

DEATH, BURIAL CULTURE AND SPACES OF MEMORIALIZATION:  
THE CASE OF ANKARA CEBECİ CEMETERY

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## ABSTRACT

### DEATH, BURIAL CULTURE AND SPACES OF MEMORIALIZATION: THE CASE OF ANKARA CEBECİ CEMETERY

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This thesis evaluates cemetery as a specialized built environment that differs from other urban and architectural spaces by its own created culture which varies from society to society through the religious beliefs, cultural rituals and funerary customs. After the realization of death, the need for committing the body to the ground (interment) results with a specific space requirement. The burial rituals and beliefs of that culture shape the built environment of cemeteries while, the cemetery environment vice versa, shapes the quality of visitation of mourners and the way of remembering the deceased through its memorial as a representation of memory.

Although cemeteries concern almost each individual – either as a living being or a body that awaits interment- and they cover huge burial grounds, they represent and/or are representing a place to be avoided for most people. The avoidance of the fact of death and the experience of cemeteries in daily life also asserts itself on the practices of the architectural profession. Cemeteries are transformed into property areas which are figured out by stone-masons, cemetery managements and users/ mourners of that space, whereas they should be / or expected to be / designed by architects, planners and engineers. Although it needs interdisciplinary studies including architectural, urban, sociological, historical and theological research, lack of comprehensive work in this field and avoidance of the practice of the profession in cemetery architecture and burial management, leads to the exclusion of the aspects of design and causes the ignorance of architectural principles in design, planning and spatial organization of burial spaces. Throughout this study, it is intended to reveal the role of cemeteries in providing a cultural milieu for the public use of commemoration spaces which requires to be designed, managed and used as qualified built environments. For this reason, this thesis aims to stimulate further and deeply concerned architectural studies on the design of cemeteries by referring to the interdisciplinary key themes through the analysis of a contemporary cemetery of Ankara, Cebeci Asri Cemetery.

**Key Words:** Cemetery, Death, Burial Culture, Architectural Representation, Commemoration, Cebeci Asri Cemetery

# ÖZ

## ÖLÜM, GÖMME KÜLTÜRÜ VE ANMA MEKANLARI: ANKARA CEBECİ MEZARLIĞI ÖRNEĞİ

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Bu tez; gömme (defin) gelenekleri, ölüm sonrası kültürel ritüelleri ve dini inanışları ile kendi alt kültürünü oluşturan mezarlıkları diğer kentsel ve mimari mekanlardan ayıran, kendine özgü özellikli bir yapıyı çevre olarak değerlendirmekte, bunu yaparken mezarlıkların ve bu kendine özgü mekansal niteliklerin mimarlık disiplini kapsamında ele alınmasının zorunlu olduğunu savunan bir bakış açısı geliştirmektedir. Ölümün gerçekleşmesinin ardından, bedenın toprağa verilmesi ihtiyacı belirli bir alan gereksinimini ortaya çıkarmıştır. Belirli bir kültüre ait gömme ritüelleri ve inanışları, mimari çevre ile düşünceleri mezarlığın yapıyı çevresini belirlerken, tersinir bir edim olarak mezarlık çevresi de geride kalanların anma ve ziyaret biçimlerini ve ölen kişiyi belleğin bir temsili olarak onun anısına yapılmış mezarıyla hatırlamanın niteliklerini biçimlendirmektedir.

Mezarlıklar, yaşayan ya da ölü, hemen hemen tüm insanları ilgilendirmesine ve büyük gömme alanları oluşturmalarına rağmen, çoğu kişi tarafından kaçınılan mekanlar olarak görülmektedir. Ölüm olgusundan ve günlük yaşamdaki mezarlık deneyimlerinden kaçınma, mimarlık mesleği pratiğinde de kendini göstermektedir. Mezarlıklar mimarlar, plançılar ve mühendisler tarafından tasarlanan mekanlar olmalıyken ya da olması beklenirken; mezarlıklar, taş ustaları, mezarlık yönetimi ve geride kalanlar yani kullanıcılar tarafından biçimlenen bir ‘mülk’ alanına dönüştürülmüştür. Mimarlık, kent, sosyoloji, tarih ve din araştırmalarını içeren disiplinlerarası çalışmalara gereksinim duyulmasına rağmen, konu üzerine kapsamlı çalışma yapılmamış olması ve meslek pratiğinin mezarlık tasarımı ve mimarisi, defin ve alan yönetimi üzerine düşünmekten uzak durması, tasarım açısından mahrumiyete; ve gömme mekanlarının tasarım, planlama ve mekansal organizasyonunda mimari ilkelerin göz ardı edilmesine yol açmıştır. Bu çalışma süresince, anma mekanının kamusal kullanımı için kültürel bir ortam sağlayan mezarlıkların nitelikli yapıyı çevreler olarak tasarlanması, yönetilmesi ve kullanılması gerekliliğinin ortaya çıkarılması hedeflenmiştir. Bu nedenle bu tez, Ankara’nın ve erken dönem Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin modern bir mezarlık örneği olan Cebeci Mezarlığı üzerine yapılan analizler ile disiplinlerarası önemli konulara atıfta bulunarak, mezarlık tasarımı üzerine mimari araştırmalarla daha derinden ilgilenen daha çok sayıda çalışmayı teşvik etmeyi amaçlamaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Mezarlık, Ölüm, Gömme kültürü, Mimari temsiliyet, Anma mekanı, Cebeci Asri Mezarlığı

To My Family;

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. Definition of the problem

In the field of architecture, cemeteries are thought to be a weird subject of inquiry and research because they remind of death with all its mystery in a world of the living. On the one hand, it is most probably that everyone has been experienced at least one incident of visiting a cemetery for a family member, or a kin, a friend or one's beloved one. Each human being is aware of the fact that, one day all living being will have his/her own space in a cemetery for his/her own body decay after death. It may seem to be relevant only for those macabre thoughts, but it is not. On the other hand, cemeteries offer a rich field for architectural study, because they constitute themselves in the various constructions of funerary architecture that have served for the disposal of human body in the ground. Therefore, they transform into the space of memorialization of deceased by his/her architecturally designed representation. However, there is a paradoxical relation for adoption and use of that space. Although cemeteries are important spaces which provide the living to remember and commemorate their beloved one, they are usually ignored and excluded by the public and the authorities, even not discussed in our professional mediums as urban and architectural entities. The result is that cemeteries do have planning, design and managerial problems for we as professionals and the society at large are not concerned by their future.

In contrast to other countries, cemeteries have not collected interest and they are not worked on adequately in Turkey. Insufficient interest on the part of authorities, public, and the intellectual circles is an important reason for the planning, site design, and management problems. Furthermore, the lack of comprehensive researches, which may offer solutions for the problems, particularly in architecture and urban planning is another crucial problem. Although cemetery planning and design issues require an interdisciplinary framework, it seems it has not been constituted yet. The most important problem is the absence of comprehensive studies since the subject has never been yet studied extensively in the academic circles. Experts in different disciplines have studied specific parts of the subject concerning their own discipline areas. Thus, those previous researches have remained unincorporated with each other.

Beside their architectural aspects, cemeteries also offer a rich field for urban, spatial, historical, anthropological and social study because they qualify the symbolic and memorable meaning of death for the living and the dynamics of cemetery landscape through the customs and burial culture. The fact of death and the formation of cemeteries give way to a burial culture which entertains the below phases of experience:

- a. The death cause to the disposal of dead body in a healthy way on behalf of the living which issues with several interment techniques according to the values and beliefs of that culture by the effect of religion,
- b. It requires a space mostly a built environment for the memory of deceased to serve to house the corpse,
- c. Funeral procession of dead body accompanied by the rituals of cemetery culture,
- d. First days after death: the shock after death and the pain of loss of beloved one cause to frequent visits to his/her grave,
- e. First year after death: getting used to the absence of the beloved one
- f. Remembering for the long term: visits only on special occasions such as religious days, father's and mother's days, birthdays and anniversaries.

This formation generates its own burial culture including the funeral customs, architectural culture, burial rituals, religious culture, interment techniques, memorialization practices, and visitations. The behavior of the living to celebrate death differs from culture to culture. Different religious beliefs offer different behaviors for cultures. Thus, cemetery design and planning principles vary depending on the religious beliefs and funeral customs of cultures. While beliefs about death affect rituals and funeral customs, those rituals bring families together to share grief and express feelings. In other words, cemeteries act like sacred spaces which bring communities together to enable emotional recovery by social meanings. It should be noted that the burial culture of Anatolian-Islamic culture has the richness of diverse burial types through its historical background which gives information about the lives of societies before and after Islam, and their celebrating of death. In the second chapter, example cemetery sites from Anatolia will be studied to reveal that richness of burial types and diversity of funerary architecture. In comparison to Anatolian cemeteries, it is also important to examine the example European burial grounds to understand the planning and design ideas of cemeteries and the burial culture of European societies.

On the other hand, cemeteries constitute open green areas for cities with their biological diversity and fauna. Briefly, cemeteries are distinctive sacred spaces which should also be evaluated for their symbolic, social, spatial, cultural, ecological and recreational aspects in their design principles. Therefore, all of these aspects can be examined by different professions such as architects, urbanists, philosophers, theologians, sociologists, anthropologists, social workers and psychologists. Here, the most remarkable issue for this thesis is the formation of the architecturally built environment for the disposal of dead body and its spatial quality for the memorialization of the deceased which is waiting to be analyzed in multiple terms.

However, it is inevitable to refer to the other aspects except for the architectural structuring. Just because, the architectural structuring for the memory of the deceased is very relevant to the funeral customs, beliefs and rituals. It is a bilateral relation between the formation of a cemetery and its constructed culture. It is a compelling process which begins with the burial procedures keeping in contact with cemetery management, goes on with the construction of built environment with respect to the representation of deceased and is followed with remembering the dead in sequential lapses of time. The architectural representation of the deceased via the built environment shapes the cemetery culture, whereas beliefs, customs and rituals of a culture shape the spatial organization of a corresponding built environment.

To examine this phenomenon more closely, a significant example of contemporary cemetery of Ankara, Cebeci Asri Cemetery is chosen as a case study area.

Actually, Cebeci Asri Cemetery is considered as a means of observation site to search the answers of some questions: What is a cemetery in Turkey? What are the problems for cemeteries? How should they be resolved? Who are the users and how often do they use that space (funeral days, religious days, anniversaries, special days for mothers, fathers, etc.)?. Why the cemeteries are not crowded except for these special days? Maybe the most significant question for this thesis is why architectural authority does not show interest or give importance to cemeteries? It is evident that the subject of cemetery is not handled frequently and issued in architectural circles. Beside the design of houses, cultural centers, managerial buildings, museums or recreational areas, how little work has been done for the inquiry and study of cemeteries is beyond question. All types of cemeteries which are not the main focus of this thesis such as state cemetery, martyrdom, village and city cemeteries are valuable examples which are worth to issue and discuss in architectural circles. Though it seems to be a special and weird subject of discussion, cemetery is also one of the architectural issues like houses, schools, factories or parks. When you start to get close to the subject and begin working with the problems, the subject itself pens up to you. For instance, when working on the design of a court house, there are unknowns about how judges, criminals and the public use and configure that space. It is the same in the case of cemetery to figure out the user relations, functions and their correlation with functional and aesthetic design principles. Even when the subject is considered in the phases of architectural education, it should be made a current issue as the problem of design studios as well. There should be site visits with experts on this issue and the ones from the practice of the profession, by considering the ones who have never experienced cemeteries before. Due to all these, the Cebeci Cemetery will be brought up to the agenda of architectural medium as a means of observation and study site to assess whether it is appropriate as a site of memory with an architectural focal point.

Due to the broadness of the subject, it is needed to be emphasized that, this thesis does not totally focus on the definitions of interment techniques and religious rituals. There are other valuable sources dealing how interment techniques and religious rituals are classified for various cultures. In other words, the interment techniques and the designation of cultural rituals as a sociological theme remain beyond the remit of this thesis. However, in relevant debates, it will be referred to the historical development and culture of cemeteries. Because the cemetery issue requires such a broad study through comprehensive analysis, this thesis can be a useful starting point for discussing the architectural aspects of cemeteries. To do so, the issue will be handled through spatial organization, user preferences and experiences by memory, remembering and memorialization.

This thesis has six chapters and discusses: first is the introduction part with the methodological approach of the study including conceptual framework, sources, documentation and promises of the thesis; second is defining cemetery as the representation of memory by focusing on the concept of death and cemetery with the memorialization of the deceased; third is defining cemetery as life spaces focusing on the burial culture, the living and the services; fourth is the analysis of spatial organization of the case of Cebeci Asri Cemetery for the convenience of commemoration and lastly the conclusion part. The thesis

concerns Cebeci Asri Cemetery in Ankara, but other national and international examples are also referred to enhance the research in broader sense.

## **1.2. Methodological Approach**

### **1.2.1. Conceptual Framework and Method**

The study will first focus on the concept of death, how death is received and represented in cemetery space with the memorialization of the deceased, how it is experienced on behalf of the relatives of the dead, what the phases of this experience are. Then, burial culture and accompanied conventions, rituals, familiarities, religious group and sect formations (if there are) will be analyzed in historical perspective, via literature of the already realized research and field work. Then, the meaning of commemoration will be developed by the analysis of Cebeci Asri Cemetery with a brief history for the spatial development of Ankara and Ankara Cemeteries. The Cebeci Cemetery will be analyzed both in cemetery scale and in grave scale with the example memorial sites in the cemetery. How the spatial organization of memorial sites and the landscape elements used for the commemoration of the deceased will be discussed by the plan analysis of the cemetery and images from the different points of the sites.

### **1.2.2. Sources and Documentation**

This thesis develops from the sources as archival researches and site surveys. The archive of Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara and the Municipality of Altındağ; Republic archives, cemetery archives; newspaper archives and family archives are several significant sources for the development of the research. The plans of Cebeci Cemetery are obtained from Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara for the analysis of the layout of the cemetery. While the competition project of Elsaesser is obtained from the archive of the Arkitekt Journal, the information about Mumcu and İnönü Family are obtained from the archives of the management of Cebeci Cemetery and family archives. Also, the statistical information about the number of graves, burials and areas are obtained from the MEBİS system of the Directorate of Cemetery of Ankara in Karşıyaka Cemetery. On the other hand, newspaper archives are scanned for the commentaries of the cemetery's old times. By this way, it is aimed to analyze and introduce the conceptual framework of cemeteries not only as theoretical identification but also as an improvable reading for the readers. So, this thesis has the potential of reproducing further themes by the reader with personal observations and deeper readings which give way to the specialization of the offered subthemes.

In order to define the features of the Cebeci Cemetery, the site survey is performed. In line with the obtained information, graphical documentation is prepared. The analysis of development stages; function scheme with spatial organization; green system of the cemetery; and the access scheme with primary and secondary roads are developed to analyse environmental scale of the Cebeci Cemetery. Additionally, documentation is developed with site photographs. Afterwards, the results of these studies are presented in the form of verbal expressions. The research will be dealing with two different scales; the first scale is the urban scale with the location, boundary relations, entrances and spatial organization of the cemetery; the second one is the grave scale with the examples of an individual grave of Uğur

Mumcu, a family section of İnönü's and the Martyrdom of Foreign Affairs. The specified grave sections are examined in five stages: first is by their access scheme from MEBİS system, second is by their function plan scheme (developed by the author) showing their location in the cemetery, third is the detailed drawings of their spatial organization (developed by the author) for the commemoration of the deceased, fourth is documentation with photographs (taken by the author) and finally the visual observations via materials, forms, sizes and aesthetic concerns of graves and headstones. However, before going deeper into the examination of different scales, it is better to study for the concept of death and its phases for the experience of the living; the burial culture, the living and their rituals to set the theoretical background, and then, the brief history for the spatial organization of Ankara and Ankara Cemeteries with those example memorial sites of Cebeci Cemetery for the commemoration of the deceased.

### **1.2.3. Literature Survey**

Literature survey of the thesis consists of books, scholarly articles, thesis, laws and regulations about cemeteries, maps, plans and related web sites. Here are the introduction of the several significant books and publicized materials referred in this thesis:

- Foucault's "Of Other Spaces" which states the seclusion of cemeteries by the comparison of utopic and heterotopic sites;
- Etlin's "The Space of Absence" which defines cemeteries as "place of paradoxes neither of this world nor of the next, neither the space of the living nor the place of death";
- Scarpa's "The Other City" with a sense of formal poetry in its architecture;
- Ochsner's "City of Dead" as a "Space of Loss";
- Freud's memory studies;
- Durkheim's theory about beliefs and rituals;
- Halbwach's collective consciousness via spatial framework;
- Nora's "sites of memory" as memorial heritage of any community;
- Assmann's cultural memory studies to reconstruct an identity via rituals, symbols, and representations;
- Reimer's death rituals as tools for the construction of individual and collective identity;
- Aries' studies on the perception of death;
- Colvin's study on changing funerary architecture due to the changing perception of death;
- Rugg's comprehensive studies on physical, social and ritual aspects of cemetery;
- Loudon's definition of cemetery as historical record by its landscape design;
- Worpole's complex definition of historical, social and cultural legacy of emotional meaning;
- Hall's "system representation" for the understanding of meaning of death;
- Saussure's system of signs to produce meaning in cemeteries;
- Eldem's studies on death and burial culture in Ottoman period;
- Francaviglia's view of cemeteries from the point of the living;
- Francis, Kellaher and Neophytou's study on the cemetery and cemetery culture of the living;

- Cengizkan’s study on Cebeci and Karşıyaka Cemeteries for their design principles and problems;
- Madanipour’s, Burte’s, Carr’s and Boyer’s researches on public space;
  - Lefebvre’s definition of “lived” space;
  - Notes and gravures from the travelers of Ankara before Republic;
  - Eldem’s studies on death and burial culture in Ottoman period;
  - Cengizkan’s and Bademli’s studies on Ankara and Ankara cemeteries after Republic.

Moreover, the article “Cemeteries as the Spaces of Paradoxes” written by the author in the lecture of ‘Arch709 Housing and Discourse II’ of Ali Cengizkan in METU constitutes a pilot study for the development of the thesis. In this article, cemeteries were studied in terms of paradoxes through space and user relations, socio-psychological approaches with the feelings of users, and cemetery-periphery relations. The tomb of Alparslan Türkeş, Turkish State Cemetery, Karşıyaka Cemetery and the Memorial of Duygu Asena were examined as case areas to sustain the theoretical background of the study.

On the other hand, because there are not such comprehensive thesis studies tackled with this issue in Turkish architectural circle, many significant researches from different disciplines such as landscape architecture, urban planning, history, sociology, theology make a huge contribution for the development of this thesis. Those limited number of thesis belong to Aysel Uslu (Doctoral thesis, Landscape Architecture, 1997), C. Samuel Wilson (Doctoral Thesis, Philosophy in Architecture, 2007), Seval Cömertler (Master of Urban Design, 2001) and S. Deniz Ertek (Master of Urban Design, 2006). Furthermore, the example cemetery sites both from Anatolia and Europe are examined to show the richness of burial culture in the issue of cemeteries. Anatolian cemeteries of Hierapolis Cemetery, Ahlat Seljuk Cemetery, Gümüşkesen Mausoleum, Ottoman cemetery of II. Mahmud Hazire and Turkish State Cemetery; and also European cemeteries of Woodland Cemetery of Asplund and Lewerentz in Stockholm; Igualada Cemetery of Miralles and Pinos in Barcelona; Ohlsdorf Cemetery of Cordes and Linne in Hamburg and Pere Lachaise Cemetery in Paris show the differentiation in burial culture and funerary architecture of different cultures and religious groups which allow for the comparison of European cemeteries with Turkish cemeteries. As a result of all of these surveys, it is one merit of this thesis to integrate these studies from the point of view of an architectural position to bring the issue to the architectural profession and the discipline.

#### **1.2.4. Promises of the Thesis**

The aim of the thesis is to put emphasis on the importance of the dialogue between cemeteries, public and the architectural profession for the development of the quality of the cemetery space. In light of the analysis of cemeteries, it is intended to bring to light the value of cemeteries as public spaces of memorialization which serve both for the living and for the dead. Throughout this study, it is intended to reveal the role of cemeteries in providing cultural milieu for the public use of commemoration which requires to be designed, managed and used as a qualified built environment. In other words, it is aimed to propose cemeteries for architectural discipline in order to reclaim cemeteries as architecturally qualified spaces instead of calling them ‘other’ spaces which are excluded by public and avoided by the

actors of the profession. Therefore, it is one merit of this to reveal how cemeteries are abandoned to gravediggers, stonemasons, management and mourners like a property area while they should be designed areas by architects, planners and engineers in deed. It is evident that the incentive of designing cemeteries with the law of Hifzissihha is transformed into the 'realization' area of management and users. Therefore, it is an attempt for this thesis to recall the practices of architectural profession.





## **CHAPTER 2**

### **CEMETERY AS THE REPRESENTATION OF MEMORY**

#### **2.1. Death and the Cemetery**

For the examination of the cemetery as the representation of memory, first it is essential to mention about the concept of death as the suggestive of the subject of cemetery. Death is the inevitable matter of fact that each living being will experience one day. Even it is received probably by everyone with the feelings of fear, grief and obscurity at the time of the loss of the beloved one. It is evident that death is thought to be a profound mystery for centuries. However, religious beliefs, cultural rituals and accompanied conventions about death compel the living being to think of burial grounds. For instance, the religious beliefs which assume the eternity of soul and the life after death requires cemeteries to signify the place of the deceased. For this reason, how death is received and perceived by cultures through time will be examined in order to understand the man's attitudes towards death and cemetery and burial culture.

##### **2.1.1. Individual, Collective and Historical Approaches Towards Death**

It is evident that death has been contemplated on by societies through history. Sociological, philosophical, cultural, anthropological and theological studies demonstrate that there are several approaches for the occurrence of death and its consequential fields of reception. According to the religious beliefs such as Islam, Judaism and Christianity, death has not been considered as an end. It is believed that after the embodiment of soul, spirit does not disappear and exist in immortality. Another approach for the concept of death is to see it as a social product. The fears, hopes and thoughts about death are learned in public occurrence via religious beliefs, cultural rituals and arts of death. It is the social conception of death which changes the perception of death from culture to culture and generation to generation. On the one hand, the discussion of how societies handle death and the mourning period can be reached in this literature view of the concept of death. Depends on the societies, beliefs, customs and rituals of bereaved could be realized. Several significant scholars have identified the concept of death through these customs and rituals according to their own belief at that time. It is intended to gather different points of view of these scholars on the perception of the concept of death.

How the authors of the past described and perceived death is described by James Stevens Curl in his book "Death and Architecture." Curl exemplifies the thoughts of ancient scholars who agree with the idea of "death is a natural law, and a corollary of birth." (Curl, 2002:1) They accept death calmly and see it as a familiar subject instead of denying it. Here are

several statements to identify the perception of death by ancient scholars: (such as Socrates, Cicero, Epicurus, etc.) (Curl, 2002)

- a. Death is a change or a migration, rather than an extinction
- b. Death is a privation of feeling
- c. Death is an absence of life, a state of non-being
- d. Death is a merely a converse of birth
- e. Death is a return to a state of unconscious

It is evident by these statements that, in the time of that period, death was considered to come naturally for the end of earthly life. It was not perceived as frightening or evil sense. On the other hand, according to the French historian Philippe Aries, the perception of death changes radically but slowly through a long period of time from ancient to contemporary civilizations (Aries, 1981). Although a detailed and comprehensive discussion of the subject is beyond this thesis, it is intended to raise a question for the evolution of the concept of death.

Aries is one of the significant scholars study on the subject of how death is interpreted in western cultures on his book the “Hour of our Death.” He organized his study of the concept of death as a periodical evolution. In each period, he identifies the shift of death perception in the attitudes of societies. His classification of how the societies view death in different periods of time consists of:

- a. tame death: accepted by community as a simple fact of life (dominant in 11<sup>th</sup> century)
- b. death of the self: awareness of the individuals to face death (dominant in 17<sup>th</sup> century)
- c. remote and imminent death: anticipation of death in fear and violence (18<sup>th</sup> century)
- d. death of the other: suffering not for the fact of death but for the loved one (18<sup>th</sup> – 20<sup>th</sup> century)
- e. invisible death: denial of death by medicalization of death in contemporary times (20<sup>th</sup> century)

The comprehensive study of Aries on the shift of attitudes of societies toward death presents a substantial generalization for this thesis to understand the evolution in the perception of death. These stages clearly show that it is the perception of death evolves from a communal perspective to a personal outlook. The French philosopher Michel Foucault attributes the impacts of individualization of death as:

“In western culture the cemetery has practically always existed. But it has undergone important changes. Until the end of the eighteenth century, the cemetery was placed at the heart of the city, next to the church... it is from the beginning of the nineteenth century that everyone has a right to her or his own little box for her or his own little personal decay; but on the other hand, it is only from that start of the nineteenth century that cemeteries began to be located at the outside border of cities. In correlation with the individualization of death

and the bourgeois appropriation of the cemetery, there arises an obsession with death as an illness" (Foucault, 1986).

It is also added that after the thought of illness, cemeteries are shifted toward suburbs to get away from the proximity of houses, churches and streets of daily life. Therefore, cemeteries are thought to be "other city" instead of the sacred heart of city. In other words, it is evident that while death was accepted calmly and familiar in ancient times, it has evolved from a violent understanding of Enlightenment to ignorance in contemporary times.

On the other hand, regardless of the changing perception of death through history, "the knowledge that every human being must die has undoubtedly contributed to man's desire to commemorate his existence by building monuments, erecting funerary architecture and otherwise celebrating death." (Curl, 2002) In his book "Architecture and the After-life," Howard Colvin discusses the embodiment of death through the funerary architecture of western societies to comprehend the shift in the perception of death. He explains the transformation of the funerary architecture from the earliest tumuli and megalithic tombs of prehistory to Roman monuments and, to the prevalence of the cemetery in 19<sup>th</sup> century. Applying the sequential and overlapping stages of Aries to the structural transformation of funerary architecture of Colvin, it can be deduced that changing perception of death toward attitudes and the transformation in its architecture coincide in parallel times. On the other hand, Rugg (2008) clarifies the change in perception of death and its culture as: "through the course of the nineteenth century, the cemetery as an object changed from an innately desirable civic adornment denoting sensitivity to a symbol of unfettered urban sprawl. Both these meanings framed and reflected change in funerary culture." It is one of the arguments of this thesis that the radical shift in the attitudes of societies about the perception of death, from prehistoric ages to contemporary times, seems to affect the appearance of burial structure.

### **2.1.2. What is a Cemetery?**

The meaning of cemetery has been explored by a number of scholars through time. Literature review for this thesis shows that there are diverse cemetery definitions of scholars from different perspectives. In its widest sense, cemetery is known as a spatially defined burial ground which is set apart for the interment of the dead (cited in Oxford Dictionary). One of the most particular definitions is presented by Julie Rugg, a scholar in Cemetery Research Group of University of York. She considers cemetery as "specifically demarcated sites of burial, with an ordered internal layout that is conducive both to families claiming control over their grave spaces, and to the conducting of what might be deemed by the community as appropriate funerary ritual" (Rugg, 2000:259). Her definition of cemetery constitutes a framework of formally designated, social, and ritual aspects of cemetery site. It is such an approach of how a cemetery can offer more to society than simply being a place for burial. It is a site to serve society, however, not in a static structure. Rugg's definition of cemetery emphasizes the importance of community involvement in funerary rituals. It is also stated in other studies that physical appearance of cemetery evolves through religious, customary and cultural rituals. J.Kolbuszewski describes:

“a certain sector of space delimited by certain a priori formulated resolutions, according to which it is there that funeral practices consistent with religious, ethnic, cultural (that is customary) and other easily defined needs of a given community, will be carried out” (in Rugg 2000, 261; referring Kolbuszewski, 1995).

According to Kolbuszewski not every place of burial is a cemetery. It can be said that there are various ways to bury and commemorate the deceased other than specifically designated definition of cemetery. In his book *Architecture and After Life*, Howard Colvin discusses a wide range of funerary architectural types. These structures, such as megalithic tombs, monuments, churchyards, and cemeteries represent changing attitudes toward death as well as changes in cultural perception and architectural style. For instance, cemeteries are dissociated from churchyards in its scale, location and ownership relations by architectural historian, James Stevens Curl. While churchyards are small burial grounds located in and owned by church, cemeteries are large in scale, located out of settlements and owned by secular authorities. Cemetery, some like the final transformational type of funerary architecture, is defined by Colvin as “the public cemetery was to bring both rich and poor together in a common city or garden of the dead whose galleries and walks, crowded with tombs, constituted a new chapter in the long history of funerary architecture” (Colvin, 1991:364)

Another point of view about cemeteries is held by socio-anthropologist Lloyd Warner. He defines cemeteries as “...collective representations which reflect and express many of the community’s basic beliefs and values about what kind of a society it is, what the persons of men are, and where each fits into the secular world of the living and the spiritual society of the dead (Warner, 1959). Botanist and designer John Claudius Loudon states that “cemeteries are scenes not only calculated to improve the morals and the taste ... but they serve as historical records (in Curl, 1983; referring Loudon, 1843). Cemeteries as historical records provide the exploration of the database of a specific society. Individual inscriptions written in grave stones or the monuments dedicated for social priorities give information about historical events of past such as wars, natural disasters, and political conflicts. Moreover, it is possible to gather information about the social structure of the society by age, gender, ethnicity, socio-economic status and religion. By the observation of individual graves of deceased, the cultural past is created mentally through memories. Curl extends the point of view of Loudon and clarifies:

“Cemeteries are history and they are a repository of the history of taste. Often headstones in churchyards or cemeteries are removed or piled up against a wall on various pretexts: unsightliness, untidiness... and so on. I argue against the removal of any of the monuments, inside or outside, because I believe that they are a record of what people and craftsmen have felt about one of the great and significant human experiences. The reminders of death... in the cemeteries... convey an ever-present visual memorial to our collective past.” (Curl, 1975:40)

While cemeteries are seen as history, Halbwachs, oppositely, draws an analogy by describing history like a cemetery: “History indeed resembles a crowded cemetery, where room must be constantly made for new tombstones” (Halbwachs, 1950:52)

Beside its historical value, cemeteries reflect culture of societies. Worpole (1997) defines cemeteries as “a cemetery is not an all-weather pitch, neither is it simply a nature reserve: it is a complex, historical and social cultural legacy of great emotional meaning.”

With reference to these diverse approaches by several scholars, this study has the purpose of discussing cemeteries by spatial, social, and cultural dimensions.

### **2.1.3. Cemetery as a built environment and its culture**

Expression of religious and cultural beliefs and rituals concerning the perception of death by societies is constructed through an architectural space. Cemetery is one of these architectural spaces that solidify these values in a built environment. What distinguishes it from other urban spaces will be sorted by its architectural and physical features. One of these features is the location of cemeteries. They are generally located out of settlements because of hygienic reasons. In western society, after it is thought to be dangerous for the health of society in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, existing graves usually found in churchyards in Western culture are relocated far away from cities. On the other hand, it is asserted by Laquer that it was usual in Ottoman culture to bury dead in areas which are out of cities. Only the privileged minority who gets permission from the sultan has economic and social status to construct a tomb in *hazire* of mosques (Laquer, 1997:79). For instance, the newly constructed cemeteries of İstanbul in Maçka (established in 1850-1900) and Zincirlikuyu (established in 1933) were far away from the settlements in the city when they were established (Laquer, 1997:79).

Another physical feature to define cemeteries is its designated separator line to set it apart from the city, to call it boundaries of cemeteries which can be walls, hedges, barbed line separators and the like. In Turkey, it is determined by Mezarlıkların Korunması Hakkında Kanun that cemeteries must be surrounded with a wall (1994: item 3). Moreover, it is stated in Mezarlıklar Hakkında Nizamname that cemeteries must be surrounded by a stone, brick or adobe wall with 2.00m high to prevent the entry of irrelevant persons and animals. It is also left to the decision of budget of municipalities (1931: item 9). According to personal observations, there are various boundary structures. It is usually a high wall, or a hedge, railings or only planting with high trees. According to personal experiences, the differentiation depends on localities and oldness of cemeteries. For instance, while newly constructed designed cemeteries such as Cebeci Asri Cemetery and Karşıyaka Cemetery have high boundary walls, old village cemeteries could have wooden or wire fences. They are sometimes replaced by the new one according to the budget of the concerned authority or community. According to Rugg a secure boundary has a dual purpose. One is to protect the dead from disturbance; the other is to sequester the dead from the living (Rugg, 2000:262). In such a way, it is wanted from the visitors of cemetery to feel I am entering a separate place with a special purpose. Another unsaid purpose could be to prevent the visual connection and communication to cemeteries. Because they are places recalling the feeling of death and evoke funeral emotions, they are treated as if they are not there. In this way, although the location of cemetery is already known by community, it becomes easier to ignore its existence through a boundary structure. Further, the gates of cemeteries which provide ‘transition from one world to another’ by passing the boundary structure shape the organization of cemetery layout. The number of gates, either for pedestrians or vehicles, and

the primary and secondary entrances orient people to find their graves, or only to pass through the site while going to work as in the example of Cebeci Asri Cemetery.

Another point to define physical character is spatial organization and internal layout of a cemetery. Parcellation of site, size and number of graves and their orientation according to religious beliefs, organization of waiting places for mourners to pray for their dead, squares as meeting and ceremonial places are such significant details for whole design of cemetery space.

All of these physical features come together and create the distinguished physical appearance and landscape of a cemetery. However, it is the culture of society what makes a cemetery a cemetery. In its general meaning, culture is the ideas, customs, and social behavior of a particular people or society (cited in Oxford Dictionary). Burial culture is the interaction of religious beliefs, burial customs, and social behaviors of a society about death and after death. This interaction determines the way for the interment techniques for disposal of body through funeral rituals, and commemoration of dead through mourning and remembrance period. While beliefs about death and after life affect funeral rituals and ceremonies, funeral customs of societies determine the constructed memorial of dead. In this case, scholars see cemeteries as a tool which provides community to express its burial culture toward art, architecture and public space.

#### **2.1.4. Categories regarding Socio-psychological Approaches Towards Cemetery Space**

For the purpose of this thesis, cemeteries are defined by their distinctive characteristics. Physical structure of this space, user and ownership relations and its memorial status lead to particular differentiation in perception. Here is the classification for the different perceptions of cemetery space.

Place of burial: In its basic sense, cemeteries are burial sites for the disposal of the deceased body. It is the primary purpose of cemeteries to hide the dead body under ground to protect it during decomposition and to secure the surviving to continue his healthy life.

Declined spaces: It has been discussed that perception of death by societies affects the built environment of burial grounds through centuries. Therefore, cemetery is considered to be the result of the question how societies handle issues regarding death and mourning period. The need to bury the dead and the desire to commemorate the deceased has been issued in societies under a constructed structure. It evolves from a communal or collective approach to a more individual awareness including the perception of the fact of death. In any case, it is pointed that cemeteries serve to all community. Although they are part of the space of all the living, they are ignored even denied by those living ones.

Other spaces: Beside the ignorance of cemeteries by the living, they are also disregarded by urban and architectural entities. The lack of architectural sources demonstrates the insufficient approach to the subject in architectural and urban medium. There is a few number of sources handle the subject from a more sociological, anthropological and

philosophical perspective. However, those who are recorded regard cemeteries as other spaces. Such descriptions to support this argument by marginalizing the cemeteries are: 'The Other City' by Carlo Scarpa, 'The Space of Absence' by Richard Etlin, 'Silent Cities' by Kenneth Jackson, 'City of the Dead, A Space of Loss' by Jeffrey Karl Ochsner, 'Of Other Spaces: Heterotopias' of deviation by Michel Foucault.

In-between spaces: Cemetery constitutes a transition space between two worlds; earthly life and eternal life. The fact whether it belongs to living or dead creates a dilemma in the perception of cemetery space. It serves to the living, but the dead as well. Who the primary user is in this space is issued to be in-between.

