

A TALE OF ULUS SQUARE:
A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF CONTINUITY, TRANSFORMATION AND CHANGE
IN A HISTORIC PUBLIC OPEN SPACE IN ANKARA

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ELİF SELENA AYHAN KOÇYİĞİT

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**submitted by ELİF SELENA AYHAN KOÇYİĞİT in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Conservation of Cultural
Heritage, Department of Architecture, Middle East Technical University by,**

Prof. Dr. Halil Kalıpçılar
Dean, Graduate School of **Natural and Applied Sciences**

Prof. Dr. Cânâ Bilsel
Head of Department, **Architecture**

Prof. Dr. Neriman Şahin Güçhan
Supervisor, **Architecture Dept., METU**

Examining Committee Members:

Assoc. Prof. Dr. A. Güliz Bilgin Altınöz
Architecture Dept., METU

Prof. Dr. Neriman Şahin Güçhan
Supervisor, Architecture Dept., METU

Prof. Dr. Nil Uzun
City and Regional Planning Dept., METU

Prof. Dr. Adile Nuray Bayraktar
Architecture Dept., Başkent University

Prof. Dr. Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu
Archaeology and History of Art Dept., Koç University

Date: 05.10.2018

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last name: Elif Selena Ayhan Koyigit

Signature:

ABSTRACT

A TALE OF ULUS SQUARE: A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF CONTINUITY, TRANSFORMATION AND CHANGE IN A HISTORIC PUBLIC OPEN SPACE IN ANKARA

Ayhan Koçyiğit, Elif Selena
Ph.D., Department of Architecture
Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Neriman Şahin Güçhan

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Historic cities – which are complex entities formed by continuous interaction between physical and human environment – are under the threat of rapid transformation due to the domestic and global economy and politics. As inseparable components of historic cities, public open spaces are one of the most vulnerable elements of this transformation. The lack of a detailed definition of historic public open spaces and a method for their conservation in current laws and regulations in Turkey, result in the rapid loss of their cultural significance. Moreover, most of the refunctioning, demolition, reconstruction and street rehabilitation works held by the public authorities have been causing an irreversible damage to the authenticity and integrity of historic public open spaces in Turkey.

Among these historic public open spaces, Ulus Square that constitutes a symbolic meaning both for Ankara and Turkey and continuously functioned as one of the main centres of the city, is under a rapid transformation process mainly directed by the projects developed in the last decades. Therefore the thesis concentrates on the case of Ulus Square and tries to understand its story, as one of the most significant public open spaces in Ankara with a special emphasis on its emergence and transformation starting from the early 19th century until today. Through a detailed urban restitution study, the thesis aims to reveal the values ascribed in Ulus Square and to identify main factors

causing or accelerating the change in values in time. With its systematic framework developed for the historical analysis, value assessment and identification of change factors, its approach and outcomes, the thesis would provide a basis for a deeper understanding and conservation of Ulus Square as well as other historic public open spaces in Turkey.

Keywords: Ulus Square, historic public open space, Ankara, urban restitution, value assessment, continuity, transformation, change

ÖZ

ULUS MEYDANI'NIN HİKAYESİ: ANKARA'DAKİ TARİHİ BİR KAMUSAL AÇIK ALANIN SÜREKLİLİĞİ, DÖNÜŞÜMÜ VE DEĞİŞİMİ ÜZERİNE ELEŞTİREL BİR DEĞERLENDİRME

Ayhan Koçyiğit, Elif Selena
Doktora, Mimarlık Bölümü
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İnsan ve fiziki çevre arasındaki sürekli etkileşimin sonucunda meydana gelen tarihi kentler, iç ve küresel ekonomi ve siyaset nedeniyle hızlı bir dönüşüm tehdidi altındadır. Tarihi kentlerin ayrılmaz bileşenleri olarak, kamusal açık alanlar bu dönüşümün en savunmasız unsurlarından biridir. Türkiye'nin mevcut yasa ve yönetmeliklerinin tarihi kamusal açık alanları ayrıntılı bir şekilde tanımlamaması ve koruma yöntemleri geliştirmemesi, bu alanların kültürel öneminin hızla kaybolmasına neden olmaktadır. Ayrıca, kamu otoriteleri tarafından gerçekleştirilen yeniden işlevlendirme, yıkım, rekonstrüksiyon ve sokak sağlıklılaştırma çalışmalarının çoğu, Türkiye'deki tarihi kamusal açık alanların özgünlüğünde ve bütünlüğünde geri dönülemez bir hasara yol açmaktadır.

Bu tarihi kamusal açık alanlar arasında, hem Ankara hem de Türkiye için sembolik bir anlamı olan ve sürekli olarak kentin ana merkezlerinden biri olarak işlev gören Ulus Meydanı, özellikle son yıllarda geliştirilen projelerin yönlendirdiği hızlı bir dönüşüm sürecindedir. Bu nedenle tez, Ulus Meydanı örneğine odaklanmakta ve Ankara'daki en önemli kamusal açık alanlardan biri olarak, 19. yüzyıldan itibaren ortaya çıkışı ve dönüşümü üzerine özel bir vurgu ile, hikayesini anlamaya çalışmaktadır. Ayrıntılı bir kentsel restitüsyon çalışması ile tez, Ulus Meydanı'na atfedilen değerleri ortaya çıkarmayı ve zaman içinde değişime neden olan veya değişimi hızlandıran ana

faktörleri tanımlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Tarihi analiz, değerlerin anlaşılması ve değişim faktörlerinin tanımlanması için geliştirilen sistematik çerçevesi, yaklaşımı ve sonuçları ile bu tez, Ulus Meydanı'nın ve Türkiye'nin diğer tarihi kamusal açık alanlarının daha derin bir şekilde anlaşılması ve böylelikle korunmasına zemin oluşturacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ulus Meydanı, tarihi kamusal açık alan, Ankara, kentsel restitüsyon, değer belirlenmesi, süreklilik, dönüşüm, değişim

In memory of my Grandmom,
Hikmet Amca, Aysun Teyze
and Emre Madran

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA: Ankara Ankara

AKP: *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi/* Justice and Development Party

Ankara KTVKK: *Ankara Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kurulu/* the Ankara Council for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property

ANT: Antoloji Ankara

AMANPB: *Ankara Metropoliten Alan Nazım Plan Bürosu/* Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Bureau

APKBFA: Ankara Posta Kartları ve Belge Fotoğrafları Arşivi

ASBÜ: *Ankara Sosyal Bilimler Üniversitesi/* Social Sciences University of Ankara

BNF: Bibliothèque Nationale de France

CENTO: Central Treaty Organization

CHP: *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi/* Republican People's Party

DOCOMOMO: Documentation and Conservation of Modern Movement

DP: *Demokrat Parti/* Democrat Party

EAFF: Eski Ankara Fotoğrafları - Photos of Old Ankara

ETF: Eski Türkiye Fotoğrafları Arşivi

GEEAYK: Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu/ The High Council of Immovable Antiquities and Monuments

ICOMOS: International Council on Monuments and Sites

KTVKYK: *Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Yüksek Kurulu/* the Superior Council for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property

Law on Conservation (n. 2863): *Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu/* Law on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property

Law of 5218: *Ankara Belediyesine, Arsa ve Arazisinden Belli Bir Kısımını Mesken Yapacaklara 2490 Sayılı Kanun Hüükümlerine Bağlı Olmaksızın ve Muayyen Şartlarla Tahsis ve Temlik Yetkisi Verilmesi Hakkında Kanun/* Law on the Allocation of Municipality and Government Lands for the Construction of Houses in Ankara

Law of 5228: *Bina Yapımını Teşvik Kanunu/* Law for the Encouragement of Construction

Law of 5366: *Yıpranan Tarihi ve Kültürel Taşınmaz Varlıkların Yenilenerek Korunması ve Yaşatılarak Kullanılması Hakkında Kanun/ Law on Conservation by Renovation and Use by Revitalization of the Deteriorated Historical and Cultural Immovable Property*

MO/A: *Mimarlar Odası, Ankara Şube/ Chamber of Architects, Ankara Branch*

PIN: Pinterest

PMO/A: *Peyzaj Mimarları Odası, Ankara Şubesi/ Chamber of Landscape Architects, Ankara Branch*

PTT: *Posta ve Telgraf Umum Müdürlüğü/ General Directorate of Post and Telegraph*

RP: *Refah Partisi/ Welfare Party*

Renovation Area Council: Ankara Renovation Area Regional Council for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property

ŞPO/A: *Şehir Plancıları Odası, Ankara Şubesi/ Chamber of City Planners, Ankara Branch*

TA: Taşhan Akademisi

The Second Council: the Second Regional Council for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property, Ankara (later named as Ankara Renovation Area Council)¹

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

VEKAM: Koç University Vehbi Koç Ankara Studies Research Center

WOW: WOWTurkey

Translations for Selected Words

Anafartalar Bazaar: *Anafartalar İşhanı ve Çarşısı/ Anafartalar Office Block (higher) and Bazaar (lower)*

Ancient Properties Law (n. 1710): *Eski Eserler Kanunu*

Aşağı Yüz: Lower Face

Balık Pazarı: Fish Market

Baruthane Square: *Baruthane Meydanı*

Belediye Garden: *Belediye Bahçesi/ Municipality Garden*

¹ The Second Council was renamed as Ankara Renovation Area Council after the Law of 5366.

Büyük Millet Meclisi Road: *Büyük Millet Meclisi Caddesi*/ the Grand National Assembly Road

Central Bank: *Merkez Bankası*

Conservation Master Plan: *Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planı (KAİP)*

Court of Accounts: *Divan-ı Muhasebat/ Sayıştay*

Directorate General of Foundations: *Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü*

District Height Regulation: *Bölge Kat Nizamı*

Emlak ve Eytam Bank: *Emlak ve Eytam Bankası*

Gecekondu: Squatters

Gençlik Parkı: Youth Park:

General Directorate of the State Monopolies: *Tekel Baş Müdürlüğü*

Hal: *Hal Binası*/ Market Building

Halk Cinema: *Halk Sineması*

Hükümet Square: *Hükümet Meydanı*

Independence Tribunal: *İstiklal Mahkemesi*

İş Bank: *İş Bankası*/ Business Bank

Karaoğlan: *Karaoğlan Çarşısı-Karaoğlan Sokak*/ Karaoğlan Bazaar- Karaoğlan Street

Kulüp Cinema: *Kulüp Sineması*/ Club Cinema

Kuva-yi Milliye: The National Forces

Land Registry Law: *Tapu Kanunu*

Law of Building and Roads: *Yapı ve Yollar Kanunu*

Law of Expropriation: *İstimlak Kanunu*

Milli Cinema: *Milli Sinema*/ National Cinema

National Annual: *Milli Nevsal*

Millet Garden: *Millet Bahçesi*/ Nation Garden

Meclis Garden: *Meclis Bahçesi*/ the Assembly Garden

Ministry of Finance: *Maliye Vekaleti*

Osmanlı Bank: *Osmanlı Bankası*/ Ottoman Bank

Özel İdare Bazaar: *Muhasebe-i Hususiye (Özel İdare) Çarşısı*

Park Cinema: *Park Sineması*/ Park Cinema

Governors' Head building: *Paşa Sarayı/ Vilayet*

Sanayi ve Maadin Bank: *Sanayi ve Maadin Bankası*

Şehir Bazaar: *Şehir Çarşısı*/ City Bazaar

Şehir Garden: *Şehir Bahçesi*/ City Garden

The Condominium Law/ Law of Property: *Kat Mülkiyeti Kanunu*

The Development Law (n. 6785): *İmar Kanunu*

Ulus Bazaar: *Ulus İşhanı ve Çarşısı*/ Ulus Office Block (higher) and Bazaar (lower)

Ulus Şehir Bazaar: *Ulus Şehir Çarşısı*/ Ulus City Bazaar

Uzunçarşı: Long Market

Yeni Cinema: *Yeni Sinema*/ New Cinema

Yukarı Yüz: Upper Face

Ziraat Bank: *Ziraat Bankası*/ Agriculture Bank

100. Yıl Bazaar: *100. Yıl Çarşısı*/ 100th Year Shopping Centre

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Historic urban areas – which are complex entities formed by continuous interaction between physical and human environment – are under the threat of rapid transformation due to global economy and politics. Many historic cities witnessed a renewal process mainly directed by demolition of city walls, squares and streets. It was the end of 19th century that the concept of historic city emerged and only starting from the 20th century discussions on conserving historic cities were aroused.² Today, existing legal and administrative issues on urban planning and development are still inadequate to ensure the continuity of these areas. Furthermore, even though there are conservation policies as a response to this threat, most of these policies were developed for the continuity of physical aspects emphasizing mainly historic buildings, and resulted with the loss of the authenticity and integrity of these areas. At this point, it is important to shift the focus to public open spaces – that reflect urban history, constitute collective memory and shared history and at the same time one of the most vulnerable elements of cities – that are under the risk of disappearance in near future.

To understand the characteristics of historic public open spaces and to develop coherent proposals for sustaining the continuity of their cultural significance, methods for a better understanding of these spaces with their components should be developed. Thus, the thesis concentrated on the meaning of public as background research to identify the nature of and public open spaces. First of all, an etymological and historical survey was conducted to understand the nature of being public and its reflection on open space. Outcomes of this research were utilised by the thesis to develop a systematic method for identification of the attributes defining a public open

² Between the end of 19th century and the early 20th century, several scholars such as; Camillo Sitte, Werner Hegemann, Raymond Unwin, Marcel Poetei Charles Buls, Patrick Geddes and Gustavo Giovannoni developed ideas on historic cities, the meaning of historical continuum, and the concept of urban heritage.

space. With the help of this method (examining the area as a whole and its components separately), a deeper understanding of a historic public open space could be achieved.

1.1. BACKGROUND INFORMATION: PUBLIC SPACE

One of the best examples for an urban element that trespasses its physical function and gains further meanings is without a doubt public space. With the functions and events it hosts, public space is a summary of any size of human settlements. Before investigating public space, it would be useful to analyse the term etymologically. The word public is derived from Latin word *publicus*, meaning “pertaining to people”, which in turn is a cognate of Latin *populus* meaning “people”.³ It is defined as “relating to or involving people in general, rather than being limited to a particular group of people”⁴. So, the condition of a space to be regarded as public is its ability to be used by everyone and infinitely. Space, on the other hand, is rooted from Latin word *spatio*. *Spatio* is originated from the word *patere* meaning ‘to be opened, to stretch’ and implies an ‘interval’. In earlier times the term *spatio* was used to refer to an interval of time. Terence, a Roman playwright, provides an example of this use:

*“Spatium quidem tandem apparandi nuptias,
vocandi, sacrificandi dabitur paullulum.”
(Phormio, 703–704)*

Here the slave Geta who mentions these words, is very busy, as slaves always are in Roman comedy, asks for some time, *spatium paullulum*, to prepare for the wedding, send out the invitations, and arrange the religious ceremony. By using *spatium*, the author often feels no need to use additional temporal terms such as *temporis* (time) or *aetatis* (age, period), or *vitae* (life). There were other terms for the use of *spatio* in a spatial means, appear to be made first by Lucretius:

*“Qua propter simulacra pari ratione necessest
Inmemorable per spatium transcurrere posse*

³ (Online Etymology Dictionary: 2018).

⁴ (Cambridge Dictionary: 2018).

*Temporis in puncto...*⁵
(De rerum Natura, 4, 191-193)

In time the term *spatio* became to be used only in a spatial manner in Latin and entered to English vocabulary through French in the Middle Ages. According to this etymological analysis, public space can be defined simply as a “place pertaining to people”.

Public spaces have been sites of cultural, political, and economic importance from early civilizations to the present day. From the alleys of ancient Babylon to the public squares of modern cities, the form and function of open spaces have varied dramatically, based on particular cultural arrangements, yet retaining a host of similar features. Egypt was the first civilization which implemented the principles of urban planning. Akhetaten (Tel el-Amarna) which was the capital city during the reign of Amenhotep IV (1353 BCE), was divided into two main districts: a north suburb and then the main city, where all administrative and royal buildings were situated. From there, it was divided into various sectors, loosely linked by a “Royal Road” that paralleled the river (Gates: 2011, 110). The main city housed religious and civic buildings, gardens, a police barracks, a ‘Records Office’ and a large open space which was used for commercial as well as public activities.

Mesopotamians were also aware of the importance of public spaces when building up their cities. Each city along the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers belonged to an individual divinity that represented its social fabric. The divinity’s home, the temple, with its large courtyard, was the heart of the city’s religious, economic, and administrative affairs. For instance, the large courtyard of the Oval Temple of the ancient Mesopotamian city of Khafaje (Early Dynastic Period, 2900-2350 BCE) was the largest open space of the city and used for public purposes such as trade and assembly in addition to religious purposes (Kirkpatrick: 2015, 11). This public space function of temple courtyard was maintained by the neighbouring civilizations of the Bronze Age.

⁵ “Wherefore the images in like manner must be able to run through **space** inexpressible by words in a moment of time...”

For example, the courtyard of the Grand Temple of the Hittite capital Hattusa (1400 BCE) was also used as the market place (Neve: 2002, 82).

The concept of public space was introduced to the Greek urbanism as ‘Agora’. The literal meaning of the word is “gathering place” or “assembly”.⁶ The history of Athenian Agora goes back to the Mycenaean period, to 1600 BCE when it was used as a cemetery. Later in the 8th century the site was converted first to an assembly place for military and then by the 6th century it was started to be used for commercial and public functions (Kirkpatrick: 2015, 25-26). Agora was the political, commercial, civic and artistic heart of ancient Greek cities so that it became the root for few Greek verbs *ἀγοράζω*, *agorázō*, “I shop”, and *ἀγορεύω*, *agoreúō*, “I speak in public”.⁷

The Roman equivalent of Agora was the Forum. The Forum in Rome, known as *Forum Romanum* in Latin, was a site located at the centre of the ancient city of Rome and the location of important religious, political and social activities (Abbott and Johnson: 1926, 12-13). The archaeological research indicates that people first began publicly meeting in the open-air Forum around 500 BCE, when the Roman Republic was founded. The rectangular-shaped area, sited on low-lying land between Palatine Hill and Capitoline Hill, was home to many of the ancient city’s most impressive temples and monuments. By the Roman Imperial Era, establishing a forum in every city under Roman control became an urban norm.

In medieval ages, both in the west and the east, marketplace was an important urban element. Similar to its predecessors, it was used for commercial as well as public activities. By the 11th century, in the European cities marketplace remarkably grew as one of the crucial public open spaces of the medieval times. With its central location in the town, marketplace enabled the inhabitants to come together with the foreigners/visitors of the town in the inns, taverns (Mumford: 1987, 105).

⁶ (perseus.tufts.edu, 2018)

⁷ (perseus.tufts.edu, 2018)

On the other hand, in the Islamic cities of the medieval Near-East, courtyards of grand mosques, bazaars and maidans played the same role. In the first centuries of Islamic civilization, when a new city was captured, one of the first building activities was constructing a grand mosque on the place of ancient Roman forum in the centre of the city. The Arabic word for mosque *jāmi* (جامع) is derived from *jama'a* and refers to gathering. In compliance with this connotation, this grand mosque, with its courtyard played the same commercial and public role with its ancient Mesopotamian counterparts that were explained earlier. In addition to that, bazaars (from Persian *wāzār*, 'market') in the centre and different quarters of the city were used for commercial and other civic functions. In the later periods, probably due to demand from the public, a new form, maidan appeared as a new type of public space. Maidan is a Persian word meaning "town-square or central place of gathering" and it is derived from Proto-Indo-European word *médyos*. Its Latin equivalent is *medius* and means medium.⁸

Public Space in Different Disciplines

Some normative definitions for public space based on the existing literature would be that public space is the physical site in which differences between individuals become visible and can be negotiated. Therefore, it is the physical site of the public sphere and site for deliberative democracy. On the other hand, from topographical point of view, public space is defined as every space that is not privately owned. It is the space of public ownership. Public space is recreational space and should be legally accessible to everyone.

Different disciplines deal with the concept of public space in various ways regarding sociological facts, official rights, user and utilization type. For instance, İnam defines public space as outside of the courtyard, outsider of the house, and life in the square (1998: 185). On the other hand, Mahçupyan discusses public space as an issue that should enwrap the whole society, a unit of politics and community conflicts, with its

⁸ *Meydan* in Turkish.

all varieties (1998: 22, 23). In other terms, these spaces, which all people inhabiting the city has the legal access (Lofland: 1973) and give the freedom of action-and the right to stay inactive (Kostof: 1999, 123), are the places of the society.

In many disciplines including architecture and urban planning public space is considered what is not private; space that is not occupied by private buildings or areas.⁹ Apart from being a design element, scholars in the field of architecture and urban planning also concentrate on the social and political aspects of public space. In these disciplines, social production of public space; communal activities, collective demands, memories and narratives created in public realm;¹⁰ the ability of public space to bring people and members of different groups together; use of public space as a tool for political and social domination and an agent of social control¹¹ are also discussed in detail. Moreover, in sociology, public space is examined in terms of public activities it hosts; its production by social interactions; legal accessibility to everyone especially to different groups, ethnicities and communities; its ability to reproduce and maintain dynamic memory and its contribution to democracy and tolerance. Similarly, political science focuses on the interaction between people and public space in terms of participation; its use, definition and determination by authority; accessibility by every members of the society. On the other hand, communication sciences consider the physical and symbolic meanings of public space and pays attention to its function of providing ground for freedom, debates and information exchange.

Regarding the user and utilization process, public spaces can also be defined as places that bring people who do not know each other in an intimate, private social fashion and in most cases do not care to know each other in that fashion (Bakan and Konuk: 1987, 95), and can be simply defined as places where strangers meet (Richard Sennett: 2010). Additionally, these spaces that are used by the members of different communities of the society, can also have a specialty of hosting structured or

⁹ İnâ (1998: 185), Bakan and Konuk (1987: 104), and Krier, R. (1979: 15).

¹⁰ Kostof (1999: 123, 124) and S.; Hutchison (2000: xi).

¹¹ Gür (1999: 184-193).

communal activities such as festivals, riots, celebrations, public executions... (Kostof: 1999, 124). In other words, public (not private) stewardship, open access and the fact that the space is used by many people for common purpose (Zukin: 1995) can be listed as the main features of public spaces. On the other hand, these features do not include the information about the space whether being open or not.

According to Bakan and Konuk, the spaces outside the buildings, the areas used by the society and providing urbanisation events and incidences (1987: 104) can be defined as public open space. These spaces are places that cannot be controlled by private sector, individuals or organizations and allowing different groups of people, regardless of their class, ethnicity, gender and age, to intermingle (Madanipour: 1996, 145), and that are showing varieties in shape and attribution. Their borders can be defined by rights, physical features, utilization and meaning. Therefore, the public open spaces analysed in this work are the areas other than the buildings, where communal activities are occurring and which each individual has an official right to use.

Features Identify Public Open Space

From an urban perspective, public open space can be defined by its spatial features (form) and the characteristics of activities (function) facilitated by the inhabitants. The spatial form of public open spaces is considered as an essential determinant for the field of urban design. Moreover, public accessibility, the symbolic meaning of the space and its particular role in the development of urban pattern have been considered as important issues during the design process. In parallel to this, the functional aspects of a public open space also defined a distinguishing feature for identifying these areas and their role within the city. Regarding the utilization type, public open spaces are the areas that create space for people to come together, interact and exchange goods and ideas, demand and struggle for political, personal and socioeconomic rights. Thus, public open spaces are the major urban areas where social life and social movements have been emerged through time. Therefore, public space is the place of interaction, social contact among different groups and individuals. In this context, studies on space

(in different scales) conducted by various scholars are examined to understand the features that identify a public open space, squares in particular. Scholars and their researches focusing on different aspects of cities and urban spaces are summarised in **Table 1**.

From architectural scale to city scale, the table illustrates the approaches of scholars on the analysis of space. Meiss discusses the architectural space and main physical aspects of this space in detail. On the other hand, Salingaros, Kostof and R. Krier are mainly dealing with the definition of urban space and particularly in squares. While Salingaros and Kostof examine the physical aspects of urban space, R. Krier focuses both in the physical, symbolic, functional and visual aspects of squares and ways of understanding their nature. In addition to these discussions, L. Krier also analyses urban spaces by focusing on quarters. Like several other scholars, he also structures his approach regarding the physical and visual aspects of these areas. The last scholar listed on the table is Lynch, who discusses the ways of understanding cities as a whole as well as identifying each feature separately in detail. He examined the meaning and elements of the city, their form and function. To conclude, the data listed on this table, will be utilised by the thesis to categorise the features defining a public open space and to understand the nature of squares in detail.

Table 1 Discussion on the features identifying Public Open Space

Author	Source	Criteria
Pierre von Meiss	Elements of Architecture: From Form to Place (2011)	ARCHITECTURAL SPACE objects, boundaries, planes that define limits depths of space, background foregrounds density openings of space: closed, introverted, concentrated, upon themselves, or open, extrovert, centrifugal- the degree of enclosure
Nikos A. Salingaros	Urban Space and its Information Field (1999)	URBAN SPACE Surface differentiations, colour and texture on pavements building facades
Spiro Kostof	The City Assembled: The Elements of Urban Form through History (1999)	PUBLIC PLACES/ SQUARES 1. The architectural frame of the square 2. Functional distributions 3. Shape 4. Street pattern
Rob Krier	Urban Space (1979)	URBAN SPACE/ SQUARES - the space bounded by elevations - symbolic value - social-ritual meaning - activities took place - spatial form - building sections and elevations - intersecting streets and their character
Leon Krier	Architecture: Choice or Faith (2008)	URBAN QUARTER size, shape, activities, surface area, number of streets, boundary, skyline, facades, positioning of urban blocks
Kevin Lynch	The Image of the City (1960)	CITY The City Image and its elements: - Paths - Edges - Districts - Nodes - Landmarks Scale, viewpoint, time and season
Kevin Lynch	Good City Form (1984)	CITY Form and function of single elements and the whole

1.2. AIM OF THE THESIS

Historic cities are generated by the complex layering of the relationship between built and open areas through time. To sustain their continuity, conservation measures should be developed through the examination of built areas and open spaces as a whole. Each aspect defining these areas should be identified and evaluated through their values. Without a deeper analysis on the components of historic cities (both built and open space) and their complex relationship, conservation measures cannot sustain the cultural significance of the area. In this context, conservation legislations and laws play an important role regarding the fact that principles and methods defined are crucial to conduct a systematic study for developing conservation measures for heritage places. For the case of Turkey, conservation laws and regulations cover an extensive framework from architectural scale to urban scale. Variety of explanations and principles are defined regarding the development of projects for single building to urban conservation. On the other hand, public open spaces, which are an inseparable component of historic cities are not considered in detail on current conservation law of Turkey.

Through a detailed analyses on the legislative framework defined for conservation projects in Turkey, it is possible to state that there are limited explanations on historic public open spaces. Even though the law does not exclude these areas, it primarily targets the conservation of surrounding buildings instead of determining principles for the public open spaces as heritage places. Thus, except the surrounding buildings, the law does not define any measure for conservation of a historic public open space. Moreover, in contrast to building scale conservation process, the law does not define a legal status for historic public open spaces to be registered as cultural heritage. The registration status can only be defined for the buildings or sites (archaeological, urban and historic) that have definite boundaries with lot numbers. On the other hand, several assets such as urban squares, parks and open spaces which are not labelled on the cadastral maps with definite boundaries and therefore do not have lot numbers, cannot

be registered as cultural heritage.¹² As a result of this deficiency, it is not possible to label a historic public open space as a registered area. Hence, conservation of historic public open spaces in Turkey can only be realized by the registration of surrounding buildings defining the space and developing conservation measures for these buildings. Without the buildings, conservation of these historic areas is open to discussion.

The current conservation law encourages the projects developed for sustaining the continuity, authenticity and integrity of historic urban tissue documented within the boundaries of urban sites. On the contrary, it does not define any specific measure for the features composing these areas. Thus, historic public open spaces and several other assets are not considered as heritage places to be conserved as a single entity. Furthermore, instead of being valued separately, these areas only considered valuable with their role in the historic urban site.¹³ Even areas such as historic public open spaces, urban squares and streets are not separately mentioned in the law than urban sites. Therefore, it is not possible for a historic public open space to be conserved as a heritage place on its own. The only way to sustain their continuity is to develop measures for the urban site, and to achieve that building oriented approaches are defined by the law.

As a result, without any definition for these areas or identification of conservation principles, the method of historic public open space conservation in Turkey evolved as a process that can be interpreted in various ways. On the other hand, like building or urban scale conservation, the framework to be followed for the conservation of these areas cannot be open to interpretation. As a result of the insufficiency of the law to consider these areas as heritage places and the lack of a systematic framework defined specifically for historic public open spaces, most of the projects developed for the continuity of these places eventuated in street rehabilitation and loss of cultural

¹² Article 8, Registration Process in “The Regulation on Identification and Registration of Immovable Cultural and Natural Properties and Conservation Sites” (published in the Official Gazette on 13.03.2012, n. 28232).

¹³ Ibid. Article 3, Definitions.

significance of the place. Eventually, historic public open spaces in Turkey one by one lost their authenticity and integrity either due to the negligence or implementation of the projects causing irreversible change on the area. Hence, conservation of historic public open spaces in Turkey is a crucial issue to be discussed in detail.

As defined above there are many issues to be solved regarding the conservation of historic public open spaces in Turkey. In the course of time one by one these heritage places lost their cultural significance and several others are under the risk of an irreversible change. Among them, Ulus Square that constitutes a significant importance both for Ankara and Turkey is an important case to be examined regarding the fact that it is facing a rapid and irreversible transformation process. For almost a decade, projects concentrated on demolition, reconstruction and refunctioning in the area created a risk of eroding the unity and authenticity of Ulus Square. In parallel to the change in physical, functional and visual aspects identifying the area, it is also possible to follow the loss of socio-cultural values attached to Ulus Square. Thus, recent years have witnessed an increasing risk for Ulus Square to lose its cultural significance.

For the case of Ulus Square, to mitigate the negative impacts of change and to sustain the cultural significance of the area, conservation proposals should be developed urgently. However, the lack of a detailed systematic framework defined for conservation of historic public open spaces in the conservation law is still a major obstacle both for Ulus Square and several other heritage places in Turkey. Additionally, condition of Ulus Square is extremely fragile that in a short amount of time it would be too late to develop conservation measures for the area. Therefore, the thesis aims to arouse awareness on the problematic conservation process of historic public open spaces in Turkey through a case which extensively reflects the risk of these areas to lose their cultural significance if conservation measures are not taken soon.

Moreover, through the case of Ulus Square, it is also aimed to develop a framework for a systematic historical analysis to understand the heritage place in a detailed way and to identify the values ascribed through time. The restitution study conducted within the framework defined by the thesis, has the possibility to be utilised by other projects developed for the conservation of historic public open space in Turkey. By this way, the method developed and tested by the thesis can be utilised as a detailed example of the steps to be followed for conservation of a historic public open space.

Furthermore, by conducting a detailed restitution study, evaluating significant outcomes regarding the values ascribed to the areas and major factors causing change through time, the thesis reveals the necessary data for developing conservation measures for Ulus Square. Since the area is under the risk of losing its authenticity soon, with its outcomes the thesis would accelerate the process of developing conservation measures for Ulus Square. Therefore, to sustain the cultural significance of historic public opens spaces in Turkey as well as to increase the possibility for Ulus Square to sustain its cultural significance, the thesis aims to contribute to the field of conservation with its methodology and the selection of case.

To conclude, through the case of Ulus Square, the thesis aims to introduce a systematic framework defining the restitution process for conservation of historic public open spaces. It is important to emphasize that, the thesis does not concentrate in developing a conservation project for the area, but aims to define a base that formulates the stages to be followed for a coherent and reliable analyses and evaluation stages of a conservation activity. Thus, the thesis contributes to the field of conservation by introducing a systematic framework, and testing this framework on a case evolved as an outcome of complex layering of relationships through time.

1.3. SCOPE OF THE THESIS

To achieve the aim discussed previously, time and space limitations are defined for the study. Even though archaeological evidences from the city centre indicate that Ankara has been intensively inhabited since the Phrygians, the preliminary stages of

Ulus Square can be traced from the Roman Galatian times (300 BC –AD 400) onward. Therefore, the time limitation for the thesis is defined between Roman Galatian Period and today. Within the periods defined, a detailed analysis was conducted to determine the spatial limitations for understanding the evolution of Ulus Square through time.

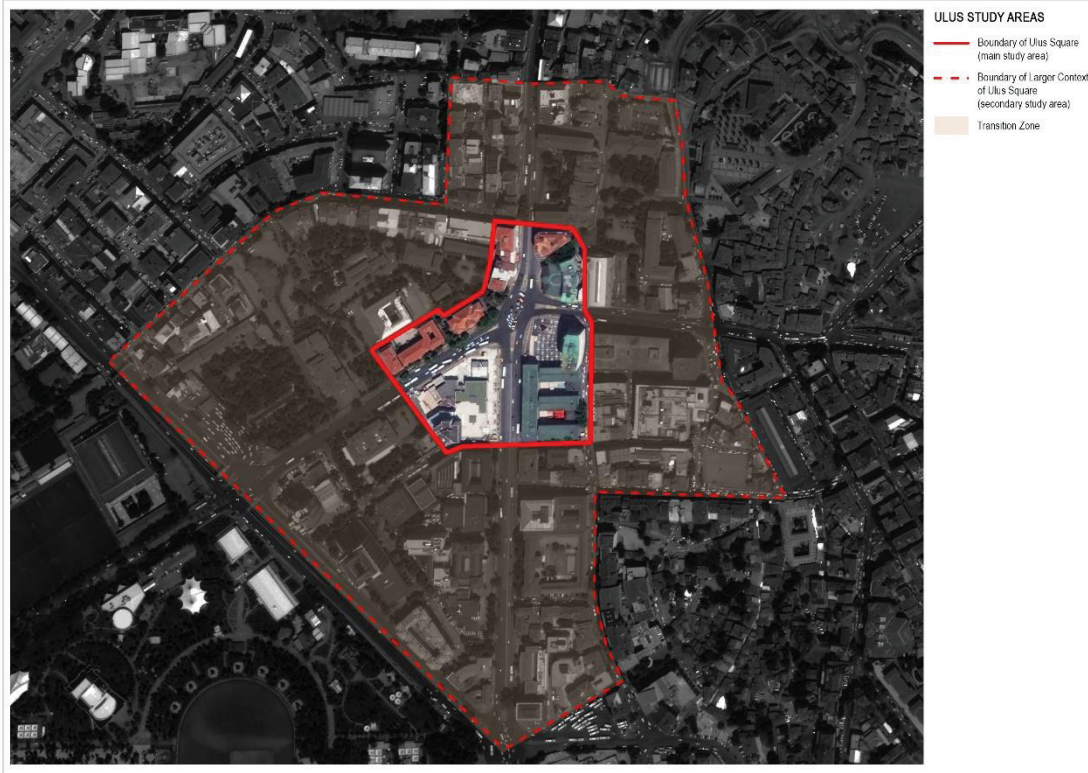


Figure 1 Boundaries of Ulus Square and its larger context

Primarily, the boundary of the main study area is determined through the first circuit of buildings defining the edge of Ulus Square. As can be followed in **Figure 1**, boundary of Ulus Square is labelled with red line which included the buildings facing the area. Furthermore, as a buffer zone to the main study area, the secondary study area is also defined to analyse the heritage place within its context. The areas having direct impact on the heritage and integrating characteristics with the heritage are defined as interaction/ buffer zone in the conservation law of Turkey. Understanding the relationship between historic public open space and its immediate surroundings/context is crucial for developing measures for the continuity of the heritage place. Thus, for the case of Ulus Square, an interaction/ buffer zone having a direct and continuous relationship with the area is determined and labelled as Larger

Context of Ulus Square in **Figure 1**. Even though the thesis is structured to focus on Ulus Square, this additional study area is also analysed to increase the reliability and consistency of the data evaluated for understanding the characteristics of Ulus Square through time.

1.3.1. Ulus Square and its Larger Context, 2018

Ulus Square is laid on the western base of the hill where historic Ankara was settled. Located at the centre of Ulus District – where the main axis of the city intersects – today's Ulus Square is one of the most important public open spaces of historic Ankara. The square situated at the north-west centre of historic Ankara and on the west edge of the Urban Site boundary designated in 2008 (**Figure 2**). By being located almost at the centre, Ulus Square connects primary roads of Ankara from north to south (Aydınlıkevler/ Keçiören-Kızılay/ Çankaya) and east to west (İstasyon/ Tandoğan- Atpazarı/ Kale) direction.

