucanlar C. C. prison (Prepared for U.R.I.P. from K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive).

In view of this, the prisoners' zone—including *Kapıaltı* and Visitation Building—, which bears the memory of Ulucanlar C. C. Prison, was reserved for the museum exhibition and film studio, and preserved in its existing state with all the additions and changes in the architectural form and organization of the historical prison complex. The museum exhibition area was designated as the 2nd Section of the prison especially due to the location of the political wards *4.* and *5. Koğuş*, and the wards in the 1st Section were used as a film studio. The main entrance to the museum followed the entrance sequence of Ulucanlar C. C. Prison complex and was provided along *Menderes Bulvarı* starting from *Kapıaltı*. For Altındağ Municipality, the employer of the project, demanded a restaurant to be utilized by the visitors of the prison museum, atelier ward (*12. Koğuş*) located outside the prison walls, was arranged as a restaurant looking towards Ankara Castle.

The upper structure proposed in the competition project *Conservatory Ulucanlar* aiming to sustain 'the see/being seen dyad' of the prison mechanism nevertheless lost its validity in the museum function. In its stead, three routes have been proposed, that is, the visitor, prisoner and guard/observer routes in order to convey the experiences of user groups of the prison to museum visitors. However, the guard/observer route designed as an upper structure along the west wall was refused by the municipality during the project preparation process. And the visitor route was never implemented in practice.

On the other hand, the service zone of Ulucanlar C. C Prison was arranged for the social and cultural activities. In this part of the prison, the additional unqualified service buildings (like kitchen, infirmary offices, prayer room etc.) built in the courtyards of the historic complex had resulted in a complete disappearance of the perception of historical buildings. Therefore, in accordance with the reliability of the findings of restitution study for this area, the additions were removed and changes in the architectural form of historic buildings were reversed to return the buildings to their original state. Instead, light modern, almost transparent structures with appropriate height and setback distances were designed in the historic courtyards, which do not visually or structurally dominate the historic buildings.

The idea behind was, on one hand, to balance the established haptic experience by not completely emptying the lot and, on the other hand, to benefit from these structures for the emerging needs of the new function, such as cafeteria, education atelier or congress room. To note, these structures were not constructed in the implementation process.

Finally, in accord with the preliminary approach of the project that values all confinement walls due to their memorial aspects, while the children's ward (*Sübyan Koğuşu*, on the ground floor of administration building) was preserved and used as an art space, the façade wall of the criminal women's ward was decided to be retained for its symbolic significance, but this wall was removed during the implementation process.

All in all, while the 'historical value' shaped the decisions of the service/cultural zone, the 'memory-value' governed the decisions made for the imprisonment/ museum zone, in the project.

The first meeting of the Regional Council to evaluate the preliminary project on the 7th August of 2008 made clear the council's position on the removal of all additional structures and the restoration of the prison to its historic original design. The preliminary project was, therefore, not approved and expert opinions were requested for the next meeting.

In the next meeting on the 17th of October, 2008, the council declared the necessity of demolishing the visitation building and the upper floors of *10. Koğuş* and *Müşahede* for the project to be approved. Following these discussions, while the project team was working on the prison site, the entrance building of prison was bulldozed on the 9th of November, 2008. Although a clear reason was never given by the municipality for this destruction, it was not difficult to guess that the attitude of the Council had an influence on it.

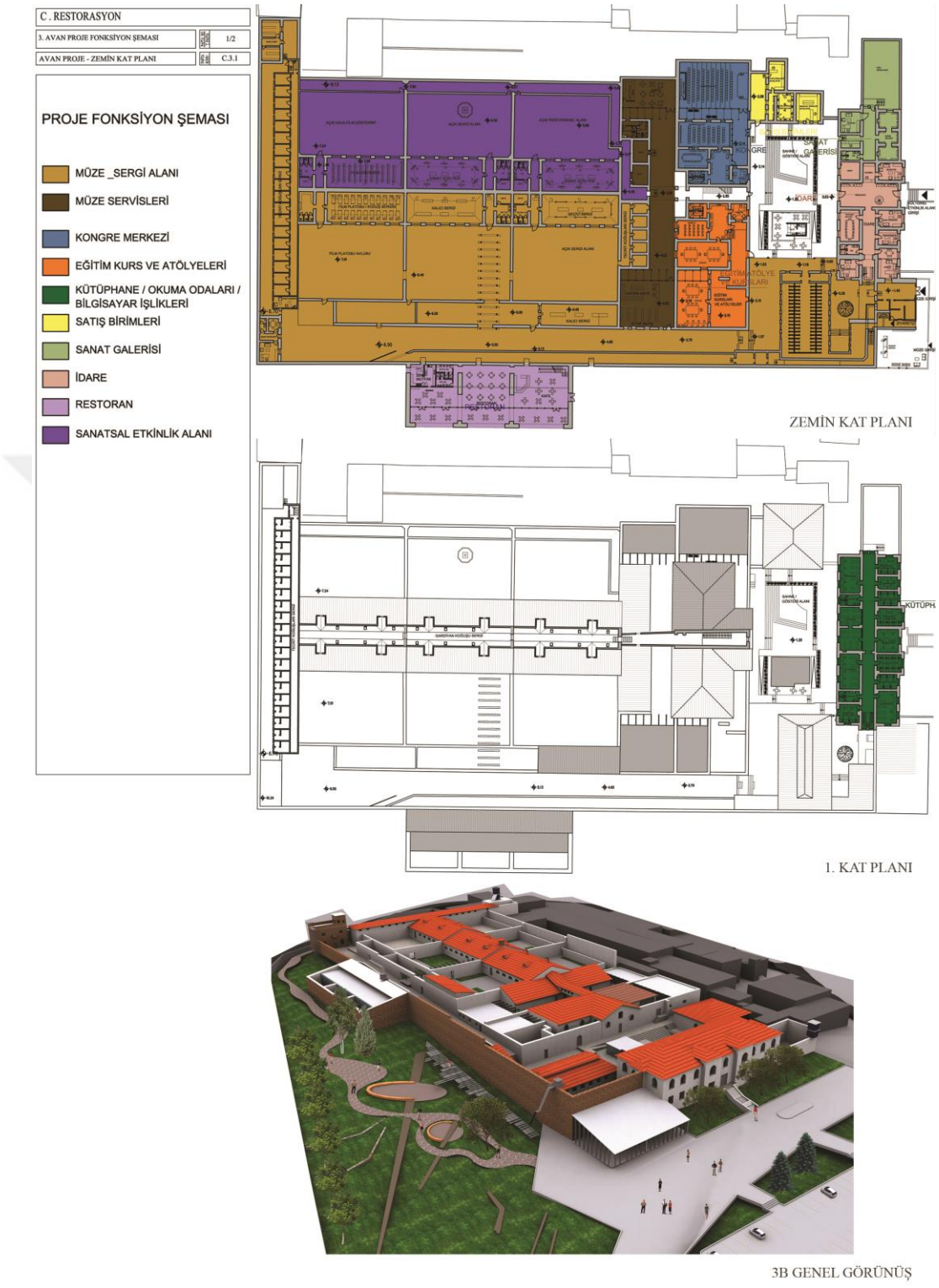


Figure4.62. Function scheme of approved preliminary project on the top, 3D view on the bottom (Prepared for U.R.I.P. from K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive).

With the support of the Chamber in the following meetings, after long negotiations, the preliminary project that preserves all confinement and surveillance structures and/or element (regardless of their period) in the museum zone, was accepted by the Council on condition that the one-third of the visitation building be demolished, since it obstructed the perception of the historic infirmary building from the entrance. In other words, the elimination of one-third of the visitation building meant to preserve the rest of the confinement area of Ulucanlar.

All in all, the preliminary project had been approved with the loss of political women's ward, *kapıaltı* and one-third of visitation building in the process.

With the approval of the preliminary project, the preparation of the implementation projects started. In the implementation projects, the interventions regarding the material deterioration and changes in the architectural elements of the buildings in the museum area were specifically defined in detail with technical explanations, separate from the intervention decisions regarding the buildings in the cultural area. The common priority governing these intervention decisions (related to the buildings in the museum area) was to preserve the existing physical fabric as much as possible, while at the same time eliminating the factors that cause structural deficiency and thus shorten the lifespan of the buildings.

The interventions for the buildings in the museum area can be outlined by grouping them into four main building components, which are, from top to down as, roof structures, floor slabs, walls and floor coverings.

The wooden roof structures of the wards required structural examination as well as repair and improvement of the roofing layers. This was evidently observed from the severe decay of wooden surfaces and detachment, swelling and disintegration of large plaster surfaces on the ceilings of the wards due to the penetration of rain water into the roof. For this reason, it was decided to carefully remove the roof covering layers, namely tiles and wooden roof coverings, in order to carry out the structural examination of roof construction elements in a proper way and to make the necessary structural interventions as defined in the project. Following these

structural roof repairs, the existing materials (those which had not lost their material qualities) would be reused in coating the roofs to avoid a refurbished appearance. Apart from these, no other renovation would be made.

Similarly, the jack arch slabs (which were found only in the wards *9.* and *10. Koğuş*) required to be structurally examined due to structural deformations/deflections observed in the I beams. Therefore, it was decided to scrape the plaster coating on them in order to make the necessary structural reinforcements and then to plaster again.

The walls in the confinement area of the prison, together with all surveillance elements on them, were of paramount importance to the project team from the very beginning. These walls of confinement with all the traces of their duration were the fundamental physical components, which not only constructed the distinctive haptic atmosphere in the experience of the prison but also carried and communicated its memory. Therefore, the preservation of the walls in such a way as to retain and present these durational traces—formed either due to the passing of time (i.e., material deterioration, cracks, fissures, patina) or due to the use, events and activities over time (i.e., layers of plasters/paints, traces of demolished structures, writings, paintings, small holes carved by the prisoners to hide their stash/cache[124] like hidden belongings, cigarettes, etc.)—was the preliminary objective of the implementation project.

The walls of confinement were held in two main categories; historic walls and additional/late period walls (Fig. 4.25.). Regarding the additional walls, it was decided to retain them intact in their entirety. As for the historic masonry walls, they were covered with thick layers of Portland cement-based plasters. It was determined that particularly the courtyard walls exposed to external conditions, like rain, humidity and temperature change, had undergone a severe deterioration and

[124] During the documentation and survey of the prison, small holes carved into the eastern wall of main alley, Menderes Boulevard were discerned. These cache holes were carved by the prisoners to put some items and concealed with a movable stone or brick. In one of them, a *meydancı* notebook and cigarette box were found and handed over to the municipality.

decomposition process accelerated by the penetration of the soluble salts in cement into the masonry walls and the following freeze-thaw cycles. As a result of this situation, historic walls were prone to more serious structural problems, if they were preserved with all existing layers of cement plaster. Consequently, while on one hand, the layers of cement plasters were significant with all the traces especially writings and paintings of the prisoners on them, on the other hand they were the cause for further structural degradation of masonry walls. Therefore, the intervention decisions made for historic walls were based on an overall assessment of two factors: the risk of damage that cement plaster layers can cause and the significance of the traces on them.



Figure4.63. Examples of writings and paintings on the walls of Ulucanlar C. C. Prision (K.Ö.K. Arch. Ltd. Archive).

Accordingly, for the inside wall surfaces, where there was no possibility of high temperature-change and water penetration into walls, the multi-layeredness of the plasters together with all remaining writings and wall paintings on them were to be preserved and consolidated by injecting adhesive mixtures in the necessary areas.

Besides the multi-layeredness of plasters, the multi-layeredness of architectural elements was also a conspicuous feature of the prison wards indicating the poor living conditions and state of disrepair in the prison. Almost all window and door frames were double or triple-nested inside one another. Because over time, when a window or door malfunctioned, another one had been mounted into the previous frame instead of a proper renovation or repair. Like all the architectural elements in the museum area, it was decided to retain these doors and windows in their existing state, some of which were glassless and covered by nylon bags. And new window framings were designed to put in without replacing the existing ones, for the necessary temperature control in the wards used for museum exhibits.

For the outside walls, it was decided to remove the Portland-cement plaster layers, which were the catalyst of the deterioration cycle in the masonry walls, except for the areas with wall paintings.[125] After the removal of the plasters, structural examination and necessary structural repairs of the walls (such as filling the cracks and missing mortar joints) would be carried out. Eventually, these walls were to be plastered with hydraulic lime plaster and repainted in the existing colors.

Only the eastern wall which runs along the main entrance axis to the museum area (Menderes Boulevard) was purposefully left unplastered. This was to expose the masonry texture of this wall, as it exhibited traces of canceled architectural elements (such as closed windows/doors) of the two demolished wards, *8. Koğuş* and *tecrit*, which were engraved in the memory of Ulucanlar C. C. Prison. This wall, on which were also cache holes carved by prisoners, would constitute the visitors' first encounter with the prison. And even if the remembered entrance sequence of the prison (*Menderes Bulvarı* / *İzmir Caddesi* including the wards *8. Koğuş* and *tecrit*) was physically disappeared, it would be represented via this wall.

Finally, the screed floor coverings in the interiors and exteriors were similarly decided to be retained in their existing state. However, some parts of the screed

[125] There was not any writing available on the outside wall surfaces.

coverings were disintegrated. For this reason, while the dismantled parts of the screed on the courtyard floors were to be replaced with natural gravel covering instead of being renewed, the screed on the ward floors were to be coated with transparent epoxy in order to fix the existing surface and prevent further disintegration during museum use.

All in all, the restoration implementation project prioritized the preservation of the confinement area of the prison with all its elements and pointed out the necessity of making no renovations in the existing physical fabric except for minor interventions where necessary, as defined in the project.

Meanwhile, before the implementation projects for the museum area were approved, the metal elements of the prison complex, which were obviously seen as 'scrap', began to be dismantled and taken by scrap dealers, in the name of an early preparation of the prison site for the implementation. By chance when this dismantling was incidentally witnessed during a site survey by the project team, all the barbed-wire fences over walls, the iron lattice roof structures over the courtyards were already demolished and iron doors of the isolation cells (*Müşahede*) were demounted and piled on top of each other to be taken. At the same time, the plasters on the inside walls of isolation cells in the first floor of *Müşahede* were removed and renewed.

Since all these removals and implementations were related to the components of the prison complex, which were referred to as 'unqualified additions' by the Regional Conservation Council, there was not a possible legal sanction against them. Being aware of this situation, the project team requested an urgent meeting with the Major to inform him about and stop the ongoing removals and renovations by reminding him of the importance of the preservation of the existing state of the prison for the 'prison museum'. In the aftermath of this meeting, a site visit was held with the participation of the Major. During this visit, the Major, who examined the implementations in question, gave instructions to mount back the iron doors demounted, supporting the stance of the project team, and to preserve

the wall surfaces with all paintings and writings in line with the project decisions. Eventually, the restoration implementation projects for the museum area were approved by the Regional Conservation Council on the 3th of August, 2009.

Nevertheless, the implementation process clearly followed a 'renovative approach', digressing from the project decisions, except for the interiors of the wards. Some exterior walls were left unplastered, while others were plastered, and all of the plastered walls were painted the same salmon color. The courtyard walls were capped with Turkish roof tiles, and the roofs of the wards were completely renewed with the same tiles. The wooden doors and windows of the wards were replaced with new ones. Even the surveillance towers were renovated; their wall surfaces were plastered and painted and their windows were renewed. As the former prisoner Salih (SID 20) well put, the final image of Ulucanlar C. C. Prison appeared more like "a fake prison decor we are used to see in TV series" (Aysu 2015, 137-138).



Figure4.64. Views from Menderes Boulevard after implementation.

1. https://m.bianet.org/bianet/insan-haklari/175835-aihm-den-ikinci-ulucanlar-katliami-karari
2.https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ulucanlar_Cezaevi_M%C3%BCzesi#/media/Dosya:Ankara,_Turkey_-_panoramio_(223).jpg

4.3 Discussion of the Transformation Process of Ulucanlar C. C. Prison together with the Findings of the Study

Considering the findings of this study, the decisions of the restoration project can be evaluated and discussed in two groups; as the decisions regarding the museum use and as the decisions regarding the conservation interventions in the museum area.

In terms of the decisions regarding the museum function, it can be said in the first place that the zone designated for museum exhibits was the right part of the prison complex, which constituted the prison's image in the memories. However, in this study, it turned out that the wards *1.*, *2.* and *3. Koğuş* allocated to film studio/screening and art workshops also comprise a significant area associated with memory-scheme 3 and should be a part of the museum route[126]. It should also be noted here in a critical manner that the wards *9.* and *10. Koğuş*, which were revealed to be the places having longest depth of duration in the memory of Ulucanlar C. C. Prison, were reserved for the museum staff offices and museum archive in the restoration project as a consequence of the lack of comprehensive memory-analyses. But, in practice and quite properly, they were arranged as ward exhibitions.

In terms of the intervention decisions, if we leave the aforementioned structures and architectural elements aside that were lost independently of the project decisions, the restoration project, at least on paper, pursued to preserve all the existing places where the memories/recollections of Ulucanlar C. C. Prison were densely conglomerated, and the architectural elements identified as memory-images within this study. Further, in view of the presented principles, the sequence of images, haptic atmosphere, the relational context of lifeworlds were the primary concerns of the project from the very beginning.

[126] The former prisoner İhsan (SID 18) also referred to this situation.

As for the evaluation of the criticisms about Ulucanlar prison museum; there were two points worth noting. The first point had to do with the final physicality of the prison emerged after restoration implementation. It was noticed that those informants who criticized the disappearance of symbolically significant components of the prison (particularly, the complete renovation of the exterior walls and the demolition of iron lattice roof structures covering the courtyards of the wards *4.* and *5. Koğuş*) also pointed out the changes and demolitions carried out after memory-scheme 7 before the restoration process began (particularly, the demolition of the ward *8. Koğuş* and the complete change in the sequence and space configuration of Mendered Boulevard) as if they occurred in the restoration. This showed that the informants perceived the restoration process as a continuation of the aforementioned 'memory-erasure' period, which followed memory-scheme 7.

The second and more noteworthy point in relation to the purpose of this study, which was recurrently mentioned by the informants, was that the symbolic content of the prison was seen superior to its physicality. According to the informants, the physical components were solely presented in the museum detached from their meanings and associations for them. This was clearly seen in the words of the former prisoner Kadir (SID 27);

> Going there now to see the roof, the architecture of the building, wandering around with your kid, telling him about your days there doesn't mean much to me. I don't want to see the gallows of Deniz's. What matters to me is what he said, what he advocated for on his way to the gallows, that's what I want to see.

(Aysu 2015, 200)

For the group of informants, who identified themselves with the prison, the re/presentation of the concepts and ideology they fought for in Ulucanlar was the main issue and the physical fabric was significant to the extent that it communicated these concepts. In this respect, Ulucanlar prison museum appeared to them as an 'emptied place', which was 'hollowed out of its meaning'.

Taking into consideration these two points drawn from the criticisms of Ulucanlar prison museum together with the findings of the case study, this thesis's answer to its research question is that even keeping a memory-place intact may not be sufficient to preserve its memory. In order to conserve a memory-place as a locus of memory as demonstrated in this study, the collective duration of the site in the consciousness of the group should be translated into its dynamic memory-schemes, each of which was discerned with the concepts identifying them and localities associated with them. Also, all the architectural memory-images, both the existing and disappeared ones, should be revealed with their meanings and associations for the group.

A place, which is by definition a site of memory, can come out as 'a locus of memory' if its certain localities communicate the concepts of their associated memory-schemes; and if the existing memory-images are highlighted and presented with their meanings for the group, while the disappeared memory-images are unfolded and represented in an anachronistic manner. In addition, the collectively remembered and mourned events in living memory should be thoroughly commemorated, and the victims should be honored either by memorialization activities (like commemorative ceremonies) or by symbolic memorials in the site.

In the specific case of Ulucanlar C. C. Prison, when we take prison complex of 2006 before the implementation phase, the pool in the courtyard of the ward *5. Koğuş*, the writing[127] over the door of the ward *4. Koğuş*, the structures *8. Koğuş* and *Tecrit* constructing the sequence of Menderes Boulevard, and the space configuration of the courtyards of the 1st Section were identified as disappeared memory-images. And, they had to be re-exposed either physically (by removing the layers over them where possible) or conceptually (by integrating the tools of representation and narration).

[127] "History written in blood cannot be erased / *Kanla yazılan tarih silinmez*."

Even today, commemorations for honoring the victims of Ulucanlar massacre and coup executions, which will be held on site through symbolic memorials, emerge as a necessary immediate action to fill the symbolic gap in the recognition and confrontation of the past for the former political prisoners of Ulucanlar.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Sites of memory, together with sites of conscience, constitute a relatively recent category of heritage that has thoroughly been subject to conservation studies at the turn of the 21st century. As a matter of fact, they are heritage sites, of which significance is associated mainly with their intangible aspects, and the dominant impulse in their recognition and designation as 'heritage' comes from their symbolic and memorial content rather than their materiality or functionality. This thesis develops from the implicit insight of the need to scrutinize that intangible dimension of memory-places woven in the memories of groups associated with those places.

In the first place, this study establishes a framework, which defines analyzing methods to be followed and unfolds the principles to be considered in the interpretation and conservation activities held in sites of memory in order to keep them together with their intangible symbolic dimension as a 'locus of memory'.

Sites of memory are in many aspects as complex as memory itself and thus require an interdisciplinary approach with a sufficiently long time to collect and evaluate data for decision making. The main source of data is based on the memories and declarations collected from all the associated groups through an extensive consultation process. Certainly, this process needs to be conducted under the supervision of an interdisciplinary group of experts, primarily social scientists and heritage professionals.

In the second place, this thesis takes the collected data of memories and/or recollections of the site[128] and relates them to the physical fabric in light of the

[128] In the exemplar case of Ulucanlar C. C. Prison.

defined analyzing methods. Within this study, the oral depictions of a social group are transferred to a visual depiction on the plan scheme and thereby the overall 'memory-image of the site' is portrayed from the perspective of the group. This image itself is a means of assessing the intangible/symbolic content in relation to place, revealing the distribution and intensity of memories within the site, durational depth of certain localities in memory and pointing out singular crystallized architectural memory-images having symbolic gravity for the group.

The study at hand is complementary in two respects. First, it can be integrated to the social research conducted through consultation process and oral history studies in the sites of memory. And the assessments of the intangible content attained within the presented framework can provide guidance in the preparation of the interpretation plans of these sites. Second, it can be an integral part of conservation processes carried out in sites of memory, for identifying the memory-value, which is essential in making the intervention decisions. In heritage sites, the framework presented in this study is complementary to and cannot be applied independently from the physical fabric analyses and assessments.

The framework of analyses and principles proposed for conserving a heritage site as a 'locus of memory' can be further developed with the contribution of findings from other cases of memory sites. To speak particularly for sites of memory, this study has the potential to evolve into visual databases that relate the intangible content of the site to its physical fabric. Following the defined method in the application of the framework to the site, the collected memories can be transferred into a database, which is utilized to contain all narratives/declarations, as well as to visualize the overall memory-image of the site from the perspectives of different social groups. The superimposition of these images may provide a comprehensive understanding and assessment of the intangible/symbolic content of the site in relation to its physicality. These databases will have a dynamic nature due to ongoing data entry and review. To put in Bergsonian terms, while they hold all the data and constitute the *pure memory* of the site, they will also visually depict this

data on the plan scheme as the *recollection memory* of the site (for each social group connected to the site).

Last but not least, this study can be seen as an initial attempt to establish a common ground of terminology and methodology, which can be adapted to conservation legislation in Turkey. As a matter of fact, unless the concepts of 'site of memory' and 'site of conscience' are recognized, and unless a methodology, which will provide the identification and preservation and/or representation of the physical aspects/components with symbolic significance, is set out in legislative terms; memory-erasure is inevitable in the conservation activities carried out in these sites. As is the case, within the scope of today's conservation legislation, all 'non-original' or 'non-historical'[129] memory-images are referred to as 'unqualified additions' from the very beginning.

As a closing note, these sites in question, particularly sites of conscience, are quite open to the manipulation of the bodies or agencies having political agenda. Therefore, in order for the presented framework to fulfill its theoretical purpose, it is vital that conservation processes are to be conducted preferably by independent bodies in a setting ready to truly confront the past with a 'never again' mentality. But if the conservation process is managed by the government or its agencies, the independence of the process may and should be ensured by an independent expert group.

[129] The term 'non-historical' is used here to mean 'not being an addition representing a specific historic period'.

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APPENDICES

A. Data-Sheets

THE INTANGIBLE WITHIN TANGIBLE: CONSERVATION OF ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE AS A LOCUS OF MEMORY
THE CASE OF ANKARA ULUCANLAR CENTRAL CLOSED PRISON
THESIS STUDY BY ZEYNEP KUTLU

DATA-SHEET — Prisoners

Study ID 1	**Name** / Nickname: Muzaffer İlhan Erdost	**Source & S.** TMMOB OHW / 27.10.2007	
	Social Identity: Publisher / Poet	**Date:** INTV by Ali İnandım / 19.02.2014	
Imprisonment Status: Political Prisoner		**Political ID:** Leftist / Socialist	**# of Stays:** 3
STAY 1 (ST1) 3-4 days		**Designated Schema 1**	
Years: February 1966/67?	**Reason:** Publication of Mao's 'Theory and Practice' in Turkish		
Context: Following the establishment of 'Sol Yayınları'			

EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED**		**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**MEMORY-IMAGES** (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)
NO	**TYPE**	**A/M**	**PLACES**		
D1	EP-GN1	**PA1**	Former *Tecrit* ●	**1** LC _O,D / AR / AT / FUR-**3** TSR	RANZA/TUVALET KOKUSU/KALABALIK
D2	EP-GN1	**PA2**	9. Ward ●	**1** LC _D / FUR-**3** PG_P	PEYKE/SOBA/İS/KİR
D4	EP-GN1	**PM3**	Bath (*Hamam*) ●	**3** LO_B	GAZ OCAĞI /TENEKE
D5	EP-GN1	-	-	**3** LO_F	KARAVANA
D6	EP-GN1	**PM4**	*Kapıaltı* ●	**3** TSR	MAHKEME
		AE	**ARCH. ELEMENTS**		
D3	EP-GN1	**PM1**	10. Ward (Iron Door) ●	**2** SQ _Route to 9. Koğuş	DEMİR KAPI

STAY 2 (ST2) 1,5 years		**Designated Schema 3**	
Years: March 1973-August 1974	**Reason:** Political Context of Coup D'état of March 12th		
Context: The 1971 Military Memorandum a.k.a. Coup D'état of March 12th Operation by Turkish Armed Forces following the kidnapping of Ephraim Elrom 1974 General Amnesty			

EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED**		**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**MEMORY-IMAGES** (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)
NO	**TYPE**	**A/M**	**PLACES**		
D1	EP-GN1	**PA1**	9. Ward ●	**3** PG_P	
D2	EP-GN1	**PA2**	10. Ward ●	**1** AR / FUR	RANZA / TUVALET
D3	EP-GN1	**PM1**	The corridor b/w 9. and 10. Wards ●	**2** KN _'Volta'	VOLTA
D4	EP-GN1	**PM2**	The corridor b/w 10. Ward and *Kapıaltı _MENDERES BULVARI* ●	**2** KN _'Volta'	VOLTA/ABİDİN PAŞA TEPELERİ

STAY 3 (ST3)		**Designated Schema 4**	
Years: -	**Reason:** -		
Context: -			

EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED**		**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**MEMORY-IMAGES** (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)
NO	**TYPE**	**A/M**	**PLACES**		
D1	EP-GN1	**PA1**	4. Ward_*Sübyan* Ward ●	**1** LC _O **3** PG_P	DEVRİMCİLER / KALABALIK
D1	EP-GN2	**PM1**	10. Ward	**3** PG_P	MEMURLAR
D1	EP-GN2	**PM2**	9. Ward	-	
D2	EP-GN2	**PM3**	1st Section	**3** PG_P	
D2	EP-GN2	**PM4**	2nd Section	**3** PG_P	

GENERAL (GNL)					
SEMANTIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES AND/OR ARCH. ELEMENTS**	**THEMES** **1 PHYSICALITY** **2 MOVEMENT / ACTION** **3 RELATIONS / ORDER**	**DURATION (FROM POLITICAL HISTORY)**	
NO	**TYPE**				
D1	SM-PR	10. Ward / The Exterior Staircases	**PR**_The Staircases of Celal Bayar **3** PR_AE/RP_P	1961/62	Coup D'état of May 27th,1960
D2	SM-PR	10. Ward / Infirmary (*Revir*)	**PR**_Ecevit in Ulucanlar **3** RP_P	1981/82	Coup D'état of September 12th,1980
AFTER THE TRANSFORMATION, ON THE MUSEUM		INTV by Ali İnandım			
DECLARATIONS ON MUSEUM		**PLACES FOUND AS RECALLED**	**PLACES NOT FOUND AS RECALLED**		
D1		9. Ward and 10. Ward.	Entrance Sequence (from *Kapıaltı*) involving 8. Ward, 12./Atelier Ward and Women's Ward.		

DECLARATIONS	
ST1_D1	"Tecrit felaket bir yerdi. İlk gelen insan için son derece olumsuz anlamda etkileyiciydi, çünkü altlı üstlü ranzalar vardı, sırt sırta insanlar vesaireler vardı. Bir de yarım bir duvar vardı, yarım duvarın öbür tarafı tuvalet ve lavabo idi. Gelenlerin hepsi sorunlu stresli, sık sık tuvalete gidiyor ve biz de o tuvaletin sesi ve kokusu içerisinde, böyle bir atmosferde bulunuyorduk" (TMMOB 2010, 46). "'...tecrit'e götürdüler. İlk gelen 3 gün orada kalır, sonra duruma göre koğuşa verilirdi" (İnandım 2020).
ST1_D2	"Karşıdaki bizim 9'uncu Koğuş, peyke deriz, sedir gibi yükselti tahtaydı, yere, onun üzerine serilirdi yataklar. Şimdikiyle hiç alakası yok; is, kir her yerdeydi. Rüzgarlı bir yerdir, soba yakardık, o yüzden is, kirdi her yer" (İnandım 2020).
ST1_D3	"9. Koğuşa ulaşmak zordu biliyorsunuz...9. Koğuşun avlusuna geçmek için...kapılardan geçiyorsunuz, 10. Koğuşun yanındaki demir kapıdan geçiyorsunuz. Koğuşların kapıları hep demir kapılar ses de yapıyorlar" (TMMOB 2010, 47).
ST1_D4	"Hamama çok az gittik. "Odun tükendi.. sular akmıyor.. kazan arızalı.. binada tadilat var.. akşam kadınlar yıkanmış, su kalmamış.." gibi bahanelerle yıkanamazdık. Gaz ocağında, tenekeyle su ısıtır, tuvalette yıkanırdım" (İnandım 2020).
ST1_D5	Ulucanlar'da, dışarıdan yemek alınabiliyordu. Eşim, haftada 3-4 kez, ablam, 2 gün yemek getiriyordu. Biz, Keçiören'de oturuyorduk, ablam Yenimahalle'deydi. Bazen eşim, bazen İlhan, bazen enistem getirirdi. Ender de olsa, dostlar da arada bir şey getirirdi. Buraya da karavana gelirdi ama yenmezdi. Nohut ya da fasulye olursa kepçeyle süzülür, varsa eti alınır, sudan geçirilip, yeniden pişirilirdi. Biz yapacak olursak yumurtalı bir şeyler yapardık. Ekmeği, dışarıdan alıyorduk" (İnandım 2020).
ST1_D6	"Akşamdan mahkemesi olanın adı okunur, "Kapıaltı'na gelin" denirdi" (İnandım 2020).
ST2_D1	"Bizi 9. Koğuşa verdiler..." (TMMOB 2010, 50).
ST2_D2	"Ertesi gün Vahap'la beni 10. Koğuşa aldılar. 10. Koğuşta kaldığımız...küçük bir oda var, o oda 4 kişilikti zaten, iki tane ranza vardı. Onun yanında bir tuvalet vardı. Aynı zamanda banyo yaptığımız tuvaletti. Bu tuvalet bizim kaldığımız koğuşun dış duvarla arasındaki teması kesiyordu" (TMMOB 2010, 50).
ST2_D3	"...buraya ikinci getirilişimdi, Vahap'la karşılaştım...9'la 10. Koğuşun arasında volta attık" (TMMOB 2010, 50). "9 ile 10'uncu Koğuş arasında volta atardım" (İnandım 2020).
ST2_D4	"10'uncu koğuştan kapıya doğru yürürken Abidinpaşa'nın tepeleri görünür" (İnandım 2020).
ST3_D1	"10. Koğuşta memurlar kalıyormuş, 9. Koğuş kapalıydı yahut başkaları vardı, bilemiyorum. İçerde "sübyan koğuşu" diye bir koğuş vardı, 4. Koğuş olmuştu sübyan koğuşu. Bizi o sübyan koğuşuna koydular. Devrimciler oradaydı. Aşağı yukarı 40-45 kişi doluşmuştu. Bazıları çift yatıyordu" (TMMOB 2010, 52).
ST3_D2	"2. kısımda genellikle devrimci çocuklar kalıyordu, adli tutuklu ve hükümlü başka kimse yoktu orada. Sadece devrimciler vardı. 1. Kısımda da faşistler kalıyordu. Faşistlerin görüş günüymüş, oradan görüşe geçip giderken, 2. Kısım'a giden devrimci çocuklara saldırıyorlarmış. Onun için "öğlen tatili olacak, öğlen tatilinde görüşe ara vereceğiz, seni öyle oraya geçireceğiz" dedi" (TMMOB 2010, 52).
GNL_D1	"10. Koğuş Merdivenleri: Celal Bayar Merdivenleri_"Sağda, pencere tarafında, yarım bir merdivendi. Üst oda Celal Bayar için hazırlanıyormuş. Merdivenler çok dik, çıkamaz diye asansör yapmayı düşünmüşler. Sonra oraya getirmemişler, merdiven de yarım kalmıştı" (İnandım 2020).
GNL_D2	"10'uncu Koğuş, sağdaki oda, 2 ranza vardı orada. Öyle bilinir ama Ecevit, o koğuşta kalmadı, revir odasında kaldı hep" (İnandım 2020).
ON THE MUSEUM	"Giriş kapısı bugünkü yer değil. Şimdi yıkılan 8'inci Koğuş'un duvarına bakan koridordan giriliyordu cezaevine. Yeni girişteki koridorda, marangozhane ve kadınlar koğuşu vardı. Girişe 'kapıaltı' denirdi...Her şey yeniden düzenlenmiş ama 9 ve 10'uncu koğuş aynı kalmış. Merdivenin yeri değişmiş sadece....8'inci Koğuş, hücre olarak yapılmış aslında. Şimdiki hücreler sonradan yapılmıştır. Hem üst hem alt kat hücredir yenisinde. Gündüz hücrelerin kapıları açılırdı. Ağır hücre alan daha başka yere götürülürdü, ben görmedim oraları. Pek infaz yeri değildi burası" (İnandım 2020).