Following the brief description of each denotation, it is intended to take the views of aforementioned scholars into the scope of this part. The seclusion of cemeteries and positioning of this place far away from cities are pointed out by Foucault (1986), in his article "Of Other Spaces" in which he states the contrast between utopic and heterotopic sites. He defines heterotopias as;

"Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality. Because these places are absolutely different from all the sites that they reflect and speak about, I shall call them, by way of contrast to utopias, heterotopias" (Foucault, 1986:24)

He continues with the heterotopia of cemetery and takes it as "a place unlike ordinary cultural spaces." He qualifies this space as "connected with all the sites of the city-state or society or village, etc., since each individual, each family has relatives in the cemetery" (Foucault, 1986:25) He claims that while they were located in city center until the 18<sup>th</sup> century, then they were carried out of city because of the hygienic reasons which make cemetery the "other city" inside the city later on. The otherness of cemeteries in a historical process makes the issue leave untouched and unspoken. This otherness and heterotopia do not conclude from cemeteries being away at the fringe of cities; or their being excluded from the urban space, from the experience sphere of human beings. These are all true but they are only results of man's deliberate choice of excluding these spaces out of one's life sphere. In other words, although cemetery space is in use of all the living, it must be examined why such a space is excluded by its users. Moreover, reasons for the dismissal of cemetery and its architectural space should be concerned, because use of these spaces leaves significant traces in human life. Briefly, it is a paradoxical situation. Although the cemetery is used perpetually by all the living, it is not wanted to be known or spoken in public sphere.

On the other hand, cemetery and cemetery culture re-configure itself according to the relation between that space and its users. When it is taken in the context of space, cemeteries constitute a link and a transitional space among earthly-life and after-life. Cemeteries allow the persistence of both the living and the dead in same urban space. Briefly, in this study, the users of cemeteries are examined under two main user groups; the living and the dead. In between living and dead body, whose space the cemetery is, becomes crucial question for the state of belonging and ownership relations. Although cemeteries are made for the burial and use of dead, the living also has the right to own, change and shape that space. The

contradiction of user profiles in cemetery usage is defined in the article of Richard Etlin, “The Space of Absence” as:

“It is a place of paradoxes, neither of this world nor of the next, neither the space of the living nor the place of death. It is a void whose overwhelming message is the absence of the dead person, no longer with us in life and yet somehow present within the aura of the monument.” (Etlin, 1996:172)

The living as the visitor and the mourner of the deceased, and the dead as a symbolic meaning with a memorial stone exist together with a peculiar and private interaction in the public space of cemetery.

## **2.2. Spaces of Death and Memory**

The question of what memory is and how it relates to the present has been discussed by many thinkers for centuries. Memory studies have emerged as an interdisciplinary research field which consist of sociology, psychology, philosophy, history, art, literary, social and natural sciences. Austrian founder of psychoanalysis Sigmund Freud, French philosopher Henri Bergson, French sociologists Emile Durkheim and Maurice Halbwachs, German art historian and cultural theorist Aby Warburg, French historian Pierre Nora, German cultural theorists Jan and Almeida Assmann are such significant theorists of 1900s from different disciplines and countries interested in culture and memory studies. It can be considered that these theorists sometimes refer to the work of the preceding one (Halbwachs to Durkheim, Nora and Assmann to Halbwachs). In this part, it will be referred to the views of some of these scholars by considering the relation of memory studies to cemetery and burial culture.

In its general meaning, memory is defined as the faculty by which the mind stores and remembers information from past (cited in oxford dictionary). It is seen as a way to remember and commemorate historical past. Freud theorizes “memories are stored in the unconscious, and to make them conscious (or to recollect them) they must be repeated over and over. Like an archeological excavation; digging away at the layers one by one, to reveal the repressed memories...” In other words, memories are reliable sources of past for present. By considering the theory of Freud, it can be said that memories are hidden life experiences stored in mind, and waiting for revelation in their authentic place. It is one of the aspects of this thesis that architecture and the built environment can make the individuals conscious about their repressed memories.

Cemetery is such an architectural site and gravestones are such built representations of the dead that they are shaped by the users of that space, on behalf the object representation. For instance, the time of stay in contact with deceased at the head of grave evokes memories. After the interment of dead, repeated visitations to grave evoke emotions and keep memory alive. Following the interment of the dead, the frequency of visit could change according to the intensity of feelings. The bereaved begins to get used to the absence of the beloved one over time. This period of adaptation to loss lead to the emergence of distinctive periods. These periods after death can be sequenced as; first days of the funeral customs, first year mourning and remembering the dead for long term. Each of these periods demonstrates how



funerary, mourning and remembrance rituals play a part in constructing personal and collective identity through an architectural tool. In this case, it is essential to refer to the theory of the French sociologist Emile Durkheim about notions of beliefs and rituals. Durkheim classifies the religious phenomena in two categories: beliefs as “states of opinion and consist of representation” and rites as “fix modes of actions.” It is stated in Durkheimian perspective that rituals are not only seen as expressions of religious notions but also as expressions of social experiences. In other words, rites are the way of expression of social groups which make them conscious of their moral unity. Eventually, totality of shared beliefs and moral attitudes is the collective consciousness which is later theorized as “collective memory” by Durkheim’s student, French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs.

According to Halbwachs, collective memory depends on a spatial framework (1950:6). It is the spatial framework which stimulates the act of remembering. Beside the space itself, Halbwachs defines collective memory also within its social framework through individual and group memory. He points out to the individual who constitutes and incorporates in the collective consciousness and collective memory of society. Halbwachs specifies collective memory “socially constructed.” Collective memory is realized to hold individuals together and creates groups, and bound these groups to other groups. It is not seen as a natural process but a culturally occurred group creation. For Halbwachs, the individual is not the isolated person; it is an individual, but also member of a group (1950:2). This group can be family, social or religious class or nation. The individual is the one to participate in the collective thought of a group. Therefore, the collective memory of individual is socially constructed and “the individual calls recollections to mind by relying on the frameworks of social memory” (1992:182). In other words, memories are awaked by external factors such as places, conversations, and media tools like books, films and advertisements. It is the sociocultural environment which enables persons to remember past events. Using 10th of November, the Memorial day of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as an example his ‘resting place’ Anıtkabir, reminder sound of 09:05 and flags, posters, hats, shirts, jeweler made for the representation of Atatürk create meaning for Turkish national memory. In brief, the collective memory of groups such as religious, social, national communities needs spaces for the embodiment of memory and group identity. Therefore, needs and behaviors of groups form the space as a built environment (1950:133).

The correlation between space, memory and culture is theorized by Halbwachs’ “collective memory,” and continues with Pierre Nora’s “sites of memory,” and Aleida and Jan Assmann’s “cultural memory.” Beside individual and collective memory, Halbwachs also defines history and historical memory. He points out that history is “not a chronological sequence of events and dates, but whatever distinguishes one period from all others...” (1950:57). He continues that “history is a collection of the most notable facts in the memory of man... General history starts only when tradition ends and the social memory is fading or breaking up” (1950:78). He differs collective memory from history by stating memory is alive not artificial.

The idea about differentiation of history and memory is advocated by Jeffrey K. Olick and Joyce Robbins, in their article *Social Memory Studies* (1998:111) as:

“History is the remembered past to which we no longer have an “organic relation - the past that is no longer an important part of our lives - while collective memory is the active past that forms our identities. Memory inevitably gives way to history as we lose touch with our pasts. Historical memory, however, can be either organic or dead: We can celebrate even what we did not directly experience, keeping the given past alive for us, or it can be alive only in historical records, so-called graveyards of knowledge”

Olick and Robbins clarify that memory gives way to history because of the loss of living relation to the past. Nora describes the loss of relation to past and discontinuity in social reproduction in modern societies by the expression of “we speak so much of memory because there is so little of it left” (Nora, 1989:7). For Nora, “memory is life, borne by living societies. It remains in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting...” (1989:8). On the other hand, he defines history as “reconstruction” and “representation of the past.”

Following the successive explanations describing individual memory, collective memory, history and historical memory, Assmann have raised another identification of memory; cultural memory. For Assmann 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” (Assmann, 1995:126) Assmann rename the social aspect of individual memory of Halbwachs as communicative memory and beside the social aspect of memory, he points out to cultural basis. He discusses the issue by “culture of recollection,” or in his other words “cultural memory,” and “reference to past.” It seems that cultural memory is the way to provide cultural continuity by preserving it from one generation to another to reconstruct the identity. On the other hand, reference to past is the consciousness of a community or a society for their collective identity in a shared past. It is evident from the manner of Assmann that cultures develop certain means to preserve their past. Texts, images, built environments are such materialized examples to keep cultural continuity alive. On the one hand, although they could change through time; traditions, customs, rituals and beliefs are other intangible values to provide cultural continuity from one generation to another. For Assmann, “rituals are part of cultural memory because they are the form through which cultural meaning is both handed down and brought to present life. The same applies to things once they point to a meaning that goes beyond their practical purpose: symbols; icons; representations such as monuments, tombs, temples, idols; and so forth, all transcend the borders of object-memory because they make the implicit index of time and identity explicit.” (Jan Assmann, 2011:6) As it is understood, cemeteries are such representations to reveal cultural identity of past in present time, and the rituals are kind of way to convey cultural meaning of cemeteries. In its general meaning, ritual is “a set of fixed actions and sometimes words performed regularly, especially as part of a ceremony” (Cambridge Dictionary). Cemetery rituals constitute communal activity that has meaning in a specific cultural tradition. The form of the tomb, the placement and orientation of the grave according to religious beliefs, burial techniques for the interment of body are such continual shared mortuary rituals of communities. Assmann regards commemoration of the dead as the original and most common form of cultural memory rather than a tradition (Assmann, 2003: 161). For him, while the notion of tradition conceals the negative aspect leading to the formation of past, cultural memory has the entity

of emotions for the remembrance of deceased in continuity and progression. In other words, the remembrance of deceased is to keep him/her in the memory of future generations as a member of that community during the progressive present. Assmann states:

“The dead, or their commemoration, are not “traded” in the sense of tradition. One’s remembrance of them is a matter of emotive attachment, of civilized polish, in short: of a deliberate reference to the past that overcomes the breach. These very elements constitute that which we call cultural memory” (Jan Assmann, 2003:162).

On the other hand, ritual researcher Eva Reimers regards death ritual as “tools for the construction of individual and collective identity” (Reimers, 1999: 148). She asserts that “rituals bridge the gap between past, present and future and diminish the threat that death poses against enduring individual and collective identity” (Reimers, 1999: 148). The social identity of deceased is conveyed through the funerary rituals. It is the social expression of both living and deceased for the response to death. Memorialization of deceased through a socioeconomic status in a community is materialized by his grave. By the collection of graves of all individuals in a social order, both the individual and collective identity can be realized through various funeral ritual practices. It can be also relevant for recognizing the cultural memory and identity. Because there are various ethnic origins, cultures and religions, it is possible to recognize several rituals about death and interment practices. Reimers describes those differentiations by referring to Goffman (1967): “How people choose to make their last farewell, and how they choose to remember their dead can therefore be regarded as part of their individual and collective self-presentation (Reimers, 1999: 148). Because Goffman defines ritual as “a way in which the individual must guard and design the symbolic implications of his acts while in the immediate presence of an object that has a special value for him” (2005:57). In other words, rituals are accepted as actions to represent one’s own identity, either to be an individual or a community, showing who they are and what values they pay attention for.

### **2.2.1. Cemeteries as ‘Sites of Memory’**

After the brief discussion of the concept of memory, it is aimed to discuss cemeteries from the perspective of French historian Pierre Nora’s “sites of memory.” Nora continues with the legacy of Maurice Halbwachs and studies the sites of memory, “*Les lieux de mémoire*,” in French culture that have become important components of French national memory and identity. Although Nora’s study focuses entirely on French past, his theoretical framework of “*Les lieux de mémoire*” is taken as a source and applied for the cemetery study of this thesis. In his words, “the sites of memory” is:

“... 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 (in this case, the French community)” (Nora 1996: XVII)

He continues with the specifications of sites of memory “where memory crystallizes and secretes itself.” (Nora, 1989: 7) Although his definition of ‘*lieux de mémoire*’ is broad, Nora refer to the places such as cemeteries, museums and memorials; objects such as monuments,

symbols, treaties and depositions; practices such as rituals, anniversaries, celebrations and commemorations to record past on mind, remember in a social way and not to forget. In other words, Nora claims that memory attaches itself to the sites. He accepts cemeteries as natural, concretely experienced sites of memory like museums, archives or memorials. For Nora, what makes a site a 'site of memory' is based on "the defense, by certain minorities, of a privileged memory that has retreated to jealously protected enclaves" (Nora, 1989:12). He distinguishes monumental memory-sites from architectural sites by their intrinsic existence. Cemeteries are such examples for monumental memory-sites alongside the description of architectural sites. It is because cemeteries are settlements for the monumentalizing of dead to keep them in memory. This means that, cemeteries are such architectural memory-sites which store the memorable meaning of death for the living. Why people create cemeteries, why they need to visit and learn the space that their deceased lying is the matter of site of memories. Sites of memory are such an artificial and constructed defense mechanism that they are produced by society against the threat and effacement of history. It is also available to record with the responsibility of remembering. In Nora's words, one of the most fundamental purposes of the sites of memory is "to stop time, to block the work of forgetting, to establish a state of things, to immortalize death, to materialize the immaterial..." (Nora, 1989:19).

On the other hand, Nora analyses the sites of memory in their symbolic meaning as "dominant" and "dominated" sites of memory (Nora, 1989:23). Dominant one is called by Nora as spectacular and triumphant. They are the sites of imposition which "have the coldness and solemnity of official ceremonies." For instance, national funeral ceremonies of authorities which others have to join or feel compelled to attend are examples for dominant sites of memory. However, dominated ones are, for Nora, "places of refuges, sanctuaries of spontaneous devotion and silent pilgrimage, where one finds the living heart of memory." In this kind of memory sites, there is the will to visit places from the heart. For instance, visitation to the mausoleum of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in his memorial day by millions of people is such an example for dominated sites of memory. It is because although nobody compels those individuals to visit the monument, they willingly concern the memory of Atatürk by going to his space of commemoration, Anıtkabir.

### **2.2.2. Commemoration by Graves**

In terms of prevalence of use of the term; cemeteries represent the same meaning of burial ground with graveyards. Each burial plot of an individual comes together and constitutes a graveyard or a cemetery. In other words, cemetery is the collection of graves and grave markers. In its general meaning, grave is a hole dug in the ground to receive a coffin or corpse, typically marked by a stone or mound (cited in Oxford Dictionary). In consequence of death, identities, lives and practices of the members of society are given a material form by their grave. However, are graves always marked by a stone, mound or a wooden plaque is replied by Aries through his description for the perception of death over centuries. Aries clarifies that; because death was seen as a common, natural and communal event before 12<sup>th</sup> century, gravesites were anonymous. However, the individualization of death in the 12<sup>th</sup> century first among the elite and then whole society leads to a major change in the interment of body from anonymous to marked graves.

Eldem supports the view of Aries by declaring the disposal of corpses in pits indiscriminately in Western culture (2005:18). The disposal of corpses to communal pits causes to the appearance of resulting bones on the ground over time. It is asserted by Eldem that those bones are picked up to relocate in an ossuary. On the other hand, in Ottoman culture it is principle that graves were evermore for one person and were not allowed to open for reuse. Not each person had its own inscriptive stone, but many who could not afford to make a permanent tombstone put a wooden or stone temporary indicator to designate the plot of deceased. Here, it is understood that burial practices, opening of tomb for reuse and relocation of corpses differ by culture and religion.

### **2.2.3. Remembering and Forgetting**

If memory is “the ability to remember information, experiences and people,” how the act of remembering and forgetting contribute to memory discussions will be studied according to the reviews of several scholars. In its basic expression, the memory is generally called as the storage of information. It is evident that it is the process of getting information from environment, encoding it, and transforming it into a storable and archival form. The acts of remembering and forgetting depends on the relation between the concerned past and the need of present. On the one hand, the act of remembering is “to be able to bring back a piece of information into your mind or to keep a piece of information in your memory” (Cambridge Dictionary). On the other hand, forgetting is “to be unable to remember a fact, something that happened, or how to do something” (Cambridge Dictionary). Although the terms seem to be the opposite of each other, some scholars do not agree the idea. There are distinctive approaches which consider forgetting as a part of remembering; or consider both acts as an intersection; or say forgetting helps to remember important things. Jan Assmann and Rodney Livingstone define remembering by “pushing other things into the background, making distinctions, obliterating many things in order to shed light to others” (Assmann, 2006:3). Sociologists Jeffrey K. Olick and Joy Robbins states in their *Social Memory Studies* that “forgetting, rather than remembering, is what takes work in the form of repression and the substitution of screen memories that block access to more disturbing ones” (Olick and Robbins, 1998:109). Assmann states that because it is needed and belongs to each person, individuals remember too much depends on learning, practicing, teaching, interpreting to sustain themselves. The sense of belonging to a social group - such as family relations, primary school education of a child in class, national ceremonies, or the traditions of posterity – keep the memory alive because of the interaction to others by concerning, sharing, and communicating. Assmann asserts this situation as “the socialization process enables us to remember” (Assmann, 2006:4). Astrid Erll who also works on cultural memory studies supports the idea of Assmann by denoting “we remember in socio-cultural contexts” (Erll, 2008:5). History Professor David Gross states in his book “*Lost Time: On Remembering and Forgetting in Late Modern Culture*” that “what, how and how intensely to remember some things and not others precede the appearance of any particular individual; they are embedded in the culture in which one is born and socialized” (Gross, 2000:78). He also studies about the changing perception of understanding memory through time. He asserts that the sovereignty of remembering has displayed with the value of forgetting. It is the effect of the modern times that forgetting play an important role by means of mass media

and market economy. According to the recent memory studies, Gross surmises that “in most act of remembering there is as much material from the present that is projected backward as there is material that comes authentically and indisputably from the past itself” (Gross, 2000:3). In other words, the remembered thing is not totally the past event itself, but it is the recalling of a particular interpretation of it according to the present needs.

It seems that scholars usually consider remembering over past, present and future relations. Psychologist K. Geoffrey White asserts:

“Remembering is not so much a matter of looking back into the past or forward into the future as it is of making choices at the time of remembering. The psychophysical approach treats remembering as a process of discriminating the relevant events from alternative possibilities.” (White, 2002:141)

Furthermore, German philosopher and social critic Walter Benjamin states:

“Memory is not an instrument for surveying the past but its theater. It is the medium of past experience, just as the earth is the medium in which dead cities lie buried. He who seeks to approach his own buried past must conduct himself like a man digging.” (Walter Benjamin, Berlin Childhood around 1900, 2006: xii)

It seems that Benjamin draws a parallel between memory and death. He correlates remembering with a man digging his buried past. It is the process to find the relevant particular past to correlate with essential present. For instance, the relevant memories which are reminiscent of deceased evoke variously according to the related moment of present time. Evoking memories about deceased at the moment of burial could change in a week or in a year after the funeral. Even for long term remembering, the mourner could begin to forget some of the experiences lived with the deceased.

On the other hand, from a broader perspective, not only from a grave scale but also as an urban land in cities, cemeteries constitute a specific preserved burial ground and cover a considerable amount of area in cities. After the determination of cemetery area, it is preserved by authorities. According to the legislations cemeteries could not be ruined, demolished and cannot be used for another purpose (Mezarlıkların Korunması Hakkında Kanun, 1994). Due to harboring different people lived in different periods of time in the same place, they are seen as the historical records of societies. They can be called to be heritage from generation to generation to get the chance to know the predecessor. In other words, cemeteries are the way to remember the deceased in the rush of daily life. At least, to see the cypress trees collectively, or to walk near through the boundary wall of a cemetery vaguely seeing the grave stones even if not belong to beloved one cause to remember memories about previously experienced events.

#### **2.2.4. Remembering by the Reflections on Media**

In the last part, it was mentioned about the act of remembering and forgetting by the perception of cemeteries. Passing by a cemetery site on foot or with a car, attending to a

funeral ceremony, visiting beloved one, feeling that you are going by a cemetery just only seeing cypress trees or high boundary walls are such ways to perceive death and cemetery space. However, except for one-to-one experience or observation, media tools provide the living to think about death or remember the deceased. News, tv series, films, music bands, novels, art books are such tools to encounter with the fact of death. It can be the issue of another survey, but it is weird that there is a rock music genre as dead metal which is preferred by youth with album names related to death, graves and burial. On the other hand, it seems that in films and tv serials, the most critical and thrilling setting of scenarios and confrontation scenes are usually taken in cemeteries. Such examples show that there is an irresistible concern for the mystery of death and the atmosphere of cemetery space is convenient for the presentation. So that cemeteries provide such mysterious spaces for audiovisual media.

On the other hand, cemeteries are now creating their own media. The “Find a Grave” system of municipalities provides visitors to question the place of burial. Visitors could search for their deceased either via internet access before going to cemetery or via kiosks at cemetery gates. By searching for the cemetery information system, visitor could access to the plan scheme of cemetery showing the route to access wanted grave, the reason of death, the block and layout numbers of grave, the name of doctor, and the name and address of a relative. In brief, this technological system is the transfer of information about dead and its grave from written archival documentaries to electronic archives.

Another source which provides people to be aware of death and cemeteries is newspapers and news on internet. There is much news on several newspapers which give information about the quality, quantity and the price of graves (See APPENDIX 1). Also, it is possible to encounter some news about the problems of cemeteries related to their design and maintenance. In this case Ankara can be taken as an example. For instance, according to news of Radikal, “while square meter price of a grave in three big cities is five thousand liras, square meter price of a luxury villa is at average of three thousand liras. Director of cemeteries of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality states that the most expensive burial takes place in Cebeci Asri Cemetery with a price of fifteen thousand liras” (Radikal, 2010). It is also evident that there is much news to give information about renovation and maintenance works of cemeteries. According to Hürriyet, the leveling works of cemetery site of Ankara Karşıyaka Cemetery cause to claims as “even cemetery dies” and “they bury trees before dead” to reveal a large number of trees earth up because of construction excavations (Hürriyet, 2010). On the other hand, Milliyet claims that for those who want to take the place of burial before death cause to a chaos in Samsun (Milliyet, 2012). Director of cemeteries of Samsun Metropolitan Municipality states that while the price of burial place for dead is sixty liras, it is three thousand liras for the living who do not have a funeral. To prevent the purchase of graves before death, it is such a precaution taken by municipality due to the shortage for the need of burial place who has funerals.

### **2.3. Representation in Cemeteries**

As discussed in the theorization of memory by several scholars in 2.2, memory is the ability to remember information from past. However, it is evident that the remembered information of past is used to connect past, present and future. As it is stated by Christopher Samuel

Wilson in his dissertation, “memory is not something solely about the past: it is a faculty that we use to “make sense” of the present and to shape the future” (Wilson, 2007:44). Because the memory is “socially constructed” and “depends on a spatial framework,” a social space is needed to produce the construction of memory. It seems that socialized built environment becomes a representational tool for the construction process of memory.

### **2.3.1. Making Meaning: Representation of Death**

Although death is an unknown fact as it was discussed in 2.1.1, the concept of death can be learned and observed by thoughts, fears and hopes of cultures. Because death is an obscure and inexpressible fact which has never been experienced, the living produce meaning about it depends on a “system of representation.” The system of representation was also dealt by Wilson (2007) in his dissertation, which is about representing national identity and memory in the mausoleum of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, by referring to cultural theorist Stuart Hall. Before the discussion of “system of representation” by Hall, it had better define what the representation is. The Cambridge Dictionary defines representation as:

- a. “the action of speaking or acting on behalf of someone or the state of being so represented,”
- b. “the description or portrayal of someone or something in a particular way,”
  - b.1. “the depiction of someone or something in a work of art,”
  - b.2. “a picture, model, or other depiction of someone or something,”
  - b.3. “a mental state or concept regarded as corresponding to a thing perceived,”
- c. “formal statements made to an authority, especially so as to communicate an opinion or register a protest.”

Hall defines representation as a part of a process “by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture.” For him it is a way of “using language to say something meaningful about (to represent) the world to other people” (Hall, 1997:15). To explain his position Hall refers to semiotic approaches of Swiss linguistic Ferdinand de Saussure and discursive approach of French philosopher Michel Foucault.

For Saussure, the production of meaning depends on language which is a system of signs including sounds, images, written words, paintings, photographs (in Hall, 1997; referring Saussure,1960). The system of signs is discussed in two aspects as “signifier” and “signified.” While signifier is the form such as actual word, image or photo; signified is the idea or corresponding concept in the head. The relationship of signifier and signified is based on a changing social framework in different societies which cause to the production of new meanings and interpretations.

Based on the exemplification of Hall, producing meaning on cemeteries could be explained through language. For instance, you are in a cemetery, looking at a grave. It is inevitable not to recognize it as a burial construction for a dead person. Hall describes this situation as “thought-processes decode your visual perception of the object in terms of a concept of it which you have in your head” (Hall, 1997:16). After stopping to look at the grave, it is continued to think about the grave in the head. For Hall, it is because “the concept of the



object has passed through your mental representation of it” (Hall, 1997:16). However, though the actual form is the grave, the concept or idea of grave could vary according to the social, cultural and historical background of person. While the grave is the signifier, ideas in the head of person are the signified. If the person is a relative looking at the grave, it can be mentioned about a shared past and memories. However, if the person is somebody else passing through cemetery, it can be mentioned about different related to how he makes sense of that image in his mind.

On the other hand, Hall describes the position of Foucault concerning “the production of knowledge (rather than just meaning) through what he called discourse (rather than just language)” (Hall, 1997:43; referring Foucault, 1980). By discourse, Foucault points to language and practice. Hall specifies the approach of Foucault about representation as “the production of knowledge is always crossed with questions of power and the body; and this greatly expands the scope of what is involved in representation” (Hall, 1997:51; referring Foucault, 1980).

In brief, considering both the semiotic and discursive approaches, it seems that representation is the way to make meaning and narrate it to someone by showing how you make sense of it through language and discourse. When it comes to presentation of death, the living encounters with an abstract and non-discoverable fact. In their book “Death and Representation,” Sarah Webster Goodwin and Elizabeth Bronfen clarify:

“Perhaps the most obvious thing about death is that it is always only represented. There is no knowing death, no experiencing it and then returning to write about it, no intrinsic grounds for authority in the discourse surrounding it” (Goodwin and Bronfen, 1993:4).

According to many religious beliefs, death is thought to be the disappearance of body and transfer of soul to eternity. It could not be told by anyone experiencing before, and so it has been unprecedented until now. Goodwin and Bronfen describe death as culturally constructed, and it is represented in the way of how the culture represents itself. On the other hand, they call the representation of death as paradoxical: although representation presupposes a presence, death requires an absence. By referring to Saussure’s signifier and signified, death is seen “as a signifier with an incessantly receding, ungraspable signified, always pointing to other signifiers, other means of representing what finally is just absent” (Goodwin and Bronfen, 1993:4) In other words, representation of death is to convey how we feel the absence of person that is no longer live in earthly life. It is the representation of nonexistence. Therefore, representation of death changes culture to culture. Its representation depends on the religious beliefs, cultural traditions and the manner of perceiving death by that culture.

### **2.3.2. Architectural Representation of the Deceased**

Another aspect of representation is about the architectural representation of deceased which convey the produced meaning of deceased through its appearance. In many religions, deceased is represented through its constructed grave in a cemetery. Burial techniques and customs of culture, religious beliefs, the request to benefit from technological means, the material used, financial situation, testament of deceased, requests of relatives of deceased

and the craftsmanship of grave masons are such determinants for the appearance of grave. That is to say, the deceased who has no longer lost the ability to claim possession on his own grave will lie in his built tomb which is structured by the demands of other living. Goodwin and Bronfen describe the situation as follows:

“To give a voice to the corpse, to represent the body, is in a sense to return it to life: the voice represents not so much the dead as the once living, juxtaposed with the needs of the yet living” (Goodwin and Bronfen, 1993:7).

The burial place of dead which is prepared in accordance with these determinants of the living provides information about the identity of deceased. In other words, the identity of person in real life impersonates to an architectural structure anymore, by representing its architectural identity. Wilson (2007:49) clarifies that “architectural identity on a literal level is the physical (symbolic) ability of architecture and the built environment to represent identities.” Therefore, deceased as the inhabitant of cemetery and the mourners as the visitors of cemetery attribute a new meaning to the representation of cemetery by completing one more piece of the whole space. As it is referred by Wilson (2007:50), the French sociologist Henri Lefebvre describes such physical spaces as “representational spaces” which are generated by “social agents with the power to do so.” These social agents include the inhabitants, users and designers or creators of that space. For Lefebvre (1971; 1991:39) “representational space” is:

“space as directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of ‘inhabitants’ and ‘users’ . . . This is the dominated – and hence passively experienced – space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. It overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects.”

By its images, signs and symbols, the built environment of cemetery provide the living that is visitors and mourners to contemplate on their own death and to think about the shared past with deceased through memories. Those images, signs and symbols include the internal layout of cemetery, inscriptions on gravestones, the size and shape of stones and the landscape elements which remind the living both death and life together through the remembrance of deceased.

### **2.3.3. Burial Types in Anatolia**

As it was mentioned, architectural representation of the deceased is produced with the impact of religious beliefs, rituals and cultural customs via its built environment and constructed structure. All these religious and cultural determinants reveal the richness of burial culture by asserting itself in various burial types. It is possible to evaluate the diverse burial types of Anatolia through historical examination with the influence of culture and religion. Here are several examples before and after Islam to show the richness of burial culture and diversity of burial types in Anatolia.

**The Necropolis of Hierapolis:** Hierapolis is an ancient city in Phrygia with the meaning of “sacred city.” Its residuals are found in Pamukkale today, at the southwest of Turkey. The

necropolis of the city is known as one of the best preserved archeological sites of Turkey. Necropolis is called as “a cemetery, especially a large one belonging to an ancient city” (cited in Oxford Dictionary). It contains many different types of tombs and funeral monuments of ancient civilizations dating from the Hellenistic and Roman periods until the early Christian times: Tumuli or ancient burial mounds of Phrygian period, sacellum as the square or rounded small shrine of ancient Roman period, sarcophagus as “a stone coffin, typically adorned with a sculpture or inscription” (Oxford Dictionary).



Figure 2. 1 Gabled roofed tombs and funeral monuments in Hierapolis (<http://www.biblicalarchaeology.org>)

**Ahlat Seljuk Cemetery:** Ahlat is located in Bitlis, at the east of Turkey. The city is famous in Islamic world for its diversity in Anatolian tomb architecture via its design, dimension and details. The cemetery covers an area of 200 acres with a stunning view of thousands of obelisks most of which are more than 2 meters high. Those funerary monuments which are characterized as ornamented rectangular prisms are accepted as the documentation of Turkish Islamic culture and history of art.



Figure 2. 2 View of funerary monuments in Ahlat Seljuk Cemetery with their ornamentations and inscriptions (<http://www.ahlat.gov.tr>)

**Gümüřkesen Mausoleum:** The monument is located in Milas, Muęla and thought to be constructed in the 2nd century AD which is also well known for being a Roman version of the Halicarnassus Mausoleum. Since the Mausoleum was constructed on the most attractive site in the Roman Necropolis, the owner is thought to be an important person for the city as a noble man or a royal family member. The mausoleum is a rectangular pyramid tomb supported by columns with a pyramidal roof on top. It represents the Roman Period and takes its place in the “Word Heritage List” of UNESCO.



Figure 2. 3 View of Gümüřkesen Mausoleum, Milas-Muęla (<http://www.milas.gov.tr/>)

***Hazire (Graveyard) of tomb of Sultan II. Mahmud:*** It is stated by Eldem that during the Ottoman period of Anatolia especially in İstanbul, the deceased of political elite which consists of high-degree bureaucrats and soldiers were buried next to the tomb of sultans by creating a *hazire* (Eldem, 2005:22). For this reason, the *hazire* is accepted as a “state cemetery” which has an important place in Ottoman burial culture. Even after the changes in ideological context after 1908, the burials were continued for those who were seen as a martyr or hero of the homeland like Ziya Gökalp as the hero of Republican regime (Eldem, 2005:22-288).

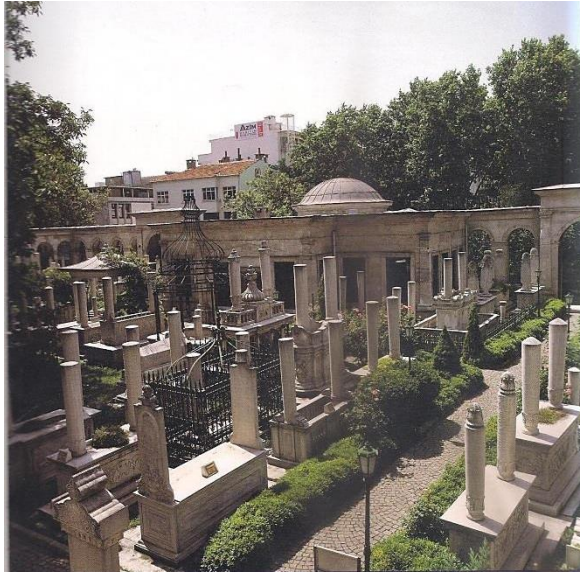


Figure 2. 4 View of hazire of the tomb of Sultan II. Mahmud as a “state cemetery” of Ottoman burial culture (<http://www.panoramio.com>)



Figure 2. 5 The tomb of Ziya Gökalp as a Republican in the hazire of II. Mahmud (<http://www.panoramio.com>)

**Turkish State Cemetery:** Architecturally designed Turkish State Cemetery was accomplished as a result of an architecture competition which was organized by the Ministry of Defense in 1982. The cemetery which was designed by Ekrem Gürenli the landscape architect and Özgür Ecevit the engineer has been seen as a symbolic space to preserve the history of Turkish Republic and to commemorate the heads of the state. It is evident that the cemetery is accepted as a memorial park that consists of a green space system, ceremonial area, sculptures and museum in which the national identity is re-established by the visitors.



Figure 2. 6 Ceremonial area which is covered by a monumental structure with the names of those in the wall of remembrance, by Burcu Kor



## CHAPTER 3

### CEMETERIES AS LIFE SPACES: BURIAL CULTURE, THE LIVING AND THE SERVICES

#### 3.1. The Living and the Formation of Burial Culture

It is evident that death is an inevitable case and creates its own culture. Here, by culture it is referred to “the ideas, customs, and social behavior of a particular people or society” (cited from Oxford dictionary). In this thesis, the process after the realization of death is approached with a general consideration of burial culture. Architectural culture, funeral ceremonies, rituals, religious culture and memorialization practices are all considered in burial culture in its general manner. It is better to examine the process of burial culture step-by-step from the point of the living: preparatory process for death on the day of death, the day of funeral ceremony, mourning period and bereavement aftercare.

First is the day of realization of death. It is the process of difficulties encountered by the living as a result of death and psychology of dying. The person should be familiar to the idea of death and dying to learn how to cope with death and the loss of the beloved one. Purchase of burial place before death, making the design of own grave, leaving a last will and a testament to family and friends are evident for the living to be prepared for death.

Second is the funeral ceremony for the interment of deceased in a healthy way for the necessity of symbolic immortality. There are funeral requirements depending on social behaviors, religious beliefs, burial customs and cultural rituals of the mourner. Here who is the mourner is another question for this section of the thesis. The mourner mainly consists of family members who need the help of their relatives and friends to get over grief and sadness. If there are relatives or close friends to attend and guide to funeral ceremonies such as managerial procedures of cemeteries after death like registration and determination of location, bringing the deceased to cemetery, bathing and enshrouding, they help the mourners about those proceedings. Otherwise, the mourner has to deal with all the procedure beside his/her grief and sadness.

The mourners or others have to be in relation to cemetery management in this process for the registration of deceased and the obtainment of grave area. When the bereaved is directed by management to the target burial area, the grave diggers are also processed for the preparation of site for the interment of the deceased. While the deceased is being brought to burial area after his/her preparation for interment (bathing, enshrouding, performing the ritual prayers in mosque), the imam also attends to the interment ceremony for the last journey of deceased.

With the suitable interment techniques, grave diggers allocate the deceased on the grave pit and the participants of funeral ceremony put earth and mound on the deceased.