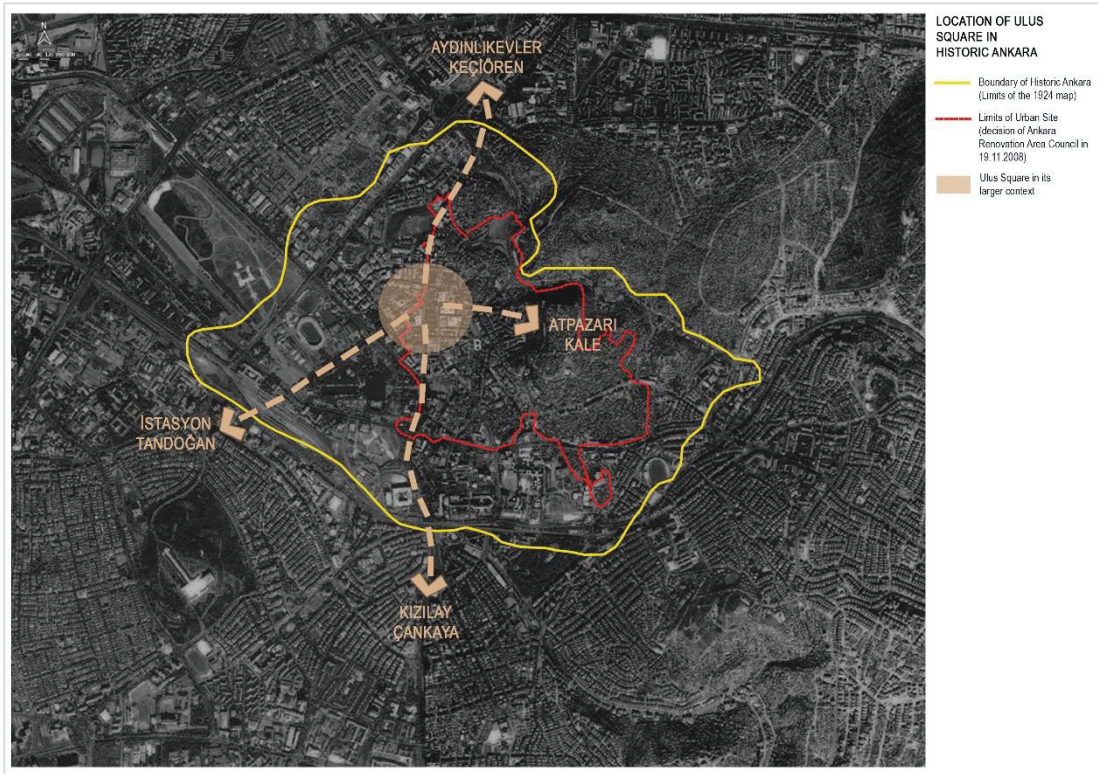


Figure 2 Location of Ulus Square and its larger context in Historic Ankara

Çankırı Road, Cumhuriyet Road, Atatürk Boulevard and Anafartalar Road which are the main axis of this area, intersects here and transformed Ulus Square into a transition zone predominantly characterised by dense vehicular and pedestrian traffic. Most of the public bus and *dolmuş*¹⁴ routes connecting the north of Ankara to south, pass through Ulus Square. Due to numerous bus and *dolmuş* stops sprinkled around (**Figure 3**), a huge amount of people uses this area for transportation. On the other hand, in addition to the pedestrian and vehicle traffic caused by transportation activities, visitors of the area for commercial and touristic purposes also increase density. As a result, these circumstances eventuate in a chaotic setting where the rush of daily practices dominates the character of the square. Notwithstanding the fact that it is located within a densely inhabited and crowded area (both in terms of vehicle and pedestrian), Ulus Square is a significant spot for daily activities and complex layering of social life.

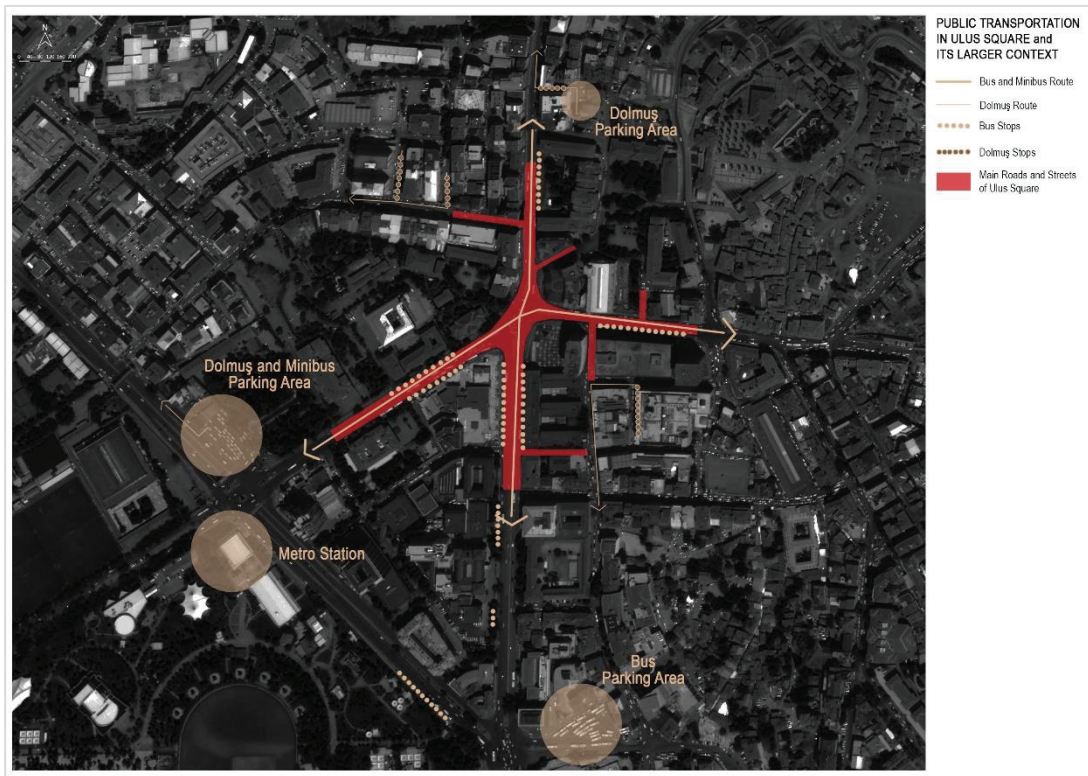


Figure 3 Main routes and stops for public transportation

¹⁴ Meaning full in Turkish, *dolmuş* is a transportation system consist of small vehicles where passengers get in one by one and departs when it is full (Tekeli and Okyay: 1981, 8). It does not have either a timetable or a *dolmuş* stop. Due to the demand of passengers, it can stop in everywhere.



Figure 4 Buildings and monuments defining Ulus Square

By being at the western edge of the historic city, for decades Ulus Square was used as the main link between historic areas and newly developed districts. Thus, in the course of time, its physical aspects have been generated by various buildings and public open spaces representing different periods of Ankara.¹⁵ Today, it is mainly identified by monumental buildings (**Figure 4**) such as; *100. Yıl Çarşısı*/ 100. Yıl Bazaar (1967-1982), *Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü*/ General Directorate of Cultural Assets and Museums (Sayıştay, 1925), *Kurtuluş Savaşı Müzesi*/ the War of Independence Museum (1. Meclis, İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti, 1915) Meydan Palas (1931-1932) and Koç Han (1931-1932) located on the west side of Atatürk Boulevard and Çankırı Road (**Figure 5a**); whereas *İş Bankası Ulus Heykel Şubesi*/ İş Bank Ulus Heykel Branch (İş Bankası Genel Müdürlüğü, 1929), ASBÜ (Sümerbank, 1937-1938), *Ulus İşhanı ve Çarşısı*/ Ulus Office Block and Bazaar (Ulus Bazaar, 1954-1955) and *Zafer Anıtı*/ Victory Monument (1927) are located on east (**Figure 5b**).

¹⁵ Names are listed as: Current name of the building in Turkish/ Current name of the building in English (Original name of the building, construction date).



Figure 5 a. 100. Yıl Bazaar (Author: 2017), General Directorate of Cultural Assets and Museums (Author: 2018) and the War of Independence Museum (PIN: 2017), Meydan Palas and Koç Han (Author: 2017) **b.** İş Bank (Author: 2017), ASBÜ (Author: 2017), Ulus Bazaar and Victory Monument (Esatcan Coşkun: 2013)

Moreover, Ulus Square is also surrounded by a wide range of historic monuments and landmarks in its larger context (**Figure 6, Figure 9, Figure 10**). Aligned on both sides of main roads, *Garanti Bankası*/ Garanti Bank (Ottoman Bank, 1926), *Vakıflar Kültür ve Tescil Daire Başkanlığı*/ Directorate General of Foundations for Registration (Etibank, 1935-1936), *Devlet Tiyatroları Genel Müdürlüğü*/ Directorate General of National Theatres (*Evkaf Apartmanı*, 1929), *Ziraat Bank Müzesi*/ Ziraat Bank Museum (General Directorate of Ziraat Bank, 1929), *Merkez Bankası*/ Central Bank (1931), Ankara Palas (1927), Radisson Blu Hotel (*Stad Otel*, 1970) and Central Bank Headquarter (1970s) are located in the area between Atatürk Boulevard and Cumhuriyet Road; *Cumhuriyet Müzesi*/ Republic Museum (the Second National Assembly, 1924) is laid in Cumhuriyet Road (**Figure 7a-g**).

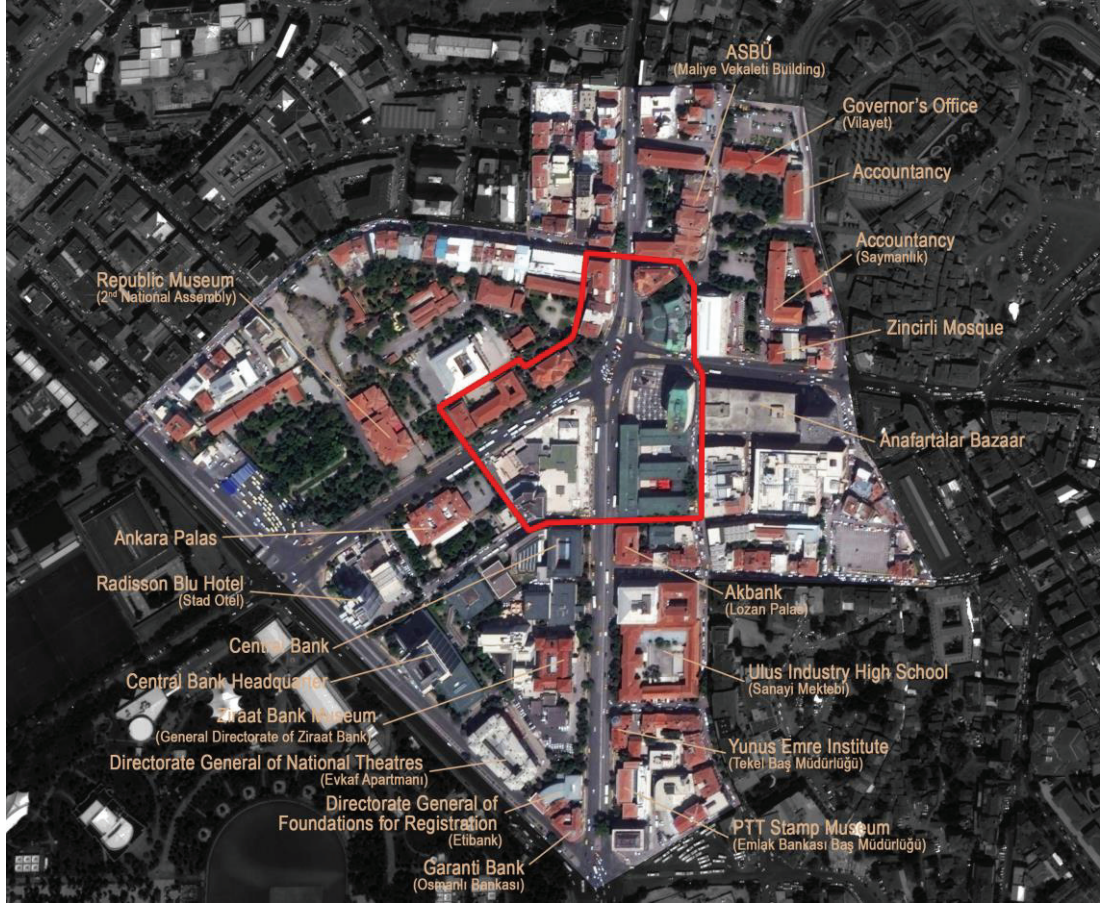


Figure 6 Landmarks located within larger context of Ulus Square



Figure 7a-g Garanti Bank (Author: 2017), Directorate General of Foundations for Registration (Author: 2017), Directorate General of National Theatres (Author: 2017), Ziraat Bank Museum (PIN: 2017), Central Bank (Author: 2017), Ankara Palas (PIN: 2017), Radisson Blu Hotel (Author: 2017), Republic Museum (Author: 2015)

Additionally, *Ankara Sosyal Bilimler Üniversitesi (ASBÜ)*/ Social Sciences University of Ankara (*Maliye Vekaleti-Gümrük Müsteşarlığı*, 1925), *Hükümet Konağı*/ Governor's Office (*Vilayet-Paşa Sarayı*, 1897), *Defterdarlık*/ Accountancy

(*Saymanlık*, 1930's) and *Zincirli Camii*/ Zincirli Mosque (17th century) are located between Çankırı Road and Anafartalar Road. Other significant monuments located in between the area defined by Anafartalar Road and Atatürk Boulevard are; *PTT Pul Müzesi*/ PTT Stamp Museum (*Emlak ve Eytam Bankası Genel Müdürlüğü*, 1933-1934), *Yunus Emre Enstitüsü*/ Yunus Emre Institute (*Tekel Baş Müdürlüğü*, 1928), *Ulus Mesleki ve Teknik Anadolu Lisesi*/ Ulus Industrial Vocational Anatolian High School (*Mekteb-i Sanayi*, 1905), *Akbank* (Lozan Palas) (1926) and *Anafartalar Çarşısı*/ Anafartalar Bazaar (1967) (**Figure 8a-g**).



Figure 8a-g ASBÜ (Author: 2017), Governor's Office (PIN: 2017), Accountancy and Zincirli Mosque (Author: 2017), PTT Stamp Museum (PIN: 2017), Yunus Emre Institute (Author: 2017), Ulus Industrial Vocational Anatolian High School (PIN: 2017), Akbank (Author: 2017), Anafartalar Bazaar (TA: 2016)

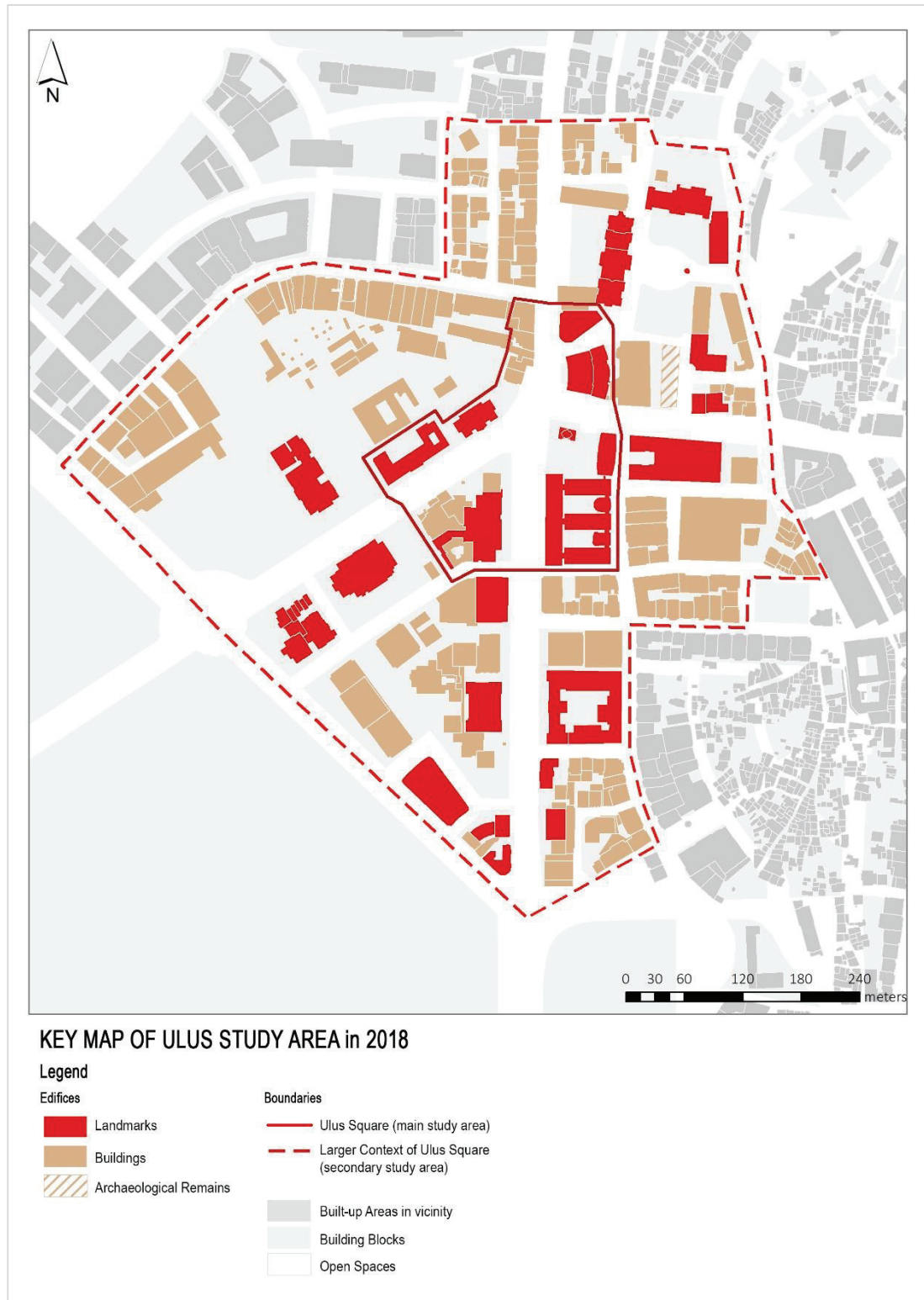


Figure 9 Location of landmarks within the boundary of Ulus Square in its larger context

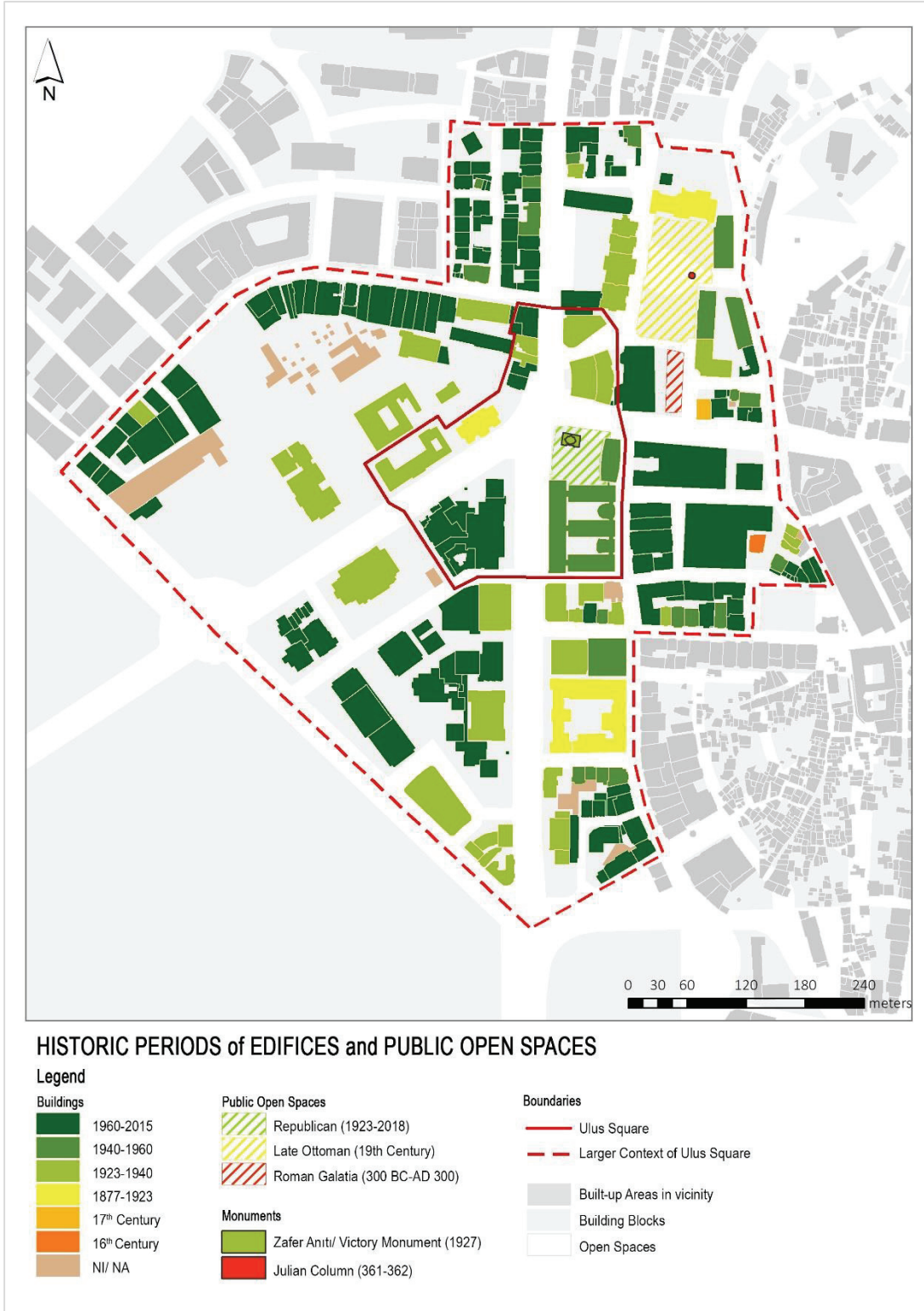


Figure 10 Historical Periods of Edifices and Public Open Spaces within the boundary of Ulus Square in its larger context

As well as monumental buildings, there are three important public open spaces within the larger context of Ulus Square which are **(Figure 10)**; a small part remaining from a Roman Street/ *cardo maximus*, a historic square called *Hükümet Meydanı*/ Hükümet Square, and a pedestrian zone around Victory Monument. The first one referred as *cardo maximus* dates back to the 8th century BC, was the main artery of Ancyra in the north-south axis (Kadioğlu and Görkay: 2011, 144-145). Although it was used as the main commercial street of the Roman Galatian and Byzantine Period, today it is only possible to see a small section of it as archaeological remains **(Figure 11a)**.

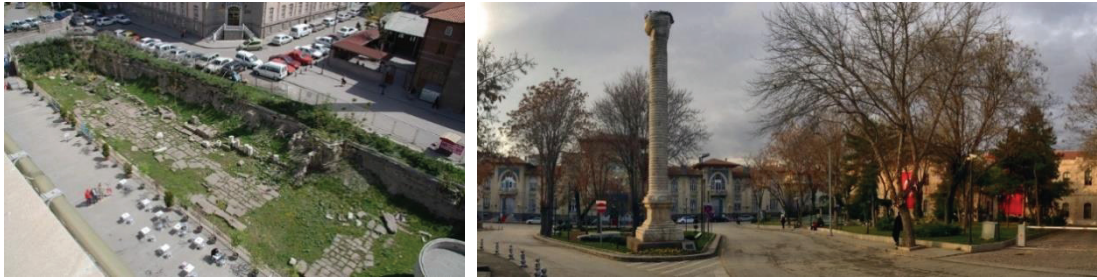


Figure 11 a. Roman Street/ *cardo maximus*, 2008 (WOW: 2016) **b.** Hükümet Square; Julian Column on the front, *ASBÜ* on the left and Governor's Office on the right (PIN: 2016)

The second one, Hükümet Square is a Late Ottoman public open space dated back to the mid-19th century and located in the northeast part of the Ulus Square. It is defined by *ASBÜ*, Governor's Office and Accountancy, and it is associated mainly with Governor's Office and the column located at the centre of the square called *Jülian Sütunu-Belkız Sütunu*/ Julian Column (361-363 AD) **(Figure 11b)**. Mainly hosting administrative buildings, Hükümet Square developed as an outcome of *Tanzimat* reforms regarding urban issues. And from the beginning of its emergence until today it has continued its administrative function dominantly. The third public open space within the boundary of Ulus Square's larger context emerged during the Republican Period, at the end of 1950s. Today, it is a regularly used pedestrian zone, located at the centre of Ulus Square and mainly defined with Ulus Bazaar (1954-1955) and associated with the monument called Victory Monument (1927).

1.4. METHOD AND CONTENT OF THE THESIS

For research topics interconnecting multidisciplinary areas such as architecture, urban studies, conservation and history diverse strategies should be utilised on different

levels of the research process, including: topic areas; paradigms or ways of knowing; research design; and tactics in data collection (Groat and Wang: 2002, 361). Therefore, regarding the complexity of the topic, diverse strategies are combined in a single framework for the thesis. To understand, analyse and evaluate the complex layering of historic public open spaces, and to interpret the data for developing a base for developing conservation measures, following research methods are utilised;

Case Study (Ulus Square) + Interpretive-Historical (restitution) + Logical Argumentation (value assessment, change factors)

As discussed in previous section, the main problem defined by the thesis is the insufficiency of legislations and laws for the conservation of historic public open spaces in Turkey. In parallel to this, it is also emphasized that the lack of a systematic method for the restitution study specifically developed for public open spaces is also an important obstacle for their continuity. Therefore, the thesis aims to define a method that can be utilised for conducting a restitution study for historic public open spaces. To achieve that, first of all the meaning of public and public space is examined (see Background Information: Public Space). Following that, main attributes defining public open spaces with a special emphasis on urban squares are analysed through the discussions developed by several scholars. By this way, the main features identifying squares are determined and categorised under four headings. As can be followed on **Table 2**, these features are grouped regarding their perceptual/ cognitive, physical, functional and visual aspects.

Table 2 Categorisation of the features identifying squares

PERCEPTUAL- COGNITIVE ATTRIBUTES	PHYSICAL ATTRIBUTES	FUNCTIONAL ATTRIBUTES	VISUAL ATTRIBUTES
Meaning of the square - state - public	- Edge, Boundary, Territory - Characteristics of intersecting streets - Form, Shape, Size - Characteristics of edifices and open spaces - Landmarks - Elements - Surface Properties	- Function of the square - Function of the intersecting streets - Function of the edifices and open spaces framing the square - User group	- Vista points - Panoramic viewpoints - Scale - Time - Season - Skyline

With the help of this categorisation, the main criteria for analysing and understanding historic public open spaces are defined. Through a detailed analyses based on this categorisation, cultural significance of these areas as well as their ascribed values will be revealed. Following this process, a *case study* is selected to create a relationship between phenomenon and real setting. In other words, with the help of the case study, it became possible to understand the topic within its real life context and identify new patterns of relationships in that framework. On the other hand, case studies can also identify causal links among an array of socio-physical factors and events (Groat and Wang; 2002, 349) with an explanatory, descriptive or exploratory way. The last and most significant aspect of case study is its potential for generalizability. Since all experiments can turn into theories and be tested by other experiments, outcome of a case study can also be re-checked with other case studies and therefore can be utilised for developing a general framework for the research area. Thus, Ulus Square is selected as the case of this thesis to be studied.

Ulus Square which inherited values of different periods implies significance for Ankara and Turkey and therefore a considerable number of researches concentrated on this area. On the other hand, most of these researches do not examine the square in its entirety with its attributes through time. Particularly, the issues examined by the sources regarding Ulus Square and its close vicinity are either focused on a specific

time interval of the area or a single attribute of the square is discussed in detail. To conduct a detailed and systematic restitution study for Ulus Square, as well as to reveal the cultural significance of the square, without focusing on a single aspects, Ulus Square should be analysed with all its aspects through a broader time period. For each chapter focusing on Ulus Square, the features listed in **Table 2** are utilised as the main issues to be examined in detail. By analysing Ulus Square and developing criteria for sustaining its continuity, the outcomes of the thesis can be used and tested by other studies and projects concentrated on conservation of historic public open spaces.

After determination of the main aspects to be examined in detail, an ***Interpretive-Historical Research Method*** is utilised for the analysis and interpretation of events happened in the past through a detailed historical data collection and their organisation in a systematic way. To identify and analyse the values ascribed in the area, and the main reasons and factors of change as well as to understand the transformation process of Ulus Square through time, a detailed interpretive-historical analysis is facilitated for the thesis. A considerable part of the written and visual sources utilised in this process were gathered from the archives and library of VEKAM (Koç University Vehbi Koç Ankara Studies Research Center). Additional written and visual sources also gathered from the libraries of METU, Başkent University and ANAMED as well as archives of National Library.

Moreover, a detailed research has been conducted in the Archives of Land Registry and Cadastral Offices in Ankara, Metropolitan and Altındağ Municipalities, and most importantly in the Archives of Ankara Renovation Area Regional Regional Council for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property (the Second Council). The aerial photographs were obtained from General Command of Mapping¹⁶ showing the physical condition of Ulus Square in different time intervals from 1942 to 2018. In addition to this, photos from the archives of institutions (İş Bankası, TU Berlin, Fonds Paris Collection etc.) and private archives (Frédéric Gadmer, Yavuz İşçen, Dericizade

¹⁶ All aerial photos are gathered from General Command of Mapping, unless otherwise is mentioned.

etc.) are also collected and utilised for the study. Besides, field surveys were held in summers of 2010, 2011, 2012, 2015, 2017 and 2018. Furthermore, additional literature survey was conducted in certain institutions such as Koç Main Campus and RCAC Libraries, Turkish Historical Society, SALT and German Archaeological Institute and French Institute located in İstanbul. These sources are categorised as follows:

- First group/ Academic sources: Books, articles, dissertations etc.
- Second group/ Visual Sources: Current and especially old photos, engravings, maps, aerial photos, plans, videos and documentaries
- Third group/ Literature: Essays, stories, memoirs, traveler notes, autobiographies, poems, magazines etc. and Movies

For a detailed historical analysis on Ulus Square, first and second group of sources are used as the primary sources of the research for developing the main structure of the narration. Whereas third group of sources are mainly utilised for increasing the reliability and consistency of the historical narration developed for each period. Since, the narration of the thesis is built on the data gathered from variety of sources, the utilization of these sources and the method to be followed for a systematic historical analyses is listed as;

- A detailed analysis on first group of sources to develop a systematic approach for understanding the history of the area, its emergence and transformation through time.
- The visual information gathered from second group of sources are utilised to understand the physical reflection of the written information gathered from academic sources. By correlating the information gathered from first and second group of sources, it is aimed to enrich the diversity and reliability of the data on Ulus Square. Moreover, visual sources are also utilised to provide additional information on lacking issues that are not covered by first group of sources.
- The information gathered from the first and second group of sources are analysed; similar outcomes are utilised for the study whereas conflicting ones are excluded.

- After testing the reliability of the data gathered from first and second group of sources, the outcomes are associated with the data expressed in third group of sources. By this way, the narration based on first and second group of sources is supported by the information gathered from third group. Specifically, regarding the socio-cultural aspects of Ulus Square, user profile, their attachment to the area, their daily practices and most importantly the meaning of the area for the user groups, third group of sources contain significant information. In addition to this, by analysing memoirs, biographies, stories, essays and poems associated with the area; it is also possible to trace the meanings of Ulus Square for its users. Therefore, to understand the intangible aspects of the area, and to correlate this information with primary and secondary sources, third group of sources are utilised as the inseparable part of the study.

As a result, all three sources were analysed in detail and correlated to each other to test their reliability and to fill the lacking information. Following the collection of variety of sources on Ulus Square and historic Ankara, grouping these sources and correlating the information presented in each source, a systematic historical narration for Ulus Square is structured for the thesis. In addition to the historic documents mainly examining the characteristics of monumental buildings and give generalised information on the daily life of Ulus Square, the thesis also revealed significant data on unmentioned values of Ulus Square. The characteristics of urban tissue, unmentioned or ignored buildings, monuments and open spaces, daily activities and patterns of everyday life and their value for the cultural significance of Ulus Square and historic Ankara were examined in detail.

Moreover, to support the data narrated, several visual documents were prepared in different scales and utilised in parallel to the written information for each period. To explain the overall characteristics of the area, several maps framing Ulus Square and its larger context were prepared and placed at the end of each section. Assets built/implemented on that period are labelled with text to refer the data narrated on

that section, whereas continuous aspects are only presented visually. Furthermore, for the explanations focusing on a specific aspect of Ulus Square, detailed schematic drawings and maps are also produced and attached within the text, to overcome the difficulties on following the complex data narrated by the thesis. As a result, starting from Roman Period onwards, characteristics of Ulus Square is analysed through variety of sources and the data evaluated is presented by the thesis through a systematic historical narration supported by visual documents. With a special emphasis on every aspect that emerge, transform, change and demolish/diminish in each period, the story of Ulus Square is examined in detail.

Even though for each period, the method used for collecting and evaluating the data for the narration is the same, it has to be expressed that the outcomes are not completely the same and therefore presented with minor differences in each section. Regarding the content of the sources on Ulus Square, the variety and intensity of the topics discussed are differentiating for each period. In addition to this, starting from the 19th century, the number and variety of visual sources considerably increases. This radical increase enables the thesis to develop more detailed analyses and evaluations on Ulus Square after this period. Moreover, this significant change in the content and number of sources focusing on Ulus Square eventuated in differentiations on the narration of sections in the thesis.

Depending on the nature of the issue and the variety of sources available for the research, two different narrations were developed for the thesis to explain the data analysed for Ulus Square. The first one was a systematic narration based on the sequence of events where a timeline is followed. On the other hand, the second type is developed as an event based approach developed to link the events and their impact on the area without following a timeline. By this way it was possible to examine a period, by focusing on the correlations in the course of events, without the limitations of a timeline to follow. As a result, some of the assets, issues and periods are explained more extensively compared to others. Therefore, even though a similar analysis is conducted for each section of the thesis, the narration, content and details of each

section differs from others. More importantly, regarding the aim of the thesis to reveal the emergence, continuity and change of Ulus Square, the factors affecting this change are explained in detail compared to other events happened in that period.

After conducting a detailed restitution study for Ulus Square and presenting the data through a systematic historical narration, ***Logical Argumentation Method*** is utilised by the thesis to evaluate the historical data for revealing the cultural significance of the place. Works in logical argumentation tend to have as a research outcome framing of a conceptual system that has wide explanatory applicability (Groat and Wang: 2002, 308). Therefore, the thesis utilize this method for evaluating the data gathered from interpretive-historical research, By this way the values ascribed to Ulus Square through time are defined in detail. Furthermore, major factors causing or accelerating change in these values are discussed extensively.