DATA-SHEET — Prisoners

Study ID	Name / Nickname:	Source & S.	
2	Vahap Erdoğdu	TMMOB OHW / 27.10.2007	
	Social Identity: Publisher[1]	**Date:**	
Imprisonment Status: Political Prisoner		**Political ID:** Leftist / Socialist	**# of Stays:** 3

STAY 1 (ST1) 3-4 months — **Designated Schema 1**

Years: 1968 **Reason:** Castro's speech that he translated and published in *Türk Solu* Journal

Context: -

EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED		THEMES 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	MEMORY-IMAGES (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)
NO	TYPE	A/M	PLACES		
D1	EP-GN1	PA1	9. Ward ●	3 PG_P	SİYASİ KOĞUŞ
D2	EP-GN2	PM1	10. Ward	3 PG_P	AVUKATLAR

STAY 2 (ST2) 5-6 months — **Designated Schema 2**

Years: 1969 **Reason:** -

Context: The Komer Event

STAY 3 (ST3) — **Designated Schema 3**

Years: - **Reason:** -

Context: The 1971 Military Memorandum a.k.a. Coup D'état of March 12th

EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED		THEMES 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	MEMORY-IMAGES (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)
NO	TYPE	A/M	PLACES		
D1	EP-GN1	PA1	Former *Tecrit* ●	3 PG_R/TSR	
D1	EP-GN1	PA2	9. Ward ●	3 PG_P	
SID1/ST2_D2	EP-GN1	PA3	10. Ward ●	3 PG_P	
D2	EP-GN1	-	-	3 PG_R	SAYGI
D3	EP-GN1	-	-	2 RAC-3 LO_PP / PG_R	KOMÜN HAYATI / GAZETE
D4	EP-GN2	-	-	3 LO_OP / PG_R	
D5	EP-GN2	-	-	1 LC_O-3 LO_OP/IO_PG	ULUCANLAR AS HOME'

[1] University student at that time.

DECLARATIONS

ST1_D1	"9. Koğuş aslında hapishanenin içinde hapishanedir. Hapishanenin içinde cezası olanlar oraya ayrıca konur. Bir de hasmı olanlar, korunmak için oraya konur. Onun için hapishanenin içerisinde en ağır yerdir. O yüzden de 9. Koğuşu siyasi koğuş olarak ayırmışlardı" (TMMOB 2010, 54).
ST1_D2	"Ben buraya geldiğim zaman...var avukat, Kürtçülükten 10. Koğuşta kalıyorlardı" (TMMOB 2010, 54).
ST3_D1	"Buraya gelince beni tecride koydular...O sırada beni haber almışlar arkadaşlar...Beni hemen tecritten aldılar, geçtim ben 9. Koğuşa" (TMMOB 2010, 55).
ST3_D2	"Hapishanede...özellikle siyasi sol mahkumlara büyük bir saygı vardır. Çünkü sol mahkum muhbir değildir, yani ispiyoncu değildir. Bu çok önemlidir. İdareyle dostluğu falan yoktur. O yüzden sol mahkumlara büyük bir saygı beslerler" (TMMOB 2010, 56).
ST3_D3	"Bir komün hayatı yaşıyorduk. Her gün bütün gazeteleri alıyorduk, o gazeteleri bir arkadaş okuyordu. Akşam olunca o arkadaş o günün siyasi olaylarını, o gazeteleri özetleyerek bir oturum yapıyorduk ve tartışıyorduk"..."Bizim hep beraber kaldığımız bütün o adli mahkumların hiçbirisi bize karşı değildi, tersine zaman içerisinde bizim düşüncemize paralel düşünceler oluşturmaya başladılar" (TMMOB 2010, 56).
ST3_D4	"Hapishanede oğlancıları, ensest ilişkide olanları, ırza tecavüz edenleri, şunları bunları insan yerine koymazlar. Hatta öldürürler bile. Onlar en alt tabakadır. Onlardan sonra hırsızlar gelir. Hırsızların da zaten hiçbiri tek bir hırsızlıktan hapishaneye girmezler. Girdiği zaman arkadaşlarının suçlarını da almak üzere, en azından bir 30-40 tane suçla gelir. 30-40 suçu üstlenir, ondan sonra da her birinden birer sene alsa 30 sene, 40 sene ceza alır. Bir şey daha dikkatimi çekti... hırsızlar kadar dayanışma içerisinde olan hiçbir mahkum yok. Gider dışarıda hırsızlık yapar, yarısını getirir buradaki çocuklara, hırsız arkadaşlarına dağıtır. Zaten öyle bir dayanışma vardır ki, birbirlerinin suçlarını üstlenirler. "Yahu sen şunu üstlen, ben çıkayım, size bakayım" gibilerinden" (TMMOB 2010, 57).
ST3_D5	"Kışları yoksul suç tayfasının yatacak yeri yok, yiyeceği yok, onun için kışın buraların mahkum sayısı iki katı falan artardı. Sıcak yer, yemek var, sohbet var tabii" (TMMOB 2010, 57).

DATA-SHEET — Prisoners

Study ID	Name / Nickname:	Source & S. Date:
3	Abdullah Nefes	TMMOB OHW / 27.10.2007
	Social Identity: Publisher	

Imprisonment Status: Political Prisoner	**Political ID:** Leftist / Socialist	**# of Stays:** 3
STAY 1-2 (ST1 and ST2)	**Designated Schema 1**	
Years: -	**Reason:** ST1 for battering the police, ST2 for being the chief editor of Dönüşüm J.	
Context: -		

EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED		THEMES 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	MEMORY-IMAGES (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)
NO	TYPE	A/M	PLACES		
D1	EP-GN1	PA1	9. Ward ●	3 PG_P	

STAY 3 (ST3)	**Designated Schema 3**	
Years: March 1972 - July 1974	**Reason:** -	
Context: The 1971 Military Memorandum a.k.a. Coup D'état of March 12th 6th of May 1972 the execution of three revolutionaries; Deniz Gezmiş, Hüseyin İnan and Yusuf Aslan. 1974 General Amnesty		

EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED		THEMES 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	MEMORY-IMAGES (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)
NO	TYPE	A/M	PLACES		
D1	EP-GN1	PA1	9. Ward *(Kuledibi)* ●	3 PG_P	
D1	EP-GN2	PM1	8. or 7.Ward	3 PG_P	
D2	EP-PR1	PM2	The corridor b/w 9. and 10. Wards ●	PR_The Reconciliation Ceremony of Mafia Bosses 3 PG_R	
D3	EP-PR1	PM3	9. Ward *(Kuledibi)* ●	PR_Man throwing lasso on raki bottle 2 RAC-3 PG_R / LO	BONCUK ÖRME

GENERAL (GNL)

SEMANTIC DECLARATIONS		PLACES AND/OR ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS	THEMES 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	DURATION (FROM POLITICAL HISTORY)	
NO	TYPE				
D1, D2	SM-PR	9. Ward (*Kuledibi*) ●	PR_1950 Terziler Tevkifatı 3 RP_P	1950	The Democratic Party Era
D3	SM-PR	10. Ward ●	3 PR_P	1989/90	

DECLARATIONS

ST1/2_D1	"Benim buraya ilk gelişim, Muzaffer ağabey kadar erken değil...İkisinde de 9. Koğuştaydım tabii ki" (TMMOB 2010, 58).
ST3_D1	"dönemin ünlü ağalarından...ya 8 ya 7. koğuşta yatıyor...Bunlar dışarıda çatışmaya girmişler, hasımlar. Hasım oldukları için de bizim oraya [9. Koğuş] vermişler" (TMMOB 2010, 63).
ST3_D2	"Aracılar falan bulunmuş, 9. Koğuşla 10. Koğuşun tam o koridorunun başında barışma töreni hazırlanacak. İdare düzenliyor. İki tane başgardiyan, Süleyman Ege'yle ben de arabulucu heyetin bilirkişisi olarak davetliyiz, bir de o ikisi var. Saatlere bakılıyor, buradan hareketle oradan koğuştan çıkış aynı saatte olacak, aynı saatte masanın başına gelinecek, birlikte oturulacak. Tamam, iyi güzel, buraya kadar iyiydi ama bir öğlen birlikte oturdular, birlikte tabancalar çıktı...Rakılar açıldı ve seremoni, ritüel başladı. Karşılıklı birbirlerine iltifatta bulunuyorlar ama ikisinde de kurşun yarası var. Neyse, gardiyanlar aracılık ettiler ve iş tatlıya bağlandı, barıştılar, öpüştüler. Biz öbür taraf ne olacak, ne zaman gidecek diye beklerken gene 15,20 meydancı, gene böyle her şeyi dolu, bu defa bizim koğuşa armağan, neredeyse bir aylık yiyeceğimiz, geldi. Ben buradan ayrılıncaya kadar devam etti bu. Haftada bir gönderdiler... Biz 14 Temmuz'da çıktık 1974'te, 15 Temmuz günü bu mafya ağaları dışarıda birbirlerini kurşunladılar. 22 kişi birden öldü. Bizim yattıklarımızın hepsi öldü" (TMMOB 2010, 63).

ST3_D3	"Koğuş üstündeki kulede nöbet tutan askeri tavladık. Haftada bir bize rakı getiriyordu. İple aşağı sallandırıyor, biz de pencereden alıyorduk. Bir şişe ona çalışıyor, bir şişe bize çalışıyordu. Biz iki şişe parası veriyorduk... Bir akşam tam alacağız, iyi bağlamamış, küt düştü rakı şişesi betonun üzerine ama kırılmadı. Rakının düştüğü yer öyle garip bir yer ki, saat başı gardiyan geliyor, saat kuruyor. Tam onun gelip ayağına dokunacağı yerde, öyle kötü bir yerde duruyor. Her kafadan bir ses çıkıyor. Hela sık sık tıkanırdı, onu açmak için kullandığımız şöyle bir uzun sopa var, kimi 'O sopayla itelim rakıyı karşıya, görünmeyecek bir yere' , kimi 'Oraya çamaşır asıyorduk, oraya çamaşır atalım' gibi öneriler yapıyordu. Olacak gibi değildi. Şaşkındık. Ben de o aralar boncuk işi yapıyorum. Boncuk örüyorum... Tamam, kement yapacağım ve onu kementle alacağım, ancak ip tutmuyor ki; boşalıyor. O ilmiği atıyorsunuz, boşalıyor. Naylon iplik olduğu için sigarayla çok hafif yakıp tutturdum onu. Oturttuk, gardiyanın gelmesine üç dakika kala şişe içerideydi. Yukarıdan sevinç çığlıkları geliyordu, tabii ki, asıl bizden çok yukarısı önemli, yukarıdan nasıl alkışlar falan geliyor anlatamam. Adettir rakı geldiği zaman hemen boşaltılır şişe kırılır, toz haline getirilir, tuvalete atılır. Çünkü şişe en önemli kanıttır o suça. O arada Süleyman Ege söyledi galiba, 'Tamam adını bulduk senin, rakıya kement atan adam' Ertesi hafta artık utandık, ısmarlayamadık. Ama yukarıdan bir yetmişlik rakı indi bize. Cebinden almış asker" (TMMOB 2010, 59).
GNL_D1	"Kuledibi'dir bir de oranın adı ve tarihi çok eskidir. Mesela 1950 yılında terziler tevkifatı sanıklarının...yattığı yerdir. 7 tane terzi komünist örgüt kurmaktan ötürü tutuklandılar. Suç kanıtı da, o dönem terziliğe ilk defa motoru sokan bir terzinin dikiş makinesindeki motorudur...bir terzinin o motor vasıtasıyla Sovyetler Birliği'ne buradan haberler ulaştırdığı iddiasıdır, kanıt budur, o makinedir" (TMMOB 2010, 59).
GNL_D2	"Orhan Suda var. Ruhi Su buraya geldi mi, tam bilmiyorum. Enver Gökçe, Ahmet Arif, bilinen isimler olarak söylüyorum. Onlar 9. Koğuştan geçmişler" " (TMMOB 2010, 59).
GNL_D3	"Behçet Aysan, 10. Koğuştan geçmiştir...Ahmet Kardam yattı...Erhan Tezgör yattı" (TMMOB 2010, 59).

DATA-SHEET — Prisoners

Study ID	**Name** / Nickname: Tuncay Çelen	**Source & S.** TMMOB OHW / 27.10.2007	
4	**Social Identity:** Writer[1]	**Date:**	
Imprisonment Status: Political Prisoner		**Political ID:** Leftist / Socialist	**# of Stays:** 3

STAY 1 (ST1) 2-2,5 months — **Designated Schema 2**

Years: January-March 1969 **Reason:** The Komer Event

Context: -

EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES MENTIONED**		**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**MEMORY-IMAGES** (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)
NO	**TYPE**	**A/M**	**PLACES**		
D1	EP-GN1	**PA1**	8. Ward ●	**1** AR-**3** PG_P,R / SC_R/IO_PG	DEVRİMCİ TALEBELER / SAYGINLIK / ÖRGÜTLÜLÜK / KİTAPLAR / TÜTÜN-SARI DÜNYA
D2	EP-GN1	**PA2**	10. Ward *(Hilton)* ●	**3** PG_P/RP_P	HİLTON / AĞIR MAHKUMLAR

STAY 2 (ST2) 10-11 days — **Designated Schema 2**

Years: October 1970 **Reason:** Membership of *Dev-Genç* (The Revolutionary Youth Federation)

Context: -

EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED**		**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**MEMORY-IMAGES** (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)
NO	**TYPE**	**A/M**	**PLACES**		
D1	EP-GN1	**PA1**	Former *Tecrit* ●	**3** LO_PP, F/PG_R	KOMÜN/SAYGINLIK/KAR AVANA
D2	EP-PR1	**PM2**	The stairs in the Menderes Boulevard ●	PR_Morale Night **3** PG_R	

STAY 3 (ST3) — **Designated Schema 3**

Years: March 1971-1974 **Reason:** 5th of March 1971 The Raid on METU Dorms

Context: The 1971 Military Memorandum a.k.a. Coup D'état of March 12th
6th of May 1972 the execution of three revolutionaries; Deniz Gezmiş, Hüseyin İnan and Yusuf Aslan.
1974 General Amnesty

EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED**		**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**MEMORY-IMAGES** (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)
NO	**TYPE**	**A/M**	**PLACES**		
D1	EP-PR1,GN1	**PA1**	2. Ward ●	**1** LC_O-**3** PG_P,R/LO_PP	SAYGINLIK/KOĞUŞ AĞASI/KOMÜN
D2	EP-PR1,2	**PM1**	Infirmary *(Revir)* ●	PR_Yusuf Aslan in Ulucanlar **3** RP_P	
D2	EP-PR1,2	**PM3**	Isolation / Discipline Cells *(Müşahede)* ●	PR_Deniz Gezmiş in Ulucanlar **3** RP_P	
D3	EP-PR1,2	**PM4**	The execution courtyard ●	A2_The Sorrow for being in the execution courtyard **3** RP_P	KAVAK AĞACI / BANK
D4	EP-GN1	**PM1**	The courtyards of 1.,2. and 3. Wards ●	**1** AR-**3** TSR/PG_P/SC_R	Space Configuration_The passages between courtyards

GENERAL (GNL)					
SEMANTIC DECLARATIONS		PLACES AND/OR ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS	THEMES 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	DURATION (FROM POLITICAL HISTORY)	
NO	TYPE				
D1	SM-PR	10. Ward	PR_Ecevit, Bölükbaşı in Ulucanlar 3 PG P/RP P	1949/50	
D2	SM-PR	The Execution courtyard	PR_The execution of Denizs' 3 RP_P	May 6, 1972	Coup D'état of March 12th,1971
D2	SM-PR	The Execution courtyard	PR_The execution of Erdal Eren 3 RP_P	December 13, 1980	Coup D'état of September
D2	SM-GN	ULUCANLAR PRISON	Ulucanlar perceived as the place of the 'mighty souls' who were tortured and murdered		

[1] University student at that time.

DECLARATIONS

ST1_D1	"Biz 8. Koğuşa geldik...Orada sanıyorum 10-15 tane oda vardı öyle. Biz o koridorda hepsiyle iletişim kurabiliyorduk. Burada o dönemde ilk defa devrimci talebeler kalıyor, iki kişiyiz biz...hem kendi davranışlarımızla bir saygınlık kazandık, hem örgütlü bir güç var arkamızda, avukatlar geldi. Halit ağabey [AV. HALİT ÇELENK] geldi hemen, müdahale ettiler. İdare de tavrını değiştirdi. Böyle bir havamız var. Böyle bir havada adli mahkumlarla tabii çok sıcak bir diyalogumuz oldu. ...Konuşuyoruz, onlara anlatıyoruz, kitaplar dağıtıyoruz. O zaman "Tütün" diye bir kitap vardı, "Sarı Dünya" galiba, "Sarı Dünya" kitabı var ve sırayla mahkumlar da bizden alıp okuyorlar. Kimisi anlıyor, kimisi anlamıyor" (TMMOB 2010, 66).
ST1_D2	"Orada epey kaldıktan sonra ben 10. Koğuşa geçtim. Taylan Özgür vardı orada, Orhan Gürbüztürk vardı, kaymakam baba diye o dönemde meşhur bir kaymakam vardı...Solmaz Kılıçtepe'yi öldüren diğer polis vardı. Hilton dedikleri yerde hep böyle ağır mahkumlar..." (TMMOB 2010, 67).
ST2_D1	"Bir arkadaş cezaevine düşer düşmez cezeevi içerisindeki arkadaşlara haber salınıyor, gerekli önlemlerin alınması isteniyordu. Demin arkadaşlar anlattı, örneğin tecritte kalmaları önleniyordu. İçerdeki arkadaşlarımız, burada zaten gardiyanlarla, idareyle tatlı-sert bir ilişki içerisinde etkinlik kazanmışlardı. Ağırlıkları vardı. Cezaevine yeni giren arkadaşlarımız, hemen tecritten koğuşa alınıyorlardı. Koğuşta yatakları hazırlanıyor, yerleri hazırlanıyor, daha once oluşturulmuş komüne dahil ediliyorlardı...ODTÜ'den, Siyasal'dan, Hukuk'tan karavanalarla özel hazırlanmış yemekler geliyordu komüne, dışarıdayken biz de çok taşıdık yemek cezaevine. Böyle bir ortamda tabii saygınlık da artıyordu. Bu yemekler mahkumların bir kısmına da dağıtılıyordu. Böyle bir ortamımız vardı" (TMMOB 2010, 68).
ST2_D2	"Bu girişimizde mahkumlardan daha sıcak bir ilgi gördük. Aynı sıcak ilgi, gardiyanlarda da vardı. Hatta biz moral gecesi yapalım diye izin aldık. Şu aşağı merdivenler var ya, cezaevi girişinde. Orada sanatçılar falan geldi, şarkılar türküler...biz de burada yatan gençler olarak adımız "talebeler"di, talebeler olarak tempo tutmaya başladık. Önce mahkumlar şaşırdı, mahkumların burada düşmanı jandarma değil, jandarma orada, onlar da başladı "Halimem yandan yandan...biz korkmayız gardiyandan" diye. Böyle bir isyan havası doğuyor, biz yatıştırdık" (TMMOB 2010, 68).
ST3_D1	"...artık itibarlı mahkum olduk...2. Koğuşa geldim, fakat dolu, yer yok. Çocukları neredeyse yerde yatıracalar. 25, 30 kişiyiz de... Şu dipte de koğuş ağası yatıyor. Ben gittim dedim ki: "Bize yer verin, nedir bu hal, yerde mi yatacak bu çocuklar?" "Yatsınlar kardeşim." dedi...Konuştuğum koğuş ağası; ben de ağaya dedim ki: "İn oradan. Orada ben yatacağım, bu arkadaşları da buralara yerleştireceğiz." Bir başkası atıldı. Dedi ki: Ne yapıyorsun sen? Adamın iki tane leşi var."...Burada da gerçekten o saygınlığı gösterdik. Komün yapısı zaten oluşturmuştuk. Bundan dolayı mahkumlardan da bir saygınlık gördük" (TMMOB 2010, 69).
ST3_D2	"12 Mart oldu...18 Marttı, Deniz'ler yakalandı, Yusuf vuruldu. Yusuf vurulduğu zaman revire getirildi buraya. Revirde ziyaretine gittik. Onun yaralarının iyileşmesi ve herhangi bir şey olmaması için de başına burada kalan arkadaşlardan nöbetçi koyduk...bu üç koğuşun avluları birdi. Arkada da 9. Koğuşun hücreleri vardı. Deniz de orada. Siyasilerin Deniz'le bağlantısını biliyor tabii buradaki adli mahkumlar...benim de komün başkanı olduğumu biliyorlar. Bana "Tuncay ağabey, Deniz'e seslen de bir görelim." derledi. Ben de seslenirdim. "Deniz!" Deniz çıkardı. Yukarıdaki hücresinin önündeki koridorun parmaklıklı üst penceresine tırmanırdı. Oradan el sallardı bizlere, bizlerle konuşurdu. Şu üç koğuştaki bütün havalandırmadakiler gider, toplaşırdı. Denizi görmek, onunla konuşabilmek için. Böyle bir anımız var" (TMMOB 2010, 71).
ST3_D3	"Bizi aldılar, getirdiler Ulucanlar'ın kapısına. İçeri soktular. Şu anda yok ama o zaman Deniz'lerin asıldığı Kavak Ağacının altında o tahtalar hala durudu orada bir sıra vardı, bank daha doğrusu, oraya oturttular...Deniz'lerin asıldığı yerdeyiz... Hayatımın en acılı günleridir. Tabii korkunç şeyler hissediyordum, burada anlatamayacağım derecede duygulanıyordum" (TMMOB 2010, 74).
ST3_D4	"Burada şu duvarlar yoktu. 1,2,3, Koğuşların avluları birleşikti. O duvarlar sonradan yapılmış, üç koğuş birbiriyle görüşebiliyordu. Çok geniş bir havalandırma alanımız vardı ve sabah açılıyordu kapılar, akşam 17.00'de sayımla kapanıyordu" (TMMOB 2010, 69).
GNL_D1	"...[10. Koğuşta] daha önce Bölükbaşı, Bülent Ecevit kalmış""Bir de zimmetine para geçiren bankacılar, yani paralı bankacılar kalmış"(TMMOB 2010, ST03, 67).
GNL_D2	"Burada çok canlar yattı, çok canlar acıtıldı ve o canların bir kısmı katledildi. Bir kısmı ipe gönderildi. Erdal Eren, 17 yaşındaki bir çocuk idam edildi, Deniz'ler asıldı ve o arkadaşlar gerçekten daha da yüceldiler, ululaştılar, ULUCANLAR oldular, sonsuzlaştılar" (TMMOB 2010, 65).

DATA-SHEET — Prisoners

Study ID	Name / Nickname:	Source & S.	
5	Social Identity: Writer/ Publisher[1]	Date:	
Imprisonment Status: Political Prisoner		Political ID: Leftist / Socialist	# of Stays: 2

STAY 1 (ST1) 4 months — **Designated Schema 3**

Years: May 1970 — **Reason:** For sabotaging an American workplace

Context: Before Coup D'état of March 12th, at the time when the resistance movements gradually crystallize.

EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED		THEMES 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	MEMORY-IMAGES (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)
NO	TYPE	A/M	PLACES		
D1	EP-GN1	PA1	Former *Tecrit*	1 LC_O	KONSERVE KUTUSU / SIKIŞIKLIK
D2	EP-PR1	PA2	Isolation / Discipline Cells *(Müşahede)*	1 AR-3 PG_P,R	İDAMLIKLAR
D3	EP-GN1	PA2	Isolation / Discipline Cells *(Müşahede)*	1 AR	LOŞ / DEMİR PARMALIK
D4	EP-PR1	PA2	Isolation / Discipline Cells *(Müşahede)*	PR_His threatening dialogue with the prison prosecutor	
D5	EP-PR1	PA2	Isolation / Discipline Cells *(Müşahede)*	PR_Book exchange/dialoge btw cells	GAZOZ KAPAKLARINDAN KARTON ARABA / GORKİ ANA / DEMİR KAPIDAKİ MAZGAL / GARDİYAN ODASI
D6	EP-GN1	PM1	*Kapıaltı*	3 IO_PG	AVUKAT GÖRÜŞÜ/KİTAP
D7	EP-GN1	PM2	1., 2. and 3. Wards	3 PG_P	
D8	EP-GN1	PM3	13. Ward ?? [9. ward]	3 PG_P	
D9	EP-GN2	PM4	1. Ward	1 LC_SD-3 LO_OP/IO_PG	TAVUKÇU / ULUCANLAR AS HOME

STAY 2 (ST2) 50 days — **Designated Schema**

Years: 1979 — **Reason:** Being the militant of THKP-C (*Türk Halk Kurtuluş Partisi Cephesi*)

Context: Following the military coup d'état of March 12th, he was arrested in 1972 and remained in prison until 1986, during this imprisonment he was brought to Ulucanlar for 50 days in 1979.

EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED		THEMES 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	MEMORY-IMAGES (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)
NO	TYPE	A/M	PLACES		
D1	EP-GN1	PA1	13. Ward ?? [9. ward]	3 PG_P	
D1	EP-GN2	PM1	2nd Section	3 PG_P	
D2	EP-GN2	PM2	10. Ward (Hilton)	3 PG_P	
D2	EP-GN1	PM3	The corridor b/w 9. and 10. Wards	1 AR	
D3	EP-GN1	-	-	3 IO	

GENERAL (GNL)

SEMANTIC DECLARATIONS		PLACES AND/OR ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS	THEMES 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	DURATION (FROM POLITICAL HISTORY)	
NO	TYPE				
D1	SM-PR	10. Ward	PR_Ecevit, Bayar in Ulucanlar 3 PG_P/RP_P	1981/82	Coup D'état of September 12th,1980

D2	SM-GN	-	*Karıştır-Barıştır Tretmanı* **3** PG_P	Coup D'état of September 12th,1980
D3	SM-PR	7. Ward	**PR**_Yılmaz Güney in Ulucanlar **3** PG_P	1974-1976
D3	SM-PR	4. Ward /*Sübyan* Ward	**PR**_'DUVAR' Film by Yılmaz Güney **3** AW_P	
D3	SM-PR	4. Ward /*Sübyan* Ward	**PR**_'SOBA, PENCERE CAMI VE İKİ EKMEK İSTİYORUZ', Novel by Yılmaz Güney **3** AW_P	
D3	SM-GN	ULUCANLAR PRISON	Ulucanlar that hosted many intellectuals and artists is perceived as a structure for sustaining a corrupted unjust system.	
D4	SM-GN	ULUCANLAR PRISON	Ulucanlar in 60s	1960s
D4	SM-GN	ULUCANLAR PRISON	Ulucanlar prison as the poorest and worst of its contemporaries in terms of physical characteristics, the state of disrepair and living conditions of the prisoners.	
D5	SM-GN	ULUCANLAR PRISON	Ulucanlar prison as a symbolic place representing both the history of Turkey and the revolutionary struggle in Turkey, as the scene of great massacres.	
D5	SM-GN	ULUCANLAR PRISON	People who were hanged, executed or spent their years in other prisons or in Ulucanlar for acting with noble feelings and supporting Turkey's democracy, Turkey's independence and Turkey's attainment of an egalitarian society are "mighty people."	

BEFORE THE TRANSFORMATION, ON THE FUTURE OF ULUCANLAR PRISON			
DECLARATIONS **NO**	**ON FUNCTION**	**ON SPECIFIC PLACES**	**ON CONSERVATION**
D1	Ulucanlar prison should be a place for the benefit of society, which serves as a social service structure and provides accommodation and production space, especially for ex-prisoners who need it in their social reintegration process.	The execution courtyard as a commemoration place	Preservation of all components reminding the prison, including even coat hangers on the walls.

[1] University student at that time.

DECLARATIONS

ST1_D1	"Burada ilerde tecrit vardır, orada zaten konserve kutusu gibi kalırdık, çok kötüydü, çok sıkışıktı orası" (TMMOB 2010, 87).
ST1_D2	"70 yılında Ulucanlar Cezaevi'ne geldiğimde burada, yedi, sekiz ya da on arkadaşımın bulunduğunu gördüm...Nitekim buraya geldikten üç gün sonra, cezaevi müdürüyle bir tartışmam oldu, birbirimize girdik. Sonra beni arka taraftaki hücrelere, burada arkada disiplin hücreleri vardı, oraya koydular. İdamlıkların ve örneğin hapishaneden kaçma girişiminde bulunup da yakalananların konduğu bir yerdi orası...Orada iki bölüm vardır, üst ve alttır" (TMMOB 2010, 85). "Ben götürülünce, diğer arkadaşlar...da tepki olarak "biz de hücrelere gidiyoruz" diye şu koridordan yürüyerek ve marşlar söyleyerek, hücrelere doğru geldiler ve hepsi hücrelere kondu. Biz gelmeden 6 ay önce o disipline hücrelerine kapatılmış olanlar vardı...siyasi olmayanların, bizim arkadaşların marşlar söyleyerek gelmesi durumu karşısında "öğrenciler hapishaneyi bastılar, biz de bu arada çekip gideriz" diye düşünmeleri, beni şu sonuca vardırdı ki, dışarıda talebeler olarak adlandırdıkları devrimci öğrenciler toplumda böyle bir izlenim bırakmışlar. Yani, devrimci talebeler, o kadar güçlüdürler ki bir hapishaneyi bile basıp, arkadaşlarını alabilirler gibi bir izlenim bırakmışız demek ki" (TMMOB 2010, 85).

ST1_D3	"...beni hücreye koymak istediklerinde, önce o iki katlı olan disiplin hücrelerinin üst katına götürdüler. Üst kat pencereleri vardır, güneş görür, aydınlıktır. Alt kat ise görmez, daha karanlıktır, loştur, demir parmaklığı alta katta yüksektedir. Zaten sedir olarak kullanılan şey dışarıdaki zeminin biraz altındadır...uzun bir koridor, belki 20 tane hücre var... Demir parmaklıkların önüne şimdi sac koymuşlar, eskiden yoktu o sac. Hücrenin içine girdiğiniz zaman, dışarıyı görebiliyordunuz ve dışarıdaki de sizi görebiliyordu"(TMMOB 2010, 114-115).
ST1_D4	"Meğer cezaevinin savcısı gelmiş, tek tek hücrelerin önünde durup, hücredekilerle konuşuyor ya da bakıp geçiyor...Ben de en son hücredeyim, savcı, o zamanın mahkumu ya da tutukluları "topal savcı" derledi, adını da bilmiyorum. Biz insanların özürlülüklerini, kendileriyle bağlantılı bir sıfat olarak kullanmayız ama mahkum öyle diyor...Geldi benim önüme, şöyle bir baktı. Ben de, hiç unutmuyorum, yaz günüydü, Haziran'dı, o zaman işte fanila giyerdik, beyaz bir fanila, 19-20 yaşındayım, sağlıklı bir adamsın, üniversite öğrencisi. Şöyle bir baktı bana "çok sağlıklı görünüyorsun, bak burası var. Bunun altı var,bir de onun altı var" dedi. Birkaç katı bir yer olabilir diye düşündüm, anlamadım ben, "oranın altı var" olabilir mi! Ama bir şey anlatmak istediğini hissettim, acaba düşündüğüm gibi bir şey mi diye... Ne söylediğimi de hatırlamıyorum, çünkü hakaretamiz bir konuşma değildi, işte aklınca beni uyarıyordu, 12 Mart darbesinden önce. Aradan birkaç saat geçti, bizi alt kata indirdiler, hepimizi hücrelere kapattılar, biraz önce bahsettiğim siyasi olmayan hükümlülerle, aynı koridorda hücrelere koydular, fakat ben merak ettim, buranın altından neyi kastediyor, aşağı inerken baktım, sağda-solda bir aşağı daha inen merdiven var mı? Yok, böyle bir merdiven yok. Orada kalmaya başladık, Parmaksız Kemal diye bir gardiyan vardı, karavana dağıtır. Ben dayanamadım ona sordum, "buranın da altı var mı?" dedim..."Yok, buranın altı yok" dedi. Şimdi Topal Savcının ne dediği anlaşıldı. Bu Topal Savcı, Hüseyin, Yusuf ve Deniz arkadaşların idamları sırasında yer alan, devlet adına bulunan savcı, infaz savcısı ve arkadaşlarımızı şuradaki o Kapıaltı'ndan girince sağ el tarafındaki yapının [idari yapı] üst katından, birbirlerinin idamını yani Hüseyin'e Deniz'in, Yusuf'a Hüseyin'in idamını seyrettiren savcı. O zaman anladım ki mahkum...eleştirici anlamda bir lakap bulmuş, bu lakabı bulmakta da haklıymış. Önemli olan insanın ayağının topal olması değil. Bizim insanımız, doğru bir lakap takmış, ruhu topal, yüreği topal, yüreği aksak, iç dünyası çarpık anlamında kullanmış o lakabı"(TMMOB 2010, 115).
ST1_D5	"...Seyhan Kale diye bu meşhur kasa hırsızıyla bir ara hücrelerimiz yan yana oldu...O zaman Gorki'nin "Ana" kitabı iki cilt halinde çıkmıştı, benim kitaplar arasında vardı. Bir gün gece saat iki gibi yanımdaki hücreden Seyhan Kale dirseğiyle vurdu, güm güm. Duvarlar burada çok kalın olmadığı için hemen hissediliyor, uyandım kalktım, hücre kapıları demirdi ama ancak başımızı çıkarabileceğimiz genişlikte bir pencere vardı, mazgal denir mi bilemiyorum. Dedi ki "Oktay çok canım sıkılıyor", "ağabey sana kitap vereyim" dedim...Gazoz kapaklarından araba yapmıştık, yani gazoz muydu neydi, bir şey içiyorduk, onun kapaklarından, kartonların altına, koyuyorduk iplerle çekiyorduk, gardiyan kapıyı kapattıktan sonra, çünkü o koridorun başında gardiyan odası vardı. Sonuçta o bizim gazoz kapaklarından yaptığımız arabayla, her hücrede ipi var, arabaya koyuyoruz bir şeyi, öbür hücreden çekiyor ipi, araba yürüyor gidiyor...Neyse, Seyhan Kale aldı bunu okumuş. Birinci cildini göndermiştim...Gardiyanlar gittikten sonra konuşabiliyoruz tabii..." Ya Oktay, bu kitap nasıl kitapmış, çok güzel yav, ama bu yarıda bitiyor, devamı yok mu bunun" dedi, "var, ağabey" dedim..."ben sana şimdi ikincisini de gönderiyorum" dedim. "Yav siz demek bu kitapları okumakta haklıymışsınız, ben bir türlü anlayamıyordum, bunlar sürekli ne okuyorlar, haa, meğer böyle kitaplar okuyor muşsunuz", Türkiye'nin ünlü kasa soyguncusu Seyhan Kale diyor bunları. İkinci cildini de gönderdim, Seyhan Kale onu da okudu, çok beğendi tabii"(TMMOB 2010, 115-116).
ST1_D6	"O zaman Halit Çelenk gelirdi...ben de burada 4 ayın, 3 ayını disiplin hücresinde geçirmişim. Hiçbir şey yapamıyorsun, gazete yok, bir şey yok vs. bazen arkadaşlar, baklava gönderiyor. Sevgilimiz baklavanın dibine yazar "yav nerdesin, seni seviyoruz" filan, müthiş bir şeydir, hiçbir şey yok, dışarıdan gelen bir haber gibi. Halit Ağabey, kitap getirirdi, avukatların üzeri aranmıyor yasal olarak. Halit Ağabey o zaman cezaevine sokulması yasak olan ama dışarıda serbestçe satılan kitaplar getirirdi, Lenin'in, Marks'ın, işte o zaman ne çevrilmişse. Biz avukatla, avukat odasında görüşürdük, yaz günü olduğu halde, ben hücreden çıkarken kazak giyerdim. Halit Ağabey görüşme sırasında çıkarırdı...kitabı, ben de gideceğim zaman kazağımın altına koyardım, o kapıaltının oradan, şuradan yürüyüp hücreme giderdim ve o kitapları öyle okurdum...Böylece siyasi talebelerin, devrimci öğrencilerin kitapları olurdu...Buna idare göz yumuyordu anlaşılan, başka türlü isteseler avukat görüşünden çıkarken, arar ve bulurlardı, göz yumuyor, idare ediyorlardı"(TMMOB 2010, 115-116).
ST1_D7	"Bizim dönemde ise 1,2,3'tü bizim [siyasilerin] kaldığımız yerler yani 12 Mart'tan önce. Daha sonra bu tarafı [2. Kısım] siyasilere ayırmışlar sayı arttığı için sanırım" (TMMOB 2010, 87). "O zaman, talebeler denirdi bize. Burada kalan siyasi olmayan hükümlüler ya da tutuklular bizi böyle tanımlarlardı. Biz onların gözünde talebelerdik ve talebeler, 12 Mart Muhtırası öncesindeki dönemde, ya bildiri dağıtmıştır ya bir mitingde sözüm ona polise mukavemet ettiği gerekçesiyle tutuklanmıştır. Genellikle bir hafta on gün kalır çıkarlar. 1970 yılına yaklaştığımız yıllarda böyleydi. Ancak 70 yılının bir özelliği var. 70 yılı, yaklaşık bir yıl sonra Türkiye'de, direnişin farklı boyutlara ulaşması potansiyelini içinde taşıyan ve fiili direniş hareketlerinin yavaş yavaş kristalize olmaya başladığı bir yıldı" (TMMOB 2010, 84). "Bizim kaldığımız dönemde gardiyanların ve idarenin fazla baskısı olmadı. Çünkü benim ilk kaldığım dönemde Demirel iktidarı vardı, Türkiye'de bildiğimiz gibi eğer dışarıda diktatörlük ya da generallerin rejimi varsa hapishane kötüleşir (TMMOB 2010, 88).
ST1_D8	"...bizi 12 Mart'tan önce bu cezaevinde [sağcılarla] aynı yerde tutmadılar, başka bir yerde, 1, 2 ve 3. koğuşlarda, bir de arkada yanılmıyorsam 13. koğuş var o küçük yer" (TMMOB 2010, 88).