After the funeral ceremony in cemetery, the rituals continue at home of the deceased. Relatives and friends visit family members to condole, share their grief and present best wishes for the deceased. A religious fellow prays for the deceased with the participation of all visitors at home. The mourning period of the bereaved could vary depending on religious beliefs and customs. However, first week, first month and first year after death have importance for the mourner to get used to the loss of deceased and burial culture. By the end of first year, the rate in visitation of cemetery, maintenance and cleaning of grave area begin to decrease in the daily routine of the living.

The construction of a superstructure for the immortality of the deceased depends on the own initiative of mourner. There is not a restriction to complete the grave construction in any time after death. However, it is recommended by management to construct it in the first year period because of the threat of collapse. When the mourner decides to make a grave structure, he/she should go to stone masters or marble sellers to decide for the form, material, size and ornament of structure due to his/her economic structure. Again, the decision for the design of grave and grave stone depends on the own initiative of mourner because there is not a restriction or regulation for the design principles of grave structures. Because the structure is mountable, stone masters usually assemble grave and its headstone on site.

The construction of the final state of grave arouses a feeling of permanency which satisfies the living for the immortality of beloved one. In other words, the permanency of deceased in the memory of living is assured by an architectural representation which is decided according to the own preferences of living. For many people, the value given to the architectural form and cleanness of grave is identical to the value given to the person who died. It will be the space of memorialization of the living to contemplate and pray for his/her deceased.

### **3.2. The Living and Cemeteries**

As it was mentioned, cemeteries are ignored until the one comes up against this reality. If person doesn't loss anybody, he doesn't have any interaction to cemetery space. Generally, it is the time when person loses one of his kin, friend or family members that the awareness, use and perception of that space begin as a following phase. Within this awareness, one experiences new emotions that have not been felt in any other urban space before. It is because of trying to fill the spiritual void caused by the sense of loss in which cemetery space acts as "storage" for memories. In other words, cemeteries are kind of architectural, urban spaces which differ from other urban spaces by providing physical and intellectual link between past and present. In his article "A Space of Loss: The Vietnam Veterans Memorial" Jeffrey Karl Ochsner claims that when losing somebody, he is kept in mind as an image within the last moment and space (Ochsner, 1997:157). Moreover, Ahenk Yılmaz states in his article "Memorialization as the Art of Memory: A Method to Analyze Memorials" that; time, space and the human trilogy relies on an architectural experience (Yılmaz, 2010:270) Architectural experience in a cemetery relies on the practices, customs and beliefs of living



and the interaction between living and dead during visiting period. What mourners do when they go to cemeteries will be studied according to periods during and after funeral process.

On the other hand, Richard V. Francaviglia defends a different opinion which based on totally the living as the main users of cemeteries. He advocates that:

“In the cemetery, architecture, “town” planning, display of social status, and racial segregation, all mirror the living, not the dead. Cemeteries, as the visual and spatial expression of death may tell us a great deal about the living people who created them” (Francaviglia, 1971:509).

Viewing cemetery space from the perspective of the living, which here means mourners, requires study on site through observations and experiences. According to the studies of Doris Francis, Leonie Kellaher and Georgina Neophytou in English cemeteries, the English bereaved generally identify the cemetery as a garden and home according to their cultural approach of garden city movement in urban planning (2005:7). However, Turkish cemeteries are observed as the home and city of dead as in the example of the largest cemetery of Ankara, Karşıyaka Cemetery. It is stated by Ali Cengizkan in his article “Cemeteries of Ankara” that the cemeteries in Anatolia were established, configured and made sense of like “necropolis” which means the cities of dead (Cengizkan, 2004:38).

Therefore, the way, how Francis, Kellaher and Neophytou deal with cemetery and cemetery culture in their comprehensive research of “The Secret Cemetery” will be respected as a guide spirit to represent Turkish cemeteries. Space and user relationship will be handled to study the living in cemetery space through cultural practices. The quality of space through the dynamics of cemetery landscape is going to be studied for the burial, mourning and memorial practices of users. For another aspect, managerial policies, legislations and rules by responsible directorates which shape the landscape design and architecture of cemetery will be examined.

Beside the functional purpose of cemeteries as the place for the decay of corpses, they also serve for emotional purposes. It is the place for living to communicate with their dead. Following the interment of dead, the frequency in visit could change. Living as the mourner of dead visit his/her deceased in cemeteries according to the closeness of kin or friendship ties. However, why people come to see the remains of dead body under soil is a customary question. Cemeteries exist as a product of living which is re-configured and changed through time with new burials. Bereaved make dead live in memories and transform his/her imaginary space into a real space by symbols and languages through a grave and a stone. Visiting this grave as if the deceased is alive shows the enthusiasm of bereaved to regenerate relationship and keep in touch with deceased. Communicating with deceased, contemplating and praying for him/her, talking to other visitors and sharing the grief of others provide bereaved to adapt to burial culture. Furthermore, tidying up the boundaries of grave, pouring fresh water, planting bushes, bringing flowers are the other general activities that show the behavior of not forgetting deceased. All those practices expressing remembrance and commemoration give the sense of satisfaction at the end of visit. It is the time of mourning and dealing with the sense of loss after falling into a total despair by the shock of death. On

the other hand, some people see visiting cemetery as a religious and spiritual requirement. It is a way to show loyalty and respect to body, identity and memory of deceased.

Table 3. 1. Users of cemetery space (developed by Burcu Kor)

| Users of cemetery      |  |
|------------------------|--|
| The bereaved           | Participants of only funeral day                                       |
|                        | Mourners (first days, first month, one-year, long period)              |
|                        | Visitors (daily, monthly, yearly)                                      |
| Management             | Managerial officials (director, officers, data processor)              |
|                        | Maintenance keepers (grave diggers, garbage man, special upkeep firms) |
|                        | Security guards  |
|                        | Construction keepers (grave diggers, stone masters)                    |
|                        | Religious officials (Imam and prayer)                                  |
|                        | Funeral washers  |
|                        | Funeral coachman and carriers  |
| Designers              | Architects, planners, landscape architects and engineers               |
| Commercial facilities  | Flower-sellers, gravestone-sellers                                     |
| Disconcerting visitors | Homeless, beggars, dealers and drinkers                                |

### 3.2.1. Funeral Procession

This part of study can be examined in two periods: the first year of mourning period and remembering dead for the long term. First day of death is the process of owning a grave plot and registration according to cemetery rules. Criteria for the selection of cemetery can be determined according to accessibility from home, burying near or top of a family member (as a repeating burial called ‘mükerrer defin’), the availability of space for new burial, the price of grave plot, closure of cemetery to promote a newly established cemetery, standard of upkeep and the demand of deceased. On the one hand, criteria for the selection of grave could be determined according to economic value, managerial proposal, location in the layout of cemetery, sequential order in burial.

For instance, according to the interviews to directorate of Cebeci Asri Cemetery, there have been very few burial plots which are privatized by management because the cemetery is closed for new burial except for repeating ones. There is a restriction for purchasing the place of burial if and only if by getting reference from mayor and paying 15.000 Turkish liras for that plot. In support of the situation, the high prices of grave plots were issued by media as “burial plot in the price of a villa” (Hürriyet, 2010) which provide bereaved deterrence and prefer somewhere else. It is said by cemetery management to be a precaution to prevent strong demand for Cebeci Cemetery and to promote bereaved to bury his/her dead to a newly established cemetery. For the very reason, Karşıyaka Cemetery was precisely opened to take over the congestion of Cebeci Asri Cemetery. However, due to the ever increasing intensity even in Karşıyaka Cemetery, it has been decided to open a new burial

site, Ortaköy Cemetery in Kayaş. Thus, Ortaköy Cemetery will create an alternative to prevent rapidly increasing lack of space in Karşıyaka Cemetery. Again this time, the increase of prices in Karşıyaka cemetery and some restrictions and stipulations applied by management will compel bereaved to bury his/her dead to Ortaköy Cemetery. In brief, it is the strategy of managements to allocate burials to the different points of city to prevent a single point accumulation. However, those who purchased his/her grave plot years ago and who has the right to bury on top of his first-degree relative like mother, father, partner, sibling or children have the chance to be buried in preferred cemetery.

Table 3. 2 The process after the realization of death to the commitment of the deceased to the burial ground

- Realization of death
- Shaping of limbs of the dead body before getting cold and petrification
- Getting death report, and then burial certificate from relevant agencies
- Preparation of burial plot with the guidance of management
- Notice of death for relatives: Waiting of dead body at home or at mortuary of hospitals
- Preparation for interment by body wash and shrouding due to the request of family members:
  - Funeral wash in burial processing service of department of cemeteries
  - Funeral wash in *gasilhane* of cemeteries
  - Funeral wash in mobile funeral coaches
- Putting the dead body in a coffin
- Arrival to mosque to perform funeral prayer
- Arrival to cemetery with a funeral cortege
- Committing body to burial ground
  - Grave purchased in advance
  - Burial in family grave plot
  - Repeating burial (*mükerrer defin*)
- Putting earth on grave pit by family members, relatives and friends
- Praying for the dead
- Condolence for the family members of the deceased

Following the determination of cemetery and grave plot with the completion of required documents for burial, the dead is prepared for interment. However, it is a ritualized process to prepare dead and bury him/her which changes depending on religion, ethnic origin and cultural traditions. How to bury the deceased and build graves are specified in Islamic books. According to Islam, the deceased must be directly buried to allow rapid decomposition of the

body. In one of the visitations to Cebeci Asri Cemetery, it was the chance to observe an Islamic burial with the profession of the Imam of the cemetery. The usual practice for the bereaved is to take the deceased to the mosque, where there is a ceremony of praying for the soul of deceased, before proceeding to the graveyard. A brief prayer ritual is also carried out at cemetery. First, the body is prepared for burial by washing carefully and shrouding the entire body. Then, it is the time of funeral prayer as a communal performance inside or outside of mosque. While these acts are completed by the mourners in mosque, in the meantime, burial place of deceased is excavated by grave diggers for interment in accordance with Islamic requirements such as facing to Qiblah. Dead body is carried to gravesite through a convoy with his/her relatives and lovers and put on the excavated pit with his/her shroud by lying the deceased. Then the wooden plaques are placed diagonally on top of the pit. Each man standing by grave throw a shovel of soil on top of diagonally placed wooden plaques by not allowing top soil to collapse on deceased. After Imam read the last prayer, people offer condolences to the relatives and friends of the deceased as an important act of kindness. The created mound of deceased which mark the position of grave could be constructed as a superstructure depends on the preference of family members. While most prefer to cover the grave by a superstructure constructed by marble, granite, mosaic or stone, some prefer to leave it as it is or framing it easily with gravels or red bricks with just by placing a wooden plaque. According to religious traditions, the burial of body is carried out before noon. Burying and visiting cemetery after sunset is not conventional. If a person dies in the afternoon or during the night, they are buried the next morning before noon.

On the other hand, the funeral processions change from culture to culture through their religious beliefs, ethnic origins and customs. Religious beliefs change the built environment of graves and cemeteries, mortuary customs, rules, obligations and behaviors of the living in that space. It can be better to define this variation through the funeral procession of religions in order to understand how religions shape the formation of cemetery and its culture. In their dissertation, Cömertler (2001) and Ertek (2006) deal with the religions of cultures in detail. However, in this thesis it will be discussed in brief. In Christianity, although Christians all believe in God the Father, Jesus as the Son of God and the Holy Spirit, they could differentiate in the disposal of body, interment techniques and so funeral ceremonies. While some Christian churches agree with cremation or mummification, some believe to be buried into ground in simple way by rejecting cremation. For instance, Orthodox Christians reject cremation while other major denominations such as Catholic, Protestant groups accept both cremation and burial. If the one is cremated, his/her ashes can be spilled or placed in an urn and interred in a cemetery. However, some families keep the ashes in an urn at home. On the other hand, if the one preferred to be buried into ground, the body is prepared for disposal in some steps. The body is washed and dressed with a white or black costume and placed in his coffin with a nice look for the last time. After the ceremonial rituals and prayers in a church or a chapel, the body is disposed as short as possible depend on the disposal technique. Interment space of Christians is also a visiting place to see their deceased. There is not an obligation to orient the grave to any direction like Islam's Qiblah.

On the other hand, funeral procession of Judaism shares similarities with Islamic funeral through interment techniques and the preparation of body for disposal. Jewish people prefer

earth burial as soon as possible after death as a respect to deceased. The body of deceased is washed and shrouded with a simple white garment without pockets to express the insignificance of materiality and equality in death. The use of a coffin is not accepted. The dead body is laid on its pit horizontally, and like in Islamic practices, many people symbolically throw a few shovels of earth onto the deceased. Participating in the burial of deceased strengthens the bonds of the relationship between dead and living and gives the mourners an ability to act his/her final performance for their loved one. All of the ceremonial rituals take place in cemetery site near the grave, not in a synagogue. Mostly in their funeral, Jewish do not take any flower for their dead because of its unnecessary and inanity.

In Buddhism, dead body is washed, dressed, tied to a frame and cremated to “ensure spirit understanding body was died and it would not useful any more” (Ertek, 2006:67). They do not believe in eternal soul but believe in reincarnation as passing from one existence to next. Therefore, they do not fear death and do not mourn. On the one hand, Shamanism allows various disposal techniques and funeral rites. Cremation, burying into ground, leaving the corpses on top of mountains and mummification are such disposal examples. Shamanism affected the funeral procession of Anatolian Turks, with its constructed grave structure Kurgan, even after the acceptance of Islam (Ertek, 2006:45). They believed resurrection and after-life. Therefore, they bury their dead with their clothes and personal belongings.

After the interment of dead to an appropriate space, the next phase for the mourners is the formation of the cemetery culture. It is a process of adaptation to the sense of loss and absence in the public sphere of cemetery space which could be evaluated in periods: first year mourning and remembering for the long term.

### **3.2.2. First Year Mourning**

Following the funeral ceremonies the bereaved once again face to the shock of the loss of deceased person in a great grief. His/her beloved one is transformed into a piece of land which could not be seen, heard, touched or felt psychically any more. The mourner begins to accept condolences both in cemetery and at home which gives him/her the message of you are not alone. In its simple meaning, mourning tells about the behaviors of bereaved to come over the shock of death and adapt to ongoing life without his/her beloved one. Oxford Dictionary defines mourning as “feel or show sorrow for the death of (someone), typically by following conventions such as the wearing of black clothes.” Because the perception of death changes by different cultures and evolve through time, the mourning expressions of bereaved also could change beside some core behaviors. It is the main approach of all cultures to be respectful for deceased. While some people show their grief by wearing black clothes, some could express with a loud cry or being silent by a withdrawal from society. There could be specific religious customs as it is for funeral procession. Cömertler (2001) and Ertek (2006) discuss about effect of religions on mourning periods in their researches. For this part of the thesis, it will be referred to their research and an overall literature review about religions.

In Islamic mourning, it is important to share the grief of bereaved. Avoidance of wearing garish clothing and jewelry, weeping for dead, bringing food and meal to funeral home while

coming to condole with bereaved, veiling of women while praying collectively for the soul of death, serving 'helva' for the guests of bereaved who come to funeral home to share grief are such examples in which bereaved participate. It is also obligatory to commemorate dead collectively by praying and reading passages from Qur'an on the evening of the burial on the 7<sup>th</sup>, 40<sup>th</sup> and 52<sup>th</sup> day after burial. On these days, a remembrance ceremony is held in the mosque or at home by presenting a simple meal for guests. Visiting of cemetery during this period is relatively a more regular process rather than visiting after first year.

In Christian mourning, it is occasional to host a gathering after funeral ceremony. It has the aim of sharing the memories of deceased and accompanying the bereaved to deal with mourning. Christians also have some special days such as 3<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup> and 40<sup>th</sup> day after death depend on different churches to remember the deceased with prayers. In those days, they make a cemetery visitation with special prayers.

In Judaism, close relatives of the dead gather in the funeral house, dressed in old clothes in which a piece of cloth is cut symbolically to show grief. It is known that Jewish people has a seven-day mourning period named as 'Shivah' right after death. Traditionally that torn garment is worn throughout the seven days of this intensive mourning period. During Shiva period, there are some strict prohibitions such as not to bath, clean, change cloth, cook. Instead, close friends and relatives have the responsibility to do all this work. However, the mourning period do not end with Shiva after 7 days, it continues with the second phase of mourning named as 'Shloshim'. This period lasts 30 days following death which has lighter limitations beside Shiva period. The males of family go to visit grave to say a special Jewish prayer named as 'Kaddish' for 11 months. The first anniversary of death becomes the end of mourning period. Therefore, the gravestone is erected to symbolize the desistence of the mourning period.

In Buddhism, because people do not fear death and believe in reincarnation, they do not mourn for their deceased (in Ertek 2006; referring to Goss 1999). They believe in an endless cycle of existence. They practice their funeral rituals through positive beliefs. Relatives of deceased assist the deceased in his/her journey to samsara which means cycle of death and rebirth. On the other hand, Shamans believe to communicate with the spirit of deceased and they believe the spirits to affect the earthly lives of the living. For Cömertler, Shamans live a dark grief and intensive mourning period which is the result of a strong demand to live (in Cömertler, 2001; referring to Roux, 1999). It is said that they cry loudly, sometimes cut their faces and wear their clothes by reversing.

Following the mode of perception of death by these different religions it is evident that the funeral practices, and the way of mourning and memorial processes vary from culture to culture.

### **3.2.3. Remembering the Dead for the Long Term**

The next and lighter stage of mourning period is the remembering dead for the long term. After some time, the link between the deceased and the living continues with the construction of his/her memorial. After the burial of dead body, the family decides to make a

superstructure to represent the deceased in a best way. In some cases such as to be parentless, testament of deceased or preference of family, there is no need to make a superstructure. However, if it is constructed, this memorial ensures the deceased to be assumed as perpetual identity in an architectural form. This architectural appearance is shaped through the identity of deceased, mourner preferences and religious beliefs. The mounded soil grave and a piece of wooden marker which symbolize a newly death is replaced by a superstructure and a permanent grave marker which includes information about the deceased such as; name, date of birth and death, kin (name of family members), a short quotation from an appropriate religious source, symbol of religion, vacation, statue and the reason why he/she is dead. Moreover, the shape, size, material, color, elaboration, picture and the epitaph of the grave and the stone are both the reflection of the deceased and the projection of own thoughts of mourners. The demonstration of the deceased by such a memorial also attracts the attention of other visitors. There occurs an interaction between the living and the dead, by reading the brief history of deceased through its grave marker and the shape of tomb. However, the built environment of burial place could be transformed into a dignification space to show economic and social statue of family. Although the cemeteries are public grounds which are open to anyone want to visit it, they are also special and private spaces of the bereaved while he/she is standing near his deceased tomb by praying, talking or bringing flowers.

For another aspect, the bereaved make burial place into a meeting space by interaction to deceased through an architectural environment, which make him/her allay his/her grief through this visiting. In other words, the burial place of deceased becomes the space of self-expression of the bereaved through his/her emotions, memories and spiritual practices.

For some bereaved, the cemetery is a place to be visited frequently and regularly for praying, yearning and commemoration, maintenance and care, feeling good and satisfied to do his/her share. On the other hand, broadly speaking the cemetery is visited occasionally, especially in special days such as anniversaries, religious feast days, birthdays, and mother/father days. And, there is another group which believes in the meaninglessness of cemetery visit because there is no longer any alive there. However, it is evident that there are several reasons one could go to a cemetery. As it is mentioned, many people visit cemeteries to pray for their deceased or care the burial place and its environment for maintenance reasons. Going to a national cemetery such as Turkish State Cemetery or visiting a specific person's tomb such as Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's mausoleum of Anıtkabir could be evaluated as cemetery tourism. Rugg calls this cemetery tourism as 'dark tourism'. The visitors could walk around to see the built environment of familiar or well-known persons from media. These examples also emphasize the national and political approach to cemeteries. For instance, visiting the tomb of nationalist politician and the founder of Nationalist Movement Party Alparslan Türkeş can usually be the result of that political approach. It could be either an attendance to a governmental memorial ceremony or an unofficial visit by the same political view sympathizer. In both cases, the reason to visit that tomb is based on politics and a statue.

### **3.3. Grave as the Home of the Deceased**

The domestic relations between home and grave begin with the occurrence of death. Funeral and mortuary rituals provide a link between home and grave by religious ideology and personal action (Francis, Kellaheer and Neophytou, 2005:84). Barbara Mann refers to grave as 'final resting home' or 'eternal home' of the deceased and cemetery as 'the house of graves' in the book of "Memory and Architecture" (Mann, 2004:143). In other words, the passage of the soul of the deceased from earthly world to eternity is ritualized by the passage of body from the home of the deceased to its grave. After the bid farewell of the deceased from home to his/her 'last journey,' mourners attribute the meaning of 'eternal home' to the grave. Personal stuff and belongings of the deceased can be brought to grave from home according to the customs of mourners. From now on, both home and grave are appreciated as the place of commemoration. However, following the intensive mourning period, the bereaved begin to get used to the sense of loss. It is the time to re-participate in the routine of everyday life. Therefore, home is abandoned to be a mourning space, but cemetery remains to remind the grief of deceased.

The transposition of grief from home to cemetery causes increase in the number of grave visits. For instance, it is a customary thought that; how much the bereaved care and tidy up the grave of his/her deceased shows how much the bereaved respect to and visit his/her deceased. The repetition of visits could change depending on personal preferences, religious requirement or cultural demands. Following the keen participation of neighborhood to the funeral ceremony at cemetery, they also visit funeral home not to leave the mourners alone and to condole with them. However, after the interment day of deceased, nobody goes to cemetery to visit the deceased and to condole with the mourner. Usually only the family members and close friends make cemetery visitation on the following days. The one who want to condole with the mourner usually go to the funeral home.

It is evident that, from the first days to the long term process, mourners get used to the sense of loss. D. Francis, L. Kellaheer and G. Neophytou clarify these phases by referring to Rubinstein's schema; accounting, personalization, extension and the embodiment (Francis, Kellaheer and Neophytou, 2005:99). It is stated that; following the interment of the dead, mourners enclose the grave and determine its boundary by small stones or branches. Through frequent visits the awareness of mourner provides him/her to be familiar with the physical environment which begin with grave plot, continue with neighborhood and then the whole cemetery. The personalization of area by the identity of the deceased is followed by the extension of special stuff belongs to deceased. Lastly, the embodiment is the shift from individual deceased to the environment to expose the self within the conformity of neighborhood.

In a further aspect, the establishment of cemetery and city; and the construction of grave and home have several similarities both in physical and social concerns. Cengizkan remarks cemetery and city relation of Ankara through their architectural principles (Cengizkan, 2004:38). He points out that the order of houses and streets of Ankara (in 1940, 1950, 1960) have impacts on the order of grave plots and streets of cemeteries. Such principles of daily life; green spaces, brightness, well ordered infrastructure and parcellation are also called as



the design principles of cemeteries. However, unplanned housing and urbanization, parcels providing rent increase and illegal expansion of cities (in 1980, 1990, 2000) cause to the same disorder and lack of good care in the layout of cemeteries. As if to confirm Cengizkan's stance for Ankara, Francaviglia (1971:501) also reached the conclusion of cemeteries in United States is a "a microcosm of the real world, and binds a particular generation of men to the architectural and perhaps even spatial preferences and prejudices that accompanied them throughout life."

### **3.4. Cemeteries as Public Space**

In its general meaning, public space is a social space which is accessible by all members of society. The issue of public space has been discussed as an interdisciplinary research field which consists of architecture, urban design, and philosophy, social and cultural studies. In his article "Why are the design and development of public spaces significant for cities?" Madanipour (1999) defines public space as it is "provided by the public authorities, concerns the people as a whole, is open or available to them, and is used or shared by all the members of a community." On the one hand, Burte (2003) asserts public space as the object of social conflict due to its control and rights of occupation. He classifies those conflicts as "a. what uses and activities are acceptable in public space, b. who has the greater right of occupation over different, c. who should control, or make decisions about (and on what basis) the fate of public spaces and access to them." Borja (1998) asserts that public space is a legal notion. It is a space which is subject to specific regulations by who has the power of control over the area (administration, owner, etc.) and who ensures the accessibility and identifies the activities going on there. Carr (1992:3) identifies public space as "the stage upon which the drama of communal life unfolds." These spaces are regarded as the streets, squares and parks of the city which are dynamic spaces differing from more settled places and routines of work and home life. Similar to the definition of Carr, Christian Boyer states "both the theatre and urban space are places of representation, assemblage and exchange between actors and spectators, between the drama and the stage set (Boyer 1994).

Cemeteries are such public spaces in cities which differ from other public spaces by some of their special features. They are different places when compared to ordinary cultural spaces because they are both spaces of life and death; and occupied both by the living and the dead. It is a space that is connected to all other locations of society, since every individual and family has their beloved one in a cemetery. They correspond to a specific use of interment of dead bodies, and hence to a spatial practice of burying the deceased and visiting him by his representational memorial. Cemeteries act like constant reminders of deceased. Under the belief system, it is known that the grave is not empty. The soul of dead person is there and needs visitors to pray and care for him. Here, the cemetery visit becomes a public ritual and practice for the community and family members because the dead has a certain place and represented by a certain object to give attention. Individual loss is lived as public grieving and remembrance with other mourners and visitors. On the other hand, cemeteries are not just for the interment of the body of deceased but could become the sites of relaxation and exploration. As a matter of fact, they constitute a considerable amount of public open space for the living with its green system in urban settlements. They are the public open spaces of community, not merely for citizen interaction but for a common civic life shared between

individuals. For this reason, it is better to approach cemeteries as if they are public parks with their special fauna and landscape design.

### 3.4.1. As Representational Space

The term space is a broad concept which has been precisely studied by several academicians. In his “The Production of Space” (1974; 1991), Lefebvre develops a theory of space which suggests a unity between physical, mental and social space. He defines his spatial triad as:

- Perceived (spatial practice); the physical space which is real space that is generated and used in daily routine,
- Conceived (representation of space); the mental space or imagined space which is the space of knowledge and logic by maps, plans and models by social engineers and urban planners,
- The lived (representational space); social space which is produced and modified over time with the ideals and visions of its users and invested with meaning and symbolism.

In other words, Lefebvre searches for unification between mental space (the space of philosophers) and real space (the physical and social spheres of the living). It is the interaction of these three processes over time that produces space. For the understanding of his triad perceived- conceived- lived; Lefebvre gives the example of the *body*. First, the relation between space and an individual member of a society makes the *body* important because social practice presupposes the use of the body which is the realm of the *perceived* (Lefebvre, 1991:40). Secondly, *the representations of the body* derive from scientific knowledge such as knowledge of anatomy, of physiology, of sickness and its cure, and of the body's relations with nature and with its surroundings which is the realm of the conceived. Thirdly, Lefebvre mentions about bodily lived experienced in which culture intervenes for example via symbolisms and traditions. For him, his triad should be interconnected to establish a common code and language so that a member of a society could move from one to another without confusion (Lefebvre, 1991:40).

For Lefebvre, cemeteries are the example of representational spaces which is tied to historical origin and identity through memory sites, imaginary and symbolic elements and the narratives of past and future. They are produced and modified over time by its users. Lefebvre states that:

“Representational space is alive: it speaks. It has an affective kernel or centre: Ego, bed, bedroom, dwelling, house; or: square, church, graveyard. It embraces the loci of passion, of action and of lived situations, and thus immediately implies time. Consequently it may be qualified in various ways: it may be directional, situational or relational, because it is essentially qualitative, fluid and dynamic” (Lefebvre, 1991:42).

It is evident from Lefebvrian approach that cemeteries can be representational spaces because they give information about the cultures of past generations. The dead are laid out in rows with tilted headstones inscribed with the name of dead person, the name of their home town, religious symbols or statements, their birth/death dates and sometimes narrative of their life or death circumstances. Moreover, the way how they are buried, the material used

in grave structures, the style of inscriptions on headstones, languages used in inscriptions, even genealogical information of parents are evidences for the identity, history and concrete lived experiences of the deceased.

In its general meaning, the notion of space itself is not an empty area lack of history and relations. Graves and headstones occupy cemetery space and raise several questions on the mind of the visitor of that space by trying to estimate the living of the dead. However, although cemeteries are the sites of bodily remains of the dead which are invisible under soil, they are present but not seen by the living. It depends on personal feelings and preferences to excavate graves to see bones to criticize their absence. It means in Lefebvrian approach, the cemetery can become a mental space of archeologists, scientists and urban planners who search for what is lived.

The spatial practices of cemetery include ongoing burial activities of deceased in daily routine. On the one hand, the interment of dead bodies is performed within a funeral ceremony in the control of cemetery management; on the other hand the periodical visitations are practiced by family members with kin-oriented relations.

### **3.4.2. As Urban Logbook**

Together with the time passing, cemeteries transform from memorials of individual lives to places of historical significance. Rather than private graves, they become focal points of commemorations and public spaces where collective memories and shared events are given form and meaning. Each burial in a cemetery make a difference in its neighborhood with its newly constructed architectural structure, visitor- mourners and the rituals performed by the mourners. The varying headstones act like the objects of a museum which remind the cultural past of dead and convey a visual memorial to our collective memory.

### **3.4.3. As Urban Landscape**

After several visitations to different cemeteries, it is possible to think of all cemeteries resemble each other. It becomes hard to discern their distinctive aspects because of similarly shaped gray granite tombstones and same trees and plantings everywhere. After a while all cemeteries evoke a sense of familiarity for the living. What can distinguish one cemetery from another is its self-improving landscape design with all its maintenance and cleanness. To make a comparison between cemeteries and cities, Mumford asserts that:

“Our cities must not be monuments, but self-renewing organisms: the dominating image should not be the cemetery, where the dead must not be disturbed, but the field, meadow, and parkland, with its durable cover of trees, its light boundary lines, its changing crops for which the fields are plowed every year” (Mumford 1938: 440).

It is evident that although the graves and headstones as the main occupants of cemeteries should be protected for both respect to dead and for cultural value, the landscape of cemetery with its trees, plants and flowers should be renewed regularly.

It is another aspect for cemeteries that each cemetery is shaped by landscape elements of its culture. The location of cemetery in city, the layout and organization of grave plot due to religious beliefs (such as orientation), the demand of space for required grave area, geographical conditions, climate and its natural habitat are such fundamentals for the landscape design of cemeteries. Here is some significant examples from European cemeteries which are designed by architects and landscape designers.

**Woodland Cemetery:** The Woodland Cemetery is designed by the architects, Gunnar Asplund and Sigurd Lewerentz as a result of an international competition in 1915. It is accepted as a successful example of a designed cultural landscape in consistency with the architectural features of its buildings and chapels. The buildings are in simple forms as a result of the modern approach of the architects and the graves are laid out in harmony with the trees and the landscape. Also, it can be perceived from the photographs that the graves do not compete with the trees or be exposed to the dominance of the trees. The quality of soil, accessibility to inner city and the woods as the element of landscape architecture is taken into consideration by the architects. The design is criticized by its non-monumental approach and non-emphasized roads.



Figure 3. 1. Landscape design of Woodland cemetery in Stockholm, Sweden (<http://www.skogskyrkogarden.se/en/>)

**Igualada Cemetery:** Designed by Enric Miralles and Carme Pinos as a result of an architectural competition in 1984, near Barcelona. The cemetery is thought to provoke thoughts and memories due to the poetic ideas for the cycle of the life (grow, decay, renew). The cemetery has the impression of a modern city of the dead and is designed in a landscape of concretized orientation which leads to a burial square. The entrance with the ramps and walls create a street like view with the idea of journey in the time and in the memories. It is a long path built in harmony with the site conditions and the landscape which present different experiences in the perception of different spaces through walking. These spaces are identified by several different materials. These meaningful places make people think about the memories and link the past with the present. It is both the experience and the perception of space and the travel in the mind. This is what Miralles calls as “time architecture” in which the visitors of the cemetery travel both physically and mentally.



Figure 3. 2. Design of Igualada Cemetery near Barcelona, Spain  
 (<http://www.archdaily.com/103839/ad-classics-igualada-cemetery-enric-miralles/>)

**Ohlsdorf Cemetery:** The cemetery is first designed by the architect Wilhelm Cordes (1840-1917) and the extended after WWI by the architect Otto Linne (1869-1937). There are about 330 works of sculptors and architects. The cemetery covers an area of 391 hectar park area with almost 1.4 million burials and 256.000 graves. Instead of becoming an other city in the city Ohlsdorf Cemetery lies as a part of urban life in Hamburg. The green set of trees and planting in the periphery of cemetery provide a visual separation in the perception of cemetery. The graves are generally hidden behind the trees and bushes. The cemetery has the impression of a designed garden, a landscape park and a museum of art works which also take attention of the tourists. Although it belongs to a huge burial ground, it is also used as a recreational area for the daily experiences of the people which provide a peaceful atmosphere to take a rest and create a link between past and present through the memories. The articulation between the recreational areas for the living and the spatial arrangement of the graves for the deceased make the cemetery a usable space for both. The design of the graves, in harmony with the trees, bushes and sculptures create a variety of spatial arrangements.



Figure 3. 3. Graves hidden by sculptures, trees and bushes in Ohlsdorf Cemetery, by Burcu Kor



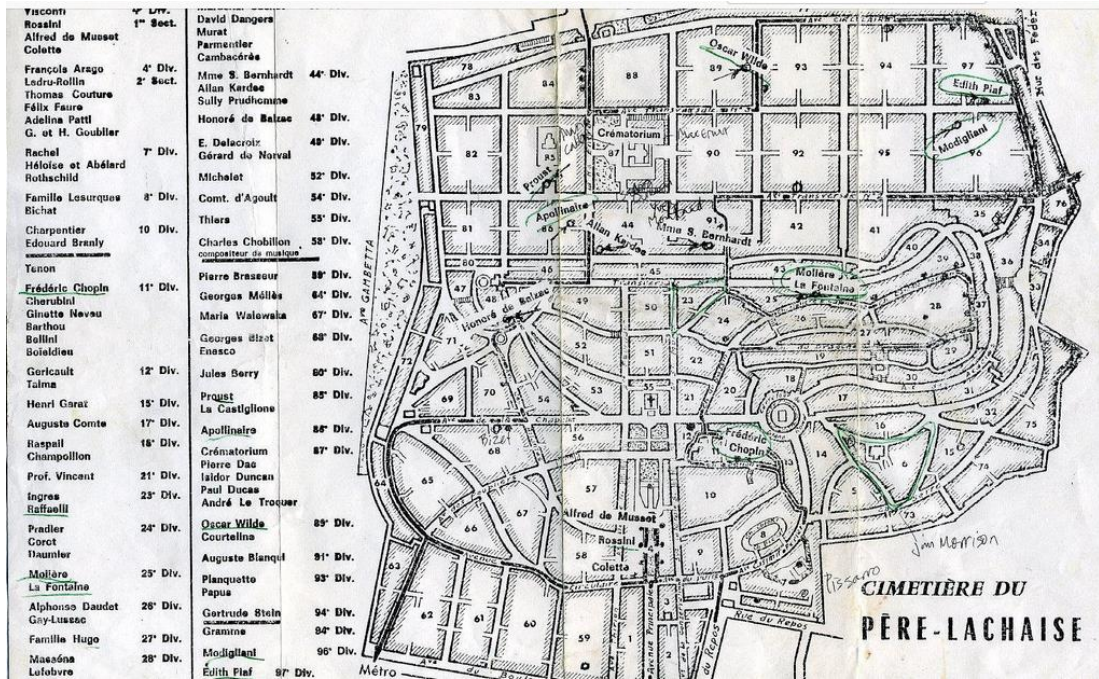


Figure 3. 6. Pere Lachaise Cemetery in Paris. Cemetery tourism due to the visitations of prominent figures (taken from Pere Lachaise Cemetery by Burcu Kor)

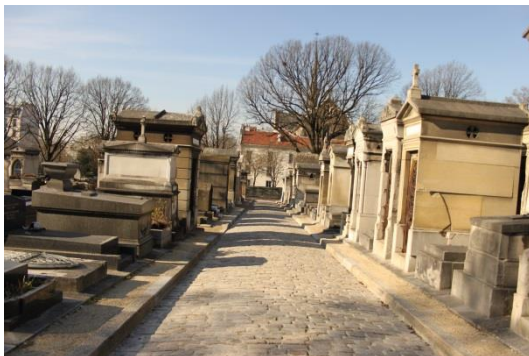


Figure 3. 7. Home-like grave structures and streets of Pere-Lachaise Cemetery (by Burcu Kor)

The examples show how Turkish or local burial culture and commemoration models are different from other geographies and cultures.