1.5. STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

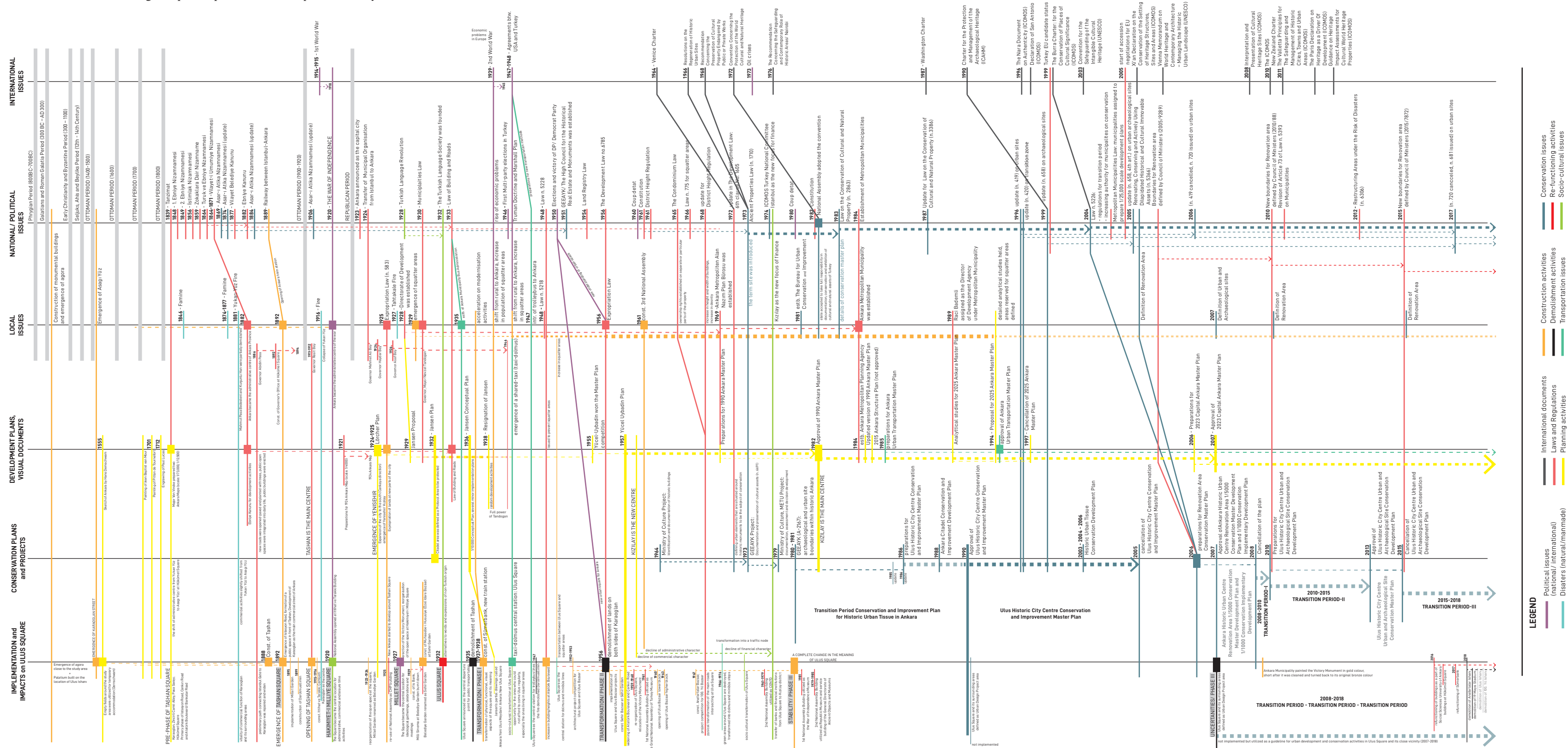
The thesis is structured under five chapters. The next chapter, *Development of Ankara and Evolution of its Public Open Spaces through History* provides a historical background on the spatial development of Ankara through its public open spaces. Among these public open spaces, squares, streets and main arteries of Ankara having a traceable emergence, continuity and change are included in the research of this study. Regarding the fact that, the main factors affecting the formation and development process of historic Ankara and its public open spaces have changed throughout the history. In every period, user group, utilization type and the role and importance of the public open space for city changed regarding the socio-cultural, political and economic transformation occurred in the city. Therefore, this chapter concentrates on the development of historic Ankara through a chronological explanation.

It is structured under three main phases: *Pre Ottoman, Ottoman* and *Republican Periods*. First two phases focus on the development of historic Ankara in relation to the discussions on characteristics and distribution of its public open spaces, by concentrating on the periods dominated by different civilizations. The third phase

Republican Period examines a period starting with the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey and examines the expansion of the city from historic boundaries to south direction. Therefore, in addition to the analysis of main public open spaces of historic Ankara, the chapter also examines the role of development master plans on the expansion and transformation of the city. To conclude, each phase examined the socio-cultural, political and economic context of the period and the major factors that were contributing the emergence of public open spaces, their transformation, change and decline.

For the following chapters concentrating on Ulus Square, the timeline illustrated in **Table 3** is developed to identify the impact of international, national/political and local issues, development plans and conservation activities on the features identifying Ulus Square. By linking the events categorised under these titles and their direct/ indirect impact on the changes occurred in Ulus Square through time, specific periods and breaking points in the history of the area are determined. This information is used by the thesis for structuring the narration of the thesis focusing on Ulus Square and its close vicinity. These specific periods labelled on the periodic table are utilised as the main titles and subtitles of the thesis concentrated on the story of Ulus Square. As can be followed on Chapter 3/ Emergence and Chapter 4/ Transformation, these parts of the thesis are structured according to the periods defined by **Table 3** as well as follow a timeline labelled on the table. By this way, a systematic historical narration specifically based on Ulus Square was developed and facilitated as the structure of the narration of the thesis.

Table 3 Main events defining the specific periods of Ulus Square in history



In parallel to the structure framed by **Table 3**, the narration of following two chapters concentrating on the case of Ulus Square and its close vicinity is developed. Chapter three, *The Tale of Ulus Square I: Emergence*, examines the story behind the transformation process of an empty open space into the main public square of the city. The chapter is structured in two sections; preliminary stage and emergence of a square. In the first section entitled *Preliminary Stage*, the historic periods leading up Ulus Square to get its definite form and characteristics are explained in detail. Due to the lack of specific data on physical and social aspects of Ulus Square and its close vicinity, this section mainly focuses on the analysis of the larger context of Ulus Square and tries to explain factors created a ground for the emergence of Ulus Square in following periods.¹⁷

The second part of chapter two entitled *Emergence of a Square* mainly focuses on the emergence process of a square between the 19th century Ottoman Empire and 1930s the Republic of Turkey. As the name suggests, this section analyses the main factors and dominant contributors on the emergence of Ulus Square as well as a detailed research on its physical, socio-cultural, functional and visual aspects. To sum up, the second section is based on the transformation of a regularly used open space into a definite public square; with its buildings defining its edge, its monuments with ideological aspects, buildings hosting multi-functional facilities and daily activities and special occasions took place within the square. At the end of each section, a map is produced to visualize the context of Ulus Square and its close vicinity in that period.

As the name suggests, chapter four, *The Tale of Ulus Square II: Transformation*, mainly seeks to understand the historic evolution of Ulus Square between 1935 and 2018, and concentrated in the patterns of transformation and change in the features identifying the square. The first part *Phase I: Jansen vs. Tandoğan/ Indiscriminate Urban Development*, focuses on the period of conflicts between Jansen (the planner of the development plan of Ankara) and Tandoğan (the governor mayor of Ankara).

¹⁷ As it is known that till the end of 19th century, boundary and physical-functional aspects of Ulus Square was not clearly defined on historical sources. This is the reason why, for the first section of this part, the term “*Ulus Square*” was used to refer to its geographical location, to the area it covers today.

The contiguous interruptions of Tandoğan on the plan of Jansen and the increasing demands of a group of administrative bodies for numerous changes on the implementation process that were contradicting with the master plan, was the culmination point for Jansen's resignation. Moreover, problems regarding urban issues were doubled with additional economic and migration factors caused by the Second World War.

The following part of chapter four, *Phase II: The New Turkey and Changing Urban Structure of Ankara*, introduces a complete new period both for Turkey and Ankara, shaped between 1945 and 1980. This part analyses the radical shift in the political atmosphere in Turkey after the Second World War and its impact on the change of urban tissue. Especially the impact of state's ideological shift from associating Turkey with Europe to USA is clearly presented to link its relationship with the change on urban activities, daily life and practices and most importantly the understanding of urban space. Concurrent with these changes, the beginning of the shift of city centre and the fall of Ankara by the end of 1960s is examined through analogies between the relocation of commercial, administrative, financial and leisure time/entertainment activities from Ulus to Kızılay as well as from Ankara to İstanbul.

The last part, *Phase III: From the Stability of Negligence to the Uncertainties of Renovation*, examines a period starting from 1980 and continues until today. It is structured under three periods that are mainly identified with political, economic and socio-cultural change in Turkey and its effect on public open spaces, including Ulus Square. The first part emphasises the decline of Ulus Square that had already started by the end of 1960s and considerably accelerated in 1980s. Along with the decline, the period is also marked by the increasing pressure of vehicular traffic and the radical change on functions, user groups and their daily activity patterns in the area that eventuated with the loss of importance of Ulus Square for the city. Furthermore, the ideological shift in political tendencies of the state during 1990s is examined and its impact on local authorities to neglect Ulus Square was discussed. In parallel to this, development of the first conservation master plan for historic Ankara and other

conservation activities were examined regarding their proposals for Ulus Square and its close vicinity.

The last period, dated between 2005 and 2018, examined the emergence of a total new period for Ankara and Ulus Square. This part mainly focuses on the impact of political issues on development and conservation activities in Ankara. Therefore, several changes in legal and administrative issues, regulations and laws regarding conservation activities, and their impact on Ulus Square are examined in detail. This period witnessed the approval and repeal of three conservation master plans and numerous changes on the boundary of conservation sites (renovation area, urban site and archaeological site), and therefore it was marked by the uncertainty of urban and conservation activities of state and local authorities in historic Ankara, including Ulus Square. To conclude, the last part of Phase III examines the main factors activating alteration, transformation and change in the values ascribed in Ulus Square and discusses the role of the Renovation Plan¹⁸ which was repealed in 2007 but continued to be used as the guidance for demolition, reconstruction, rehabilitation and re-functioning activities held in Ulus Square and its close vicinity.

The final chapter focuses on the the evaluation of the historic data gathered and systematically analysed in previous chapters. For the evaluation process, primarily, the significance of Ulus Square is identified through a detailed examination of tangible and intangible values ascribed in the area. Then, main factors, their duration and impact area are analysed and categorised to develop a reliable link between the values and the factors of change. On the following part, values ascribed to the area and the impact of change factors are examined to demonstrate the patterns of change in Ulus Square and the role of change factors in directing these patterns. By this way, the thesis clearly revealed a systematic framework on collecting, analysing and evaluating the historic data related to a historic public open space. Eventually, this approach developed and tested by the thesis can be utilised as a base for a comprehensive

¹⁸ In 2006, HASSA Architecture Firm prepared Ankara Historic Urban Centre Renovation Area 1/5000 Conservation Master Plan and 1/1000 Conservation Implementary Plan for the renovation area.

conservation plan for sustaining the cultural significance of Ulus Square as well as other public open spaces in Turkey.

CHAPTER 2

DEVELOPMENT OF ANKARA and EVOLUTION OF ITS PUBLIC OPEN SPACES THROUGH HISTORY

In this chapter, to understand the role of Ulus Square on the urban development of historic Ankara, the evolution of the city is narrated by focusing on its public open spaces emerged, transformed and diminished through time. Among these public open spaces, squares, streets, main arteries and green areas of Ankara having a traceable history are examined in detail.¹⁹ It is structured under three main phases: *Pre Ottoman*, *Ottoman* and *Republican Periods*. Factors such as wars, shift in state ideology, development plans, laws and regulations were examined to correlate their impact on the transformation of urban tissue and the changes on public open spaces in historic Ankara. Moreover, in each period, regarding the socio-cultural, political and economic changes in the city, the shift in the centres and the parallel change in user groups, utilization type and the meaning of urban spaces in Ankara also examined in detail.

2.1. A GENERAL INFORMATION ON THE CITY OF ANKARA

*Ἀγκυρα/ Ancyra/ Unguriye/ Engürü/ Angora/ Ankara*²⁰ is located in the centre of a geographical subarea of Middle Anatolian Region called Orta Yayla²¹ which is described as an area covered by plains. The geography of the city and its nearby surrounding cover Ayaş Mountain, which is separated from Koroğlu Mountains in the west, Mire Mountain in the north, Karyağdı Mountains in the middle and İdris

¹⁹ For the first two phases, boundaries defined by the 1924 Ankara Map is used as the area to be analysed, since the city expands and shrinks within this area. On the other hand, during the Republican Period the city widens to the outside of the boundaries defined in 1924 Ankara Map. Therefore, for the third phase the boundaries labelled in the master plans of each period are utilised to examine the urban development of Ankara and the distribution of its public open spaces.

²⁰ For detailed information about the origin of the name, see Galanti (2005: 105-108), and myths on foundation of Ankara see Aydın et al. (2005: 33-35).

²¹ The region surrounded by Black Sea Mountains, Anti-Taurus Mountains and mountains to the east of the Halys River in the east, Taurus Ranges in the south and the cliffs to the west of Sangarios in the west.

Mountains-Elmadağ in the east and contains forests²², green fields and watercourses and fertile lands. Within these boundaries, Ankara is situated over an 800-1200 m altitude rock, located on the eastern track of Engürü Plain, on the south of Karyağdı Mountains, on the north track of Meşe Mountain and Çankaya-Dikmen branch, on the west of Hüseyin Gazi Mountains and the other hills (**Figure 12**). According to Erol, this boundary includes different geomorphological units such as valley floors, lower terraces, higher terraces, lower and middle plateaus and higher plateaus (cited in Levent: 2007, 162).



Figure 12 Physical map of Ankara and its surroundings²³

The settlement area of historic city is a valley floor where *Hatip Çayı/ Hatip Stream*, *İncesu Deresi/ İncesu River* and *Çubuk Çayı/ Çubuk Stream* unite. This area starts from the east with *Kale Tepe/ Kale Hill* with an altitude of 986 m where Ankara Citadel is also located. Starting from the citadel, the city expands on a bowl-shaped sloped topography and widens towards the west-southwest direction.²⁴ This topography consisting of “miosene old andesite”²⁵ displays a tremendously steep slope and the

²² “Çamlıdere, one of the four fossil forest of the world, is in the close vicinity of Ankara” (Aydın et al.: 2005, 21).

²³ 1: 2 000 000 Ölçekli Türkiye Fiziki Haritası 2. Kısım (2017).

²⁴ According to Levent, geomorphological formations have a determining role on the direction of urban development. For the case of Ankara, geomorphological thresholds in the north, east and south directions and the threshold-free geomorphological formations in the western direction were the main factors for development pattern of the historic city (2007: 162).

²⁵ “The andesite of Ankara were studied in three colour ranges as bluish-grey, pink and porphyry, which indicate the existence of at least three different magmatic flux phases” (Kasapoğlu: 1980, 206).

slope declination increases up to 90° in the higher areas (Ercanoğlu and Aksoy: 2004, 99).

Another important feature that defines the edge of historic settlement area is Hıdırlık Tepe/ Hıdırlık Hill²⁶ considered as an extension of Timurlenk Mountain. This Hill is located on the east of Kale Hill, and has an altitude of 888 m. Moreover, Bentderesi Valley located in between Kale Hill and Hıdırlık Hill was another feature that defines the character of the area. It forms the eastern boundary of the city where Bentderesi River fracturing from Hatip Stream in a narrow strip between the cliff and the Hıdırlık Hill through the northwest-southeast track (**Figure 13**). In addition to this, the stream bed of Bentderesi turns sharply from northwest to west and unites with İncesu River forming the north-northeast-east frontier boundary of the city. The west-southwest frontier of the historic settlement area was formed by İncesu River that continues from northwest to south. The plain area on the west and southwest side of this river, which is a part of the Engürü Valley with an altitude of 850 m, is outside the historic city frontiers. The south part of this area was a marshland (where Gençlik Parkı/ Youth Park is located today) and the other areas were moorlands partially used for agriculture.

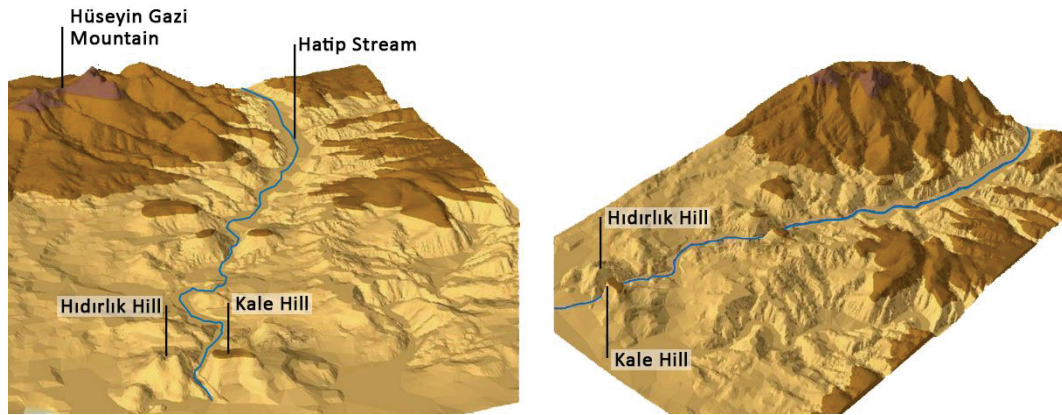


Figure 13 3D models of Hatip Stream and the topography of Ankara (Kadıoğlu and Görkay: 2011, 218)

Apart from the Kale Hill, other important hills within the historic city boundaries are; *Hacıbayram Tepe/ Hacıbayram Hill* and *Namazgah Tepe/ Namazgah Hill*.

²⁶ Even though Hıdırlık Hill was not settled, most of the materials used for construction activities were gathered from the bedrocks located here.

Hacıbayram Hill, situated 650 m away from northwest direction of Kale Hill, is surrounded by Bentderesi from north and sharply directed towards east to south (**Figure 14**). The average inclination of Hacıbayram Hill (with a form of ellipse pressed from sides) is 890 m that is lower than Kale Hill. The third hill located within the historic settlement area is Namazgah Hill (with an altitude of 870 m). It is located on the southwest of Kale Hill, surrounded by the branches of İncesu River and creates the southwest border of the historic settlement area. Kale Hill, Hacıbayram Hill and Namazgah Hill define a rectangular area that the city expands. The slope within the city descends from Kale Hill to the direction of northwest-west, with a steeper slope, on the south-southwest direction topography is formed with a relatively gentle slope.

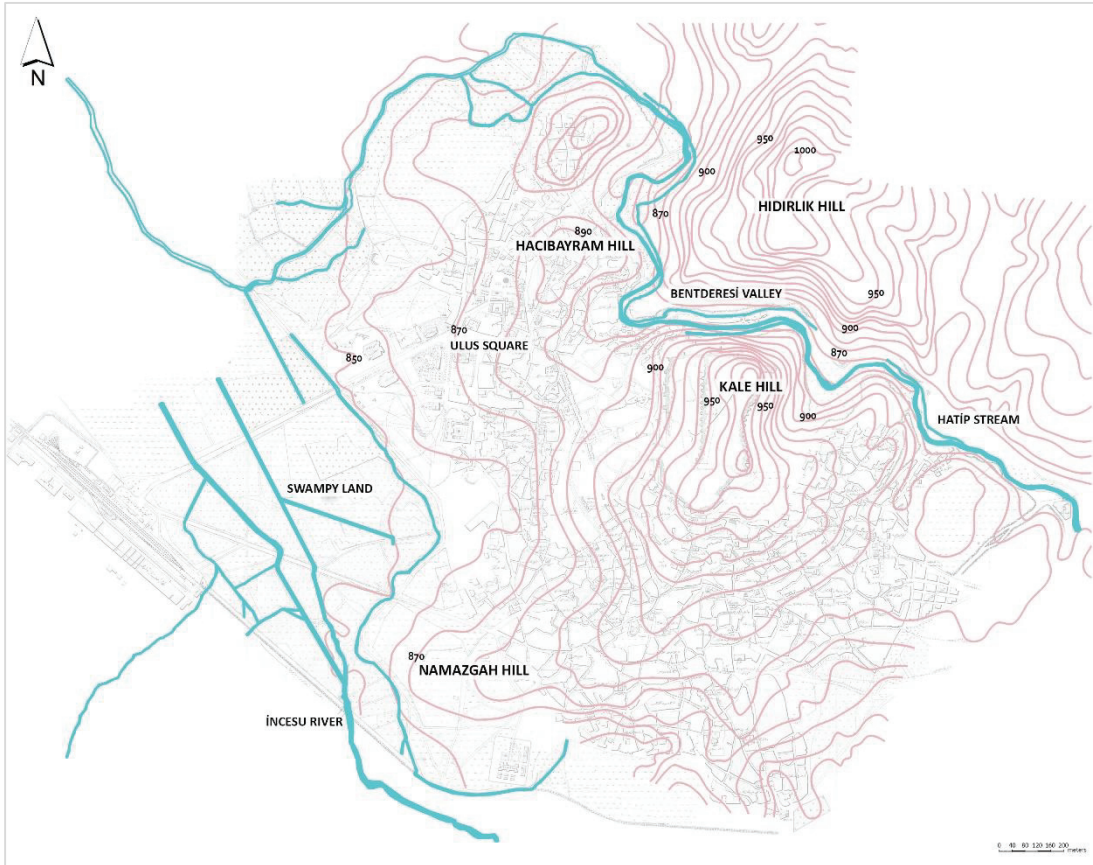


Figure 14 Natural and topographical elements of historic Ankara

Due to its geographic location, Ankara and its vicinity has topographic, morphological, climatic and floral diversities such as; hills, ridges, valleys, rocky highlands. Moreover, the city also has a great variety of slopes and a rich landscape with different climatic conditions and flora at different locations of the city (Mihçioğlu

Bilgi: 2010, 32). As a consequence of its geographical location and varying features defined above, historic Ankara had been preserving its continuous inhabitancy either as a military camp or as a commercial city (Darkot: 1950, 437-452), from ancient periods onwards.

2.2. PUBLIC OPEN SPACES OF HISTORIC ANKARA

As discussed previously, the condition of a space to be regarded as public is its ability to be used by everyone and infinitely. Researchers have tried to define public space by examining its relation to architecture, urban and regional studies, geography, sociology, political science, philosophy and history. In addition to this, the role of user groups and their utilization type also discussed as an important determinant for public open spaces. As a result, it can be stated that, the urban spaces which all people inhabiting the city has the legal access (Lofland: 1973) and freedom of action-and the right to stay inactive (Kostof: 1992, 123) can be defined as public open spaces.

In urban areas, public open spaces have their own hierarchical order mainly differing on their physical and functional aspects. For instance, while streets located within residential areas are relatively small/narrow, commercial streets developed as the main artery of the city entirely differentiate from residential streets. Likewise, a square outstanding with its commercial character is physically, visually and in the sense of meaning differ from a square which is religiously important or used for recreational activities. In fact, this differentiation is one of the main factors that defines the character of urban tissue and the development pattern of a city regarding the needs of the society utilizing the area. Considering the formation type, utilization frequency, user profile and physical aspects of a public open space, a network shaping and interconnecting these spaces can be found in every city.

Regarding this definition, public open spaces in historic Ankara can be classified as: squares, little squares formed around monuments, commercial streets forming main axes of the city, streets within commercial or residential areas, open market areas, specialized areas formed at the main entrance points of the city, rivers and their

environs, parks, gardens, graveyards, and vineyards. Public open spaces of historic Ankara and its close vicinity, from the Phrygians onwards, can be categorized by their dominant and well-known functions, as follows (**Figure 15a-e**).

1. Religious Squares and Streets: Hacıbayram Hill, İstasyon Necropolis, Kryptus Region, Campus Area, Koyunpazarı Street
2. Commercial Squares and Streets: Ulus Square, Çankırı Road, Atatürk Boulevard, *cardo maximus*, *decumanus*, Atpazarı Square, Tabakhane-Debbağhane Bazaar, Koyunpazarı Square and Street, Samanpazarı Square, Araba (Kağı) Bazaar, Tah-el-Kala/ Tahtakale (Kaledibi), Karaoğlan Çarşısı/ Bazaar, Uzunçarşı, *Balık Pazarı*/ Fish Market, Çıkırıçılar, Anafartalar Road, Kızılay Square
3. Administrative Squares and Streets: Ulus Square, Hükümet Square, Cumhuriyet Boulevard
4. Financial Streets: Bankalar Road
5. Recreational/Green Areas: Environs of Bentderesi, *Millet Bahçesi*/ Millet Garden, the Second National Assembly Garden, Necatibey Parkı, *Gençlik Parkı*/ Youth Park, Güvenpark
6. Festival/ Celebration/ Meeting Areas: Ulus Square, İstasyon Road-Cumhuriyet Boulevard, Hükümet Square, Hamamönü, Atatürk Boulevard, Kızılay Square,



Figure 15 a. Uzunçarşı (WOW: 2016) **b.** Araba (Kağı) Bazaar (TA: 2016) **c.** Picnic areas around Bentderesi (EAFF: 2016) **d.** Samanpazarı Square (VEKAM: 1998) **E.** Fair grounds at Hamamönü during bayram/ a religious fest, 1924 (Gökçe Günel Archive)

2.3. HISTORY OF ANKARA THROUGH ITS PUBLIC OPEN SPACES

2.3.1. Pre-Ottoman Period

Phrygian Period: 800BC-700BC:

Although archaeological findings show that the surroundings of Ankara are utilised from prehistoric times onwards²⁷, evidences from the city centre indicate that it has been intensively inhabited since the Phrygians.²⁸ Apart from negligible shrinkage in certain periods, it has been continuously expanding. There are no physical evidences of The Citadel from the Phrygian period, but the ceramics found in Ulus and its environs reveal that the settlement area in this period was most probably located on today's Ulus Square, Çankırı Road and Hacıbayram Hill (**Figure 16**).²⁹

Archaeological findings from Hacıbayram Hill³⁰ and its surroundings indicate that Men-Kybele Temple might have been constructed on this hill and this area could have been a religious centre since the Phrygians. In addition to this, the Phrygian findings unearthed on the route starting from Ulus Square following the northern direction and ending at Dışkapı, indicate that this route had been used extensively.³¹ During the excavations carried out in today's *Ulus Şehir Çarşısı/ Ulus City Bazaar* and construction activities at different spots within Ulus district³², several archaeological findings dated to Phrygian period were revealed. Moreover, the area which was located outside the boundaries of the Phrygian period settlements - today's station

²⁷ The tumuli found within the boundaries of today's Ankara province prove that the area was inhabited by many medium and small sized tribes in 3000 BC (Buluç: 1994, 21).

²⁸ Some studies suggest that Ankara was a small scale settlement in Hittite Period nevertheless due to the absence of the archaeological data (Akurgal: 1994, 13) detailed studies on the city cannot be conducted.

²⁹ "Although many scholars including Mamboury and Besim Darkot suggest that the Phrygian settlement was formed on and around the Citadel, the absence of Phrygian material in the excavation works of Remzi Oğuz Arık refutes this claim." (Aydın et al.: 2005, 57). This study presumes the existence of a Phrygian settlement in the Citadel based on the studies of Sevim Buluç and Tahsin Özgüç.

³⁰ "During the excavations 6.86 meters dug in the south-eastern foundations of *peristasis* of the Temple, and Phrygian ceramic was found" (Koşay: 1957, 134). "This place was considered as the sacred ground since very early periods with respect to the Phrygian ceramic found here" (Kadioğlu and Gökay: 2008, 88). "The Cybele altar from the 7th century BC found near the Temple of August and the coins discovered in the Roman Baths on reverse of which a temple and the Phrygian divinity Men inside it was depicted, reinforces this relationship and testify to existence of a temple of Men and Cybele on the site of Temple of Augustus." (Buluç: 1994, 29).

³¹ "The stamped pottery shreds and other finds from Ulus and Çankırı Street, presents evidence to the Phrygian past of Ankara as well as indicating her relationship with Eastern and Western Phrygia." (Arslan, Akalın and Talaakar: 2011, 209-232).

³² Such as; İtfaiye square, İsmet Paşa area, Sıhhiye area etc (Gülalp: 2012: 20-21).

region – was the Phrygian necropolis.³³ All these findings prove both the density and expansion areas of Ankara during Phrygian period (G lalp: 2012, 21). Consequently, considering the residential zones and nearby activity areas, it may be possible to suggest that public open spaces of Phrygian period Ankara could be located around: Ulus Square, the open space around the temple located at Hac bayram Hill, the path that  ankırı Road defines and the necropolis in today’s station region.

³³ “The coincidental finds from Train Station during the constructions indicates existence of a Phrygian necropolis here. The city princes were buried in the Tumuli while here the common citizens rests.” ( zg : 1946, 574, 593).

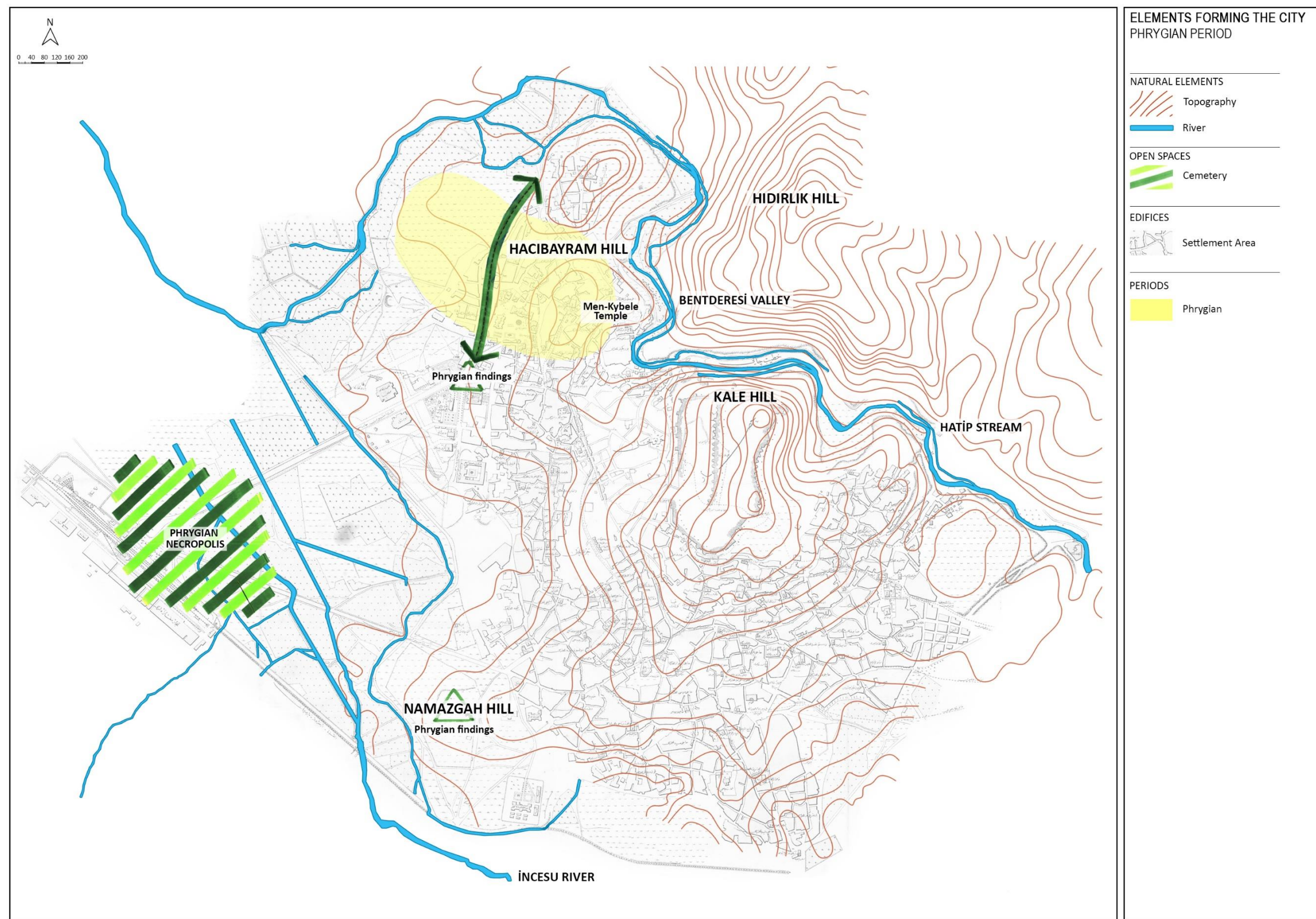


Figure 16 Elements forming the city, Phrygian Period in Ankara

Galatian and Roman Galatia Period: 300 BC – AD 300/ Ἀγκυρα/Ancyra³⁴

3rd century BC historian Apollonios of Aphrodisias mentions that Galatians came to Anatolian lands in 278 BC, make alliance with Pontus Kingdom and defeated Egyptians and as a result they established the city *Ancyra*.³⁵ During this period, an intense urbanisation was not seen in *Ancyra* which is utilised as a settlement area by Tectosages who are one of the three tribes of Galatians. The city was called *Sebaste Ancyra of the Tectosagi* during Galatian Periods (Texier and Pullan: 1865, 45). Galatian tradition of establishing cities to areas surrounded by high and steep cliffs, hills or rocky raises suitable for defence, makes the argument more legit on construction period of the castle which is located over the high and rocky hill at the north.³⁶ Although there are no exact evidences about the pre-Roman periods, it is assumed that the settlement was restricted with the citadel for a long time since it was a protected area.³⁷

After the annexation of the city to Romans in 25 BC³⁸, the settlement started to extend towards the base of the Kale Hill, with monumental buildings and open areas in parallel to “the Romanization politics that gives importance to architecture for constituting collective memory” (Güven: 2001, 112). By being located at the junction of the Roman road network in Anatolia, Ankara became one of the most important centres of the peninsula that represents the Empire, starting from 25 BC (Akçura: 1971, 16).

In the light of the excavations, *Ancyra* in the Roman Galatian period was a city with twelve neighbourhoods³⁹ consisting monumental buildings, main axes connecting

³⁴ The same word-root “ank-” is to be found in the Greek word for a ship’s anchor, *ankyra*, and this was adopted as the city name in the Greek and Roman sources (Mitchell: 2011, 19).

³⁵ See Afif Erzen (2010, 11, 12) for the records of *Ancyra* in Classical sources.

³⁶ Afif Erzen supports the idea that Galatians had a castle in Ankara basing on the information that people took shelter in castle in the Roman invasion of Galatia (2010: 40-45).

³⁷ “Except the fact that the Citadel was built on a steep rocky cliff, following the arrival of Galatians nothing is known about Ankara almost for three centuries” (Aktüre: 2000, 7).

³⁸ Broughton states that Galatia became a part of the Roman Empire by 25 BC, but officially became a province in 20 BC (1938: 580).

³⁹ See Mitchell for the names, numbers and establishment dates of these districts each of which was said to host a tribe (1977: 80, 81).

them, open spaces and streets hosting commercial, religious and cultural facilities. Boundaries of the city had widened until the western parts of Çankırı Road that ran between Dışkapı on the north and Ulus Square on the south, following Atatürk Boulevard till south-southwest and turns back to east Kale Hill where the citadel was located. The fabric of the city which was concentrated around Hacıbayram Hill and Kale Hill, expanded radically like a hand-held-fan to the northwest-west-southwest directions. Arising from the topography and natural layout of the city, parallel streets were oriented at northwest-southeast direction. Moreover, main arteries of the city were oriented in the direction of north-south (*cardo maximus*) and east-west (*decumanus*) to connect Grand Baths, Stadion, Minor Baths, Acropolis, Agora, theatre and the citadel to each other. *Ancyra* had expanded until the attacks of Goth and Zenobia, and in order to be protected from the attacks, the settlement shrank within the fortifications which were built or repaired in 260-271. In this period, some of the monumental buildings remained outside these fortifications such as Minor Baths and Stadion.⁴⁰ Although regarding the attacks, the expansion of the city ended, but still the city continued to develop within the 3rd century fortifications (**Figure 17**).

Agora⁴¹ of which the current location corresponds to an area between Ulus Square and Hükümet Square, was one of the most important public open spaces of *Ancyra* in the Roman period. It is thought to be surrounded by a Palatium (palace), a Nymphaeum (monumental fountain), Julian Column and shops (Kadioğlu and Gökay: 2008, 151). Additionally, by the construction of the Temple of Augustus at Hacıbayram Hill which was previously hosted Men-Kybele Temple during the Phrygians period, this hill and its surrounding areas conserved and continued its religious meaning and function for the city, since the acropolis of the city was shaped around the temple. Additionally, among several other newly emerged streets, it was also possible to trace Çankırı Road also in the Roman Period of Ankara.

⁴⁰ See Kadioğlu and Gökay for more information on 3rd century fortifications (2011: 205-216).

⁴¹ The Agora was the heart of the ancient city. In large Hellenistic cities the commercial section of the agora was dissociated from the administrative centre and moved to a separate location... In smaller cities, both functions remained housed on the same site. (Saradi: 2006, 211)

Kadioğlu, Görkay and Mitchell⁴² dated the construction period of *cardo maximus* to the 1st century AD latest (2011: 153). It was the main axis of the city oriented between the north of Çankırı Road and continued towards the south, with the length of 216 m and the width of 6.7 m (2011: 147). Additionally, it was defined that there was a row of shops attached to the eastern side of *cardo maximus* where stoa with opus sectile pavement was located (2011: 153). Therefore, this part of the road was intensively used during the Roman period for commercial activities of the city. This axis, starting from Palaestra/Grand Baths at the northeast side of the city continuing by Stadium, Julian Column, Nymphaeum and finally Palatium towards the south was connecting residential areas and monumental buildings to each other, was mainly used for commercial activities. Additionally, *decumanus*⁴³ which was developed as one of the main arteries of the city in the Roman period, was connecting the Large Bath Complex to Hacıbayram Hill. Since it connected main public activity areas in Ancyra as Large Bath Complex, Stadion and Augustus Temple to each other, its importance for the city increases.