ON THE FUTURE OF ULUCANLAR	"...arkadaşlarımızın...asıldıkları yerin, belki zaman zaman çiçek konulabilecek bir mekan haline getirilmesi gerektiğini düşünüyorum. ...o kavak ağacının etrafın[ın]...Türkiye'de devrim için, demokrasi için insan hakları için, eşitlikçi bir toplum için ve Türkiye'nin bağımsızlığı için, halkların kardeşliği için mücadele etmiş bütün insanlar adına...bir mekan yapılmasını öneriyorum" (TMMOB 2010, 86). "...bence buranın hapishane olma özelliğini anımsatan unsurları, elemanları korunmalı. Mesela şu elbise askılıkları bence çok anlamlı, çünkü burada iki kat bir ranza düzeni olduğunu ve buranın bir zamanlar hapishane olduğunu anımsatan parçalardır bunlar, sökülmüş bazı yerlerde. Hem bu özelliğini anımsatmalı, hem de burayı toplumsal işlevi olan ve toplumda...üretilen bir yer olduğunu, bir hapishanenin insanların üreticiliğinin ve yaratıcılığının da bir mekanı olabileceği fikrini aktaran bir yer haline getirilmesinin yararlı olacağı kanaatindeyim. ...Müze sadece buradaki mekânlardan birisini oraya kapatmak sonucunu doğurabilir. Ayrıca benim 20 yıl öncesinden bir projem vardı, bireysel bir proje. O da şuydu; cezaevinden çıkıp da barınacak yeri olmayan, yatacak-kalkacak yeri olmayan, fakat toplumda bir şey üretmek isteyen ve kendi başına ayakta durmak isteyen...insanlara destek olmak için nötr bir alan yaratmak. Nötr alandan kastım şu, siyasi örgütlerden ve devletin etkileme alanının dışında olması bakımından nötr bir alan. Burada kimseye muhtaç olmadan barınma olanağına sahip olduktan sonra siyasi bakımdan istediği karara varabilmeli. Yani tercihini özgürce yapabilmeli. ...Ben kendi hayatımda da yaşadığım için, cezaevinden dışarı çıktıktan sonra gidecek yeri olmayan insanlar vardır, ama üretebilecek kapasitesi, üretme kapasitesi vardır, becerileri vardır. Bu...sepet yapmak da olabilir, resim yapmak da olabilir. Yani bu tür insanlara bir alternatif proje olarak bu mekanın tamamını elbette olmayabilir ama bir kısmını mesela siyasi açıdan nötr alanlar yaratıp, onlara dışarı çıktıktan sonraki hayatlarında kendi tercihlerini, özgürce yapabilme olanağını vermek...Mesela şuraya 30 tane şöyle ranza konabilir ve burada bir işlik yapılabilir. Orada üretir...sonra o piyasada satılabilir, güzel şeyler üretilebilir ve o insan bir şey üretir ve onun karşılığını alır. Muhasebecilik kursu açılabilir, daktilo, resim vs. vs. toplumda karnını doyurmasını sağlayacak bir beceri kazandıracak böyle bir durumda olabilir. Ama sonuçta buranın canlı, üretilen bir mekân haline getirilmesi şu ya da bu şekilde iyi olur kanaatindeyim" (TMMOB 2010, 130-132).

DATA-SHEET — Prisoners

Study ID 6	**Name** / Nickname: Ahmet Sönmez	**Source & S.** TMMOB OHW / 25.10.2007	
	Social Identity: Architect[1]	**Date:**	
Imprisonment Status: Political Prisoner		**Political ID:** Leftist / Socialist	**# of Stays:** 1
STAY 1 (ST1) months		**Designated Schema 2**	
Years: Second half of 1969	**Reason:** The boycott of the Union of Turkish Teachers (TÖS)		
Context: -			

EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED**		**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**MEMORY-IMAGES** (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)
NO	**TYPE**	**A/M**	**PLACES**		
D1	EP-GN1	**PA1**	Former *Tecrit* ●	**3** TSR	KALABALIK / İSTİHBARAT / SAYGI
D2,D3	EP-GN1	**PA2**	7. Ward ●	**1** AR/FUR/LC_O,D **2** RAC **3** PG_P,R/TSR/LO_B,F	RANZA/SOBA/ KOMÜN/MEYDANCI / KALABALIK /PİSLİK / DOLAP / YENİ HARMAN SİGARASI
D2	EP-PR1	**PM1**	10. Ward ●	**PR_** His Visit to 10. Ward to see Sinan Cemgil **3** RP_P	
D3	EP-GN2	**PM1**	10. Ward	**3** PG_P	
D4	EP-GN1	**PM2**	8. Ward ●	**1** AR	
D5	EP-GN1	**PM3**	Courtyard (in general)	**2** RAC/KN_'Volta'	BONCUK DİZME/BONCUKTAN KUŞ/TESPİH/VOLTA RAÇONU / KOMÜN
D6	EP-GN1	**PM4**	Barber?	**3** TSR	
D7	EP-GN1	**PM5**	Visitation Chamber?	**3** LO_V	GÖRÜŞ
D8	EP-GN1	**PM5**	*Kapıaltı* ●	**3** LO_R	TAHLİYE/GAZOZ
D9	EP-GN1	-	-	**2** RAC	EKMEK İÇİNDEN SATRANÇ/ SABUNDAN ZAR

BEFORE THE TRANSFORMATION, ON THE FUTURE OF ULUCANLAR PRISON

DECLARATIONS NO	**ON FUNCTION**	**ON SPECIFIC PLACES**	**ON CONSERVATION**
D1	Ulucanlar Prison is a 'life lesson' and should be a place for future generations to visit.	-	-

[1] College student at that time.

DECLARATIONS

ST1_D1 "...ben tecritte yatarken, tecrit dediğiniz;...koğuşa girmeden önce kısa bir süre 3gün, 4 gün kaldığınız ve hakikaten üst üste, son derece kalabalık ufacık bir koğuştan ibaretti. Hem senin hakkında istihbarat yapıyorlar, bilgi ediniyorlar, yani hırlı mıdır, hırsız mıdır, kavga mı eder, onu bunu mu vurur, sağcı mıdır, solcu mudur, neyin nesidir, nereye koyalım. Oraya koysak kavga mı çıkartır, buraya koysak filan gibi bir süreç yaşanıyor" (TMMOB 2010, 90).
"Ben tecritteyken o zaman,...siyasi tutukluların sayısı çok azdı, biz orada siyasi talebelerdik ve çok ciddi bir saygı görürdük...sonradan tabii işin rengi değişti"(TMMOB 2010, 90-91).

ST1_D2	"Benim yerim şu duvarda baca deliğinin olduğu yerle, pencerenin arasında ikinci kat ranzada,… 7. Koğuş'un mekan kalitesi itibariyle ve gündelik rutin itibariyle bazı niteliklerini size söyleyeyim… 7. Koğuş, tam sayıyı veremeyeceğim ama 100 kişilik ranza varsa, en az 250 kişinin tıkıştırıldığı bir yerdi. Kapıdan girince sağda, şu köşede iki tane tek katlı yatak vardı. Orada, koğuş ağası filan yatardı, geri kalan tutuklular iki katlı ranzalarda başlı-ayaklı yatardı, başka türlü zaten sığmak mümkün değildi. Benim altımda gazeteci Necdet Onur yatardı, yanımda yine gazeteci Abbas Goralı vardı, başlı-ayaklı yatıyorduk. Öbür yanımda da meşhur kalpazan Selahattin vardı… Ranza düzenine gelince…Bir sıra bu duvarda ranza var, bir sıra da öbür duvarda ranza var, aralarda da iki ranza bitişik bir de boşluk gibi değil. Yani, beş-altı tane ranza bir arada, bir yerden tırmanıyorsun, kendi yerini buluyorsun, başlı-ayaklı araya sıkışıp yatıyorsun, öyle bir durum. Şu arkada gördüğünüz…orası tuvalet…bakır termosifon vardı, arada bir izin alınır, sıraya girilir; içerisi sabundan ve pislikten kaygan, berbat hale gelmiş, artık ayakta durmak mümkün değil. Orada güya su ısıtılır, tasla su dökülüp, güya banyo yapılır" (TMMOB 2010, 91). "Avluya çıkışlar belli saatlerdeydi. Avludan girişlerde de gardiyan gelirdi ama o da bir kült haline gelmiştir, teker teker kelle hesabı olsun diye herkesin ensesinden tutardı, beni de şöyle boğazıma yakın yerden tutardı. Teker teker sayardı, tam sayıyı bulduğu anda, kapıyı kapatmadan önce "Allah kurtarsın" derdi. Kapıya yakın tutuklular da hep bir ağızdan "Allah seni de kurtarsın" derdik. Ulan nihayet biz altı ay yatacağız, bir yıl yatacağız, üç yıl yatacağız, adam orada belki otuz yıl gardiyanlık yapacak, "Allah seni de kurtarsın" derdik, Allah gardiyanı da kurtarsın. Tabii herkes birbiriyle avluda karşılaşırdı, arada bir de koğuşlarda emanet kelle değişikliği yapılırdı. Mesela birimiz karşı koğuşa giderdik, oradan birisi de bizim koğuşa gelirse kelle hesabı kapıda tutardı…Bir seferinde o şekilde Sinan Cemgil'in yattığı 10. Koğuşa gidip, uzun uzun kendisiyle konuşup, sohbet etme imkanımız oldu. Tutukluların birbirleriyle olan ilişkilerine gelince, henüz sağ-sol kutuplaşması ortaya çıkmadığı için ciddi bir gerginlik yaşadığımızı ben hatırlamıyorum" (TMMOB 2010, 92). "Tek soba, kötü bir soba vardı, işte bakın baca deliği şurası. Kısmen yemek yapabiliyorduk, bazen dışarıdan kebaptı, köfteydi gibi birtakım şeyler geliyordu, onlar da komünlere dağıtılıyordu. Burada duvarların dibinde tahta dolaplar vardı. Koğuşta örneğin 100 kişilik ranza olduğu zamanlarda, 100 tane dolap konmuş ama aynı mekana 250 kişiyi doldurduğun zaman yine toplam 100 tane dolap var. Onun için iki-üç kişi aynı dolabı paylaşırdı, meydancıların getirdiği mallar oralara konurdu. Sonra dolaptan çıkarılır, ranzaların üzerine çıkılıp, bağdaş kurulup, hep birlikte yenirdi" (TMMOB 2010, 93). "Sonra meydancılarımız vardı. Diyelim ki [Hüseyin] Sünger ziyarete gelmiş, iki kilo portakal, iki tane yeni Harman sigarası…Küçük kare kağıtlara yazılır, yuvarlak tepsilerin içine konurdu, kalaylı bakır diye hatırlıyorum. Gelirdi meydancı, "bilmem kiiiiim" diye bağırırdı, biz de "he, hı" der gider alırdık. Geriye not gönderme hakkımız vardı, nor gönderirdik. O kadar" (TMMOB 2010, 93).
ST1_D3	"Ben…Ulucanlar'a girdiğimde Sinan Cemgil, 10. Koğuştaydı. Aydın Karagözoğlu, 7. Koğuştaydı. 7. Koğuşta ayrıca Mustafa Kemal Çamkıran vardı" (TMMOB 2010, 91).
ST1_D4	"8. Koğuş, koridorda odalar şeklindeydi, bana sorarsanız orası odaların "istiap haddi" açısından daha medeni yani daha uygar, 8 kişilik bir odaya da 12 kişi sokamazsın anlamında bir yerdi" (TMMOB 2010, ST03, 91).
ST1_D5	"Bizim günlerimiz avluda boncuk dizerek veya tespih yaparak geçerdi. Boncuk dizerek, sallama yapılırdı, tespih yapılırdı veya örme keseler, cüzdanlar…kapının üzerine kuş gibi asarsın kuş gibi durur falan filan. Bunların hepsi önceden hesap edilmek suretiyle, kareli kağıtlara, işte şuraya üç tane mavi boncuk, arkasından beş tane kırmızı boncuk, iki tane sarı boncuk diyerek tasarlanır ve iplere dizilirdi. Bu ipler de hemen hemen otuz metre. Volta atarken iplere çarpmayacaksın. Bilmem neredeki pencere parmaklığından, bilmem hangi ağaca gerilmiş ipler şeklinde olurdu. Orada, ha baba de baba boncuk dizilirdi. Yani boncuklarla uğraşarak, hepimiz iyi-kötü yattık hapiste, saatlerin nasıl geçeceğini insan bilemez, kendi iç dünyasına hapis olursa hapislik içinde bir bir hapislik daha olur ki, en tehlikeli ruh hali budur. O nedenle, bu gibi uğraşılarla vakit geçirmeye çalışırdık. …Koğuşlarda yaşadığımız komün hayatını Oktay gayet güzel özetledi, benim fazla birşey eklememe gerek yok" (TMMOB 2010, 92). "Buradaki "volta" raconu gerçek bir racondur. Öyle kolay kolay, kimse kimsenin voltasını kesmez ama bu fizki bir eğitim olmanın ötesinde, birbirini hiç tanımasa dahi, insanlar arasındaki karşılıklı saygıyı pekiştiren, manevi yönü çok daha ağır basan bir uygulamadır. Volta, iki kişi yapılır. Üçkişilik olursa onun ayrı raconu vardır. İki kişi volta atarken, hızlı hızlı yürür, adeta duvara çarpacakmış gibi yaklaşır, birden bire döner gelir. Üç kişi volta atılırken, ortada yürüyen; bir sağdan döner, bir soldan döner…hak geçmeyecek. Mümkün olan en uzun avluda, mümkün olan en uzun rota seçilir ve ip gibi düz yürünür. Burada ayrıca, eredeyse kırmızı-yeşil trafik lambası gibi volta atan adamların birbirini kesmeyeceği bir yeşil dalga sistemiyle yürünür. Biraz yavaşlarsın, biraz hızlanırsın. Bunlar tabii Ulucanlar'daki Voltayı başlatan bir nevi tempoyu da belirler…benim burada kaldığım süre içinde yirminci yılını yatan da vardı, iki gün önce giren de vardı. Tabii ki aradaki bir sürü kıdem farklarının da getirdiği öncelikler var" (TMMOB 2010, 117).
ST1_D6	"İçeriye tecritte üç hafta kalıp girdiğimde…beni hemen berbere götürdüler, kuş gibi hafifledim" (TMMOB 2010, 92).
ST1_D7	"Görüş çok zordu, on beş günde bir diye hatırlıyorum. Ufacık yerlere, parmaklıklı ve tel örgülü yerlere kafanı şöyle uzatıp, oradan karşına geleni bile zor seçiyorsun. Kim geldi…diye kafayı uzatıp bakıyorsun, anlamaya çalışıyorsun" (TMMOB 2010, 93).
ST1_D8	"Tahliye kararı alındığında da, adettir tahliye gazozu ısmarlanır" (TMMOB 2010, 92).
ST1_D9	"Ekmek içinden yaptığımız satranç takımıyla ve sabundan kestiğimiz zarlar" (TMMOB 2010, 92).
ON THE FUTURE OF ULUCANLAR	"Ama bugünkü şu haliyle dahi, en azından gençlerin sağcı olsun, solcu olsun, adli tutuklu olsun hiç önemli değil, gençlerin gelip, mutlaka ziyaret etmelerinin teşvik edilmesi gerektiğini düşünüyorum. Ulucanlar, başlı başına bir hayat dersidir. …toprağa verdiğimiz arkadaşları ben tekrar anıyorum. "Bağımsız Türkiye" diye bağıran, adına sosyalizm denen yüce ideolojiyi benimsemiş, kendi kişisel menfaatini değil de toplumun menfaatini her şeyin önünde tutmaya çalışan, vatansever bir kuşaktık" (TMMOB 2010, 93).

BEFORE THE TRANSFORMATION, ON THE FUTURE OF ULUCANLAR PRISON			
DECLARATIONS	**ON FUNCTION**	**ON SPECIFIC PLACES**	**ON CONSERVATION**
NO			
D1	Ulucanlar Prison should be an 'art space'. A part of it can be reserved to be organized as a museum. There may be ateliers, it should be a productive space for the future, rather than be a static place that just conveys the pains of the past.	-	Its structure should be preserved, but can be painted.

[1] University student at that time.

DECLARATIONS

ST1_D1	"Erkek arkadaşlarım kadar tecrübem yok, çünkü tek kadınlar koğuşu var cezaevlerinde. Değişik koğuşlar görme şansım yok, değişik kadın gardiyanlar görme şansım yok" (TMMOB 2010, 96).
ST1_D2	"...mahkumlarla aramız son derece iyi. Kadınlar koğuşunu gezersek orada gösteririm, ağır ceza almış idamlıklar veya müebbet hapis alanlar altta, mutfaktan camlı bir bölmeyle ayrılmış bölümde kalıyorlardı. Zaten bizden önce de tahmin ederim hiç siyasi kadın tutuklu veya hükümlü gelmemişti, Sevim ablanın dışında... Adli kadın mahkumlar, daha önce en azından Sema'nın dönemine kadar çok kadın siyasi mahkum görmedikleri için önce bir merak hepsinde, ama bu arada sevgi de var, çünkü onlara göre başkaldıran kadın kutsal. Çünkü kendileri de başkaldırmış bir şekilde. Mesela namusuna göz diken birisini öldürmüş veya toprağına göz diken birisini öldürmüş. Onlara göre çok yüce bir davranış veya yankesicilik yapmış, ama "kendimce iyi yaptım, çünkü bana iş vermiyorlar, ben de yankesicilik yaptım" diyor. Onun için mahkumlarla aramız çok iyiydi"(TMMOB 2010, 96).
ST1_D3	"Koğuşu o zaman için fiziksel olarak düşünmüyordum çok düşünmüyordum açıkçası, ama yazın buraya gelip gezince, "Allah Allah bu ne kadar da kötü bir mekanmış, ya niye o zaman bize kötü gelmedi" diye kendi kendime sorgulamaya başladım. Ama şunu hatırlıyorum, mesela kocaman lağım karelerinin olduğunu biliyorum. Ortalıkta dolaşan, hatta gece yattığımız yere gelip, ranzalara tırmanıp, yorganları, yatağı kemiren kocaman fareler vardı" (TMMOB 2010, 97). "Bize mutfak diye ayrılan bölümün üstünde, tuvaletler ve banyolar vardı. Yapı zaten böyle bir iş için yapılmadığı için sağlıksız bir mekan, yaptığımız yemeğin içine lağım sularının damladığını çok iyi biliyorum, tencere kapağını açamazdınız, pişene kadar veya dışarı kaçırır, yemek pişti mi diye bakar sonra geri getirir koyarsınız. O gün için çok vahim gelmemişti, bilmiyorum neden? Belki gençliği verdiği, devrimci olmanın verdiği bir heyecandı...Kötü koşulları dert etmiyor olmam, onların değiştirilmesi için mücadele etmediğim, etmediğimiz anlamına gelmiyor. O dönemde ön planda değildi sadece" (TMMOB 2010, 97).
ST1_D4	"İdareyle ilişkimize gelince, o dönemde idareyle hiçbir kişisel sorun yaşadığımızı düşünmüyorum. Kadınlar koğuşunun gerçekten özel bir durumu var; bir kısım kadın mahkum veya tutuklu, hiçbir geliri olmayan kadınlardan oluşuyor. Bu kadınlar, idarede çalışan veya koğuş ağası denen erkek mahkumların çamaşırlarını yıkar, ütülerini yapar bu hizmetlerine karşılık onlardan para alarak geçimlerini sağlamaya çalışırlardı. Ama daha da kötü şeyler oluyordu, şimdi reddedecekler ama ben bunu gözümle görüp isyan ettiğimde, ilk idareyle takıştığım şeydi. Genç ve parasız kadınları, ne yazık ki pazarlıyorlardı, kadınlar koğuşuna erkek alarak. Kadınlar koğuşunda altta ve üstte olmak üzere iki tane gardiyan odası vardı, genellikle ara kapıyı kapattıktan sonra alt gardiyan odası boş kalıyordu, yani bizim irtibatımız kesiliyordu, bunu yapıyorlardı. Ben bunu fark ettiğimde, idareyle ilk ciddi çatışmamı yaşadım...Diğer mahkumlarla birlikte yaşadığımız dönemlerde, bu tür sorunlarla da karşılaştık. Cezaevinin bana en acı veren kısmı buydu. Ne tencerenin içine lağım suyu akması, ne farenin dolaşması ama parasız olduğu için erkeklere pazarlanan kadın mahkûmların olması" (TMMOB 2010, 97).
ST1_D5	"Zaten bu arada muhtıra verilmişti...Deniz'ler getirildi ben buradayken. Revire gidiyorum bahanesiyle çıkıp, o zaman şu anda gördüğünüz kadınlar kısmını ayıran duvar yoktu, Deniz'in kaldığı bölmeye doğru koşarak gittim, zaten gardiyanların da açıkçası çok da engellemek gibi bir tavırları yoktu, sadece sonradan duyulursa, sorun olmasın diye "nereye gidiyorsun, gel" gibi tepkilerin dışında. Deniz'le çok kısa bir görüşme yapabildim. "Hasretinden Prangalar Eskittim" şiir kitabını, battaniye falan istedi" (TMMOB 2010, 97).

ST2_D1	"İki dönem arasında Ulucanlar'da açıkçası çok da fark yoktu, benim için. Çünkü birincisinden askeri darbenin hemen öncesiydi, henüz darbeciler de bize ne yapacaklarını, nasıl davranacaklarını çok iyi bilmiyorlardı, çok keskin tavırlar gütmemişlerdi. 74'te affa yakın geldiğim için, son aylarda ortalıkta af rüzgarı esiyordu, onun için çok fazla Ulucanlar'da tutum farklılığı yaşamadım ben. Gene insanlar son derece saygılıydı, gardiyanlardan herhangi bir ters tavır görmedim açıkçası. Ulucanlar, sağlık koşullarının ve fiziki koşullarının dışında azap dolu bir yer olmadı benim için. Kadınlar koğuşunda kalmanın bir avantajı belki bu. Ne kadar gaddar olurlarsa olsunlar, sonuçta feodal kafalı insanlar bunlar, kadınlara erkeklere davrandıkları kadar çok sert ve acımasız davranamıyorlar...Ulucanlar'ın fiziki koşullarının çok kötü olmasına karşın mesela karavananın kötü ve yetersiz oluşu, tabii ki bütün koğuşlar için geçerliydi. Erkekler koğuşu kadar, kadınlar koğuşu için de geçerliydi. Onun için yemekleri biz...dışarıdan çiğ sebze veya etimizi alıp kendimiz yapıyorduk veya dışarıdan aileler getirebiliyorlardı" (TMMOB 2010, 103). "Bazı adli suçlular da bizim gibi birçok kez girip çıkıyorlar cezaevine, bu nedenle tanıdıklarım vardı aralarında...Hem kadın gardiyanlar hem de erkek gardiyanlar hemen hemen aynıydı. Yarı açık cezaevindeki mahkûmların eli kalem tutanları veya torpillileri idarede çalışırlardı, onların da çoğu tanıdıktı. Yani çok tanıdık bir ortama gelmişti. Ne yalan söyleyeyim Yıldırım Bölge'den sonra kendimi evim gelmiş gibi hissettim. Siyasi ortam da oldukça yumuşak; size özel baskı uygulanması için neden yok" (TMMOB 2010, 103).
ST2_D2	"Zamanımın çoğunu adli mahkumlarla geçiriyordum. Onların dilekçelerini yazmak ve özellikle af söylentilerini konuşmak günün çoğunu alıyordu...Geri kalan zamanımda kitap okuyordum. Kitapların bir kısmını idarede çalışan mahkumlar gönderiyorlardı, hatta onlarla kitap tartışıyorduk. 7-8 ay sonra THKO ve TÖS davasından ceza almış arkadaşlar da geldiler. Ben aşağıdaki koğuşta kalıyordum, aslında boş yer yoktu. Yanlış hatırlamıyorsam arkadaşların geldiklerinin öğrenince, ben söylemeden, birkaç kişi kendiliğinden yukarı koğuşa çıktı. Benim için o gün bayram gibiydi, hem arkadaşlarımla birlikte olacaktım hem de onlar Yıldırım Bölgeden kurtulmuşlardı" (TMMOB 2010, 103-104).
ST2_D3	"...burada...hücre yoktu kadınlara. Sivil cezaevlerinde hücre cezası uygulayamıyorlar. Daha önce de bahsetmiştim Ulucanlar'da kadın koğuşunda iki tane gardiyan odası vardı. Hücreye ihtiyaçları olduğunda üst kattaki odayı hücre niyetine kullanırlardı" (TMMOB 2010, 127).
ST2_D4	"Burada [koğuşlarda gidip gelme] yok, açıkçası buradaki koğuşları yazın gördüm sadece Deniz buraya getirildiğinde, Deniz'i görebilmek için arka tarafa gittim. Bir de [eski] tecrit dediğimiz koğuşun önünden geçerken, idareye veya revire giderken bu koğuşların önünden geçerdik, koğuşlardan insanlarla karşılaşıyordunuz. Burada öyle bir şey yok zaten, olması da mümkün değil çünkü genellikle kadınlar adli mahkûmlar oluyorlar, siyasi kadın mahkûmların sayısı az olduğu için veya olmadığı için böyle bir hak talep etmemişler, böyle de bir gelenek yok" (TMMOB 2010, 105).
ST2_D5	"Tecridin bir amacı da galiba insanları ilk girdiği anda yıldırmaya çalışmak. Çünkü üst üste, balık istifi yaşıyorsun, artı bitleniyorsun, yeterince yemek gelmiyor, banyo yapma olanağın yok, tuvalet şansın çok az, yani ilk girişte bir gözdağı vermek" (TMMOB 2010, 90).
GNL_D1	"[Kadınlar koğuşunda] galiba en son Behice Boran'lar kalmış 50'li yıllarda, daha sonra siyasi kaldı mı bilmiyorum?" (TMMOB 2010, 96).
GNL_D2	"...cezaevi siyasi tutuklular için başka bir deneyim, adli suçlular için, tutuklular için başka bir anlam taşıyor. Ama ortak bir tek şey var, her ikisi için de bir hayat okulu" (TMMOB 2010, 124). "Kadınlar koğuşuyla, erkekler koğuşu gerçekten çok farklı, ikisini ayrı kategoride incelemek lazım. Kadınlar koğuşunun kendine göre zorlukları, sorunları var. Erkekler koğuşunun, bambaşka bir yaşamı var. Kadınlar koğuşunda, belli bir dönem çok siyasi kadın tutuklu oldu ama onun dışında genellikle tek kalındı. Ama tek kalmak, güçsüz olmak anlamına da gelmedi hiçbir zaman...mesela tartışacak insan bulamıyorsunuz, kitap bulmakta zorlanıyorsunuz...Bir takım şeylerden mahrum oluyorsunuz ama avantajlarını da yaşıyorsunuz kadınlar koğuşunun...mesela, hücreye atmaya şansları yok. ...Yani iki farklı cezaevi görüntüsü çıkıyor ortaya, sorunlar da farklılaşıyor o zaman. Fiziki mekanın dışında, gerçekten çok farklı sorunlar çıkıyor ortaya...Ortak bir nokta bulmak, kapalı olmanın dışında pek mümkün değil gibi geliyor bana" (TMMOB 2010, 128).
ON THE FUTURE OF ULUCANLAR	"Ulucanlar Cezaevi'nin en azından belli koğuşlarının, mekanlarının mesela, tiyatro çalışması, müzik çalışması gibi daha sanatsal etkinliklere ev sahipliği yapması bence güzel olur" (TMMOB 2010, 129). "Mesela bir bölümüne müze yapılabilir. İnsanlar hep elinde silahla veya kalemle devrimci mücadele yapmazlar, resimle de yapabilirler, müzikle yapabilirler, tiyatroyla yapabilirler. Hayatın kendisiyle mücadele edilebilir, iş atölyeleri kurulabilir her ne kadar yarı açık cezaevinde varsa da bunlar. Bu tür faaliyetler için, bedava kurslar, gönüllü kurslar olabilir bunlar ama ciddiyetle yapılan kurslar olabilir. Bunlar yapılmalı bence, yani burası geçmişte çok acılara sahne olmuş bir yer olmakla birlikte, bundan sonra üretken olmalı diye düşünüyorum. Her seferinde buraya gelip "aaa biz burada, bu kadar acı çektik vah tüh etmemek" yaratıcı olmak gerekir diye düşünüyorum. Olduğu gibi, yapısal olarak belki korunabilir, daha iyi mekanlar da yapılabilir. Boyanıp, atölyelere dönüştürülebilir ki yeterli odası da var zaten. Heykelcilik kursları açılabilir, mimari kursu açılabilir, amatörce yürütülebilir bunlar. Ben buranın, senede bir kere ziyarete açılıp, eskiden yatanların gelip ziyaret edip "aa benim de şu kadar zamanım geçti" gibi hayıflanması için değil, daha verimli bir şeyler için korunmasını isterim...Yani aktif olmalı burası, yılın her günü, her ayı, aktif olmalı, halka açık olmalı. Ama bunu çok iyi bir örgütlenme biçiminde yapmalı ki, laçkası çıkmasın, çünkü çok çabuk laçkaya çevrilebilir bir şey olur; artı burada kalanların anısına da saygı göstererek tabi ki" (TMMMOB 2010, 130).

DATA-SHEET — Prisoners

Study ID 8	**Name** / Nickname: Hüseyin Sünger	**Source & S.** TMMOB OHW / 25.10.2007	
	Social Identity: Writer[1]	**Date:**	
Imprisonment Status: Political Prisoner		**Political ID:** Leftist / Socialist	**# of Stays:** 1
STAY 1 (ST1) 2-2,5 months		**Designated Schema 2-3 (Transition)**	
Years: March-May 1971	**Reason:** 5th of March 1971 The Raid on METU Dorms		
Context: Coup D'état of March 12th, at the time when Denizs were brought to Ulucanlar.			

EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED**		**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**MEMORY-IMAGES** (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)
NO	**TYPE**	**A/M**	**PLACES**		
D1	EP-GN1	**PA1**	Former *Tecrit* ●	**1** LC_O-**3** TSR	3 GÜN / GÖZDAĞI / BASKI
D2	EP-GN1	**PA2**	8. Ward ●	**1** LC_O-**3** PG_P/LO_PP	DEVRİMCİ TALEBELER / ORGANİZASYON
D2	EP-GN1	**PM1**	7. Ward ●	**3** PG_P	
D2	EP-GN1	**PM2**	6. Ward ●	**3** PG_P	
D3	EP-GN1	-	-	**3** LO_PP,F	ORGANİZASYON/KOMÜN
D4	EP-GN2	-	-	**3** LO_OP/IO_PG	ULUCANLAR AS HOME'
D5	EP-GN1	-	-	**2** RAC	BONCUK DİZME/TESPİH/DAMA/SATRANÇ/SAZ ÇALMA
D6	EP-GN1	**PM3**	The courtyard b/w 7. and 6. Wards ●	**2** RAC/KN	VOLEYBOL
D7	EP-GN1	**PM4**	*Kapıaltı* ●	**3** LO_R	TAHLİYE
D8	EP-GN1	-	-	**3** IO	

[1] University student at that time.

DECLARATIONS

ST1_D1	"...Ulucanlar'a getiriliyoruz. 3 gün tecritte balık istifi kalıyoruz, tecridin amacı, esas amacı, masum amacı; burası birçok insanın topluca yaşadığı yer, dışarıdan gelen insan bir bulaşıcı hastalık filan taşıyorsa, tecritte o ortaya çıkacak. O kalabalığın içerisine girmeden ayrılacak. O maksatlı kurulmuş ama...buraya gelene burada ne şartlarda yaşayacağı konusunda gözdağı vermek ve idarenin kendi tasarrufunu rahatlıkla sürdürebilmesi için, gelen mahkuma bir baskı yarattığı yer diye değerlendiriyorum" (TMMOB 2010, 99).
ST1_D2	"Tecritten sonra koğuşlara alındık. Biz buraya geldiğimizde, bizden önce...69, 70, 71 yıllarında 5 Mart'a gelinceye kadar, bizim Komer olayından, ODTÜ işgalinden, Siyasal yurt baskını, Hacettepe yurt baskını, Ziraat'tan falan gelmiş, belli bir süre kalmış insanlar var, sürekli bir sirkülasyon. Devrimci öğrenciler burada kalmışlar, o sırada da Hacettepeliler vardı, bizden önce gelmişler ve buraya bir sistem oturtmuşlar. Biz geldiğimizde, bizim avukatlarımız hazırdı. Nerede kalacaksın? Organize olmuş. Biz 22 kişiydik...Burada kalanlardan, kabadayılardan İzmirli İbrahim Çiftçi...de, biz tecritteyken gelenlerin isimlerinden nereli olduklarına bakıyor. Aydın Ödemişli, İbrahim Çiftçi de Ödemişli'dir. Aydın'la beni 8. Koğuşa aldırmış. Biz 8. Koğuşta ikimiz kalıyoruz, aynı yatakta beraber kalıyoruz. Diğer arkadaşlar, kimi 7. kimi 6. koğuşa dağıldı" (TMMOB 2010, 99).
ST1_D3	"Bizim komünler vardı, daha önceden sistem oturmuş. Dışarıdan yemekler geliyor, müthiş bir organizasyon, bir gün Siyasal üstleniyor, bir gün Ziraat üstleniyor, bir gün ODTÜ üstleniyor. Dışarıda korkunç bir organizasyon var, içeridekilerin, buradaki hayatlarını idamesini kolaylaştırmak amacıyla, ama nefis bir organizasyon. Komünler hazır, yiyecekler geliyor. Burada idare sürekli yemek veriyor, verilen yemekler de genellikle kuru fasulye, nohut, o mevsim sebzelerinden kapuska şudur, budur. O yemekleri bizim yememiz mümkün değil. Kuru fasulye çuvaldan doğrudan doğruya tencereye dökülüp, pişiriliyor. Biz kuru fasulyeyi de istiyoruz, kuru fasulye çıktığı zaman, çinko çanaklar vardı, herkes hakkını alıyor...Bir araya getiriliyor, yemek dökülüyor süzgeçlerden, fasulyesi ayıklanıyor, haşlanmış fasulye haline getiriliyor...tekrar yağı, soğanı, salçası konularak tekrar pişiriliyor ve temiz bir kuru fasulye yiyoruz. Sadece kuru fasulye ve nohut çıktığı zaman bir ayıklama sistemi getiriliyor ve artık yenilebilir hale getirildikten sonra yeniyor" (TMMOB 2010, 99).
ST1_D4	"Dışarıda yatacak yeri olmayan, yiyecek bulamayan, buraya gelip, bu yemekten ve bu yatacak yerden yararlanmak için, kışını burada geçirmek için kendilerini bir şekilde tutuklattıran insanlar gördüm" (TMMOB 2010, 99).
ST1_D5	"Bu sistem içerisinde, biz günlük yaşamımızı...boncuk fasılları, tespih fasılları, dama, satranç, saz çalmalar, saz öğrenmeler, tespih çevirme antrenmanları ile geçiriyoruz" (TMMOB 2010, ST03, 99).

ST1_D6	"7. Koğuşla, 6. Koğuşun arasında bir avlu var, orada bir voleybol sahası vardı. Biz geldiğimizde bu voleybol sahasının da bir düzeni vardı, birileri oynuyor, arkasından birileri...Biz altışar kişilik takımlar halinde oynuyoruz ama diğerleriyle değil, kendi aramızda takımlar kurarak. Bizim dışımızda oynayanlar da teke tek oynuyorlar, bir kişilik takımlar halinde. Biri servis atıyor, öteki topu üç defa hoplatarak, diğer tarafa atıyor. Plaj voleybolunun birer kişilik oynananı şeklini düşünün. Sonra arkadaşlar birden bire "bundan sonra biz voleybol oynamayacağız, çünkü diğer mahkumlar bizim üzerimize kumar oynuyorlar" dediler. Meğer o teke tek oynayanlar da kumarmış, biz oynadığımız zaman da bizim üzerimize kumar oynuyorlarmış. Biz de kumara sebep olmayalım, araç olmayalım diye voleybol oynamayı bıraktık" (TMMOB 2010, 99-100).
ST1_D7	"...bizim bir tahliyemiz geldi Mayıs'ın 12'sinde. Biz eşyalarımızı, naylon torbalara koyduk, bizim için gelen battaniye, yatak ne varsa onları bizden sonrakilere bırakmak üzere terk ederek kendi şahsi eşyalarımızı alı, Kapıaltı'nın altındaki, çıkış kapısının ağzına kadar geldik" (TMMOB 2010, 100).
ST1_D8	"...dışarıdaki siyasi ortam, hakikaten hapishanenin içerisine birebir yansıyor, hatta biraz katlanaraktan, dışarısı rahatsa hapishane çok rahat, dışarısı kötüyse hapishane çok kötü, dışarıdan da kötü. Öyle bir yer oluyor, etkilenmesi, sirayeti çok fazla oluyor" (TMMOB 2010, 101).

THE INTANGIBLE WITHIN TANGIBLE: CONSERVATION OF ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE AS A LOCUS OF MEMORY
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DATA-SHEET — Prisoners

Study ID 9	**Name** / Nickname:	Ahmet Karagücük	**Source & S.** TMMOB OHW / 25.10.2007	
	Social Identity:	Engineer[1]	**Date:**	
Imprisonment Status:		Political Prisoner	**Political ID:** Leftist / Socialist	**# of Stays:** 1
STAY 1 (ST1)	months		**Designated Schema 2-3 (Transition)**	
Years:	1971	**Reason:**	5th of March 1971 The Raid on METU Dorms	
Context: Coup D'état of March 12th, at the time when Denizs were brought to Ulucanlar.				

EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED**		**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**MEMORY-IMAGES** (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)
NO	**TYPE**	**A/M**	**PLACES**		
D1	EP-GN1	**PA1**	Former *Tecrit* ●	**1** LC_O,D-**3** TSR	BALIK İSTİFİ / HELA / DIŞKI / PİS
D2, D3	EP-GN1	**PA2**	8. Ward ●	**3** LO_F	LÜKS

BEFORE THE TRANSFORMATION, ON THE FUTURE OF ULUCANLAR PRISON

DECLARATIONS	**ON FUNCTION**	**ON SPECIFIC PLACES**	**ON CONSERVATION**
NO			
D1	-	The execution courtyard as a memorial for Deniz's.	Restoration in its original state.

[1] University student at that time.

DECLARATIONS

ST1_D1	"Burada tecritte kalmıştım, onu atladım. Tecritte çok kötüydü, ben 8-9 gün kaldım galiba, on kişilik yerde istif halinde otuz kişi yatıyordu herhalde. Bir de en kötü yanı, heladaki dışkılar taşıyordu, insanın içi kalkıyordu. Çok pis bir yerdi, hala aklıma gelince midem bulanıyor" (TMMOB 2010, 108).
ST1_D2	"...ben Ulucanlar'a geldim. Ulucanlar'da, Hüseyin Sünger ve diğer arkadaşlar vardı, Akın Dirik de vardı..." (TMMOB 2010, 108).
ST1_D3	"...buraya geldiğimde baktım ki, yemek pişiriyorlar, benim için buralar gayet iyi, benim dışarıdaki yaşantımın yanında ilk geldiğimde burası lükstü" (TMMOB 2010, 108).
ON THE FUTURE OF ULUCANLAR	"Ben de Ulucanlar'a kızıp, buranın yıkılmasını değil, mevcut orijinalini tutarak, buranın restore edilerek kalmasını, Deniz'lerin idam edildiği yerde, bir anıt yapılmasını öneriyorum" (TMMOB 2010, 113).

DATA-SHEET — Prisoners

Study ID	**Name / Nickname:**	Kemal Çeliker	**Source & S.** TMMOB OHW / 25.10.2007	
10	**Social Identity:**	Local Journalist	**Date:**	
Imprisonment Status:		Judicial Prisoner	**Political ID:** -	**# of Stays:** 2 (and more)
STAY 1 (ST1)	3 months		**Designated Schema--**	
Years:	1961	**Reason:** Malicious wounding/fighting crimes		
Context: -				

EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED**		**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**MEMORY-IMAGES** (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)
NO	**TYPE**	**A/M**	**PLACES**		
D1	EP-GN1	**PA1**	4. Ward */Sübyan* Ward	**3** PG_P	
D1	EP-GN1	**PM1**	7. Ward	**3** PG_P	
D2	EP-GN1	**PA2**	1. Ward	**3** PG_P	
D3	EP-GN1	-	-	**3** LO_OP,PP	BEATING AS CORPORAL PUNISHMENT/UNITY/RESISTANCE
D4	EP-GN1	-	10. Ward	**3** LO_OP	POSSESSION OF MARIJUANA / SHARP OBJECTS (KNIVES)/GUNS

STAY 2 (ST2)			**Designated Schema--**	
Years:	1969/1970-?	**Reason:** -		
Context: -				

EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED**		**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**MEMORY-IMAGES** (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)
NO	**TYPE**	**A/M**	**PLACES**		
D1,D7	EP-GN1	**PA1**	2. Ward	**3** PG,RP_P	
D1,D7	EP-PR1,2	**PM1**	3. Ward	**PR**_Yusuf Aslan, Ulaş Bardakçı in Ulucanlar **3** RP_P	
D1	EP-PR1,2	**PM2**	1. Ward	**PR**_Hüseyin İnan in Ulucanlar **3** RP_P	
D2	EP-GN2	**PM3**	6. Ward	**3** PG_P	
D3	EP-GN1	**PM4**	1. Ward_Courtyard	**2** RAC/KN	VOLLEYBALL
D4	EP-PR1,2	**PM5**	Isolation / Discipline Cells (*Müşahede*)	**PR**_Deniz Gezmiş in Ulucanlar **3** RP_P	
D5	EP-PR1	**PM6**	Visit Door (*Görüş Kapısı*) [*Kapıaltı* ?]	PR_His small talk with Deniz Gezmiş at *Kapıaltı*	
D6	EP-GN2	**PM7**	7. Ward	**3** LO_OP,PP	POSSESSION OF MARIJUANA / RESISTANCE AGAINST INJUSTICE
D7	EP-GN2	**PM8**	Infirmary (*Revir*) Ward	**3** PG,RP_P	DEPUTIES
D7	EP-GN2	**PM9**	4. Ward */Sübyan* Ward	**3** PG_P	

DECLARATIONS

ST1_D1	"Sanırım bu 7. Koğuşa bir gün geldiğimde, şu ileride 4. Koğuş vardı, ora bebe koğuşuydu orada da yattım, yani buranın bütün koğuşlarında yattım" (TMMOB 2010, 119). "Ben buraya aralıklı girdim, 61'de, Dündar'la yattık. 69-70 rahmetli Denizlerin zamanında yattım. 61'de şurada çocuk koğuşundaydım [4. koğuş], 17 yaşındaydım. Bu koğuşu biliyorsunuz, hep ağalar, paşalar yatardı bu koğuşta [7. Koğuş]. Kelli felli adamlar, işte gardiyanların adamları, şunlar bunlar. Ama Oktay'lardan [siyasiler] sakınırlardı, rahmetlik Yusuf'lardan idare bile çekinirdi" (TMMOB 2010, 123).
ST1_D2	"...1. Koğuşta yatardım, hem ben de garibandım" (TMMOB 2010, 118).
ST1_D3	"...biraz dayak vardı. Hani dayak atılmasa da atılırdı yani. Neden dersen? Sen bir kişisin, seni dövdükleri zaman seni soran olmadığı için dayak yemek imkanımız, şansımız yüksekti. Ama Oktay'ların [siyasiler] dayak yeme şansı azdı, ancak korka korka bir hücre cezası verebilirlerdi, çünkü dışarıdan, içeriden hemen toplanırlardı, haklarını ararlardı" (TMMOB 2010, 119).
ST1_D4	"Esrara gelince, leblebi gibiydi. Şurada 10. Koğuş, Kabadayı Mehmet'in yattığında yattık biz, vallahi, billahi yemin ediyorum, silah belindeydi, ben gözümle gördüm, ben de meydancılık yapıyordum, 61 yılında" (TMMOB 2010, 124).
ST2_D1	"Sanıyorum 1967, 69, 70 araları. İlk Efraim Elrom'un, [Yusuf Aslan ve Ulaş Bardakçı] İsrail konsolosunun suçundan dolayı yatıyordular...beraber yattığımızda, 69-70'de, ben 13 yıl hapis cezasına mahkum olmuştum o yıllarda...gelir gelmez de rahmetli Ulaş Bardakçı'yla, şurada yan yana, 2. Koğuşta yatardık. Yusuf'la Müfit 3. Koğuşta, sen 1. Koğuşta rahmetlik Hüseyin'le...Fakat şunu söyleyeyim, hepsinden çok Hüseyin'i severdim, Ulaş'la çok böyle yan yana yatardık, ufak boylu, iyi bir çocuktu, çok efendi bir çocuktu "hocam" derdi başka bir şey demezdi, kafası da keldi" (TMMOB 2010, 120).
ST2_D2	"Ben, çıktım-girdim, çıktım-girdim. 2. Koğuşta kaldım. Birinci kısım hükümlüler koğuşuydu, burası tutuklular koğuşuydu. 6. Koğuş, cinayetçiler koğuşu, orası karışıktı..." (TMMOB 2010, 123).
ST2_D3	"Hatta ben burada 1 liraya top [voleybol] oynatırdım, bana acırlardı, ekmek parasını kazansın diye, aslında yasaktı" (TMMOB 2010, 119). "Zaten Oktay'lar, Yusuf'lar 1. Koğusların oraya geliyor, top sahası hep orada toplanırdık" (TMMOB 2010, 121).
ST2_D4	"...Hüseyin, benimle konuştu, "Deniz Gezmiş, senin hemşerin" dedi. "Nasıl bir insan, nasıl görürüm" dedim, çünkü görme şansımız yoktu Deniz'i. Şu arkada hücre var üstte, orada yatar. Zaten biraz bakacağım, anılarımı tazeleyeyim, çünkü çektiğim sıkıntıları ben bilirim" (TMMOB 2010, 121).
ST2_D5	"Bir de Deniz Gezmiş'le görüşme şansım oldu, görüş kapısı vardı, Oktaycığım, tesadüf. Uzun boyluydu, zayıftı ama. Bilmiyorum, orada, yukarıda hücrede yattığından mı nedir, bilmiyorum zayıftı. Şöyle gidiyordu, ben de böyle duruyordum, tam geçerken "hemşerim nasılsın ya Deniz" dedim, durdu. "Merhaba" dedi, elini uzattı, elimi uzattım. "Nasılsınız?" dedim, "iyiyim" dedi. "Ya hemşerimmişsin, Erzurumluymuşsun, ben de Erzurumluyum" diye bir sohbetimiz oldu, Allah rahmet eylesin. "Neden yatıyorsun?" dedi, "yaralamadan yatıyorum" dedim. "Hüseyin İnan, çok bahsediyor Ulaş'la her gün bir arada. Ulaş'la beraber yatıyoruz, Hüseyin'le de beraberiz, top oynuyoruz. Senden bahsettiler hemşerim olarak, çok arzuladım görmeyi, kısmet olmadı bugüne denk geldi" dedim. "Memnun oldum" dedi, "ne yapıyor arkadaşlar" dedi, "iyi" dedim, orada beş dakika ayaküstü konuşma şansım oldu, onun haricinde olmadı" (TMMOB 2010, 122).
ST2_D6	"Cezaevi'ne esrar da girerdi, bıçak da girerdi, her şey girerdi. Mesela şu koğuşun, şurası iyi hatırlarım, böyle ranzaydı. Burası ekip başınındı, ama buradaki bu ekip başı, para toplasa da paranın üç-beş kuruş idareye giderdi. Ama talebeler dediğimiz, rahmetlik Deniz Gezmiş'lerin döneminde Oktay'ların döneminde, onlardan çekinirlerdi. Çünkü onların yanında, haksızlık yapamazlardı, bir tane adam dövdürmezlerdi" (TMMOB 2010, 123).
ST2_D7	"Reviri bilirsiniz hocam siz. Orası milletvekillerinin koğuşuydu, kodamanların koğuşuydu. Garibanların koğuşu 2. Koğuş, 3. Koğuş, 4. Koğuş" (TMMOB 2010, 124).

DATA-SHEET					Prisoners
Study ID 11	**Name** / Nickname:	Halil Çelimli	**Source & S.** TMMOB OHW / 25.10.2007		
	Social Identity:	Politician[1]	**Date:**		
Imprisonment Status:		Political Prisoner	**Political ID:** Leftist / Socialist	**# of Stays:**	4
STAY 1 (ST1)	3 months		**Designated Schema 2**		
Years:	January-March 1969	**Reason:**	The Komer Event		
Context: -					
EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED**		**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**MEMORY-IMAGES** (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)
NO	**TYPE**	**A/M**	**PLACES**		
D1	EP-GN1	**PM1**	*Kapıaltı* ●	**3** LO_E	
D2	EP-GN1	**PA1**	Former *Tecrit* (*Müteferrika*) ●	**3** TSR	
D3	EP-GN1	**PA2**	8. Ward ●	**3** PG_P,R	OKUL / DOSTLUK / DİRENİŞ
STAY 2 (ST2)			**Designated Schema 2-3 (Transition)**		
Years:	April 1971	**Reason:**	5th of March 1971 The Raid on METU Dorms		
Context:	The 1971 Turkish Memorandum a.k.a. Coup D'état of March 12th				
EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED**		**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**MEMORY-IMAGES** (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)
NO	**TYPE**	**A/M**	**PLACES**		
D1	EP-GN1	**PA1**	5. Ward ? ●	**3** PG_P	
STAY 3 (ST3)	2 months		**Designated Schema 3**		
Years:	1973	**Reason:**	-		
Context: -					
EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED**		**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**MEMORY-IMAGES** (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)
NO	**TYPE**	**A/M**	**PLACES**		
D1	EP-GN1	**PA1**	9. Ward ●	**3** PG_P	
STAY 4 (ST4)	2 months		**Designated Schema 5**		
Years:	1984	**Reason:**	A speech he made		
Context:	After Coup D'état of September 12th				
EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED**		**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**MEMORY-IMAGES** (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)
NO	**TYPE**	**A/M**	**PLACES**		
D1	EP-GN1	**PA1**	4. Ward ●	**3** PG_P,R	KAVGA-DÖVÜŞ/ TERÖRİZE ORTAM

BEFORE THE TRANSFORMATION, ON THE FUTURE OF ULUCANLAR PRISON			
DECLARATIONS	**ON FUNCTION**	**ON SPECIFIC PLACES**	**ON CONSERVATION**
NO			
D1	-	The execution courtyard with the poplar tree is the most important point for the revolutionaries like us. That small area is ours, no one can take it from us.	-

[1] University student at that time.

DECLARATIONS

ST1_D1	"...Ulucanlar Cezaevi'ne geldik. Benim bu Ulucanlar Cezaevi Kapıaltı'ndan ilk geçişimdir" (TMMOB 2010, 110).
ST1_D2	"İlk girişimde bu müteferrikada, o zaman tecride müteferrika deniyordu, kalıp kalmadığımdan çok emin değilim. Kalmış da olabiliriz tecritte, direk koğuşa da alınmış olabiliriz" (TMMOB 2010, 110).
ST1_D3	"Ben 8. Koğuşta kaldım Ulucanlar'a ilk girdiğimde, bu cezaevi gerçekten büyük bir okul ve deneyim olmuştur benim için. Cezaevi ayrı bir dünyadır. Cezaevi yaşamı farklı bir durumdur, farklı ölçüleri vardır. Mahkum davranışı denilen bir şey vardır. Bunu cezaevinde yatmayanlar kolay kolay bilemezler. Gerçekten ben cezaevinde öğrendiklerimin, faydasını çok gördüm....Buradan geriye dönüp baktığımız zaman ne kaldı elimizde? Dostluklar kaldı, nerede oluştu bunlar. Bunlar direniş içinde oluştu, paylaşımda oluştu, sevgide oluştu. Diğer tutuklularla da çok dostluk ilişkilerimiz vardı" (TMMOB 2010, 110).
ST2_D1	"Ulucanlar Cezaevi'ne geldim ve galiba 5. Koğuşta kaldım" (TMMOB 2010, 112).
ST3_D1	"...ben DEV-GENÇ Davasından tahliye olduktan sonra 1973 yılında tekrar Ulucanlar Cezaevi'ne, 9. Koğuşa döndüm" (TMMOB 2010, 112).
ST4_D1	"12 Eylül sonrasında...cezanın infazı için Mamak cezaevinden alıp tekrar Ulucanlar Cezaevi 4. Koğuşa getirdiler. O dönemde aynen Mamak Cezaevi'nde olduğu gibi, Ulucanlar Cezaevi'nde de devrimcilerle faşistler aynı koğuşlarda tutuluyordu. Bu yüzden kavga dövüş eksik olmuyordu" (TMMOB 2010, 112). "Ben farklı siyasetlerden mahkumların, bir arada kalmasıyla ilgili bir-iki şey söylemek istiyorum, çünkü bu konu üzerinde yeterince durulmadı. 12 Eylül sonrasında Mamak Cezaevinde, daha sonra 1984'te 4. Koğuşta farklı siyasi görüşten insanların bir arada tutulduğu ortamları yaşadım...Benim yatağımla faşistin yatağı yan yana. ..o yataklarda rahat yatabilmek olanaklı değildi. terörize bir durum vardı, bunun altını çizmek istiyorum" (TMMOB 2010, 128).
ON THE FUTURE OF ULUCANLAR	"Biz devrimciler için, Türkiye'de en önemli mekan, Denizlerin asıldığı bu kavak ağacının olduğu avludur. Bu devletin, bu geniş mekanları tanzim ve denetlememize izin vereceğini sanmıyorum. Ama o ağacın olduğu küçük alan, yani Deniz'lerin asıldığı alan bizimdir, onu kimse elimizden alamaz. Bu konuda hakikaten çok ciddi ve çok kararlı olunması gerektiğini düşünüyorum. Bu küçük avluda bizim kanımız canımız var, kamusal alan dediğimiz orasıdır bizim. Orayı mutlaka elimizde tutmamız lazımdır diye düşünüyorum" (TMMOB 2010, 129).

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THESIS STUDY BY ZEYNEP KUTLU

DATA-SHEET — Prisoners

Study ID 12	**Name** / Nickname:	Ali Artun	**Source & S.** TMMOB OHW / 26.10.2007	
	Social Identity:	Architect[1]	**Date:**	
Imprisonment Status:		Political Prisoner	**Political ID:** Leftist / Socialist	**# of Stays:** 1
STAY 1 (ST1)	3 weeks		**Designated Schema- Exceptional**	
Years:	February 1969	**Reason:**	"Grand Protest March (Büyük Eğitim Yürüyüşü)" of the Union of Turkish Teachers (TÖS)	
Context: The Kommer Event				

EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED**		**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**MEMORY-IMAGES (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)**
NO	**TYPE**	**A/M**	**PLACES**		
D1	EP-GN1	**PA1**	1. Ward ●	**3** PG_P,R	AĞARLAR / SAYGI /
D1	EP-PR1	**PM1**	Library ●	**PR_**Meeting with İrfan Uçar **3** PG_P	
D2	EP-GN1	-	-	**2** RAC,KN	SALLAMA ÇEVİRME/VOLTA ATMA

[1] University student at that time.

DECLARATIONS

ST1_D1	"Ulucanlar'da, 1. kısımda, "ağarlar" koğuşunda üç hafta kadar yattım... "Bizi "hırsız-uğursuz"ların yanına değil de, ağaların yanına koymaları üniversite öğrencisi olmamızdan dolayı kollamak nedeniyleydi. Biz ikimizden başka bu koğuşta 'yabancı' olarak bir de travestiler vardı. Genellikle ahlaki gerekçelerle suça zorlanmış olan ağarlar ne de olsa "ağar-başlı" ve ahlaklı adamlardı. Kaldığım sürede büyük izzet ve itibar gördüm. Daha anti-komünizm şiddetlenmemişti ve içeri giren tek tük üniversiteli vardı. Üniversitede okuma şansına sahip olmaya rağmen bir dava uğruna hapishaneyi göze almak saygı görüyordu... Aynı günlerde öteki kısımlarda komerciler yatıyordu...Ve bir gün iki kısmın arasındaki kütüphanede o gruptan galiba İrfan Uçar ile buluşup kısaca konuşmuştuk" (TMMOB 2010, 135).
ST1_D2	"Bir daha hiç karşılaşmayacağım tipler tanıdım...Sallama çevirmenin, volta atmanın inceliklerine ve derinliklerine vardım...Ulucanlar'ı hatırladıkça hale bende bir heyecan ve merak uyanıyor. Sanki son derece ilginç bir seyahatteymişim gibi. Tabii ben de bir müebbetlik olarak orada bulunsaydım neler hissederdim o ayrı" (TMMOB 2010, 135).

DATA-SHEET — Prisoners

Study ID 13	**Name** / Nickname: Hasan Barutçu	**Source & S.** TMMOB OHW / 26.10.2007	
	Social Identity: Architect[1]	**Date:**	
Imprisonment Status: Political Prisoner		**Political ID:** Leftist / Socialist	**# of Stays:** 1
STAY 1 (ST1) 2-2,5 months		**Designated Schema 3**	
Years: March 1971	**Reason:** 5th of March 1971 The Raid on METU Dorms		
Context: The 1971 Turkish Memorandum a.k.a. Coup D'état of March 12th			

EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED**		**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**MEMORY-IMAGES** (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)
NO	**TYPE**	**A/M**	**PLACES**		
D1	EP-GN1	**PA1**	3. Ward ●	**3** PG_P	
D1	EP-GN1, PR1	**PM1**	Barber	**3** TSR/LO_E	TIRAŞ
D2,D3	EP-GN1	**PM2**	1. Ward ●	**1** FUR-**3** PG_P	AĞARLAR / AĞIR MAHKUMLAR
D2,D4	EP-GN1	**PM3**	2. Ward ●	**3** PG_P	
D2,D5	EP-GN1	**PA1**	3. Ward ●	**1** LC_O-**3** PG_P	KALABALIK / DEVRİMCİ ÖĞRENCİLER / HIRSIZLAR / YANKESİCİLER / DOLANDIRICILAR
D6	EP-GN1	**PM4**	The courtyards of 1.,2. and 3. Wards ●	**1** SC_R-**3** TSR	Space Configuration_The passages between
D7	EP-GN1	-	-	**3** LO_PP,OP,F	KARAVANA/KOĞUŞ AĞASI VE FEDAİLERİ / BİRİNCİ SİGARASI
D8	EP-GN1	-	-	**3** TSR_PP/LO_PP	GECE NÖBETLERİ
D9	EP-GN1	**PM5**	Bath (*Hamam*) ●	**3** LO_B	BİT KONTROLÜ
D10	EP-PR1,GN1	**PM6**	Visitation (*Görüş)* ●?	**3** LO_V	
D11	EP-GN1	**PM4**	The courtyards of 1.,2. and 3. Wards ●	-	TOPRAK ÖZLEMİ
D12	EP-GN1	**PM4**	The courtyards of 1.,2. and 3. Wards	**1** SC_R-**2** RAC-**3** PG_R/LO	YÜKSEK DUVARLAR / TÜFEKLİ JANDARMALAR / SOHBET
D13	EP-GN1	-	-	**3** PG_R/LO	RANZA' AS HOME
D14	EP-GN1	**PM4**	The courtyards of 1.,2. and 3. Wards	**2** KN	VOLTA RACONU'
D15	EP-GN1	-	-	**2** RAC	TESPİH ÇEVİRME' OLTU TAŞINDAN TESPİH

DECLARATIONS

ST1_D1 "Ankara Merkez Sivil Cezaevine (Ulucanlar'a) götürüldük.
Ertesi sabah koğuşlara sevkiyat oldu. Bu sevkiyat sırasında cezaevi berberi, elindeki üç numara saç tıraşı makinesiyle, ayaküstü sırayla hepimizin başının tam ortasından önden arkaya doğru bir çizik attı, şöyle üç dört santim kalınlığında bir otoyol gibi. Bu işlemin ardından elbette ilk işin cezaevinin berberine gidip saçlarının tümünü üç numaraya vurdurmak oluyor. Bu bit üremesin diye bir tedbir. Önce kafanızda yalnızca bir yol açılması ise, hem sevkiyat işlemi uzamasın, hem de aynı gün berbere gidip saçının kalanını parayla kestiresin diye" (TMMOB 2010, 138).

ST1_D2	"Biz hastanede iki gün kaldığımız için ODTÜ olaylarından dolayı tutuklanan diğerleri bizden önce gelmişler ve Birinci ve İkinci Koğuşlarda bulunan boş yerlere yerleştirilmişler, bize de Üçüncü Koğuş düştü. Üçüncü Koğuş'ta ranzalar yan yana bitiştirilmiş ve sanıyorum iki yüz yatağa üç yüz kişi sığdırılmış. Yatak başına bir buçuk-iki kişi düşüyor. Omuzlar ayaklardan geniş olduğundan ve biraz da cinsel teması önlemek için, yan yana baş-ayak ters yatıyoruz. İki yanımda kokulu iki çift ayak var, ama çok dert değil, çünkü koğuşun tüm havası zaten o kadar ağır ki bir süre sonra hissetmiyorsun. Biz Üçüncü Koğuşta on-on iki kişi kadar devrimci öğrenciyiz. Birinci ve ikinci koğuşlarda da her birinde bir o kadar. Gerisi "adi suçlu". Çok aşağılayıcı bir tanım ama "siyasi suçlu" olmayanlara böyle deniyor" (TMMOB 2010, 138).
ST1_D3	"Birinci koğuşta ağır vakalar var. Müebbet veya idamla yargılanan, çoğu namus ve kan davası veya toprak yüzünden cinayetle suçlanan tutuklular. Onlar daha itibarlı. Ranzaları birbirinden bir adam geçecek kadar ayrık. Hüküm giyip sevk edilecekleri günü bekleyen ağır mahkûmlar" (TMMOB 2010, 138).
ST1_D4	İkinci koğuşta, gene benzer nedenlerle düşmüş, ancak ölüm yerine yaralamayla biten olaylardan veya bazı hafifletici nedenlerden dolayı cezası birinciler kadar fazla olmayanlar yatıyor" (TMMOB 2010, 138).
ST1_D5	"Üçüncü koğuş ise hırsızlar, yankesiciler, dolandırıcılar gibi, diğerlerinin bile aşağıladıkları tutuklulara ayrılmış. Öyle ki, birisine suçu ne diye sorarsın, "yandan yaralama" der. Aslında yankesici, ama utancından "yan cebinden yaralama" benzetmesiyle "yandan yaralama" diyor" (TMMOB 2010, 138).
ST1_D6	"Cezaevinin diğer bölümleri ve koğuşları da var. Ama biz Birinci, İkinci ve Üçüncü koğuşlarla aynı avluya çıktığımız için gördüğümüz bu kadar. Gündüzleri avluda biz üç koğuşta kalanlar birlikteyiz. Akşam belli bir saatte herkes kendi koğuşuna giriyor ve kapılar kilitleniyor. Kapıyı kilitleyen gardiyan her akşam "Hadi Allah kurtarsın" der, bütün koğuş da hep bir ağızdan "Allah seni de kurtarsın" diye cevap verir. Çünkü o gariban da haftanın altı günü cezaevinde yaşıyor" (TMMOB 2010, 138).
ST1_D7	"Biz "öğrenciler" veya "siyasiler" hep birlikte davranıp her şeyi aramızda paylaşıyoruz...Karavana her gün değişen görevlilerimiz eliyle terbiye edilip yenecek hale geliyor. Birimizin ailesinin gönderdiği muzlar, portakallar veya ev böreği herkese yetsin diye üçe veya dörde bölünerek yeniyor. Bütün gün Birinci sigarası içen bizler, gene birisine gelen iyi cins sigarayı akşam yemeğinden sonra paylaşıp birer tane içiyoruz...Bu duruma alışık olmayan koğuşta bizim bu davranışımız önce şaşkınlık, sonra saygı uyandırdı. Ancak bundan daha da fazla merak ve saygı konusu olan, bizlerin kendimiz için bir şey yapmayıp, toplumun çıkarı için devlet güçleriyle dövüştüğümüzden burada olmamızdı...Bütün bunlar ve bizim birbirimize kenetlenmemiz bizi cezaevi yaşamının tehlikelerinden de korudu. Her koğuş gibi bizim koğuşumuzda da koğuş ağası ve onun sekiz-on kadar serseri fedaisi vardı. Sana gelen yiyeceğini elinden almaktan, cebindeki parayı gasp etmeye kadar her şeye kadir olan bu koğuş ağaları bizden korktular. Biz onların düzenine karışmadık, onlar da bizden uzak durdular" (TMMOB 2010, 138-139). "Normal günlerde çeşitli katkılar ve terbiye sonucu ancak yenebilecek hale gelen akşam karavanasını tahta kaşıklarla aynı büyük tencere içinden koğuştaki on kadar kişi yemeye koyulurduk" (TMMOB 2010, 139-140).
ST1_D8	"Cezaevlerinde bazı temel kurallar vardır. Sabah koğuş kapıları açıldıktan sonra yatakta kalamazsın. Yatağını düzenler, yorganını dürüp yatağın başucuna koyar, giyinir ve avluya çıkarsın. Şöyle "bir saat daha kestireyim" yoktur. En azından Ankara Merkez Sivil Cezaevinde böyleydi. Geceleri de ışıklar sabah kadar yanar, ve ikişer kişilik nöbetlerle koğuş içinde düzen sağlanır, ahlaksızlık önlenir. Bu nöbetçilerin bir görevi de fazla horlayanları dürtmektir" (TMMOB 2010, 139).
ST1_D9	"Arada bir de bit kontrolü yapılır, Koğuş kıdemlilerinden iki kişi sırayla herkesin fanilasını çıkarttırır ve fanilanın koltuk altına gelen yerinde bit aranır. Bit çıkarsa önce hamama gönderilirsin, sonra da bir ceza nöbeti yersin. İlk zamanlarda bizlerde fazlaca çıkmaya başladı. Şaşırdık, çünkü temizliğimize dikkate diyoruz. Sonra mesela anlaşıldı. Yenilere hep yapılan bir şakaymış. Kıdemli tırnağının arasına sakladığı bir bit senden çıkmış gibi yaparmış sen de ceza nöbeti yermişsin" (TMMOB 2010, 139).
ST1_D10	"Biz Ankara Merkez Cezaevinde'yken annem her hafta görüşe gelirdi, "Oğlum ne getireyim sana, canın ne çekiyor?" diye sorardı. Ben sert sert "Yok, bişey lazım değil" diye terslerdim onun kalbini kırarak… Bir gün gene "Oğlum aşure yapayım mı sana, sen çok seversin," dedi...Gene aynı sertlikle "Anne anlamıyor musun, biz burada otuz kişiyiz, bana lütfen hiçbir şey getirme" dedim. Ertesi hafta görüş günü gardiyan çağırdı, "Görüşmecin var" diye. Sonra da elindeki plastik bir kocaman kovayı elime tutuşturdu, "Al, sana gelmiş" dedi. Kovanın kapağını açtım, içi ağzına kadar aşure doluydu. Ağlamamak için kendimi zor tuttum. O gün hep birlikte aşure ziyafeti çektik, arkadaşların "Annenin elleri sağolsun, var olsun, Allah uzun ömürler versin" dilekleriyle" (TMMOB 2010, 139).
ST1_D11	"Ben cezaevinde toprağı özledim" (TMMOB 2010, 140).
ST1_D12	"Cezaevi avlusunda diğer koğuşlardan yeni insanlarla tanışılır. Sohbetler yapılır. Birlikte yürünür. Avlu duvarları çok yüksektir. Herhalde beş metre filan. Üstünde de tüfekli jandarmalar. Eni boyu da her bir koğuş için on metreye yirmi metre civarında. Birbirine açılan üç avluda yaklaşık altı yüz - yedi yüz kişi bulunur gün boyu. Bu insanlar birbirleriyle yaşadıkları hayatı paylaşırlar. Yaşayacaklarını değil, çünkü o çok belirsizdir... Bu insanlar yalnızca anlatmaktan değil, dinlemekten de hoşlanırlar. Senin hikayeni merak ederler. Hele bizim gibi kendi kişisel çıkarı veya kendisine kişisel bir saldırı olmadan hapse düşecek bir suç işlenmesini çok merak ederler. Bu daha çok Birinci Koğuştaki ağır mahkumlarda görülür. Çünkü onlar daha temiz ve namusludur. Gerçek kader kurbanlarıdır....Bu feodal düzeni yıkmak için devlet güçlerine başkaldırmış gençlerin hikayesi bu insanları çok ilgilendirir" (TMMOB 2010, 140-141).