#### 3.4.4. As Part of Education for Urban Life

In another aspect, cemeteries are historic sites that allow the public to experience how the people of the past lived and celebrated death. However, cemeteries attract fewer visitors because of perceptions of being scary and dangerous places. To overcome modern fears, people of all ages need to have educational and interesting experiences to learn why

cemeteries are important to understand their cultural past. For this reason, in European approach, cemeteries are considered to be historic landscapes which allow the living to remember their deceased through well-planned educational experiences. School group field trips; living history tours with the aim of selecting, researching, writing and presenting sketches and narratives about the life of an individual buried on the grounds; recognition trip of natural habitat of cemeteries with their flowers, trees and insect species; epitaph tour; symbolism on stones tour by looking at the different ethnic and religious traditions and different shapes of the markers and monuments are such example activities in educational planning of cemeteries. Another activity is to wander among the graves of the famous and infamous people by discussing the development of the land and the challenges it has faced over the years, who died when and why, headstone symbols and burial customs. In Europe, it is mostly universities to arrange cemetery workshops for students to work on-site at a local cemetery in a small, personal group with the understanding of the environmental impact of cemetery design, preservation and organization.

In brief, cemeteries are significant teaching tools because they are considered to be outdoor history museum, wildlife refuge in its natural fauna, botanical garden and art gallery. Therefore, they are interdisciplinary. Because they are urban public spaces in cities, they are easily accessible for all people. In a cemetery exploration, students can use their skills in social studies, science, art, math, and history and language arts. It is also possible to understand the belief systems of the community as represented by gravestones and monuments, inscriptions, and stone carvings. Further, cemeteries create a media to focus on the development of new attitudes toward death, nature, and family life. Consequently, instead of asking the question of “why study about the cemetery?,” it is better to think about cemeteries with their historic and educational value which tell much about the lives of people of the past in a sacred and unique landscape.



## CHAPTER 4

### A 'MODERN' CEMETERY IN ANKARA: CEBECİ ASRİ CEMETERY

#### 4.1. Brief History for Spatial Development of Ankara and Ankara Cemeteries with Focus on the Cebeci Cemetery

Ankara has been accepted as a significant site for several civilizations since prehistoric ages. Because it is a breaking point with the declaration of the city as the capital of Turkish Republic, the history of the city will be approached as before and after the establishment of Turkish Republic. As the position of this thesis as well, the period after the establishment of Turkish Republic will be studied in a broader sense.

##### **The period before the establishment of Turkish Republic**

The common opinion of a variety of sources advocates that Ankara has a rich history and cultural heritage. Since prehistoric times, the city has been dominated by many civilizations such as Hittites, Phrygians, Lydians, Persians, Galatias, Romans, Byzantines and Turkish civilizations (Seljuks, Ahi, ilkhanids, Anatolian Beyliks and Ottomans). According to the studies of Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, there has been found a place of worship or remains of tombs that belong to Hittites and grave findings of Phrygian civilization as well (Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, 2008:27, 41). These grave findings which are known to belong to a king or a royal member are the Phrygian Tumuli and found in between today's Anıtkabir and the Atatürk Orman Çiftliği. They are made of stone and wood and covered over with piling earth after the interment of body (MMA, 2008:41). Enrichment of resources specifying the Roman period show that city limits extend the citadel through North-Northeast direction to Bentderesi. Uslu states that the cemetery located in the south, near existing İstasyon of today shows the city did not extend to the south. Therefore, it is understood that the cemetery was located out of the city (Uslu, 1997:155).

At the construction time of General Directorate of Turkish State Railways in 1939, two Byzantine graves and Christian graves were found in İstasyon excavation (MMA, 2008:88). It is known that Byzantine graves were usually made of marble (Eyice, 1992; Uslu, 1997:158). Its shape was cruciform and while the base was laying brick, the sides were plastered with lime. After the interment of body, it was given an appearance of vault or dome (in Uslu, 1997:158; referring Akgün, 1996).

After the islamization of the city with Seljuk civilization, the city was generally settled in and around citadel (in Uslu, 1997:158; referring Aktüre, 1992). Kadılar or Kırklar Cemetery near Molla Büyük Camii of the Castle District is the only place in Ankara which reserves almost forty Seljuk graves collectively. Although the cemetery was under the control of

Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Board in 1986 with the law number 2893, it is stated by Erdoğan that the required attention and care for the site was not given and it looks neglected for the tombstone being broken and thrown randomly (Erdoğan, 2004:184). The gravestones and tombs are said to belong to 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century and made of white granite marble.

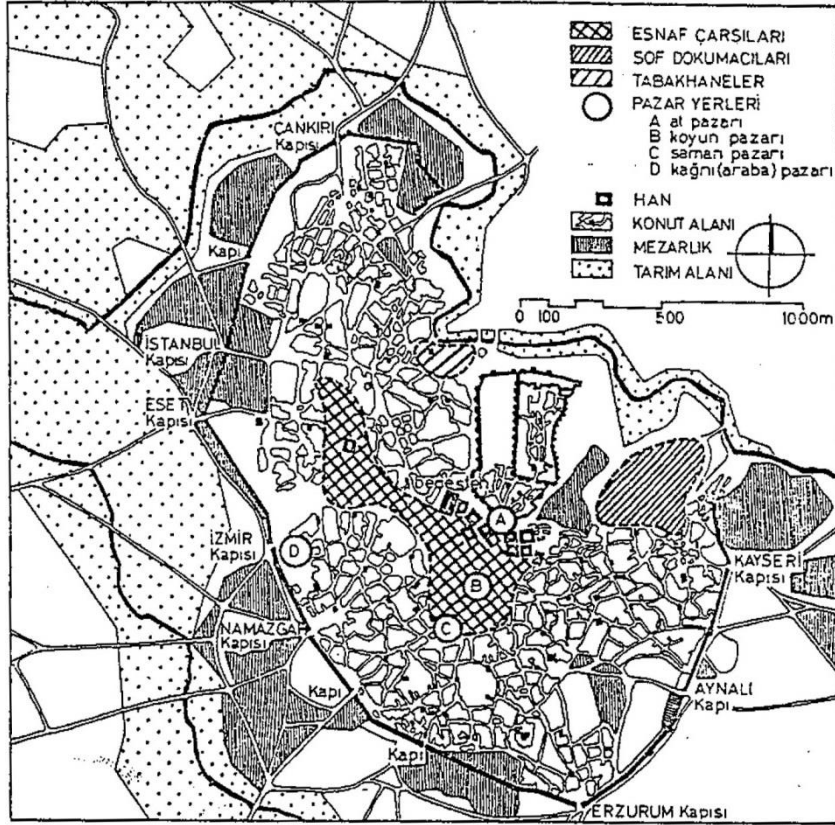


Figure 4. 1. Urban development and cemeteries in Ankara in 16th and 17th century (in Uslu, 1997; referring Aktüre, 1992)

On the other hand, royal members and significant persons were buried in mosque yards or sepulchers both in Seljuk and Ottoman period (Eldem, 2005:18). In the Ottoman period, the cemeteries were located out of city boundaries. The west of city, Cebeci district of today was the place for the burial of community (Uslu, 1997:163). One of the significant travelers, French Pitton de Tournefort, shows scattered cemetery areas outside the wall of the citadel in his Ankara gravure of 1717.

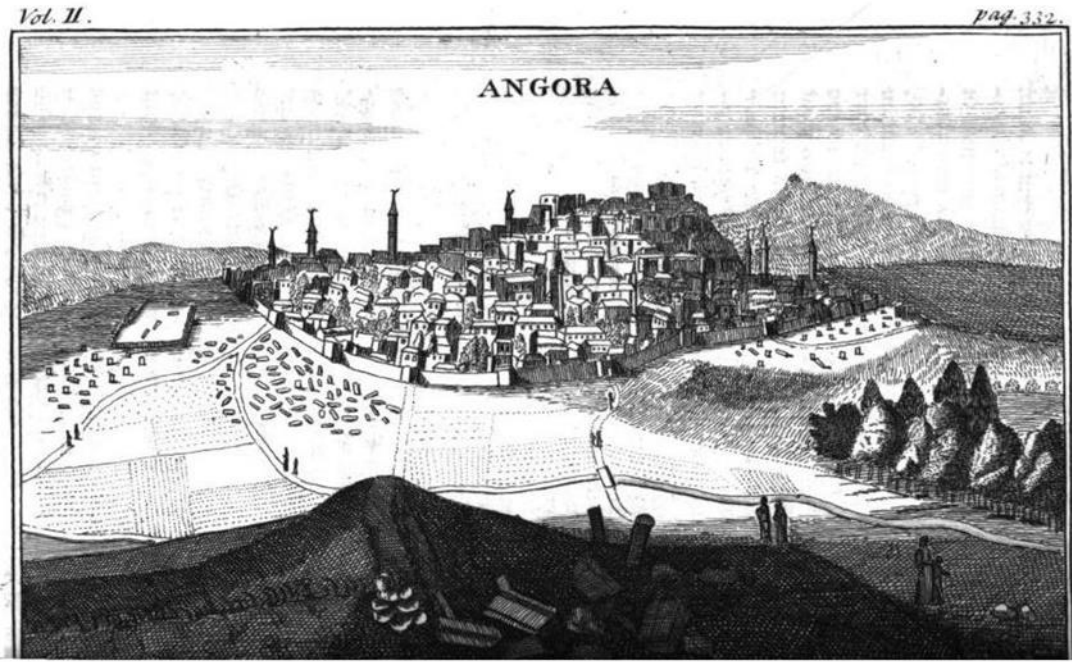


Figure 4. 2. Ankara gravure drawn in the 1700s (in Cömertler, 2001; referring Aktüre, 1994)

English traveler William Francis Ainsworth mentions the cemeteries of Ankara to be 1.5 km outside of the city in 1839 (in Uslu, 1997:163; referring Güldemir, 1984). Also in 20<sup>th</sup> century, cemeteries of Ankara were located around the city.



Figure 4. 3. Ankara and its cemeteries in the beginning of 20th century (Cömertler 1997:165).

Briefly, writings and gravures of famous travelers of Ankara before the declaration of republic are accepted to be significant sources to get known the city of Ankara of those days. As it is quoted from Uslu, Sevük describes a cemetery close by Cebeci in 1900s as (in Uslu 1997:166; referring Akgün, 1996):

“We went down from the castle. We were going towards Cebeci district to hospitals. I noticed the cemeteries of Ankara. Most of the cemeteries have been settled in this district. Unfortunately, to “discover” them as cemetery is definitely for “miracle.” In a few cemeteries, we could not able to see a gravestone written “al-fatehah.” Take and stick the rough-hewn reddish stones, which look as broken from mountains, in a random place for your pleasure and these have a scratchy view, you would think a carrot field. Here are Ankara cemeteries.” (in Uslu, 1997:166; referring Akgün, 1996)

Falih Rıfıkı Atay mentions Ankara: “... station, then marsh, then cemetery, and fire areas... at the end, a village with adobe or logging (houses) paved or unpaved scratchy streets” (Atay, 1969:505). Reşit Bey who was the governor of Ankara in 1907 also describes Ankara as “a large village which was surrounded by ruined black stone cemeteries (MMA, 2008:7). Leonid and Friedrich point out the cemeteries spread all over the city and define Ankara as “very dirty, very dry, dust, full of vermin of all kinds.” They continue as; “there are germs everywhere; particularly malaria is common among both natives and Europeans. But also a new Ankara heralds itself” (in Sargın, 2006:368; referring Leonid-Friedrich, 1999:43). With the declaration of the Republic, and Ankara as the capital city, some decisions have been made about these randomly scattered and neglected cemeteries which are depicted adversely by several travelers and observers.

### **The period after the establishment of Turkish Republic**

After the determination of Ankara as the capital of the republic, the city entered a new period with a radical change by a modern nation-building project. However, despite its rich history, Ankara was a small Anatolian town with a population of 20.000-25.000 which was economically depressed and physically demolished by fires (Bademli, 1994:161). Therefore, the city was presented with new planning principals to create a demand for a modern model city and model community with new spatial and structural organizations, economic resources, and plans for the future (Cengizkan, 2011:26). On the one hand, the old cemeteries, industrial areas, barracks, manufacturing sites remained in the city were seen as a problem like a barrier for the growing urban areas. On the other hand, the demand of land for the constructions of new Ankara cause increase in the price of urban land by speculators (Uslu, 1997:167). For this reason, cemeteries were allocated to remote and non-valuable areas.

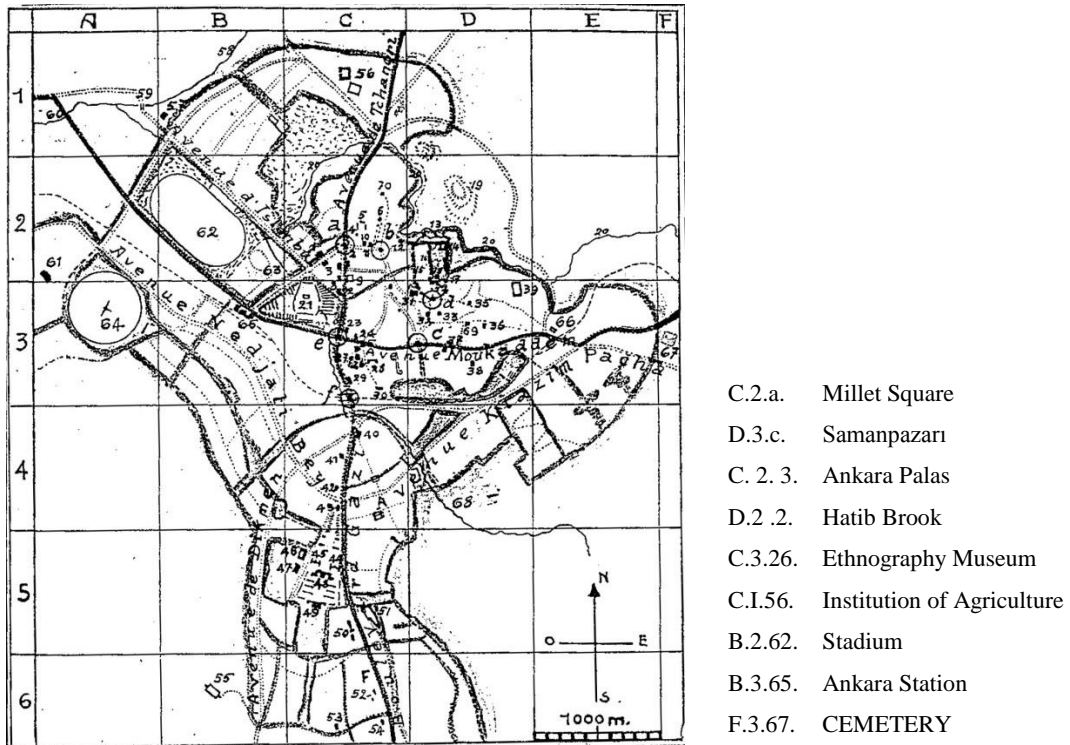


Figure 4. 4. Location of cemetery in Ankara in Republic period (in Uslu,1997; referring Mamboury, 1933)

As it is stated by Cengizkan, the removal and the allocation of cemeteries for another use was started after 1917 fire and continued until 1924 (Cengizkan 2004:38). In 1925, the special law (No. 583) provides the expropriation of the necessary, marshy and cemetery areas for the construction of a new essential quarter by municipal authorities. According to the studies of Atatürk Research Center, because there were lots of abandoned and desolated cemeteries remained in the city center, they were removed out of the city (Journal of A.R.C., 2004:58). By the development of some of these problematic areas, the urban planning of the surroundings of Ulus, Ulus-İstasyon, Ulus-Samanpazarı was constituted (Bademli, 1994:162).

On the other hand, with the establishment of the Republic, rules and legislations which define cemetery areas were determined. The principles were identified for the interment and transportation of bodies and the maintenance of cemeteries. Because the cities were surrounded with cemeteries which were identified as dirty and full of vermin, the new regulations were primarily related to the hygienic problems. The law (Umumi Hıfzısıhha Kanunu) dated 24.04.1930 and No. 1593 was constituted to prevent health problems. In brief, the law was an incentive for the design of cemeteries which impose restrictions and regulations for the construction and use of cemeteries.

It was a planning process for Ankara which started with the introduction of foreign architects and planners to make city planning and nation-building of Ankara. The first plan was designed by Carl Christoph Lörcher in 1924-25 which suggests İstasyon and Ulus as the new spatial organization of central facilities.

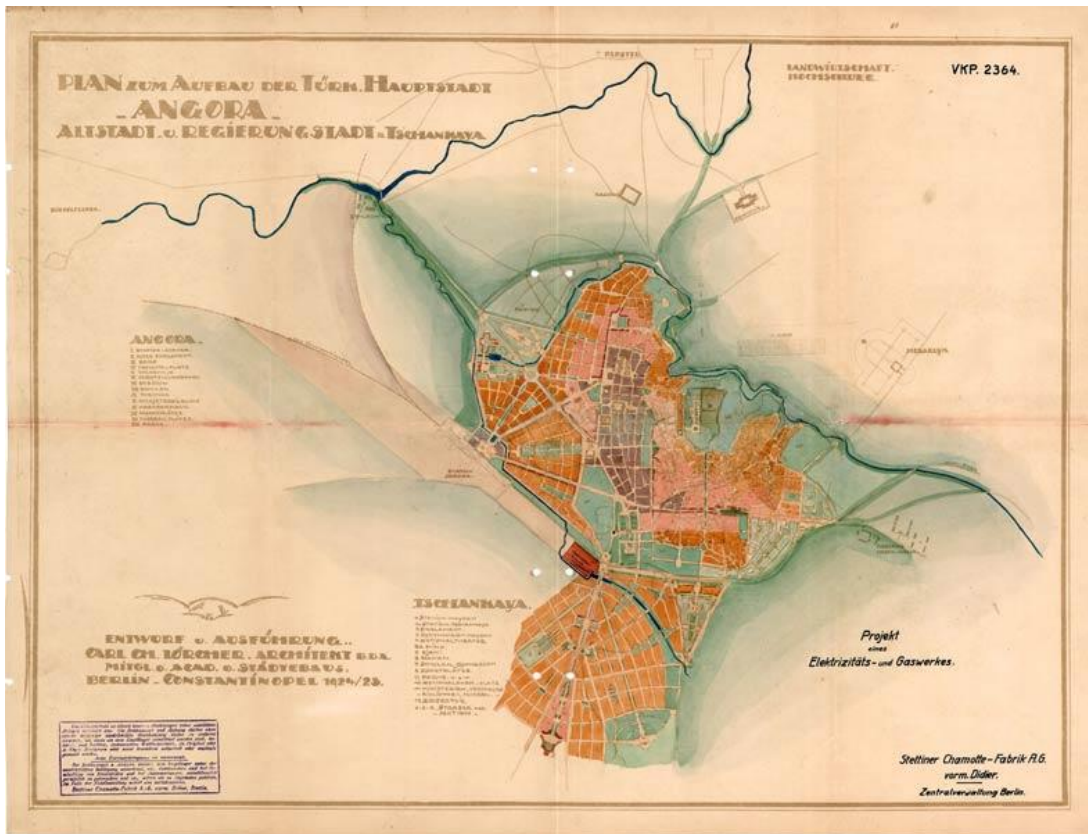


Figure 4. 5. The Lorcher Plan, 1924- 1925 (Maps and Plans Documentation Unit, METU)

However, the western district of today's Ulus and the area between today's Roman Hammam and the old Namazgah in the South constituted the graveyard areas for the Muslim and Orthodox populations (Cengizkan, 2004:38). According to Ankara map of 1924 analysis of Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, the old cemeteries are seen in the east and south of the city. Namazgahtepe in which there is Ethnography Museum, Turkish Historical Society and State art and Sculpture Museum of today, park of today's Hacettepe Hospital, around the Roman Hammam and Gençlik Parkı, behind the I. TBMM (Parliament) building and Ankara Hospital of today was the old cemeteries dispersed in the city. As can be seen clearly, these old cemeteries were removed for the construction of the new modern capital city. The Konak Square of İzmir has also the same process in which all the cemeteries around the square is removed and functioned with cultural facilities such as National Library and National Theater (Zengel, 2007: Mimarlık 334).

On the other hand, the idea of a single and centralized City Cemetery was came out and the space for this function was allocated on 1924 Lörcher plan of Ankara which also creates the foundation of today's Cebeci Modern Cemetery (Asri Mezarlık) (Cengizkan, 2004:39). Because Lörcher plan was supposed to take over only a part of Ankara and strengthens the idea of planning the city as a whole, the second plan was designed by Hermann Jansen and constituted in 1932 (Bademli, 1994:162).

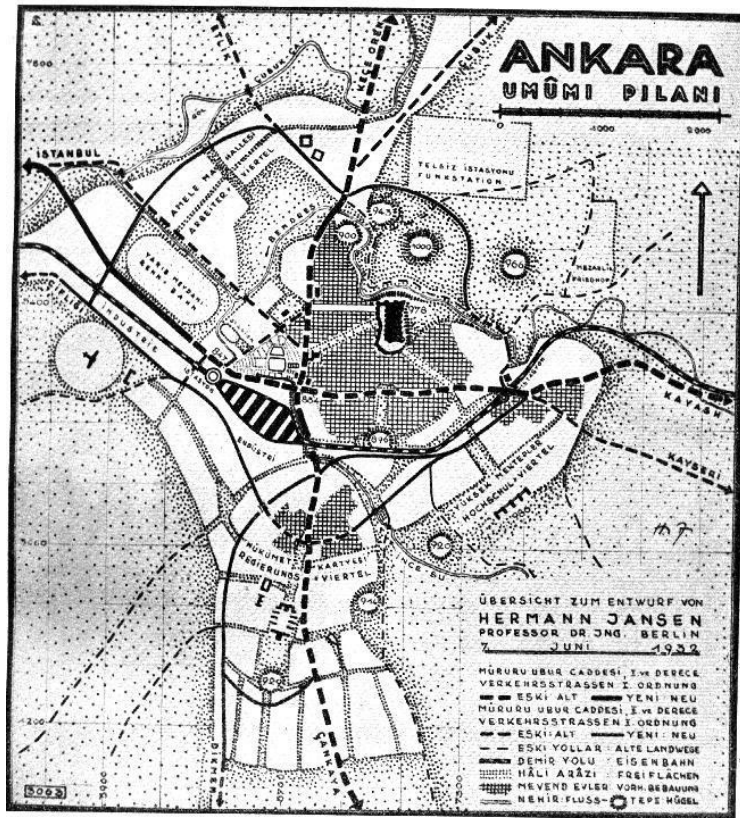


Figure 4. 6 The Jansen Plan, 1932 (Maps and Plans Documentation Unit, METU)

The master plan of Jansen shows that there is an area allocated for a single city cemetery. It was thought to be a 'central cemetery' with the estimation of the population of Ankara as 300.000. Jansen identifies the cemetery integral to the city as a part of open green space structure of Ankara. The cemetery is thought to be located at the east of the city, on a plateau at the north of Bend Deresi. German architect Martin Elsaesser made the design of the city cemetery of Ankara in 1935. However, the problem with Jansen plan was unplanned urbanization as a result of incorrect estimate of population for the next 50 years. Although the population of the city was expected to reach 300.000 for 50 years, it had exceeded the determined population even in the beginning of 1950s (Bademli, 1994:164). That unforeseen increase in population reveals itself in completely crowded cemetery. Therefore, the cemetery was made a new addition in 1958 and expanded towards today's Sitaler.

The new development plan after the Jansen plan was conducted by Raşit Uybadin and Nihat Yücel as a result of an international planning competition in 1955. It projected also an incorrect estimate of population like the Jansen plan which estimates population of 2000 as 750 thousand though it had exceeded even in 1965 (Bademli, 1994:164). In this period, insufficient quantity of the number of interment spaces in Cebeci Asri Cemetery brings up the idea of new cemetery areas. According to the studies of Metropolitan Area Master Plan Office in-between 1970 and 1975, there was created a 20-year master plan of Ankara.

Accordingly, Karşıyaka Cemetery was planned in 1000 acre area in 1970, after the legal expropriation procedure. However, with the rapid loading of the interment spaces, the area was extended to İvedik village with the transfer of 420000 acre area from Forest Ministry to Municipality and reached to a total final area of 2.860.000m<sup>2</sup> (Ertek, 2006:90).

Table 4. 1. Brief information about the plans of Ankara (Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, <http://www.ankara.bel.tr/files/3113/4726/6297/3-makroform.pdf>). The information on this table is open to discussion in terms of population projections and the real figures. However, it still offers a general (and formal) framework to discuss issues regarding on cemetery sizes.

| Name of the plan            | Year of plan approval | Current population (person) | Area of Urban Settlement (ha) | Target year of the plan | Projection of population (person) | Total plan area (ha) | Strategy for Ankara cemeteries                  |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------|---|
| Lörcher Plan                | 1925                  | ~65.000                     | ~280                          | **                      | ~150.000                          | ~700                 | Idea of a single and centralized city cemetery  |
| Jansen Plan                 | 1932                  | ~75.000                     | 300                           | 1978                    | 300.000                           | 1.500                | Projection of the city cemetery in the plan     |
| Yücel Uybadin Plan          | 1957                  | 455.000                     | ~5.720                        | 1987                    | 750.000                           | 12.000               | Shortage of grave space in Asri Cemetery (1958) |
| 1990 Master Plan (1970-75)  | 1982                  | 120000(*)                   | ~22.500                       | 1990                    | Between 2,8-3,6 million           | 43.250               | Establishment of Karşıyaka Cemetery (1970)      |
| 2015 Structural Plan Scheme | Not approved          | 2.300.000                   | ~31.000                       | 2015                    | Between 4,5-5,5 million           | ~210.000             | Completion of facilities in Ortaköy Cemetery    |
| 2025 Planning Studies       | Not approved          | 2.800.000                   | ~45.000                       | 2025                    | Between 6,5-8 million             | ~200.000             |   |

(\*) Population of 1970

(\*\*) Because the old part of the city has not approved, the comprehensive target year of the plan could not be confirmed.



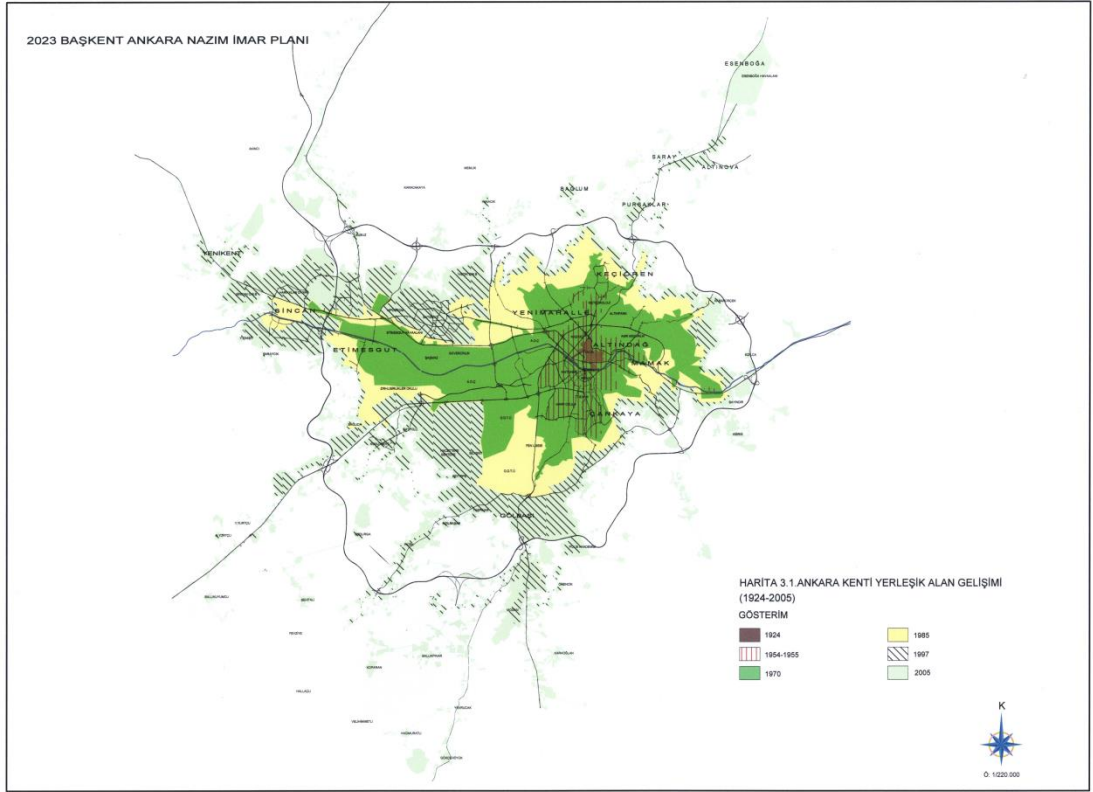


Figure 4. 7. Development plan of Ankara since 1924 to 2005  
(<http://www.ankara.bel.tr/files/3113/4726/6297/3-makroform.pdf>)

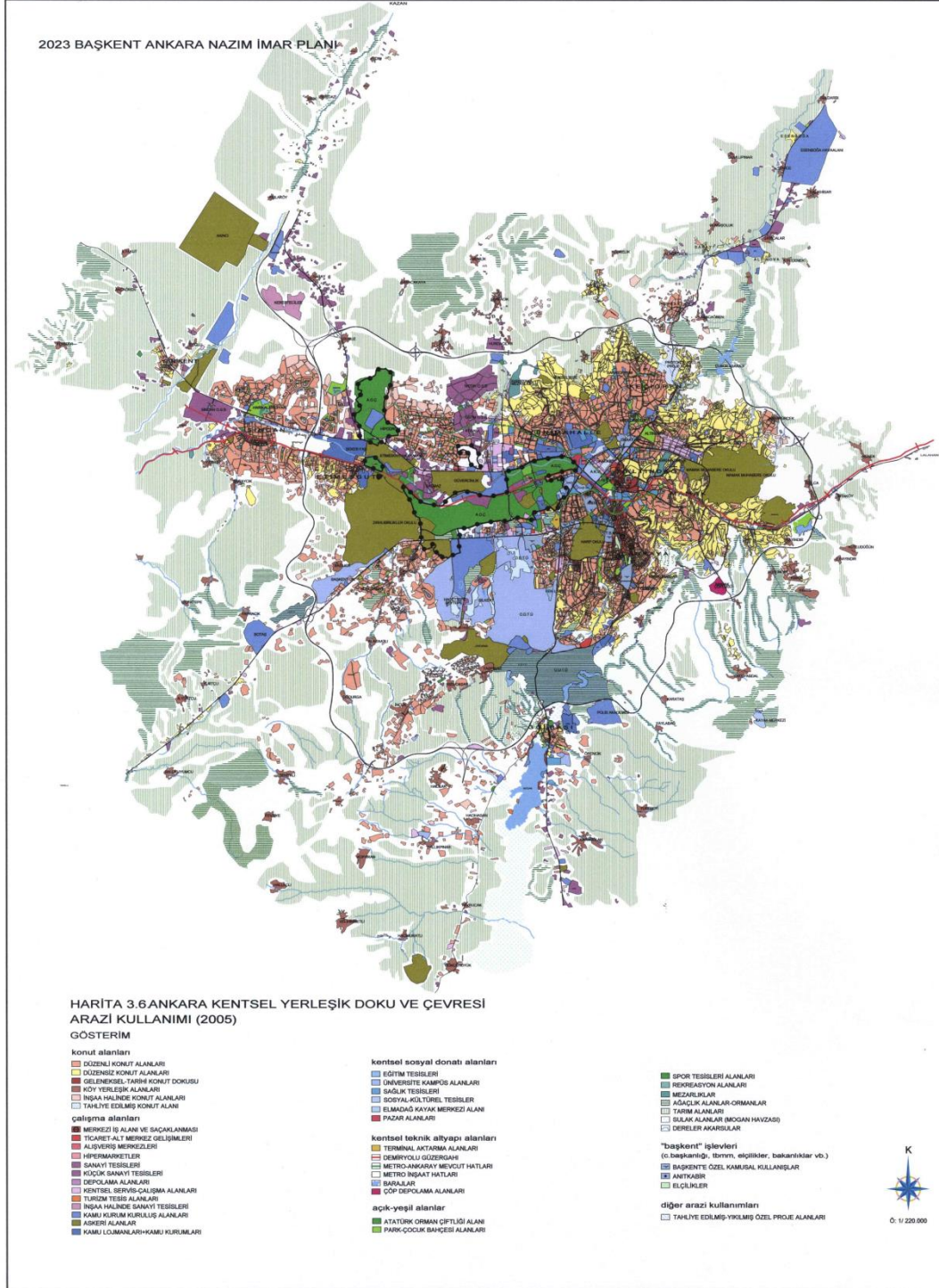


Figure 4. 8. Land Use Plan of Metropolitan Area of Ankara showing cemeteries of Ankara, 2005 (<http://www.ankara.bel.tr/files/3113/4726/6297/3-makroform.pdf>)

## Cemeteries today

Cemeteries of Ankara which are in the responsibility of Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara (Cebeci Asri Cemetery, Karşıyaka Cemetery, Sincan- Cimşit Cemetery and Ortaköy Cemetery) cover an area of 6.420.000m<sup>2</sup> (642 ha) by 2013. For Uslu, cemeteries of Ankara cover an area of 1.240.000 m<sup>2</sup> (124 ha) in 27.000 ha urban settlement by 1994 (in Uslu, 1997:173; referring Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, 1994).

Cebeci Asri Cemetery (1935), Karşıyaka Cemetery (1970), Sincan- Cimşit Cemetery (1993) Mamak-Ortaköy Cemetery (2012) are the main cemeteries located in Ankara. Cebeci Military Martyrdom (1936) and Turkish State Cemetery (1981) are also located in urban fabric but not in the responsibility of Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara.

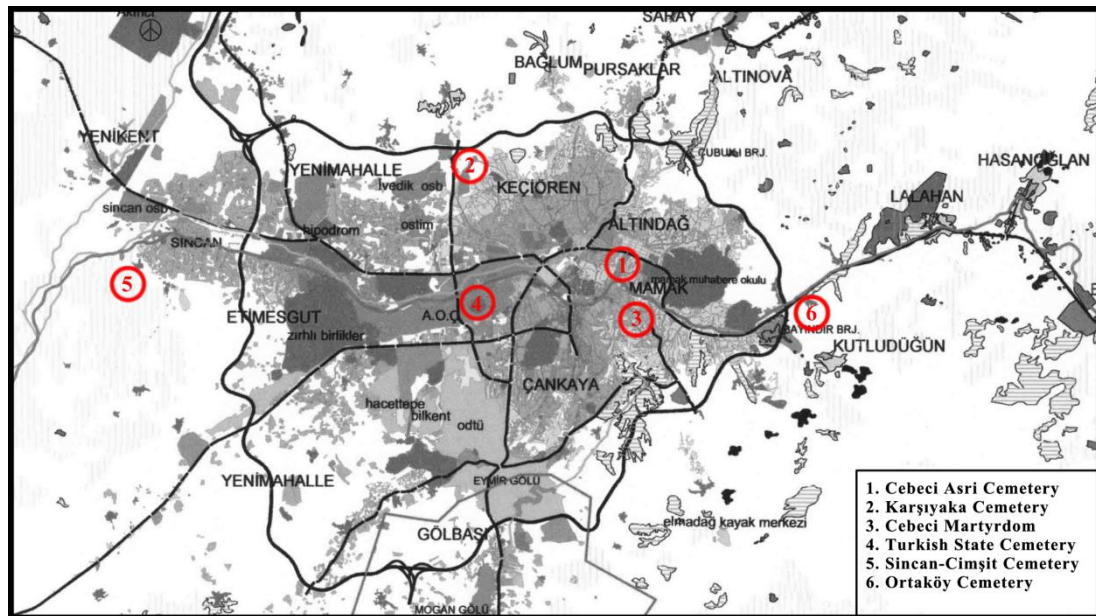


Figure 4. 9. Current location of Ankara cemeteries (developed by Burcu Kor)

- Turkish State Cemetery is allocated only for presidents and heads of Turkish Republic and generals of War of Independence (60+60 graves) with the law No.2549 inside of Atatürk Forest Farm in 1981. It was designed by architects Ekrem Gürenli and Özgür Ecevit as a result of national architectural competition and serves as a passive recreational space with 156.000m<sup>2</sup> of 536.000m<sup>2</sup> of Atatürk Farm Forest. It was cared by the architects to design not only “monumental” but also functional forms in phase with shelter idea of Turkish and Islamic tradition (Arkitekt, 1990:36).
- Cebeci Military Martyrdom acts as the part of open-green area system of Ankara with its 40.000m<sup>2</sup> area and 1453 graves
- Karşıyaka Cemetery is located in Yenimahalle district of Ankara and has been serving to Ankara since 1970. It almost covers an area of 3.100.000m<sup>2</sup> with ca.