Additional to the squares and main arteries, a Hippodrome area was located in the city, near Augustus Temple.⁴⁴ It was utilised as an alternative public open space where chariot racings, festivals, and carnivals took place. Hippodrome area which was used for the carnivals organized in the honour of Augustus is thought to be expanding in a large area, but there is no evidence on its exact boundaries. Another public open space that was continued to be used from the Phrygian period onwards was the necropolis of the city (Atauz: 2004, 74). Additional to its Phrygian period boundaries, it was extended towards Maltepe and Anıtkabir direction.⁴⁵

⁴² The information on the Roman Galatian era monumental buildings and open spaces was compiled from *Roman Ancyra*: Chapter 2, The Ancient Buildings and Urbanism (Kadioğlu and Görkay: 2011, 77-252).

⁴³ *Decumanus maximus* was the main east-west oriented road in Roman cities. But for the case of Ancyra, it was not precisely on the east-west axis (Kadioğlu and Görkay: 2011, 244).

⁴⁴ “The existence of a “fairground” near the Augustus Temple where the chariot races were held is written in the inscription on the left wall of the Temple of August.” (Erzen: 2010, 96, 97; Bosch: 1948, 577).

⁴⁵ “Many Roman graves and gravestones were discovered on an area between the Train Station and Maltepe, on the ridge of Maltepe and the Anıtkabir (Mausoleum)” (Özgüç: 1946, 692,593).

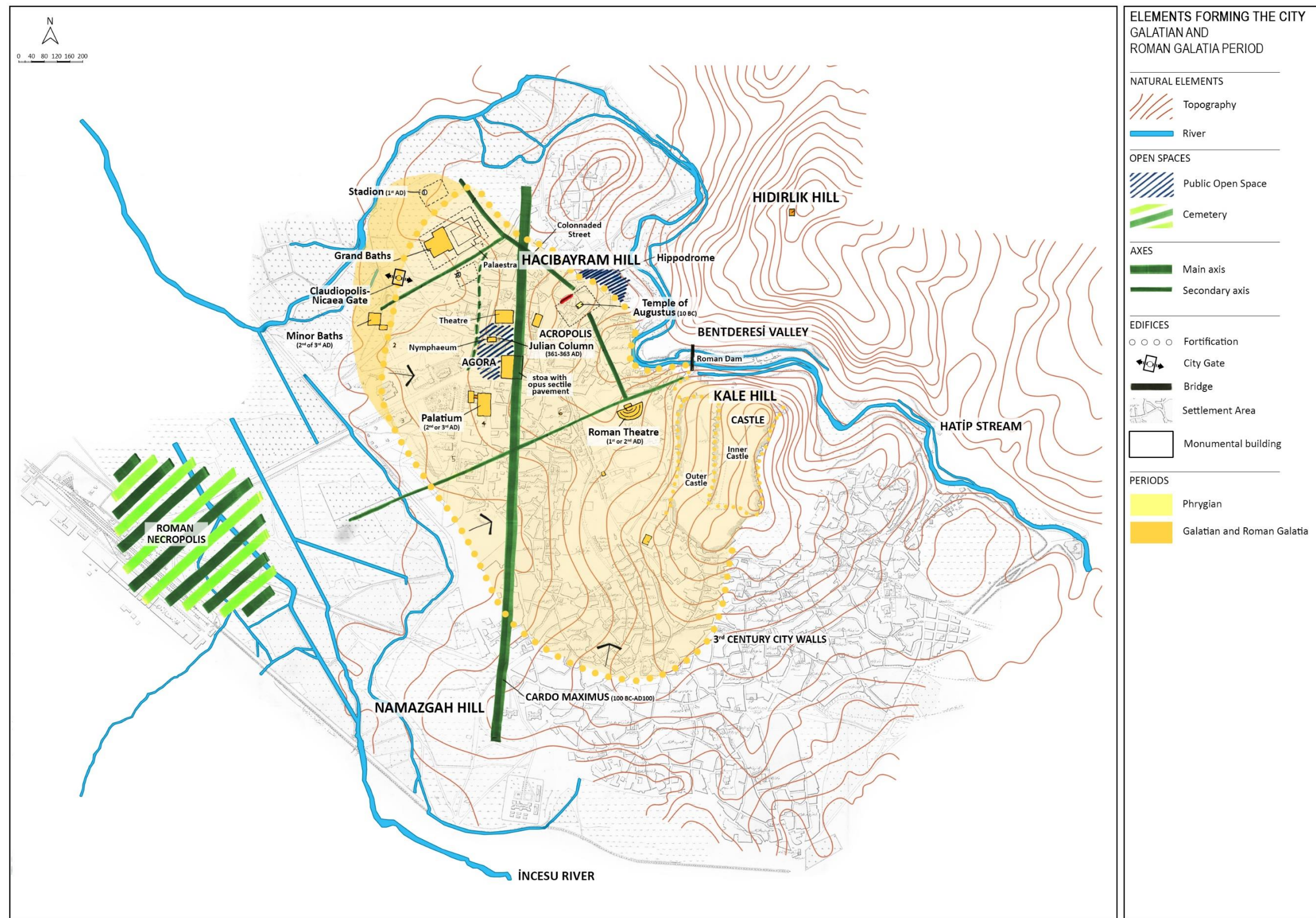


Figure 17 Elements forming the city, Galats and Roman Galatia Period in Ankara

Early Christianity and Byzantine Period: 300 – 11th Century

As it was mentioned previously, due to the increase of attacks in the 3rd century, the expansion of the city was terminated by the construction of fortifications; whereas the urban development was continued within these fortifications. Subsequently, by the end of Roman period, 3rd century fortifications started to lose its function and by the empowerment of Christianity, *Ancyra* turned to be an important religious centre of early Christianity.⁴⁶ According to Foss (1977: 30);

“In Late Antiquity the factors which had been responsible for the growth of Ankara gave it continued and even increased importance and prosperity. When the capital was moved to Constantinople, the highway through Ankara became the main route between the capital and the East (**Figure 18a, b**). During the fourth century in particular, when the imperial residence was often at Antioch (Constantius II stayed there from 337-51, Julian for about half his reign, and Valens from 371-78) the court, the army, and officials and messengers of all kinds constantly passed through the city.”



Figure 18 Detailed view of “Tabula Peutingeriana”, Section 8 (1265) **a**. Located at the connection of several routes **b**. Ancyra was labelled as a walled city with towers⁴⁷

Although there were a lot of political and religious struggles in the Early Christian period, it is possible to identify the existence of monumental buildings and public open spaces both belonging to previous periods and newly emerging ones. Generally, transformation of cities from Roman into Byzantine reflects a dramatic change on

⁴⁶ The church of Ankara became one of the most important in Asia Minor. It was the seat of the metropolitan bishop of Galatia, who came to rank fourth in the hierarchy of the Orthodox Church (Foss: 1977, 36).

⁴⁷ The manuscript can be dated to the twelfth or thirteenth century, but it is clear that it is a copy of a much older original. The original was drawn after 328 AD, because the map mentions Constantinople, which was founded in that year. Yet, it is clear that this late ancient map was not up to date, because it also shows Pompeii, which was not rebuilt after it was destroyed by the Vesuvius in 79 AD. The cartographer also shows the towns of Germania Inferior, which were abandoned at the beginning of the fifth century. Therefore it is accepted that the cartographer lived in the fourth century (Lendering: 2018).

urban space that, the pagan symbolism of the civic monuments was increasingly suppressed under pressure of Christianity, which created new landmarks in urban centres, namely Christian churches (Saradi: 2006, 149). For the case of Ankara, construction of the Church of St. Clement (5-6th century), another small church (358 AD), two Montaist Churches, Ankara Church (after 313 AD), Petris Monastery, Leontios Monastery (5th century) were important examples of this period. On the other hand, with the beginning of Christianity coming forefront in *Ancyra*, apart from constructing new structures in the city, buildings of earlier periods were also utilised by alterations. For instance, with the transformation of the Temple of Augustus into a church (after 313 or 362 AD), Hacıbayram Hill continued to be used for centuries as the acropolis of the city, and maintained its religious importance during the early Christian period of Ankara.⁴⁸

In 511, as a symbol of the persecutions took place in the Roman period, *martyriums*⁴⁹ were constructed in certain areas of the city. According to Foss, the *campus* area, where St. Platonis was killed, was located in the marsh area beyond the west part of the city where currently *Gençlik Parkı*/ Youth Park is located (1977: 64, 65). In this area, Christian graveyards and a church, dated back to the early 4th century, were located (Dalman-Schneider-Bittel: 1932, 250, Dalman: 1933, 133). The other symbolic area was *Kryptus* where St. Clement and his fellows were buried and later this area became the location for the Church of St. Clement (Jerphanion: 1928, 112, 113).⁵⁰ By being located within the densely settled area of the city, this area differentiated from the *campus* location.⁵¹ Apart from these areas, Roman necropolis continued to be used also during the Byzantine period.⁵²

⁴⁸ After being converted into a church, the temple partially destroyed due to the windows openings on its walls (Koşay: 1935, 13). Christians opened three windows on the south wall of *cella* (Akurgal: 1994, 39). The *cella* wall of the temple was opened and a rectangular outstretching part was added (Eyice: 1996, 262).

⁴⁹ Martyr, in its Christian sense, refers to a person who was killed for his Christian beliefs whereas martyrium is the monument built in where this person was martyred (Eyice: 1996, 249-250).

⁵⁰ Jerphanion (1928, 112-143) introduces this church as the prototype of Hagia Sophia in İstanbul.

⁵¹ “Normally, the site of a martyrdom and burial would have been located outside the city walls, but the statement that the governor was presiding at *Cryptus* strongly suggests that it was within the city” (Foss: 1977, 64).

⁵² In the excavations, many graves and burial chambers dated to Early Byzantine period were discovered in this area. (Eyice: 1996, 263).

Until the attacks of Sassanids in 622, Ancyra was a large city with its public open spaces, monuments and acropolis.⁵³ Especially with the domination of Christianity during the 5th century, Ancyra became one of the important religious centres of the region. Parallel to the increase and change on religious activities, churches, monasteries and other religious buildings constructed during this period created the main characteristics of Ankara (Serin: 2014, 67).⁵⁴ On the other hand, after the attacks in 622, Ancyra had a drastic transformation from a sprawling metropolis to a heavily fortified town on a hilltop (Foss: 1977, 71). Against invasions from the east, the inner fortifications of the Byzantine Citadel were possibly built ca. A.D. 630, largely from the debris of the Roman city.⁵⁵ Regarding the constant attacks, by the mid-7th century settlement area was retreated completely inside the citadel. By additions and repairs on the walls and consolidations on inner parts of the citadel, it took the shape that is similar to today's citadel.⁵⁶ Concurrent with the attacks, the destructions, burning down of many places in the city and enslaving of the majority of the society was occurred in this period. Therefore, the information regarding the monuments, residential areas and public open spaces outside the Citadel is limited in the Byzantine period. Although *Ancyra* existed as a fortress city for a long period of time, only during the latest period of the Byzantine rule, the city again started to expand outside the Citadel (**Figure 19**).⁵⁷

Most of the buildings and public open spaces of the city that were used intensively in the Roman period, were ruined as a result of looting and destructions, whereas some of them were repaired and continued to be used.⁵⁸ The Castle, Roman Theatre and Minor Baths were used for a certain period but the main arteries connecting these areas had lost their function. *Cardo maximus* – the main axis of Roman period Ancyra – was

⁵³ See Foss for the list of the monumental buildings and open spaces in the city in the 4th and 5th centuries (1977: 60, 61).

⁵⁴ For detailed information on monuments of Ankara during Byzantine Period see Serin (2014).

⁵⁵ Ancyra (Ankara) Galatia, Turkey (*ἀνγυρά*, perseus.tufts.edu: 2018).

⁵⁶ Bakırer who gives different views on Inner Citadel and Outer Citadel, states that a massive construction phase took place on the walls during the second and the third quarters of the 7th century, and traces survived till today (2001: 178).

⁵⁷ The use of the Temple of August during 9th and 10th centuries and other archaeological remains indicates that some other parts of the city in addition to Citadel were in use (Foss: 1977, 84).

⁵⁸ Especially the Great Baths, Palaestra and Stadion which was near the Roman era fortifications ruined due to the sacks, only the Minor Baths were repaired and used for a while (Kadioğlu and Gökay: 2011).

continued to be used until the early Byzantine period, and started to lose its commercial character after the 5th and 6th centuries.⁵⁹ Additionally, after the transformation of the temple into a church in the 4th century, Hacıbayram Hill was continued to be used as a religious centre until the shrink of the city due to the attacks of Sassanids in 622.

With the shrink of the city to the citadel in the 6th-7th century, new public open spaces started to emerge. Since the Church of St. Clement and *kryptus area* were located close to the citadel, also the religious centre of the city started to shift to this area. Additionally, as it is stated by Saradi that, around Christian churches, markets were developed to serve the needs of the worshippers, some of which were probably owned by the Church (2006: 250). Although there is no detailed information on commercial centres of the city in the Byzantine period of *Ancyra*, it would be logical to assume the existence of a small commercial public space around the Church of St. Clement and *kryptus area*. Moreover, Saradi also emphasized the development of urban centres of East market places near heavily used city gates (2006: 214). Thus, shrink of the city also gave rise to the emergence of a new public open space located in front of the entrance of the citadel: today's Atpazarı Square. This area was used as one of the main commercial centres of the city where city's relation with the other cities were established.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Opus sectile floor pavements suggest that *cardo maximus* was kept in use until the early Byzantine period (5th-6th centuries) (Kadioğlu and Gökay: 2011, 157).

⁶⁰ Byzantine era trade centre was supposed to be in Tahtakale and around, the significance of which shifted to the East via the belt of Atpazarı-Koyunpazarı-Samanpazarı and in time provided the main relationship between the newly arrived Turks and Byzantine Ankara (Bakırer and Madran: 2000, 106).

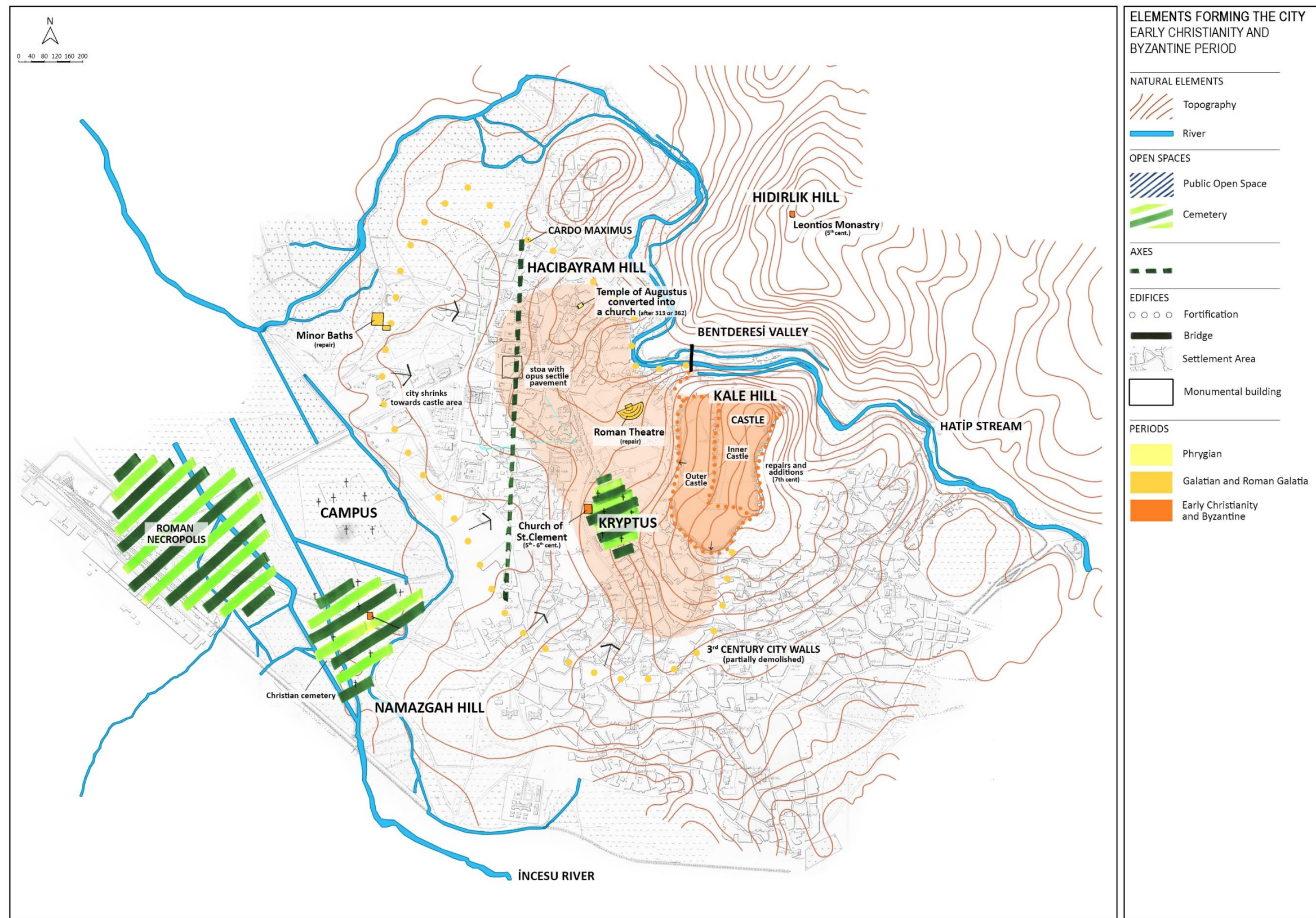


Figure 19 Elements forming the city, Early Christianity and Byzantine Period in Ankara

Seljuks, Ahis and Beyliks Period: 12th - 14th Century/ Engüriye/ Unguriye/ Ankara

After the Byzantine domination, Ankara constantly changed hands due to wars and attacks, and starting from the mid-12th century it became one of the administrative centres of Seljuks.⁶¹ During Seljuks Period, Ankara was mainly used as a military-strategic centre of raiders for organizing attacks to the lands located beyond Byzantine Empire (Özcan: 2006, 33). This is why, apart from limited number of monumental buildings constructed during this period “a strong Turkish urbanisation has not started” (Tanyeli: 1987, 89) and Byzantine walled city appearance continued till *Ahis* period. Firstly, Alaeddin Mosque was constructed within the Citadel in 1178 and later in the first quarter of the 13th century Kızıl Bey Complex was built at the southwest of the historic city close to İncesu River (in the place of today’s Ziraat Bank). Construction of these mosques on the two separate locations in the city also indicated the expansion of settlement areas during the Seljuks period. Therefore, it can be claimed that, in parallel to the location of the two major mosques of the city, the settlement areas were most probably concentrated around the citadel and the secondary area was emerging on the southwest part of the city, away from the centre (**Figure 21**).

Between the fall of Seljuks and establishment of the Ottoman Empire, *Ahi*⁶² organization had an important role in the governance of the city after the second half of the 13th century. İbni Batuta, who visited Ankara during the 14th century mentioned that the city was occupied by Turkish tribes called Ahi (Kemal: 1983, 96). Under Ahi’s governance, a considerable increase in the production and artisanship⁶³ could be traced in Ankara. Therefore, to be one of the central locations of Ahis was an indicator for Ankara to have a commercial function (Akçura: 1971, 16) which also created a parallel transformation in the characteristics of the city.

⁶¹ Inscription of Alaeddin Mosque (1178) was mentioning Muhyiddin Mesud – who was assigned as the head of administration in Ankara – as *melik* (which is a title used for sons of Seljuk Emperors) (Baykara: 2012, 129).

⁶² *Ahi*, is a cooperation and supporting organization that was established by the Turks who came to Anatolia from Asia, to overcome and to compete with the local traders and craftsmen (Çağatay: 1974, 59).

⁶³ See Aktüre for the list of *Ahi* activities which includes 24 sectors of production (1978: 111).

Regarding these developments, during the early 14th century the city started to expand from the castle towards the south, on the thin strip connecting the city to the caravan route. The religious buildings were one by one constructed along this strip, and neighbourhoods and commercial areas of the city were also settled around these religious buildings.⁶⁴ In addition to the emergence of new neighbourhoods around the mosques, masjids and hamams mainly utilised by the users of these commercial areas also started to appear in this area. Concurrently, with the increase in commercial activities the number of monumental buildings also increased, whereas there is no sufficient information related to the public open spaces of the period.

In *Ahis* period and also during the following decades, by extending its Byzantine boundaries, Ankara started to expand towards its Roman period boundaries. Moreover, the area between Atpazarı and Koyunpazarı where Ahi Elvan Mosque (14th century), Ahi Arap Mosque (14th-15th century) and Ahi Şerafettin Mosque (second half of the 13th century) were located, grew as an important religious centre for the city. In this religious centre, commercial activities started to appear around the mosques. In later periods, with the increase on commercial activities within this area, this commercial zone became one of the most important public open spaces of the city.

Another important public open space that started to emerge during *Ahis* Period was a bazaar area located at the north-eastern part of the city, close to Bentderesi. Named as *Tabakhane*/ Tannery, this area was mainly used for leather ware production and sales (Erdoğan: 1965, 135) (**Figure 20a, b**).⁶⁵ Even though researches on physical and functional aspects of this area before the Ottoman period is lacking, construction of Tabakhane Mosque (1444-45) and Abdülkadir İsfahani Mescidi (early 15th century) at Tabakhane district on following periods indicated the concentration of a former activity within the area. Therefore it can be stated that, Bentderesi and its surroundings

⁶⁴ The 13th and 14th century religious edifices led the city grew outside the Citadel, and trade was developed around these edifices (Tunçer: 2001, 23).

⁶⁵ Till 1930's, the area between Roman Dam and Ördekli Bridge was filled with several *tabakçı*/ tanners therefore this area and its public open space was called as *Tabakhane- Debbaghane*/ Tannery (Tamur: 2012, 43).

were regularly used by the public for production and commerce during this period (Figure 20c, d).



Figure 20 a. Tanners located along Bentderesi river, 1924 (Cangır: 2007, 163) b. Interior space of a tanner, late 1920's (Tamur: 2012, 45) c. Tabakhane Mosque (İşçen: 2017) d. Abdülkadir İsfahani Mescidi (Erdoğan et al.: 2007a, 154)

During Ahis period, there is no information on the existence or the utilization of the axis corresponding to today's Çankırı Road – widely utilised in the Phrygian period and continued to be used during the Roman Period as the *decumanus* of the city – the colonnaded street and several other secondary streets that were intensively used during previous periods. On the other hand, a small part of *cardo maximus*, which was the most important axis of the Roman *Ancyra*, continued to be utilised. The shops on this axis were divided into two in order to obtain new spaces, and by this way commercial activities continued for a period. In addition to this, Hacıbayram Hill where the Temple of Augustus was converted into a church during the Byzantine period, also continued to be used during this period. By converting the Temple of Augustus Church into a mosque, the area had the chance to sustain its religious function even if it was located far from the new religious centre of the city.⁶⁶ The necropolis in the location of today's train station area that was used from the Phrygians period onwards also sustained its function as a cemetery.

⁶⁶ This building was used as mosque till the erection of Hacı Bayram Mosque (Buluç: 1994, 27).

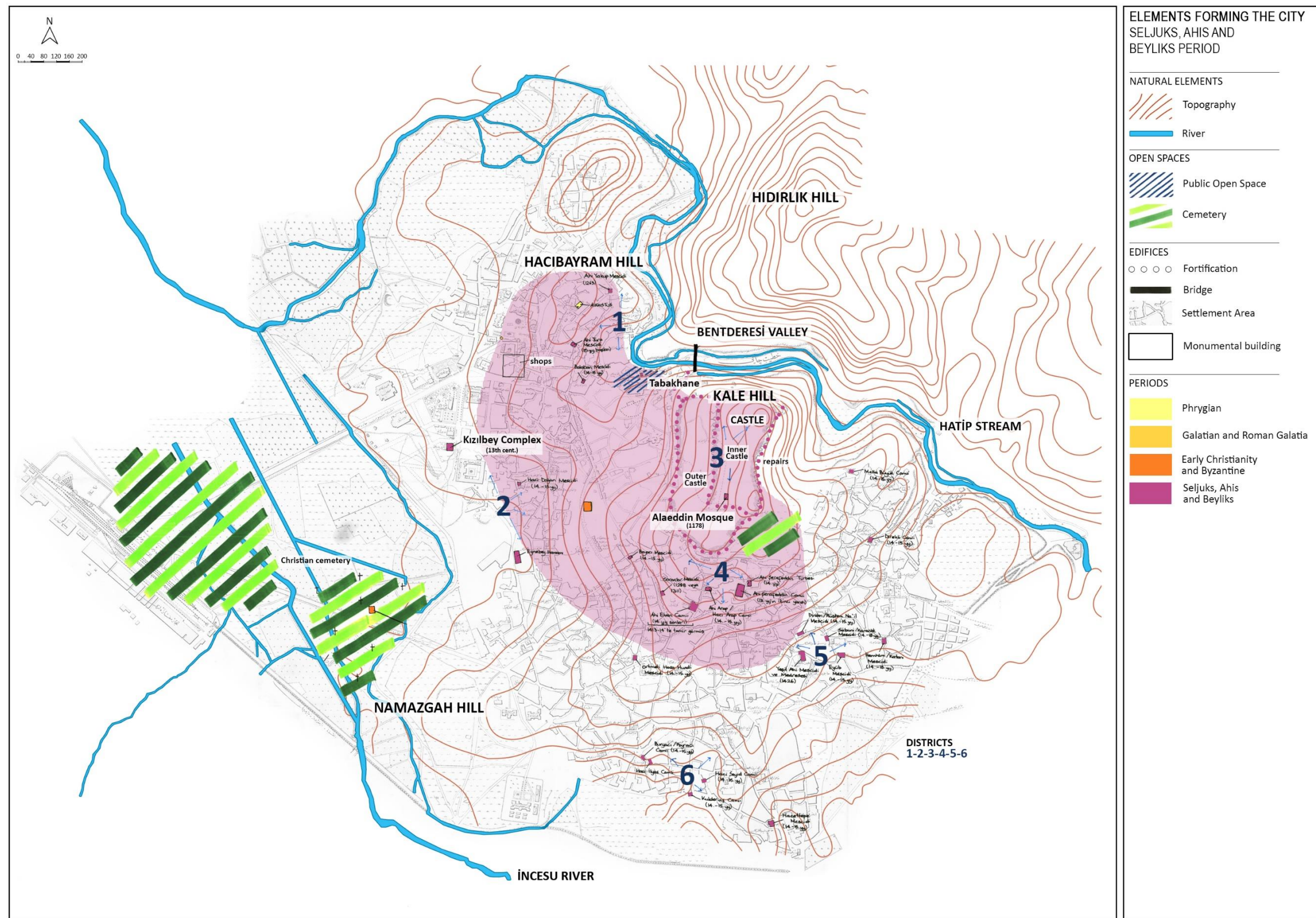


Figure 21 Elements forming the city, Seljuks, Ahis and Beyliks Period in Ankara

2.3.2. Ottoman Period: Engürü/ Ankara/ Angora

15th - 16th Century

Parallel to the rise of the Ottoman Empire, Ankara also spent its most prosperous period starting with the 15th century and reached to the climax in the 16th century. Started with the period of Murat II⁶⁷, most of the sultans gave great importance to the development of Ankara. Even though it was a defence and a fortress city in the past, especially starting from the 16th century, the city possessed international renown on account of the fine mohair cloth woven called as *sof*, produced from the hair of a special type of goat, known as the *tiftik keçisi* or Angora goat (Faroqhi: 1985, 211). Mainly concentrated on *sof* production and its commerce, Ankara transformed into one of the most important commercial centres of the region and also in the empire (Figure 22a-c).



Figure 22 a. Ankara Goat (VEKAM: 1550) **b.** Sof producers, 1905 (VEKAM: 0763) **c.** A detailed view of the lower part of Ankara painting, 18th century: It is clearly visible that the painter depicted Ankara by emphasizing *sof* production (View of Ankara: Rijksmuseum, 2015)

The city, expanded beyond the settlement boundaries of the Roman period and developed towards the west-southwest directions from the Citadel (**Figure 23**). Inner

⁶⁷ Murat II was the first sultan who started construction and development activities in and around Ankara. He ordered several bridges in Ankara to be constructed and villages around Ankara to be repaired (Galanti: 2005, 127).

Citadel, which was previously used for residential areas, from this period on started to gain an administrative character. Dungeon and treasury of the state and residential buildings for the administrators and guards were all located within the boundaries of the Inner Citadel (Gürbüz: 2012, 142).

Figure 23 Sketch of Ankara by Hans Dernschwam in 1555, showing Ankara as a castle city situated on top of a hill and settlement areas expanding to the foothills (1987: 258)

With the increase in the economic welfare in the city regarding the commercial activities, the population also increased and newly developing residential areas started to spread outside the citadel mainly surrounding the existing districts. Due to the requirements of these new neighbourhoods, mosques, masjids and *hamams* were constructed accordingly. Moreover, the increase on *sof* production and commerce which affected the level of wealth also resulted with the emergence of new specialized commercial areas in the city.⁶⁸ Eventually, the city gained a “double centred” (Ergenç: 1995, 16) structure and these centres were named as *Yukarı Yüz*/Upper Face and *Aşağı Yüz*/Lower Face. Most importantly, these two main centres were connecting to each other via *Uzunçarşı*/Long Market, which was emerged as a long and inclined street with a commercial function (**Figure 24a, b**).

⁶⁸ According to the 16th century *Tahrir Defterleri*/ Ottoman Registries, Ankara was defined as one of the wealthiest cities in Anatolia that continuously grow and develop (Tanyeli: 1987, 98).



Figure 24 a. b. Uzunçarşı (WOW: 2016)

The area covering Mahmut Paşa Bedesteni, Samanpazarı and Koyunpazarı environs was named as *Yukarı Yüz* (**Figure 26**). Within the commercial centre of *Yukarı Yüz*, Atpazarı Square could be regarded as the most important square of the upper parts of the city regarding commerce, arts and crafts.⁶⁹ Located in front of the Citadel gate, Atpazarı Square which has been continuously utilised from Byzantine times onwards, enlarged towards the south to Koyunpazarı⁷⁰ and Samanpazarı axis. This axis which was developed during *Ahis* period and characterised with religious buildings, transformed into a commercial centre with the construction of Mahmut Paşa Bedesteni (1459-60), Kurşunlu Han, Zafran Han, Çukur Han, Çengel Han (1521-22) and Pilavlıoğlu Han in its close vicinity.

Aşağı Yüz covered an area between Hacıbayram Mosque and Karacabey Complex, western parts of today's Anafartalar Road. The centre of this area was constituted from the functionally specialized streets between Tahtakale/ Taht-el-Kala/ Kale altı-dibi where Hasan Paşa Hanı (Suluhan), Tahtakale Bath and *Karaoğlu Çarşısı*/ Karaoğlu Bazaar were located (**Figure 26**).⁷¹ 16th century traveller Hans Dernschwam defined these streets as narrow and lack of any sidewalk (1987: 254). Similar to *Yukarı Yüz*, with the increase in commercial activities in the area, religious buildings and hamams were also constructed accordingly.

Additional to these places, *Tabakhane* at Bentderesi which had started to emerge during *Ahis* period, also increased its importance for the city in the Ottoman period as

⁶⁹ Generally, used by pedlars and shopping related to animal was done.

⁷⁰ It is a bazaar which gathers every type of craftsmen including the shops of bakers, ironsmiths and groceries.

⁷¹ Karaoğlu Bazaar starts from today's Ulus Square, directs to the east and connects with Tahtakale via *Uzunçarşı*.

the main area for leather ware production and sales. Since it was close to water resources and at the same time far enough from the city centre in order not to pollute air, Tabakhane District was a suitable location for activities related to leather (Tekeli: 1994, 172). This is the reason why *Tabakhane-Debbağhane Pazarı*/ Tannery Bazaar was also situated within this area (**Figure 25a**). Moreover, except the parts used as tannery, environs of Bentderesi, especially green areas along the river were also started to be used for recreational activities by the residents of Ankara (**Figure 25b, c**).



Figure 25 a. Bazaar area along Bentderesi, 1960 (Cangır: 2007, 1133) **b.** A photo used as a postcard for the memory of a day at Bentderesi area, 1914 (Tamur: 2012, 80) **c.** Recreational green areas around Bentderesi River, 1926-1927 (Tamur: 2012, 80)

Other public open spaces of the period can be listed as: A specialized bazaar called Kapan in the Keyyalin neighbourhood next to Unkapanı Hanı, utilised for food commerce.⁷² Partial areas of *cardo maximus* that was transformed into small shops during Ahis period and continued to be used also in this period. After the construction of Hacıbayram Mosque adjacent to the Temple of Augustus on the Hacıbayram Hill, the area regained its importance and became the religious centre of the city.⁷³ Additionally, the necropolis area – located in today's train station and its surrounding areas – which was used since the Phrygian period, continued its function as a cemetery area.

⁷² The information on the general view of Ankara, craftsmen's bazaars and market places in the 16th century was gathered from Ö. Ergenç (1995, 15-20).

⁷³ The Temple of Augustus was modified to a madrasa after the building of Hacıbayram Mosque in the 15th century (Buluç: 1994, 27).

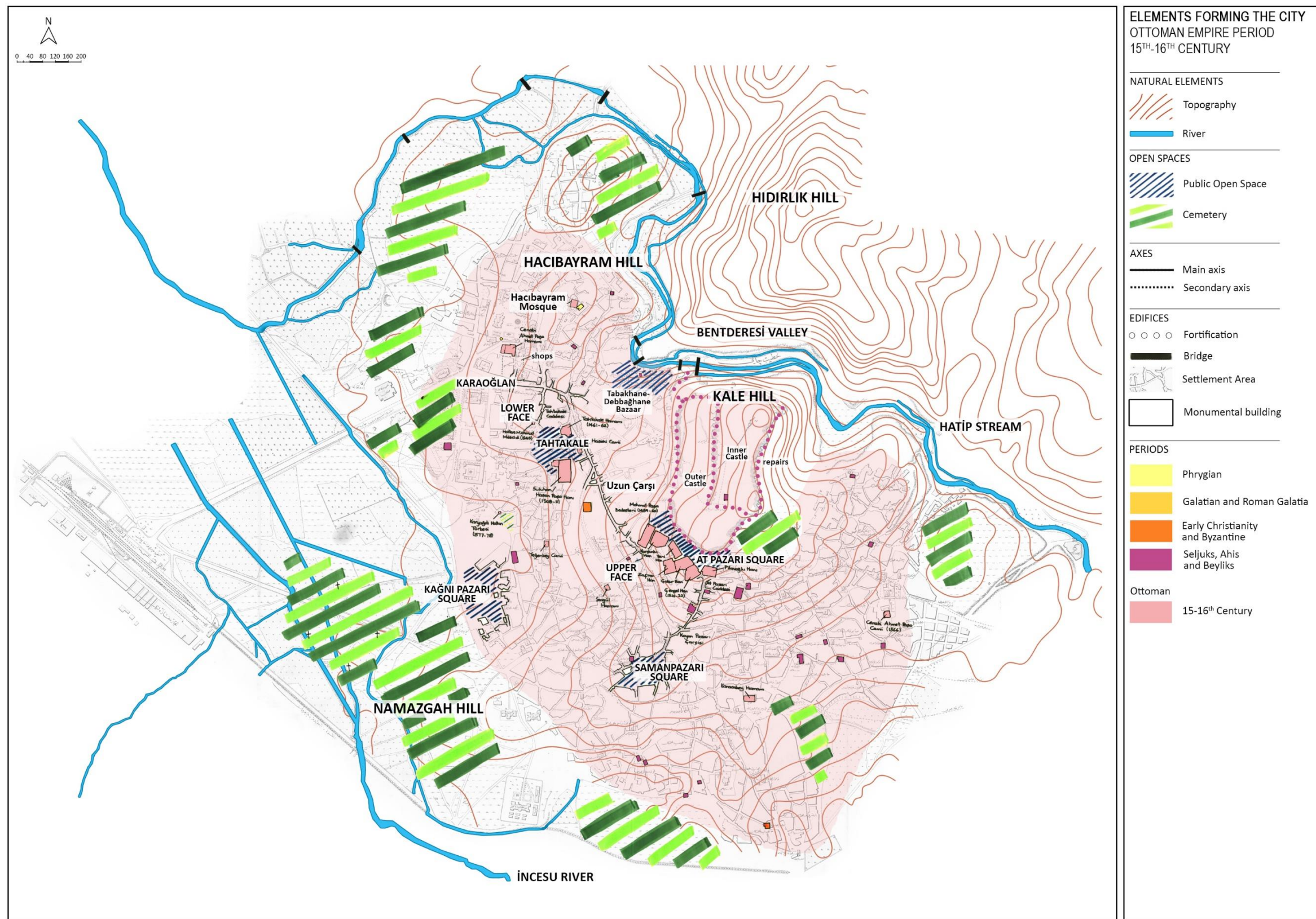


Figure 26 Elements forming the city, 15-16th Century Ottoman Period in Ankara

17th Century

Ankara which had developed and enriched during the 15th and 16th centuries, entered to a stagnation period after Celali Revolts⁷⁴ in the 17th century. After several Celali attacks, the social and economic life in Ankara regressed, leaving almost nothing from the wealthy classical period of the city (Mihçioğlu Bilgi: 2010, 178). During the rebellions one of the most important commercial centres of the city including Karaoğlan Bazaar, environs of Tahtakale, Samanpazarı and Karacabey Bath were destroyed (**Figure 27**).⁷⁵ As a result of this rebellion, the city became defenceless and therefore narrowed down to its limits towards the Castle for a certain period. According to Faroqhi, this is also the period when most of the luxurious houses owned by rich tradesman of Ankara were started to build around Hisarönü district (1997: 170).