ST1_D13	"Avluda birkaç gün sohbetin arkasından bir sabah, "Ağam" der, "Öğlen yemekten sonra lütfen kahveyi bende içelim, biraz daha konuşuruz." Evine davet eder gibi söylediği bu sözcük ranzasına davettir. Kimbilir kaç yıl daha onun evi olacak olan ranzasına. Gidersin. Yatak düzenle yapılmış, baş tarafına yorgan yuvarlanarak sırtlık oluşturulmuş, kendisi ayak tarafında sırtını demirlere yaslamış bekliyordur. Geldiğini görünce yere iner, seni karşılar, "Buyur" diyerek sırtını rahatça yaslayacağın baş tarafa seni davet eder. Ayakkabılarını çıkarır ranzaya tırmanırsın. Kendisi gene ayak ucundaki yerine ilişir. Bağdaş kurulur, illa ki onun sigarasından bir tane alınır, meydancı çağrılarak kahveler söylenir ve sohbet kaldığı yerden, daha da koyulaşarak sürer. Ayrılırken "Bana da beklerim" dersin. Ama onun Üçüncü Koğuştaki tutukluların yanına gelmeyeceğini ikiniz de bilirsiniz. Zaten senin de onu ağırlayacak bir evin yoktur. Gene de bunlar yüze vurulmaz. Nezaketle ayrılınır" (TMMOB 2010, 141).
ST1_D14	"Bu sohbetler avluda volta atarken de yapılır. Cezaevinde volta çok önemlidir. Girdikten birkaç gün sonra volta atmanın raconunu öğrenirsin. Mesafe ne kadar elveriyorsa, yedi adım veya dokuz adım gider, sonra geri dönersin ve bu böyle saatlerce sürer. Yedi adımdan azı kısadır biraz. Tabii hücrede filansan üç adımla da idare etmen gerekir, ama en rahatı yedi veya dokuz adımdır. Fazlası da fazladır...Genelde hızlı yürünür. Ve bir sağ taraftan, bir sol taraftan geri dönülür. Geri dönerken son adımının üstünde yaylanmak veya çabuk dönmek senin kişiliğine veya o anki ruh haline bağlıdır. Bir bir taraftan, bir diğer taraftan dönmek ise hem kısa voltalarda başının dönmesini önlemek içindir, hem de iki kişi yürüyorken hep yüz yüze kalmak ve sohbeti sürdürmek içindir. Çok önemli bir kural vardır. Volta kesilmez. İlk günlerde bunu bilmeden volta atanların yoluna çıkarsın. Seni hemen diğerleri uyarırlar. Voltası kesilenler bir kere, bilemedin iki kere ses çıkarmazlar acemilere, ama sonra böğrüne falçatayı yersin. Bir adama yapılacak en büyük hakaret, küfür ve meydan okuma onun voltasını kesmektir çünkü. Kısa sürede sen de alışırsın bu racona" (TMMOB 2010, 141-142).
ST1_D15	"Sonra parmaklarının arasında tespih çevirmeyi öğrenirsin. Zordur biraz, ama çok da değil. Tespih ne çok sıkı olacak, ne de çok gevşek. Uygun bir dengesi vardır. Alıştın mı gözle zor görünecek bir hızla çevirisin. Boncukların ağırlığı da belli bir kıvamda olacak ama, Erzurum'un siyah Oltu taşındansa tespih, değme keyfine" (TMMOB 2010, 142).

DATA-SHEET — Prisoners

Study ID 14	**Name** / Nickname: Hazeli Akgöl	**Source & S.** TMMOB OHW / 26.10.2007	
	Social Identity: Mimar[1]	**Date:**	
Imprisonment Status: Political Prisoner		**Political ID:** Leftist / Socialist	**# of Stays:** 1
STAY 1 (ST1) 8-9 months		**Designated Schema--**	
Years: November 1980	**Reason:** For insulting the moral integrity of the state		
Context: Coup D'état of September 12th The execution of Necdet Adalı			

EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED**		**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**MEMORY-IMAGES** (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)
NO	**TYPE**	**A/M**	**PLACES**		
D1	EP-GN1,PR1,P	**PM1**	*Kapıaltı*	**3** LO_E	
D2	EP-PR1	**PM1**	The Execution courtyard	**PR**_Her passing through the execution courtyard **2** SQ	
D3	EP-PR1	**PA1**	Women's Ward	**2** SQ	IRON DOOR OF WOMEN'S WARD
D4	EP-PR1	**PA1**	Women's Ward	**PR**_Her taking care of her friend on hunger strike. **1** AR/LC_SD	HUNGER STRIKE
D5,D6,D7	EP-PR1	**PA1**	Women's Ward	**PR**_Her experience of bullying in prison **1** AR	BULLYING IN PRISON
D8	EP-GN1	**PM2**	Visitation Building	**3** TSR/LO_V	IRON DOOR OF WOMEN'S WARD
D8	EP-GN1	**PM3**	Bath (*Hamam*)	**3** LO_B	HEAD LICE
D10	EP-PR1,GN2	**PM1**	Women's Ward_The Courtyard	**PR**_Festive (*Bayramlaşma*) Ceramony	
D11	EP-GN1	**PM1**	Women's Ward_The Courtyard	**3** IO	KITES/SKY/VOICES OF STREET VENDORS (*Yoğurtçu /Simitçi*)
D12	EP-GN1	**PM1**	Women's Ward	**3** LO	SEARCH FOR BOOKS
		AE	**ARCH. ELEMENTS**		
D9	EP-GN1	**PM3**	(Under) the Stairs	**1** AR_**3** LO	CANDLES AS PRAYER

DECLARATIONS

ST1_D1	"...beni Ulucanlar Cezaevi'ne getirdiler. Sabahın erken saatinde geldik, Kapıaltı denilen yerden içeri gireceğimize, Topal Sadık denilen Sadık, yani başgardiyan...kapıyı açtı, beni Kapıaltı yerine içeri aldılar. Orası sürekli dayak yenilen, ilk gelene hoş geldin denilen bir alan...Ben oraya geldim, bu Sadık koşarak geldi: "Çık dışarı, ne giriyorsun?" falan beni itekliyor... Ben de "Tamam, çıkayım" falan diyorum, ortada kaldım. Dediler ki "Ya biz tutuklu getirdik." Bu inanamadı...Beni içeri aldılar içeri geçtim. Ondan sonra belgeleri falan aldılar. "Ya inanamıyorum" dedi. "Bizim kız" derdi bazen. "Bizim kız, buraya tutuklu geleceğine hiç inanamıyorum...Böyle bir tuhaf hareketler, neyse içeriye girdik. "Benim moralim senden çok bozuk. Siz beni çok kötü bilirsiniz" dedi..."Ya birkaç gün önce burada bir idam oldu. Çocuğu çok tanıyorduk, çok üzüldük" dedi. Hemen aklıma Necdet geldi, çünkü 8 Kasımda Necdet Adalı burada idam edilmişti. Necdet'in de uzun yıllar ziyaretine gelmiştim. Ulucanlar Cezaevinde yatmıştı, burada hüküm giymişti" (TMMOB 2010, 145-146).
ST1_D2	"Sadece giderken dedim ki "Nerede olduğunu bana gösterebilir misin?"...beni aldı, geçerken o idam edilen yeri de gösterdi: "İşte burasıydı" dedi. Daha kenarda böyle şeyler falan da duruyordu, kaldırmamışlar, kuruları, şeyleri kenar tarafa yığmışlar" (TMMOB 2010, 146).
ST1_D3	"Oradan [idam avlusu] beni aldı, götürdü bayanlar koğuşunun kapısından içeriye girdik. Böyle demir bir kapıyı açtılar, koğuş bayanlar koğuşu. Eskiden dışarıdan girilmiyordu. Üst taraftan ara koridora, erkekler koğuşlarının o ara yolundan geçilip gidiliyordu. Kapı açılınca bir merdivenle aşağıya doğru demir merdiven iniş yeri vardı. Kapı açıldı, bahçede kadınlar geziniyor" (TMMOB 2010, 146).

ST1_D4	"...merdivenlerden yavaş yavaş indim. Ben indikçe herkes yavaş yavaş geriye çekildi...Gardiyan "Bu siyasi, sizden değil, çekilin" dedi. Bana "Alt katta koğuş var, oraya gidersin" dedi...biz içeri girdik, aşağı katta bir koğuşa girdik. Mutfak gibi, dar, karanlık, çok izbe bir yerden geçtik, koğuşa girdik. Koğuşa girince birden orada yatan bir kişi gördüm, ranzada yatıyor ve koğuş çok kötü bir konumda, yataklar falan parçalanmış. İçeri girdim, bir baktım oradaki arkadaşı tanıdım. Fen Fakültesinden Melek diye bir arkadaşımız vardı, o yatıyor, ama hiç kımıldamıyor. İşkenceden getirmişler, oraya bırakmışlar...Ben gittim, seslendim, biraz gözünü açtı dedi ki "Ben çok kötüyüm."..."Senin geldiğine çok sevindim, tanıdık birisi"...çünkü burada hiç siyasi tutuklu yok. Kimseye derdimizi anlatamıyoruz. Kendi kendime şeye başladım" dedi...böyle kendi başına bir açlık grevi gibi. Neyse ben oradan sonra kendi tutukluluğumu unuttum. Melek'le ilgilendik...Hareket edemiyordu, çok kötü durumdaydı. 10-15 gün onunla ilgilendik...sonucunda bu arkadaşı alıp tekrar Mamak Cezaevi'ne götürdüler" (TMMOB 2010, 146).
ST1_D5	"Siyasi tutuklu olarak ben orada tek kaldım... Ben siyasete karşı çok büyük tavırlı bir koğuşta tek başıma bulundum. Yani ikinci cezaevinde ikinci bir ceza çektirecek şekilde, ama düşündüm; ne yapabilirler; kavgaysa kavganın en iyisini biz biliyoruz gibilerinden kavgadan gözüm korkmuyor...Neyse ne yapabilirler diye merak ettim. Üst katta, 4-5 tane tuvalet var. Ben tuvalete çıkıyorum, bütün tuvaletler dolu, hiç çıkmıyorlar. Saatlerce tuvaletten çıkmıyorlar...Neyse tuvalet bahaneymiş, ben onlara "tuvaletten çık" diyeceğim, onlar çıkmayacak, kavga olacak...Ben de tuvalete gitmemeyi tercih ettim. Gece yarısı arada bir gardiyanlar geliyordu. Gece yarısı başka birinin koğuşuna gider gibi yapıyordum, tuvalet boş görüyordum, hızla fırlıyorsun. Tuvalet kapıyorduk, böyle bir yaşantımız vardı, ama onlara o konuda hiç koz vermedim, çünkü o sırada ben Melek'in tedavisiyle ilgileniyordum...Melek gitti, ben iyice yalnız kaldım" (TMMOB 2010, 147).
ST1_D6	"...ne yapabilirim'i düşünmeye başladım, çünkü bu şekilde bir yaşam yaşanmazdı... Ben...sandalye, birkaç tane boya, fırça istedim...artık yalnız olduğuma göre hiç olmazsa koğuşu boyarım, badana yaparım diye düşündüm, bir liste verdim...İstediklerim geldi, ben koğuşları boyuyorum, onlar baktılar ben onlarla uğraşmıyorum, ama onlar benle uğraşmayı vazife bildiler...Havalandırma yeri var. Ben çiçekleri çok severdim, yavaş yavaş kendime çiçekler edinmeye başladım. Sabah erkenden kapılar açılınca, çiçeklerimi dışarı çıkarıyorum, bir kilim seriyorum, kitap okuyorum. Akşam da aynı şekilde toplayıp geri içeriye alıyorum. En başta Tülay olmak üzere, bunlar artık bizim hakkımızda olmadık laflar etmeye başladılar, sloganlar atıyorlar... Bir gün oturuyorum, yine bağırmaya çağırmaya başladılar. Hiç aldırış etmedim, ama o sırada diğer koğuşlardan slogan atılmaya başladı, çünkü bizim aleyhimize o kadar yüksek slogan atıyorlar ki, o [erkekler koğuşlarındaki] arkadaşlar orada bayanlar koğuşunda kim var diye merak ediyorlar...baktık olaylar büyüyecek, ben hiç aldırış etmesem susarlar diye bekliyorum...kafamdan planlar kuruyorum...Tülay en sonunda bağırmaktan yoruldu, yukarıdaki koğuşuna gidecek, yanımdan geçerken tuttum ayağından bir çektim, vurunca üstüne ayağımı bastım. "Hadi şimdi konuş, hiç kimse kımıldamasın" dedim, çünkü hepsi dışarıda, kapıyı kapattım mı onunla ben içeride kalacağız. "Senin ağzını burnunu kırarım, burada sabahtan beri..."dedim, yani böyle bir kavga olayımız oldu...Yani cezaevi gerçekten o ortamda insanı canavarlaştırıyor" (TMMOB 2010, 148).
ST1_D7	"Böylelikle...benden çekinmeye başladılar...Aslında çok insancıl olmama rağmen, kendimi bile tanıyamayacak tavırlar almaya başladım...Daha sonra koğuşta ben ne dersem o oldu... Artık hegemonyamı kurdum, bana öyle hizmet ediyorlar ki, bana yemek yapıyorlar, getiriyorlar...Lakabım burada Uzun Ömer...Gardiyan beni uyardı, dedi ki "Ya Ömer, pantolon giymesen nasıl olur?""Niye ya? Pantolonda ne var?" dedim...Gardiyan geldi, dedi ki "sen bunları hegemonyana aldın, ama şimdi seni erkek gibi görüyorlar, yakında değişik ilişkilerle karşılaşabilirsin." Onun için bana, sen daha çok hizmet ettin, ben daha çok hizmet edeceğim diye birbirleriyle rekabet ediyorlarmış...Çok şaşırdım" (TMMOB 2010, 149).
ST1_D8	"Görüş günü Çarşamba günleriydi" (TMMOB 2010, 149). Bayanları her hafta hamama götürürlerdi...saçlarına DDT sürerlerdi, saç uzatan herkes sürmek zorundaydı...hamam gittik. Banyo yapıyorlar ve gerçekten de suyun üzerinde bir karış bitin aktığını gördüm...ama bu hamam olayları çok güzeldi. Çok alışmıştım, çünkü çıkıyordunuz, etrafı görüyorduk, geziyorduk. Koğuşun haricindeki yerleri görüyorduk" (TMMOB 2010, 150).
ST1_D9	"Burada bir de çok ilginç bir şey vardı; merdiven vardı ve merdivenin altını yatır olarak görürlerdi ve gece insanlar orada, mum yakıp dualar ederlerdi....Özellikle mahkeme öncesi merdivenin altına mum yakıyorlardı. Kaç kere yangın tehlikesi de atlatıldı, ama mum yakmayı hiç bırakmıyorlardı" (TMMOB 2010, 150).
ST1_D10	"...bayramda herkesi avluya topluyorlar, tepsinin içine şekerleri dolduruyorlar, bir de etrafına sigara ama paketlerde de değil, sigarayı böyle açmışlar, tek tek sermişler. Savcı geliyor, herkes tokalaşıyor. Biri kolonya döküyor, bir şekerden alıyorsun, sigara alıyorsun, geçiyorsun" (TMMOB 2010, 151).
ST1_D11	"Burada en güzel şeyler gökyüzünden sana gelen davetsiz misafirler, kuşların gelmesiydi...baharın gelmesiyle çok fazla uçurtmaların olması da çok güzeldi. Duvarların ötesinden gerçekten izliyordun. Aslında uçurtmayı izlemek değildi. Belki uçurtmanın altında bir çocuk olduğunu bilebilmek, kendi çocukluğunda yaptığın uçurtmaları hayal edebilmekti, belki çok daha fazlasıydı. Bizim avlunun üstü açıktı, böyle tellerle kapalı değil...Mesela dışarıdan gelen bir sesi, her gün belirli saatlerde simitçinin dışarıdan geçiş sesini. Artık senin zaman mefhumun çok programlıydı. Eğer o simitçi o saatte geçmese...merak ediyordun...Yoldan yoğurtçular geçerdi...O yoğurtçunun gelmediği günler biz çok merak ederdik...Seslerinden tanıdığın kişiler vardı" (TMMOB 2010, 173).
ST1_D12	"Burada Ulucanlar Cezaevinde biraz daha rahatlıklarımız vardı. Yazdıklarımıza el koyma olmuyordu, ama şikayet üzerine bazı günler arama yapıyorlardı. Özellikle o zamanlar gardiyanların haricinde aramaya askerler giriyordu. Mesela kitapların falan bir kısmına el koyuyorlardı, yazdığın yazıları bunlar nedir diye okumak üzere alıyorlardı...şiirlerin birkaç kere gitti. Buradaki bazı gardiyanlarla ilgili yazdığım şiirler de vardı. Çok kötü anlamda bir şeyler de yazmıştım, böyle şeyler yazmamam gerektiği noktasında uyarı aldık" (TMMOB 2010, 174).

DATA-SHEET — Prisoners

Study ID	**Name** / Nickname:	Bülent Tanık	**Source & S.** TMMOB OHW / 26.10.2007	
15	**Social Identity:**	Bureaucrat	**Date:**	
Imprisonment Status:		Political Prisoner	**Political ID:** Leftist / Socialist	**# of Stays:** 1
STAY 1 (ST1)	2 months		**Designated Schema 5**	
Years:	1982	**Reason:**	The layoff of The Union of Turkish Engineers and Architects (TMMOB)	

Context: After the Coup D'état of September 12th

EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED**		**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**MEMORY-IMAGES** (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)
NO	**TYPE**	**A/M**	**PLACES**		
D1	EP-GN1,PR1	**PM1**	*Kapıaltı* ●	**3** LO_E	TIRAŞ
D2,D3	EP-GN1	**PA1**	12. Ward (Atelier/Banker Ward) ●	**3** PG_P/LO_E	
D2	EP-GN1	**PM2**	*İzmir Caddesi* _Women's Ward, Education Hall and 12. Ward	**2** SQ	
D4,D8,D9	EP-GN1	**PA2**	8. Ward ●	**1** AR/LC_O-**3** PG_P	
D4	EP-GN2	**PM4**	5. Ward and Courtyard	**1** AR-**2** RAC/KN-**3** SC_R	VOLEYBOL
D5	EP-PR1	**PA2**	8. Ward ●	**PR**_A common joke among prisoners	
D6	EP-GN1	-	-	**3** IO	
D7	EP-PR1,2	**PM6**	The execution courtyard ●	**PR**_The execution of Mustafa Pehlivanoğlu	
D10	EP-GN2	**PM7**	Isolation / Discipline Cells (*Müşahede*)	**3** PG_P	
		AE	**ARCH. ELEMENTS**		
D2	EP-GN1	**AE1**	The wall separating the 12. Wards ●	**1** AR_C-**2** SQ The separation wall did not exist, and the main pathway was called *İzmir Caddesi* .	

GENERAL (GNL)

SEMANTIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES AND/OR ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS**	**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**DURATION (FROM POLITICAL HISTORY)**
NO	**TYPE**			
D1	SM-GN	ULUCANLAR PRISON	Ulucanlar prison as a 'school of life'. Those imprisoned here on political charges are 'freedom fighters', they are the people who fought for the well-being of their country, they lost their life for this cause, but kept their dignity. Instead of being controlled by the punishment, they lived Ulucanlar Prison as a 'school of life' for solidarity, self-development and empowerment.	
D2	SM-PR	7. Ward ●	**PR**_Yılmaz Güney in Ulucanlar **3** RP_P	1974-76

BEFORE THE TRANSFORMATION, ON THE FUTURE OF ULUCANLAR PRISON			
DECLARATIONS	**ON FUNCTION**	**ON SPECIFIC PLACES**	**ON CONSERVATION**
NO			
D1	Not a commercial building or mall.	-	This place should be preserved as a mirror of our past, along with our justice and execution system and our political history.

DECLARATIONS	
ST1_D1	"...ben buraya törenle geldim, kapıdan törenle girdim, çıkışım da törenle oldu. Girdiğimde "Sen nesin?" dediler..."Ben siyasiyim" dedim. "Hangi örgüttensin?" "Türk Mühendis Mimar Odaları Birliği." Nereye koyacağız bu adamı?" diye düşünmeye başladılar. O gruptan ilk teslim olan benim" (TMMOB 2010, 157). "Girerken de başka bir şey oldu, Kapıaltı'nda hemen tıraşa almaya kalktılar...saç ve bıyığa hamle yapınca adamın elini tuttum, "Lan bıyığımı kesemezsin" dedim. "Peki" dedi. Öylece saç kesildi, bıyıkla girdim" (TMMOB 2010, 157). "Benim ilginç sayılabilecek bir başka anımda girişte teslim olduğum gün cezaevine kayıt falan yaptırırken, müdürün koridorunda beklerken karşıdan tanıdık bir yüz geliyordu, bir baktım Bülent Ecevit. Ben girerken, o çıkıyordu. Tokalaştık, beni tanıyordu...Tesadüf ben çıkarken Bülent Ecevit'i tekrar içeri aldılar" (TMMOB 2010, 161).
ST1_D2	"Beni atölye koğuşuna attılar... Tam kadınlar koğuşunun yanına, bitişik olan, o zaman bu aradaki duvar ayrımı da yoktu. Adı İzmir Caddesi'ydi... İzmir Caddesi'nden hem kadınlar koğuşuna, hem de atölyelere gidilirdi, bu tarafında da eğitim salonu mu ne vardı yada başka benzer bir şey. " (TMMOB 2010, 157).
ST1_D3	"Atölye koğuşuna girdiğimde çoğunluğu banker ve çek suçlarından olan, ama aralarında hırsız falan da var, herkesin karmakarışık olduğu bir yapı" (TMMOB 2010, 157).
ST1_D4	"Ben tek teslim olduğum için banker koğuşundayım...Sonra dilekçe verdim, Teoman ağabey'in bulunduğu koğuşa geçtim... Tam koğuş sayısını hatırlamıyorum, yedi veya sekizdi, iç düzenlemesi de farklıydı. O zaman yedi ve sekizin bulunduğu yer küçük bir koridorumsu bir şeyle daha hücremsi bölümlere ayrılmış bir yapıydı. Beşinci koğuşun avlusuna çıkıyorduk. Beşte hırsızlar ve sübyan koğuşu sayılabilecek çocukların kaldığı bir yerdi. Ayrıca Tuncay Mataracı'nın da kaldığı Mataracı ve gümrük memurlarından oluşan özel başka bir bölüm vardı [?]" (TMMOB 2010, 157). "Balgat'ta kahve tarayan bir takım adamlarla, beşinci koğuşta araya çıkıyorduk. Onlar bize..."Ağabey" falan diyorlardı. Voleybol oynanması söz konusu olan belli aralıklar oluyordu" (TMMOB 2010, 159).
ST1_D5	"...odun kesme numarası da şöyleydi; Sekizinci koğuşun içerisinde diyelim ki hücreler var ve yeni birisi geliyor. Zaten kış boyu odun verirlerse bir şey yapmıyorsun. Yeni gelene "Odun sobaya sığmıyor, git baştaki beş numaralı hücrede bir keser olacaktı, onu al gel" diyorsun. O beş numaraya gidiyor, beş numaradan üçe gönderiyor, üçten bire gönderiliyor. Keser numarası bu..." (TMMOB 2010, 158).
ST1_D6	"Dış konjonktürdeki yapı, içerideki yaşam biçiminde çok etkili, daha doğrusu çok ilişkili" (TMMOB 2010, 158).
ST1_D7	"Ben buradayken bir idam infazı oldu. Mustafa Pehlivanoğlu isimli sağ görüşlü bir mahkum...infazın olacağı zaman bütün mahkumları gündüzden havalandırmaya falan çıkarmayıp kapıları kapadılar. Tuhaf ve olağanüstü bir durum olduğunu hemen anlıyorsunuz, sonra kulaktan kulağa bir yerden bilgi geliyor. Gece infazdan önce, yattığımız koğuş İzmir Caddesi'ne sırtı olan bir yerdeydi, duvara vura vura bir grubun geçtiğini veya kendisini sağa sola çarptığını hatırlıyorum" (TMMOB 2010, 159).
ST1_D8	"Ben...esas olarak siyasi koğuş sayılan bir koğuşta değildim. Benim hücremi paylaştığım ya da koğuş içindeki artı bölümü paylaştığım insanların büyük bir kısmı adli suçlardan kız kaçırma, adam yaralama, adam öldürme ve benzeri şeylerden yatan insanlardı. Ben zamanı iyi değerlendirme üzere kitap istemiştim. Gelen kitaplar 15-20 gün bekledi. Bir de not alayım, belki tez falan yaparım, kitap yazarım diye düşündüm, küçük kartonlar getirmiştim. Sonra tabii koğuş muhabbeti artınca, bir de kalışım kısa süreli olduğu için insanın o tür şeyleri yapma şansı pek kalmıyor. Kartların bir kısmını portreler yaparak değerlendirmeye çalıştım. Voltada adamları süzüyor, ondan sonra gidiyor koğuşta resimlerini yapıyordum" (TMMOB 2010, 160).
ST1_D9	"...belleğimin iyi olmasına rağmen sekizinci koğuşu gezdim, bir türlü önceki bölünmenin izlerini duvarda falan göremedim. Çok değiştirmişler...biz küçücük bir yerde iki ranza veya yan yana üç ranzada dünyanın adamı yatıyorduk. Her yatakta 2'şer 3'er kişi." (TMMOB 2010, 140).
ST1_D10	"12 Eylül sonrasında, özellikle idam mahkumlarının sol görüşlü, sağ görüşlü aynı hücrede yatırılması falan gibi şeylerin de ürettiği pek çok ilişki, yeni farklı bir bakış açısının tanığı oldum... kimin gerçekten ne kadar insandan, ülkesinden, hayattan yana fark ettiklerini ve dürüstlüğün solcularda olduğunu ikrar eden çok sağcıyla 80 sonrasında tanıştım...Aynı hücreye atıldığın zaman bunu fark ediyorlar. Aynı hücrede olmadığın zaman da sana kurşun sıkmaktan geri durmuyorlar. ...oldukça sıkı militan MHP'li, ülkü ocaklarında bir dolu eylem yapan bir takım insanlar cezaevine düştü. O dönemde "fikrimiz iktidarda, kendimiz cezaevinde" diye bir tanım getiriyorlardı. Daha sonra maruz kaldıklarıyla birlikte, yaşadıkları sonucu, özellikle hücre paylaşanlar, dışarı çıktıkları zaman paylaştıkları hücredeki adamın adamlığını gördükleri için daha farklı bir söylem gösterdiler. Ama bunlar sonradan hayatta nereye gittiler bilmiyorum" (TMMOB 2010, 159).
GNL_D1	"Ben de buradaki siyasi suçla tutuklanmış, yatırılmış bulunanları aslında özgürlük savaşçıları, ülkelerinin, dünyanın iyi olması için mücadele edip, bu çerçevede hayatını kaybeden, yaşamının belli bölümlerini organlarını kaybeden, ama onurlarını kaybetmeyen insanlar olarak görüyorum. Burada cezayla terbiye edilmek yerine, cezaevini kendi eğitimi için bir okul haline getirme becerisi de gösteren bir insan topluluğu. Mekan ne kadar kötü olursa olsun, dayanışmayı da, kendini geliştirmeyi de, güçlendirmeyi de, öldürmeyen her acının insanı daha güçlü kılması yönünde bir birikimi sağlayacak hale getirilmesiyle ilgili çok örnek olduğunu düşünüyorum" (TMMOB 2010, 158).

GNL_D2	"Konjonktür değişse bile, bazı iyi tavırların çok uzun süre kaldığını ve anlatıldığını, nesilden nesile geçtiğini biliyorum. Mesela benim yaşadığım dönemde Yılmaz Güney'in buradaki varlığı ve buraya bıraktıkları bir efsane olarak anlatılıyordu. Birçok devrimcinin yanısıra, davranış biçimi, insan ilişkileri ve hayat bakışı, diğerleriyle paylaşmayı bilmesi gibi şeyler anlatılıyordu" (TMMOB 2010, 158-159).
ON THE FUTURE OF ULUCANLAR	"...toplumun belleğini tazelemesi, bunu unutmaması ve belki de bu kurumu sorgulaması, bunun üzerine düşünmesini sağlayan bir eylemlilik yaratıldığı için de yapılan bu çalışmayı ayrıca çok değerli buluyorum. Tabii mekanın bir işhanına veya ticari kimlikli bir şeye dönüşmesinin önünde verilen mücadeleyi de destekliyorum. Burası adalet sistemimiz, infaz sistemimiz ve siyasi tarihimizle beraber geçmişimizin aynası olacak mekanlardan biri olarak korunmalıdır diye düşünüyorum" (TMMOB 2010, 162).