540.000 graves. Although it was expanded in order to meet the demand, it has been totally about to expire because of intensive burial.

- Sincan-Cimşit Cemetery was planned in 1993 with the No. 118 decision of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality. It is targeted with a capacity to serve to the western and south-western part of the city with an area of 1.110.000m<sup>2</sup>.

Table 4. 2. Features of Ankara cemeteries

(\*) Repeated burial (mükerrer defin) is the use of same grave for the burial of first degree relatives (father, mother, children) after 5 years.

| Name of Cemetery         | Year                  | Area                     | Number of graves                    | Current Use                       | Affiliated Institutions             |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Cebeci Asri Cemetery     | 1935                  | 610.000 m <sup>2</sup>   | 74.500                              | Full (Only for repeated burials*) | Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara |
| Karşıyaka Cemetery       | 1970                  | 3.100.000 m <sup>2</sup> | 540.000                             | Active                            | Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara |
| Turkish State Cemetery   | 1981                  | 156.000 m <sup>2</sup>   | 60 for presidents + 60 for generals | Active                            | Ministry of Defence                 |
| Cebeci Military Cemetery | 1936                  | 40.000 m <sup>2</sup>    | 1453                                |                                   | Ministry of Defence                 |
| Sincan-Cimşit Cemetery   | 1993                  | 1.110.000 m <sup>2</sup> | ?                                   | Active                            | Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara |
| Ortaköy Cemetery         | Not opened for burial | 1.600.000 m <sup>2</sup> | 90.000 graves (ready for burial)    | Not in use                        | Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara |

Table 4. 3. Total number of burial per cemetery between the years of 1941-2013 (from MEBİS system of Directorate of Cemeteries of Ankara)

(\*) The burial numbers do not include soil graves without any tomb and repeated burials (mükerrer defin) because they are not registered in the archives of MEBİS system

| Years     | Number of burials (*) | Cemetery               |
|-----------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1941-2013 | 225.844               | Cebeci Asri Cemetery   |
| 1970-2013 | 284.294               | Karşıyaka Cemetery     |
| 1993-2013 | 32.260                | Sincan-Cimşit Cemetery |
| Total     | 548.815               | All cemeteries         |

On the other hand, it is stated by the authorities of cemetery department that the burial rate in Ankara is 40 persons per day. Most of the burials are in Karşıyaka Cemetery even if it is almost full. Therefore, the Ortaköy Cemetery near Mamak in the Ortaköy region is being completed to reduce burial density in Karşıyaka Cemetery. For this reason, the Ortaköy Cemetery has been planned to serve to eastern and south-eastern part of the city with an area of 1.600.000m<sup>2</sup>. Although it is a newly established cemetery, it consists of 90.000 graves ready by 2013 but no burials were realized yet.

Table 4. 4. Burial data by Department of Health, (from Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, Performance Program of 2012 Budget Year, Ankara, 2011, pp.144)

(\*) Repeated burial (mükerrer defin) is the use of same grave for the burial of first degree relatives (father, mother, children) after 5 years.

| Demonstration of performance                        | 2010  | 2011  | 2012  |
|---|-------|-------|-------|
| <b>1</b> Number of burials in Karşıyaka Cemetery    | 8.281 | 7.000 | 6.000 |
| <b>2</b> Number of burials in Cebeci Asri Cemetery  | 862   | 800   | 850   |
| <b>3</b> Number of burials in Sincan Cemetery       | 1.374 | 1.370 | 1.400 |
| <b>4</b> Repeated burials*                          | 3.778 | 3.200 | 3.500 |
| <b>5</b> Number of graves in Mamak-Ortaköy Cemetery | -     | -     | 1.500 |

## Evaluation

As it was mentioned; due to the city limits of its time, cemeteries of Ankara were located out of the city for hygienic reasons before the establishment of Turkish Republic. It is obvious from the maps of 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century that the urban settlement was surrounded by several fragmented cemeteries. It is the demonstration of decentralization of cemeteries, each of which serves to its own nearest district. However, at the same time it is possible to say that there were the graveyards of royal members and significant persons in mosque yards or in sepulchers in Ottoman period (Eldem, 2005:18). It was kind of a privilege for the persons who were buried in mosque yards because they were the most respected and prestigious burial grounds due to the point of hierarchically structured Ottoman Imperialism (Eldem, 2005:20).

On the other hand, with the extension of city limits after the establishment of Turkish Republic, those old cemeteries remained in the city. Because they began to be seen as a problem for the urban planning of modern nation building project, they were allocated to non-valuable and remote areas. Therefore, the need for a new cemetery area for the newly established capital of Turkey brings the idea of a single and centralized cemetery serving the whole city. In other words, those old decentralized cemeteries of Ankara serving several districts of the city were exchanged by the one and only modern cemetery which is standardized by the Lörcher plan. However, the incapability in the estimation of the

population of the city obliges the authorities to open new cemetery areas out of the city. Karşıyaka, Sincan-Cimşit and Ortaköy cemeteries were allocated to serve different regions of the city which again leads to the decentralization of cemeteries. In brief, the position of cemeteries in the urban history of Ankara has evolved due to the hygienic reasons, growing city limits, and increase in population. It is possible to say that one single and centralized cemetery is not sufficient for a metropolitan city. There should be several burial grounds allocated for the certain districts of the city such as one serving for the north of Ankara, one for south, east and west. Therefore, it becomes important to determine the size and number of cemeteries due to the estimation in population for future years and the crude death rate of the city.

It is evident from the brief history of Ankara cemeteries that graves and cemeteries are attributed as proofs which demonstrate the existence of settlements and cities since then. By referring to the thoughts of the Italian architect Aldo Rossi in terms of cities, ‘cemeteries take up a significant role in multi-layered urban memory’ and ‘constitute the permanence of cities.’ In other words, cemeteries have been constructed in order to serve for the long term. They pass down from one generation to another and store all the information of the culture of its time. For instance, non-Muslim graves of Cebeci Cemetery give legitimacy to the identity and urban history of Ankara. The deads and their graves show a religious legitimacy for the historical culture of the city. They also inform us by such artifactualities as construction types, technology, the material used, life styles, social and economic structure and perception of death. Even if they are out of service to city by their main function of burial of dead for the disposal of body, they are taken under preservation to ensure its permanency by authorities.

For this reason, Cebeci Asri Cemetery has been storing social, cultural and archeological artifacts since the establishment of Turkish Republic and offers a rich data content since then. There can be two approaches for the evaluation of these artifacts; the whole cemetery at the city scale and the grave in the basis of human scale. In first, the cemetery is considered and evaluated for its planning, design and managerial aspects. In the second, the grave is considered and evaluated for its construction methods, materials, spatial quality and aesthetic concerns. Because cemeteries are considered to be the space of memorialization in this thesis, Cebeci Asri Cemetery will be examined and evaluated due to the effectiveness of the cemetery in terms of memorialization.

#### **4.2. Brief History for the Cebeci Asri Cemetery**

Cebeci Asri Cemetery is the first single and centralized cemetery of Ankara established in 1935 after Republic. It was designed as a result of an international competition by German architect Martin Elsaesser and became the first modern cemetery of the capital city. Associated with the idea of a single and centralized modern city cemetery of Lörcher plan, the cemetery was allocated in the planning principles of Jansen plan. Following the expropriation of old and dispersed cemeteries around the city and the laws strengthened the idea of sanitation (The law of Hıfzısıhha), the cemetery was planned to be a contemporarily designed model cemetery for the city. As stated by Cengizkan, the idea of modernization brought by the establishment of Republic shows itself in all areas with the name of

“asrileşme” as well as in cemetery culture (Cengizkan, 2004:39). Therefore, it was called to be the “modern” city cemetery of Ankara.

Because it has witnessed the period of Republic, it constitutes the final resting place of many prominent figures. Several significant politicians, writers, actors, poets and singers are lying in this cemetery. Beside the majority of Muslim population, there are sections for Christian and Jewish people. In other words, Asri Cemetery was a public city cemetery which is non-religious and open to the citizens of Ankara. Therefore, for Zander, Elsaesser rejected a hierarchy within the cemetery as a new notion, and this rejection was supposed to reflect the relatively democratic character of Turkey and expressed the peoples’ unity (Zander, 2007:203).

The cemetery is located in the eastern part of Ankara, in Cebeci quarter and covers an area of 630.000 m<sup>2</sup>. As of 2012, the total number of graves (built up or not) is 74.500. It has 83.000 paid-burials and 229.500 (paid and unpaid) total burial number. With its area and burial number, Cebeci Asri Cemetery is the second largest cemetery of Ankara after Karşıyaka Cemetery.

As the City Cemetery of Ankara, Cebeci Cemetery began not to meet the demand for interment towards the end of 1950s. The archival documents show that the demand for the expansion of the cemetery was issued by governor in 1958 with the plan No. 37650 and the decision No. 575 (See APPENDIX 2). Thus, the cemetery limits were extended towards north of today’s Siteler. It is evident that the design principles of Elsaesser disappeared in the expansion of the cemetery only with an ordinary grid plan. However, including the additional plan for the cemetery, towards the beginning of the 1970s, Asri Cemetery remained insufficient for new burials. Since then, Karşıyaka Cemetery was opened to meet the demand for new burial. For Cengizkan, until 1970s the problem with cemeteries was all about quantity, not quality yet (Cengizkan, 2004:39).

After the crowdedness of Cebeci Asri Cemetery in 1960s and establishment of Karşıyaka Cemetery right after in 1970, the change and negligence in the quality of cemetery can be observed correspondingly with the urban and housing quality of Ankara (Cengizkan, 2004:40). Even the changes and negligence in the quality of both cemeteries can easily be understood from their additional plans. The additional part of Cebeci Cemetery towards the north of the cemetery looks like a patch instead of a completion. The design principles of Elsaesser formed by small blocks and squares give way to a randomly plotted grid plan with greater grave blocks. There are only grave blocks and streets to prevent any loss for burial ground and to make more burial. Therefore, the new plan is transformed into spaceless grave plots without voids or squares for the living considered only for the dead.

#### **4.2.1. Specifications of the Competition**

Although there is limited knowledge and data for Cebeci Asri Cemetery, the journal of “Arkitekt” is one of the most significant sources of its period. The specification of the competition and the selection criteria for the ranked projects is documented by the journal in 1935 (No.54, 59-60). For the planning and design of the new city cemetery in Ankara, 12 projects participated in the international project competition. 5 of them belonged to Turkish

architects and engineers whereas others were by foreign designers. Although one more Turkish and 3 more foreign projects were handed, they were not accepted because they were late for the submission (Arkitekt, 1935:321). The international submissions show the importance of the issue. As a result, the project of the German architect Martin Elsaesser, who was in Ankara in the same period, won the competition. The program of competition consists of these circumstances (Arkitekt, 1935:321);

- It is needed to be appropriate for the cemetery regulations and the topographic orientation of project land.
- Administrative office, buildings for keepers, three security stations and buildings for spiritual rituals will be shown in the projects.
- Sections for the monuments of the heroes and elders of the nation and architecturally ornamented family sections will be allocated.
- It is preferred for the cemetery parcels to be grouped around small squares as possible; and separated from neighboring groups by the sequences of lower trees and bushes.
- The position of crematorium will be determined. Water tank position will be allocated in one of the hills of Hatib Çayı. One or more architectural squares can be situated in appropriate locations.
- The composition of a pool is left to the choice of designers without an obligation. Appropriate places will be arranged as public toilettes.

Following these circumstances, participating projects were classified and evaluated for their approaches: 1. Main entrance from the short edge of site, 2. Main entrance from the middle point of the long edge of site by preventing the visitors walk across the cemetery. On the other hand, the projects were evaluated for their consideration of 1/1000 scale plan and cemetery regulations which could be taken from Development Directorate of Ankara.

#### **4.2.2. Participant Projects and the Winning Project**

Out of the 12 participants, the first, second and fifth prizes belonged to foreign architects. It was the period when European architects practiced much in Turkish architecture after the foundation of Turkish Republic (Bozdoğan, 2001). German architect Martin Elsaesser (1884-1957) is one of those architects who carried out two projects in Turkey in 1930s. One of them as is known Ankara Şehir Mezarlığı (Ankara City Cemetery, 1935-38), Cebeci Asri Cemetery of today, in the Cebeci district and the other one is Sümer Bank building (1937-38) in Ulus. The competition was announced in 1935 (Arkitekt 1935b) and project was realized partially until 1938, and the layout of the cemetery has remained loyal to the plans of Elsaesser (Zander, 2007:203; Nicolai, 1998). It has known from the archival research of Asri Cemetery that the first burial was made in 1941.

Although it is hard to access written and visual data for the participant and winning projects of the Cebeci Cemetery, some of them were issued in the journal of “Arkitekt” (Arkitekt, 1935:323-24).The drawings of the second awarded project could not be accessed. On the other hand, the third and fourth projects were ranked in the journal. While third project was



belonged to Architects Nizamettin Doğu and Affan Lugal, the fourth project was designed by Architects Sedat Erk and Rebiî Onat.

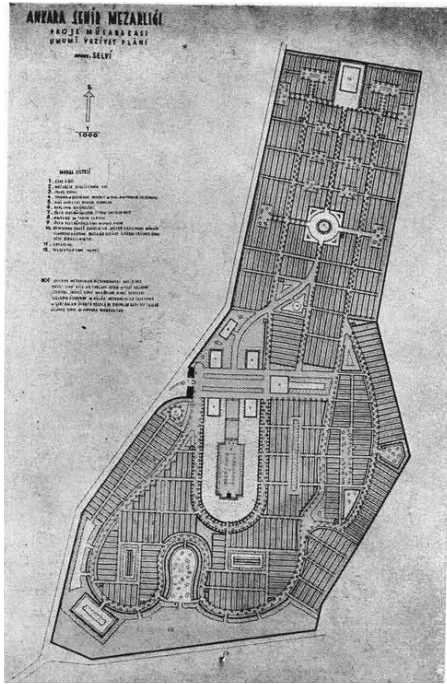


Figure 4. 10. Third project (Arkitekt, 1935:323)

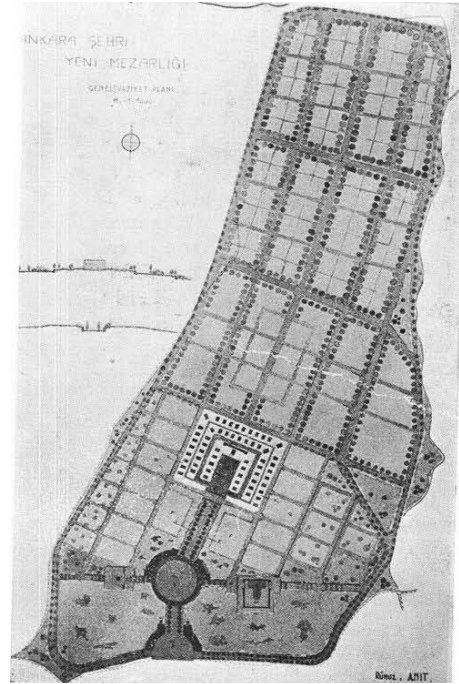


Figure 4. 11. Fourth project (Arkitekt, 1935:323)

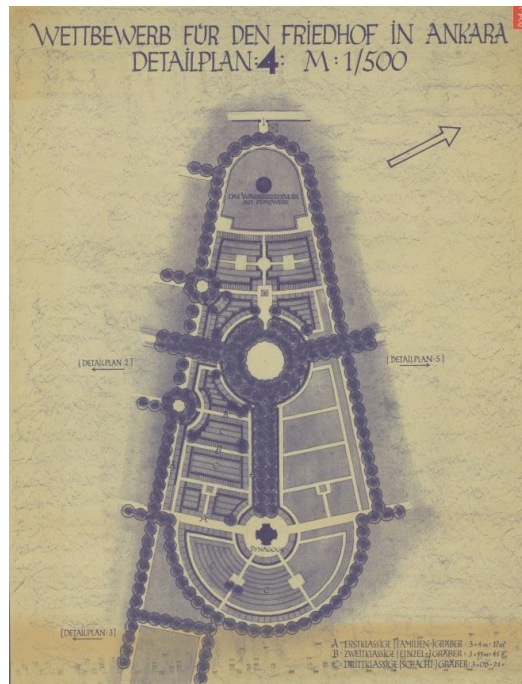


Figure 4. 12. Unknown project (Maps and Plans Documentation Unit, METU)

Proportion of the site with topographical layout and city skyline, administrative units, security units, units for spiritual rituals and religious activities, memorial for nation elders and heroes, architectural ornaments, private grave sections, general grave groups, crematorium, squares, pools and finally the success in the idea of composition of these elements were the points for the decision of the jury.

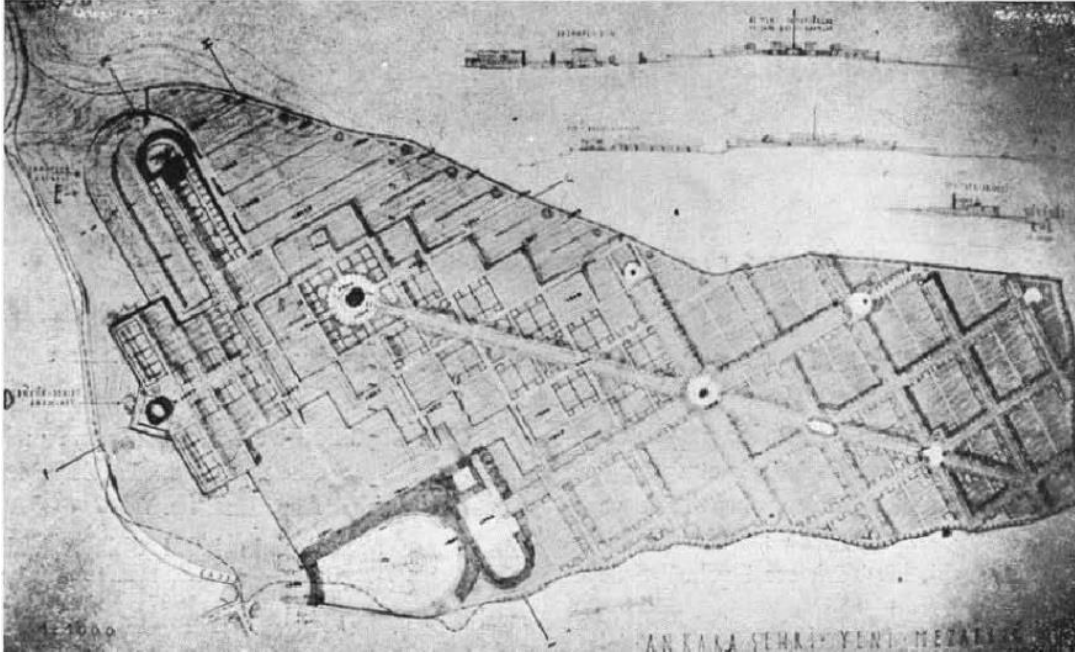


Figure 4. 13. The plan of Elsaesser (Arkitekt, 1935:322)

1/1000 site plan and silhouettes to show topographical layout, 1/500 details showing 5 different parts in cemetery plan for space relations and a perspective overview of the project of Elsaesser was published in the journal of Arkitekt in 1935.

Along with the 1/1000 site plan, Elsaesser has serious consideration to the traffic approach and the entrance gate as places; a plaza for the cemetery park; areas with foundation for public activities and water elements; a section for the burial of statesmen and a monument for martyrs in his 1/500 detail drawings. As a result, a cemetery formation with a notably “modern and spacious” character is being observed to form a graveyard “distinct” from the other cemeteries even today (Cengizkan, 2003:39). It is also possible to understand the architectural position and approach of Elsaesser from his memorandum written for Ankara keeping the early years of Republic. Elsaesser states:

“In Turkey it is truly proper to build in the modern style. Because this style is the expression of a contemporary “sachlichkeit” (objectivity) and its form and design elements develop from the task, the construction, the given (meaning in the Turkish context) materials, and the climatical and topographical conditions. However, every style contains eternal and temporal

elements. But since a cemetery should contain the eternal elements as much as possible, a more traditional design is preferred (implying, in comparison to Sümerbank). It was the goal to maintain the extension in architectural development, in a short time” (in Zander, 2007:206; referring Nicolai 1998: pp. 124,125).

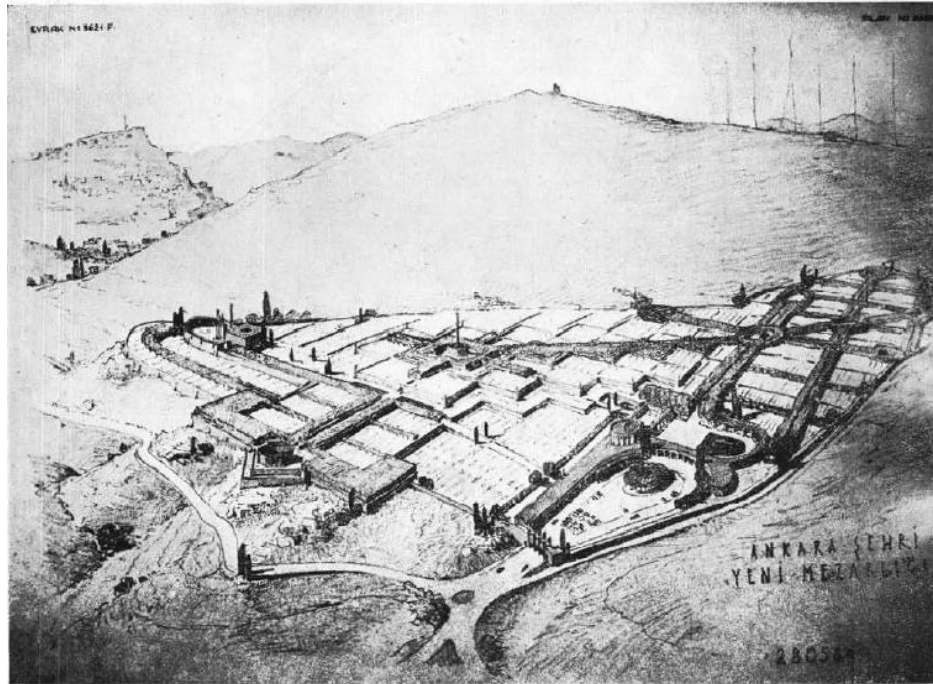


Figure 4. 14. Perspective view of Elsaesser project (Arkitekt, 1935:322)

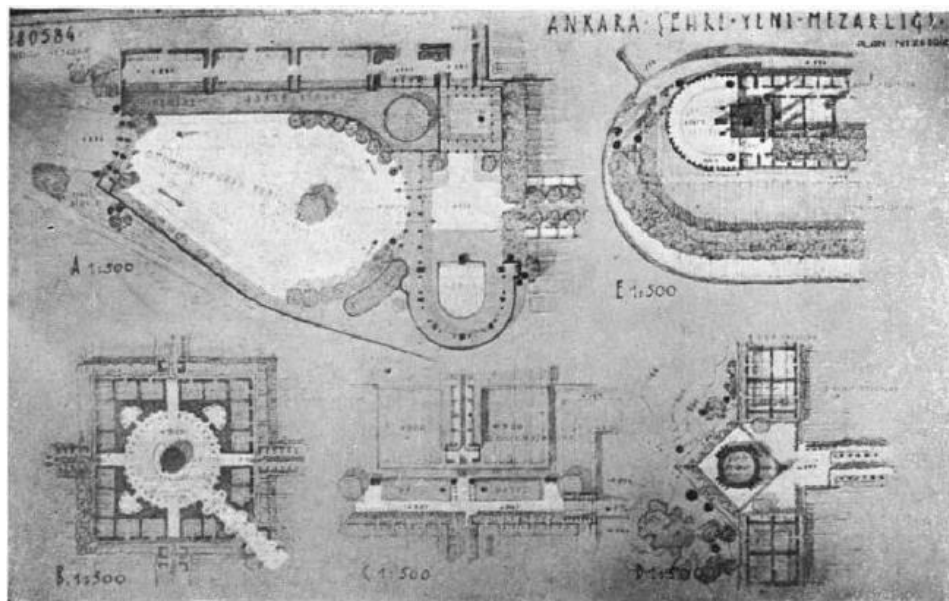


Figure 4. 15. Details of Elsaesser (Arkitekt, 1935:322)

As a German architect, Elsaesser preferred to compose the eternal elements by following the principles of design of cemeteries that had already been developed in Germany through rich vegetation. By his statement, while cemeteries require eternal elements, eternal elements require more traditional design principles by using local materials and elements. He grouped the grave sections around squares by separating them from others by small trees and bushes. Another characteristic feature of the project, which is recognizable from the aerial perspective and plan, was its high enclosing walls which creates terraces. These walls were made of Ankara stone as local materials.

Based on the analytical understanding and observations, it is evident that Elsaesser is the representative of the idea of anonymity in his design rather than being a defender of a hierarchical structure. Here, the word ‘anonymity’ clarifies the uniformity of graves and grave sections which are substantially anonymous. As it is known, Elsaesser has not a special division for family sections, adult graves, orphans and child sections. However, there is the spontaneous formation of family sections on the primary road which connects the two circular squares on the main axis of the cemetery. Also while the prominent figures and notables of Ankara are laid on major roads and around the squares, the orphans, non-Muslims and adult graves are allocated in a regular scheme. Those graves which were constructed in the same period generally resemble each other, sometimes without any differentiation. Because the preference of a grave structure is such marketing in which the bereaved choose one of grave models from a catalogue or from a neighbor grave in cemetery due to his/her economic situation, they are produced within standardization. However, what makes a grave different from its neighborhood is the impact of commemoration. Because the bereaved have a yearning for the specification of his/her deceased, they desire to distinguish their beloved one by a symbolic tree which describes permanency and eternity, by his/her favorite flowers or by a high or ornamented grave stone. Beside such design elements (high grave stones, symbolic trees and flowers, enclosure of grave by high iron bars, fountains made in the name of the deceased named as ‘hayrat,’ putting belongings of the deceased on his/her grave or make the inscription of the dead’s life on the headstone are other attempts to sign deceased with the demand of the bereaved. In brief, all of those attempts have the aim of to be visible and different in the anonymity of whole cemetery area.



Figure 4. 16. The grave is signified with a symbolic ball for the commemoration of the deceased (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4.17. The graves of a couple are signified by trees as a symbolic meaning (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4. 18. The grave is signified with a high headstone and a symbol on it for the commemoration of the decease (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4. 19. The trees symbolize the eternity of the couple planted by their beloved ones for the commemoration of the deceased (by Burcu Kor)

On the other hand, the plan of Elsaesser also shows that there are axial roads and paths which lead to differently scaled circular squares. As in the anonymity of graves, even the roads are forested for their importance such as primary roads, secondary roads and paths which created its own hierarchy as an uncontrolled development. Primary roads are densely planted for the aim of greenness of the cemetery and emphasizing the main axis in the cemetery under the control of management. Secondary roads and paths are in the potency of both management and the bereaved as the user of that space. Because the bereaved feel justified planting a symbolic tree by his/her deceased's grave or planting the favorite flowers of the deceased. Since therefore, the grave is signified by a landscape element which is specific to that person with the desire of remembrance and commemoration.

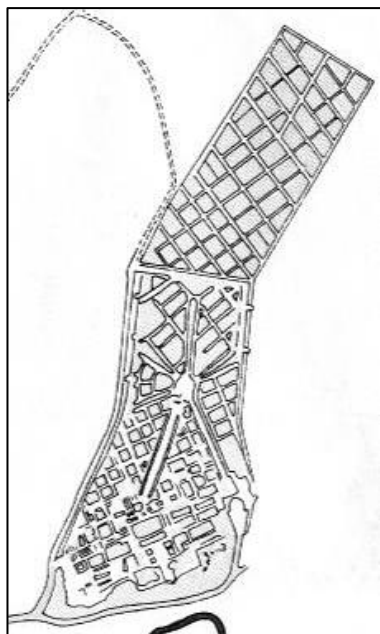


Figure 4. 20. Extended plan (Cengizkan, 2004:38)

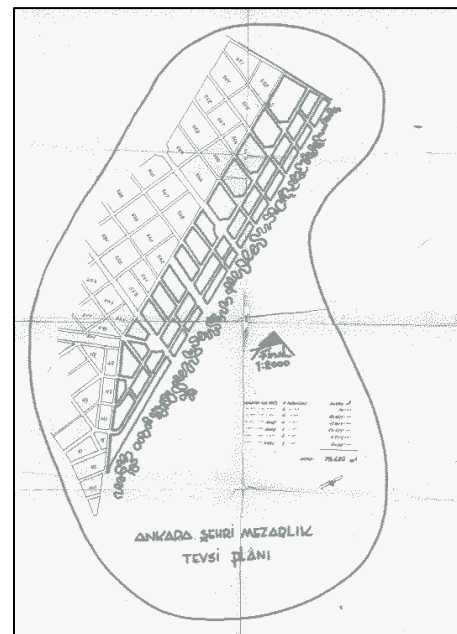


Figure 4. 21. Detail of additional plan (Archive of Development and City Planning Department of Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara)

While the south part of the cemetery includes different functional spaces with some inner organizations of horse-shoe patterns and circular squares, the north part follows more systematic grid grave sections. On the other hand, the additional plan of 1960s differs from existing designed cemetery plan of Elsaesser both in reading the plan and in perceiving the space through observation. Additional grid plan does not follow the existing pattern of Elsaesser. It lacks of squares to connect axial roads and looks like randomly drawn grids. In comparison to existing plan of 1935, it is sorted by greater blocks for more grave sections in which the space gives the impression of being only for the dead but not for the living.

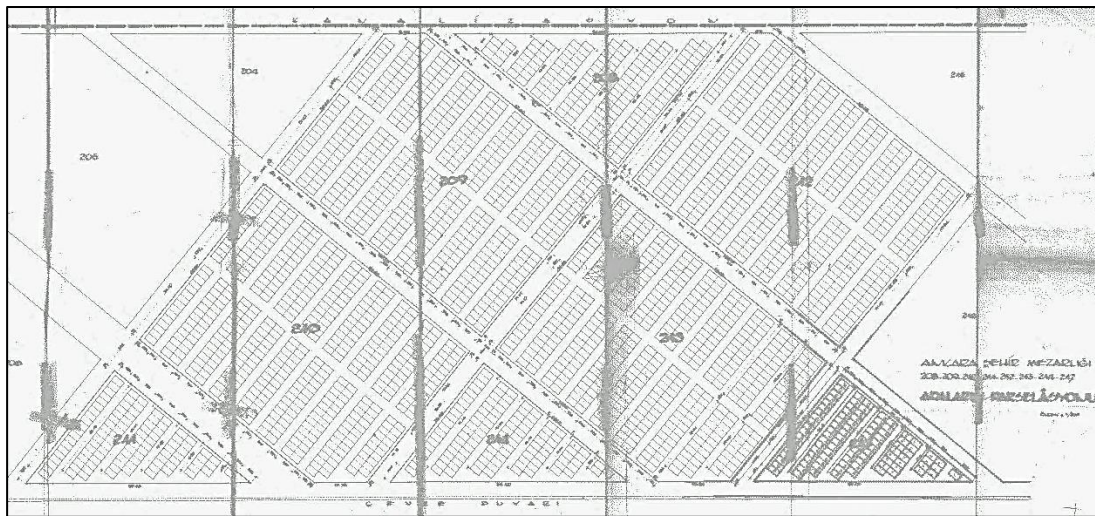


Figure 4. 22. Parcellation of newly opened blocks of additional plan of 1960s (Archive of Development and City Planning Department of Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara)

It was reported that until 1938, most of the project, with the exception of the crematorium and the fountains, had been constructed. However, because the collaboration of Turkish and foreign architects were intended to be encouraged, during the construction process, Elsaesser had some discussions with Turkish architects. These arguments were thought to be one of the reasons for Elsaesser to leave and not work in Turkey any more (in Zander, 2007:206; referring Nicolai, 1998).