Between late Byzantine Period and the 17th century, Ankara was a city with no definite borderline enclosed by a city wall. On the other hand, in 1606-1607, as a precaution for further attacks, a third fortification was constructed.⁷⁶ Starting from Avancıklar in the east, enclosing Cenabi Ahmet Paşa Mosque, passing Karacabey Imaret and stretched to Namazgah via Hacettepe, from Namazgah, after encircling Arabapazarı, reached to Tabakhane passing beneath Tahtakale and Hacıbayram Mosque, this wall surrounded the whole city. At the end, it met the natural thresholds of the rock where the Castle was located (Taş: 2006, 108). Even though the 3rd City Wall had lost its function soon afterwards, as Aktüre states, it was the basic morphological element that determines the city growth for more than three hundred years (1994: 88-89).

⁷⁴ Celali Revolts, rebellions in Anatolia against the Ottoman Empire in the 16th and 17th centuries. Major revolts later occurred in 1526–28, 1595–1610, 1654–55, and 1658–59 (Encyclopedia Britannica: 2014). Celali Karakaş Ahmed's troops attacked Ankara in 1603 (Aydın et al.: 2005, 172).

⁷⁵ For more information on Celali Revolts which caused damage in Ankara, See S. Aydın et al. (2005: 166-172).

⁷⁶ Dated to 1607, it is stated on court records – Ankara Şeriye Sicilleri X/1481 – that, fortification was built with the money of residents to protect their city from the attacks (Ergenç: 1995, 164).

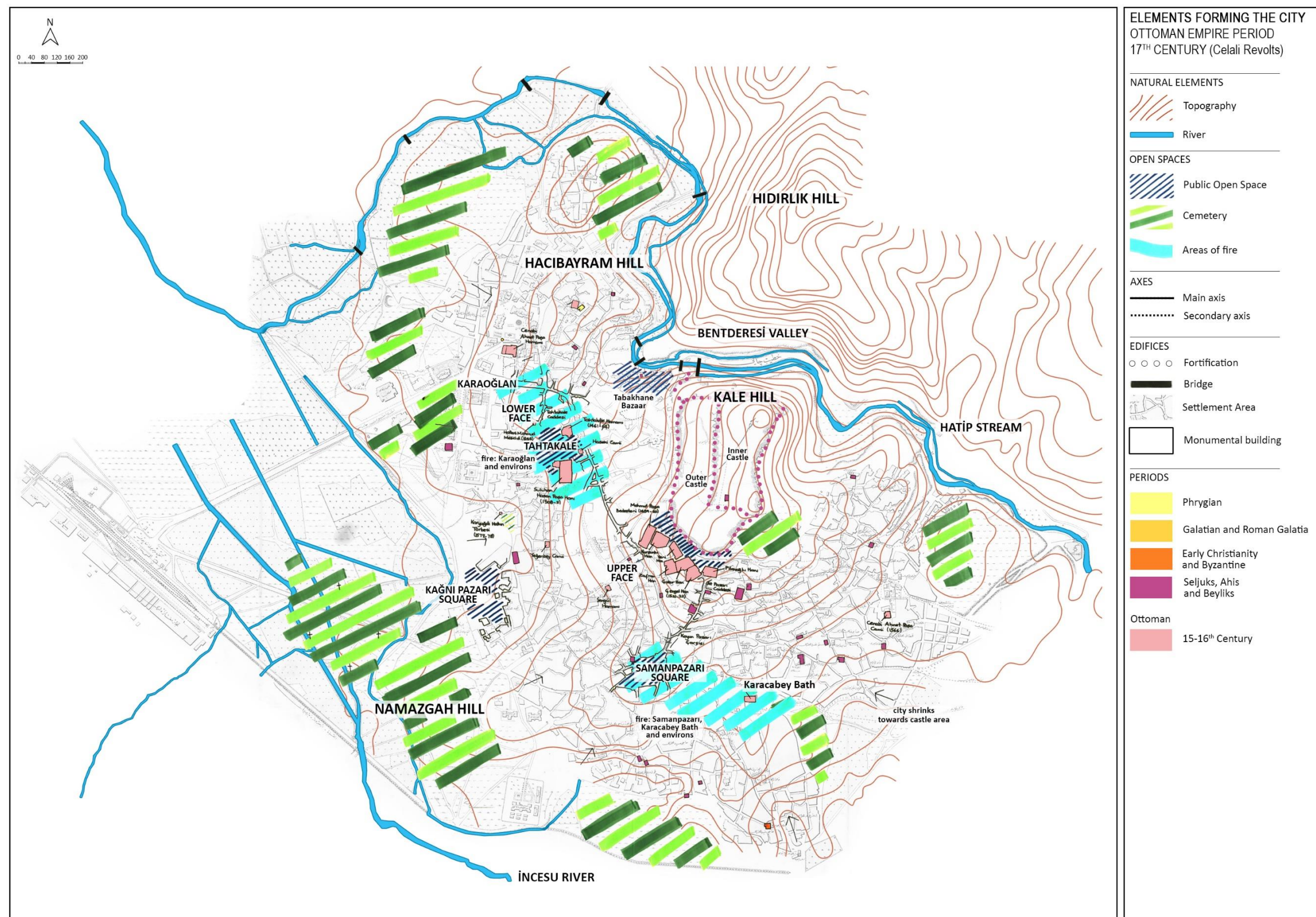


Figure 27 Areas of fire during Celali Revolts

Simeon from Poland who visited Ankara in 1618, describes the city as commercial one – mainly specialized with *sof* production and trade – that is surrounded by three layers of wall (Andreasyan: 1964, 162 and Kemal: 1983, 96). Thus, Ankara remaining within the city fortifications continued to develop in certain limits defined by the wall and the city entrances were formed according to the main transportation axes connecting Ankara to the other cities. Therefore most of the entrances were named regarding to the city that the road heading to, such as; Çankırı Gate at the northwest, İstanbul Gate and Eset Gate at the west, İzmir/ Doğanbey Gate at the southwest, Erzurum Gate at the south and Cenabi Ahmet Paşa/ Kayseri Gate at the east. The rest of the gates were named according to the district that the gate was opening to, such as; Namazgah Gate at the southwest and Aynalı Gate at the southeastern part of the city (Figure 28).

After the construction of the third circuit of city walls, surroundings of Tahtakale, Samanpazarı and Karacabey Bath were not able to re-establish their commercial aspects quickly. On the other hand, Suluhan and Tahtakale Bath had gone through intensive restorations and had the chance to recover fast compared to other destroyed areas such as Tahtakale and Karaoğlan Bazaar. Since Tahtakale could not re-establish its function completely, *Uzunçarşı* was also affected and gradually lost its commercial importance for the city. Parallel to these, in the area covering Atpazarı and Koyunpazarı Squares which were not affected from Celali Revolts and therefore considered as one of the most secure parts of the city, commercial activities as well as construction of mosques and *hans*⁷⁷ continued.⁷⁸ Evliya Çelebi who visited the city during 1640's noted that the most crowded commercial areas of Ankara were located around Bedesten, Sipahi Pazarı and Kalealtı Pazarı (1970: 125-138). Additionally, Tabakhane Bazaar sustained its importance, and facilities related to leather ware continued in this area.

⁷⁷ See Aktüre for detailed information about these edifices (1994: 102-105).

⁷⁸ Piring Han and Kıbrıs Han was built in this period.

The other public open spaces of the period can be listed as follows: Nearby İzmir/Doğانبey Gate – one of the most important gates of Ankara – a new bazaar called Kağnı (Vehicle) Pazarı was established. Covered the area on the eastern parts of today's Denizciler Street, this bazaar was mainly used for commercial activities by the visitors of Ankara from surrounding villages. Additionally, even though the old necropolis area preserved its function, the Christian cemetery was not utilised starting from this period. On the other hand, in different locations at the northwest-southwest parts of the city, new Muslim cemeteries were formed. In addition to these cemeteries, three small cemeteries were also built within the city fortifications; one at the north of Çankırı Gate, another at the west of Aynalı Gate and the other at the eastern part of the Citadel.



Figure 28 Elements forming the city, 17th Century Ottoman Period in Ankara

18th Century

Towards the end of the 17th century, as one of the negative impacts of the economic problems Ottoman Empire faced with, a gradual decline on the quality of *sof* production occurred regarding the inadequate incomes. In addition to this, approval of the transportation of Ankara goat outside the borders of the Ottoman Empire also accelerated the economic decline in Ankara. After the approval of this transportation, a considerable increase in the high quality *sof* produced abroad was traced in the period, which also affected the commercial activities of local producers.⁷⁹ As a result, in the 18th century, commerce in Ankara entered to a stagnation period. Despite this stagnation, in the city centre commerce was still continuing to a certain extent. Tahtakale and its environs, which was destroyed during Celali Revolts, Atpazarı Square and its surroundings which continuously utilised for centuries, were the two major trade centres of the period. These areas recovered during the 18th century and therefore the double centred commercial character of Ankara became prominent again. *Uzunçarşı*, connecting these two commercial centres known as *Yukarı Yüz* and *Aşağı Yüz*, became the most important commercial axis of the city (**Figure 30**).

3rd Wall of Ankara which was constructed in the 17th century for protecting the city from Celali Revolts, was still taking attention of travellers⁸⁰ visiting the city during the 18th century (**Figure 29a-c**). Pitton de Tournefort who visited the city in 1701 described the city wall in detail and prepared an engraving of the 18th century Ankara. He mentioned 3rd Wall as “low and finished with wicked battlements” in his notes. Moreover, he described the specifications of the wall by giving detailed information on its towers and gates having columns, architraves, capitals, bases and other antique pieces with masonry. Tournefort defined the towers of the wall as not the most beautiful ones since they were square in shape and the doors were simple. On the other

⁷⁹ After a brief explanation on other disasters that Ankara faced with, journalist Güldemir defines the worst disaster that had ever happened in Ankara as the legitimization of the transportation of Ankara goat outside the borders of Ottoman Empire (1990: 51).

⁸⁰ Several travellers like Lucas and Mortraye also gave detailed information on the condition of city walls in the 18th century (Alemdar: 2000, 99).

hand, he added that lion sculptures located in front of Kesariya/ Kayseri Gate and Smyrna/ İzmir Gate were quite beautiful and attractive (1717: 322-326).



Figure 29 a. Engraving of Pitton de Tournefort (1701), showing the city with huge minarets, and highlighting the main entrance, İstanbul Gate (BNF: ark:/12148/btv1b8592838m) b. Drawing of Paul Lucas (1705), represents the city with three layers of city wall and its monumental buildings (BNF:ark:/12148/btv1b85928376) c. A view of Ankara (18th century), which represents the city with 3 layer of walls. Main entrances to the city were highlighted by showing the roads heading to the outer wall (Rijksmuseum Holland: 2015)

Even though the city fortifications were not in a good physical condition and started to lose their function, the city continued to develop within the boundaries of the fortifications due to the stability of the population.⁸¹ During this period, in Ankara within these boundaries, “many small and non-glamorous mosques, small mosques

⁸¹ Population of Ankara stayed constant between the 17th and 19th centuries. For detailed information, see Aydın et al. (2005: 180, 181).

(masjids) and *hans* were built and the monumental structures remaining from the previous periods were repaired” (Aktüre: 1994, 105). The main *hans* built in this period are; Kırmızıoğlu Han around Atpazarı Square, Yeni Saray Hanı, Rençber Hanı, Yıldız Hanı, Hayret Hanı, Allem Kallem Hanı and Ağazade Hanı around Koyunpazarı, and Tahtakale Hanı in Tahtakale. Furthermore, religious structures mentioned were; Eskicioğlu Mosque, Celal Kaddani Masjid, Çiçeklioğlu Mosque, İki Şerefeli Mosque, Hacı Musa Mosque, Sarıkadı/Mimarzade Mosque, Devdıran Masjid and Ramazan Şemseddin/ Kalepazarı Mosque inside the Citadel. In addition to these places, Samanpazarı, Kağnı (Vehicle) Bazaar, Tabakhane Bazaar, Hacıbayram Mosque and its surroundings and the cemetery areas inside and outside the city continued to be used during this period (**Figure 30**).



Figure 30 Elements forming the city, 18th Century Ottoman Period in Ankara

19th Century

Preserving its 18th century characteristics until the mid-19th century, Ankara has been dramatically affected by the realities of Ottoman Empire such as; collapse of local industry and artisanry in the face of Western competition, the implementation of an economic policy designed to expedite this collapse through international trade treaties and capitulations, ever-increasing foreign debts, financial bankruptcy, and the European seizure of Ottoman revenues through the Administration of *Düyun-u Umumiye*/ Public Debt, precipitating a virtual loss of political independence (Timur: 1987, 9).

Along with these problems, wars and commercial agreements with foreign countries were the main factor that accelerated the decline of commercial activities (conducted either by the locals or foreigners) within Ottoman Empire.⁸² Especially after the Ottoman-English treaty on commerce in 1838, Ankara – most of the local producers were using traditional techniques – could not compete with foreign manufactures and witnessed a dramatic decline in terms of commercial activities and welfare. The most significant factor of this decline was related to *sof* production and commerce. According to Faroqhi, quite apart from the trade crisis of the early nineteenth century, mohair exports to England and France declined or stagnated throughout the eighteenth century, partly due to the replacement of mohair by metal buttons in European fashions (1985: 230). Moreover, starting from the second half of the 19th century, Angora Goat successfully acclimatized in South Africa and the demand for the *sof* produced in Ankara decreased. On the other, with the declaration of Tanzimat which had important impacts on the city and city life, a new period for the Empire has begun (first in İstanbul and gradually spread to other cities).

⁸² Aucher Eloy, who visited the city in 1834, mentions that commercial activities in Angora decreased in a drastic way that there are few French people left in the city owns shops in that period (1843: 72). Additionally, W. J. Hamilton, also mentions that there were no English people left for commerce in Angora in 1835 (1842: 418-429).

Tanzimat: Reforms and Regulations

Officially began with *Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu*/ The Edict of Gülhane issued in 1839, the period of *Tanzimat* was “principally focused on renovating the administrative apparatus, and borrowing the political forms of Western republicanism. Even though it was exclusively belonging to the bureaucratic elite, and thoroughly nurtured in the state-centred ideology of the Ottoman system” (Keyder: 1987, 28), in a short period of time its impact on the rest of the society and other parts of Ottoman lands became noticeably evident. By the end of 19th century, rulers of the Ottoman Empire organized radical changes in legislation system to adapt the systems of Western countries. Every single regulation was put in practice rapidly as well as the ones related to the development of cities and rearrangement of urban spaces. As soon as the preparation of new regulations regarding the cities were completed, major cities of the empire and the capital city İstanbul turned into the implementation areas for the state. Conversely, for poor and relatively small cities, it was hard to see the impact of these new regulations on urban fabric until the end of the century.

Even though there were regulations for public buildings, residential areas and other parts of the city, the first document developed to regulate the city according to westernization attempts of the Ottoman Empire, dated back to 1839 (Nuri: 1922, 1098-1104). It was an effort of establishing order in the urban settlement both physically, socially and organizationally (Yerasimos: 1996, 3-6). This is why, with the declaration of *Tanzimat*, several new regulations were developed to support these reform movements. Most of the documents related to urban fabric were at first focused on the preparation of city maps⁸³ and afterwards regulations⁸⁴ for organisation of streets and building materials were aimed to be developed. Although, these documents prove that Westernisation period for Ottoman Empire created new perspectives regarding the understanding of city and its elements, due to the economic and political breakdowns,

⁸³ Even though the term plan was not used in the regulation, it was aimed to develop planning activities in the cities regarding the maps prepared during this period (Erkan: 2012, 9).

⁸⁴ According to *Mecelle-i Umur-i Belediye* (May 1839), higher income groups should build houses from brick whereas lower income groups are allowed to build timber framed houses only if they construct far from brick ones. On the other hand, new streets should have been formed according to geometrical calculations, dead-end streets were completely forbidden and urban plan should be prepared (cited in Demirakın: 2006, 26).

most of these regulations could only be implemented primarily for İstanbul and partially to other big cities.⁸⁵

On following years, *Ebniye Nizamnameleri*/ Regulations for Buildings were enacted as a series of a directories prepared in different time periods, mainly focused on changing the appearance of cities with reference to Western examples. For the state, with their narrow streets and *cul-de-sacs* paved with different sizes of stones, organic forms of Ottoman cities were symbolising the Eastern face of the Empire. Therefore, the first urban activity should be developed on the transformation of these streets into Westernized, wide and flattened roads. Until 1. *Ebniye Nizamnamesi*, buildings were not considered as an element defining the layout of the street but a space used for diverse functions. Because of this reason, 1. *Ebniye Nizamnamesi* was considered as a milestone that changed the future of Ottoman cities. After this regulation, several others were issued such as; 2. *Ebniye Nizamnamesi*/ the Second Regulation for Buildings (1849), *İstimlak Nizamnamesi*/ the Regulation for Expropriation (1856) and *Zokaklara Dair Nizamname*/ the Regulation for Streets (1859). As a result of these attempts, it can be stated that the main aim of *Tanzimat* to transform the Ottoman Empire into a Westernized society, was accomplished through urban regulations. Moreover, due to the political, social and economic dimensions of public spaces, most of these regulations based on physical transformation of urban fabric, also aimed to regulate the society and to increase the control of the rulers over the public.

For decades, westernisation attempts of the Ottoman Empire and regulations on urban fabric was mainly concentrated around İstanbul, since it was the capital of the Empire and the city of the Emperor. Even though, most of these regulations were specifically developed for İstanbul and its districts, how these regulations were interpreted by local administrative bodies became the key issue for the development of cities rather than İstanbul. For the case of Ankara, where the commercial decline and the increase in

⁸⁵ One of the documents prepared in 1839 for İstanbul mainly deals with "...planting trees on both sides of streets, and opening straight roads to public buildings like mosques..." that, it was the first time tree is considered as an element used for the organization of urban space (Yerasimos: 1996). On the other hand, until the planting project of *Bosnak Quarter* in 1903-1905, a regulation including trees as an element of residential areas was not issued in Ankara.

health problems had already begun, most of these regulations issued by the centre could not be implemented for long periods. There were no traces of the regulations of *First and Second Ebniye Nizamnamesi, Zokaklara Dair Nizamname* in the streets of Ankara.

Tanzimat and Its Impact in Ankara

Right after the declaration of *Tanzimat*, Major Von Vincke visited Ankara and prepared two maps of the city in 1839 (**Figure 31a, b**). The first map was depicting Ankara with its surrounding region (Scale: 1/73.000), whereas the other one was mainly focusing on the city of Ankara within its 3rd City Walls (Scale: 1/12.500). Among these maps, the one with a scale of 12.500, *Plan Der Stadt Angora* depicts the city with its topography, cemeteries, water ways, city walls with their gates, castle, major roads and monumental buildings labelled with their names. Even though representations of the map carried the general features of the cartographic language and was distorted to a high extent (Mihçioğlu Bilgi: 2010, 7-8), it was the first and only map of Ankara that gave detailed information on the city during the second quarter of the 19th century.

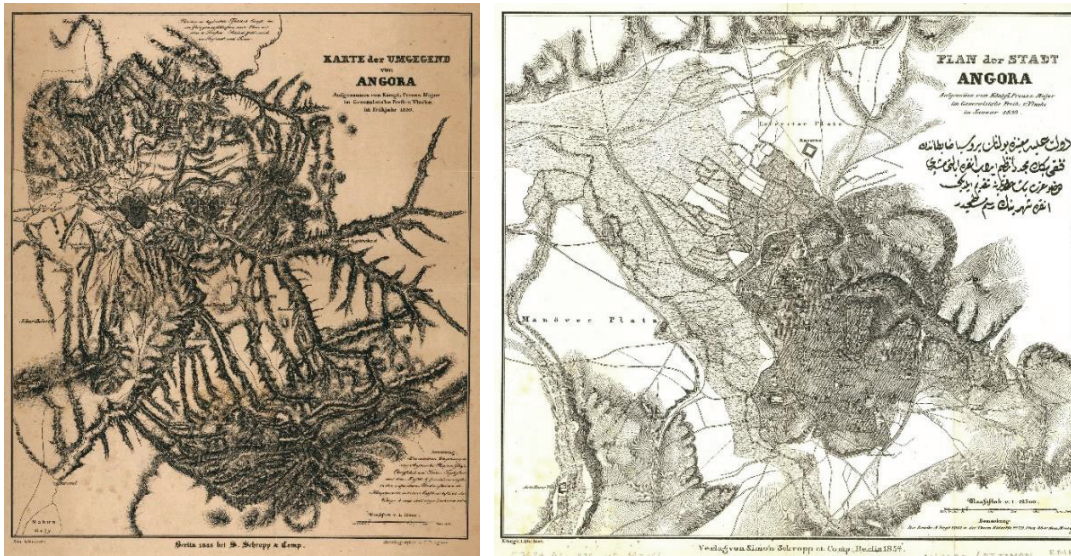


Figure 31 Maps of Ankara with different scales, prepared by Von Vincke (1839) (The University of Chicago Library Catalog) **a.** *Karte der Umgegend von Angora/ Angora and its Surrounding Areas* (n. G7434.A6A1) **b.** *Plan der Stadt Angora/ City Plan of Angora* (n. G7434.A6)

Despite the map prepared for Ankara by Von Vincke, Ankara could not have the chance to implement the regulations of Tanzimat for decades. The first regulation of the Empire in urban fabric and buildings expanded outside the territory of İstanbul was *Turuk ve Ebniye Nizamnamesi*/ Regulation for Roads and Buildings (1864).⁸⁶ This regulation was prepared with the basic need to organize cities⁸⁷ other than İstanbul and can be described as the first regulation that affected Ankara. Especially issues related to preparation of maps, infrastructure (construction and repair), new areas for housing and formation of streets were explained in detail.⁸⁸ Furthermore, *Vilayet Belediye Kanunu*/ The Act for City Municipality issued in 1877 was also an important regulation that affected the future of Ankara extensively. With twelve clauses specified on flattening roads, restriction on building heights, division of building plots; this act activated a transformation process on urban fabric of Ankara and how it was used and interpreted by the public (Denel: 2000, 133-138).

The subsequent regulation which directly affected urban character of Ankara was *Vilayet-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi*/ Regulation for Provincial Administration. First enacted in 1864 for Tuna Province, later in 1867 expanded to other parts of the Empire, and finalised version was enacted in 1871. This regulation mainly changed the administrative structure of the provinces in Ottoman Empire. Eventually, after the implementation of the regulations defined in *Vilayet-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi*, Ankara became the administrative centre of *Ankara Vilayeti*/ Ankara Province⁸⁹ in 1882-1883 and four *sancak*/ sanjaks; Çorum, Kayseri, Kırşehir and Yozgat were assigned under its jurisdiction⁹⁰ (**Figure 32**). On the other hand, with the validation of *Ebniye Kanunu*/ Law of Buildings in 1882, *Turuk ve Ebniye Nizamnamesi* was repealed and a new

⁸⁶ It is important to mention main attempts that prepared the ground for this regulation: The need of a specific establishment for organizing activities related to city and components conducted to a rule for foundation of municipalities (*Şehremaneti*) in 1854. With this rule, municipalities became the main establishment that implement rules of emperor on city scale.

⁸⁷ Additional to detailed explanations for building and street interventions, this regulation also consisted organizations for neighbourhood and infrastructure (Erkan: 2012, 8).

⁸⁸ This regulation was issued in 1863. For detailed information see Seyitdanlıoğlu (1996: 67-81).

⁸⁹ It is written in the yearbook of Ankara in 1882-1883 that, the governor was assigned to work in Ankara as the head of the province, *Vali-i Vilayet Atüfetlü Hacı Akif Efendi Hazretleri* (Koç: 2014, 304).

⁹⁰ Gavin Gatheral, who was the vice-consul of Britain prepared reports during his stay in Ankara. He mentioned that, Ankara Province was as large as the lands of Ireland (cited in Şimşir: 2006, 32).

system for regulations for new roads, buildings and areas remained from fires were defined comprehensively (Bademli: 1985, 11).

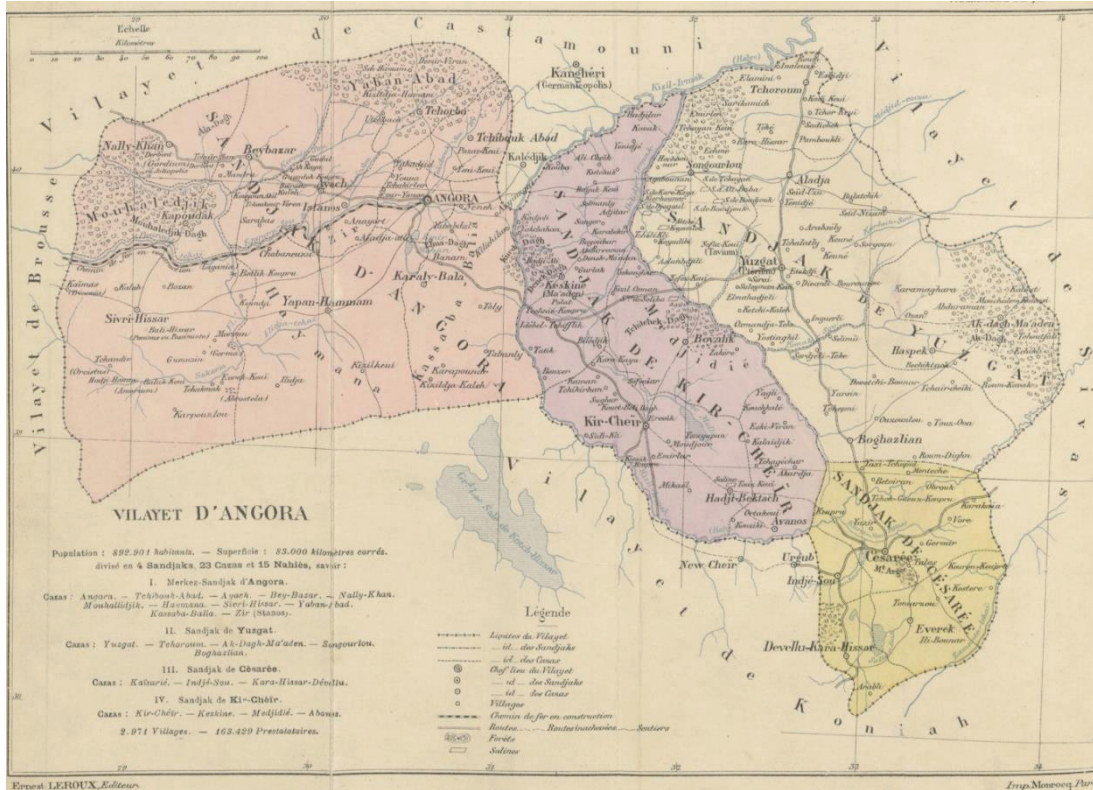


Figure 32 The map “Vilayet D’Angora” prepared by Vital Cuinet: Boundaries of Ankara Province and Sancaks were labelled (1890: 282)

After the assignment of Ankara as the central city of Ankara Province, new governors began to be assigned in Ankara. Right after the enactment of *Ebniye Kanunu*, Abidin Paşa was assigned as the new governor of Ankara Province in 1884-1885 (Koç: 2014, 385). Among all other governors, Abidin Paşa⁹¹ (assigned between 1886 and 1894) was one of the most significant one in terms of his urban activities to implement the new regulations in Ankara. During his governorship, he brought remarkable urban services to Ankara such as; bringing portable water supply to the city, placing emphasis on opening new roads and public open spaces, paving and planting these roads, and also opening schools, taking precautions for security to increase the

⁹¹ For detailed information on Governor Abidin Paşa and his services for Ankara, see İgdi (2013: 225-248).

activities for commerce and agriculture were also remarkable (İğdi: 2013, 225). Most of his works changed urban character of Ankara and its social life as well.⁹²

Along with these incidents, several travellers visited Ankara in the 19th century and wrote reports on Ankara and its monuments, and some of them prepared engravings (**Figure 33a-c**): John M. Kinneir in 1813, Charles Texier in 1834, W. J. Hamilton in 1835, Chopin-Cesar Famin-Eugene Bore in 1842, Andreas David Mordtmann (and Dr. Barth) in 1859, Georges Perrot in 1864, Edmond Guillaume and Jules Debet in 1864, Aderoy in 1864, F.Burnaby in 1874, Carl Humman and Otto Puchstein in 1882, W. M. Ramsay in 1883-1886 and Dr. Edmund Naumann in 1892. Among these travellers Baptistin Poujoulat, who visited the city in 1837, described Ankara as the poorest city he had ever seen (1841, 141). Bedesten-Atpazarı-Koyunpazarı-Samanpazarı region, which has been used intensively for centuries, lost its importance due to disappearance of *sof* production and commerce.

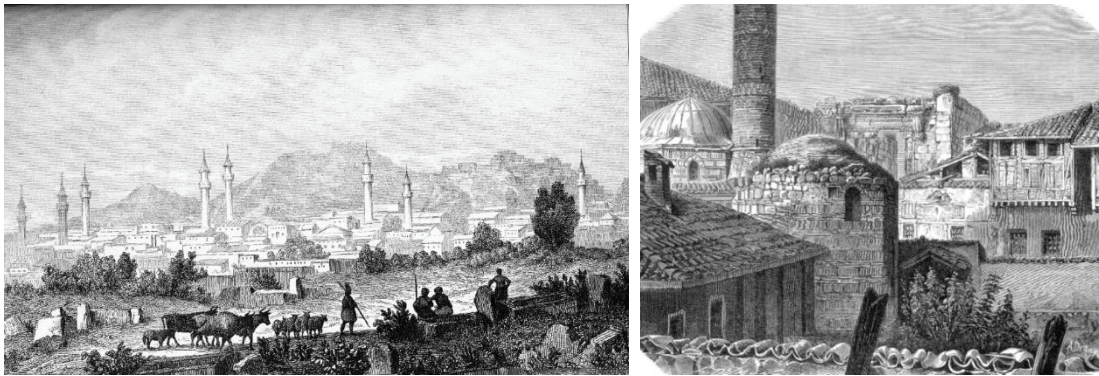


Figure 33 Engravings of Ankara during the 19th century (Uğur Kavas Archive) **a.** View of the city from north-west direction by Chopin-Cesar Farmin (1842) **b.** Hacı Bayram Area by Aderoy (1864)

Even though Poujoulat described Ankara in a poor physical condition in 1837, with the changes in administrative structure defined by the reform movements of the Ottoman Empire, a new period had started for the city. Ankara became the main administrative centre of the province and gained new military and administrative staff in 1883 (Yavuz,: 2000, 195, Çadırcı: 1980, 117). Among others, Abidin Paşa achieved success in terms of developing economic, educational, political and urban life of

⁹² According to Denel, these changes also created a parallel transformation on social life of Ankara where the system of *Ahi* and craftsman-apprentice relationship started to get dissolved (2000: 134).

Ankara during his governance between 1886 and 1894 (Çadırcı and İğdi: 2012, 436).⁹³ Parallel to the changes on provinces, local administrative system and associated regulations, a need for a governor's office in Ankara aroused. Eventually, *Paşa Sarayı*/ Paşa Palace in the place of today's Hükümet Konağı (Government Office) was chosen to be utilised as the governor's office. By this way, the administrative centre⁹⁴ which was previously located at the Citadel area, from now on started to gain its form on Hükümet Square and its surrounding areas (Özdemir: 1986, 42-46) (**Figure 34**).



Figure 34 Guillaume Berggren's photo "General View of Ankara" (1889), from İstsyon direction facing the new commercial and administrative centres of the city, citadel on the background (Fonds Paris Collection: 2016)

Similar to the shift of the administrative centre, also commercial facilities started to shift from upper parts to the lower parts of the city. This newly emerging commercial centre covered an area from *Balık Pazarı*/ Fish Market (today's Anafartalar Road) towards Karaoğlan Bazaar and expands to the west until Taşhan Square⁹⁵ (Aktüre: 1978, 127). Moreover, as a religious centre, Hacıbayram and its close vicinity sustained its function, and the cemetery areas that were used during previous periods (except necropolis in the place of today's station) were continued to be utilised. As a result, it is possible to mention that; emergence of important centres of the city around Hükümet Square and Karaoğlan activated several other construction activities of public buildings⁹⁶ such as *Taş Mektep*/ Stone School, just outside of the Third wall of

⁹³ In 1892, a report called "Defter-i Abidin Paşa" was prepared for explaining work done during his stay in Ankara.

⁹⁴ The Citadel was a secure place since being protected by guards. For this reason, Registry (Tahrir Defteri) and other financial records, money and goods belonging to the state were kept here. Until 1824 the City Accountant (Mutasarrıf), his crew, soldiers and people of government lived in rented kiosks (Özdemir: 1986, 42-46).

⁹⁵ This square which is today named as Ulus Square, was called after a hotel/han named Taşhan that was built in that period. "On both sides of Taşhan Square, the Meşrutiyet Hotel and opposite to it, in the site of the square, the Teacher's Academy (Darül-muallimin) that later burnt, were located" (Şahin Güçhan: 2001, 148).

⁹⁶ For other edifices built during this period, see Aydın et al. (2005: 209-213).

the city (**Figure 35a, b**). Consequently, gradual demolition of city fortifications has accelerated.⁹⁷

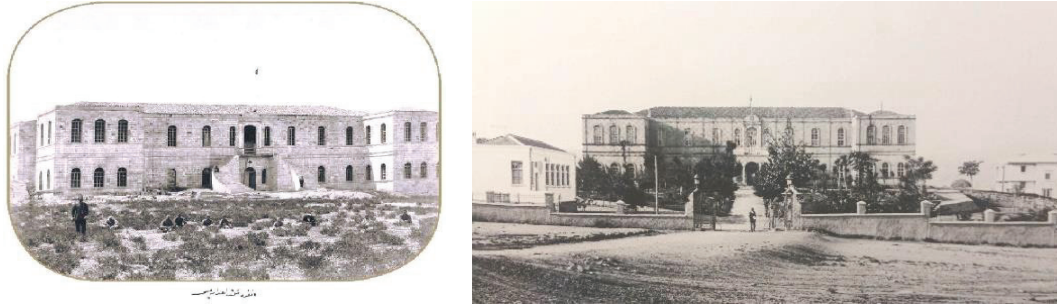


Figure 35 a. Taş Mektep, 1886-1908 (TA: 2016) **b.** Taş Mektep, 1886-1891 (Tanyer: 2009, 247)

The other important factor that affected residents of Ankara was famine that had occurred in 1846 and 1875 caused a radical decline in the population due to diseases and malnutrition.⁹⁸ Especially after the famine which had devastated Ankara in 1874-75, 18.000 people died in the province of Ankara – mostly from Turkish population – and lots of people had to immigrate other cities (Georgeon: 1996, 107 and Burnaby: 2007, 71). Halime Çanpınar a witness of this disaster explained those days in detail (cited on Bağlum: 1992, 25);

(1874) I had four kids. My father, Tacir Hasan was very rich. We had 42 villages within Ankara region. For three years' time there was not even a drop of water or snow. Ten thousands of our sheep were destroyed. Even though we were rich and owned lots of villages, we couldn't find food. My father was offering ten golden coins in exchange for a small amount of wheat, but again he couldn't get anything. This is why we had to eat grasses from the ground and seeds of broom. Everyday more than a thousand of people were dying because of starvation.