THE INTANGIBLE WITHIN TANGIBLE: CONSERVATION OF ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE AS A LOCUS OF MEMORY
THE CASE OF ANKARA ULUCANLAR CENTRAL CLOSED PRISON
THESIS STUDY BY ZEYNEP KUTLU

DATA-SHEET — Prisoners

Study ID 16	**Name** / Nickname:	Hüseyin Esentürk	**Source & S.** TMMOB OHW / 26.10.2007 **Date:**
	Social Identity:	Writer[1]	
Imprisonment Status:		Political Prisoner	**Political ID:** Leftist / Socialist — **# of Stays:** 1
STAY 1 (ST1)			**Designated Schema 5**
Years:	September 1982	**Reason:**	For establishing and leading an illegal organization
Context:	After the Coup D'état of September 12th		

EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED		THEMES 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	MEMORY-IMAGES (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)
NO	**TYPE**	**A/M**	**PLACES**		
D1	EP-GN1	**PM1**	*Kapıaltı* ●	**3** LO_E	
D1	EP-GN1	**PA1**	Former *Tecrit* ●	**3** TSR	
D2,D5	EP-GN1	**PA2**	4. Ward ●	**1** LC_O-**3** IO	KARIŞTIR-BARIŞTIR'
D3	EP-GN1	**PM2**	4. Ward_Courtyard ●	**2** KN-**3** LO_F	ULUCANLAR AS A 'FOUR STAR HOLIDAY INN' VOLTA / SPOR
D4	EP-PR1	**PM3**	*İzmir Caddesi* _From 4. Ward to *Kapıaltı* ●	**PR**_Prison rebellion against the incarceration of leftist and rightist political prisoners in the same wards.	RESISTANCE
D6	EP-GN1	-	Visitation Building ●	**3** LO_V	

DECLARATIONS

ST1_D1	"Buraya ilk geldiğimde kapıaltından içeri girdim, tecride konuldum. Tecritte fazla kalmadım, içeriden geldiğimi arkadaşlar duymuşlar, hemen geldiler beni tecritten aldılar." (TMMOB 2010, 164).
ST1_D2	"...dördüncü koğuşta 230 kişi vardı. 230 kişinin yaklaşık 120 kişisi devrimciydi, 110 tanesi faşistti Ranzalar üst üste, nöbetleşe yatma, balık istifi yatma, yani şu anda o dördüncü koğuşu gezdiğimizde 230 kişinin nasıl kalabileceği konusunda fikir yürütmek bile zordur" (TMMOB 2010, 164).
ST1_D3	"Mamak'tan buraya gelince burası benim için dört yıldızlı bir tatil yöresi gibi geldi. Havalandırmaya çıkıyorsun, rahat hareket ediyorsun, voltanı atıyorsun, hatta beslenme ve benzeri konularda avantajların var. Yemeğini kendin yapabiliyorsun, kantinde bedelini ödeyip bazı şeyleri satın alabiliyorsun. Spor yapabiliyorsun, gönüllü...Dayak yok, bir tek faşistler var" (TMMOB 2010, 164).
ST1_D4	"...yine siyasi görüşlerin komünleri ayrıydı...Önce komünlerimizi birleştirdik. Bütün devrimcilerin komünleri bir araya geldi. Bu komünlerin birlikte olması bizim ufkumuzu açtı. Siyasi de olsa idamdan yargılanan veya çok ağır ceza alan veya alma riski, ihtimali bulunan kişiler kendilerini burada biraz avantajlı hale getirmişti. İkinci adımımız bu kendini avantajlı duruma getiren kişilerin siyasi de olsa, avantajını yok etmek oldu...En önemlisi komünlerin birlikte olmasının verdiği güçle faşistleri atma kararı aldık ve burada bir isyan örgütledik" (TMMOB 2010, 164). "Detaylı bir isyan örgütlenmesiydi, herkesin ne yapacağı belliydi, nasıl davranacağı belliydi ve bir zaman tespit edildi...Zulalarımız çıktı, yani zulalarımızı hazırladık, yağlarımızı hazırladık, demirlerimizi hazırladık. Tam bir boğazlaşmaya hazırlandık, isyan bir anlamda boğazlaşmadır. Boğazlaşma düzeni aldık ve isyan başladı. O dördüncü koğuştan faşistleri İzmir Caddesi'ne sürdük, kapıaltına kadar getirdik. Kapıaltında gardiyanlar birleştiler, kapıaltından karşı saldırıya geçtiler. ...asker de bunları yedekledi, karşı saldırıya geçtiler. Biz ilk barikatı sekizinci koğuşun bitimine kurduk...İkinci barikatı dördüncü koğuşun dış havalandırma bölümüne kurduk. Son barikatımız da dördüncü koğuş kapısıydı. En son dördüncü koğuş kapısına kadar dayandılar. Bu dördüncü koğuşta tam bir nefsi müdafaa durumuna düştük, çünkü dışarı tamamen ele geçirilmişti, yukarı tamamen ele geçirilmişti. Koğuşu ateşe vermek dahil bizi koğuştan çıkarmaya zorlayacak her türlü tedbir yapılıyordu...sabahleyin başladıysa yaklaşık gece yarısına kadar sürdü. Ağır yaralılarımız falan da oldu...Gece savcı geldi, oturduk savcıyla pazarlık yaptık. Kimse hakkında kovuşturma açılmayacak, kimse cezalandırılmayacak, dövülmeyecek, söylenmeyecek, faşistlerle aynı yerde kalmayacağız, kalmak istemiyoruz, bunlar başka yere gidecek gibisinden. Savcı, bizim taleplerimizin büyük bir bölümünü kabul etti. Biz de kapıdaki barikatı kaldırdık, fakat hiçbir söz verilmemiş gibi hepimizi dışarı çıkardılar...Bizi güzel bir un ufak ettiler ve beni, birkaç arkadaşımı yukarıdaki hücrelere attılar. Ondan sonra bir iki saat içerisinde, ani bir kararla aynı sabahın 6 buçuğunda, gün ışımadan, bir ring arabasına bizi koydular, hiç durmamacasına...buradan Malatya'ya kadar götürdüler" (TMMOB 2010, 164-165).

ST1_D5	"Cezaevlerinde dış kapıların, Malta'ya açılan veya İzmir Caddesi'ne açılan kapıların açık veya kapalı olması, biraz içinde bulunduğumuz dönemin şartlarıyla bağlantılı bir şey. Sıkıyönetim durumlarında baskı ve kontrol çok daha fazladır, normal dönemlerde biraz daha gevşektir" (TMMOB 2010, 166). "Dördüncü koğuşun dış kapısında gardiyanlar beklerdi, dış kapı açık olurdu. O arkadaki kapıda, bahçe kapısının o köşesinde iki veya üç tane gardiyan beklerdi, oraya sürekli denetim altında bulundururlardı, çünkü havalandırmanın dış kapısıydı. Açık olurdu, içeriye insan alırlardı, yani yeni gelenleri içeri alırlardı, içeriden hasta olanları dışarı götürürlerdi. Benim geldiğim dönemde orası sürekli kapalı tutulmazdı" (TMMOB 2010, 166).
ST1_D6	"Zaman zaman kapının önüne çıkartır, bir tane tık tık makineyle tıraş ederlerdi. Görüş günleri sürekli dışarı çıkartırlardı." (TMMOB 2010, 166).

THE INTANGIBLE WITHIN TANGIBLE: CONSERVATION OF ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE AS A LOCUS OF MEMORY
THE CASE OF ANKARA ULUCANLAR CENTRAL CLOSED PRISON
THESIS STUDY BY ZEYNEP KUTLU

DATA-SHEET — Prisoners

Study ID 17	**Name** / Nickname: Teoman Ata		**Source & S.** TMMOB OHW / 26.10.2007	
	Social Identity: Painter/Artist[1]		**Date:**	
Imprisonment Status: Political Prisoner			**Political ID:** Leftist / Socialist	**# of Stays:** 2
STAY 1-2 (ST1 and ST2)			**Designated Schema 6**	
Years: Summer 1986 and Winter 1987		**Reason:** Kurdish words in a speech held in the congress of TUTED in 1982/83		
Context: -				

EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED**		**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**MEMORY-IMAGES (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)**
NO	**TYPE**	**A/M**	**PLACES**		
D1,D2	EP-GN1	**PA1**	4. Ward	**3** PG_P/LO_PP	
D3,D4	EP-GN1	**PA1**	4. Ward	**3** TSR/LO_PP,F	KOMÜN DÜZENİ / İTİBAR / KARAVANA
D5	EP-GN1	**PM1**	Education Hall	**2** RAC	THEATRE SHOWS
D6	EP-GN1	-	-	**3** PG_R	RESPECT
D7	EP-GN1,PR1	**PM2**	The Courtyard behind Administration Building	**3** LO_E	
D7,D8	EP-GN1	**PA2**	Former *Tecrit (Nezaret)*	**3** LO_E	ORGANIZATION/UNITY
D9	EP-GN1	**PA1**	4. Ward	**2** RAC	THE WINDOW OF THE 4TH WARD/THE VIEW OF THE CASTLE

DECLARATIONS

ST1_D1	"Ben TKP'liyim Hasan Yalçın'la politik anlamda hiç anlaşamazdık, o başka bir şey, ama cezaevinde birlikte kaldım. Hasan Yalçın, Hüseyin Bülbül ve Hüseyin Karanlık, Dördüncü Koğuşta üçü birlikte kalıyorlardı" (TMMOB 2010, 168). "...Dördüncü Koğuş daha çok Dev Yol siyasetiyle kendilerini tanımlayan genç arkadaşların hakim olduğu bir koğuştu. Tayfun adında çok babayiğit bir arkadaşımız vardı, o da koğuşun kıdemliliğini yapardı...O rahatlıkla her istediği saat koğuştan çıkabilir, idareye gidebilir, idareyle problemleri varsa onları konuşabilir ya da kendisi bu gücü, bu ayrıcalığı daha da güçlendirmek için zaman zaman gardiyanlarla, idareyle bizden daha fazla, daha sıkı pazarlık ederdi" (TMMOB 2010, 169).
ST1_D2	"Ulucanlar dördüncü koğuşu biraz önce Hüseyin [Esentürk] arkadaş detaylarıyla anlattı. Sanıyorum benden önceki dönem bunlar yaşanmış ve siyasiler gerçekten bu işi başarmışlar ve sağ görüşlü tutuklular dördüncü koğuşta kalmıyorlardı. Sadece kaçakçı suçlamasıyla suçlanan bazı yaşlı 5-6 taneyi geçmeyecek kadar insan vardı. Onun dışında tamamen sol görüşlü siyasi arkadaşların bulunduğu koğuştu" (TMMOB 2010, 168).
ST1_D3	"Sabahları 7 gibi kalkış saatiydi. Komün terbiyesinden dolayı belli bir saatte kalkmak zorundaydık. İdari bizim günlük yaşantımıza asla karışamazdı...bizim siyasi tutukluların kaldığı Dördüncü Koğuş içindeki hayata asla müdahale edemezlerdi. Onlar sadece dışarıda olurlardı ve cezaevi içerisinde son derece itibarlı bir karizmamız vardı" (TMMOB 2010, 168). "Sabahları komün yaşamı gereği belli bir saatte kalkılırdı. Belli bir saatte kahvaltı yapılırdı. Yanlış hatırlamıyoram akşam yaz-kış saati uygulamasına bağlı olarak,...6'ya 7'ye kadar avluda kalabilirdik" (TMMOB 2010, 169).
ST1_D4	"...öğlen yemeği saatimizi kendimiz ayarlayabilirdik. Bize gelen harçlıklarımız tamamına yakını yiyeceğe gidiyordu zaten. Biz dışarıdan et, sebze satın aldırabiliyorduk. Çok güzel yemek yapan arkadaşlarımız vardı...Bulaşık ve temizlik için her gün iki kişi mutlaka görevlendirilirdi. Onlar koğuşun temizliğinden sorumluydular. Bütün koğuşların karavanadan hakları vardı. Biz bazen kendimize yetecek, kendi istediğimiz bir yemeği yaptıysak ve o günkü karavanada da bizim istediğimiz cinste hoş bir yemek yoksa...almıyorduk. Yemekler koskoca bir kazanla geliyordu, sonra da koskocaman kazanın içinde tahta bir kepçe" (TMMOB 2010, 169).
ST1_D5	"Ulucanlar'da da biz çok keyifli şeyler yaşadık, ama bu keyif bizi koparamazsınız, biz hala dışarıdayız, biz hala güçlüyüz, bizi psikolojik olarak yok edemezsinize karşılık kendi yarattığımız bir yaşam biçimiydi. Her hafta bir gün kendi aramızda skeçler yaptığımız, tiyatro benzeri gösteriler yaptığımız, şarkı, türkü, fıkra anlattığımız, şiir yarışmaları yaptığımız bir günümüz vardı. Hatta bu birkaç kere tekrarlandıktan sonra, cezaevi yönetiminden teklif geldi. Ben buradayken bize "bu gösterileri kültür salonunda haftada bir tekrar edelim ve diğer koğuşları da izleyici olarak getirtelim" şeklinde bir teklifti, hemen kabul ettik ve yaşam şeklimizi, kalitemizi yükseltmek adına çok güzel sonuçlar aldık" (TMMOB 2010, 170).

ST1_D6	"...siyasi olmak, adli suçluların nezdinde çok ciddi bir itibar sahibi olmak demek. Sonra bunu gardiyanların yaklaşımından da sezinlemem zor olmadı." (TMMOB 2010, 171).
ST1_D7	"Geldik, bütün adli suçlular tek sıra halinde koridordayız, giriş bölümlerinden, şu anda o avlu hangisidir, hatırlamıyorum. "Sen sen sen" gardiyanlar koğuşlara dağıtmadan, ya da nezarete [eski tecrit?] koymadan önce, kimin kim olduğunu anlamaya çalışıyor. Daha önce gelenlerle hemen selamlaşıyorlar. Bana geldi "ben siyasiyim" dedim. Adam böyle hoyrat davranmaktan vazgeçti. Sonra nezarete konuldum. Eğer nezarete dışarıdan siyasi birisi gelirse, koğuştaki arkadaşlarımızın derhal onu oradan alması gerekiyor, Almazsan örneğin adli suçlular, nezarette iki gün kalabiliyorlar...Koğuşun tespit edilecek, kayıtlardan geçeceksin, sonra nereye verileceğin kararlaştırılacak. Bu süreç ortalama iki gün sürüyor, ama siyasi olursanız sizi iki saatte hemen oradan alır, getirirler, öyle de bir avantajımız vardı" (TMMOB 2010, 171).
ST1_D8	"Nezaret dediğimiz yer kapalı, çok küçük bir penceresi olan ve inanılmaz zor yaşanılan bir hücre." (TMMOB 2010, 171).
ST1_D9	"...4. Koğuş'un penceresinden Kale'ye baktığım zaman aldığım zevkle hiç mukayese etmem...yine de ben 4. Koğuş'un penceresinden Kale'ye bakmayı tercih ederdim." (TMMOB 2010, 166).

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DATA-SHEET — Prisoners

Study ID 18	Name / **Nickname:** İhsan	**Source & S.** INTV by Tuğçe Aysu / 15.1.2014	
	Social Identity: [1]	**Date:**	
Imprisonment Status:	Political Prisoner	**Political ID:** Leftist / Socialist	**# of Stays:** 1
STAY 1 (ST1)	15-16 days	**1999-2006 _Erasure**	
Years:	2004	**Reason:** -	

Context: The transition period to 'F Type Prisons', End of 'Ward System'

EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED**		**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**MEMORY-IMAGES** (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)
NO	**TYPE**	**A/M**	**PLACES**		
D1	EP-GN1	-	-	**3** PG_P	
D2	EP-GN1,PR	**PM1**	Entrance (*Kapıaltı*)	**PR**_His searching by the wardens **3** LO_E	
D3	EP-GN1	**PM2**	5. and 6. Wards [he means 4. Ward]	**3** PG_P	
D4	EP-GN1	-	-	**3** LO_PP	SOLIDARITY/COMMUNE LIFE
D5	EP-GN1	-	-	**3** LO_OP	CORRUPTED SYSTEM
		AE	**ARCH. ELEMENTS**		
D3	EP-GN1	**AE1,2**	The iron lattice roof structures covering the courtyards of 5. and 6.? [actually 4.] Wards.	**1** AR-**3** LO They were great punishment tools as they limited the sky of the prisoners.	IRON LATTICE ROOF STRUCTURES

GENERAL (GNL)

SEMANTIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES AND/OR ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS**	**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**DURATION (FROM POLITICAL HISTORY)**
NO	**TYPE**			
D1	SM-PR	Bath (*Hamam*)	**PR**_The Ulucanlar massacre	1999

[1] Visited the museum.

AFTER THE TRANSFORMATION, ON THE MUSEUM INTV by Tuğçe Aysu		
DECLARATIONS ON MUSEUM	**CRITIQUES**	**IN BRIEF**
D1	ON PLACES All the wards should have been included. The 1st section, which is not included in the museum route, is the essential part of the prison, where the revolutionary prisoners had stayed. ON MUSEUM EXHIBITION The reenactments in the isolation cells (with wax figures of the prisoners accompanied by the sounds of crying and begging from the loudspeakers on the walls) have been a means of reducing the prisoners to only 'suffering bodies'. However, the political prisoners were resistant people devoted to their political ideology. Thus, instead of the voices of suffering, the voices of resistance, such as protest with slogans, should have been echoed in the cells. The prison lives of both political and ordinary prisoners had to be explained more comprehensively and realistically. The state-led atrocities, which both groups were subjected to, should have been confronted.	He finds the museum as an example of good practice in general. However, when the museum is examined in detail, he believes that they, as the people who actually lived the imprisonment experience in Ulucanlar, would make a museum that represents their own selves in a much better way.

DECLARATIONS	
ST1_D1	"İşte siyasilerin oradan boşaltılmaya başlandığı, f tipi cezaevlerine sevklerinin yapılmaya başlandığı bir dönemde sadece adli koğuştakiler ve siyaseten, itirafçı denilen bir küçük grubun…kaldığı ve adli suçluların kaldığı bir dönemde kesinleşmiş bir cezamdan dolayı burada kaldım sonra başka bir cezaevine sevk edildim, burası tutuluyor…15 gün sonra hüküm almışsanız hükmünüzü yatacağınız cezaevine götürülüyorsunuz. O dönem adli mahkumların olduğu bir dönemdi" (Aysu 2015, 124).
ST1_D2	"…siz oraya girdiğinizde sizi bir gardiyanların bir karşılaması vardır çok geniş bir güruh olarak gardiyanlar sizi bir karşılar…İşte aramaya tabi tutulursunuz, bütün o süreçler aslında…bir usulün yerine getirilmesi, bir güvenlik tedbiri alınmasının çok ötesinde bir boyun eğdirme sürecinin başlangıcı ritüellerle devam eder. Yani o kalabalık bir güç gösterisidir, oradaki, arama sırasında, arama işleminin gerektirmeyeceği kadar farklı muamelelerle karşı karşıya kalmak vesaire" (Aysu 2015, 125).
ST1_D3	"beşinci altıncı koğuş var, o üstü demirli olan yerler var. o üstü demirli olan yerler siyasilerin kaldığı yerler, ve o diğer taraf açılsa, görülür oranın üstü açıktır havalandırmanın, o siyasilerin kaldığı yerlerin üstü…demir ızgaralarla kapatılmıştır. O da siyasi, ayrıca bir cezalandırma, çünkü bir mahkumun özgürlük alanı o gökyüzüyle sınırlı, o gökyüzüyle arasına da bir takım engeller koyduğunuz zaman, bu ekstra çok daha büyük bir cezalandırma oluyor" (Aysu 2015, 126).
ST1_D4	"siyasilerin olduğu farklıdır cezaevinde, adlilerin olduğu yerler farklıdır. Siyasilerin olduğu yerde bir koğuş ağalığı sistemi yoktur. Çeşitli gruplar komünler halinde yaşarlar, ayni siyasi görüşten insanlar, işte, ortak gelen malzemeyi tümüyle birine az ya da diğerine çok gelmesinden bağımsız olarak, var olanı ortak tüketirler, işte, ortak eğitim yaparlar, ortak spor yaparlar, bir ortak yaşam içerisinde yaşarlar, bir dayanışma şeyi vardır ve dışarıya karşı da bir dayanışma vardır, onun için devlet açısından o koğuş sistemi ondan zordur. Çünkü bu insanlar 60 kişi olarak, bir de ayni zamanda dayanışma kabiliyetleri olan bir 60 kişiyi kontrol edebilmek içerde zorlaştığı için devlet…" (Aysu 2015, 127-128).
ST1_D5	"…adli mahkumlarda Ulucanlar'ın o tarafının da gösterilmesi lazım aslında o adli mahkumlar tarafı gösterilmiyor, o da bu ülkenin bir gerçekliği, bu ülkede hırsızlıktan cezaevine girmiş, namus cinayetlerinden cezaevine girmiş, yani, terminolojiyle kader mahkumu diye anılan insanların yaşadığı cezaevi dramları da bir başka açıdan ikiye katlanmış, üçe katlanmış biçimde bir baskı uygulamasıdır…şiddet ayni zamanda, cezaevi idaresinin, devletin temsilcilerinin cezaevi içerisindeki koğuş ağalarıyla ittifakı halinde birkaç kata katlanan bir şiddet olarak uygulanır. O cezaevi ağaları, cezaevi idaresiyle işbirliği içerisindedir, gelen en yoksul, en gariban insanlar orda köle gibi çalıştırılır, biraz para verebilenler biraz daha rahat eder, çok para verebilenler çok rahat eder, öyle bir, hiyerarşik, kati hiyerarşik bir sömürüye dayalı bir sistem vardır. Ve, sadece orada cezaevinin, devletten gelen bir şiddetin yanı sıra içerde organize olmuş, mafyalaşmış, ağalık sisteminin de tek tek mahkumlara uyguladığı ayrı gündelik bir şiddet vardır" (Aysu 2015, 128).
GNL_D1	"…orası asıl olarak devrimcilerin çok yoğun olarak kaldığı bir yer. Ona ilişkin…birtakım sembol isimler var ama, ve onlar esas orada çok büyük ölçüde sindirmeyle karşı karşıya kalmış durumdalar. En son orada yapılan bir operasyonda, onlarca devrimci…çok açık bir biçimde katledildiler. Yani canlı canlı oranın hamamına götürüp orda canlı canlı öldürüldüler, yakıldılar, vesaire" (Aysu 2015, 125-126).

ON THE MUSEUM

"Ulucanlar'daki müzenin her müzenin, taşıyabileceği biçimsellik...sembolikliğin getirdiği şeyler dışında aslında başarılı bir müze olduğunu düşünüyorum. Yani orada yaşanan dramları ve cezaevlerinin, Türkiye'nin nasıl siyaseti, siyasal hayatın biçimlenmesinde önemli bir rolü olduğunu o cezaevine girdiğinizde görüyorsunuz. Devlete en yakın gözüken insanlardan, devletin en dıştaki muhalifine kadar Türkiye'de siyasetle aşağı yukarı ilgilenmiş her cepheden insanın o cezaevlerini bir kez tattığını görüyorsunuz. Ve orda devletin aslında, kendi merkezi düşüncesi ya da çizdiği hareket alanı dışındaki en ufak şeye karşı bile bir tahammülsüz yaklaşım içerisinde olduğunu gösteriyor ve cezaevlerini bir sindirme, bir rotaya, kendi istediği o dar sınırın içerisine boyun eğme aracı olarak kullandığını görüyorsunuz. Bu basit bir cezaevinde yatmanın ötesinde, cezaevi sürecinde uygulanan birtakım baskıcı, işkenceye varan politikalarla da yapılan bir şey, orada da onu net olarak görüyorsun... yani ben o açıdan hem orada yatanların listesinin verilmesinin, hem de orada hücrelerin de dahil belli ölçüde sergilenmesinin şey olduğunu düşünüyorum" (Aysu 2015, 125).

"...yalnız tabii daha incesine baktığınızda, biz olsak çok daha iyisini yapardık. Onu yaşayan insanlar olarak. O hücredeki, o bağırma seslerindeki o efektlerdeki tercihlerde bile hala bir siyasal şey var, yani orada bir yakarış gibi bir efekt var ama oraya giden hücre cezası alan insanların çoğu, direngen insanlardı, direngen insanlar oldukları için hücre cezası alırlar ve orda yakarışa yönelik bir bağırıştan daha çok o zulmü haykıran bir protestocu bir haykırış biçimini duymak ve ona ilişkin uygulanan şiddetin sesini duymak çok daha mümkündür ama orada mesela öyle bir efekt koymuşlar. İkincisi, orası asıl olarak devrimcilerin çok yoğun olarak kaldığı bir yer. Ona ilişkin...birtakım sembol isimler var ama, ve onlar esas orada çok büyük ölçüde sindirmeyle karşı karşıya kalmış durumdalar. En son orada yapılan bir operasyonda, onlarca devrimci...çok açık bir biçimde katledildiler. Yani canlı canlı oranın hamamına götürüp orda canlı canlı öldürüldüler, yakıldılar, vesaire. Aslında, müzeye açılmayan bir kısım var, daha çok da o devrimcilerin kaldığı...

Ben o vahşeti o solcu, devrimcilere yapılan vahşeti tam yansıttığını düşünmüyorum. Biraz böyle daha hani, dincisinden, merkez sağından, merkez solundan insanlarla beraber, biraz onların da hani daha çok öne çıkarak, hani onun da verdiği...bir anlamlı mesajı var" (Aysu 2015, 125-126).

"Ulucanların diğer kısmının da açılması gerekiyor...ve oradaki [adli mahkumlara ait] yaşamın da bir biçimde gösterilmesi gerekiyor. Orada, bence devletin...çifte standardı, iki yüzlü politikasının çok daha net görülebileceği bir şey vardır...gerçekten devletin nasıl kendisinin bir suç örgütü halinde oraya adli mahkum diye yerleştirdikleri insanlarda çok daha ciddi bir suçu organize bir suçu bizzat o cezaevinde örgütleyen bir devlet gerçeği ve devlet görevlileri gerçeğiyle karşılaşıyorsunuz, paradoks var yani...o da, işte bu sistemin adalet anlayışının nasıl bir adalet anlayışı olduğunu ortaya koyuyorsun, yani orda bir suçluları cezalandırmaktan çok, organize olamayan suçluların cezalandırıldığı, ya da devlete yakın olamayan suçluların cezalandırıldığı bir yargı sistemi ve adalet sistemi olduğunu göstermesi açısından bence o adli mahkumların yattığı koğuşların da oradaki yaşamı iyi sembolize edecek şeylerle beraber bir müze haline getirilip o müzenin diğer kısmının da açılmasında fayda olduğunu düşünüyorum" (Aysu 2015, 129).

DATA-SHEET — Prisoners

Study ID 19	Name / **Nickname:** Halil	**Source & S.** INTV by Tuğçe Aysu / 15.1.2014	
	Social Identity: [1]	**Date:**	
Imprisonment Status: Political Prisoner		**Political ID:** Leftist / Socialist	**# of Stays:** 1
STAY 1 (ST1) 6-7 months		**Designated Schema 7**	
Years: October 1990- April 1991	**Reason:** -		
Context: The Gulf War			

EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED**		**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**MEMORY-IMAGES** (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)
NO	**TYPE**	**A/M**	**PLACES**		
D1	EP-GN1,PR1	-	-	**PR**_Hunger Strikes **3** LO_PP	
D2	EP-GN1	**PA1**	5. Ward ●	**1** AR / LC_O-**3** PG_P	KALABALIK
D3	EP-GN1	**PM1**	The courtyard of the 5. Ward ●	**2** RAC / KN- **3** LO_PP	FUTBOL/SOBA
D4	EP-GN1	-	-	**3** PG_R	RESPECT
D5	EP-GN1	**PM2**	*İzmir Caddesi* _The ward for civil servants [10. Ward], Women's Ward ●	**1** AR	
D5	EP-GN1	**PM3**	*Kapıaltı* ●	**3** LO	KÖMÜR
		AE	**ARCH. ELEMENTS**		
D2	EP-GN1	**AE1**	The soil area and the ornamental pool in the courtyard of 5th ward. ●	**1** AR_C Both of them did not exist in 2006. Because they were removed later and the courtyard floor was covered with cement mortar.	SOIL
D2	EP-GN1	**AE2**	The iron lattice roof structures covering the courtyard of 5. Ward. ●	**1** AR It did not exist when he was imprisoned.	IRON LATTICE ROOF STRUCTURE

AFTER THE TRANSFORMATION, ON THE MUSEUM INTV by Tuğçe Aysu

DECLARATIONS ON MUSEUM	**CRITIQUES**	**IN BRIEF**
D1	They renovated and corrected the place under the name of restoration.	He thinks that the place should have remained as it was, with the posters, writings and drawings on its walls.

[1] Not visited the museum.

DECLARATIONS

ST1_D1 "Ulucanlar cezaevinin bende temel olarak bıraktığı anı şey, iki hafta geçmeden, üç hafta geçmeden başlattığımız açlık grevleriydi...Şimdi, Merkez Kapalı'ya gidince, sıcak bir yemek yeriz, rahat ederiz vesaire diye düşünüyorduk, merkez kapalıya bir gittik, herkes açlık grevi hazırlığında...Bir yeşil fasulye yapmışlardı o gün son yemeğimizdi (gülüyor) yeşil fasulyeyi böyle güzelcene bir tıka basa yedik, ertesi sabah açlık grevine başladık...baya bir süre geçti, dönüşümlü olarak, bir hafta açlık grevi biz yapıyoruz bir hafta başka şeyde yapıyor, sonra tekrar bize geliyor, 21 gün açlık grevi yaptım ben orada, 21 gün sonucunda, üniversite sınavına katılmak için bir fotoğraf çektirmiştim, cezaevindeyken başvuru formunu falan doldurdum gönderdim, daha sonra o fotoğrafla sınava girmek istediğimde görevli beni tanıyamadı bu sen misin diye, çünkü yüzüm böyle sönmüş, zaten sönük suratım, her deri kemiğe yapışmış gibiydi" (Aysu 2015, 130).
"...bizim arkadaşlarımızın sık sık başvurduğu silahlardan biri de açlık grevleriydi...6 aylık cezaevinin büyük bölümü aç geçirmişiz" (Aysu 2015, 133).

ST1_D2	"...bir de bizi 5. Koğuşa aldılar, yer kalabalık olduğu için artık ikişer ikişer yataklarda yatmaya başlamıştık 90'da cezaevinde, baya bir doluydu, sonra 5. Koğuşu açtılar, dediler bir kısmı 5. Koğuşa geçecek siz karar verin...biz 5. Koğuşa geçtik. 5. Koğuşun hatırladığım en güzel tarafı, bahçesinde bir havuzu vardı ve betonlar hariç toprağı da vardı. Yani, o güzeldi bizim çamurlanmamız, toprakla oynamamız vesaire için, hoş bir şeydi, bu beton yapının içerisinde. Sonradan o havuzun da kaldırıldığını, betonla o zeminin kaplandığını vesaire öğrendik. Bizim o dönemde, üstü ızgara değildi şeyin, havalandırmanın, sonra, oraların hep ızgara demirle kapatıldığını, gökyüzünün de havalandırmada kapatıldığını vesaire öğrendik, ama bizden sonra olmuştu onlar" (Aysu 2015, 133).
ST1_D3	"İkincisi bol bol eğitim çalışmaları vesaire yapıyorduk biz. Bizim eğitim- çalışmalarda...bir de solcularınki askeri disiplin içerisinde geçiyordu, birisi anlatır, öbürü dinler...işte bir arkadaş bir tez ileri sürüyor, o tezine karşı çıkan bir başka arkadaş var bu doğru değil diyor...curcunalı bir tartışma ortamı falan vardı, onları hatırlıyorum...Sonra (boğazını temizliyor) her açlık grevinden sonra, akşamları yaptığımız, böyle soba başında, ben girdiğimde kış aylarıydı..." (Aysu 2015, 131). "Sonra futbol maçı yapardık o havalandırmada, onlar hatırımda, yani tek tek parça parça şimdi hatırlamaya çalışıyorum" (Aysu 2015, 131).
ST1_D4	"Sonra, adli koğuşlar nezdinde, müthiş bir prestiji vardı siyasi koğuşların, yani oraya gittiğimizde çok, saygı gösterdilerdi, tanıdıklarımız vesaire de vardı zaten aralarında" (Aysu 2015, 132).
ST1_D5	"...İzmir caddesi aynı şekilde duruyor mu... kömür aldığımız kapıaltı vesaire, oralara giderdik, şey bölümleri vardı, memur koğuşları polis koğuşları vesaire, yakından alırdık şeyi, onlar duruyor mu durmuyor mu, kadınlar koğuşunun şeyi, bizim o koridora açılırdı kapısı..." (Aysu 2015, 133).
ON THE MUSEUM	"Orası o açıdan, ne şeklindeyse öylece bırakılmalıydı, posterleriyle, ondan sonra, yazılarıyla çizileriyle, çünkü yaşanmışlığı ancak öyle anlayabilirsiniz, bunu restore adı altında şey yapmışlar, bayağı bir düzeltme çalışmaları yapmışlar" (Aysu 2015, 133).

DATA-SHEET — Prisoners

Study ID 20	Name / **Nickname:** Salih	**Source & S.** INTV by Tuğçe Aysu / 15.1.2014	
	Social Identity: [1]	**Date:**	
Imprisonment Status: Political Prisoner		**Political ID:** Leftist / Socialist	**# of Stays:** 1
STAY 1 (ST1) 4 years		**Designated Schema 7**	
Years: 1999	**Reason:** -		
Context: The Ulucanlar Massacre			

EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED**		**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**MEMORY-IMAGES** (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)
NO	**TYPE**	**A/M**	**PLACES**		
D1	EP-PR2	**PA1**	5. Ward ●	**PR**_The Ulucanlar Massacre	
D1	EP-GN1	**PM1**	6. Ward	**1** AR	
D1	EP-GN1	**PM2**	8. Ward	**1** AR	
		AE	**ARCH. ELEMENTS**		
D2	EP-GN1	**AE1**	The ornamental pool and trees in the courtyard of 5th ward. ●	**1** AR_C They did not exist in 2006.	AĞAÇ

GENERAL (GNL)

SEMANTIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES AND/OR ARCH. ELEMENTS**	**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**DURATION (FROM POLITICAL HISTORY)**
NO	**TYPE**			
D1	SM-PR	ULUCANLAR PRISON	Ulucanlar prison as originally a 'horse stable'.	
D1	SM-GN	ULUCANLAR PRISON	Ulucanlar prison as a special and unique prison having a tradition of resistance and solidarity.	
D2	SM-PR	8. Ward	**PR**_Yılmaz Güney in Ulucanlar **3** RP_P	1974-76

AFTER THE TRANSFORMATION, ON THE MUSEUM INTV by Tuğçe Aysu

DECLARATIONS ON MUSEUM	**CRITIQUES**	**IN BRIEF**
D1	The place is completely transformed. The interiors of the wards are preserved, by means of form, but actually with every single detail it has turned into a fake prison decor we are used to see in TV shows. It looks totally different now, which would almost make you feel like it is quite enjoyable to be in prison. In fact, it is an extensive alteration, not a renovation...there were writings on the walls, there were bullet marks. Eventually those walls might mean something for a visitor because a visitor just walks through a place that he has no idea what it was like before. But when I enter there, I no longer feel the essence of the place, it is erased. The word "wall" itself symbolizes a prison, if you change the walls that's because you want to erase many things.	He thinks the museumisation is very saddening, since the place is completely transformed.

[1] Visited the museum.

DECLARATIONS

ST1_D1	"yani 5. Koğuşta olaylar oldu insanlar öldürüldü...bizim yanımızda 6. Koğuş vardı kapısı değişmiş, ara bir yer vardı yıkılmış başka bir yere dönüştürülmüş...8. Koğuş denen ve hücre sistemi denen o zaman koğuşların dışında koridor boyunca uzanan bir yerdi" (Aysu 2015, 142).
ST1_D2	"... Hatta [5. Koğuşta] bizim havuzumuz vardı ağaçlar vardı yani tabi zamanla bunlar hep değiştirilmiş" (Aysu 2015, 136).