Figure 4. 23. Aerial Photo of Cebeci Asri Cemetery, 1942  
(from General Command of Mapping, scale: 1/35.000)



Figure 4. 24. Aerial Photo of Cebeci Asri Cemetery, 1952  
(from General Command of Mapping, scale: 1/35.000)





Figure 4. 25. Aerial Photo of Cebeci Asri Cemetery, 1966  
(from General Command of Mapping, scale: 1/5.000)



Figure 4.26. Aerial Photo of Cebeci Asri Cemetery, 1972  
(from General Command of Mapping, scale: 1/5.000)

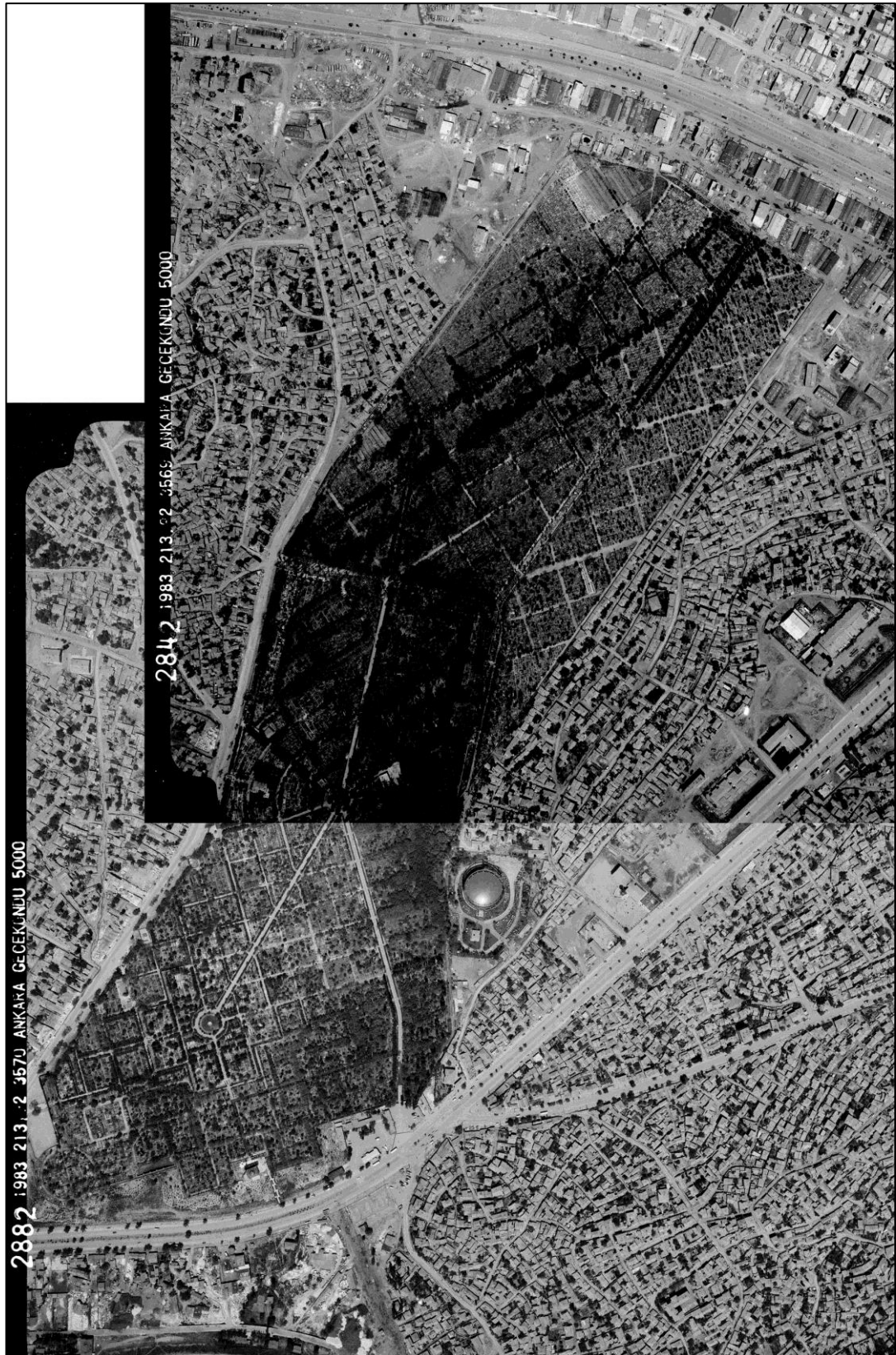


Figure 4. 27. Aerial Photo of Cebeci Asri Cemetery, 1983  
(from General Command of Mapping, scale: 1/5.000)

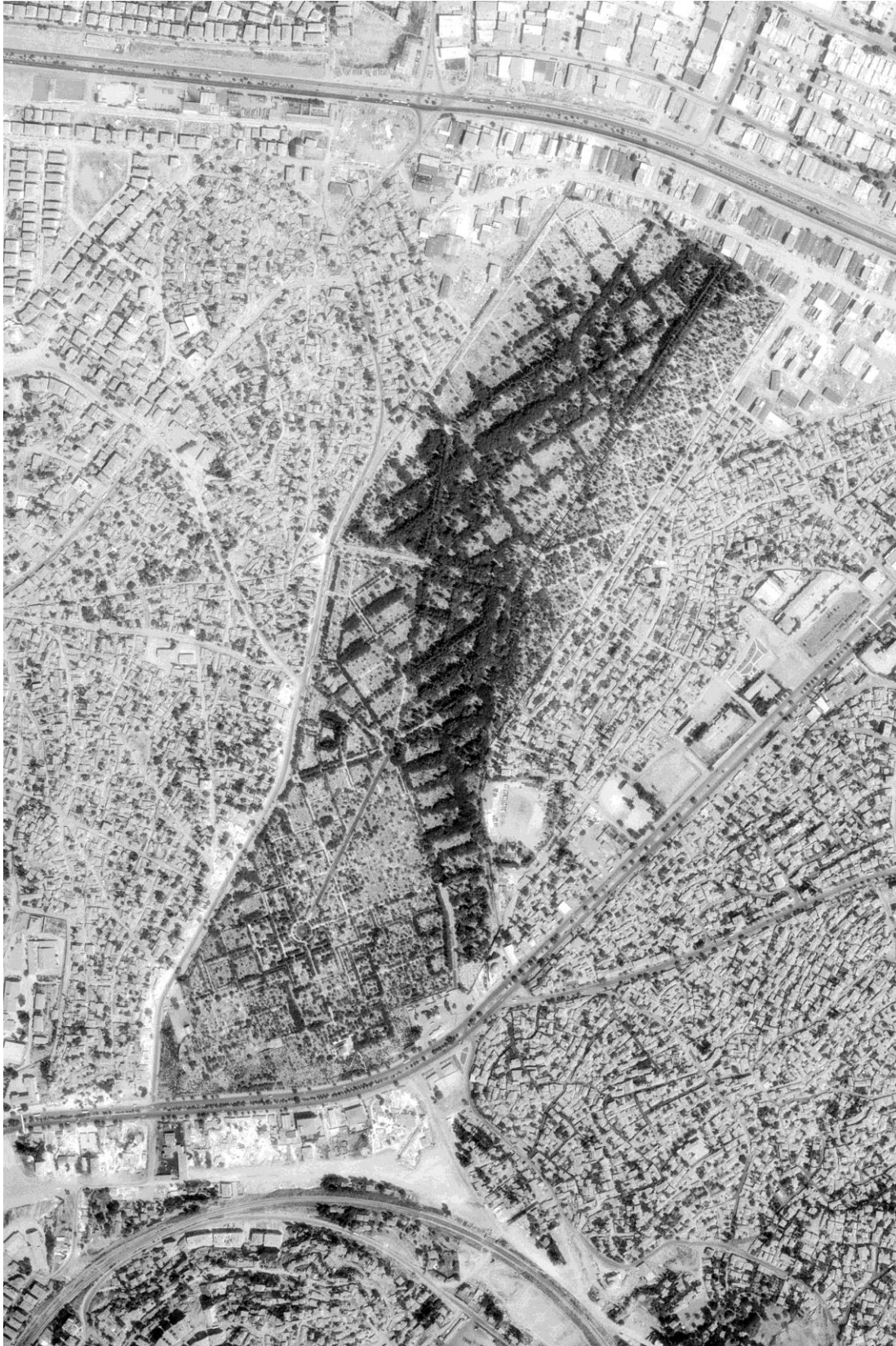


Figure 4. 28. Aerial Photo of Cebeci Asri Cemetery, 1991  
(from General Command of Mapping, scale: 1/25.000)



Figure 4. 29. Aerial Photo of Cebeci Asri Cemetery, 2011  
(from General Command of Mapping, scale: 1/60.000)

### 4.3. Current Status of the Cemetery

By 1970, Asri Cemetery was closed for new burials except for special requests providing a reference from the directorate of the cemetery. It becomes only possible for repeating burial (mükerrer) since then whether it is 5 years from the former burial. It is stated by cemetery management that there are two repeating burials per day in Cebeci Cemetery.

The comparison of the plan of Elsaesser and the land use map today shows that the plan was not applied completely as Elsaesser designed. Parking areas and open spaces of Elsaesser is all interment areas today. The construction of a crematorium found in the plan of Elsaesser is also not available in the application. However, the division of the structural layout is abided by the plan of Elsaesser.

On the other hand, the preservation and maintenance of the cemetery is provided by Directorate of Cemetery of Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara. While it was located out of the city in its establishment time of 1935, now it has remained in between settlements. It acts like being the only major green open space of its neighborhood. While the west and east part of its neighborhood were squatter houses, now there has been urban transformation with TOKI apartment blocks with the view of the cemetery. While the neighborhood of the cemetery were full of flower-sellers, stone masons and marble cutters until 1970s, with the fullness of the cemetery they all move around the Karşıyaka Cemetery.



Figure 4. 30. TOKI apartments with the view of Cebeci Cemetery (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4. 31. Urban transformation on the west of Cebeci Cemetery, view of both TOKI apartments and squatter settlements (by Burcu Kor)

The cemetery has four entrance gates of which are all located in the older part of the cemetery. The third gate is accepted as the main entrance with security and information desks and managerial building. It is available to park your car along the side of the road outside of the cemetery if the third gate is wanted to be used.



Figure 4.32. Flower-sellers along the road of Karşıyaka Cemetery (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4.33. Construction of grave structures at Mermerciler Sitesi (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4.34. Green belt between the city and the Cebeci Cemetery on Plevne Caddesi (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4.35. Squatter settlement on the boundary of the Cebeci cemetery (by Burcu Kor)

Otherwise it is possible to enter the cemetery by car from the gates number I and IV. There is not a special parking area inside the cemetery. Therefore, it is possible to park your car on the road close to the visited grave plot. The two squares corresponding to second and third gates are connected to each other with an axial main road. There are secondary roads and paths connected to main roads in a grid system. In this system grave blocks are grouped around the squares and systematized by secondary roads. According to the additional plan drawings of 1960s, cemetery blocks are divided equally in a grid plan structure with the size of 60mx45m for each. There are major and secondary roads with the width of 9m and 4m to divide those blocks. Each block has sequential grave plots with the number of 493 graves. Each grave plot has the size of 1.40mx2.50m with an area of 3.50m<sup>2</sup>. The walking paths between sequential grave rows are 2m in width.

The interment area of the first stage of the cemetery is generally appropriated the notables, people of Ankara and the bureaucrats. The grave blocks grouped around the two square of Elsaesser plan is mainly the family sections. They are also the final resting place of many prominent figures. On the other hand, there are sections for non-Muslims as well for

Christians and Jewish. Although the interment areas for Muslim population are full, non-Muslim burials are still being performed.

It is possible to say that Ankara stone (andesite in pinkish tone) was widely used in the superstructure of graves and in grave stones for a period from 1940s to 1960s. In that period, the project of graves was first approved by municipalities and then constructed.

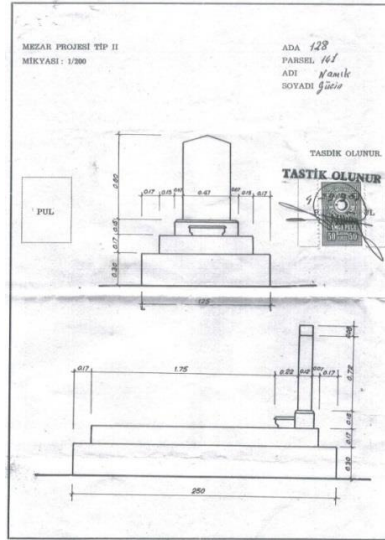


Figure 4. 36. Application drawings of a grave in 1960s (taken from management of the Cebeci Asri Cemetery)

With the use of marble in grave structures and by newly legal regulations after that period, the control of grave projects was ceased which causes polyphony and disorder in grave structures. In other words, the allowance in the construction of grave structures because of uncontrolled and anomalous projects increased the interest in showing off. There was a new common opinion that; how big and ornate is the grave structure shows the value you give to your deceased.



Figure 4. 37. Left: Marble grave; Right: Ankara stone (by Burcu Kor)

Figure 4. 38. Differentiated grave structure with its high marble scorphagus and enclosed iron bars (by Burcu Kor)





Figure 4. 39. Granite grave with national symbol (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4. 40. Newly ground burial without a superstructure (by Burcu Kor)

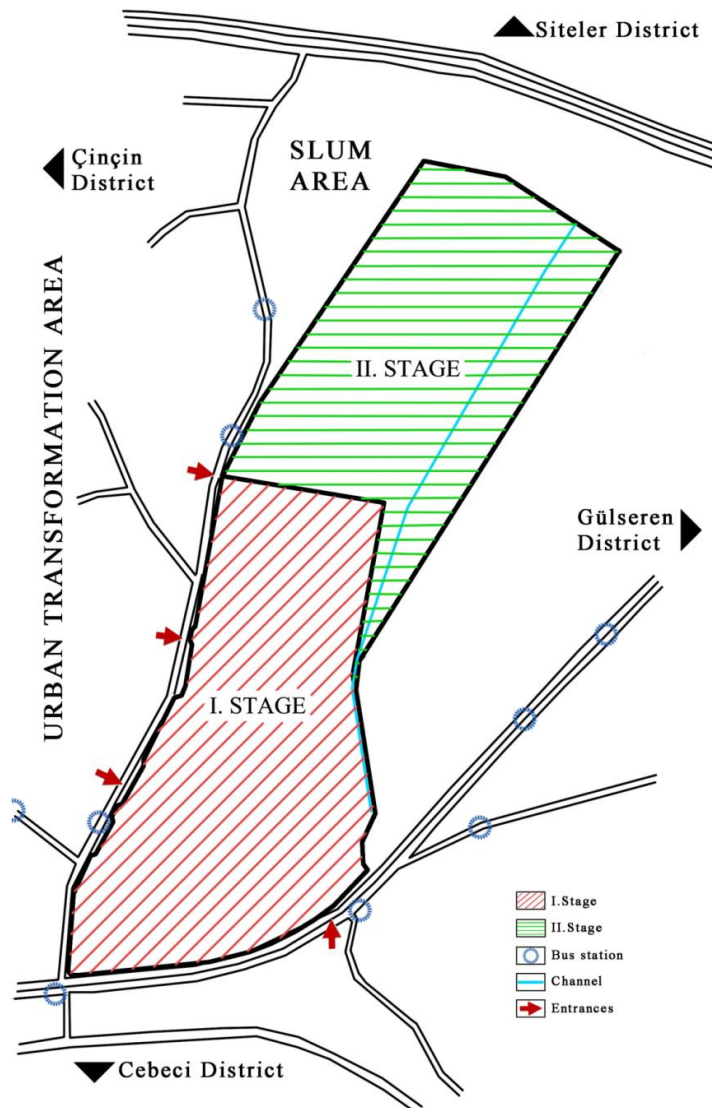


Figure 4. 41. Plan showing the development stages of Cebeci Cemetery , developed by Burcu Kor

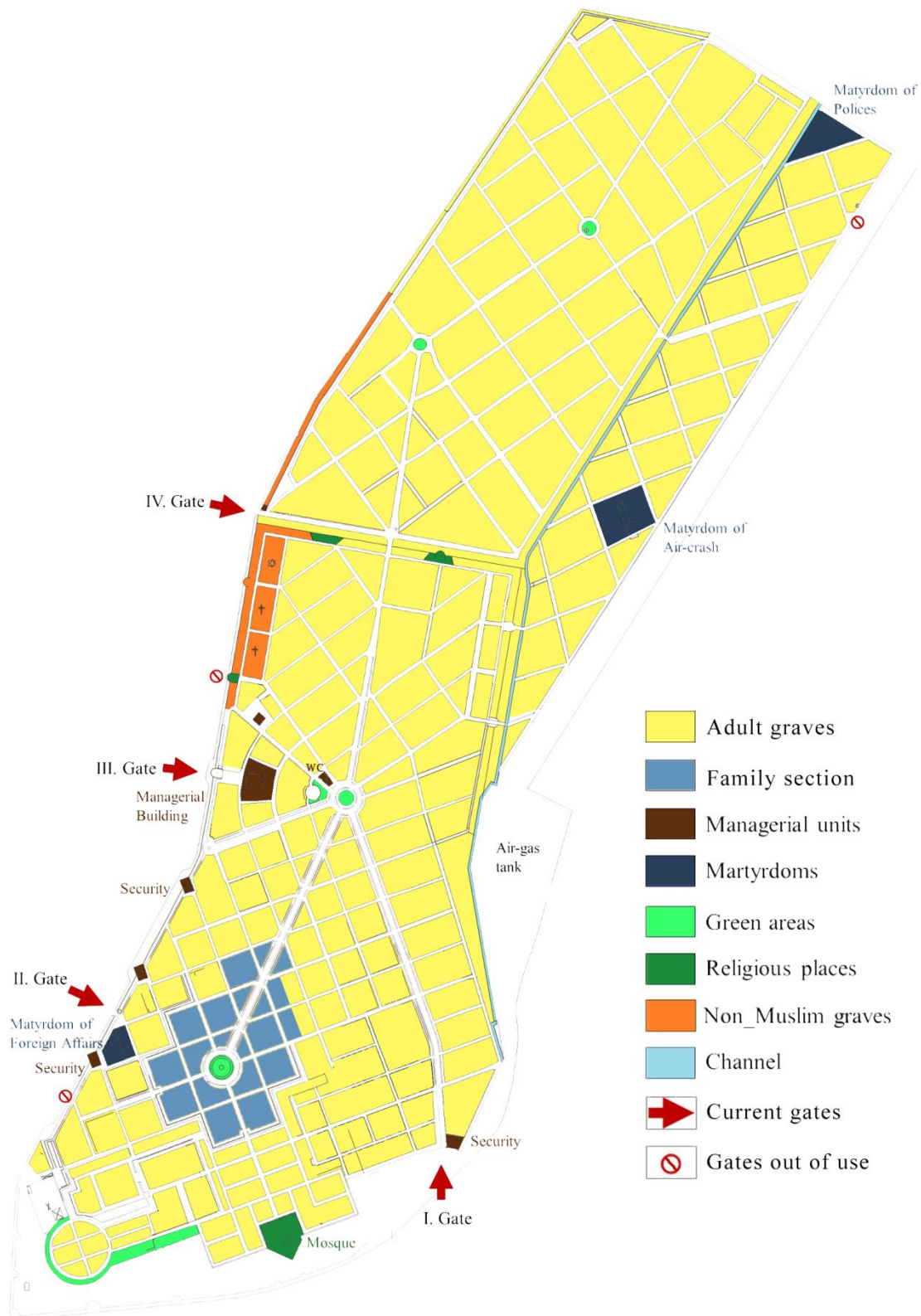


Figure 4. 42. Plan for the functional arrangements and general layout of Cebeci Cemetery, developed by Burcu Kor



Figure 4. 43. Plan for the circulation system of Cebeci Cemetery, developed by Burcu Kor

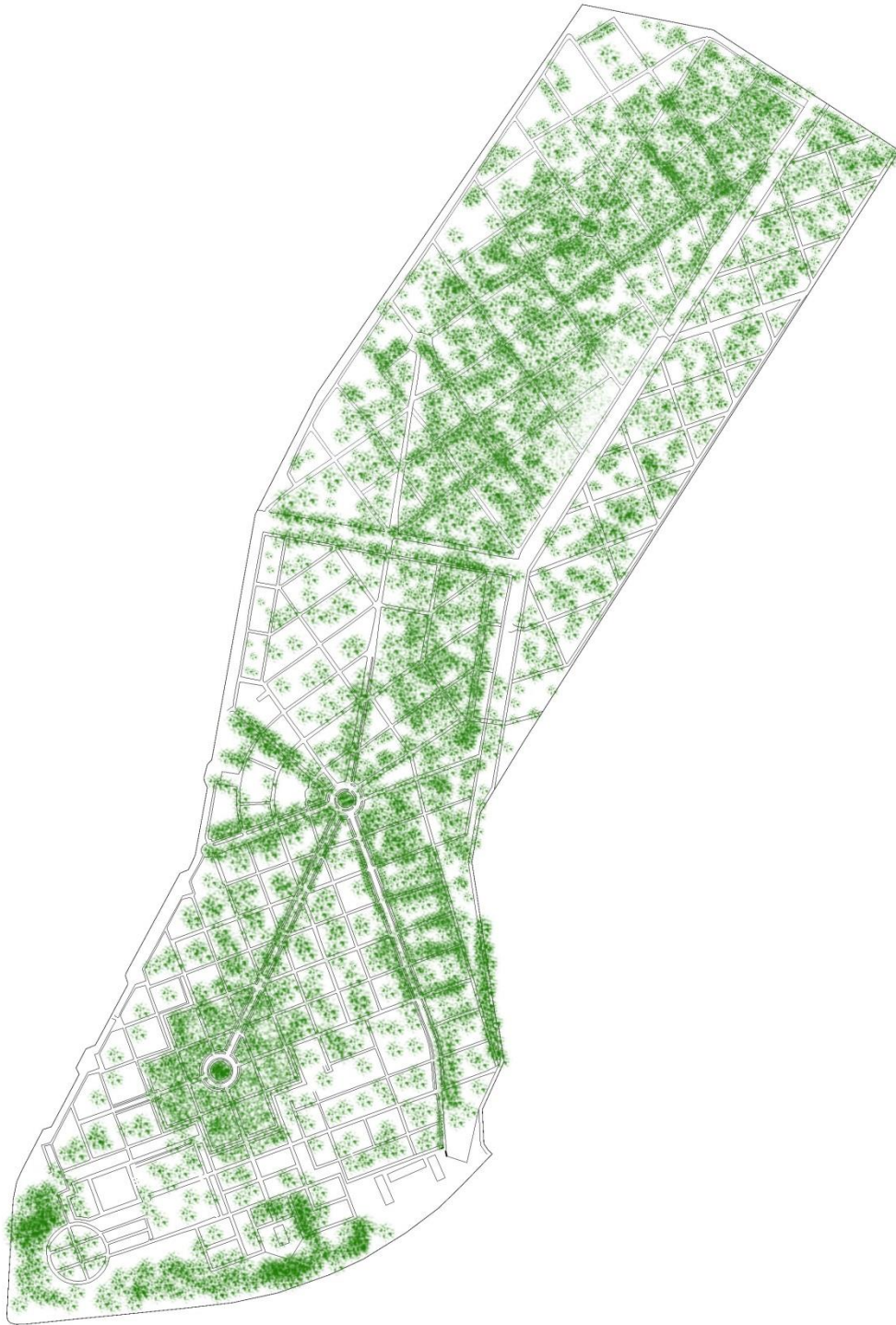


Figure 4. 44. Plan for the green area system of Cebeci Cemetery, developed by Burcu Kor

#### **4.4. What are the Standard Requirements for a Standard Cemetery?**

##### **Evaluation of the Cebeci Cemetery**

In general, the location of cemetery in the city, periphery and boundary relations to neighborhood, the layout which means the internal order of site and planting are several physical features for the creation of the cemetery.

These features are classified by Rugg (2000) in her article “Defining the place of burial: What makes a cemetery cemetery?” and will be referred to her classification in the following parts. Like Rugg, Francaviglia (1971:502) defines cemetery as “a place having definable visual characteristics based on individual forms, such as tombstones, trees, and fences, and on the placement of those forms in a particular spatial arrangement.” On the other hand, Loudon clarifies various purposes of a cemetery by defining it as a cultural landscape. Curl (1983: 141) studies the approach of Loudon about “garden cemetery movement” by referring to his description: “general cemetery in the neighborhood of a town, properly designed, laid out, ornamented with tombs, planted with trees, shrubs, and herbaceous plants, all named, and the whole properly kept, might become a school of instruction in architecture, sculpture, landscape-gardening, arboriculture, botany, and in those important parts of general gardening, neatness, order and high keeping.”

For Uslu, there are two main functions of today’s cemeteries: 1. to be a burial ground for the dead, 2. to serve the city as an urban green area (Uslu, 1997:144). Because of the shortage of green space, cemeteries are adapted to be green open spaces of cities and tend to increase the amount of green space per person. However, it should be noted that cemeteries serve as a place of commemoration for the mourners and visitors of dead rather than being only the burial ground of the dead.

Therefore, Cebeci Asri Cemetery as the first modern cemetery of Ankara should be evaluated in terms of planning and design criteria in order to understand whether it is suitable as a place of commemoration.

##### **4.4.1. Location**

With the Municipal Law of 3030, determination of location, establishment and management of cemeteries was given to Metropolitan Municipalities. Therefore, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality is the only authorized organization to choose the appropriate site for the cemeteries of Ankara. As it is itemized by Uslu, the location of cemeteries is determined according to some decisive and restrictive aspects such as (Uslu, 1997:188):

- Ownership,
- Distance from existing cemetery to make use of their facilities because of economic impossibilities,
- Distance from settlements,
- Geological structure and earth properties,
- Slope of site.

For instance, according to the document of 1983 about the new cemetery site in Ankara, it was requested for the selection of new cemetery site close to Karşıyaka Cemetery for the common use of religious and managerial facilities and parking areas (See APPENDIX 3). Another issue for the selection of appropriate site is the ownership relations. Expropriation of the site for the planning of cemetery area is another decisive aspect.

Geological structure and earth properties of cemetery site such as being porous and permeable are significant for the disposal of the body while mixing with soil. Further, the soil quality should be appropriate for easy digging. For instance, because andesite ground is volcanic and rocky without any soil, it is not appropriate for burial conditions. However, as in the example of Karşıyaka Cemetery, although the north part of the cemetery is reserved as “Cemetery Development Area” in 1/50000 Ankara Master Plan, the geological report shows that it is volcanic rocky ground and %60 of the site has a slope over %20 which is not appropriate for its burial function. Moreover, although the site has 219ha area, it decreases to 120ha area with the law of being 500m away from existing residential area. However, the ideal slope for burial process should be %0-10. If it is used for roads, water and landscape elements, then it could be max %15 (Uslu, 1997:193). In Cebeci Cemetery, there is a slope which increases from south toward the north of the cemetery. However, for the appropriate land use of the cemetery, the grave blocks are arranged in different levels due to the slope of the site. For this reason, there are retaining walls from natural stones which creates terracing in some parts.



Figure 4. 45. Level difference in the first development stage due to the slope of the site (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4. 46. Level difference in the second development stage of Cebeci Cemetery (by Burcu Kor)

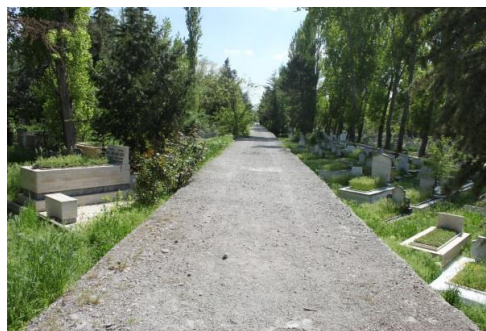


Figure 4. 47. The brook inside the cemetery which is covered with concrete (by Burcu Kor)

## Problems

- Difficulty in access because of the distances, being too away from the city.
- The selection of cemetery site regardless of geological structure, the level of underground water, quality of soil and slope of the area.
- Outgassing and microbial growth from the problem of decay of corpses depending on water level and quality of soil.
- Difficulty in walking inside the cemetery because of the extreme slope.
- The predicament of shift of graves onto each other as a result of landslide depending on the extreme slope and treelessness.

## Proposals

- The urban development of cities should be more intricately considered for the consistent location and plan evaluation of cemeteries.
- Besides public transportation which provides access to the cemetery area, there should be also ring vehicles to encourage people visit cemeteries.
- The geological structure, water level, slope and soil quality of the selected site should be examined before expropriation.
- While sloping areas are used for only roads and landscape elements, the interment areas should be placed in no-slope areas.
- The areas with extreme slope should be planted both for preventing landslide and creating green spaces.

### 4.4.2. Size and Number of Cemeteries

Because Ankara has been sprawling in different directions, it is better for the city to have several regional cemeteries instead of a central, wide-area city cemetery. In this way, the cemetery areas will be multi-central and the difficulty to find sufficiently large land for a big cemetery will be achieved. Further, the frequency of visits will increase by ease of access.

For Uslu, the size of sufficient land for the city could be determined with (Uslu, 1997:195):

- The growth rate of urban population and the death rate
- Unit grave area.

Table 4. 5. Population of Ankara by Years, 2012-2023

(<http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=15844>, access:17.04.2013)

| Year       | 2013        | 2014        | 2015        | 2016        | 2017        | 2018        | 2019        | 2020        | 2021        | 2022        | 2023        |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Population | 5. 056. 126 | 5. 146. 307 | 5. 235. 807 | 5. 324. 705 | 5. 413. 000 | 5. 500. 577 | 5. 587. 439 | 5. 673. 544 | 5. 758. 868 | 5. 843. 435 | 5. 927. 209 |

Table 4. 6. Death Statistics in Ankara by Years, 2009-2012

(<http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=15848>,[http://www.tuik.gov.tr/VeriBilgi.do?alt\\_id=37](http://www.tuik.gov.tr/VeriBilgi.do?alt_id=37), access: 17.04.2013)

| Years            | 2009   | 2010   | 2011   | 2012   |
|------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Number of Death  | 21.307 | 20.639 | 21.147 | 21.687 |
| Crude Death Rate | 4.6    | 4.4    | 4.4    | 4.4    |

On the basis of the year 2023, the population of Ankara is estimated as 5.927.209. Sufficient cemetery area for Ankara can be determined with the crude death rate of city as approximately ‰ 4.5 for Ankara (according to the projection studies of Turkish Statistical Institute). The multiplication of the number of total population with the crude death rate of city gives the result of possible burial amount. Beside the estimated possible burial amount, the unit grave area per person should be considered. Therefore; the size of grave area per person is determined as  $(3 \times 1.5 = 4.5 \text{ m}^2)$  in Mezarlıklar Hakkında Nizamname (1931: item 20). On the other hand, the size of grave area required per person is specified by Uslu as minimum  $1.20\text{-}1.80 \text{ m}^2$  /person, maximum  $4.00\text{-} 7.00 \text{ m}^2$  /person and average  $3.50\text{-}5.00 \text{ m}^2$  /person (Uslu, 1997:199).

Consequently, the size of required cemetery area in Ankara for 2023 can be calculated as;  
 Required cemetery area = Grave area per person x Population of 2023 x Death rate  
 Accordingly;  $4.5 \text{ m}^2 \times 5.927.203 \times \text{‰ } 4.5 = 106.689 \text{ m}^2$  required cemetery area (~11 ha).

Table 4. 7. Estimated burial numbers per year in Ankara by average crude death rate of ‰ 4.5 (The results are calculated due to the division of population of Ankara per year (Table 4.5) to average crude death rate of ‰ 4.5)

| Year                       | 2013    | 2014   | 2015   | 2016   | 2017   | 2018   | 2019   | 2020   | 2021   | 2022   | 2023   |
|----------------------------|---------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Estimated number of burial | 22.752  | 23.158 | 23.561 | 23.961 | 24.358 | 24.752 | 25.143 | 25.530 | 25.914 | 26.295 | 26.672 |
| Total                      | 246.953 |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |

Estimated total burial number of Ankara in a 10-year period is 246.953.

Accordingly;

Required cemetery area for 10-year period = Total burial number in 10 years x Grave area per person

Total required cemetery area =  $246.953 \times 4.5 \text{ m}^2 = 987.812 \text{ m}^2 = \sim 98 \text{ ha.}$  for 10 years



#### 4.4.3. Structural Layout

Cemetery layout and internal order provide users to find the specific burial plot of their deceased. The internal order of cemeteries is arranged according to the land use planning. There are several functions ranging as interment areas, administration, access routes and squares, green areas, religious facilities and parking areas. Administrative facilities include managerial office, information and security desks. Procedures to take after the realization of death such as funeral registrations, funeral archives including forms and files by year of death, data-procession to electronic media are carried out in managerial offices. Information and security desks orient visitors directly to the intended grave plot and provide a secure environment against beggars and stealers. Therefore, these units are located in major entrances of cemeteries with the aim of easy access and visibility. According to personal experiences in Ohlsdorf Cemetery in Hamburg, except for those facilities about management, they have conference halls, museums and cafes inside cemetery to inform the visitors about death and cemetery culture. With the help of organized discussions and panels of experts, the public learn more about the burial procedure and having a burial space for their own.



Figure 4. 48. Archive of burials in management building (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4. 49. Archive of burials on electronic media by MEBİS kiosks at information desks (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4. 50. Namazgah designed to perform salaah in open air (by Burcu Kor)

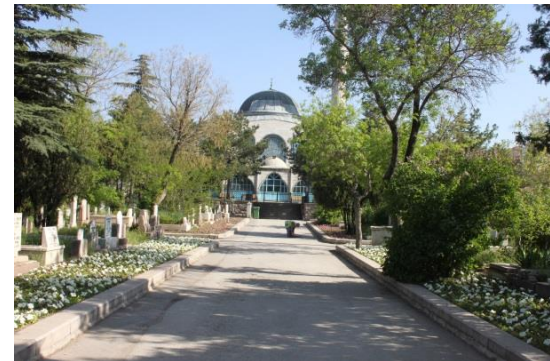


Figure 4. 51. Mosque of Cebeci Asri Cemetery (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4. 52. Kemiklik where the bones of orphans are collected and preserved together (by Burcu Kor)

#### 4.4.3.1. Components of the Cemetery

##### a. Cemetery Wall

It is obligatory for the 212<sup>th</sup> item of Umumi Hıfzısıhha Kanunu to enclose the periphery of each cemetery by a high wall to keep the site from the disturbance of daily life. Hedges, fences, railings and walls with railings can be assumed to emphasize the boundary of cemetery. Asri Cemetery has a high wall with railings to define its boundary.



Figure 4. 53. Cemetery wall and railing for the boundary of the Cebeci Cemetery (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4. 54. Cemetery wall outside the cemetery (by Burcu Kor)

##### b. Cemetery Entrances and Gates

It is obligatory for the 10<sup>th</sup> item of Mezarlıklar Hakkında Nizamname to have at least one gate controlled by security members. As it is stated by Rugg (2000:262), the entrance and

gate of cemetery, as a transition element from the order of daily life to another world, define cemetery site as a distinct ‘other’ place. The size of entrance and the ornamentation of gate could be regarded to define the perception of the meaning of death. Asri Cemetery has four gates which allow the pedestrians to enter the site. However, only two of them (Gate I and III) are for vehicular gates.



Figure 4. 55. III. Gate of the Cebeci Cemetery (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4. 56. Entrance from III. Gate facing to the management building (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4. 57. Vehicular access from the I. Gate (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4. 58. Entrance from Gate II (by Burcu Kor)

### c. Interment Areas

Interment areas have their own hierarchy due to the proportional sections of land such as blocks, plots, and parcels. On the other hand, there is a prominent order between these sections due to the social and economic status of family. For instance, wealthy families could afford to buy parcels on or close to major roads and major entrances.



Figure 4. 59. Family grave section on major roads (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4. 60. Entrance for a family grave section (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4.61. Design of monotype family graves by the enclosure of architectural and landscape elements (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4.62. Spatial differentiation of family graves of İnönü by floor covering materials and plantings (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4. 63. Family grave plot enclosed by a garden wall and determined by an entry door (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4.64. An unused family plot, purchased but no burials (by Burcu Kor)

Either, sections dedicated for martyrs are located in a distinctly visible place, especially on the entrance way of cemetery, because they appeal to a society who shares a common sense. However; adult graves, graves of orphans and homeless and sections of different religions

are located in less preferred sections. On the other hand, interment space orientation for religious requirements such in Muslim graves towards Qiblah and in Jewish graves towards Jerusalem determines the general layout of cemeteries.



Figure 4. 65. Unknown graves without any grave structure to signify the deceased (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4. 66. Unknown grave without any headstone to signify the deceased (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4. 67. The grave of a Christian (by Burcu Kor)

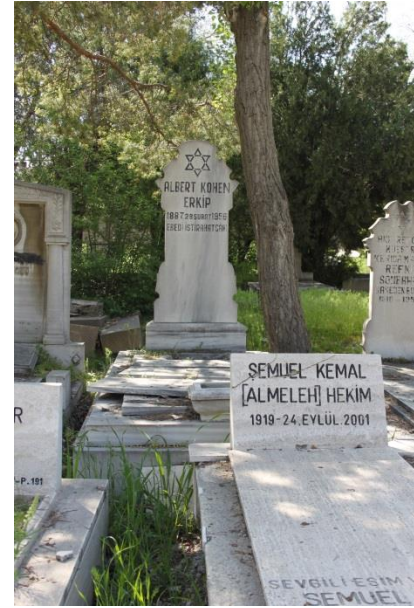


Figure 4. 68. The grave of a Jew (by Burcu Kor)

According to regulations of “Mezarlıklar Hakkında Nizamname” (1931, item 20), graves are classified in three general types: first degree, second degree and third degree graves. First degree graves belong to family members for a certain fee, with the maximum size of (3x4) =12 m<sup>2</sup> and located on the widest road. The owners of these graves have to enclose the

boundary of grave. Second degree graves belong to individual adults for a certain fee, with the size of  $(3 \times 1,50) = 4,5 \text{ m}^2$ , and located on secondary roads. Third degree graves are free of charge and are opened for interment in a sequential manner. After 5 years, the bones of people buried in this plot can be removed and gathered in another site to open the plot for new burial. By the division of cemetery to its sections, each grave obtain its address with its block and parcel number.