On the other hand, construction of a railway between İstanbul and Ankara would change the physical aspects of Ankara in a short amount of time. Mainly financed by the partnership of German companies, a new company called *Anadolu Şimendifer Osmanlı Anonim Şirketi* was established for the construction of the railway (Galanti: 2005, 260). The construction was started in 1889, completed in 1892. In parallel to the opening of Ankara Train Station in the necropolis area (southwest of the city) the

⁹⁷ John Macdonald Kinneir (1818: 64-75), Baptistin Poujoulat (1841: 141), Carl Humann and Otto Puchstein (1890: 38-43), E. Naumann (1893: 139) who visited the city in the 19th century, both mentions the poor conditions of the third circuit of city walls and its demolished parts.

⁹⁸ For detailed information on famine see Eyice: 1972, 86-87.

physical transformation process of Ankara also started in the same year.⁹⁹ E. Nauman, who visited the city in 1890 and prepared several maps, celebrated the opening of train station for the good of the city as (1893: 139); “Ankara witnessed good days in her life, perhaps she will have a better future starting from today? With the opening of train station, we can assume/hope that Angora will achieve new developments soon.”¹⁰⁰ (Figure 36a, b).

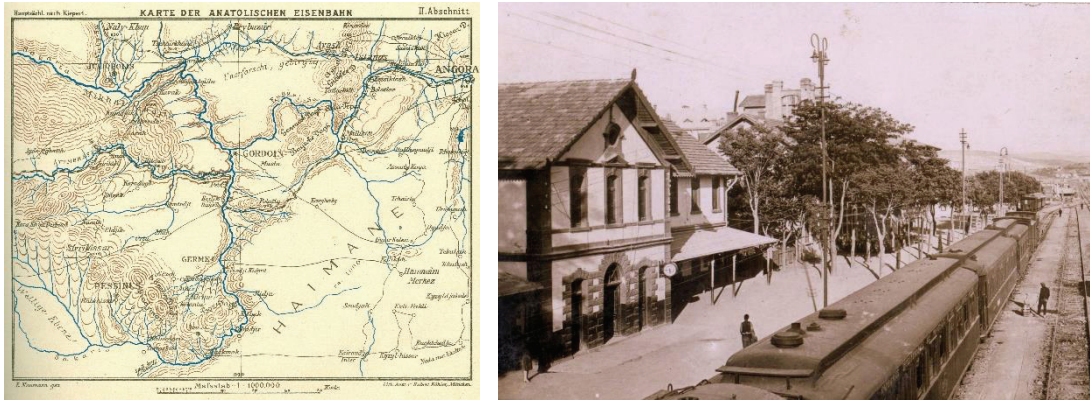


Figure 36 a. Train network of Anatolia, prepared by Edmund Naumann (1893: 132) **b.** Ankara Train Station (A. Yüksel Archive)

To become connected to İstanbul in a faster and cheaper way, both structure of urban activities and its reflection on spatial organizations of the city started to change in Ankara (Tekeli: 1994, 175, 176). A slight increase in the population and commerce recoveries were observed in the city after the opening of train station. Moreover, a new road between train station and the city was opened (**Figure 37**) and several monumental buildings were constructed around *Aşağı Yüz*. Most importantly, due to its close location to the train station, Karaoğlan Bazaar became the one and only commercial area that continued to function properly during this period.

⁹⁹ According to Koç, yearbooks of Ankara Province in 1878, 1891 and 1902 proved that there were slight changes in population till the construction of the train station. After the construction, a gradual increase was traceable (2012: 452).

¹⁰⁰ “So dürfen wir hoffen, das Angora recht bald zu neuer Blüte gedeihen werde” (the original German text, translated by Eyice: 1972, 89).

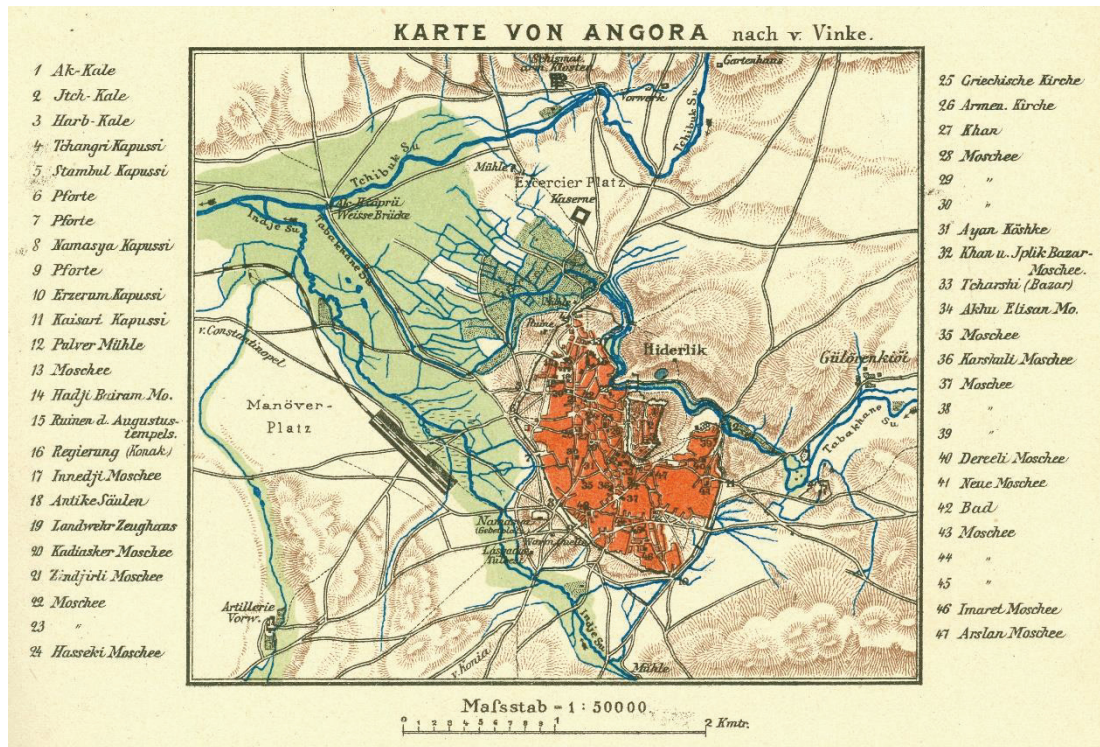


Figure 37 An update for Von Vincke's Angora Plan (1839) with the addition of train station, prepared by Edmund Naumann (1893: 132)

For the parts of Ankara having a continuous population decline and physical collapse regarding the fires and the lack of commercial activities, the new regulations defined after *Tanzimat* became an opportunity for the local authorities to activate new series of rearrangements in the urban space. Several abandoned areas of the city were rearranged according to the regulations discussed previously. In addition to this, regarding the increasing popularity of Karaoğlan and its surrounding areas, authorities also increased their urban activities within these areas. By this way, both in the historic districts and newly emerging areas of Ankara, authorities had a chance to apply westernized regulations in the city. As a part of the urban activities shaped by westernization attempts of the Empire, new settlement areas were organized with a complete new understanding, such as Boşnak Quarter located outside the fortifications.

Boşnak (Bosniak) Quarter: The first attempt to implement regulations in Ankara

After Ottoman-Russian War in 1877-1878, almost one million people – mainly composed of muslim groups – living in Balkans had to emigrate from Balkans to Anatolian lands. With the construction of railway and opening of the train station, it became easy for immigrants from other parts of Ottoman Empire to move Ankara (Ortaylı: 1994, 113). Some of these groups were placed in Ankara and its surrounding villages. Due to the fact that, until the development of new residential areas for numerous numbers of immigrants from Balkans in the city, the authorities placed these groups in empty *hans* (their daily expenses were paid by the government) and some others in abandoned houses located in different quarters of Ankara (Kaynar and Koraltürk: 2016, 7).

On the other hand, a new settlement area named *Boşnak Mahallesi/ Boşnak Quarter* – located at the east of the demolished parts of fortifications around Cenabi Ahmet Paşa/Kayseri Gate (**Figure 41**) – was started to be planned according to the statements defined in the updated version of *İskân-ı Muhacirin Talimatnamesi/ Regulations for Immigrant Settlements*. Even though first attempts were dated back to 1878, due to the financial problems¹⁰¹ and lack of organization, construction activities floundered for decades. Finally, foundation of buildings were laid in 1903 (Tamur: 2010, 69) and constructions were completed in a fair amount of time (**Figure 38a, b**).

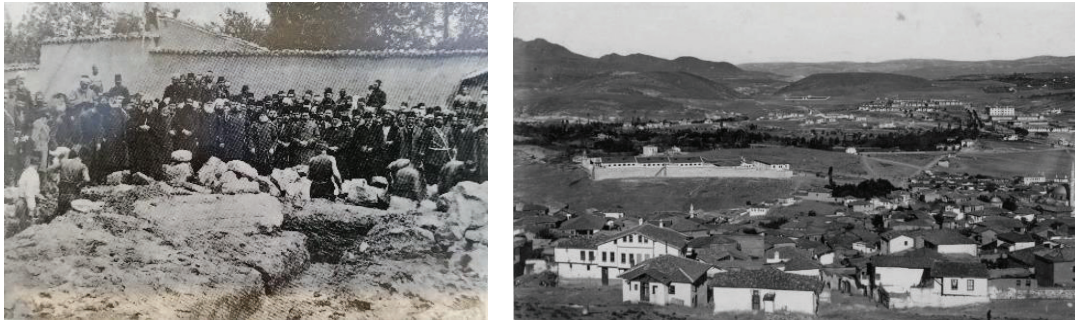


Figure 38 a. Lay of foundation in 1903 (Müderrisoğlu: 1993, 206) **b.** Boşnak quarter was located between Cenabi Ahmet Paşa Mosque (right side) and the empty land (Tamur: 2010, 67)

¹⁰¹ According to the state documents of 1902, even though for the construction of the settlement 20,000 lira was needed but the state could only paid for 7000 lira. Due to financial problems, construction activities for Boşnak Quarter had stopped for one year (Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Komisyanlar Maruzatı, 29/Z/1320 [Hicri]/ Dosya N. 11, Gömlek N. 27, General Directorate of State Archives of the Prime Ministry of Turkish Republic, cited in Kaynar and Koraltürk: 2016, 9).

This residential area was composed of 50 houses, organized to host more than 300 immigrants, and was designed with a grid plan¹⁰² of perpendicular streets filled with similar type of houses (Georgeon: 1996, 107) (Figure 39a-c). Organization of Boşnak Quarter adapting a geometric order in a grid iron system, was the first attempt of the local authorities in Ankara to implement new, westernized regulations. Divisions of building lots, physical attributes of houses and organisation of streets were all arranged according to *Vilayet Belediye Kanunu* that even dimension of streets and heights of buildings were defined prior the construction. With this grid system, a new way of street life and definition of open space was introduced to Ankara. Therefore, Şahin Güçhan describes this district as an important example of how regulations were implemented to the city (2001, 149). Both with its physical aspects and the process of formation, Boşnak Quarter became a unique example for Ankara.



Figure 39 a. b. Boşnak Quarter, street view (Denel: 2000, 143-145) **c.** The grid pattern street organisation of Boşnak Quarter (Aktüre: 1978, 134)

In following decades, meaning of city space started to change and these areas became the reflection of the power of the Ottoman Empire as *areas of prestige*. Along with the evolution of this understanding, another trend was introduced to Ottoman city life rooted from the French idea of integrating public green open spaces in cities. Eventually, the idea of *Millet Bahçeleri*/ Nation Gardens emerged to integrate small scale models of European – especially French – parks/gardens to Ottoman cities (Özgüç Erdönmez and Aydoğdu Ünlü: 2009, 38). As a part of these reform movements in the Ottoman Empire, *Millet Bahçesi*/ Millet Garden (Nation Garden) was also implemented in Ankara at the intersection of the two main roads of the new parts of

¹⁰² During the last decades of the 19th century, most of the residential areas planned for the immigrants had grid iron plan. For instance; a village planned in Mersin for Caucasian immigrants, or İkizce Village located at Haymana etc. (Eres and Akın: 2010, 86).

the city. The road connecting train station to Taşhan Square (the western end of Karaoğlan) and the other road connecting Taşhan to the south, to Kızılbey Complex **(Figure 41)**. Influenced from the public gardens of France, Millet Garden was quite important to be the first planned and implemented green public open space in Ankara **(Figure 40)**.¹⁰³

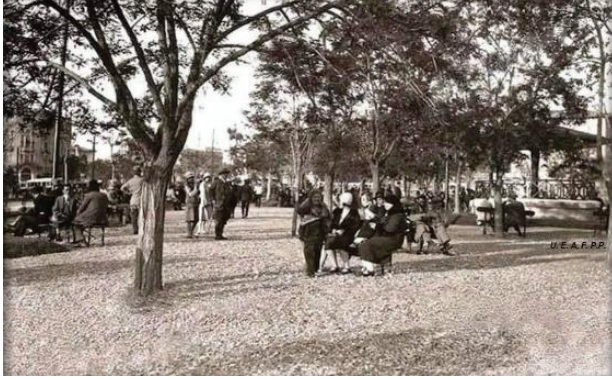


Figure 40 Millet Garden (PIN: 2016)

¹⁰³ For more information on Millet Garden, see Memlük (2009).



Figure 41 Elements forming the city, 19th Century Ottoman Period in Ankara

1900-1920

At the beginning of the 20th century, almost for a decade; wars and destructions predominantly accelerated the decline of the Ottoman Empire. As well as other parts of Anatolia, Ankara was also affected from these circumstances. As it is discussed previously that, after the construction of the train station by the end of the 19th century, with the increase in the number of shops, markets and hotels at *Aşağı Yüz* district (especially at Karaoğlan), this area slightly recovered. Meyer Kesebücher who visited the city in 1902 mentioned that, there were two hotels in Angora. The price was 5 kuruş per night; one is managed by a Turk and the other is by a Rum (Kemal: 1983, 100). In the light of this information, it can be claimed that, even though there was a recovery at the lower parts of the city, it was still not effective enough to fulfil the expectations of the community.

Another important change in the urban character of Ankara was started with the regulations prepared after *Tanzimat* and their implementation during the 19th century. Main roads located around the city were widened and repaired during this period, and new ones were opened to connect Ankara to surrounding villages and cities. After these changes residents of Ankara using their own cart for daily transportation started to build houses around today's Keçiören and Çoraklık districts.¹⁰⁴ Named as *bağ evleri*/ vineyard houses, these houses also affected both the urban character of Ankara and the transportation routines developed within the city. As it is known mentioned before, until the end of 19th century the city had two main centres: Hükümet Square as the administrative centre and Karaoğlan-Taşhan Square as the commercial centre. With the increase in number of vineyard houses around Keçiören and Çoraklık, a new residential centre started to emerge which soon created a change on urban character of Ankara at the beginning of the 20th century (Tekeli: 1982, 35).

¹⁰⁴ According to Koç, there was the tradition of going to summer houses in Ankara. Both wealthy and poor families go to orchard houses during summer times. Keçiören was mainly used by Catholics and Armenians, whereas Çoraklık was preferred by Muslims (1983: 12).

In addition to this, by facing termination of *sof* production and commerce in the previous periods, the city witnessed an economic collapse due to the lack of alternative production resources and methods. On the other hand, the main commercial and business centre of the city, Karaoğlan and its surrounding areas such as Tahtakale, were used for storage and commerce of agricultural products transported by the train (Figure 42a, b). Even though a third circuit of city walls were almost demolished (Figure 42c), due to the poverty and the lack of construction materials for building houses, the city preserved its 17th century boundaries and continued to develop within the area defined by the fortifications. Only a few number of commercial and public buildings were constructed outside of this border during the early 20th century, such as: Darülmualimin, *Mekteb-i Sanayi*/ The School of Industry (1905) and *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*/ The Committee of Union and Progress building (1915-1916) (Figure 44).



Figure 42 a. Karaoğlan Bazaar (A. Yüksel Archive) b. Tahtakale (Müderisoğlu: 1993, 40) c. Remaining part of fortifications at Çankırı Road, early 20th century (Mamboury: 2014, 86)

Concurrent with these developments, a fire had started in *Yukarı Yüz* and burnt down the residential areas around Kaleiçi/ Hisarönü district in 1916. According to Karay, “that day he saw black Ankara totally in red, and at the end in ash grey. It was the day for Ankara that all hell broke loose, it was the doomsday” (1939: 46-52). At the end of two days and two nights, this fire had decimated an entire residential area mainly composed of luxurious mansions owned by non-Muslim communities¹⁰⁵ and caused a

¹⁰⁵ According to Koç, there is no need to search for a Christian district in Ankara because Christians were all living in beautiful houses located at the Hisarönü district (1983: 12). Additionally, Hazım Kınacı – who is a member of a well-known family – also stated that the most luxurious district of Ankara was Hisarönü, where three-four storey stone houses were located, and most of these houses were owned by wealthy Armenians (1992: 33). Also British traveller Hamilton, who visited Ankara between 1835 and 1837, mentioned that Hisarönü district was mostly inhabited by Armenians with a population of more than 4000-5000 people (1842: 423). On the contrary, Streit mentioned that the area that had burnt down was composed of Christian and Muslim districts and both groups were blaming each other for the cause of the fire (2011: 53).

big financial and spatial damage (**Figure 43a-c**) around *Yukarı Yüz*. Eight districts¹⁰⁶ were completely burnt down, and eleven others were badly damaged. Not only residences (1033 dwelling) but also several shops (915), 4 hans, 2 mosques, 6 masjids, 7 churches, 6 schools, 3 hospitals, 2 prisons, 1 police station, 1 club building, 6 bakeries, 10 stores were also demolished (Birinci: 2009, 72-73). As a result, it can be concluded that this fire had started an irreversible transformation of Ankara's multicultural identity by the decrease in the number of non-Muslim communities and diminishing of their spatial practices through time.¹⁰⁷



Figure 43 a. Luxurious houses in Hisarönü District (Cangır: 2007, 33) b. Before the fire, Hisarönü District, 1907 (Cangır: 2007, 42) c. After the fire, Hisarönü District, 1917 (Cangır: 2007, 1145)

Two thirds of the city was being affected from the fire (Yavuz: 1980, 23), and as a result Atpazarı Square and its periphery completely lost its importance for the city. Additional to the economic decline and demolition of the areas caused by the fire, several important commercial buildings of the city including Mahmutpaşa Bedesteni, Kapan Han and Tuz Han (Tunçer: 2001, 66) was demolished, and *Uzunçarşı* with its surrounding shops also started to diminish from the daily life of Ankara. Until the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey, Ankara witnessed harsh consequences of Ottoman decline in every single part of its economic, social and political life.

¹⁰⁶ According to Karay, burnt down districts were completely dissimilar in terms of the resident profile: Yeğenbey district was occupied mainly by Muslims, Hisar-ı Fukara, Hisar-ı Ağniya, Kurt, Çakırlar, Kethüda and Mihriyar by non-muslims, and Hacı Mansur was a mixed district.

¹⁰⁷ For detailed information see Esin and Etöz (2015: 175-188), and 1916 Ankara Yangını (2016).

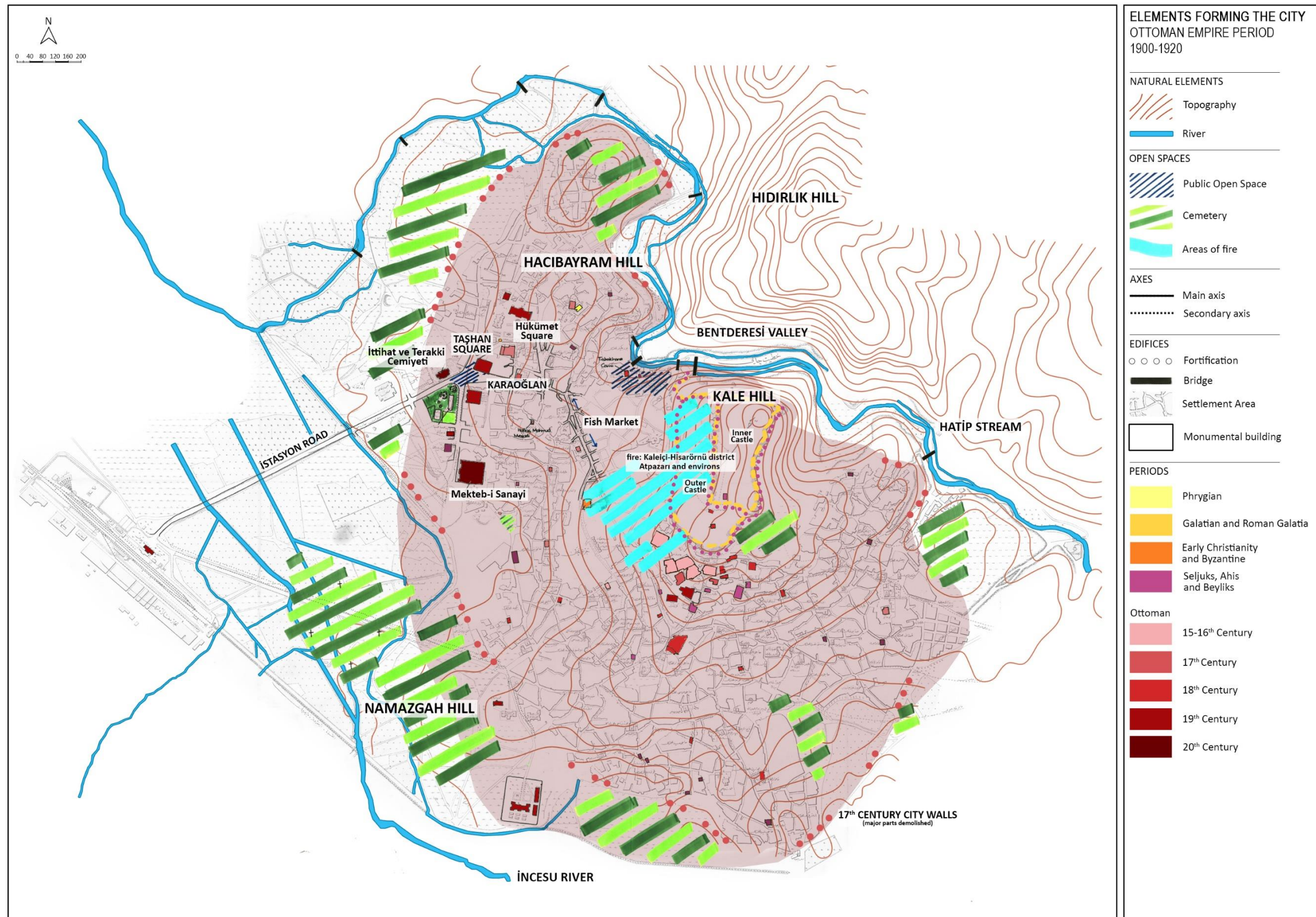


Figure 44 Elements forming the city, 1900-1920 Ottoman Period in Ankara

2.3.3. Republican Period

Becoming the Capital City: 1920-1939

After being exposed to every negative effect of decline period during the early years of the 20th century, Ankara became an important location started with the gatherings of Kuva-yi Milliye/ *the National Forces* in Ankara to activate series of organisations for the War of Independence. Between 1920 and 1923 Ankara became the operation centre of the War of Independence and with the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey, the state announced Ankara as the new capital city of the country.¹⁰⁸ Ankara, as being the centre of War of Independence, and as the capital city of the Republic, it was regarded as the main focus of the state authorities to create a new environment both with introduction of new physical appearances and organisation of social life. The new capital should break the bonds with everything related to the Ottoman Empire (Bademli: 1985, 10) and therefore to be the epitome for the rest of the country, construction and planning activities started immediately during the early years of the Republic with the need on emphasising a complete break from Ottoman Empire.

Ebniye Kanunu and several other previously mentioned regulations issued in the 19th century were still in force during the first years of the Republic. Even though these regulations of the late Ottoman Period introduced several important definitions to the Ottoman way of dealing with urban space and its components, for a newly emerging capital they were inadequate in terms of meeting needs of a growing population and the building stock. As mentioned before, being a capital means to be located at the heart of every political decision that regulate different levels of socio-cultural, economic and physical development. Because of this reason, it is logical to analyse Ankara as a city that was structured to reflect a new way of understanding of an urban life, planning and implementation activities on city scale that are organised by fresh-new regulations.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ For detailed information on the reasons of Ankara to be selected as the capital, see Özüçetin (2012: 762-780).

¹⁰⁹ But before developing systematic regulations for the Republic, for a short time interval, Ankara was shaped through the directories of special acts and implementation of Ottoman regulations with minor updates.

As being the capital city, Ankara was considered as the symbol for other cities to reflect the ideology of the states complete break from Ottoman Empire and the new face of the Republic. On the other hand, rapid increase in the population moving to the capital from all around the state aroused the need for additional residential areas in Ankara. Although houses located in historic areas were started to be utilised either as room rentals or some other houses were divided vertically or horizontally for sharing (Şahin: 1995, 62-63), these attempts were insufficient for the demand of new comers to Ankara. Because of this reason, it was inevitable for the city to develop outside of the historic quarters, both to the north (Keçiören-Etlik), east (Maltepe) and southern (Yenişehir-Çankaya) directions. Among these newly emerging districts, the state showed special interest on the southern parts of the city, which will soon named as *Yenişehir*/ New Ankara.

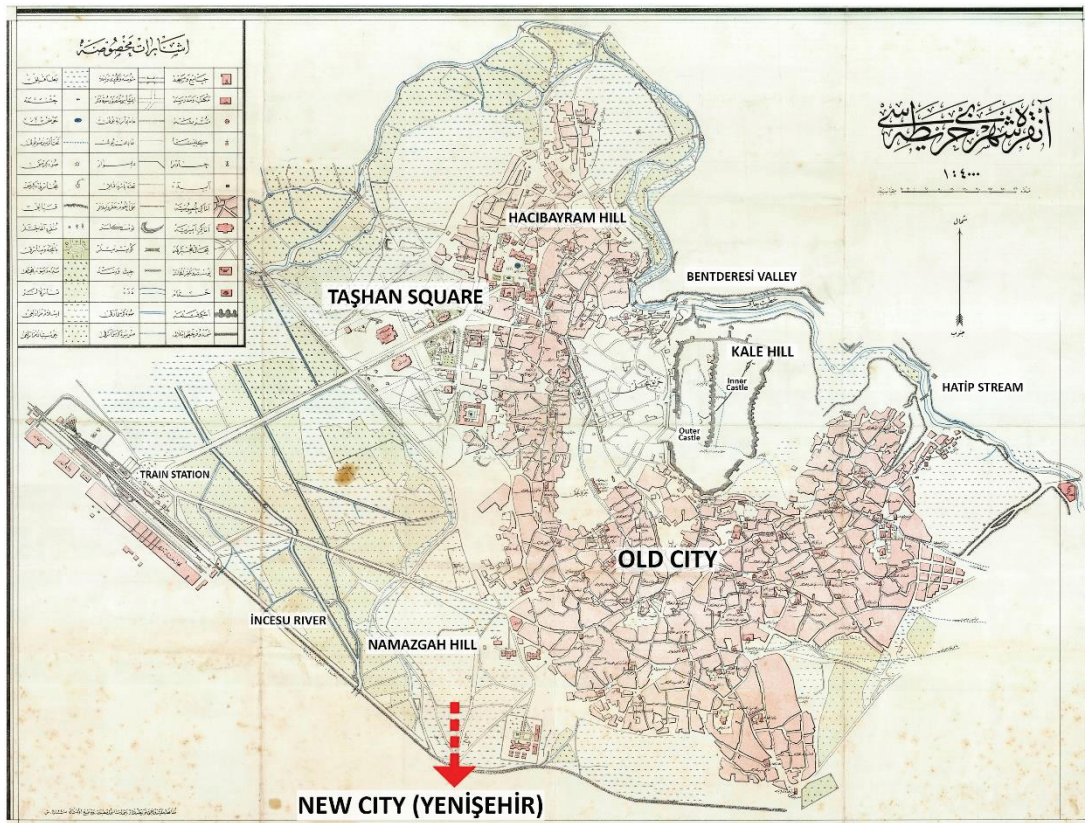


Figure 45 Ankara Map, 1924 (major expansion area is labbeled with red arrow) (VEKAM: H004)

Before the development of the first master plan of Ankara, major changes occurred in the structure of the municipality, that had started in 1923 and completed with the transfer of *Şehremaneti*/ the Municipal Organisation from İstanbul to Ankara in early

1924 (the Law of Şehremaneti n: 417). With the organisation of the municipality in Ankara, several regulations were issued and implementation process was started immediately. Moreover, base map of Ankara was prepared by the municipality, showing main settlement areas, public buildings, open spaces, water ways and cemeteries of Ankara in 1924 (**Figure 45**).¹¹⁰ Additional to its importance for documenting the city in 1924, it was also used as a base map for opening of roads and streets, sanitary system and transportation etc.¹¹¹

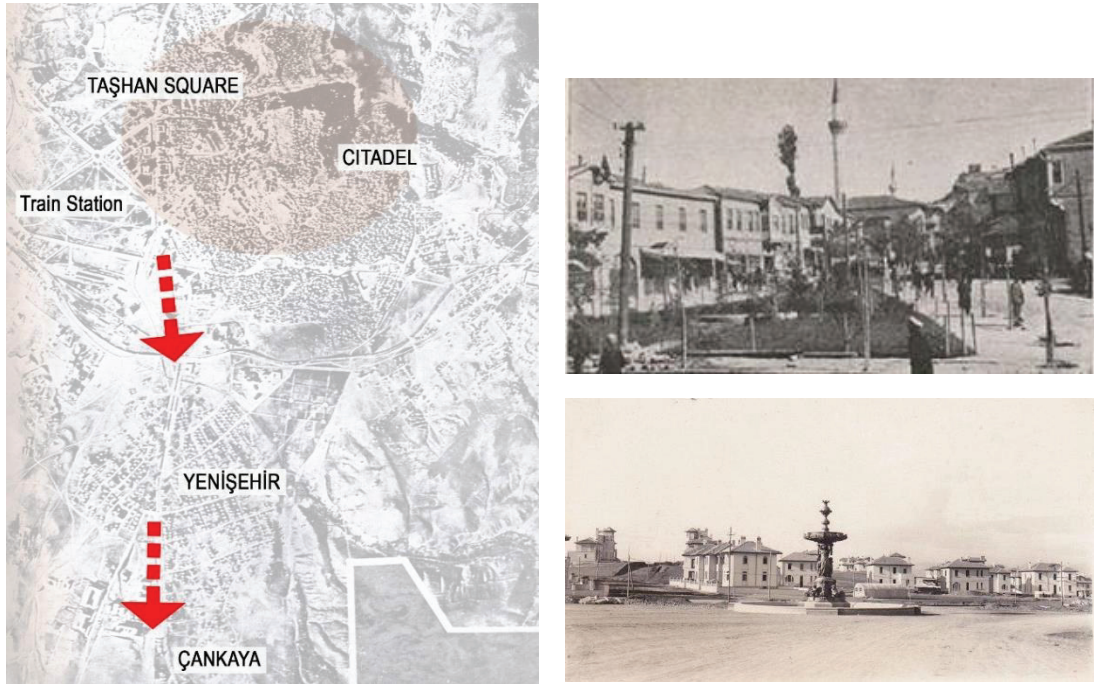


Figure 46 a. Expansion of the city to the direction of Çankaya, and the increase on construction activities around Yenışehir (aerial photo utilised from Belediyeler Dergisi: 1936) b. Taşhan Square, 1925 (Weinberg: 1933) c. Yenışehir (AA: 2016)

Furthermore *İstımlak Kanunu*/ the Law of Expropriation (act no 583) was issued, specifically for Ankara. It was focusing mainly on expropriation of lands located at new parts of the city and utilised by the municipality as a tool to implement the future master plan in an easier way. According to Bademli, expropriation of almost 400-hectare area by the government was a deliberate decision to create a space for a planned activity in the future (1994: 161). Thus, this act could not be defined as a planning decision for Ankara, but it can be considered as the first attempt to arrange

¹¹⁰ Before this map, Von Vincke had prepared a map for Ankara with a 1/4000 scale, in 1838.

¹¹¹ According to Mihçioğlu Bilgi this map is relatively more precise, and accurate cartographic techniques were used compared to Von Vincke's map of 1839, but still had some deformations (2010: 9).

new areas for development of the city to the direction of Çankaya (south) **(Figure 46a-c)**. According to Şenyapılı, location of Mustafa Kemal/ Atatürk's residence in Çankaya also affected the direction of city development to the south (1985: 14). It may be suggested from this example and several others, the role of the state authorities to regulate the planning decisions in the city gradually increased starting from the early years of the Republic until today.

Lörcher Plan (1924-1925)

During the early years of the Republic, the country had several conflicts in economic, social and political issues. Additional to these conflicts, Ankara was also having problems due to the rapid growth of the population and the lack of housing which created spontaneous construction activities in the city (both on historic and new areas). Although there were several attempts to regulate these developments, they were insufficient to fulfil the needs of the state and the residents. For that reason, as soon as preparation of the map was completed, Dr. Carl Christoph Lörcher was assigned to prepare a plan for Ankara.¹¹² Considered as the first planning activities in Ankara, Lörcher prepared three plans (Cengizkan: 2004, 39-41):

- Plan for Historic City (1924): 1/2000
 - Plan for New City (1925): 1/1000
 - Development Plan for the Capital City of Turks, Ankara (1924-1925): 1/10.000
- (Figure 47)**

¹¹² For detailed information about these plans see Cengizkan "Ankara'nın İlk Planı: 1924-1925 Lörcher Planı" (2004).

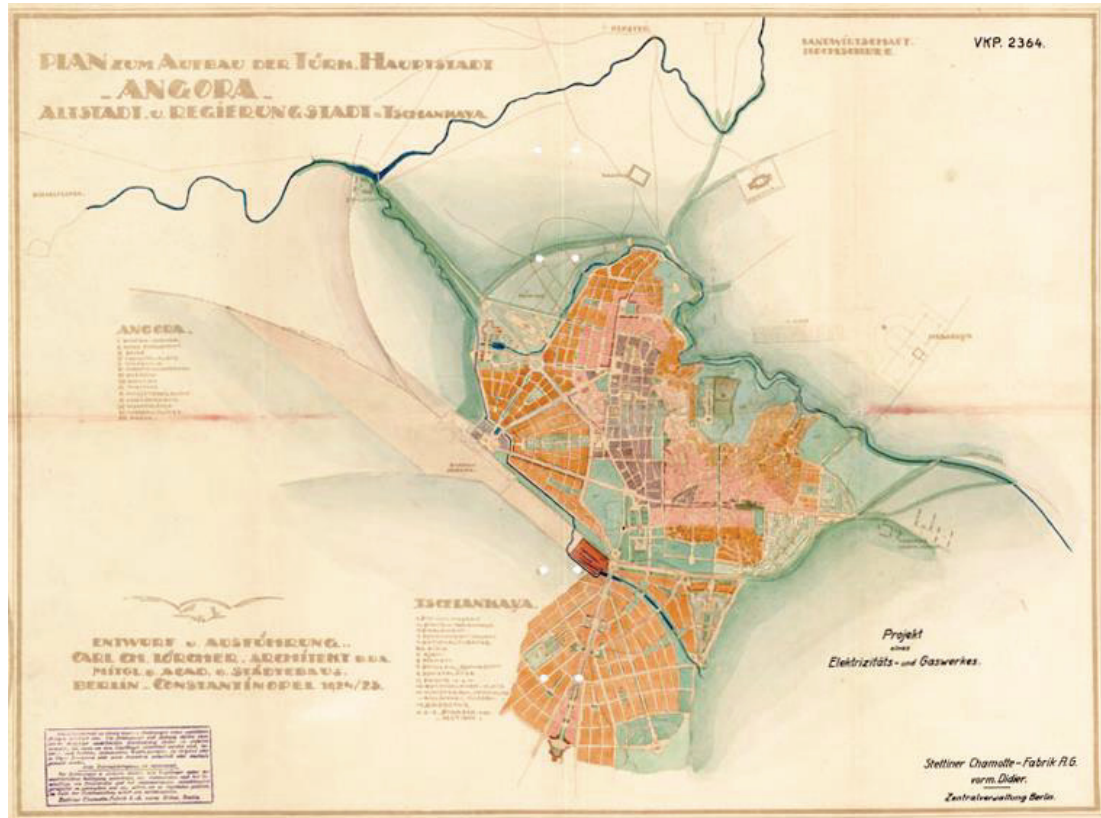


Figure 47 Development plan prepared by Lörcher (Lörcher Plan: 2015)

Significance of these plans was their ability to define new development areas especially on the southern parts of the city (this idea later would be followed by other planning decisions). Since the city had already started to develop to the direction of Çankaya, Lörcher also decided to strengthen this growth simply by developing ideas for the areas located between Ulus and Çankaya. After this proposal, for the first time in Ankara, a new residential area that was mainly used by the new residents of Ankara started emerge: *Yenişehir/* New City.