GNL_D1	"Aslında Ulucanlar…çok farklı bir cezaevi yani, birçok cezaevi yatmış ve Ulucanlar'a gelmiş gördüğümüz insanlar hep bunu söyler, yani klasik cezaevi algısının dışında hem ilişki, paylaşım açısından hem dışarıyla ilişkiler açısından söylüyorum, yani koğuş sistemi dönemi için söylüyorum, bu yapısından kaynaklı çok farklı bir…havası vardı…orda kalan insanlar hepsi ayni şeyi söylerdi…hem mücadele geleneği açısından…ilişkilerin çok canlı olması açısından çok önemli, biz her ne kadar eleştiriyorsak da son oradaki şeyi ama Ulucanlar belki de orda kalan tutuklular açışından en iyi cezaevi denebilecek bir yerde duruyordu… Bunun nedeni çok iyi ilişkiler kuruluyordu orda, bir de yapısından kaynaklı biraz basık değildi yani eski bir cezaevi ve…daha doğrusu, at ahırı diye biliyorum tarihine bakarsanız daha sonra cezaevine dönüştürüldüğü için duvarları çok yüksekti hatta bizim havuzumuz vardı ağaçlar vardı yani tabi zamanla bunlar hep değiştirilmiş. Aslında işte yani hapiste mesela benim açımdan ben hep özlediğim yerlerden biri ilginç bir şekilde…ben mesela özlüyordum gerçekten yani… Ulucanlar'ı kendi adıma söyleyeyim çok unutmayı tercih edebileceğim bir süreç değil, hep hatırlamak ve onla beraber yaşamak istediğim bir süreçti ağır olmasına rağmen…" (Aysu 2015, 135-137).
GNL_D2	"...Yılmaz Güney için yattığı mekan değişmiş, yok ki öyle bir yer, biz girdiğimizde vardı, 8. Koğuş denen ve hücre sistemi denen o zaman koğuşların dışında koridor boyunca uzanan bir yerdi" (Aysu 2015, 142).
ON THE MUSEUM	Yani işin müzeleştirme kısmı çok acı aslında...yani bambaşka bir mekana dönüştürülmüş, koğuşların iç kısmı duruyor, biçim olarak söylüyorum, ama esasta cezaevi tamamen değiştirilmiş yani girdiğin kapılar, havalandırmaya giriş kapılarından tutun yani bildiğin dizilerdeki şeye dönmüş aslında cezaevi formatına dönmüş…Çok başka bir şeye yani şu anda gidip gezdiğin zaman zaten dersin ki yani ne güzel bir şeymiş cezaeviymiş yani duvarlar şey, koğuş havalandırmaları ne kadar geniş falan, düşünülebilecek bir şey…tadilat niye yaparsın, yıkılma ihtimali olur, yani, ve benzeri şeylerden yaparsın ama… Burayı ne adına tadilatını yapıyorsun? Yani yapılan şey fiziki değiştirme aslında yani tadilat değil… Yani kendi, eğer utanç müzesi deniyorsa eğer gerçekten bu utanılacak bir geçmişse aslında biz o olayı yaşadıktan sonra her tarafta duvarlarda, hadi bir kısmını tadilat yapın ama her tarafta kurşun izlerinden tut bir sürü şey aslında duruyordu duvar yazılarından tutun, yani…Yani, ama bu sürecin içindeki, yani biz tabi işin hep sistem tarafını eleştiriyoruz ama, bence asil daha büyük şeyi sivil toplum kurumlarının kendisine demokrat diyen kesimlerin bu süreçlerde aslında çok da doğru tutum almamaktan kaynaklı bu şeyler bu noktaya gelmiş…Yani bu çok rahatlıkla müdahale edilip de değiştirilebilir süreçlerin içine girmiş kurumlar açısından söylüyorum hatta bu kurumların biri mimarlar odasıdır…aslında bir toplumu ilgilendirebilecek kadar büyük bir şey bu kadar kolay bir şey değil çünkü yılmaz güneyden tut birçok insan burada yatmış ve onların da hepsini geç, bir ülkenin, bir sürecin ceza infaz mantığını çok net gösteren duvarlar bunlar yani…Sonuç olarak çok şey ifade etmiyor yani dışarıdan birileri için bir şey ifade ediyor olabilir…çünkü giriyor hiç…öncesini de bilmeden duvarlar görüyor insanlar burada…nasıl yaşamış 100 kişi bu koğuşlarda nasıl bu küçük mutfağı…paylaşmış bunların hepsini düşünüp şey yapabilir ama bizim açımızdan yani eski haliyle kıyasladığın zaman çok başka bir mekan, yani oraya girdiğin zaman ben burada yaşadım duygusunu tamamen yaşamıyorsun, silinmiş bir şey o…bir şey olmuş yani mekan, sempatik gerçekten çok sempatik bir mekana dönüşmüş yani…Ki duvar kelimesi zaten bire bir cezaevini simgeleyen bir şey çok önemli bir şey, yani orayı değiştiriyorsan zaten ilk başladığın yerler duvarlar oluyor…yani tüm ceza mantığının kendisi o duvarlar zaten yani...ama o duvarları değiştiriyorsan zaten birçok şeyi silmek istiyorsundur yani" (Aysu 2015, 137-142). "yani 5. Koğuşta olaylar oldu insanlar öldürüldü, her biri için, çoğu için öldürüldüğü mekan bile değişmiş, Yılmaz Güney için yattığı mekan değişmiş, yok ki öyle bir yer, biz girdiğimizde vardı, 8. Koğuş denen ve hücre sistemi denen o zaman koğuşların dışında koridor boyunca uzanan bir yerdi, ama şimdi orda öyle bir yer yok yani Yılmaz Güney'in yattığı yer yok yani... bizim yanımızda 6. Koğuş vardı kapısı değişmiş, ara bir yer vardı yıkılmış başka bir yere dönüştürülmüş..." (Aysu 2015, 142).

DATA-SHEET					Prisoners
Study ID 21	**Name / Nickname:** Cemal **Social Identity:** [1]			**Source & S.** INTV by Tuğçe Aysu / 16.1.2014 **Date:**	
Imprisonment Status: Judicial Prisoner				**Political ID:** -	**# of Stays:** 1?
STAY 1 (ST1)				**Designated Schema--**	
Years: 1990s		**Reason:** -			
Context: -					
EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED**		**THEMES** **1 PHYSICALITY** **2 MOVEMENT / ACTION** **3 RELATIONS / ORDER**	**MEMORY-IMAGES** **(THINGS OR CONCEPTS)**
NO	**TYPE**	**A/M**	**PLACES**		
D1	EP-GN1	**PA1**	6. Ward	**1** LC_O-**3** PG_P	BUNK BED
D2	EP-GN1	-	-	**3** LO_OP	BULLYING
D3	EP-GN2	**PM1**	11. Ward (*Sübyan* Ward)	**3** LO_OP	CHILD ABUSE
D4	EP-GN1	**PM2**	Administration Building	**3** LO	
D5	EP-PR1	-	-	**PR**_Rebellion **3** LO_PP / PG_R	RESPECT /SOLIDARITY / RESISTANCE
AFTER THE TRANSFORMATION, ON THE MUSEUM INTV by Tuğçe Aysu					
DECLARATIONS ON MUSEUM		**CRITIQUES**			**IN BRIEF**
D1		It is displayed quite differently. You have to live it, it is nothing like seeing it.			For him, it is good in any case to have Ulucanlar Prison turned into a museum.

[1] Visited the museum.

DECLARATIONS

ST1_D1	"6. Koğuşun içerisinde normalde ben yani saymadım fakat nerden baksanız [müze teşhirinde] bir 20 tane yatak vardı, o zamanlar 60 yatak vardı ki 60 yatağın içerisinde 90 kişinin kaldığını bilirim, insanlar o ranzalara üçer üçer yatıyordu" (Aysu 2015, 154). "...o dönemde çok kalabalıktı" (Aysu 2015, 155).
ST1_D2	"...o zamanlar işte koğuşların sorumluları vardı...sorumluların yanında, yardımcıları vardı, ilk kapıdan girdiğiniz zaman onların karşısına götürülürdü, onlar size anlatırdı işte burada bir takım kurallar var bu kurallara uyulacak uyulmazsa da zaten gereken yapılır diye... söyleniyordu. Örneğin mesela bizim ailemiz bize o zamanların parası atıyorum bir 10 lira...yatırıldığı zaman bizim cebimize belki 2-3 lira giriyordu, bunların içerisinde işte koğuşun meydancı parası, koğuşun tüp parası, işte koğuşun ondan sonra ne bileyim ihtiyaçları diye yani o sebeplerden dolayı alınıyordu bizlerden. Bu da koğuş mümessilleri dediğimiz kişiler alıyordu, isterseniz vermeyin. Mecbur veriyordunuz" (Aysu 2015, 154). "Ne bileyim işte, yani bizim zamanımızda şeylik vardı böyle nasıl diyeyim, kabadayılık vardı. Yani ya parası olan güçlüydü ya bileği olan güçlüydü. Paranız yoksa zaten illa ki eziliyordunuz, gücünüzü göstermeniz için de yani illa ki yanınızda birkaç kişinin olması gerekiyordu. İçeride mesela gruplaşmak işte iki kişinin üç kişinin yan yana oturması yasaklanmıştı. Onu da yasaklayanlar işte idare değil de, içerdeki mahkûmlar" (Aysu 2015, 155).
ST1_D3	"Ondan sonra ben çok iyi hatırlarım 11. Koğuş vardı bu çocuk koğuşuydu yani sübyanlar koğuşuydu o çocuklara yapılmadık şeyler (susuyor) gözlerimizle şahit olduk..." (Aysu 2015, 154).
ST1_D4	"...en sonunda a şu kapıdan işte anons gelirdi işte, mesela, atıyorum, Ahmet bilmem ne mahkemeniz var diye içerden megafonla anons edilirdi, içerden gardiyan burada idare binasına getirirdi askere teslim ederdi, asker kelepçelerle mahkemeye gidilirdi, mahkemeden geldikten sonra tekrar kelepçeler çıkartılır koğuşa konulurdu" (Aysu 2015, 154).
ST1_D5	"İşte buranın bir sefer burada isyana ben tanık oldum, isyan yapıldığını da, buranın yandığına da tanık oldum...önceki bir isyanda da ben içerdeyim. İşte, siyasi koğuşundan bir tane bayanın biz o avluda dolaşırken o bayanın... götürülüşünü biz görmüştük. Ondan sonra mahkemeden bayanın getirildiğini gördük, burnu kanıyordu, bayanın, ki asker buna vurmuş, arabada vurmuş. İçeride isyan o sebepten dolayı çıktı...yani buna ben şey yapıyorum gerçekten onaylıyorum, yani burada da ne kadar da şey olsa insanlar [siyasi tutuklular] birbirlerini...tutuyorlardı, haksızlığa müdahale ediyorlardı, yani bana yapılmışsa ben anlatıyorsam arkadaşlarıma arkadaşlarım da benle birlikte yani şey yapıyordu...tepki gösteriyorlardı...Yardım ediyordu insanlar birbirlerine sigarasından olsun işte yemeğinden olsun, çayından olsun, yardım ediyorlardı" (Aysu 2015, 155-156).

THE INTANGIBLE WITHIN TANGIBLE: CONSERVATION OF ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE AS A LOCUS OF MEMORY
THE CASE OF ANKARA ULUCANLAR CENTRAL CLOSED PRISON
THESIS STUDY BY ZEYNEP KUTLU

ON THE MUSEUM	"...şimdi içeriyi gezdim çok daha farklı gösterilmiş...yaşamak lazım, görmekle olmuyor...Yani bazı şeyler de gösterilmemiş...içerde ben tavla gördüm mesela...maketlerden...insanlar yapmışlar, tavlalar, radyolar mümkün değildi yani yoktu öyle bir şeyler o zamanlar" (Aysu 2015, 153). "Ama iyi olmuş, müze olduğu çok iyi olmuş. Hem insanlar buralarda yaşamış olan yani ben kendi açımdan konuşayım burada yaşamış olan birisi olarak geçmişimi ben bir düşündüm, hatalar yapmışım, hatalarımın farkına varmışım..." (Aysu 2015, 155).

DATA-SHEET — Prisoners

Study ID 22	Name / **Nickname:** Cevdet	**Source & S.** INTV by Tuğçe Aysu / 17.2.2014	
	Social Identity: -	**Date:**	
Imprisonment Status: Political Prisoner		**Political ID:** Leftist / Socialist	**# of Stays:** 1
STAY 1 (ST1)		**Designated Schema 7**	
Years: 1995	**Reason:** -		
Context: -			

EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED**		**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**MEMORY-IMAGES** (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)
NO	**TYPE**	**A/M**	**PLACES**		
D1	EP-GN1	**PA1,2**	4. and 5. Wards	**1** LC_O-**3** PG_P	
D2	EP-PR1,2	-	-	**PR_** The Great Hunger Strike, 1995 **3** LO_PP,F	
D3	EP-GN2	**PM1,2**	1. and 2. Wards	**3** PG_P,R/IO	
D4	EP-PR1,2	-	-	**PR_** The Death Fast, 1999	
D6	EP-GN1	-	-	**3** LO_PP,OP	
		AE	**ARCH. ELEMENTS**		
D5	EP-PR1	**AE1,2**	The iron lattice roof structures covering the courtyards of 4. and 5. Wards.	**1** AR They were constructed to improve security in the aftermath of the prison breaks of 1991/92.	IRON LATTICE ROOF STRUCTURES
D5	EP-PR1	**AE3**	The passages b/w the ward courtyards.	**1** AR-**3** SC_R They were constructed to improve security in the aftermath of the prison breaks of 1991/92.	DOORS

AFTER THE TRANSFORMATION, ON THE MUSEUM INTV by Tuğçe Aysu

DECLARATIONS ON MUSEUM	**CRITIQUES**	**IN BRIEF**
D1	There is an authentic vibe in the museum...Instead of showing the people who has served time here, the politics of the period shoud have been shown.	For him, it is better for it to be a museum than a shopping mall.

DECLARATIONS

ST1_D1	"4. koğuş 70- 50'lere indi, 5. Koğuş 100'ü geçiyor. Çok kalabalık, nöbetlerle uyunuyor" (Aysu 2015, 165). "Ulucanlar neden kalabalıktı sorusunun cevabı 90'larda bulunabilir. Selam veren içeri alınıyor...İçeride silah yoktu, cep telefonu vardı." (Aysu 2015, 166).
ST1_D2	"Buca'daki 3 kişinin öldüğü saldırıdan sonra 95'te açlık grevi, o zamana kadar yiyecekler de çok kötüydü. Siyasiler maddeleri (malzemeleri) alıp yemekleri yaptılar ama adlilerin hala kötüydü sanırım" (Aysu 2015, 165).
ST1_D3	"90'lardaki Türkiye'deki çatışmalar cezaevine de yansıyordu. Adlilerle siyasiler arasında çatışmalar oluyordu. 1. ve 2. Koğuşlarda MHP'liler idare tarafından kışkırtılıyordu, diğer adlilerle sorun olmuyordu" (Aysu 2015, 165).
ST1_D4	"Bir büyük açlık grevi, 96'da ölüm orucu, bunlar sonucunda bazı haklar elde edildi. Cezaevi müdürü, bakanlık müsteşarlığı gelip gidiyordu, haberdarlardı ama politika bir şey değiştirmek üzerine değil" (Aysu 2015, 165).
ST1_D5	"Birkaç firar oldu. 90/91'de iki kişi kaçtı, onlar kaçtıktan sonra 4. ve 5. Koğuşun avlusunun üstü kapalıydı. Kafes- avlular arası geçişler eskiden varmış ama örülmüş" (Aysu 2015, 166).
ST1_D6	"97'den sonra devlet cezaevlerini bırakmaya gitti. Arada varlığını hissettiriyordu ama çiftlik gibiydi. F tipi hazırlıkları. İdare kapıdan sonra bitiyordu. Sadece sayım alıyordu, firari engellemek için...o bırakma hali siyasilerin olduğu yerlerde iyi sonuç verdi ama olmadığı yerlerde daha da baskıcı bir hale geldi sıradan adli için" (Aysu 2015, 165).

THE INTANGIBLE WITHIN TANGIBLE: CONSERVATION OF ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE AS A LOCUS OF MEMORY
THE CASE OF ANKARA ULUCANLAR CENTRAL CLOSED PRISON
THESIS STUDY BY ZEYNEP KUTLU

ON THE MUSEUM	"Otantik bir hava var müzede, köşede saz çalan adam falan...Müze olması, alışveriş merkezi olmasından iyidir tabi. Her şey neyi ne kadar göstermek istediğinle ilgili. Otantik bir şekilde de gösterebilirsin. Burada bu insanlar yattı'dan ziyade, o dönemdeki politikalar yansıtılmalıydı. Holokost müzesinin burada bu insanlar yaşadı öldü demesinin bir anlamı yok...Müze yapımında 'biz yaptık oldu' mantığıyla pek doğru bir şeye varamazlar, avukatlar, kuruluşlar, devlet eliyle değil, onlar yapsaydı bir anlamı olurdu. Koğuşu boyarken 20 yıl öncesinin gazeteleri çıkmış boyaları kazırken... İnsanları çıkarınca çok değişiyor. Bu insanlar burada kaldı, burada idam edildi, denizlerin Talat Aydemirlerin idam edildiği avlu, girişteki avlu, eski giriş-büyük ihtimalle... Türkiye'deki yüzleşme çabaları yüzeysel kalıyor. Dersim mesela..." (Aysu 2015, 165-167).

DATA-SHEET — Prisoners

Study ID 23	Name / **Nickname:** Bülent	**Source & S.** INTV by Tuğçe Aysu / 9.6.2014	
	Social Identity: [1]	**Date:**	
Imprisonment Status: Political Prisoner		**Political ID:** Leftist / Socialist	**# of Stays:** 1
STAY 1 (ST1)		**Designated Schema 7**	
Years: 1997-1999	**Reason:** -		
Context: The Ulucanlar Massacre			

EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED**		**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**MEMORY-IMAGES** (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)
NO	**TYPE**	**A/M**	**PLACES**		
D1	EP-PR1,2	**PM1**	The courtyard of the 4. Ward	**PR**_The Ulucanlar Massacre **1** IO	

GENERAL (GNL)

SEMANTIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES AND/OR ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS**	**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**DURATION (FROM POLITICAL HISTORY)**	
NO	**TYPE**				
D1	SM-GN	ULUCANLAR PRISON	Ulucanlar prison as a 'mirror of the system'. Ulucanlar prison as a 'epicenter of resistance' having a profound tradition.		
D1	SM-PR	-	**PR**_Yılmaz Güney in Ulucanlar **3** RP_P	1974-1976	
D1	SM-PR	4. Ward /*Sübyan* Ward	**PR**_'DUVAR' Film by Yılmaz Güney **3** AW_P		
D1	SM-PR	The Execution courtyard	**PR**_The execution of Denizs' **3** RP_P	May 6, 1972	Coup D'état of March 12th,1971
D1	SM-GN	-	ATROCİTİES	Coup D'état of September 12th,1980	
D2	SM-PR	4. Ward	**PR**_Yılmaz Güney in Ulucanlar **3** RP_P	1974-76	

AFTER THE TRANSFORMATION, ON THE MUSEUM INTV by Tuğçe Aysu

DECLARATIONS ON MUSEUM	**CRITIQUES**	**IN BRIEF**
D1	Deniz means resistance, standing up and making statements against imperialism, fighting for independence. That concept is destroyed. If it was to be made into a museum, the authorities should have been transparent, honest and all that had happened there should have been acknowledged.	He thinks the idelogy of the prisoners is superior to the physicality.

[1] Not visited the museum.

DECLARATIONS

ST1_D1	"Ulucanlar operasyonu öncesi…sürekli her gün Ulucanlar'la ilgili haber çıkıyor… O konuda bir karalama yapıyorlar işte…Ve bunun boyutunu arttırmaya başladılar…işte içerde arkadaşlarına baskı yapıyorlar, zorla tutuyorlar, ve o dönem yaşandı, Ulucanlar katliamı bir şekilde kamuoyunu da hazırlayarak, büyük bir sessizliğe gömmek istediler, ama o zaman hapishanedeki tutsaklar, devrimciler, dinamikler, devletin bu, gerçekten dünya tarihinde çok az örnekleri vardır bunun, müthiş bir direniş geliştirerek orda arkadaşlarının katledilmesine, ya gerçekten o gün bir vahşetti yani, Ulucanlar katliamı bir vahşetti, aslında devletin baskısı katliamın yanında müthiş de bir direniş vardır aslında bu bütün dünyaya fiili anlamda olmasa bile teorik anlamda müthiş bir örnektir aslında, insanlar orda teker teker ölüyor, ve sen ona rağmen orda müthiş bir direniş geliştiriyorsun. Yani havalandırma yaklaşık bir insan boyunda köpüklü suyla doldurulmuş, tonlarca gaz atılıyor ve otomatik silahlarla içeri girilmiş, içerde hiçbir direniş aleti olmayan, ki onların dedikleri gibi, işte silahları vardı , bilmem neleri vardı, öyle bir şey olma şansı da yok, oraya girme şansı da yok, keşke olsa, öyle bir şansı da yok zaten. Ve girdiler orda insanları birebir kurşunlarla katlederek…İşkenceyle, havalandırmada örneğin benim gözümün önünde İsmet Kavaklıoğlu tam ayaklarımda yatıyordu başı…bazı insanları özellikle hedef gösterdiler. Örneğin ben kendim o fiili anlatmak da zor işte boğazımın içerisine demir çubuk sokarak katletmeye çalıştılar orda tesadüfen doktorun girmesiyle içeriye engellendi o iş yani şuurumu falan kaybettim mesela hatırlıyorum o dönemi, ama bir baktılar arkasında müthiş bir direniş gelişti tekrar…bütün hapishanelerde ölüm orucuna ve açlık grevine başlandı" (Aysu 2015, 176-178).
GNL_D1	"Ulucanlar, bizi yönetenlerin, bu ülkenin, bu sistemin… aslında bir aynasıdır bir çıplaklığıdır. Yani çok eski tarihe de gitmeye gerek yok, örneğin Yılmaz Güney'in yaşadığı dönem var, ki hatta o konuyla ilgili de duvar filmi çevirmiştir…4. Koğuşta geçiyor yine…çocuk koğuşu işte daha gencecik 9 yaşında, 16-17 yaşına kadar olan insanların, orda devletin içerde olan insanlara bakışını bütün çıplaklığıyla çok net bir şekilde yaşatıyor…daha sonraki süreç, denizlerin…bu ülkenin bağımsızlığı için veyahut da kendi ideolojilerini hayata geçirmek için verdikleri mücadeleden sonra, o dönemki…12 Mart baskı koşullarında, onların alınıp, ciddi bir yargılama döneminden geçirilmeden, ki kamuoyundan tamamen saklayarak ve gizleyerek…orda idam edilmeleri. İşte daha sonraki 12 Eylül sürecinden sonra yaşanan bir dönem var işte yine ayni şekilde bu ülkede muhalif olmuş, sistemdeki haksızlıklara karşı, işte sıkıntılara karşı, zorluklara karşı mücadele eden insanlar 12 Eylül sonrası faşist darbesiyle alınıp tutuklanması, oradaki yaşadıkları büyük sıkıntılar, büyük eziyetler…Ulucanlar bu anlamıyla bakıldığı zaman her zaman bir direnişin merkezi olmuştur… Şimdi tabi devleti Ulucanlar her zaman rahatsız etti bu anlamıyla, ne yaparlarsa yapsınlar, bir şekilde orda, sıradan adlilere kadar bir gelenek oluşmuş orda zulmün önünde hiçbir şart altında ne olursa olsun bir boyun eğmeme geleneği gelişmiş bir direniş geleneği gelişmiş. Şimdi bir de sürekli Ankara'nın kalbinde olması siyasetin kalbinde olması bütün kamuoyunun gözlerinin orda olması ve oradaki işte kalan devrimcilerin sosyalistlerin bunun karşısında boyun eğmemesi devleti fiil olarak zor durumda bırakmış" (Aysu 2015, 168-170).
ON THE MUSEUM	"Deniz demek, bir direniş demek, ne demek işte, tabureye çıkıp emperyalizme karşı mücadelenin sloganlarının atıldığı bir yer, yaşasın bağımsızlık, sosyalizm mücadelesi demek…bunları sen yok ediyorsun, gerçekten orda müzeyse, utançtı, bütün öz eleştirisi verilir, orda çocuklara tecavüze uğramışlar, genç küçük yaştaki çocuklar, çok yoğun işkenceden geçirilmiş, arkasından çok ciddi bir katliam olmuş, ve devlet ne yaptı o müzeyi yaparken, orda bir şey var yani. Yılmaz Güney'in Duvar filmini…4. Koğuşta, çocuk bölümünü anlatıyor, hapishanelerin, yani onlar adli tutsak olarak yatıyorlar orda, hiç önemli değil, ne olursa olsun, onların babında da bir çürüme, onlara, esrar sokma içeriye eroin sokma, her türlü pisliğe yer verme, yani orda, o dışarıdakinden daha pis, daha kirli, o şimdi bir de devrimci tutsakları istememe nedenleri, bu ilişkileri engellemesi devrimcilerin…Ulucanlar'ın öyle müze yapılması deyince gerçekten devlet bu konuda samimi ve dürüst olsaydı oradaki bütün yaşananları, çünkü orası direnişle, inanışların savunulmasıyla ilgili vardı, devletin katliamlarıyla vardı, işkenceleriyle vardı, orda idam bile vardı, ki sadece hapishane içerisinde değil dışarıdaki ailelere karşı uygulanan baskıyla terörle vardı, ve onu kalkarsın, samimi olsaydı, çok ciddi bir şekilde, özeleştirisini verirsin" (Aysu 2015, 180-183).

DATA-SHEET — Prisoners

Study ID	Name / **Nickname:**	Mithat	**Source & S.** INTV by Tuğçe Aysu / 9.6.2014	
24	**Social Identity:**	[1]	**Date:**	
Imprisonment Status:		Political Prisoner	**Political ID:** Leftist / Socialist	**# of Stays:** 1
STAY 1 (ST1)			**Designated Schema 7**	
Years:	1994-1998	**Reason:** -		
Context: -				

EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED**		**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**MEMORY-IMAGES** (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)
NO	**TYPE**	**A/M**	**PLACES**		
D1	EP-GN1	**PA1**	4. Ward ●	**1** LC_O-**3** PG_P	
D1	EP-GN1	**PM1**	5. Ward ●	**1** LC_O-**3** PG_P	
D1	EP-GN2	**PM2**	Women's Ward	**3** PG_P	
D2	EP-PR1,2	-	-	**PR_** The Great Hunger Strike, 1995	
D2	EP-PR1,2	-	-	**PR_** The Death Fast, 1999	
		AE	**ARCH. ELEMENTS**		
D3	EP-PR1	**AE1,2**	The iron lattice roof structures covering the courtyards of 4. and 5. Wards. ●	**1** AR	DEMİR KAFES

GENERAL (GNL)

SEMANTIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES AND/OR ARCH. ELEMENTS**	**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**DURATION (FROM POLITICAL HISTORY)**	
NO	**TYPE**				
D1	SM-PR	-	**PR_**Yılmaz Güney in Ulucanlar **3** RP_P	1974-1976	
D1	SM-PR	-	**PR_**Ecevit in Ulucanlar **3** RP_P	1981/82	Coup D'état of September 12th,1980
D1	SM-PR	ULUCANLAR PRISON	Ulucanlar prison as originally a 'horse stable'.		

AFTER THE TRANSFORMATION, ON THE MUSEUM INTV by Tuğçe Aysu

DECLARATIONS ON MUSEUM	**CRITIQUES**	**IN BRIEF**
D1	They erased many things in the process, it is just a part of the so called "democracy" game. But can we see the traces of the massacres when we go to the museum? Only enjoyable, nostalgic things are displayed, some belongings of the inmates. If we are not the ones who made it into a museum... I wouldn't name it a museum of shame though, it is something else. Who made this into a museum, the state, then it shouldn't be visited.	For him, the museumisation is misleading and based on lies. If the history of Ulucanlar were to be written, it should have been done with the revolutionaries.

[1] Not visited the museum.

DECLARATIONS

ST1_D1	"Ulucanlar'ı düşündüğün zaman biz 70-75 kişi olurduk 4. Koğuşta, zaten katliamın nedeni o kalabalık oldu, işte 5. Koğuşta diğer siyasi arkadaşlar, biz homojendik, 4. Koğuşta tek siyaset kalıyorduk, diğer 5.Koğuşta...Türkiye tipi var olan sol siyasetlerin hepsi kalıyordu, kadınlar koğuşunda karışık, var olan sol siyasetlerin hepsi kalıyordu. Tıkış tıkış, artık yerlerde yatıyordu millet, şimdi ama, şöyle bir avantajlı yanı vardı tutsaklar için, kalabalık oldukları için birbirinden güç alıyorlardı, ve onları orda rehabilite edemiyordu. Bütün mesele bu" (Aysu 2015, 173).

ST1_D2	"...Ulucanlar katliamı kendiliğinden gelmedi, örneğin 95 vardır bunun öncesinde bir genel direniş. 45 günlük bir açlık grevi vardır, 95'te...sonra, tutsaklar galip çıkmıştır o zamanki konjonktürde haklarını genişletmiştir. Bu sefer daha politikleşmiştir hapishaneler...bu politikleşmenin önüne geçmek, yeni politikalar üretmek de hemen hücre tipi hapishaneleri gündeme soktular ülkede...Ama öyle bir hale geldi ki şeyde, devlet için, 96'da tekrar bir işte 12 kişinin ölüm oruçlarında şehit düşmesi kamuoyunun da dışarıdan verdiği destek, duyarlı hale gelmesi, baktılar şu olmuyor, artik yani, çok etliye sütlüye karışmayan aydınlar bile buna destek verince...kamuoyu iyi tepki gösterince, dünya kamuoyu da buna biraz gündeme gelince, 96'da kendi hazırlıkları da tam bitmemişti...Bir de hapishaneler her zaman dışarısını...motor gücü olmuştur yani, dışarıyı tetikleyen bir güç olmuştur" (Aysu 2015, 173-174).
ST1_D3	"...dördüncü ve beşinci koğuşların üstü demir kafestir" (Aysu 2015, 185).
GNL_D1	"Ulucanların müze yapılmasıyla ilgili çok ünlülerin orda kalması, işte zaten gittiğinizde Ecevit'in de orda kaldığını söylerler, Deniz Gezmiş'in de" (Aysu 2015, 170).
ON THE MUSEUM	"...niye müze yaptılar Ulucanları? Ulucanları müze yaparak birçok şeyin üzerini de bu arada sildiler...demokrasicilik oyununun bir parçası aslında, bak biz burayı müze yaptık...ama müze olduğu zaman, müzeye gittiğimiz zaman katliamların izini görebiliyor muyuz? Müzede nostaljik, keyif veren şeyler anlatılıyor, işte, kalanlardan eşyalar..." (Aysu 2015, 168). "Ulucanlar'ın müze olmasına gelince tamamen göz boyama ve yalana dayalı bir müze, oradaki katliamlar, oradaki devrimciler...yani Ulucanlar'ın tarihi yazılacaksa, devrimcilerle birlikte yani, oradaki direnişlerle birlikte yazılır, oradaki direnişlerin o müzede görülmesi lazım, onları bu çok rahatsız eder, onun için bir taraftan demokrasicilik oyunu, ve de şirin gözükme...esas mesele de müze yapılırken bile hesapları var, müze yapılırken bile oradaki devrimci geçmişi hatırlatmayacak şekilde bir müze yapıyorlar. E o zaman, burası müze olmuyor...Orda o katliamlara tanık olan, oradaki zulümlere tanık olan veya oradaki direnişlere tanık olan, direnişleri birebir yaşayan insanlar için oranın müze olma şansı, sıfır" (Aysu 2015, 180). "...o müzeleri biz alıp o müzeyi biz yapmadıktan sonra adini utanç da koymam, ben utanç olarak değil, daha farklı" (Aysu 2015, 181). "yani kim açtı bu müzeyi, devlet açtı, gitmeyin arkadaşlar dedim ya" (Aysu 2015, 184).

DATA-SHEET — Prisoners

Study ID 25	Name / **Nickname:** Nail	**Source & S.** INTV by Tuğçe Aysu / 14.6.2014	
	Social Identity: [1]	**Date:**	
Imprisonment Status:	Political Prisoner	**Political ID:** Leftist / Socialist	**# of Stays:** 1
STAY 1 (ST1)		**Designated Schema 6**	
Years: 1987	**Reason:** -		
Context: -			

EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED**			**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**MEMORY-IMAGES** (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)
NO	**TYPE**	**A/M**	**PLACES**			
D1	EP-GN1	-	-		**1** LC_SD-**3** LO_PP/PG_P,R	
GENERAL (GNL)						
SEMANTIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES AND/OR ARCH. ELEMENTS**			**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**DURATION (FROM POLITICAL HISTORY)**
NO	**TYPE**					
D1	SM-GN	ULUCANLAR PRISON			Ulucanlar prison as a epicenter of struggle, education,resistance but also massacres.	
D1	SM-PR	The Execution courtyard ●			**PR**_The execution of Denizs' **3** RP_P	May 6, 1972 — Coup D'état of March 12th,1971
D1	SM-PR	-			**PR**_The Ulucanlar Massacre	1999
D1	SM-GN	10. Ward (*Hilton*) ●			**Journalisits and Intellectuals** **3** RP_P	1960s
D2	SM-GN	-			**Journalisits and Intellectuals** **3** RP_P	1950s

AFTER THE TRANSFORMATION, ON THE MUSEUM INTV by Tuğçe Aysu

DECLARATIONS ON MUSEUM	**CRITIQUES**	**IN BRIEF**
D1	Ulucanlar bears the history of resistance... Current politics are quite good at making a false claim to the tokens of the leftists and skillfully using them at their own interests. That same attitude applies to the museumisation. To me, it is in fact not a museum, it is a monumental place that symbolizes the torture, the repression, the execution, especially that of Deniz's, but that is totally hollowed out. The sufferings and sacrifices of those people should have been acknowledged, it is not just a simple matter of who served time there.	He thinks, the museumisation is totally devaluing. It is just a political show off.

[1] Not visited the museum.