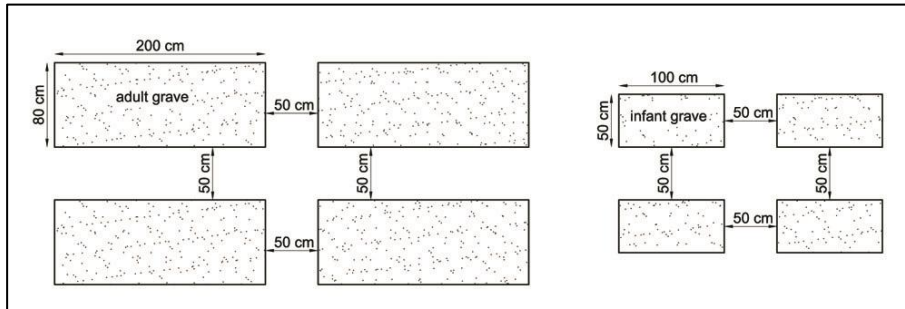


Figure 4. 69. Adult and infant grave size according to “Mezarlıklar Hakkında Nizamname” (1931, item 23), developed by Burcu Kor

After the division of site to its plots, it becomes important to arrange the balance between the grave space and planting space. It is essential to determine a private area for the mourners to have time with their deceased and pray for him/her. Because the cemetery is a public space for all the communities, the sense of enclosure and privacy for contemplation, memorialization and remembering is one of the main demands of the mourners. However, it is usually hard to find such a space in current cemeteries such as Karşıyaka Cemetery in Ankara. Rapidly increasing overcrowding and lack of space for new burials in cemeteries cause to the ignorance of a contemplation space for mourners. Even, it is stated by the manager of cemetery directorate of İzmir that, in Narlıdere Cemetery the trees and bushes are cut because of the absence of adequate space for new burials. It is evident that demolishing the trees result with a deserted appearance in cemetery landscape. Not only that, but also, it causes to landslide which brings about the predicament shift of graves on each other. The examples show the lack of suitable site selection for cemeteries.



Figure 4. 70. Sitting unit for the visitors (by Burcu Kor)

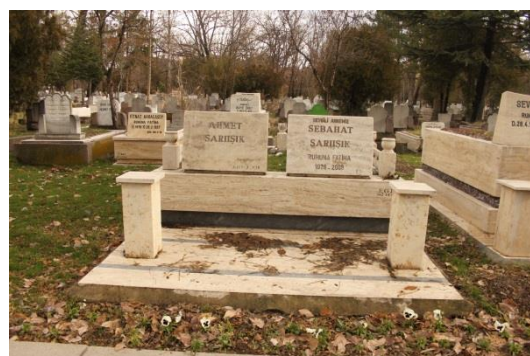


Figure 4.71. Sitting units for a couple (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4.72. Sitting unit designed for a grave  
(by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4.73. Bench for the visitors  
(by Burcu Kor)

In brief, the diversity in the design of graves vary with the shapes, materials, sizes, headstones, inscriptions, commemoration areas and with the special design elements. Bird's water bowls are added to the design of the grave due to the preferences of the bereaved. Because cemeteries have their own fauna in their green open system, those bowls provide animals to meet their water demand.

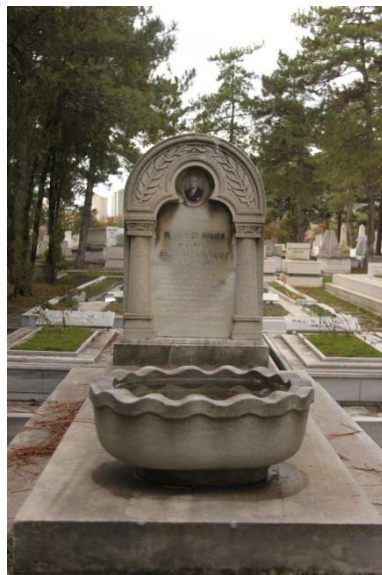


Figure 4.74. An example of a water bowl (by Burcu Kor)

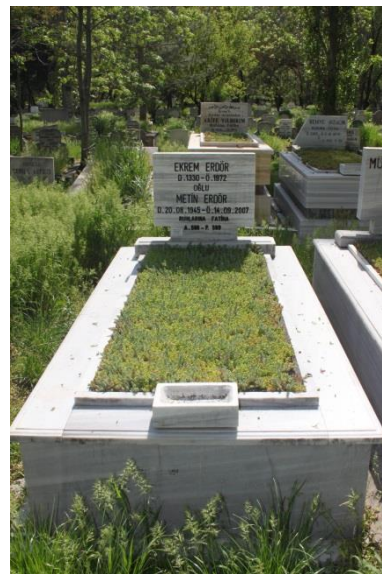


Figure 4.75. An example of a water bowl (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4. 76. Example for water bowls (by Burcu Kor)

#### d. Roads and Paths

Similar to the hierarchic order in interment space, internal access through cemeteries is provided by major roads, secondary roads and paths. Major roads link main entrances to interment areas and disintegrated to secondary roads and walking paths between grave sections. Each of these streets has its own number to orient visitors to find the grave of their deceased without any disturbance. Major and secondary roads are usually designed both for vehicles and pedestrians, but paths are usually for use of pedestrians. Vehicular roads are important to carry the funeral to the nearest of burial plot. Also, it is important for the service vehicles to circulate inside cemetery conveniently in order to control, secure and clean the environment.



Figure 4. 77. Primary roads for vehicular access (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4. 78. Paths for pedestrian access on primary roads (by Burcu Kor)





Figure 4. 79. Secondary roads (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4. 80. Path among grave sections (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4. 81. Path among grave sections (by Burcu Kor)

### e. Cemetery Outfits

Benches, fountains, lighting elements, waste bins, water elements, signboards to show street numbers in order to orient visitors to the proper plot, information boards to give general information about cemetery plan, sculptures and other art works; are such examples for general outfits in cemeteries. However, fountains are the mostly used and requested outfits for their religious purposes.



Figure 4. 82. An example of *hayrat* (by Burcu Kor)

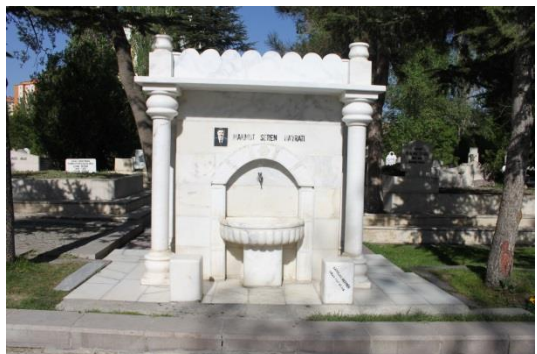


Figure 4. 83. An example of *hayrat* (by Burcu Kor)

Although the signboards which show the street or block numbers are placed in cemeteries, information boards to show the plan scheme of the whole cemetery for the easy orientation of visitors are not usually located in cemeteries. For instance, there is not any plan scheme of Asri Cemetery inside the cemetery while Karşıyaka Cemetery has a few only for show in some of the entrance gates. However, for my personal experiences, there are quite a few signboards with plan schemes showing “you are here” in different points of Ohlsdorf Cemetery in Hamburg. Those boards provide the visitors to arrive the target point easily. Also, the bus stops inside the cemetery as a ring circulation give you information about where to go over the whole cemetery without any feeling of getting lost.



Figure 4. 84. Signboards for the orientation of visitors (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4. 85. The plan of Cebeci Cemetery at I. Gate (by burcu Kor)

Benches for the resting of visitors, lighting elements, waste-bins and water elements are not designed specifically but placed in appropriate points in order to meet the basic needs.



Figure 4. 86. Light projector at the boundary of the cemetery near Police Martyrdom (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4. 87. Light projector at the square of the cemetery (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4. 88. Bags of garbage (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4. 89. Garbage can (by Burcu Kor)

#### 4.4.3.2. Problems Regarding Design, Modifications and Management

##### a. Problems

- Incapability in estimating the sufficient number and size of cemeteries.
- As a result of intensive use, there is the conversion of open spaces into an interment area. It gives cemeteries the impression of being only a marble/stone ground due to the consecutive burial plots without any empty space in-between. Although it is thought to be respect for the deceased not to step on his/her burial ground, it becomes inevitable to step on other graves due to the lack of enough space for praying and commemorating for the deceased.
- Consideration of cemeteries only as a place of the graves of dead. Ignorance and marginalization.
- Disorder in the form, material and size of graves due to the lack of legal regulations. Graves are competing to each other for their structures which causes disturbance in the general appearance of cemetery.
- Regarding of orphans and homeless burial grounds as dump areas without maintenance and planting.
- Lack of maintenance and disorder in landscape elements such as banks, waste-bins, lighting elements, fountains.
- Lack of design standards and maintenance in landscape elements such as banks, waste-bins, lighting elements, fountains.
- Persons who want money against praying or watering for the graves. Stealing and rape.

##### b. Proposals

- Structural units such as management, security, information and sales units should be gathered together. Even security units should be circulated over the cemetery site in order to provide security against beggars and stealers.
- Interment areas should be classified as family and adult grave sections in different blocks, and there should be recreational areas in-between for the rest of visitors.

- The main axe of the cemetery should be proper for vehicular and pedestrian access in funeral time. There should be adequate green belt between pedestrian road and interment area for screening of graves.
- Recreational areas should be arranged with appropriate planting, and benches for resting areas, water elements, fountains, lighting elements, waste bins, signboards for orientation, design objects for natural fauna of birds and butterflies as well like in European examples.
- Graves and gravestones should be hidden with plantings such as shrubs, small trees and bushes. So that, visitors will be oriented towards interment areas gradually by preventing the direct perception of stones and marbles.
- There should be qualified space reserved for visitors to be close enough for praying and contemplating to commemorate for their deceased.
- The form, material and size of graves should be determined with regulations to prevent competition between graves and to have an organized view over cemetery.
- The location of landscape elements should be determined in the plans. For instance; if someone wants to have a fountain made, then he/she should choose a determined location to make it in its designated form and size.

#### 4.4.4. Landscape

The planting of cemeteries is as significant as their structural layout. The selection of appropriate planting is defined by Uslu as (Uslu, 1997:216);

- minimum desire for moisture,
- slow development,
- being taproot instead of being wild rooted,
- not branching from the ground since it will give damage to graves,
- being pruned and formable.

The planting studies should be thought both for cemetery in general and for grave plots. General planting of cemetery includes planting of roads, screening of interment areas, shading for resting and parking areas. On the other hand, grave plots require proper planting both above the graves and among the graves for symbolic and aesthetic reasons.



Figure 4. 90. Specialized planting for the commemoration of the deceased (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4. 91. Flowers planted for the commemoration of the deceased (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4. 92. A specialized tree for the commemoration of the deceased serving as a roof to shade and signify the grave (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4. 93. Flowering of the major roads (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4. 94. Roses planted by the grave to signify the deceased, with the symbolic roses inscribed on the headstone (by Burcu Kor)

The planting of flowers, shrubs or trees at the site of beloved one's grave is usually seen as a way to mark where the grave is or as a way to honor the deceased with a natural symbol reminding eternal life. In Turkish cemeteries it is traditional to plant cypresses which are long-lived and evergreen. They also allow air circulation and sun in cemetery and are preferred for their vertical deep-roots which do not damage graves. Other important aspects to prefer these trees are the smell, care requirements and their form which seems to lead to sky like the eternity of soul. These features can be assumed in the basic selection criteria of planting the cemeteries. Nonetheless, where to use these plants is described by Cömertler as following: "to articulate spaces; to emphasize certain features such as entrance, squares, cemetery name plate; to ornament the cemetery; to provide shade; to assist the easy orientation; to generate sounds as acoustical control devices; to protect or to prevent undesired winds; to screen undesired views; to bound the cemetery as well as different

interment sections and blocks; to contribute to the habitat of the cemetery” (Cömertler, 2001:245). However, it is evident that there is not a consciousness about planting. It is required to think planting both for functional (plantation of roads, screening, shading, representation) and aesthetic aspects.



Figure 4. 95. Green vegetation in the spring, April of 2013  
(by Burcu Kor)

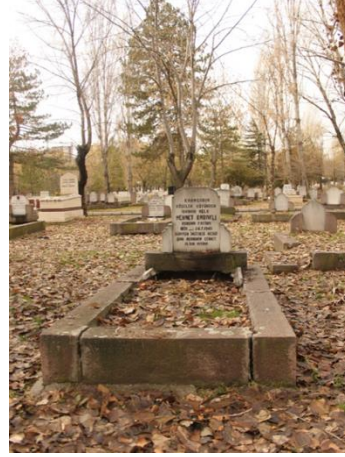


Figure 4. 96. Deciduous trees in winter, February of 2013  
(by Burcu Kor)

It is also evident that cemeteries create the green open system of its environment through its unique habitat and dense vegetation.



Figure 4. 97 Cebeci Cemetery as the green open area of its environment in Cebeci district of Ankara  
(by Baykan Günay)

### Problems

- Choosing the wrong plant cause the cemetery to be seen poor during the winter months while it is rich in summer as a result of climatic changes.
- Planting according to the own desire of each grave owner cause to disturbance and polyphony in aesthetic view.
- Spreading roots give damage to the grave constructions.
- Negligence for caring plantings and not picking up the dried ones.

## **Proposals**

- Since the spreading roots may damage the grave constructions taproot plants should be preferred.
- Plants, which do not branch out from the ground, should be selected since they do not cover the graves.
- Distance between two trees is less than it is in other green areas. Therefore, use of plants, which do not show a spreading character are principally recommended.
- Plants, which are proper for shaping and pruning are favourable particularly between graves and on major roads.
- Also, plants demanding less moisture and growing slowly can be chosen.
- The proper list of plants should be regulated, proposed and organized by cemetery management.

## **4.5. Example Memorial Sites in Cebeci Asri Cemetery**

### **4.5.1. Memorialization of Uğur Mumcu**

This part of the thesis is not about Turkish investigative journalist Uğur Mumcu (1942-1993). It is not about his education life of law in Ankara, nor his political articles on newspapers, nor his deep state hypothesis, nor his assassination by a bomb placed in his car, outside his home in Ankara. It is about the representations of Uğur Mumcu as the various sites of memory to commemorate, remember and not to forget his way of death as a result of an assassination. Mumcu has not created all of his representations for himself with a planned process before his death. Instead, those meanings have been attributed after his death by subsequent public and his followers.

These representations have not been created and abandoned for a while. They have been used or politicized to construct the collective memory for the rebellion to the assassination of Mumcu. Since 1993, he has been commemorated by his grave in Cebeci Asri Cemetery, by his commemoration wall in the place of assassination outside his home in Uğur Mumcu Street and by the monument of Uğur Mumcu in Uğur Mumcu Park in Batıkent. The commemoration performances have been maintained, preserved and generally supported despite of the changing circumstances.

### **Spaces of Memorialization for Uğur Mumcu**

Mumcu has been commemorated by his family, lovers and followers since his death in 1993. Every year on January the 24<sup>th</sup>, organized memorial programs are carried out with a variety of events. They are either in Ankara or in other cities of Turkey. However, the memorial events are held in three sites of memory to address his family, politicians, writers, journalists, artists and his lovers from the public.

The first place of his memorialization during the day each January 24 begins with Batıkent Uğur Mumcu Parkı. It has been a commemoration ceremony to show the public has not lost the remembrance of him and of his assassination which has also a touch of rebellion to show

and share desire in search of assassins of the event. The event has been sustained with the participation of representatives of political parties, non-governmental organizations and the followers. Mumcu is remembered by the speeches to commemorate him standing in silence and placing wreath at his monument.

Secondly, he has been commemorated in the place of his assassination at Uğur Mumcu Sokağı. The wall behind the crime scene on the street was transformed into a memorial wall. His family and lovers gather on this street to commemorate him with candles and carnations. Songs sung in one voice and slogans phrased through the street, in fact address to be the proof of immortality of Uğur Mumcu.



Figure 4. 98. Bust of Uğur Mumcu at Batkent Uğur Mumcu Parkı, Ankara ([www.cumhuriyet.com.tr](http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr))



Figure 4. 99. The place of assassination which is transformed into a memorial wall ([www.radikal.com.tr](http://www.radikal.com.tr))



Figure 4. 100. The use of place of commemoration by visitors (politicians, family members, civic people and media), ([www.radikal.com.tr](http://www.radikal.com.tr))



Finally, the memorial events are scened by his grave in Cebeci Asri Cemetery. Mumcu is commemorated by his family, friends and lovers. Unlike other commemoration ceremonies in Uğur Mumcu Parkı or Uğur Mumcu Sokağı like singing songs or phrasing slogans, there is the silence of respect for the deceased by his memorial structure in Cebeci Cemetery. What makes the commemorative rituals in cemetery space different from other urban spaces is the sacred and spiritual atmosphere of cemeteries. Accordingly, the behaviors of visitors are adapted to the quite unusual holy atmosphere of this urban space inadvertently. It is evident that the visitors mostly go towards the left side of the grave because of the orientation of grave itself. It is because the headstone transforms into the articulation of modules which are gradually getting smaller towards earth and create an enclosed set on the right side. Therefore, the visitors and the speechmakers of ceremony stand on the left side of the grave. Mumcu is commemorated by a brief speech about him, prayers and by his quote from his poem “Sesleniş” which is also inscripted in his gravestone. Flowers are put on his grave. Visitors say prayers for him silently. And the ceremony is completed in 15-20 minutes.



Figure 4. 101. Location of the grave of Uğur Mumcu, facing to the square in the intersection of primary roads (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4. 102. Headstone of Mumcu inscripted with his poem “Sesleniş” (by Burcu Kor)

How the grave plot is prepared for commemoration ceremony could change depending on the owner of funeral ceremony. The cleaning and maintenance works can either be made by private cleaners and caretakers of the grave or by the responsibility of administrative facilities of cemetery. The family of Mumcu does not have such a demand from cemetery administration to clean and care for the grave and its environment before the memorial day. Instead, they make the cleaning of the grave and its environment by their private caretaker. The paths are swept reaching to the grave, dried plants are cleaned and the flowers and the grave are watered.



Figure 4. 103. Memorial day of Mumcu by his grave, visitors standing on the left side by the orientation of the design of the grave. (www.radikal.com.tr)



Figure 4.104. Commemoration with candles, posters, flowers and photographs of Mumcu, visitors again on the left side. (www.radikal.com.tr)

The visitors with vehicles generally use the first gate of the cemetery to reach to the grave plot. It is possible to park their cars on vehicular roads inside the cemetery. The grave of Mumcu is located in 82th block and 46th parcel. It is possible for the visitors who do not know the exact location of the plot to print the schematic plan of the cemetery from MEBİS kiosks at information desks. That plan gives detailed information to get visitors to target grave plot.

The grave plot of Mumcu is located in the first development stage of cemetery. It is placed on 82<sup>th</sup> block and 46<sup>th</sup> parcel by facing to one of the two big squares of Elsaesser plan. The grave of Mumcu as a prominent figure of Turkey is located on the intersection of primary roads and is welcomed by the square. Therefore, even the crowd of visitors does not cause a shortage of activities in commemoration ceremony. It is already learned from the interviews with Cebeci cemetery officers that the ceremonial events do not draw too much crowds to cause shortage in use of space on memorial day.

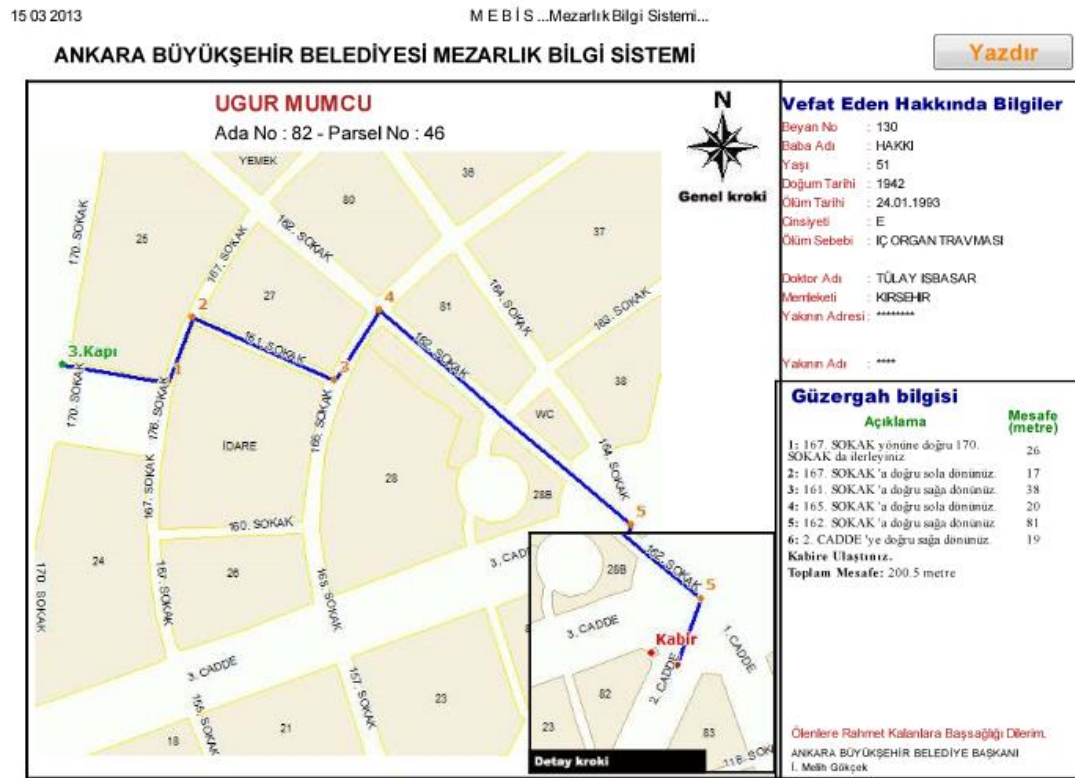


Figure 4. 105. The plan of the grave plot of Mumcu, from MEBİS information kiosks

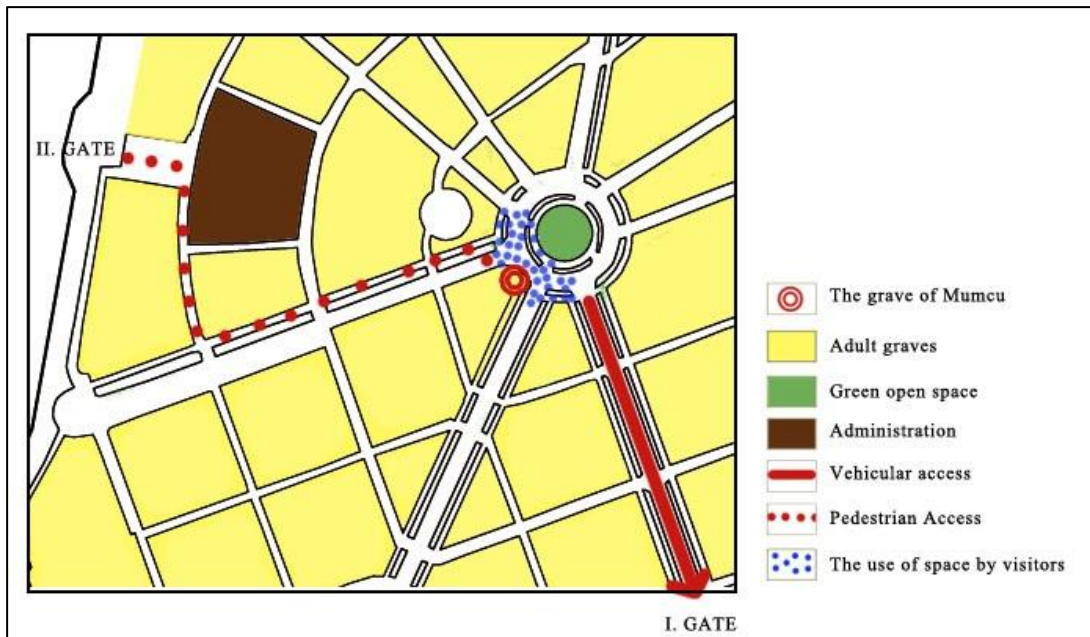


Figure 4. 106. Detailed scheme of Mumcu showing access and use of space at the time of commemoration (developed by Burcu Kor)

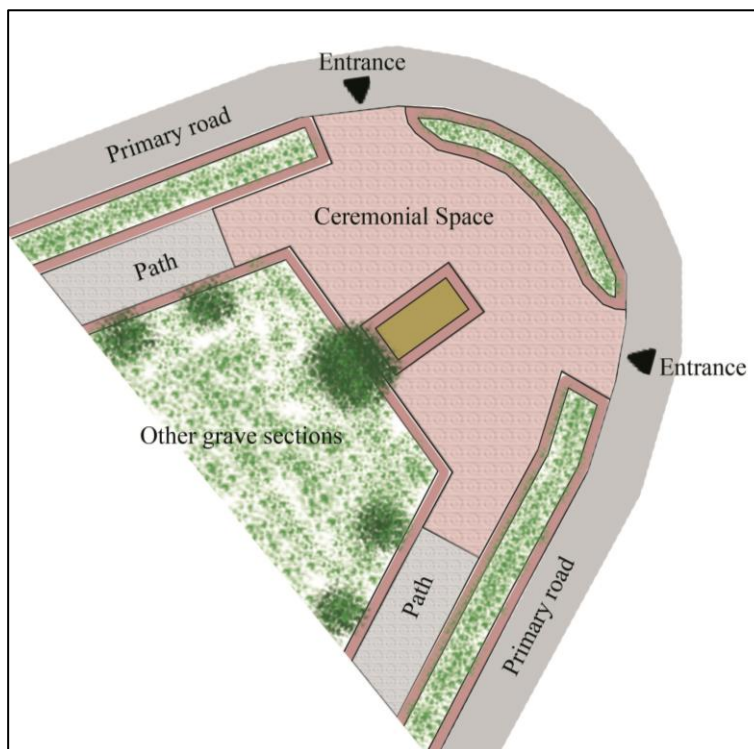


Figure 4. 107. The detailed plan scheme of the grave of Mumcu (developed by Burcu Kor)

#### 4.5.2. Memorialization of İnönü Family

While İsmet İnönü is laid in Anıtkabir, the family grave section of İnönü includes four funerals of six burial grounds; Mevhibe İnönü (wife of İsmet İnönü), Ayşe Saadet Hanım (mother in-law of İnönü), Mehmet Şükrü Bey (uncle of Mevhibe İnönü) and Metin Toker (groom of İnönü). The family grave section is located in the first development stage of Cebeci Cemetery. It is such a part of the cemetery that prominent figures and family sections are allocated in this area spontaneously. The grave section is placed on the 47<sup>th</sup> block by facing to one of the two big squares of Elsaesser plan like Mumcu is laid facing to the other one. The graves of İnönü family are located on the intersection of primary roads and are welcomed by the square. Therefore, even the crowd of visitors does not cause a shortage of activities in the commemoration ceremony. The visitors with vehicles generally use the first gate of the cemetery to reach to the grave plot. It is possible to park their cars on vehicular roads or on the square. It is possible for the visitors who do not know the exact location of the plot to print the schematic plan of the cemetery from MEBİS kiosks at the I. gate. That plan gives detailed information to get visitors to the target grave plot. On the other hand, pedestrians can use the II. gate to access the grave plot. Because there is a level difference due to the slope of the site, there are stairs to connect the two levels for the access of pedestrians.

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MEBİS ...Mezarlık Bilgi Sistemi...



Figure 4. 108. The plan of the grave plot of the İnönü Family , from MEBİS information kiosks



Figure 4.109. The grave of Mevhibe İnönü

Figure 4.110. The grave of Mehmet Şükrü Bey

The grave area is accessed by the square. There is an entrance from the pedestrian road which is emphasized by plantings on its two sides. The flooring material of the area differs from other sections of the cemetery which gives the visitor impression of attending to a more semi-private zone. The idea of creating a semi-private space like in other family sections is strengthened by the enclosure of the space with bushes. The four trees which of each is planted on the parcel corners of the area emphasize the boundary of that space and create a symbolic value for the commemoration of each of four deceased. The entrance meets the pedestrian path which encloses the four side of the area and allows walking around the graves. The path is separated from the grave zone with through a border line on the flooring. It is possible for many visitors to stand by the grave and pray for him/her together. There are also stone benches under the trees for the visitors who want to sit for a while.



Figure 4.111. The grave of Ayşe Saadet Hanım

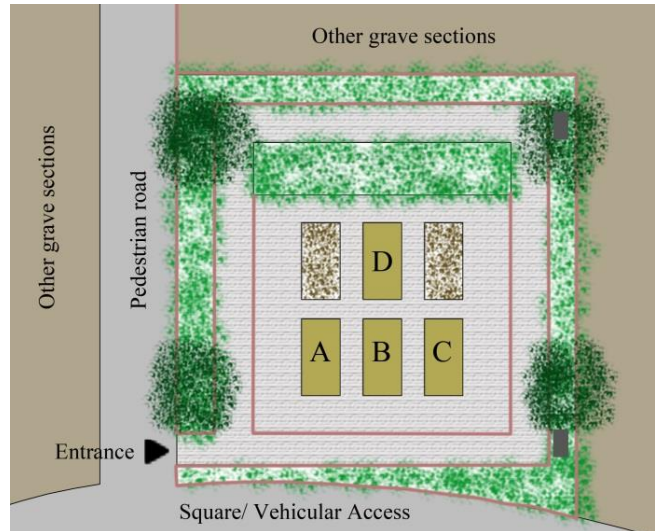


Figure 4.112. The detailed plan scheme of İnönü family cemetery; A. Mevhibe İnönü, B. Ayşe Saadet Hanım, C. Mehmet Şükrü Bey, D. Metin Toker; no burial in other two (developed by Burcu Kor)

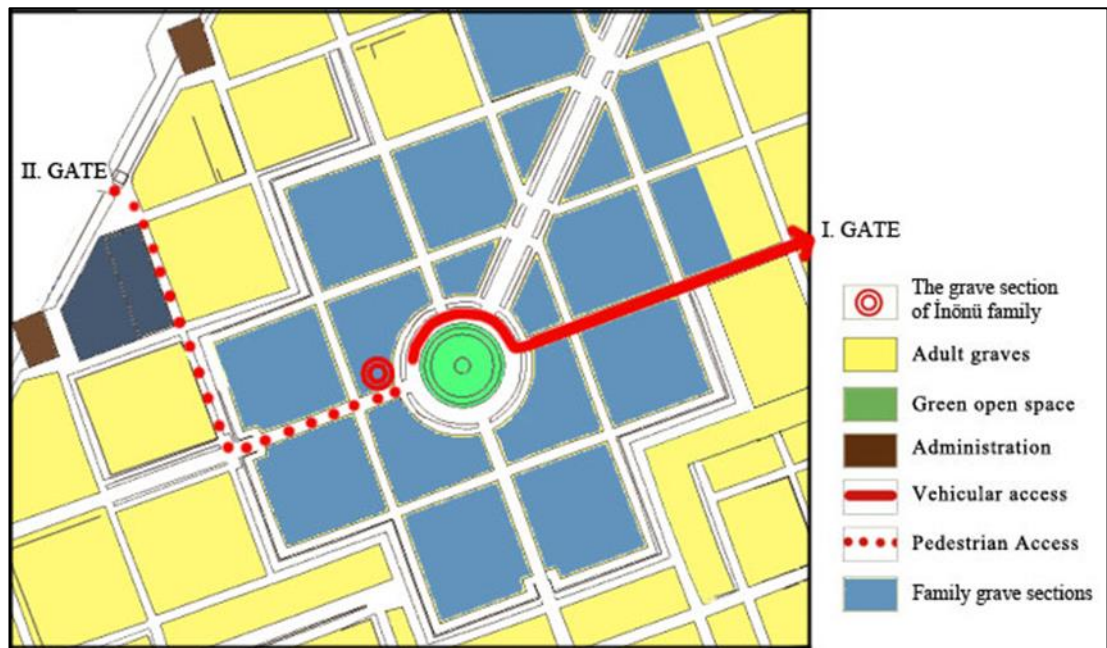


Figure 4. 113. The plan scheme of İnönü cemetery showing access and use of space at the time of commemoration (developed by Burcu Kor)

The anonymity and uniformity in between the graves is another aspect for the commemoration of İnönü family. It could be either for their ideological thinking or for their personal preferences and aesthetic concerns that the shapes, materials and sizes of the graves are designed modestly in accordance with each other. Even the simplicity and anonymity in the form of the headstones is differentiated only with the inscriptions describing the name,

the birth and date of the deceased. However, there are little details such as the symbolic engraving on the grave of Mevhibe İnönü, differentiation in the writing style of the grave of Toker with a modern approach, and the signification of Ayşe Saadet Hanım as the mother-in-law of İnönü and Mehmet Şükrü Bey as the uncle of Mevhibe İnönü. However, there is not a sign for Mevhibe İnönü to remind of his husband İnönü or his status as the first lady of Turkey.



Figure 4. 114. The headstones of members of İnönü family (by Burcu Kor)

#### 4.5.3. Memorialization of Martyrdom of Foreign Affairs

Martyrdom of Foreign Affairs is located in the first development stage of Cebeci Cemetery. It is such a part of the cemetery which includes the funerals of members of Foreign Affairs and other public officials who are killed abroad due to heinous attacks. The martyrdom is placed on the 5<sup>th</sup> block and Foreign Affairs parcel which is accessed by II. gate of the cemetery. The boundary of the martyrdom is enclosed by iron bars and its gate is locked by Foreign affairs, not in the responsibility of the management of the Cebeci Cemetery. It is not open for the public use, but it is used by the ministry authorities, politicians, media and the mourners of martyrs on funeral days and on memorial days.

The martyrdom is designed with a ceremonial area facing to the entrance; a black granite memorial wall which is inscripted with the names of martyrs and with the notices of when and where they were killed; tombs of the martyrs; and landscape elements. The site is elevated with a height of 3-4 steps which gives the impression of protocol entrance. The tombs of the martyrs are aligned opposite the entrance, on both sides of the memorial wall. There are flowers on the grave of the martyrs but not any trees or bushes in between them. The planting of the site is designed on both sides of the ceremony area in which the trees provide shading while the bushes are planted for aesthetic concerns.





Figure 4. 115. General view of Martyrdom of Foreign Affairs (by Burcu Kor)

The anonymity and uniformity in between the graves is another aspect for the commemoration of martyrs. It is evident that there is a regulation in the design of the graves due to the shapes, materials and sizes of the graves. They look all similar to each other only with the differentiations of inscriptions on the headstones. Even the simplicity and anonymity in the form of the headstones is differentiated only with the inscriptions describing the name, the birth and date of the deceased.



Figure 4. 116. The plan of the grave plot of a martyr showing the access through Martyrdom of Foreign Affairs, from MEBİS information kiosks

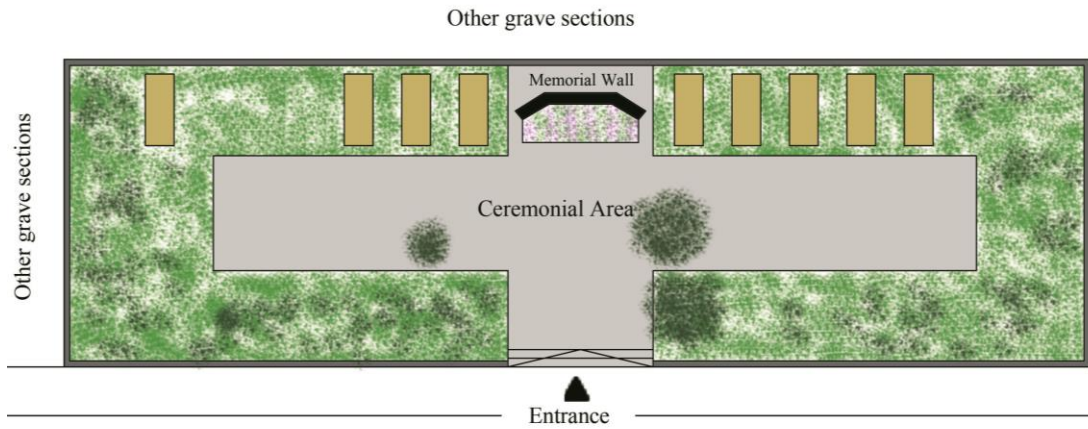


Figure 4.117. The detailed plan scheme of Foreign Affairs Cemetery (developed by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4. 118. The entrance of the martyrdom with the ceremonial area and the memorial wall (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4. 119. The view showing alignment of graves, the ceremonial area and the landscape of the martyrdom (by Burcu Kor)



Figure 4. 120. The use of space by visitors on a memorial day (<http://www.mfa.gov.tr>).

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

Cemeteries are specialized built environments differ from other urban and architectural spaces by their own created culture which varies through the religious beliefs, cultural rituals and funerary customs. As Cengizkan (2004:38) states cemeteries are “unavoidable zones of a city” by two reasons. The first one is the need of a burial ground for public health. In his words, it is a common and physical reason for “human beings, the inevitable actors of the city, to commit their bodies to the ground in a healthy way when they complete their limited life on earth.” For Cengizkan, the second reason is as notable and strong as the first one which gives cemeteries the meaning of “shelter” for the ones left behind to bury and secrete their memories, dreams and love together in the same space. He states that “the ones left behind remember the ones who passed away, the ones with whom they shared their togetherness on earth through natural cognition, love and friendship by the way of their graves which are the last signs of their bodies, the last evidence of their presence on earth” (Cengizkan, 2004:38).