Due to the fact that, state had limited time for the preparations prior to the implementation process. Therefore right after the approval by the municipality (except the one that was prepared for the historic Ankara) Lörcher's proposal was started to be implemented immediately.¹¹³ Although his plan focusing on the historic parts of

¹¹³ The booklet that was printed in 1929 by the municipality of Ankara, pointed out that: Lörcher's plan for the old city was found not applicable, and other plans were accepted rapidly by the commission because of the crisis on building stock (Cengizkan: 2004, 35).

the city was not accepted, urban activities with minor interventions continued during this period. Especially, main public open spaces and roads located within the historic area like Anafartalar (Karaoğlan), Kazım Karabekir, Çankırı, Denizciler, Egemenlik, Erzurum, Bankalar and İstasyon were reorganized and filled with buildings in modern physical aspects. In addition to his, Lörcher gave special interest on *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*/ National Sovereignty Square (previously named as Taşhan Square), Hükümet, Hacıbayram, Yıldız, İstasyon, İtfaiye, Cebeci, Gazi, Sıhhiye, Zafer, Millet, Lozan and Cumhuriyet Square (**Figure 48**). In the plan it is possible to trace a clear attempt to emphasize the edge/territory of these squares in between the existing and new buildings.

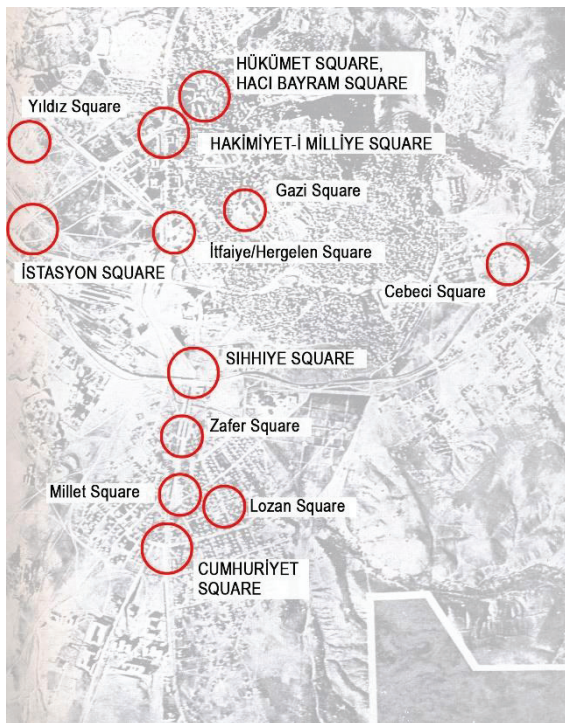


Figure 48 Main and secondary squares proposed by Lörcher¹¹⁴ (aerial photo utilised from Belediyeler Dergisi: 1936)

As being the first attempt on planning a symbolic city for the Republic, Lörcher's ideas were quite important for Ankara in terms of catalysing the emergence of new public open spaces and residential districts in the outskirts of traditional settlement areas, to the direction of south. With the help of the expropriations in 1925 (regulation of Act n. 583), a vast area outside the territory of the historic Ankara was planned with a

¹¹⁴ Summarised from Cengizkan (2004: 63-83) and visualised by the author.

special emphasis on the creation of numerous public open spaces mainly defined by monumental buildings.¹¹⁵ He believed that a successful city plan should propose public gardens, numerous squares for gathering and festivals and also glorious monumental buildings for administrative and artistic purposes. Although squares that have historic meanings such as Hakimiyet-i Milliye (Taşhan) were highlighted, on the other hand new squares like Sıhhiye, Zafer, Cumhuriyet (later Kızılay), Lozan, Tandoğan and Cebeci were designed for multipurpose activities (**Figure 48**).¹¹⁶

Even though the period was marked by the expropriations and constructions, the state still did not have enough financial sources for implementing every proposal in the city. Therefore, *Emlak Eytam Bankası*/ Bank for Estate was established in May 1926, for financing urban development activities. Parallel to this, 150-hectare area reserved for housing was designed by Lörcher in a grid plan system with one-two storey buildings with their private gardens.¹¹⁷ Due to the fact that the population was doubled in a short period of time. Therefore this attempt did not succeed to answer the demand and empty lots around Yenışehir and historic Ankara started to be occupied by individual construction attempts.

All these activities started with a plan but continued spontaneously, resulted with interspersion of public and private buildings among empty areas in the city (Tankut: 1990, 27). Although Lörcher proposed several ideas about the city, only a part of them had the chance to be implemented. Furthermore, the ones implemented were also modified continuously without any reference to the plan decisions. As a result, within five years' time the city of Ankara turned into a chaotic area developed by self-generated activities. To conclude, it can be emphasised that Lörcher's plan was not successful in terms of the implementation process, but still it was the first plan of the city which also influenced the following proposals prepared for the development of Ankara. By identifying green areas as the component of a city, defining new districts,

¹¹⁵ A new National Assembly close to the citadel was proposed but not accepted.

¹¹⁶ For instance, most prestigious buildings and theatres of the city are planned to locate around Cumhuriyet Square. Zafer Square was proposed to be the entrance of the city and most of the artistic facilities would be held at the buildings that gave form to the square.

¹¹⁷ This plan was not implemented completely (Şenyapılı: 2004, 40).

new squares and roads, and distribution of functions for the city, this plan shaped the origins of the new town.¹¹⁸

Jansen Plan (1932-33)

The period started with the repeal of Lörcher plan was mainly dominated by uncontrolled urban activities and individual attempts. On the other hand, after the establishment of the municipality in Ankara, in a short amount of time several mayors were assigned for the city. Among them, Asaf Bey preferred a slowing down in constructions within residential areas to inhibit the unnecessary expense caused by uncontrolled activities.¹¹⁹ He was aware of the fact that, to balance economic problems and at the same time to answer the demand for new residential areas, a new master plan for an organised development was essential for Ankara.

Eventually, the municipality opened an invitational competition in 1927 and asked Jaussely, Brix and Jansen to prepare a master plan for Ankara.¹²⁰ All planners visited Ankara for detailed analysis and site survey, and prepared plans with reports in 1928. A three-phase jury system was applied for the master plan competition and Herman Jansen's proposal (**Figure 49**) was chosen as the winner in 1929. Main subjects proposed by Jansen in the report of Ankara Development Plan can be summarized as:¹²¹

Old City: Sustaining the historic city by keeping it as the “crown” of Ankara for its symbolic importance and aesthetic qualities, as well as separating it from the new city.

Compact Residential Areas: Plan decisions for new residential areas such as; Yenışehir, Cebeci, West Quarters and Cooperative Quarter.

Transportation: Organization of different types of transportation and transportation routes.

¹¹⁸ For detailed information about Lörcher Plan, see Cengizkan (2004).

¹¹⁹ Even though a slight decrease on the construction activities within residential areas was seen, public buildings were not affected from this deduction. For the list of public buildings constructed between 1923 and 1928, see Şahin Güçhan (2001: 65).

¹²⁰ At first, Dubois and Favarger were assigned to prepare a new plan for Ankara (Cengizkan: 2004, 103), but their plan was not approved by the municipality due to the fact that their proposal was prepared without seeing the site.

¹²¹ Mihçioğlu Bilgi (2010: 199-202).

Open Areas: Planning of open areas such as parks, sidewalks, sports areas, small gardens, afforested areas etc. within the city for health and recreational purposes.

Land Use: Organization of different functions within the city, and detailed studies on their planning principles such as residential and industrial areas.

Possibilities of Expansion: A plan proposed for a population up to 300.000.



Figure 49 Distribution of areas in Ankara, 1928 (Hermann Jansen: Projekte: In. No: 22598)

Concurrently, until the preparation of the master plan by Jansen, Yenışehir (new parts of the city) continued to develop randomly with no guidance of a plan. On the other hand, historic town was abandoned into her faith. For instance, the fire of 1916 occurred in Kaleiçi/ Hisarönü district was a major conflagration that affected central parts of the old town especially the areas located on the western parts of the Citadel. For almost a decade, neither demolished areas were rehabilitated nor marks of previous fires were erased (**Figure 50**).

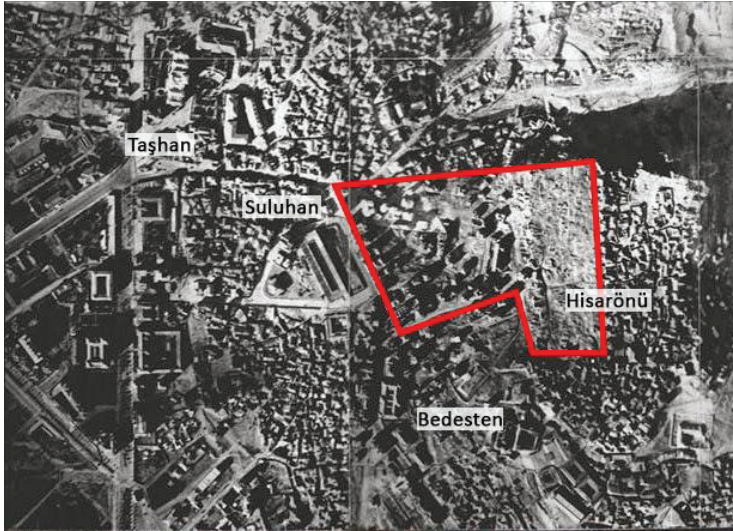


Figure 50 The aerial photo of 1930 showing the areas affected from the fire of 1916 (Tunçer: 2001, 93)

In following years, except widening of main roads and re-organisation of burnt lands¹²², historical parts of Ankara were almost entirely neglected. Karaosmanoğlu expresses that, similar to the rest of the historic parts of Ankara, physical conditions of Tacettin Mahallesi remained almost the same like a deprivation, since the War of Independence (2001: 123). According to Cengizkan, states ignorance on historic parts of the city can be explained regarding the desire of the state to create a new city with a modern look, and the chaotic problems of old districts related to land property issues, a vast number of small lots and sloppy character of construction areas (2004: 59). But on the other hand, the need for accommodation was still a significant problem. Hence, with limited funds, old family houses in old districts of Ankara started to transform into lodging houses.¹²³

Along with these events, a new department called *İmar Müdürlüğü*/ Directorate of Urban Development was established in 1928 (n. 1381) mitigating the overload on the municipality regarding the urban development and construction issues. Eventually, in a short amount of time the Directorate of Urban Development became the main decision maker on urban activities in Ankara during 1930s. First of all, Jansen's

¹²² In 1926, first attempt to reorganize burnt lands on historic parts of the city was started by defining marks of main roads and buildings on Kaleönü district (Cengizkan: 2004, 59).

¹²³ These houses were started to be divided horizontally or vertically or enlarged by some additions to obtain separate dwelling units for rent (Şahin: 1995, 62-63).

proposal for Ankara was approved in 1929 to create an occidental city out of an oriental society (Günay: 2013, 14). Due to the fact that, Jansen's vision of creating a modern environment that symbolizes achievements of the Republic would also accelerate the socio-cultural change in structure of the society. Thus, directorate asked Jansen to prepare additional plans for partial implementations of his proposal as soon as possible, until the preparation of the master plan of Ankara. The directorate was trying to find a solution for uncontrolled developments in historic and new areas, and at the same time wanted to implement public open areas, define new directions for development and rehabilitate existing roads and buildings.

In 1932, Jansen completed his master plan having dissimilarities to the proposal. The 1932 plan included new definitions for the areas built before 1927. Among these definitions, his proposal to keep Citadel area away from further construction activities by referencing Citadel as the *Crown of The City*, was remarkable. To achieve this aim, he proposed a detailed plan for distribution of functions in historic areas to minimize the impact of speculations on urban development. It was the first time a plan organized the areas left from fire by developing a proposal for the western part of the citadel to be reserved for implementation of an urban park and apartment blocks. Additionally, the plan defined regulations that allows interventions or changes in the historic areas, such as opening service roads to the areas close to the Castle, widening existing arteries and most importantly keeping existing building blocks forms but proposing renewal of the fabric with the same density with reference to urban tissue and topography (Altındağ Municipality: 1987, 74-75).¹²⁴

To a certain extent, Jansen's plan can be evaluated as a conservative approach in terms of directing the urban growth away from the historic parts of the city (Tankut: 2000, 305-306). But at the same time, by proposing links between old and the new, it aims a balance between opposite parts of the city. Although this plan proposed a

¹²⁴ Ebniye Kanunu was replaced with *Yapı ve Yollar Kanunu*/ Law of Building and Roads in 1933, to categorize buildings, lots and roads according to a regulation. This law brought comprehensive liabilities to the Municipality for the new development of the fire areas (Mihçioğlu Bilgi: 2010, 183). Additionally, differences between this law and Jansen's plan also created incoherence between the proposal and what was actually implemented.

development to the south and decreased the pressure on old districts in terms of speculative activities, it could not develop additional measures to conserve/ reuse old parts and eventually turned these areas into squatters and neglected districts of the city (Erendil and Ulusoy: 2004: 235).

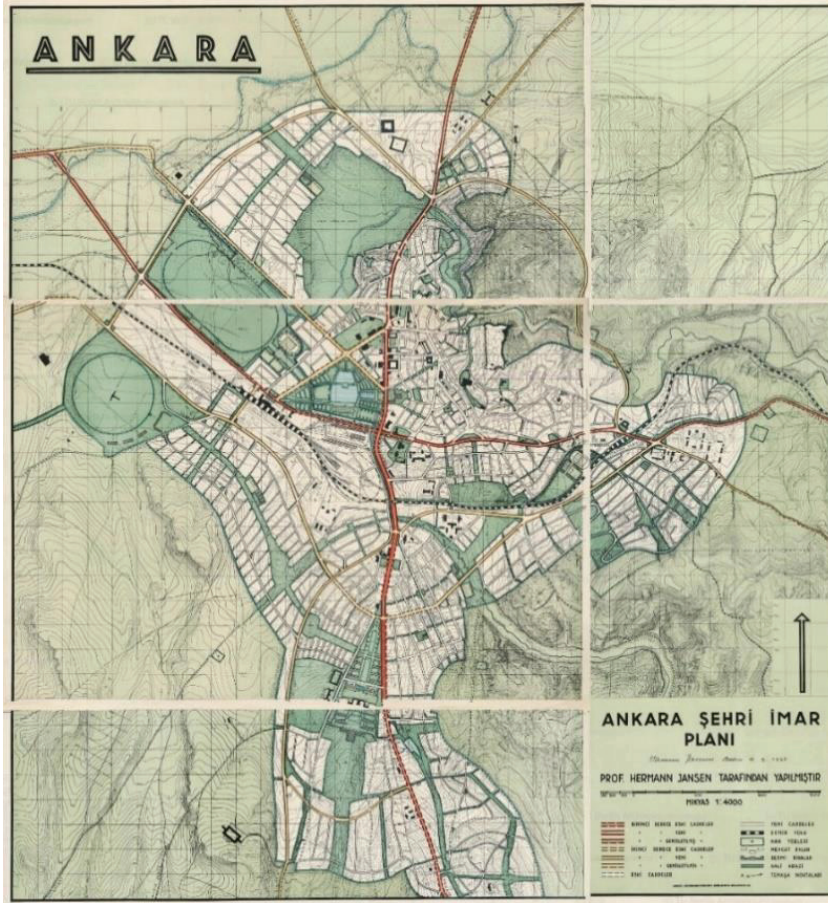


Figure 51 Master plan of Jansen, 1932 (METU, City and Regional Planning Archive)

Although, for Historic Ankara minor interventions were the main concern of the plan, but for Yenışehir the situation was completely different. Inspired from the marks of Lörcher design, Jansen also prepared a master plan which emphasized and directed the development of the city to south.¹²⁵ Moreover, for new parts of the city, Jansen proposed districts that are in harmony with nature by implementing a green belt surrounding the city (**Figure 51**).¹²⁶ On the southern parts of the city, new zones were

¹²⁵ Mıhçıoğlu Bilgi states that, the growth of the city was less effective towards north-east, because of Hatip Stream that still constituted a geographical threshold (2010: 96).

¹²⁶ It is possible to claim that; Jansen was successful on creating a green city. A few years after his tenure of working as the ambassador of UK to Turkey between 1926 and 1933, Sir George Russell Clerk visited the city as

planned for sport activities, education, cultural activities, administrative and commercial facilities (Tankut: 2000, 305-306) which increased the importance of Yenışehir/ Kızılay Square for the city (**Figure 52a**). According to Bademli, residential areas in Yenışehir and Cebeci area, hospitals, administrative and higher education buildings, sport-leisure areas and also main connections between sub-centres of the city were implemented with respect to the plan of Jansen (1994: 162).

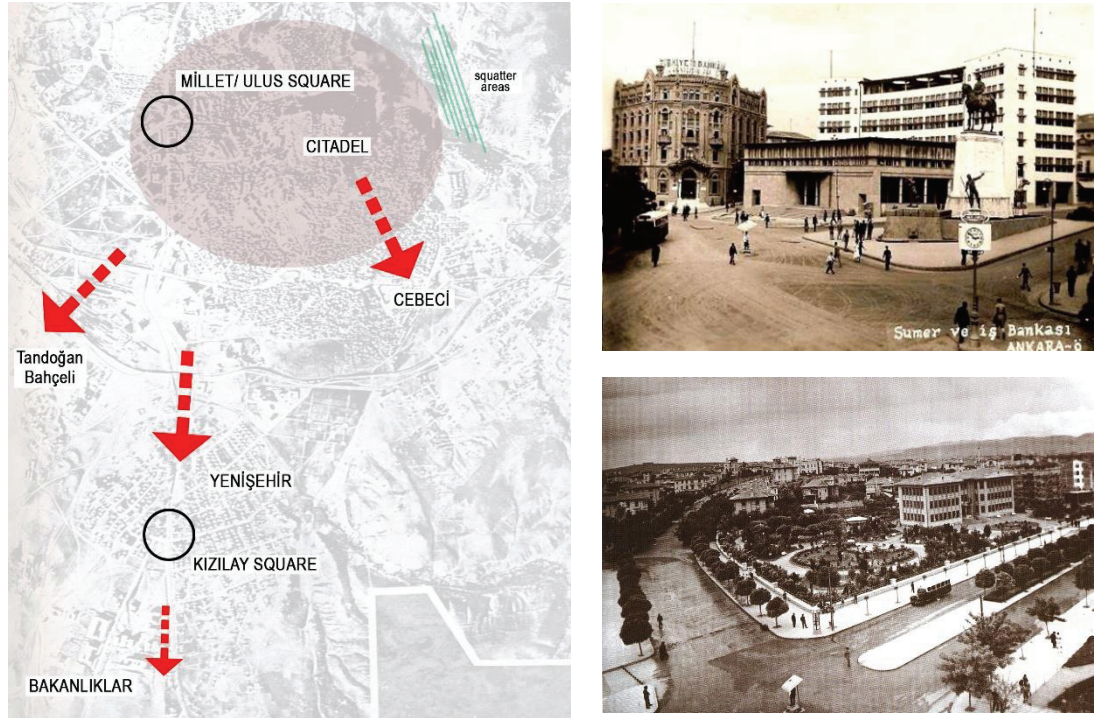


Figure 52 a. In 1935 expansion of the city continued to the south/ Çankaya and additionally to Cebeci, Bahçeli and Tandoğan directions. Millet/ Ulus Square¹²⁷ was the centre of Ankara, whereas Kızılay Square was the centre of Yenışehir (planned residential area) and Bakanlıklar developed as the administrative zone (aerial photo utilised from *Belediyeler Dergisi*: 1936) **b.** Millet/Ulus Square (TA: 2015) **c.** Kızılay Square (Aktürk: 2006)

On the other hand, the increase in land speculations and pressure of politicians in development and implementation process eventually deflated the plan of Jansen in a large extent. Especially developments outside the areas defined by the Jansen plan¹²⁸ or exceptions for special cases increased the role of spontaneous activities. As a result,

a guest. Nothing surprised him except the green look of Ankara. He said; “That’s it! This is the miracle of Mustafa Kemal!” (cited in Araz: 1998, 20-21).

¹²⁷ Between 1923 and 1935, the name of the square continuously changed. The names used for the square were: Taşhan Square, Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square, Millet Square and finally Ulus Square.

¹²⁸ To prevent unplanned construction activities outside master plan area, in 1933 with Decision No 216, Jansen’s master plan was expanded to municipality territory.

by the end of 1935 a complete breakdown of the plan has occurred and unplanned construction activities to the directions of Bahçeli and Çankaya started.¹²⁹ Furthermore, *gecekondu*¹³⁰/ squatter areas¹³¹ started to emerge on the eastern and southern parts of the citadel (**Figure 52b**).

The Municipality could not prevent the increase of spontaneous construction activities that took place almost all around the city and therefore started to work under Municipality again in 1937.¹³² On the other hand even Jansen and authorities could not estimate the growth in population¹³³ that, the plan prepared by Jansen became invalid at the end of 1930's. The number of houses built in the residential areas located in Yenışehir were far less than the demand and more importantly their prices were enormously high. Therefore, housing stock newly developed in Yenışehir could not answer the demand of the city and historic parts of Ankara again became the main area for spontaneous activities for residential purposes. This radical increase resulted with two important events that would later change the physical and socio-cultural aspects of historic Ankara.

First of all, the increase in the number of construction activities in the historic parts of the city, resulted with the invalidation of Jansen's proposal for conserving the historic urban tissue with minimum interventions. Secondly, due to the limited capacity of the area both for constructing new houses or dividing the existing ones to create additional housing units, illegal construction activities had started by filling the gaps in between old houses (Şenyapılı: 1985, 55-56). From the same point, Şahin criticises Jansen's plan with referring to its limited way of defining new centres for the city and increasing construction activities around the territory of historic town. And continues that, this kind of a planning understanding could not conserve a historic area but only increase

¹²⁹ According to Tankut insufficient regulations and acts, and also problems of technical, financial and administrative issues were the key factor of emergence of uncontrolled developments (1990: 94-104).

¹³⁰ *Gecekondu* is the Turkish word for squatters. Gece: night, konu: built, gecekondu: built over night.

¹³¹ According to Duru, first signs of squatters were appeared around Altındağ area in 1932 (2012: 187).

¹³² Ankara Şehremaneti became a municipality with *Belediyeler Kanunu*/ Municipality Law in 1930, and starting from 1930 till 1948 Ankara Governor served also as the mayor (Emiroğlu and Ünsal: 2006, 76).

¹³³ In 1935, last eight years' population growth for Ankara was %65.9, whereas other big cities like İstanbul was % 7.2, and İzmir was %10.3 (Belediyeler Dergisi: 1935, 71).

the pressure on it (1995: 75). As a result, at the end of the decade in the place of single private traditional houses, new apartment blocks started appear, whereas the areas that were not suitable for settlement were continued to be utilised for illegal construction activities for squatters.

Resignation of Jansen/ Random Development Activities: 1938-1957

As a result of the radical increase on urban activities contradicting with the master plan of Jansen, in 1938 he announced that he did not take any responsibility on the development of Ankara anymore since the plan changed a lot and he did not have any control on it anymore.¹³⁴ After Jansen's resignation, Ankara continued to develop without his consultancy and by the end of 1930s problematic years started until mid-1950s. During this period, several laws were changed to meet the housing demand and new regulations were issued to increase the building heights. Most of these changes in regulations and laws eventually caused a rapid increase in the density of urban tissue and the irreversible change on the physical and socio-cultural aspects of the city, especially main public open spaces and their surrounding areas.

Historic parts of Ankara, that were defined to be kept by the master plan of Jansen, became the area of ignorance and surrounded by increasing illegal construction activities. Most of the high income groups abandoned this part of the city, and moved to Yenışehir and its southern parts. On the other hand, low income groups¹³⁵ preferred to rent houses in traditional districts regarding the low rent prices. As a result of the displacement, the new residents of historic parts of Ankara with their economic and socio-cultural profile, brought new ways of daily life and changes on the character of urban spaces. Even though Ulus Square and its close vicinity continued to function as the central area for Ankara regarding its political, administrative, commercial and entertainment value for the city, Kızılay Square and its surrounding areas also started to increase its importance for the city. Especially the shift of high income groups and

¹³⁴ Yavuz (1952: 59-60).

¹³⁵ After the Second World War, technological developments on agriculture increased the number of migration from rural areas to cities. This process resulted with a big problem on housing stock and emergence of first signs of squatter areas in Ankara (Uzun: 2005, 203).

most of the administrative functions from Ulus to Bakanlıklar area also affected the user profile of Ulus. All these changes activated a gradual shift of the city centre from Ulus to Kızılay and a rapid increase in construction activities in surrounding districts accordingly.

Parallel to the transfer of residents from northern parts of the city to the south, it was also traceable that state authorities and the municipality had a special interest in Kızılay and Atatürk Boulevard. Most of the laws issued during this period were mainly developed to increase the height of the buildings located around Atatürk Boulevard. Furthermore, Kızılay which emerged as a residential area from now on started to become the secondary centre concentrated on commercial, residential, cultural and administrative activities. But still, Ankara's population was increasing and even the regulations for building heights and construction of new residential areas could not answer the demand of the population. Even the emergence of building cooperatives in 1954 for producing faster and economic solutions to develop residential areas around the city could not prevent the problems caused by the lack of housing stock in Ankara. As a result, starting from the eastern parts of the Citadel, expansion of massive squatter areas all around the city was inevitable. By the end of 1940s, discussions for a new master plan for Ankara started again.

Yücel-Uybadin Plan: 1957-1969

By the end of 1940s, population reached to its climax that negatively affected the social, economic and political dynamics of the city. The population increase also created problems on the development process of the city. This chaotic condition of the city provoked the Directorate of Urban Development to open an international competition for a master plan for Ankara in 1955. According to the jury report, despite having some problematic approaches, the proposal of Nihat Yücel and Raşit Uybadin won the competition (**Figure 53**). Their proposal was defined as a plan that can be implemented with minimum damage to existing structure of the city. On the other

hand, jury summarised major positive and negative aspects of the plan to emphasize their main intend for the future of Ankara:¹³⁶

Positive:

- Use of green areas within the city
- Development of the city to the direction of both to North, South, East, West directions with organizing a network for traffic
- Detailed plan for organizing urban tissue of specific districts
- Areas defined for cultural activities can only be valid with the definition of surrounding areas

Negative:

- Lack of definition of areas for commercial activities
- Areas defined for industry is too close to the city
- Even if the plan was organic and tried to define solution within the territory of the municipality, in a certain extend it spread out too much

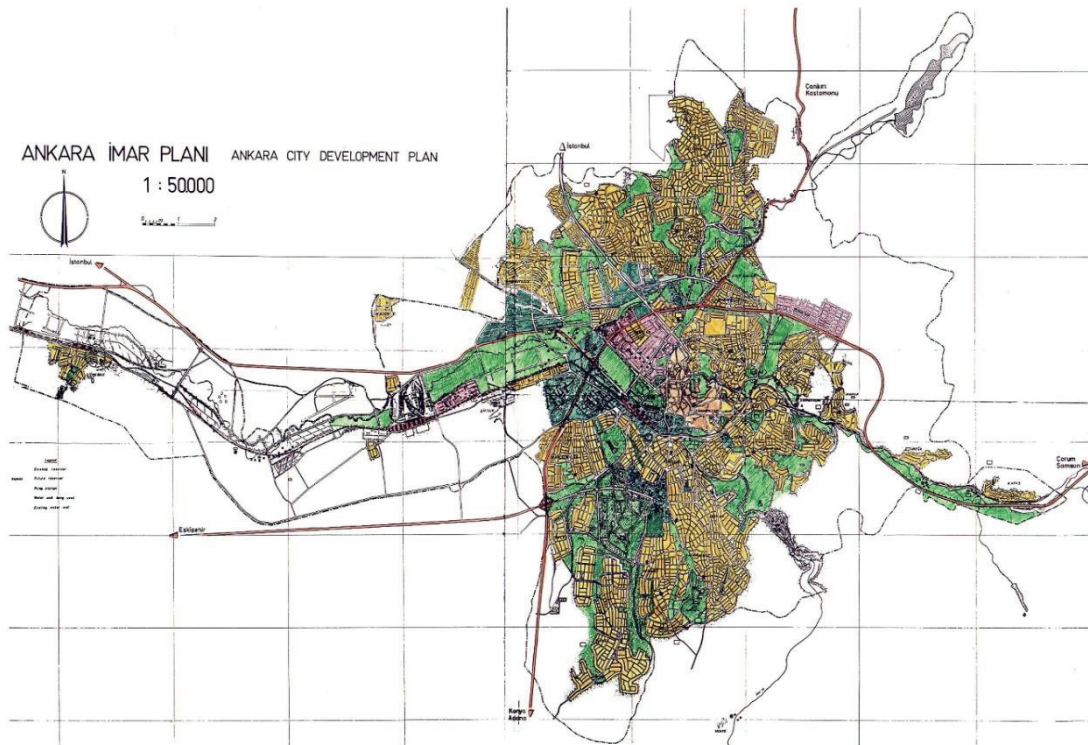


Figure 53 Master plan of Yücel-Uybadin (METU, City and Regional Planning Archive)

¹³⁶ *Ankara Şehri İmar Planı Milletlerarası Proje Müsabakası Jüri Raporu/ The City of Ankara Master Plan Competition Jury Report* (1955: 3).

Like previous planning attempts, Yücel-Uybadin also had misconception on the rapid increase of population. The plan assumed the population to be 750 thousand by the end of 2000, but in reality, the city reached to this number in 1965. This mistake caused several problems on the implementation process of the plan. On the other hand, two major problems of Ankara – the increasing pressure on Kızılay and the rapid increase on squatter areas – were not considered comprehensively in the plan. As a result, in a short amount of time, the plan started to lose its validity to find solutions to the problems of Ankara. Thus, this plan could only be considered as a planning attempt to regulate existing compact development pattern and continuity of functions embodied in the city.



Figure 54 a. Emek İşhanı at Kızılay Square, 1970s (AA: 2017) **b.** Ulus İşhanı at Ulus Square, 1970s (İşçen: 2017)

With the effect of Yücel-Uybadin Plan and several changes and updates on laws, building heights were increased continuously and empty spaces in between buildings were filled with new construction activities. This physical transformation caused an increase on the density of urban tissue to a critical level. First, on the areas close to Kızılay and main arteries of the city such as Atatürk Boulevard, the plan permitted the building height till eight floors. This change in building height affected the character of main public open spaces such as Ulus Square and Kızılay Square as well as Atatürk Boulevard and Çankırı Road. Construction of high and massive buildings such as Ulus Bazaar (1955), Anafartalar Bazaar (1967) and 100. Yıl Bazaar (1967) at Ulus Square, and Emek Bazaar (1965) at Kızılay Square introduced a totally new physical and visual character to the main central squares of the city (**Figure 54a, b**). These buildings were designed as an outcome of the new architectural and urban design trends of the

country and they were mainly built to collect commercial and office facilities in a single building.

Right after its construction, Emek Bazaar and Kızılay Square became the main attraction point for the city, whereas it was not possible to trace the same for the commercial buildings constructed in Ulus Square and its close vicinity. Decades ago high income groups had already left Ulus Square for residential purposes and their move was followed by the shift of commercial facilities addressing high income groups. Therefore, even though construction of these buildings had a slight increase on the density of commercial activities in Ulus Square, these projects could not succeed to revert the declining popularity of the area. On the other hand, after 1970s, these buildings became the main commercial activity area utilised by middle and low income groups. So, it can be concluded that starting from Yücel Uybadin Plan, character of Ulus slightly changed from being the first and only central public open space of the Republic, into a commercial centre mainly fulfils the needs of middle and low income groups.

Another critical issue marked this period was the widening of existing roads and opening of new roads both in historic and new parts of Ankara. Since historic town had its own organic tissue, opening wide roads affected its character radically. On the other hand, Yücel-Uybadin plan defined empty lots or abandoned areas as potential spaces for temporary shops (would later transformed into permanent ones). By being occupied by temporary shops, spatial attributes of the open spaces around Samanpazarı and Bentderesi which were continuously utilised for centuries started to lose its functional aspects and meaning for the residents. Because of this reason, it is possible to state that, even if Yücel Uybadin Plan did not develop any framework for the construction activities within historic parts of the city, this permission triggered a transformation on buildings and open spaces at historic parts of Ankara.

A similar transformation could be followed along Ataturk Boulevard where three to four storey detached apartment blocks were replaced by high attached buildings. With

the change in physical aspects and the increase in the density of built-up areas, the relationship between the user and urban space started to lose its meaning as well as the change in the daily routines of the residents in the area. Parallel to these changes construction of Kızılay Emek İşhanı had already increased the pressure on Kızılay Square. Within a decade, Kızılay increased its importance for the city regarding the concentration of business, administrative, commercial, social, cultural and educational facilities. So that, the plan which assumed to decrease the pressure on Kızılay and distribute the functions to sub-centres, failed quickly and Kızılay turned into a chaotic urban space. As an outcome of the over concentration of activities and the pressure of traffic at Kızılay Square and its close vicinity, partial demolishment of green areas took place at Güvenpark to create areas for bus stops (Vardar: 1989, 38-50). Furthermore, with the radical increase in density and population in Kızılay, most of the high- income groups started to abandon their houses at Kızılay and move to the southern parts of the city, such as Kavaklıdere and Çankaya areas (**Figure 55**).

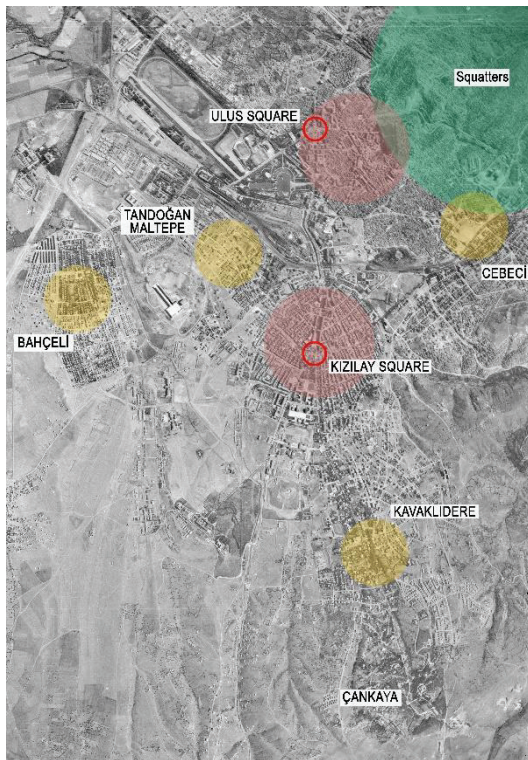


Figure 55 Centres and sub centres of Ankara and its development areas, 1956

Along with the physical transformation of Kızılay, a similar process also took place at Ulus Square and its close vicinity. To create space for public transportation stops,

western part of The Second National Assembly Garden, southern part of Hükümet Square and western parts of the Ministry of Finance Garden were all demolished and reorganized as bus and *dolmuş*¹³⁷ stops. As a result of the transformation of spatial and functional attributes of the central urban spaces of Ankara, and the rapid increase in the density of built up areas, public transportation stops and pedestrian/ vehicle number, the meaning of both Kızılay Square and Ulus Square started to change. From being the main leisure time, entertainment and commercial activity areas, these two central squares turned into the main traffic nodes of the city (**Figure 56a, b**).