DECLARATIONS

ST1_D1	"…87'de Ankara'da yani yakalanmıştım, Ulucanlar'da, ilk gittiğimde, çok berbat bir yer…biz, 12 eylül dönemlerinde hep direnişler içerisinden geçtik…Ankara'ya gider gitmez baktık, çok berbat bir yer, gardiyanlar var…her biri Ali Kıran Baş Kesen. İçeride siyasi yok, çok az insan yani, onlar da nasıl, Mamak'tan geliyorlar, üç beş gün bir hafta on gün yirmi gün neyse kalıp gidiyorlar… Mamak'tan… Ulucanlara geldiler mi cennete geldik zannediyorlar ama bize göreyse, biz girdik, cehennem gibi yani. Çünkü hiçbir hak yok. Daha doğrusu, seni, insan olarak kabul etmiyor, siyasi olarak zaten hiç kabul etmedi. İşimiz çok zordu geldik, orda, temsilcilik çok önemliydi. Mümessillik derlerdi, temsilcilik çok önemliydi…gider gitmez zaten şey yaptık, az bir on-on iki kişilik falan bir şey vardı, sonra bir grup daha geldi, biraz daha sayımız arttı. Fakat insanların şeyi yoktu, yani 12 Eylül duman etmişti millet, inancı yoktu direnme şeyi yoktu, yani durumu idare edelim mantığı çok yaygındı. Şey yaptık, insanları hemen temsilci seçtiler bizim, tabi hızla…fark ortaya çıktı. İdareyle ilişkilerde. Artık eskiden olduğu gibi işte yani geliyordu, senin saçın uzadı, git, götürüyor seni berbere tıraş ettiriyor falan böyle, çiğ davranışlar. Bir iki direnişimiz oldu hemen ilk anlarda….Mesela adli koğuşlarda kafamıza uygun insanları, kişilik sahibi, efendi, esrardır eroindir haptır, kumardır benzeri işlerin döndüğü yerler oralar, onları yasakladık. Ondan sonra adliler artik bizi şey olarak görmeye başladı, cezaevinde işte otorite bunlar, ondan sonra çok rahat günlerimiz oldu, yani Ulucanlar, bambaşka bir Ulucanlar oldu" (Aysu 2015, 185-186).
GNL_D1	"Ulucanlar deyince, böyle mücadelenin aktığı, önemli bir merkez. Eğitim boyutuyla yine öyle, direniş boyutuyla öyle, tabi katliamlarıyla da öyle. Birçok insan katledildi. İşte denizler orda idam edildi, daha binlerce insan, adli vs., tarihe gidecek olursak…işte en son Ulucanlar katliamı. Ulucanlar katliamı, esas olarak küçük bir provaydı, hayata dönüş operasyonu için küçük bir yoklamaydı, yani örgütlerin potansiyelini ölçmek için o katliam yapıldı…solun örgütlerin gücünü tarttılar, ona uygun ondan sonra diğer büyük katliamları organize ettiler…sağcı mağcı kimse kalmadı, he kalanlar neydi, 12 Eylül öncesi çatışmalardan, mahallelerdeki çatışmalardan tutuklanan MHP'liler vardı… onlar kaldı, ama böyle, Türkiye'deki gibi sol aydın gelenekten gelip de hapishane görmemiş insan yoktur yani hepsi oralardan geçmiştir…Binlerce insan gelip geçti oradan tabi, özellikle aydınlar, temel durak yerleriydi, gazeteciler, o Hilton, Ankara Hilton dediğimiz yerden, anlattım ya üst katında gözetleme kulesi var, herkes geldi" (Aysu 2015, 187-188).
GNL_D2	"12 Eylül öncesi var, sonrası var, Ankara Ulucanlar hep şey olmuştur, Demokrat Parti döneminde işte bütün bu gazeteciler, Demokrat Partinin hedef aldığı bütün gazeteciler, Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, Ahmet Emin Yalman, ki onlar gerçekten Türkiye'de basın sektörünün duayenleridir" (Aysu 2015, 191-192).
ON THE MUSEUM	"Ulucanlar'da…bir taraftan da direnişlerin tarihi var, yani, gerçekten dilenildi. O yanıyla, şimdi müze olması meselesine nasıl bakıyoruz, bu tamamen içini boşaltma… AKP zihniyetinin yaptığı, tamamen o vitrine oynamak. İşin siyasi boyutu bu…Bunlar, takiye yöntemiyle yani, takiye, gerçek olmayan şeyi gerçekmiş gibi gösterme olayını iyi beceriyorlar…solun sembol diyebileceğimiz şeylerine sahip çıktılar…hakkı neyse onu vereyim anlamında değil, kendi çıkarına hizmet ettiği ölçüde işleyen bir çizgisi var, siyasal bir çizgisi var, bu konuda ustalar, bunu da kabul etmek lazım. Bu müze meselesi de öyle…Yani müze olarak, böyle bir anıtsal bir şey olarak düşünüyorsun, o zaman Madımak'ta yananlara yönelik, onların taleplerini karşıla. Yani Madımak'ta sen, ki o katilleri hem korudun hem onların avukatlarını milletvekili, bakan yaptın, onu yap madem zulme karşısın, işte vahşete karşısın, baskı gören insanlara sahip çıkıyorsun…Müze yapma falan filan bu 12 Eylül'le de harmanlıyorlar, şimdi sahte bir mahkemede güya yargılıyorlarmış gibi Kenan Evrenleri gösteriyorlar, ha o işleri iyi beceriyorlar, ve böylece kendilerine bir demokrasi havariliği çıkartıyorlar, işte diğer, CHP'yi vesaireydi şunu bunu da devleti sahiplenen, baskıyı sahiplenen, cuntaları, askeriyeyi sahiplenen bir pozisyona sokmuş oluyorlar, kendileri de demokrasi maskesi takmış oluyorlar…Bu mesele o. yani bunu AKP zihniyeti müzeye dönüştürürken, buradan hareket etti. Orası…müze değil aslında, orası, bana göre, kurumsallaşmış, işkencenin baskının idamların, özellikle denizlerin idamıyla sembolize edilecek, böyle bir anıtlaştırılacak bir yer bir boyutuyla, ama onlar, bu yanıyla, işlevsiz bir hale getirdiler orayı, içini boşalttılar…Yani hem sahiplenir göründüler, ama sahiplenmediler, içini boşaltmak için kullandılar, demagoji yapmak için, bak biz oraları da müze yaptık…ama kağıt üzerinde bunlar, içerikten yoksun…bir tane solcu, bir tane sağcı, bir tane dinci, devlet üçüne de karşıymış gibi bir algı yaratmaya çalışıyorlar, üçü de buralarda çile çekti mesajı vermeye çalışıyorlar…O tarihini gizleyen bir şeydir, yani orda falakaların en alası, haydar denilen sopaların binlercesi kırıldı o falakalarda, yani onları şey yapmak lazım, idama giden insanların o sehpaları orda şey yapmak lazım konuşturtmak lazım bir biçimiyle, direnişler var, zincirler var, mahkemeye giderken takılan zincirler, insanlar birbirine zincirlenip öyle götürülüyordu, kaçmasınlar diye ayaklarına prangalar vuruluyordu. Yani o yanıyla, o vahşeti o katliamı yaşananları bir yana, bir yanda da ona karşı direnişler, ve o konuda kendini feda eden insanları, onları anıtlaştırmak lazım. Yoksa işte, o da yatmış bu da yatmış, yani o mesele değil yani.." (Aysu 2015, 188-191).

DATA-SHEET						Prisoners
Study ID 26	Name / **Nickname:** Bahtiyar			**Source & S.** INTV by Tuğçe Aysu / 18.6.2014		
	Social Identity: [1]			**Date:**		
Imprisonment Status:	Political Prisoner			**Political ID:** Leftist / Socialist	**# of Stays:**	2
STAY 1 (ST1)				**Designated Schema 7**		
Years: 1992		**Reason:** -				
Context: -						
EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED**		**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**MEMORY-IMAGES** (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)	
NO	**TYPE**	**A/M**	**PLACES**			
-	-	**PA1**	4. Ward	-	-	
STAY 2 (ST2)						
Years: 1994-1999		**Reason:** -				
Context: -						
EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED**		**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**MEMORY-IMAGES** (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)	
NO	**TYPE**	**A/M**	**PLACES**			
D1	EP-PR1	-	-	**PR**_Rebellion, June 30th, 1995		
D2	EP-PR1,2	-	-	**PR**_The Ulucanlar Massacre, 1999		
		AE	**ARCH. ELEMENTS**			
D3	EP-PR1	**AE1**	The entrance to the 4th Ward with the writing above the door, which was shot during the massacre.	**1** AR The writing/inscription "History written in blood cannot be erased / *Kanla yazılan tarih silinmez* " has turned into a collective memory-image of the Ulucanlar massacre.	THE DOOR OF THE 4TH WARD WITH THE WRITING ABOVE.	
D4	EP-PR1	**AE2,3**	The iron lattice roof structures covering the courtyards of 4. and 5. Wards.	**1** AR	IRON LATTICE ROOF STRUCTURES	
GENERAL (GNL)						
SEMANTIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES AND/OR ARCH. ELEMENTS**		**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**DURATION (FROM POLITICAL HISTORY)**	
NO	**TYPE**					
D1	SM-GN	ULUCANLAR PRISON		Ulucanlar prison as history of persecution.		
D1	SM-PR	The Execution courtyard		**PR**_The execution of Denizs' **3** RP_P	May 6, 1972	Coup D'état of March 12th,1971
D1	SM-PR	The Execution courtyard		**PR**_The execution of Erdal Eren **3** RP_P	December 13, 1980	Coup D'état of September
D1	SM-PR	-		**PR**_Yılmaz Güney in Ulucanlar **3** RP_P	1974-1976	
D1	SM-GN	ULUCANLAR PRISON		Ulucanlar prison as 'castle of resistance'. The passion for freedom in Ulucanlar/tunnels		
D1	SM-PR	-		**PR**_The prison break	1991	

AFTER THE TRANSFORMATION, ON THE MUSEUM INTV by Tuğçe Aysu		
DECLARATIONS ON MUSEUM	**CRITIQUES**	**IN BRIEF**
D1	Places like Ulucanlar, Kızıldere, etc. that has left a substantial trace on the history of the country should be preserved. Many such places are used as platforms that fascism tries to justify itself and that's one of the reasons why I don't visit Ulucanlar. Brutal tortures are still taking place in prisons and the very same people who wanted to make Ulucanlar into a museum shut their eyes to those tortures, even support them, so it is not a matter of the past.	According to him, the mentality responsible for what happened in Ulucanlar is still on charge. We are not in a post- conflict era, ready to confront with the atrocities of the past.

[1] Not visited the museum.

DECLARATIONS

ST1_D1	"Ulucanlar'da onlarca irili ufaklı direniş var ama, 95'te 30 haziranda bir saldırı vardır bunu kimse bilmez, onlarca insan yaralanmıştır" (Aysu 2015, 194).
ST1_D2	"Ulucanları Ulucanlar yapan katliamdır, 26 eylül 1999'dur, onu anlatmadan Ulucanlar olmaz. Aziz Dönmez, İsmet Kavaklıoğlu, Ahmet Savran, Halil Türker, Nevzat Çiftçi (Habip Gül), Abuzer Çat, Önder Gencarslan, Mahir Emsalsiz, Ümit Altıntaş, 10 kişi olacak, 1 tane daha var, Zafer Kırbıyık. Bu insanların öykülerini bilmeden Ulucanlar olmaz. Aziz genç, bir sahnesi, yaralı biri var, üzerine bomba (gaz) atıyorlar, alıyor geri atıyor, ölmesin diye. Zalongo Halayı, ölüm halayı demek, 'orada bizi öldürürlerken halay çektik'. Ahmet hoca Egeliydi, efe oyunu oynadı, orada Ahmet hoca olmadan, Ulucanlar olmaz" (Aysu 2015, 194-195).
ST1_D3	"...4. koğuşun kapısının üstünde 'kanla yazılan tarih silinmez-DHKPC' yazısı kurşunlandı katliamda" (Aysu 2015, 195).
ST1_D4	'Şey duruyor mu? Demir kafesler?...e yani, olur mu öyle?'" (Aysu 2015, 195).
GNL_D1	"Ulucanlar aynı zamanda zulmün tarihidir, yani, cumhuriyet tarihinden, F-tiplerine kadar ki sürecin, tarihidir de aynı zamanda..." (Aysu 2015, 193)."Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan, Hüseyin İnan, Erdal Eren, Yılmaz Güney... Ulucanların tarihidir...80'li yılların sonunda öğrenciler gelir, yeniden bir 'direniş kalesi' haline gelir Ulucanlar...Ulucanlar'da onlarca irili ufaklı direniş var...onlarca insan yaralanmıştır. Ulucanlar'daki özgürlük tutkusu anlatılmadan Ulucanlar'ın müzeliği gerçekleşmez. 91 firarı, bilinen ve bilinmeyen bir sürü özgürlük denemeleri, tüneller, başarılı oldu mu? Olmadı" (Aysu 2015, 194).
ON THE MUSEUM	"Ulucanlar gibi, Kızıldere gibi, yahut birçok böyle, ülkenin tarihine damgasını vuran bir yerler, özel olmalı, yok edilmemeli. Doğru, ama...Ulucanlar, Sultanahmet, daha birçok yer, faşizmin kendini aklamaya çalıştığı yerler haline getirilmeye çalışılıyor, buna izin verilmemeli, bunun aracı da olmamak lazım. Gitmeyişimin bir yanı bu aslında,...Ulucanlar faşizmin kendini akladığı yerlerden biri olmamalı. Hala katliama devam ederken böyle bir şey yapamazlar. Müze açıldığı zaman F-tiplerinde hala katliamlar devam ediyor, bugün de devam ediyor, F-tiplerinde işkenceler. Müze yapmak isteyenler de bu katliamı devam ettiriyor ve savunuyorlar, dolayısıyla geçmişte kalmış bir olay değil" (Aysu 2015, 193-194).

DATA-SHEET — Prisoners

Study ID	Name / **Nickname:**		**Source & S.**	INTV by Tuğçe Aysu / 18.6.2014	
27	**Social Identity:**	[1]	**Date:**		
Imprisonment Status:		Political Prisoner	**Political ID:**	Leftist / Socialist	**# of Stays:** 1
STAY 1 (ST1)			**Designated Schema 5**		
Years:	-	**Reason:** -			
Context:	The Coup D'état of September 12th				

EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED**		**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**MEMORY-IMAGES** (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)
NO	**TYPE**	**A/M**	**PLACES**		
-	-	-	-	-	

GENERAL (GNL)

SEMANTIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES AND/OR ARCH. ELEMENTS**	**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**DURATION (FROM POLITICAL HISTORY)**	
NO	**TYPE**				
D1	SM-PR	Bath (*Hamam*)	**PR**_The Ulucanlar Massacre	1999	
D1	SM-PR	-	**PR**_1950 Tevkifatı **3** RP_P	1950	The Democratic Party Era

AFTER THE TRANSFORMATION, ON THE MUSEUM INTV by Tuğçe Aysu

DECLARATIONS ON MUSEUM	**CRITIQUES**	**IN BRIEF**
D1	As witnesses of the recent history, we have been through a lot there. Going there now to see the roof, the architecture of the building, wandering around with your kid, telling him about your days there doesn't mean much to me. I don't want to see the gallows, what matters to me is what people said, what they advocated for on their way to the gallows, that's what I want to see. The museum concept is in our brains, in our ideas, what they made is just a building. If it is a museum, it should tell the story of those who were slaughtered while bathing, who were still resisting when bleeding to death, who still did not surrender when being tortured immensely. The works, the memories of the inmates, their belongings, those don't mean a lot. I am against that drama, that "victim role", it doesn't serve anything useful... There was resistance, people stood up against all odds, they didn't give in, they died but weren't defeated. If they can make this vibe palpable in the museum, then I visit there.	For him, at first glance, the museumisation seems favorable but what makes a difference is what is demonstrated there...Ulucanlar can only be a museum if it is filled as a base of resistance. Then it becomes a real museum, bearing consciousness.

[1] Not visited the museum.

DECLARATIONS

ST1_D1	"...Ulucanlarda bir katliam var, göz göre göre insanlar .. ile itfaiye ile ağır silahlarla içerde savunmasız silahsız insanlara ateş ediliyor. O da yetmiyor işkencelerden geçiriliyor, o da yetmiyor alıyorlar hamama, hamam denen yerde, orda katlediyorlar. Öldüre öldüre, döve döve öldürüyorlar...Şimdi alıyorsun savunmasız insani birebir de değil, özel eğitilmiş ekiplerinle saldırıyorsun, yaralamışsın şey yapmışsın ona rağmen işkence ediyorsun katlediyorsun, katledilme kesin yani. Şimdi bunu nasıl anlatacaklar, kendileri cephesinden nasıl anlatacaklar?" (Aysu 2015, 205).

GNL_D1	"...orda gerçekten bir tarih var, orda sadece devrimciler kalmadı, orda geçmişte, geçmiş, 1950 tefrikalarına kadar uzanıyor, şairlerimiz var yazarlarımız var, onların anıları var, orda yine...71 devrimcileri hala ön planda anılıyor, onlar var, onların direnişleri var" (Aysu 2015, 199).
ON THE MUSEUM	"Ulucanların müze olması olayı...ilk bakışta, olumlu gibi görünüyor da, ama...orda, neyin sergilendiği önemli. Oranın ne mesaj verdiği önemli benim açımdan...şimdi bir...bu işe kalkışanların icraatlarının ne olduğunu biliyoruz, bu işe kalkışanlar çok da böyle yani, halkımız tarihte gelişmelerden haberdar olsun, belli bilinçlenme hikmet olsun diye yapmazlar" (Aysu 2015, 195-197). "Ulucanlar, müze oldu, Ulucanlar müze oldu, ama, tam anlamıyla müze olması böyle bir iktidarın iş başında olduğu koşullarda gerçekleşmez" (Aysu 2015, 200). "Müze olayında genel politikanın yani ülkedeki iktidarın onun genel politikasının dışında düşünmemek gerekiyor" (Aysu 2015, 201). " Değişen bir şeyin olmadığı koşullarda müze anlamlı gelmiyor bana. O müze tırnak içerisinde müze oluyor, boş bir müze oluyor, içi boşaltılmış bir müze oluyor. Yani Ulucanlar 'direniş odağı' olarak içi doldurulursa müze olur. Gerçek anlamda müze olur ve işlev görür o zaman. Bilinç taşır" (Aysu 2015, 205)."...mimarlar odası önerdiyse, mimarlar odası, diğer demokrat kitle örgütleri buna sahip çıkıp onun anlamına uygun gene topluma bilim taşıyabilecek bir köprü vazifesini görecek bir müze niteliğine kavuşturabilirlerse ne ala, tamam deriz, anlamlı, biz de katkı sunalım deriz..." (Aysu 2015, 201). "...şimdi şöyle konuşurken şunu düşünüyorum da, yani sahip çıkılabilir mi,... 6 Mayıs anmasını orda yapabilir mesela. Müzeyse madem, darağacında 3 fidan orada asıldı. 6 Mayıs'ın anmasını, 6 Mayıs'ın...anmasını yaptırmazlar" (Aysu 2015, 202). "...gerçekten, topluma, burada bu halkın direnen unsurları vardı, her şeye rağmen pes etmediler, direndiler, öldüler ama direndiler, yenilmediler. Bunu anlatacak bir atmosfer oluşturulsa; şimdi oraya ben giderim" (Aysu 2015, 204). "Yakin tarihin şeyi olarak bizler de çok şey yaşadık orda Ulucanlarda, şeyi çok anlamlı gelmiyor, sadece gidip orada onun çatısını görmek, onun mimarisini görmek, ya da çocuğunu elinden tutup ben burada kalmıştım falan demek, o demir parmaklıkları göstermek, oraya ilişkin anılarını anlatmak çok anlamlı gelmiyor bana....Yani, Denizlerin darağacını ben görmek istemem. Sonuçta üç parça ağaçtır o. benim görmek isteyeceğim nedir orada, Deniz'in darağacına...giderken söylediklerdir" (Aysu 2015, 200). "...orda kalan insanlarımızın eserleri, oraya ilişkin anıları, ya çok elbiseleri falan filan çok anlamlı değil" (Aysu 2015, 199). "Hatta...ben...mağdur edebiyatı yapılmasına karşıyım o olumsuz bir sonuç veriyor toplum üzerinde" (Aysu 2015, 202).

THE INTANGIBLE WITHIN TANGIBLE: CONSERVATION OF ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE AS A LOCUS OF MEMORY
THE CASE OF ANKARA ULUCANLAR CENTRAL CLOSED PRISON
THESIS STUDY BY ZEYNEP KUTLU

DATA-SHEET — Prisoners

Study ID 28	Name / **Nickname:** Münir			**Source & S.** INTV by Tuğçe Aysu / 2014	
	Social Identity: [1]			**Date:**	
Imprisonment Status:	Political Prisoner			**Political ID:** Rightist/Idealist	**# of Stays:** 1
STAY 1 (ST1)	5 months			**Designated Schema 5**	
Years:	April 1982	**Reason:** -			
Context:	The Coup D'état of September 12th				
EPISODIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES ACCOMMODATED / PLACES OR ARCH. ELEMENTS MENTIONED**		**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**MEMORY-IMAGES (THINGS OR CONCEPTS)**
NO	**TYPE**	**A/M**	**PLACES**		
D1	EP-GN1	**PA1**	4. Ward ●	**1** AR/FUR-**3** PG_P	
D2	EP-GN1	**PA1**	4. Ward	**1** LC_O-**3** LO_PP,OP	KARIŞTIR-BARIŞTIR'/MÜMESSİLLER
D3	EP-GN1	**PA1**	4. Ward	**1** LC_O/FUR	MAVİ YATAK/RANZA/HAMAK
D4	EP-GN1	-	Buffet ●	ULUCANLAR Vs. Other Prisons **3** LO_PP,F	GAZOZ
		AE	**ARCH. ELEMENTS**		
D1	EP-GN1	**AE1**	The surveillance windows on the ceiling of the ward	**1** AR	THE SURVEILLANCE WINDOWS
GENERAL (GNL)					
SEMANTIC DECLARATIONS		**PLACES AND/OR ARCH. ELEMENTS**		**THEMES** 1 PHYSICALITY 2 MOVEMENT / ACTION 3 RELATIONS / ORDER	**DURATION (FROM POLITICAL HISTORY)**
NO	**TYPE**				
D1	SM-PR	ULUCANLAR PRISON		Ulucanlar prison as originally a 'horse stable'.	
AFTER THE TRANSFORMATION, ON THE MUSEUM				INTV by Tuğçe Aysu	
DECLARATIONS ON MUSEUM		**CRITIQUES**			**IN BRIEF**
D1		It is like a monument, a monument of shame but that is exactly why it needs to be seen. You can feel the essence of the place, the way it was back in the day..., the museumisation is kind of like an acknowledgement from those who were responsible. That is why I find the process approvable.			For him, It is a right-minded project that those places of torture are blatantly shown to the public, hence the museumisation is a useful process.

[1] Visited the museum.

DECLARATIONS

ST1_D1	"ben oraya…girdiğim zaman orası eski tip cezaevi, modern cezaevi değildi, bir şeyden bir şeye çevrilmiş…At ahırı gibi bir yermiş, zira şeyden de belli oluyor, geniş alanlar, alçak alanlar tavanları modern bir bina değil, betonarme değil en azından. Yerler, hangar gibi yerler koğuşa çevrilmiş" (Aysu 2015, 209-210). "…benim kaldığım yer, 4. Koğuş denilen bir yer büyük bir alan. Yani, zannedersem, 60-70 metre boyunda, on beş, on metre falan eni olan bir alan, ranzalar yerleştirilmiş. Tavanı yüksek bir yer çatı var, çatıdan gözetleme pencereleri vardı gardiyanlar oradan bakardı, biz oraya daha çok eski bir cezaevi, merkez Ulucanlar cezaevi diye geçiyordu cebeci…" (Aysu 2015, 210).
ST1_D2	"[Siyasi koğuşlarla, adli koğuşlar] Ayrıydı. Şimdi darbenin şöyle bir mantığı vardı ilk yıllarında, tek tek siyasi mahkûmların siyasi kimliklerini kabul etmiyorlardı. Sağcı veya solcu ülkücü veya devrimci, bunu kabullenmiyorlardı, sen ne demek siyasi, baskı dönemi, bunun için, mahkumla beraber yatırmak istiyorlardı ancak, normal mahkum adli suçlardan ceza almış mahkumlarla yatırmak istiyordu ama siyasi mahkum adli mahkumla yatınca adli mahkum siyasi oluyordu kaçınılmaz olarak…Onun için ayırdılar daha sonra, bu sefer sağ sol karışık yatırmaya başladılar aynı koğuşlarda. Onun da bir şeysi vardı, teorik bir şey böyle Tretman planı diye bir şey vardı o dönemde belki duydunuz bilmiyorum, karıştır-barıştır, denilen şey sağlan solu karıştır-barıştır şeklinde ama, kimse karışmadı kimse barışmadı, kavgalar oldu…yaralanmalar oldu, ölenler oldu vesaire…Biz karışık yatıyorduk, 120 kişilik bir koğuştu, yani dönem dönem bu değişiyordu geleni gideni sevki yeni tutuklanmalarla değişiyordu ama oran böyleydi genel olarak 120 civarında, 115 olurdu 125 olurdu. Bu 80 kararı, üçte bir oranında ülkücü mahkûm, üçte iki oranında da devrimciler vardı. Ortak şeyler vardı mümessiller vardı, bazı haklara riayetler oluyordu ama kimi zaman da kavgalar oluyordu biraz önce dediğim gibi. Herkesin kendi bölmeleri vardı" (Aysu 2015, 210-211).
ST1_D3	"Hatta Adalet Bakanlığı, cezaevleriyle ilgili, Adalet Bakanlığı'nın iaşe bedeli denilen bir şeyi vardı, günlük mahkumun bakımıyla ilgili protein miktarı karbonhidrat miktarıyla ilgili, çok düşüktü ve yatak sayısıyla, önceden yatak yoktu, şöyle yoktu, mahkumun kendisi yatağını dışarıdan getirtirdi ya da kendi getirirdi ama daha sonradan Ceza ve Tevkif evleri Genel Müdürlüğü bir yatak biçimi çıkardı üstünde hatta CT diye yazardı…bunlar mavi sünger yataklardı ancak yatak yeterli olmadığı için yerlerde yatmalar ve ranza aralarına…hamak yapılırdı. Aslında üç katlı ranza, şöyle düşün, mağara gibi bir şeye giriyorsun, birinci katla ikinci kat arasındaki ranzaya hamak yapılır hamak dediğin ne yani işte iplerden şunlardan bezlerden şunlardan, hamak dediğin modern tatildeki hamaklar gibi değil, onların arasına yapılır üstüne bir şey serilir ikinci katla üçüncü kat arasına da hamak yapılır, tünel gibi, karanlık olurdu tabii, kapandığı için ışık oralara sığmazdı, diyelim yirmi kişi koğuşta 50-60 kişinin yattığı dönemler de oldu, yerlerde, yürünecek yer olmazdı bazen. Yani yatakhaneye girdiğinde yatakların aralarından falan geçip, mahkum sayışı arttı tabii darbeyle beraber, ki Türkiye'de stadyumlarda gözaltılar olduğuna göre, bu durumda hapishane de dolu olacak demektir" (Aysu 2015, 212).
ST1_D4	"Yani Ankara merkez cezaevi aslında diğer başka cezaevlerine oranla, rahat bir cezaevi. Yani, işte, bir dönem de olmuştur mesela, şey alırdın…kebap bile vardı, satın alma durumu vardı, tabi büfeler var, ben hatırlıyorum Schwepps içerdik biz, Schwepps vardı yani şişe…" (Aysu 2015, 214).
GNL_D1	"…At ahırı gibi bir yermiş" (Aysu 2015, 209-210).
ON THE MUSEUM	"…ya müze işte bu 12 Eylül döneminde, totaliter yönetimlerin akabinde bu tür işkencehaneleri halka tanıtmak adına müzeye dönüştürülüp toplumun gözüne sokulur…Oradaki işkencehanelerin ayan beyan topluma gösterilmesi, yapanların bir artısıdır bence. Olumlu bir şeydir müzeye dönüşmesi…müze olduktan sonra ben gittim oraya, şimdi bizim dördüncü koğuşun arkasında hücreler vardı. Ben orda hücrede hiç yatmadım beş ay içinde, tesadüf olmadı ama başka hapishanelerde çok yattım. Ben o hücreleri gördüm, korktum…Müze olması, işte anıt gibi aslında, işte, utanç anıtı gibi falan, öyle bir işlevi var" (Aysu 2015, 214). "…güzel yapmışlar, havayı vermişler, işte oradaki şeyle, ranzalarla yerleştirdikleri o objeler falan, tam o havayı, ben çok da duygulandım orda tabii oraya gidince falan…müze özür, anıt, hani bazı anıtlar olur ya, işkenceyi lanetlemek adına yapılan bir anıt tabii ki yani öyle denilebilir. Bu bir anıt değil ama bir yer. Burası böyleydi, zaten orda verilen hava da o gezdiniz görmüşsünüzdür, çok normalde insanların dışarıda yaşadığı şeyler değil yani. Özür tabii ki, o dönemin…[özürü] kabul etmiyorum hayır, bunların hiçbir şeyini kabul etmiyorum. Bilinçli yapılan bir şey bu, gayri iradi değil ki hata değil ki, kazayla olan şeyler değil ki bunlar…Müze olarak, müzeye dönüştürülmesi, o hatayı kabul etmek o suçu kabullenmek olarak görüyorum" (Aysu 2015, 215-216). "Ama tabii bunun basında medyada falan konuşulup, o dönemde yer yer, o da önemli, yığınların geniş halk kitlelerinin bunu öğrenmesi iyi bir şey. O sadece yapıldı, orda Ankara'da Ankara'nın çevresinde oturan insanlar biliyor değil artik. Orayı, o konuşulma yapılma sürecinde, tartışmalar sürecinde…iletişim araçlarıyla kitlelere ulaşması önemli. Bilmesi, halkın bilmesi önemli. O açıdan olumlu" (Aysu 2015, 217-218).

DICTIONARY FOR LISTED MEMORY-IMAGES	
AÇLIK GREVİ	Hunger strike
AĞAÇ	Tree
AĞARLAR/AĞIR MAHKUMLAR	Prisoners who serve long or life long sentences or who are sentenced to death
ADLİ MAHKUMLAR	Ordinary/Judicial prisoners
AVUKATLAR	Lawyers
AVUKAT GÖRÜŞÜ	Lawyer's visit
BALIK İSTİFİ	Packed like sardines
BANK	Bench
BANKACILAR	Bankers
BANKER KOĞUŞU	Ward of bankers
BERBER	Hair dresser
BONCUK DİZME	Bead stringing
BONCUKTAN KUŞ	Bird from beads
BONCUK ÖRME	Bead knitting
BİT KONTROLÜ	Inspection for lice
DEMİR KAFES	Iron lattice coverings
DEMİR KAPI	Iron door
DEVRİMCİLER	Revolutionaries
DEVRİMCİ TALEBELER	Revolutionary students
DOLANDIRICILAR	Swindlers
DOLAP	Locker
FİRAR	Jailbreak
FUTBOL	Football
GAZ OCAĞI	Kerosene stove
GAZETE	Newspaper
GAZOZ	Soda
GAZOZ KAPAKLARINDAN KARTON ARABA	Cardboard car made with soda caps
GECE NÖBETİ	Night shift
HAVUZ	Pool
HIRSIZLAR	Thieves
İDAMLIKLAR	Those condemned to death
İS	Smut
İSTİHBARAT	Intelligence
İTİBAR	Esteem
KALABALIK	Over crowdedness
KALE MANZARASI	Castle view
KARAVANA	Prison food, the meal prepared for and served to the prisoners or the bucket with the iron handle in which the prison food is carried
KAVAK AĞACI	Poplar tree
KAVGA-DÖVÜŞ	Fight
KATLİAM	Massacre
KİR	Dirt
KİTAPLAR	Books

KOĞUŞ AĞASI VE FEDAİLERİ	Ward lords and their bouncers
KOMÜN	Commune
KOMÜN DÜZENİ	Communal order
KÖMÜR ALMA	Buying coal
MAHKEME	Court
MEMURLAR KOĞUŞU	Ward of officers
MEYDANCI	Man who runs the errands in prison wards
ORGANİZASYON	Organization
ÖRGÜTLÜLÜK	Organized
ÖLÜM ORUCU	Death fast
PEYKE/SEDİR	Sofa
PİSLİK	Dirt
RANZA	Bunk bed
SABUNDAN ZAR	Dice made of soap
SALLAMA ÇEVİRME	Flipping rosary beads
SATRANÇ	Chess
SAYGI	Respect
SAYGINLIK	Respectability
SİGARA	Cigarette
SOBA	Stove
SOBA BAŞI EĞİTİM	Training by the stove
SPOR	Sports
SÜBYAN KOĞUŞU	Children's ward
TAHLİYE	Release
TAVUKÇU/ BARINAKSIZLAR	Homeless people in dire need who deliberately end up in prison by committing minor crimes
TENEKE	Tin bucket
TESPİH	Rosary beads
TESPİH ÇEVİRME	Flipping rosary beads
TIRAŞ	Haircut
TİYATRO GÖSTERİLERİ	Theatre shows
TOPRAK / TOPRAK ÖZLEMİ	Longing for soil
TUVALET KOKUSU	Toilet odor
TÜFEKLİ JANDARMALAR	Armed gendarme
UYKU NÖBETİ	Sleep watch
VOLEYBOL	Volleyball
VOLTA / VOLTA RACONU	Pacing back and forth and the order of it
YANKESİCİLER	Pickpockets
YATAK	Bed

ABBREVIATIONS FOR THE THEMES OF DECLARATIONS	
AR	Architecture
AW	Art Work
AW_P	AW_in relation to place
FUR	Furniture/Objects
IO	Inside-Outside Relationship
KN	Kinesthesia
LC	Living Conditions
LC_O	LC_Overcrowdedness
LC_D	LC_Dirtiness
LC_SD	LC_State of Disrepair
LO	Living Order
LO_B	LO_Bath
LO_F	LO_Food
LO_OP	LO_spesific to Ordinary Prisoners
LO_PP	LO_spesific to Political Prisoners
LO_R	LO_Release
LO_V	LO_Visit
PG	Prisoner Group
PG_P	PG_in relation to place
PG_R	PG_inbetween relations
PR	Recollected Particular Events
PR_AE	PR_in relation to architectural elements
RAC	Routine Actions
RP	Renowned Prisoners
RP_P	RP_in relation to place
SC	Space Configuration
SQ	Sequence
TSR	Time-Space Routine