It is evident that nobody knows about the relationship of the deceased to earthly life. However, there is unignorable relation between the deceased and the ones left behind. It is an inevitable fact that when a person dies, it is the lack of that person who is no longer around interacting with the living in earthly life. After the last journey of the beloved one, it is wanted to continue all the relationship between the deceased and the living. His/her absence cause grief, anxiety, fear and sometimes anger on the feelings of the ones left behind after the realization of death. Along with those feelings, mourners perform their cultural customs and religious rituals and create their own burial culture. What remain of the deceased is the memories in the mind of the living, which are not in fact concrete entities. Therefore, the construction of an architectural structure becomes a strong demand for the mourners to concretize such memories in a built environment. In other words, it is the desire to maintain the relationship between the living and the dead with the need of a memorial in a special site of memory. Graves are built for the representation of the deceased to make the absence of the deceased present in a place to be able to signify his/her place. They become the symbol of presence of the beloved one. Cemeteries are formed with the unification of the spaces of each grave together in an established built environment to bury the dead in a healthy way. They are significant social areas abounded with the memorials of the deceased which offer the mourners to perform religious rituals and cultural customs through funerary ceremonies.

Beside their main functions- being a hygienic burial ground in cities and being the symbolic space of the deceased as the last sign of their bodies- cemeteries have several significant secondary functions. They have different study domains for many disciplines such as theology, history of art, anthropology, philosophy, social and cultural studies. For Uslu the landscape architect, cemeteries are the ecological areas with their habitats and biological diversity. For instance, ecologists consider an old cemetery as an important habitat for lichens (in Uslu, 2009:1505; referring to Rugg and Dunk, 1994). On the other hand,

cemeteries have religious, symbolic and artistic meaning for art historians and theologians. They offer archeological and sociocultural knowledge for anthropologists. Inscriptions and elaborations on the headstones, forms of graves and religious symbols give information about historical past of cultures. On the other hand, they are accepted as urban areas as a part of the green open system of cities by urban planners. As it is stated by Uslu (1997), cemeteries serve recreational spaces from the range of active recreational activities to passive (personal or meditation) contemplations especially in Europe with the value of helping and healing mourners while coping with grief. Further, they are considered as historical reserve areas and protected formally by the laws of authorities. It is evident that cemeteries offer a cultural value and social identity like museums with their historic headstones, sacred and spiritual atmosphere. On the basis of this study, for architects, cemeteries are design areas in cities whose internal layout should be planned due to user preferences and managerial regulations by considering functional and aesthetic approaches.

In the evolution of this thesis, cemeteries were first attempted as the space of paradoxes in which cemeteries are considered in user-space relations, socio-psychological approaches toward the feelings of users, and cemetery-periphery relations. Several cemeteries were visited and experienced during the research period of the study. The tomb of Alparslan Türkeş, Turkish State Cemetery, Karşıyaka Cemetery and Cebeci Cemetery in Ankara; Christian and Jewish cemeteries in İzmir; Pere Lachaise Cemetery in Paris; Ohlsdorf Cemetery in Hamburg; and Highgate Cemetery in London are those cemeteries which were experienced and observed through visitations to understand the differentiation of the burial culture in different religions and locations. However, although all types of burial grounds such as state cemeteries, martyrdoms, village cemeteries and ‘hazire’ in mosque yards are valuable examples which are worth to issue and discuss in architectural circles, they remained beyond the remit of this thesis. After the constructed theoretical background and the main case analysis of Cebeci Cemetery, it is understood that cemeteries are both cultural continuities and historical identities of cities which serve for several functions for the living, the dead and for cities in different scales. At the end of this study, it became possible to call cemeteries as: spaces of interment, space of death, historic spaces, social spaces, urban spaces, public spaces, green-open spaces, recreational spaces, ecological spaces, symbolic spaces, sacred and spiritual spaces, representational spaces, spaces of paradoxes, other space, space of absence, space of loss, space of memorialization, educational space and sites of memory. The interdiscipliner identification of the fields of study of cemeteries offer further and deeper readings for the reader to develop further and deeply concerned studies especially on architectural design of cemeteries. In other words, it is intended to encourage the future studies about the different aspects of cemetery research. Those studies would be specialized on the relation between space and religion, and rituals, landscape and ecology, planning principles, artistic grave structures and headstones, managerial problems or maybe cemetery photography through its spiritual atmosphere. Either, they would focus on the design principles of state cemeteries, martyrdoms or non-Muslim cemeteries. In brief, this study has the potential of reproducing further specialized themes through further and deeper readings.

Considering this study in the domain of architectural discipline, the thesis first focused on the concept of death, how death is received by different cultures, how it is experienced by the ones left behind as the mourners of the deceased. Then, the meaning of cemetery is

offered by several scholars from different disciplines, what the architectural features of cemeteries are to distinguish them from other urban spaces, what the categories regarding socio-psychological approaches are towards cemetery space. Then, the relation between the spaces of death and memory is discussed through individual, collective and cultural memory studies of significant scholars, how the deceased is represented and remembered by the ones left behind, how the media tools affect the act of remembering and forgetting. Then, the types of burial and their spaces are examined in Anatolian culture within Islamic aspects to reveal the richness of burial culture for cemeteries.

In the next chapter; cemeteries are considered as life spaces with the aspects of burial culture, the living and the services. The phases of this experience after the realization of death are described as funeral procession, first days after death, first year mourning and long-term remembering; how the feelings of mourners evolve in those phases; and how they have right on the physical appearance of cemeteries . The effect of burial customs, cultural rituals and religious beliefs of the living during mourning period is examined. How the burial culture and architecture of cemeteries is shaped by the users of cemetery space in those different periods are mentioned in order of occurrence. Then, cemeteries are evaluated for their public use for being representational space, urban logbook, urban landscape and part of education for urban life. At this point, European foreign cemeteries are exemplified for the easy understanding of meaning of cemeteries in different public milieu of different cultures.

In the fourth chapter, first, the spatial development of Ankara and Ankara cemeteries is raised with the focus of Cebeci Cemetery. As a competition project and with modern design approaches, Cebeci Cemetery is presented through the analysis of plans, observations and data knowledge obtained from managements, municipalities, and directorate of cemeteries. The standard requirements for a standard cemetery are discussed through the evaluation of the Cebeci Cemetery. The cemetery was analyzed for its location in the city with its surroundings, spatial organization, grave sections, roads and squares, green system, buildings and landscape elements to determine the problems and to offer proposals for higher quality spaces. The grave of Mumcu, the family grave section of the İnönü family and the Martyrdom of Foreign Affairs were chosen as case study areas- in three different categorizations of individual grave, family section and martyrdom - in Cebeci Cemetery to understand the spatial organization of burial grounds for the memorialization of the deceased. The three sites of memorialization were analyzed through the plan schemes developed by the author in order to understand the impact of the spatial organization on the performance of funeral and commemoration ceremonies. Where the deceased is laid; in what kind of a place visitors stand to pray and contemplate for the deceased; what the signifying landscape elements are for the commemoration of the deceased; what the functions of plants are for ceremonial area; and how the shapes, sizes and material of graves differ for the preferences of the ones left behind.

After constructing of the theoretical background of the concept of death, cemetery and memory studies; and making analysis of the case of Cebeci Cemetery through a site survey and documentation, certain inferences are made for the perception of cemetery experiences in daily life and in the practices of architectural profession. It is deduced that cemeteries in Turkey could not serve as recreational spaces with their sacred and spiritual landscape,

which would offer meditation and contemplation area to help mourners in their grief period. They are thought to be inhospitable and cold places because they are full of marbles and stones without any green open area system and lack of water elements as landscape elements for the living to contemplate and spend time in this sacred and spiritual atmosphere. In other words, cemeteries are not rich enough for their planted fabric and artistic influence in the headstones. They are usually visited involuntarily in the cases of necessity. Even, they are excluded in cities, ignored by users and avoided by the architectural profession. They are considered to be the dead spaces of cities although they are established in huge areas with huge financial investments of municipalities. However, it should be noted that cemeteries of Ankara cover an area of 6.616.000 m<sup>2</sup> of which constitute the burial ground of the public interment with an area of 6.420.000m<sup>2</sup>. Therefore, they should be reevaluated in the green open system of cities with proper and conscious design, implementation and management studies.

It is obvious that cemeteries have planning, design, maintenance and managerial problems. Although they are public spaces which concern each human being for their loss of the beloved one, they are insufficient to fulfill the community needs in the social context. In order to encourage the public for the cemetery utilization and visitation, several solution proposals should be offered concerning design, maintenance and managerial aspects. Therefore, the design of cemeteries should be the concern of the designers of the practice of architectural profession as a starting point. Cemeteries should be considered as a whole with their location, spatial organization, managerial and religious buildings, landscape elements, outfits such as lighting and water elements, waste bins, signboards, resting areas, and benches. For instance, it is observed through this research that the location, size and number of cemeteries should be considered for the easy access of the public to cemetery and for the sufficient and qualified burial area according to the population and death rate of cities. Therefore, public transportation could be developed as a ring vehicle inside cemetery to encourage people to visit cemeteries frequently. There could be bus stops and signboards showing the plan scheme of cemetery at each stop to orient visitors about where he/she is and how to go another grave plot. On the other hand, it is better to encounter recreational areas, managerial offices, museums, cafes or conference halls at the entrances of cemeteries instead of encountering graves and headstones directly. For this reason, conference halls should be built to inform citizens about death and burial culture. Instead of avoidance of death, it is better to get known about how to cope with death and grief; how to obtain grave plots; what the procedures are after the realization of death; how children or students could be familiarized with the fact of death. On the other hand, internal layout of cemeteries should be partitioned for appropriate grave sections such as families, adults, childs, orphans and martyrs. Each grave plot should have a sufficient space for the living in order to pray, commemorate and contemplate for his/her dead. Further, form of plant species for their mature size, height and width; rate of growth, smells, climatic concerns, root features, foliage (evergreen, deciduous or autumn colors) and care requirements are such aesthetic and functional characteristics for the selection and maintenance of planting in the natural habitat of cemeteries. It should be forbidden to plant trees and bushes thoughtlessly depending on the preference of mourners due to the damage for the grave structures. Furniture and cemetery outfits such as benches at squares for the relaxation of users, lighting elements, water elements, waste containers, security and information kiosks, public toilettes,

signboards and information boards for the orientation of visitors should be located in suitable places as design elements.

Beside the design aspects of cemeteries, they should be cared for managerial and maintenance aspects. Design of graves and headstones should be in the control of management to prevent polyphony and disorder in cemeteries for aesthetic aspects. Lack of harmony and simplicity in the form, size and material of graves and headstones cause confusion in the aesthetic aspects of cemeteries because the design of graves is pointlessly abandoned to grave masons. By this way, aesthetic aspect of graves is obliged to the diversity of graves in the catalogues of grave masons depending on the economic condition and the demand of mourner for elaborated and magnificent grave structures. Special requests and preferences of the users should be processed in the control of management. Cultivation and care of plants due to climatic changes, cleaning and flowering of graves, grave plots and roads should be circulated in certain periods for the maintenance of cemeteries. Because cemeteries are historic spaces which give information about the cultures of the people of the past, they should be preserved and transformed into open air museums if they are full of capacity for new burials. It is also possible to arrange touristic and educational trips for these cemeteries to recognize their special sacred atmosphere through their endless roads, natural habitat, artistic ornamentations and elaborated headstones. Therefore, cemeteries should be designed in response to the needs of both the dead and the living considering functional and aesthetic requirements in the sacred and spiritual atmosphere of its built environment.

The aim of the thesis is to put emphasis on the importance of the dialogue between cemeteries, the public and the architecture as profession for the improvement of the quality of the cemetery space. In light of the analysis of cemeteries, it is intended to make emphasis on cemeteries as public spaces of memorialization which serve both for the living and for the dead. It was aimed to propose cemeteries for architectural discipline in order to reclaim cemeteries as architecturally qualified spaces instead of calling them 'other' spaces which are excluded by public and avoided by the actors of the profession. Although there are few studies on cemeteries from different disciplines such as landscape architecture, urban planning, theology, and social and cultural studies, the issue remained unvoiced in architectural discipline. In this thesis, it is intended to stimulate further and deeply concerned architectural studies on the design of cemeteries in order to lead to the progress of future studies. Therefore, it is one merit of this thesis to reveal how cemeteries are abandoned to gravediggers, stonemasons, management and mourners like a property area while they have been designed as high quality spaces by architects, planners and designers.





# APPENDIX A

## CEMETERIES ON MEDIA

10 01 2013

Mezarlıkta can güvenliği yok!

**Hürriyet** Yazarlar

06 Kasım 2006



### Mezarlıkta can güvenliği yok!



**CEBECİ Asri Mezarlığı.**

Karşıyaka'dan sonra ikinci büyük mezarlık.

Karşıyaka'da 227 bin insan yatıyor.

Cebecî'de 220 bin.

\*\*\*

Ancak Cebecî'deki mezarlığın da iki önemli sorunu var.

**Birincisi dış güvenlik.**

Bir okur mektubunu -özetle- aktarıyorum:

"Canım babam ve bebaannem Cebecî'de yatıyor.

Kabri 2 numaralı kapıya yakın.

İlk ziyarette arabayı kapıya park ettik.

Arabeden çıkmamızla 3-5 serseri gelip para istediler, vermedik.

Babamın kabri başında dua ederken arabanın alarmı çaldı.

Eniştem gitti ve arabasının camını indirdikleri gördü.

Güvenliğin gözü önünde bunu yaptılar.

Polis çağırıldı, tutanak vs.

Polis de bir şey yapmıyor çünkü onları da taşıyorlarmış.

Dağa sonra ki gidişimizde arabaların yanında diğer kardeşimin eşini bıraktık.

Yine para istemişler.

Vermeyince taşıdılar.

Geçen ay gittiğimizde yine başımıza üşüştüler.

Bu soruna kalıcı çözüm bulunmalı.

Oraya gittiğimde, ruhumla, bedenimle gerçekten babamın yanında ve huzur içinde olmak istiyorum. (Funda I.)

\*\*\*

Bir okur mektubu da **İlker T**'den.

(Soyadlarını, Cebecî'de yatan yakınlarının mezarlarına "bir şey" yaparsa kaygısıyla gizliyorum)

"Cebeci Mezarlığı'ndaki özel güvenlik görevlilerini, kapı girişleri ve yönetim binası çevresi dışında bulamazsınız.

Örneğin, eski havagazı fabrikası şimdi ki çok katlı konutların bulunduğu bölgeye bakan duvar önündeki parsellerde görevli hiç yoktur.

Nedenini sorduğunuzda, can güvenliklerinin olmadığını söylerler."

\*\*\*

**Can güvenliği olmayan bir mezarlık!**

Sanırım, korku filmleri dışında böyle bir cümle kuramazsınız.

Yarın ikinci soruna değineceğim.



## Villa fiyatına mezarlık



**Türkiye'nin en yaşanılır kentleri arasında yer alan Ankara'da ölmeye önce manzaralı bir mezar yeri almak isteyenler 15 bin lirayı gözden çıkarmak zorunda.**

Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Mezarlıklar Müdürü Şükrü Çetin, Ankara'da en pahalı mezarın 15 bin lira ile Cebeci Asri Mezarlığı'nda yer aldığını belirterek, diğer mezarlıklarda ise fiyatın ortalama 8 bin 500 lirayı bulduğunu söyledi. Ölümlerin defnedileceği 1. sınıf beton mezarın 360 lira, 2. sınıf toprak mezarın ise 180 lira olduğunu da kaydeden Çetin, 5 yıllık sürenin sonunda aynı mezara birinci derece yakınların izni ile tekrar defin yapılabileceğini ve bunun içinde 150 lira ücret alındığını kaydetti.

Kimsesizler ve kimliği belirlenemeyen kişilerin cenaze ve defin işlemlerinin ücretsiz yapıldığını vurgulayan Çetin, bu kişilerin cenazelerinin de Sincan'daki Cimşit Mezarlığı'na defnedildiğini belirtti.

Mezarlıklar Müdürü Çetin, maddi durumu iyi olmayan kişilerin de muhtarlıklar kanalıyla bunu belgelemeleri durumunda, cenazelerinin tüm mezarlıklara ücretsiz defnedildiğini ve "ALO 188" hattının aranması ile bu kişilerin cenazelerinin defnedilmesinde de ücretsiz hizmet verdiklerini vurguladı.



## Mezarlık da ölür



**KENT haberleriyle gündem yaratan Deniz Gürel, dün haberiyle bir katliamı önledi.**

Üstelik mezarlıktaki bir katliamı...

Karşıyaka Mezarlığı'ndaki arazi düzenlemesi sırasında hafriyat nedeniyle çam ağaçları yok olma tehlikesiyle karşı karşıya kalmış. Ancak Ankara Hürriyet'in uyarısı üzerine Büyükşehir Sağlık İşleri Dairesi Başkanı Fatih Hatipoğlu hafriyatçılara müdahale ederek ağaçların zarar görmesini önlemiş.

Hafriyatçılara cezai işlem uygulanacağını da vurgulamış.

\* \* \*

Ağaç ve mezarlık, hazin ama bir o kadar da büyüğü, derinlikli tablolar yerleştirir hayata.

Çünkü Ludwig Wittgenstein'in dediği gibi, "Ölüm yaşam olaylarından biri değildir. Kişi ölümü yaşamaz"...

Ama mezarlıklar yaşar.

Sık, yüksek ağaçları; dört mevsim yeşil servileri, çam, akasya, çınar, kavakları, "arazi"yi kuşatan mezarları, lükküstürümleriyle, "hayat" bir yerdir, hissedene.

Kuş civiltılan süren hayatı hatırlatır, o sessizlikte rüzgarla fısıldar ağaçlar:

"Ah kavaklar, ardından ılık çalar"...

Bir çok insan, yitirdiklerinin ardından orada temize çeker yaşamla ilgili defterlerini...

Ve herşeyiyle "Ölümü hatırla" dese de, standart cenaze törenleri.

Orada, mezarlıkta ölümü değil, aslında hayatı yaşar.

\* \* \*

Mezarlıklar, anılarla randevu yeridir.

Yüzyüze yaşanan "an"ların, artık sadece hayallerde, rüyalarda yaşanacak "anı"lara dönüştüğü bir randevunun mekanı...

"Ölüm ve zaman daima bir yardımlaşma içindedir. Zaman yavaştan alırken, ölüm çarçabuk bitirir işini" dese de John Berger....

Saniyeleri daha uzun, daha dolgun hisseder insan, mezarlıkta.

Ayak izi değmeyen avuç içi bahçeleriyle, anıların arazileridir.

Hüzünün de mutluluk kadar değerli olduğunu öğretir.

\* \* \*

Bu nedenle, ağaçları, mezarları, çiçekleri, sessizliği, özgün atmosferi, bakımı, temizliği, düzeniyle yaşar mezarlıklar.

Yoksa, mezarlıklar da ölür.



## Asri Mezarlığa şükran plaketi



**MEZARLIKLARDA iletişim, hatta bazen cümle kurmak bile zordur.**

Hüznün, acının kol gezdiği, tahammülün, sabrın, tevekkülün sınırdağı ya da anlamını yitirdiği yerlerdir çünkü. Gidenin artık dönmeyeceğinin, ona, orada veda edenlerin hayatlarına yalnız dönüşünün somut fotoğrafıdır.

Herkes birşeyi(ni) geride bırakır, mezarlıktan ayrılırken.

Acıdır, gergindir, kırığındır, herşeye isyanın kıyısındadır.

• • •

Cebeci Asri Mezarlığı'ndaydım geçen gün.

Yaşlı, yaşlı bir kalabalığın arasında.

Daha kapıdan girerken tertemiz giyimli, aydınlık yüzlü görevliler karşıladı.

İçerde, mezarın yanında da yaşlılara oğulları gibi davranan görevliler vardı.

Onlara şefkatle yardımcı olan, kollarına giren, bir iki kelimeyle düşük omuzlarını, yorgun yüreklerini okşayan görevliler.

Yine aynı incelikli, zarif, akraba tutumu sergileyen bir güvenlik görevlisi.

Görevli değil, hayata veda edenin yakınıydılar sanki.

Hepsine, ayrı ayrı sarılmak geldi içimden.

• • •

Biliyorum, hala suçun kuşatmasındadır oralar.

Mezarlığın çevresindeki yamaçlar, "eşkıya" kovuğudur.

Ama o zor şartlarda bile mezarlıkta huzur, güven sağlanmış.

Çevre tertemiz, düzenli.

Teknolojinin olanaklarından da yararlanmış.

Aradığınız mezarı bulmakta güçlük çektiğiniz an yanınızda.

Ellerindeki telsizle idareye sorup, parseli, adayı anında öğreniyor ve size eşlik ediyorlar.

Sadece ölüme değil, yaşama, insana da saygıyı hissettiriyorlar.

• • •

En dar, en acılı, en tahammülsüz anında insanlara yardımcı olan o görevlilere büyük şükran duydum.

Gurur da duydum, varlıklarından.

Çok kıymetli bir görevi, mütevazı, sıcakkanlı bir stitle yürütüyorlar.

Su gibi ömürleri olsun.



## Ölümlerden önce ağaçları gömdüler



**Büyükşehir Belediyesi'ne bağlı Karşıyaka Mezarlığı'nda yapılan arazi tesviyesi sırasında çok sayıda ağacın toprak altında kaldığı iddia edildi. Ankara Hürriyet'in elde ettiği fotoğraflara göre hafriyat altında kalma tehlikesiyle karşı karşıya kalan ağaçlar ise son anda kurtuldu.**

**BÜYÜKŞEHİR** Belediyesi'ne bağlı Karşıyaka Mezarlığı'nda yapılan arazi tesviyesi sırasında çok sayıda ağacın toprak altında kaldığı görgü tanıklarınca iddia edildi. Ankara Hürriyet'in elde ettiği fotoğraflarda metrelerce yükseklikte hafriyat altında kalma tehlikesiyle karşı karşıya kalan ağaçlar ise son anda kurtuldu.

Hafriyat dökülmemeli

Karşıyaka Mezarlığı D-14 adada yapılan çalışmada mezarlıktaki bazı yetkililerin inşaat hafriyatlarıyla ağaçların üstünü kaparak hafriyatçılardan kazanç sağladığı iddia edildi.

Konuyla ilgili Ankara Hürriyet'e bilgi veren Karşıyaka Mezarlığı'nın bağlı bulunduğu Büyükşehir Belediyesi Sağlık İşleri Dairesi Başkanı Fatih Hatipoğlu, "Orada arazi tesviyesi yapıyoruz. İnşaat hafriyatı dökülmemesi gerekiyordu. Hemen baktıracağız" dedi.

Hatipoğlu'ndan teşekkür

Konuyla ilgili mezarlık biriminden bilgi aldıktan sonra açıklamalarını sürdüren Hatipoğlu, Ankara Hürriyet'e teşekkür etti ve şu açıklamayı yaptı:

"Ağaçların tam sınırında yakaladık. Allah sizden razı olsun. Burada hafriyatçılara cezai işlem uygulayacağız. 100 kamyonla belki üç kamyon gelmemesi gereken atık gelmiş. Bazı ağaçların kenarlarına kayalar düşmüş ama zarar gören ağaç yok. Uyanımsak belki çamırlar gidecekti. Sizlerin duyarlılığına çok teşekkür ediyoruz.

Çalışanlar mangel yakmıştı

Büyükşehir Belediyesi'ne bağlı olan Karşıyaka ve Cebeci mezarlıklarında geçmiş dönemde de ilginç olaylar yaşanmıştı. Son olarak Cebeci Asri Mezarlığı'nın içindeki Mezarlıklar Müdürlüğü Hizmet Binasının önünde, mezarlıkların yanı başında belediye çalışanlarının mangel yakması objektiflere yansımıştı.

### Mezarlıkta ilk skandal değil

ESKİ Mezarlıklar Müdürü Kamuran Döğer "Mezarlıktan çiçeklendiriyoruz, ertesi gün çocuklar çalıyor, güvenlik görevlileri de izliyor. Bureya yedi kocalı Hümmüz demek az olur, biz dokuz kocalıyız" açıklamasını yapmış, açıklamalara sınırlanan Ankara Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanı Melih Gökçek tarafından görevden alınmıştı.

Bir önceki müdür İsmail Çalık hakkında da usulsüz işlemler nedeniyle soruşturma açılmıştı.



## İnternette mezar ziyareti



İzmir'de vatandaşlar tek tuşla yakınlarının mezarlarını internette görebilecek. Büyükşehir Belediyesi mezarları tek, tek işaretleyip fotoğraflayarak veri tabanına aktardı.

İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi, mezar adaları ve mezar yerlerini tek tek işaretleyip fotoğraflayarak veri tabanına aktardı. Uygulamaya ilk kez Yeni Bomova Mezarlığı ile başlanan sistem, vatandaşların yakınlarının mezarlarına "tek tuşla" ulaşip tüm bilgileri görebilmelerini sağlayacak. Buca Gökdere, Kemalpaşa, Bomova Kokuca, Karabağlar Paşaköprü ve Karşıyaka Soğukuyu mezarlıklarından da Ocak ayından itibaren sisteme dahil edilecek.

Bilgi çağının teknolojik gelişmelerini halka yansıtmak amacıyla çalışmalarını sürdüren İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi, hem mezarlık alanını planlamak hem de vatandaşların yakınlarının mezarlarına ilişkin bilgilere bilgisayar üzerinden kolaylıkla ulaşmasını sağlamak amacıyla Coğrafi Mezarlık Bilgi Sistemi'ni hayata geçirdi. İlk olarak Yeni Bomova Mezarlığı sisteme aktarılan, sırasıyla Buca Gökdere, Kemalpaşa, Bomova Kokuca, Karabağlar Paşaköprü ve Karşıyaka Soğukuyu mezarlıklarının da sisteme dahil edileceği belirtildi. Sistem sayesinde vatandaşlar, ziyaret edecekleri mezarların konumlarını bilgisayar ekranından görebiliyor, hızlı bir şekilde mezarlıktaki yerini tespit edip detaylı bilgiye ulaşabiliyor.

### MEZARLIKLARA KIOSK YERLEŞTİRİLECEK

Mezarlık Bilgi Sistemi'ne İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi internet sayfası üzerinden ulaşıldığını belirten Büyükşehir yetkilileri, önümüzdeki süreçte mezarlıklara konacak KIOSK'lar ile ziyaretçilerin aradıkları mezarla ilgili bilgiyi buradan da öğrenebileceklerini söyledi. Yetkililer sisteme ilişkin şu bilgileri verdi:

"Bu çalışma kapsamında, mezar adaları ve mezar yerleri tek tek işaretlenerek veri tabanına aktarıldı. Belediyemiz Mezarlıklar Müdürlüğü'nde kullanılan Mefta Giriş programına ait sözel bilgiler ile grafik veriler eşleştirilerek bütün bilgilerin bir arada sorgulanabilmesi sağlandı. Aynı zamanda tüm mezarların fotoğrafları çekilerek sisteme aktarıldı. Sistem sayesinde mezarlıkların parselasyon çalışmalarını yapılarak boş mezar yerleri tespit edilebilecek, eski mezarlarda gömü yapılabilecek yerler belirlenebilecek. Ayrıca mezarlık alanı içerisine yerleştirilecek KIOSK terminaleri vasıtasıyla ziyaretçilerin bilgilere ulaşması sağlanacak. Buca Gökdere ve Kemalpaşa mezarlıklarının ardından 2013 yılı Ocak ayında da Bomova Kokuca, Karabağlar Paşaköprü ve Karşıyaka Soğukuyu mezarlıklarını sisteme dahil edeceğiz."

### SİSTEM NASIL KULLANILIYOR

İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nin [www.izmir.bel.tr](http://www.izmir.bel.tr) adresinden "Mezarlık Bilgi Sistemi"ne giren kullanıcılar, vefat edenin sadece ismini girerek doğum tarihi, ölüm tarihi, mezar numarası, adası ve baba adı bilgilerine ulaşabiliyor. Harita üzerinde mezarın bulunduğu yeri gören kullanıcılar, yol tarifinin çıktısını yazıcıdan alabiliyor, aynı zamanda mezarın fotoğrafını da görebiliyor. Sistemde aynı gün içinde ölenlerin listesi de yayınlanıyor.



## Ailece gömülmek isteyen kesesinin ağzını açıyor



**Büyükşehir Belediyesine bağlı 3 mezarlık alanında, vatandaşların bir kısmı aile bireyleri ile aynı alana gömülmek için vefatından önce birden fazla mezar yeri satın alıyor. Ankara'da evini satıp 12 mezar yeri alan bile var.**

Kaşıkaya, Cebeci Asri Mezarlığı ve Sincan Çimşit olmak üzere 3 adet mezarlığa defin yapıyor. Kaşıkaya Mezarlığı'nın 3 yıl boyunca Ankara'nın ihtiyacını karşılayacak kapasitede olduğunu bildiren yetkililer, kent genelinde günde ortalama 30 civarında defin işlemi gerçekleştirildiğini belirtti. Önümüzdeki dönemlerde faaliyete geçirmek üzere Samsun yolu üzerindeki Ortaköy Kayaş Mezarlığı'nda çalışmalar sürdürüldüğü ifade eden yetkililer, gasilhane, morg, cami gibi tesislerin tamamlanması halinde bölgede defin işleminin yapılabileceğini kaydetti.

Ölmeden mezarlık yeri alım yönünde taleplerle karşılandığını ifade eden yetkililer, bu konuda şu bilgileri verdi: "Cebeci Asri Mezarlığı'nda bir kişi için aile mezarlığından yer satın alınmanın bedeli 13 bin TL olarak belirlendi. Ücret daha düşük olsa Ankara'da 6 ay için mezarlık yeri kalmazdı. Bu mezarın standart ölçüleri, uzunluk 2 metre 10 santimetre, genişliği ise 1 metre 40 santimetre. Kaşıkaya'da aile mezarlık ücreti ise 7 bin 800 TL'dir. Geçen ay bir kişi evini satıp 12 adet mezar yeri satın aldı. Gümüşhane, Güney Doğu Anadolu gibi bazı bölgelerden gelip Ankara'da yaşayanlar aynı yerlere gömülmek istiyorlar.

Bu arada, normal toprak mezar için 165 TL, lahit mezar için ise 330 TL ücret ödeniyor. Büyükşehir Belediye Meclisi kararıyla, kefen, yıkama, morg, cenaze taşıma ücreti ve mezar tahtasından ücret alınmama başlandı. Ücret alınmayan işlemlerin bedeli 85 TL'dir. Bu arada, 90 TL olan mezarlık ruhsat bedeli de 50 TL'ye indirildi. Bu kararlar geçen temmuz ayında alındı."

### Talep yılda 60-70 mezar

**AİLE** mezarlığı yaptırmak için her hafta birkaç talep geldiğini bildiren yetkililer, yılda 60-70 civarında bu yöndeki talepleri karşıladıklarını söyledi.

Mükerrer definden ücret alınmadığını belirten yetkililer, "Bu koşulun gerçekleşmesi için bir kişinin defininin üzerinden 5 yıl geçmesi, vefat edenin akrabası olması ve mükerrer defin yapılacak kişinin mirasçısının izni gerekiyor" dedi.

Vatandaşlara en iyi hizmeti vermenin çabası içinde olduklarını ifade eden yetkililer, personele özellikle "bahşiş" adı altında herhangi bir ücret ödenmemesini ve şikayetçi oldukları konuları "ALO 153'e bildirmelerini istedi.





APPENDIX B

DOCUMENT FOR THE EXPANSION IN THE PLAN OF CEBECİ  
CEMETERY (1958)

28 AĞUSTOS 1958

Ankara

Oz: Mezarlığın Tevsii Hk.

Cebeci Şehir Mezar.  
1/51 Hk.

T. C.  
IMAR ve İSKÂN VEKÂLETİ  
Plânlama ve İmar Umum Müdürlüğü

Sayı: 1229  
Ş.F.4.1/5303

359ND

Ankara Valiliğine

20.8.1958 gün ve İmar Müdürlüğü 8415/58 sayılı yazıya K:

Ankara İmar Planında Cebeci şehir mezarlığının genişleme-  
si sebebiyle istenen değişiklik, İmar İdare Heyetinin 15.8.1958  
gün ve 575 sayılı kararı ile tasvib edilmiş olmakla Vekaletimizce  
incelendi. Onandı.

Onanlı 1/1000 ölçekli planlardan iki kopya ektidir.

Yapılan değişikliğin Nafia Müdürlüğü ve Belediyesindeki  
imar planın nüshalarında aynı işlenmesinin ve gereğinin buna  
göre yapılmasının teminini rica ederim.

İmar ve İskân Vekili Y.

Eki  
1/1000 ölçekli iki plan (Yok)

*Yeni Mezarlık  
Kapasite Mezarlık*

A.Ö.  
28.8

ANKARA BELEDİYESİ  
11675  
28-8-58

Not : 1 - Bu yazı \_\_\_\_\_ tarihinde tekit edilecektir.  
2 - Her yazıma ayrı ayrı karşılık yazılması, karşılıklarda yazım-  
ın tarih ve numarasının tam olarak gösterilmesi rica olunur.



## APPENDIX C

### DOCUMENT FOR THE DEMAND OF NEW CEMETERY AREA (1983)

**T.C.**  
**ANKARA BELEDİYE BAŞKANLIĞI**  
**Mezarlıklar Müdürlüğü**

1.Şef.: 68-453  
Yeni mezarlık alanı  
4 : .....

13.5.1983  
**ANKARA**

BAŞKANLIK MAKAMINA

Karşıyaka Mezarlığındaki defin yapılmamış boş adaların listesi ilişik-  
tedir.

Bu gün için yaklaşık 29.500 boş mezar yerimiz bulunmaktadır.Günde 30  
cenaze hesabıyla,3 yılda hiç boş yer kalmayacaktır.

Bu gerçek karşısında;yeni mezarlık alanının belirlenmesi için Nazım  
Plan Büro Başkanlığı ile ön görüşmeler yapılmış ve ilişikte sunduğumuz 28  
NİSAN 1982 tarihinde onanan 1/5000 ve 1/50000 ölçekli Mezarlık Gelişme ve  
Öneri Mezarlık alanlarının haritaları temin edilmiştir.

Yeni Mezarlık alanının Karşıyaka Mezarlığı yakınında olmasının bir çok  
yönden yararı vardır.En azından idare binaları,gasilhane,garaj,morg,mescit  
gibi tesislerin yeniden yapılmasına gerek kalmayacaktır.

Belirlenecek Mezarlık alanının alt ve üst yapı işlerine şimdiden başlan-  
masının yerinde olacağı düşünülmektedir.

Nazım Plan Büro Başkanlığı ile gerekli görüşmeler yapılarak,yeni Mezar-  
lık alanının belirlenmesi ve planının çıkarılarak,kamulaştırma işlemlerine  
başlanması Müdürlüğümüzce uygun görülmektedir.

Makamlarınızca da uygun görüldüğü takdirde gereği için yazınızın İmar  
Müdürlüğüne havalesini arz ederim.

M.Ertanul SEYLAN  
Mezarlıklar Müdürü V.

Ek.1-Liste ( 1 Adet)  
2-1/5000 ölçekli harita(1 Adet) (çyok)  
3-1/50000 ölçekli harita(1 Adet) (çyok)

Uygun görüşle arz.  
11.5/1983  
İ.Hakkı BAKKALCI  
Başkan Yardımcısı

ANKARA BELEDİYE BAŞKANLIĞI  
E-İMAR MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ  
3829  
13.5.1983  
Harita Şb.

12/5/1983  
Şilleyen ÖZNER  
Belediye Başkanı

Emniyet Müd.  
İmar Müd.ile belediyeye  
edilecek sanayi alanına  
Fenli Ş. Müd. ile  
Başmülh. Müd.



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