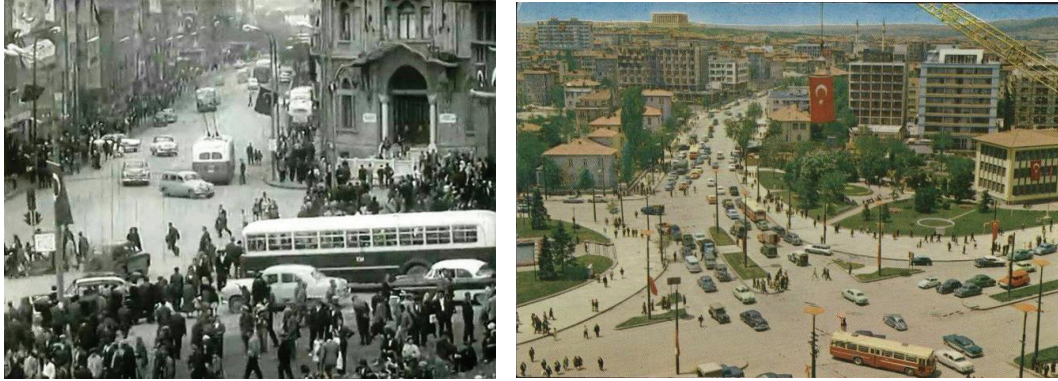


Figure 56 a. Ulus Square (AA: 2015) **b.** Kızılay Square, late 1960s (TA: 2016)

Even though the plan aimed to prevent further growth and density, due to its misinterpretations of current context and faulty projections for possible future transformations, Yücel-Uybadin Plan activated the period of destruction all around the city. Since the plan was developed for the areas located within the municipal territory, construction activities continued within these areas resulted with a process of rapid demolition of old for opening new areas for high and massive buildings.¹³⁸ On the other hand, due to the lack of proposals to prevent the expansion of squatter areas, during the early years of 1960s, 64 percent of the housing stock of Ankara was composed of squatters that inhabited 59 percent of the population (Şenyapılı: 1985, 172). As a result, it became inevitable to prevent emergence of apartment blocks and

¹³⁷ Since the public transportation services of the municipality could not answer the demand of the population, an alternative way of transportation emerged in Ankara. First taxis were used for public transportation and later minibuses were used for this service. *Dolmuş* meaning full in Turkish, which refers to the way these mini buses-taxis operate. Without having any time table, these vehicles operate only when they are full.

¹³⁸ The increase in demolition activities triggered series of discussions to find a solution for preventing the negative impacts by developing conservation measure for the historic parts of Ankara. As a result, the idea of preparing detailed plans for historic fabric and registration of monuments emerged during 1970s. Planning activities related to conservation of historic fabric is discussed in the following section “Conservation Issues in Ankara”.

squatters both in historic and new areas. First proposed by Lörcher and later improved by the plan of Jansen, traces of the urban development of 1920s and 1930s was one by one replaced by high-rise buildings and wide boulevards for fast vehicular traffic. This process led eventually to a total replacement of the urban fabric, where model contemporary city lost its values in favour of more chaotic order (Günay: 2013, 15).

1990 Ankara Master Plan (1969-2006)

Preparation process of 1990 Ankara Master Plan and its implemented on site, can be discussed under the role of two main administrative structures: *Ankara Metropoliten Alan Nazım Plan Bürosu (AMANPB)*/ Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Bureau and Municipality. In 1969, AMANPB was established as an administrative bureau commissioned under the Ministry of Public Works and Development. AMANPB was structured to prepare plans, but did not have any authority for the approval and implementation process. As the first step, the bureau was assigned to prepare a detailed analysis of existing condition of Ankara (**Figure 57**) and evaluate this data to develop a master plan. Between 1970 and 1975 problems regarding housing, squatter areas, uncontrolled developments, changes on population and distribution of functions within districts were analysed in detail. After the analytical studies, a detailed master plan was proposed to the municipality and 1990 Ankara Master Plan was approved in 1982. Among its several limitations, this plan suggested new alternatives for future development within the boundaries of the Yücel-Uybadin Plan. Moreover, for the areas located outside the plan, it proposed new development areas.

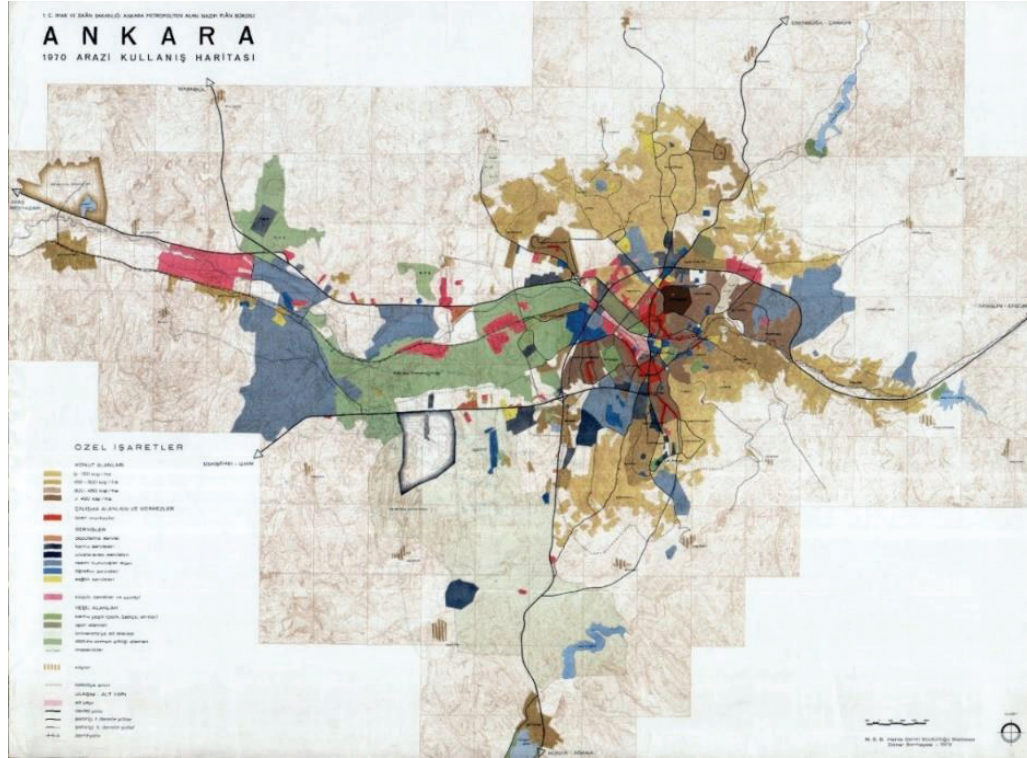


Figure 57 Land use analysis, prepared in 1970 (METU, City and Regional Planning Archive)

It was the first time in the history of the Republic of Turkey that a plan had coherent assumptions on population growth. On the other hand, compared to previous plans, problem definitions were realistic and therefore proposals for solutions were successful. Since AMANPB prepared the plan after a detailed analysis on population and urban issues, their suggestions for new residential areas were logical and can be implemented easily. Especially regarding the limitations on existing districts, the idea of the plan to develop a western corridor located outside of the Yücel-Uybadin plan territory, to be an area for residential development was remarkable (**Figure 58**). However, defining problems in a realistic way and developing logical solutions for the areas outside the city was not enough for the plan to be effective in every part of Ankara. Within a short amount of time, changes on administrative and legal issues and the organization of Municipalities affected the validity of the plan in a negative way.

As it is mentioned previously, this plan was mainly focusing on defining new development areas instead of finding solutions for existing settlement areas. For this reason, construction activities that took place in Ankara by referring to the plan of

1990 were mainly concentrated around the western corridor for developing residential areas. Therefore, the city began to develop to the direction of west and a considerable part of residential, administrative, educational and commercial activities would take their place around this corridor (**Figure 58**). A special emphasis was given on residential areas around this corridor and therefore both public and private construction activities started immediately. Along with the construction of new residential areas, the state also focused on the problem of squatter areas during this period. To prevent the increase on squatters, state developed the idea of creating new residential districts in Batıkent, Etimesgut, Sincan, Eryaman and Elvankent for middle and lower income groups. Concurrently, private companies were also developing residential areas in Cayyolu to answer the demands of high-income groups living around Kavaklıdere, Çankaya and Gaziosmanpaşa districts and willing to move into less dense residential areas.

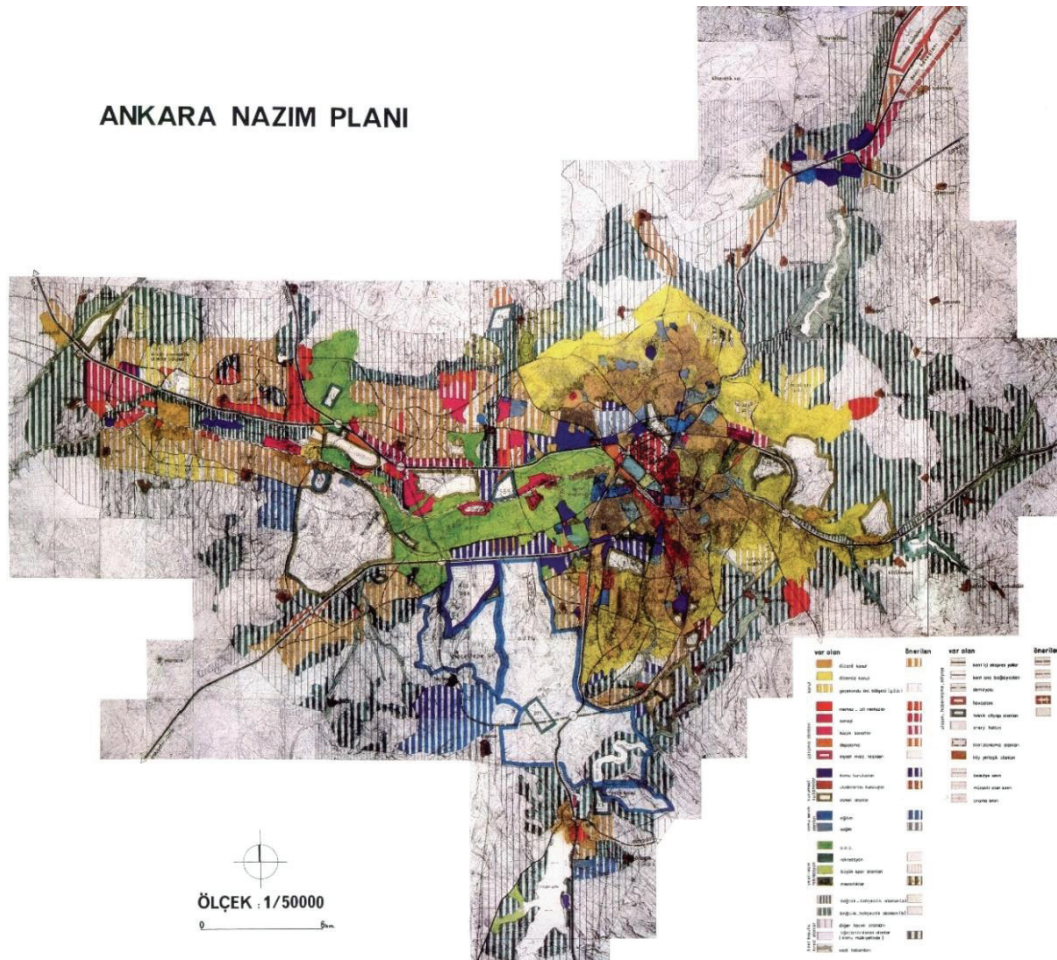


Figure 58 1990 Ankara Master Plan (METU, City and Regional Planning Archive)

Another important issue regarding the Master Plan of 1990, was its sustainable approach on green areas as a belt that surrounded dense, chaotic centre of the city. By connecting *AOÇ/ Atatürk Forest Farm*, areas of Hacettepe University and METU, this green belt was assumed to prevent the uncontrolled developments to spread newly developed areas (Günay: 2005, 105). Additional to this decision, specified areas for industrial activities such as İvedik, Ostim and Şaşmaz were also defined during this plan. As a result, it can be claimed that, regarding the partial developments the plan was successful whereas improvement of existing condition of the densely inhabited areas was not considered deeply. Because of the disinterest/limitations on existing districts, radical changes on the physical aspects of the urban tissue and the gradual increase on the density within the centre continued. Ulus completely lost its importance whereas Kızılay turned into a traffic node that sometimes used for festivals, meetings and protests (Günay: 2005, 105).

Even though the plan had several positive approaches and a detailed framework for the newly developing areas of the city, the radical change on the structure of municipality in 1980 had a negative impact on the implementation process of the plan. Ankara was divided into one main municipality and five sub-municipalities referring to the districts. By this division, main and sub-municipalities were commissioned to prepare their own plans and this change disturbed the validity of the plan prepared by AMANPB. Despite the fact that the plan was approved in 1982, the bureau was closed in 1983 and transferred to the commission of Ankara Metropolitan Planning Agency established under the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality in 1984. Additionally, Directorate of Urban Development of Ankara was transformed into one of the offices of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality and lost all of their authority in planning issues. With additional regulations and laws regarding the development of the city¹³⁹, in 1985 The Ankara Metropolitan Municipality became the main authority in Ankara for developing, approving, implementing and controlling the plans for the city (Bademli: 1994, 168).

¹³⁹ Establishment of Metropolitan Municipalities in 1984, the law n. 3030 that defines a new structural organization for the municipalities, and most importantly The Development Law n. 3194 that approved in 1985 can be listed as the main regulations on planning issues during 1980s (Kayasü: 2005, 179).

1998, 62). On the other hand, this plan continued the proposals regarding the city centres and the spatial organization of services put forward in the 1990 Plan (Gökçe: 2008, 131). The plan also aimed to create new residential areas and employment possibilities in the fringe of the city in the favour of middle-class (Günay: 2012).¹⁴⁰ Consequently, the plan was not approved and a new proposal preparations began in 1989.

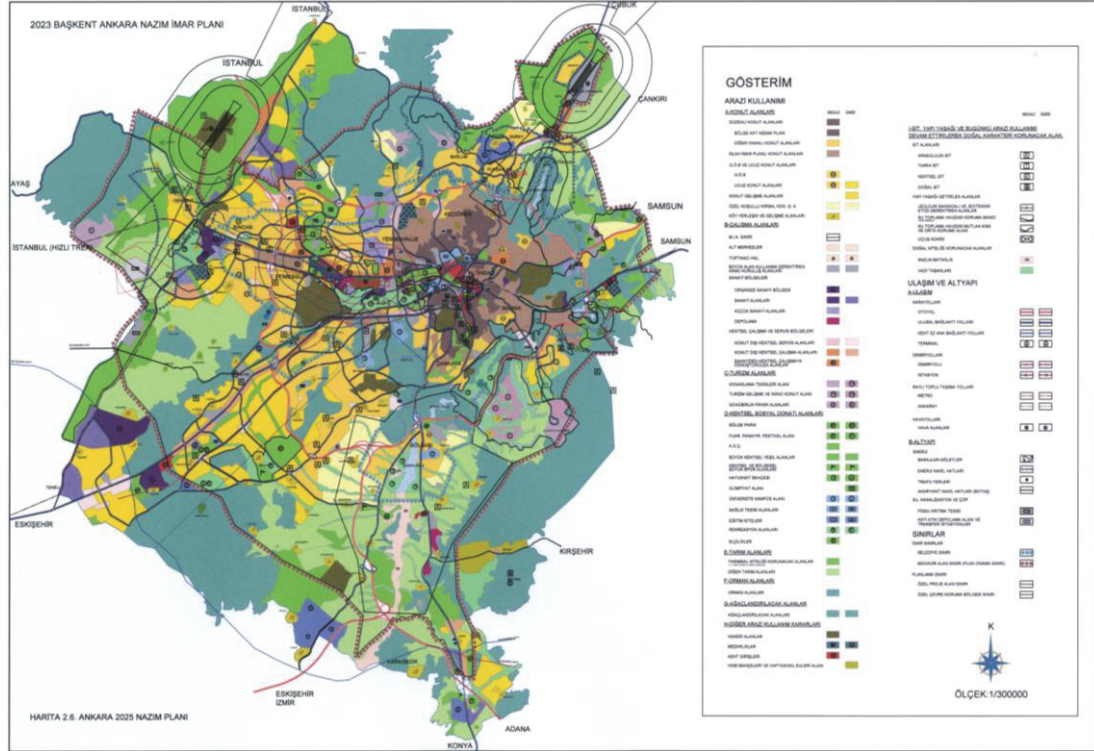


Figure 60 2025 Ankara Master Plan (2023 Başkent Ankara: 2006, 59)

At the beginning of 1990s, The Master Plan 1990 was still utilised for the planning activities in Ankara and there was an urgent need for a new plan. Between 1989 and 1994, a new proposal for Ankara called 2025 Ankara Master Plan was developed under the authority of Raci Bademli¹⁴¹ as the Director of Development Agency of Municipality (**Figure 60**). Two important issues were discussed through this proposal

¹⁴⁰ The 2015 structure plan continues the propositions about the city centres and spatial organization of services of the 1990 Plan. Although there had not emerged any kind of developments in Kazıkıçı Bostanları, the 2015 Structure plan insists on the same site for CBD development. The plan does not prefer spatial developments of services in the southern part of Kızılay due to existing morphological and geomorphological conditions, although it points off the service areas, which are not proposed within the 1990 Plan, but developed by the market mechanisms in the southern part of Kızılay (Levent: 2007, 167).

¹⁴¹ METU, Department of City and Regional Planning.

(scale: 1/50000); the definition of conservation areas within the city and how these areas would be conserved, and the possible development models for the city macroform (Değirmencioğlu, cited in Kayasü: 2005, 180). Even though Ankara 2025 Master Plan can be regarded as a trend-responsive and development-oriented plan type, which has been typical of Turkey's experience in the past twenty years (Çalışkan: 2009, 42), it was not approved due to the legal limitations.¹⁴² The city continued to develop randomly on the peripheries, while the density of central areas increased enormously. As a result, 1990 Master Plan became invalid by the end of 2006 and preparation of a new master plan for Ankara has started.

2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan (2006-2018)

Preparations of the 2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan by the Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara¹⁴³ has started in 2006 and the plan was approved by the municipal council in February 2007 (**Figure 61**). Çalışkan summarizes main aspects of the plan as follows (2009: 44);

- The plan represents a kind of bottom-up approach, combining 15 different development plans produced by the different local municipalities within the entire Ankara metropolitan area.
- The plan also provides a radical intervention to eliminate the ongoing developmental dynamic in the urban fringe, one that have been threatening agricultural land, water reservoirs and forestry areas for years.
- It defines six different sub-regions and develops specific planning and design programmes according to their intrinsic urban and natural peculiarities. Then, within those regions the overall settlement fabric is defined as either development zones or as the existing fabric. Unlike the previous examples, this intervention process within the urban core is characterized by preservation, rehabilitation and transformation zones which tend to be located within an overall framework.

¹⁴² The decree of Council of State (6th Department) in 1997, state that; Due to the provisions of Laws n. 3194 and 3030, Metropolitan Municipalities are not authorized either to develop or approve any plans except 1/5000 Master Plan and 1/1000 Implementation Plan.

¹⁴³ After a new juridical regulation, the Metropolitan Municipalities Law was enacted by the national parliament, the metropolitan municipalities were given the right to prepare 1/25,000 scale development plans in 2004 (Çalışkan: 2009, 42).

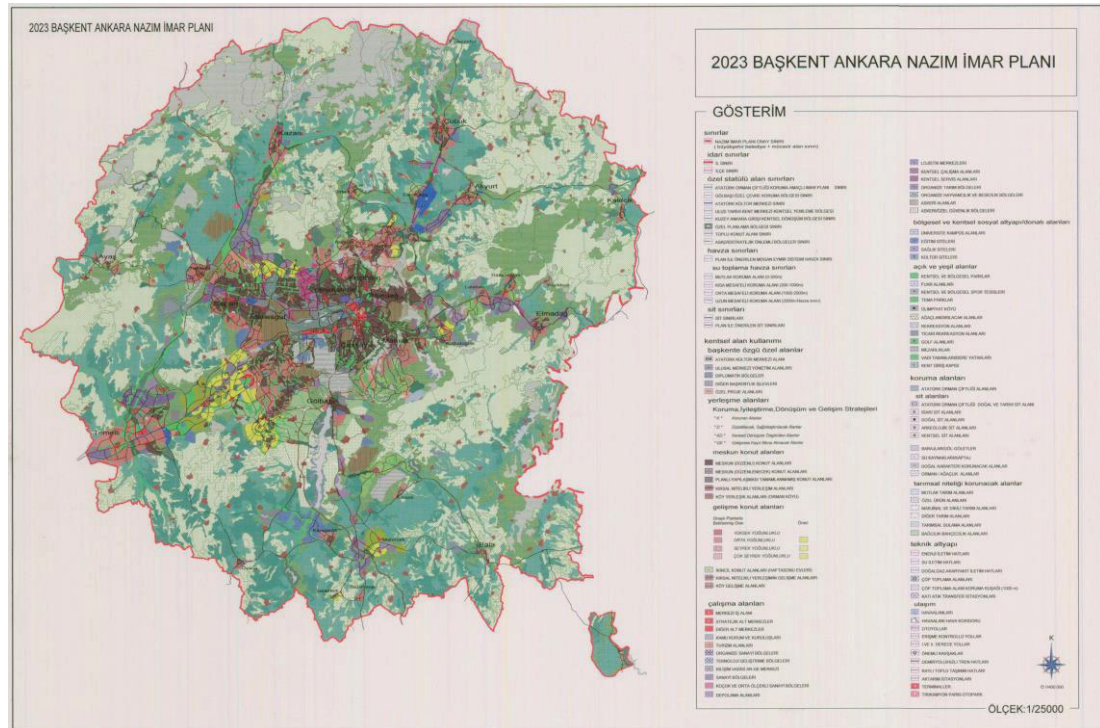


Figure 61 2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan (2023 Başkent Ankara: 2006, 705)

On the other hand, the plan proposes almost limitless growth along the south-western corridor, that caused an increase on land speculation at the fringe and the decline of the central areas in the city (Günay: 2012, 11). Eventually, among its positive and negative approaches, this plan was approved by the municipality and implementation process continues since 2007.

CHAPTER 3

THE TALE OF ULUS SQUARE I: EMERGENCE

This part examines the history of the transformation of an empty open space into a public square in detail. It is structured in two sections; preliminary stage and emergence of a square. In the first section entitled *Preliminary Stage* (before the 19th century), the historic periods leading up Ulus Square to get its definite form and characteristics are explained in detail. Due to the lack of specific data on physical and social aspects of Ulus Square and its close vicinity, these historic periods are defined through secondary sources on Ankara such as traveller accounts and the memoirs of individuals. On the other hand, starting from the late 18th century Ottoman Empire Period, it is possible to find information on elements and activities within the larger context of Ulus Square. Therefore, this section mainly focuses on the analysis of the larger context of Ulus Square and tries to explain factors that created a ground for Ulus Square to emerge in the following periods.¹⁴⁴

Second section entitled *Emergence of a Square* mainly focuses on the formation of the square between the 19th century Ottoman Empire and 1930s Republic of Turkey. It analyses the emergence of Ulus Square with a detailed research on its physical, social and visual aspects. Additionally, it discusses the process that Ulus Square went through to have its definite form, main factors affecting this process, and defines values inherited within the area through time. Consequently, the second section focuses on the transformation of a regularly used open space into a definite public square; with the buildings defining its edge, its monuments with their ideological associations, buildings with multi-functional aspects and daily activities and special occasions taking place within the square.

¹⁴⁴ Until the end of 19th century, boundary and physical-functional aspects of Ulus Square was not clearly defined in historical sources. Thus, for the first section of this chapter, the term “*Ulus Square*” is used to refer to its geographical location, to the area it covers today.

3.1. PRELIMINARY STAGE: Built-up Areas and Distribution of Functions in the Close Vicinity

Although several scholars mention that the larger context of today's Ulus Square was used for multiple purposes from the Phrygian period onwards, there is not enough information on the existence of a settlement, the function and form of Ulus Square from the Pre-Roman times. Therefore, this section starts from the Roman Galatian Period to analyse the characteristics of the area before the formation of Ulus Square. However, the analysis excludes the Byzantine and Seljuk period since there is not any information on Ulus Square and its larger context between the Roman Galatian and Early Ottoman Period. The last part of this section traces critical changes on administrative and urban regulations of Ottoman Empire and their reflection on the spatial characteristics of Ulus Square during the 18th century. By this way, preliminary stages of Ulus Square can be traced from the Roman Galatian period to the late 18th century.

3.1.1. Roman Galatian Period (300 BC – AD 400)

At the location of today's Ulus Square, there is not sufficient information on the existence of a public open space during the Roman Galatian Period. However, considering the location of monumental buildings and public open spaces around, it is possible to develop an understanding of the character of *Ulus Square* during this period. As it is seen in **Figure 63a, b** the location of monuments such as Palatium, Nymphaeum, Julian Column and cardo maximus (**Figure 62a-d**) with framing shops gives information on the periphery of agora¹⁴⁵ (Kadioğlu and Gökay: 2008, 151).¹⁴⁶ Additionally, Kadioğlu and Gökay state that today's Hükümet Square may have been the location of the agora of Ancyra.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ In Roman cities, the term agora corresponds to public open spaces used for gathering and commerce, a market area surrounded with commercial buildings.

¹⁴⁶ According to Cooke, several scholars had discussed the original identification of the bath *palaestra* as a market. Although buildings to the north of the bath have been described as offices and shops, these would probably refer to businesses dedicated to the bathing trade. The Agora may have had a more central location (1998: 80).

¹⁴⁷ The monumental columns were usually erected in or around the agora and along the sides of the main roads. That is why, it is usually accepted that the monumental column at Ancyra (Belkız Column) was built in or around agora (Kadioğlu and Gökay: 2011, 34).

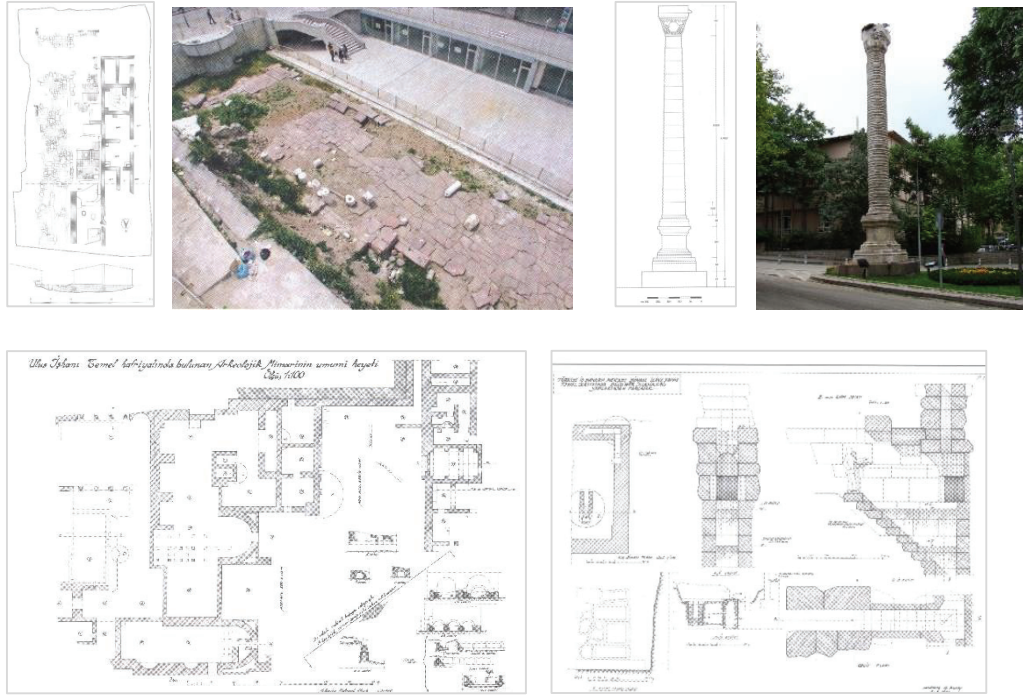
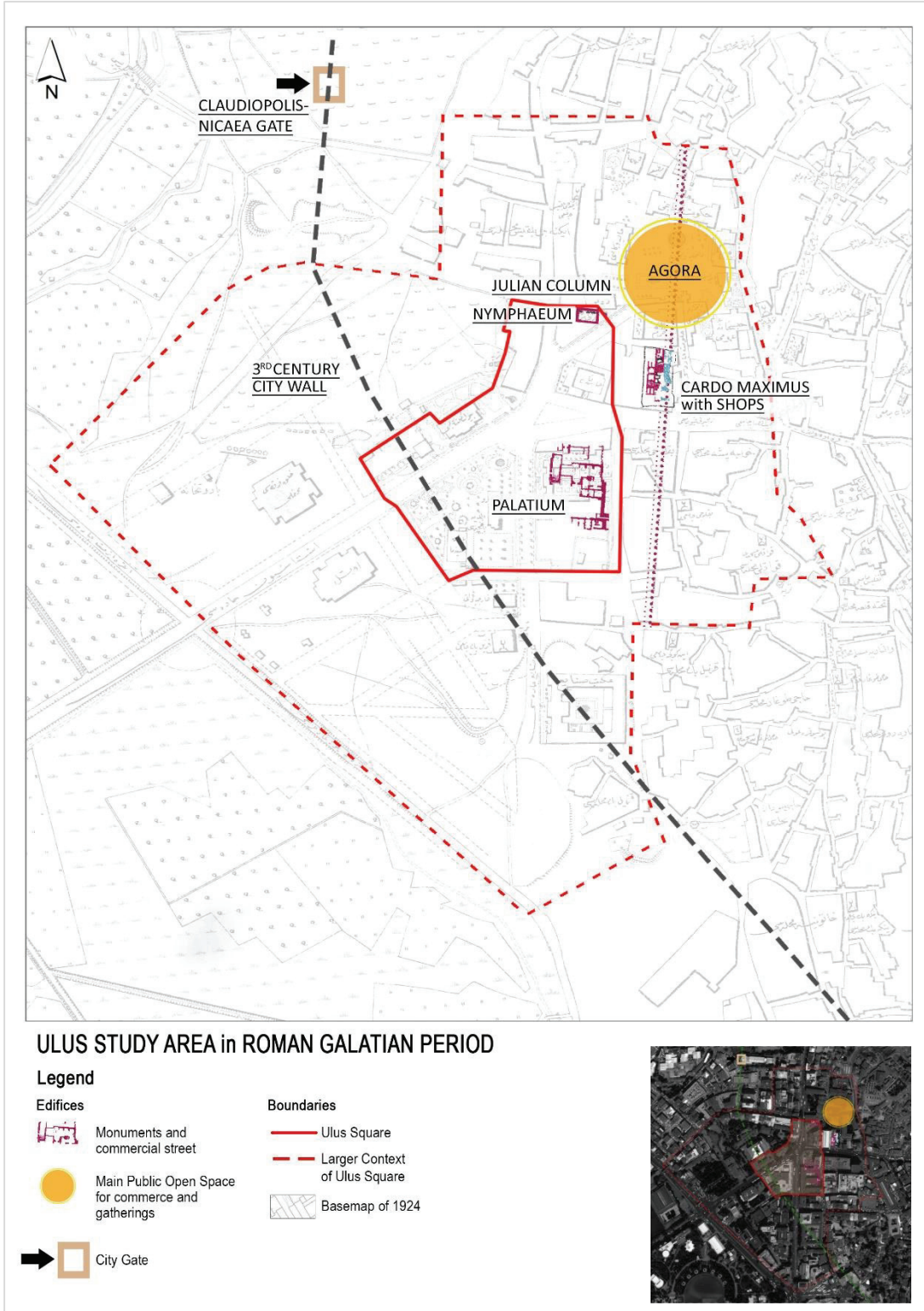


Figure 62 Monuments defining boundary of Agora a. Cardio Maximus (Kadioğlu and Gökay: 2011, 144, 148) b. Julian Column (Kadioğlu and Gökay: 2011, 231) c. Palatium (M. Akok, cited in Kadioğlu and Gökay: 2011, 198) d. Nymphaeum (M. Akok, cited in Kadioğlu and Gökay: 2011, 136)

By referring to Cooke's assertion on the centrality of agora within the city, Aydın et al. also presumes that agora should be located in between Hacıbayram Hill and today's Ulus Square (2005: 96). Since agoras of Roman cities were public open spaces used for gatherings and commerce, it is reasonable to state that *Ulus Square* – by being a part of Agora – was used for commercial and social activities in the Roman Galatian Period. Moreover, regarding the location of Palatium (palace) on the south of *Ulus Square*, it is possible to argue that it had an administrative function.



3.1.2. After Roman Galatian Period until the Ottoman Period/15th-16th Century

After the Roman Galatian Period, until the Early Ottoman Period, there is no information on *Ulus Square* and its larger context. Starting from the Seljuks and Ahi Period, western parts of *Ulus Square* had witnessed the construction of several commercial and public buildings like mosques, *hammams* and *hans*. Constructed in the 13th century, Hoca Paşa/ Kuyulu Mosque, Kızılbey Complex and Baklacı Baba Mosque are the indicators of public activities around the larger context of *Ulus Square* (Figure 64a-c).



Figure 64 a. Kızılbey Complex (Atılım Univesity Archive: 2017) b. Kuyulu Mosque (TA: 2016) c. Kuyulu Coffee house (TA: 2016)

During the 16th century, one of the two commercial areas of Ankara/Engürü started to emerge close to *Ulus Square*. Referred as *Aşağı Yüz*, this commercial area comprised of Tahtakale/ Taht-el-Kala/ Kale altı-dibi (public open market area) and *Karaoğlan Çarşısı/ Karaoğlan Bazaar* (commercial street) as the major commercial centres (Atauz: 2004, 167). The construction of several public buildings such as Hasan Paşa/ Cenabi Ahmet Paşa Hamamı/ Bath (1508)¹⁴⁸, Hallaç Mahmud Maşjid (1545), Tahtakale Hamamı/ Bath (1461) and Suluhan/ Hasan Paşa Hanı (1508-1511) is an important sign for the density of commerce and public activities around Karaoğlan and Tahtakale¹⁴⁹ area (Figure 65a, b). Hasan Paşa Bath and Suluhan were the two main buildings which were defining the northern and southern boundary of *Aşağı Yüz*.

¹⁴⁸ Most of the sources define this hamam as Hasan Paşa Bath. On the other hand, several scholars mention a hamam called Cenabi Ahmet Paşa Bath at the same location. Due to the lack of information on court records, Özdemir questions the possibility of Hasan Paşa Bath and Cenabi Ahmet Paşa Bath as the same building (1986: 72). For detailed information see Ankara Hamamları and Kaplıcaları (2013: 56-59).

¹⁴⁹ It is stated by Bağlum that; Tahtakale was also used by the residents of *Aşağı Yüz* as a place for gatherings and celebrations during bayram/ religious fests (1992: 67).



Figure 65 a. Hasan Paşa Bath (PIN: 2016) **b.** Hallaç Mahmud Masjid (WOW: 2017)

As can be followed from **Figure 66a-d**, Karaoğlan – starting at today’s Ulus Square and directing to the east – was connected to Tahtakale and Suluhan/ Hasan Paşa Hanı via *Uzunçarşı*. Moreover, most of the secondary streets were laid down between Tahtakale and Karaoğlan (Taş: 2006, 113). Additionally, some parts of *cardo maximus* that have been transformed into small shops during the *Ahis* period were also continued to be used in early periods of the Ottoman Empire. Because of the intense commercial activities in the vicinity, it can be assumed that *Ulus Square* and its larger context had continued to be used for commercial purposes during the 15th-16th centuries.



Figure 66 a. Karaoğlan (EAFF: 2016) **b.** *Uzunçarşı* (WOW: 2016) **c.** Tahtakale (APKBFA: 1994, 121) **d.** Suluhan (Mehmet Tunçer Archive)

Parallel to the transformation of the urban character of the city, open spaces around lower parts – especially the west, south-west parts of *Aşağı Yüz* – started to be used as

fields, cemetery and short-term accommodation for foreigners visiting the city. For instance, Dernschwam mentioned that in 1555, they stayed on a plain open space located in the lower parts of the city (1987, 257). It is known that starting from the 16th century, the term “lower parts” was used to describe the area between Karaoğlan and Tahtakale. Referring to this information, it can be stated that even though the larger context of *Ulus Square* was mainly utilised as a cemetery area certain zones were used for temporary accommodation (**Figure 67a, b**).

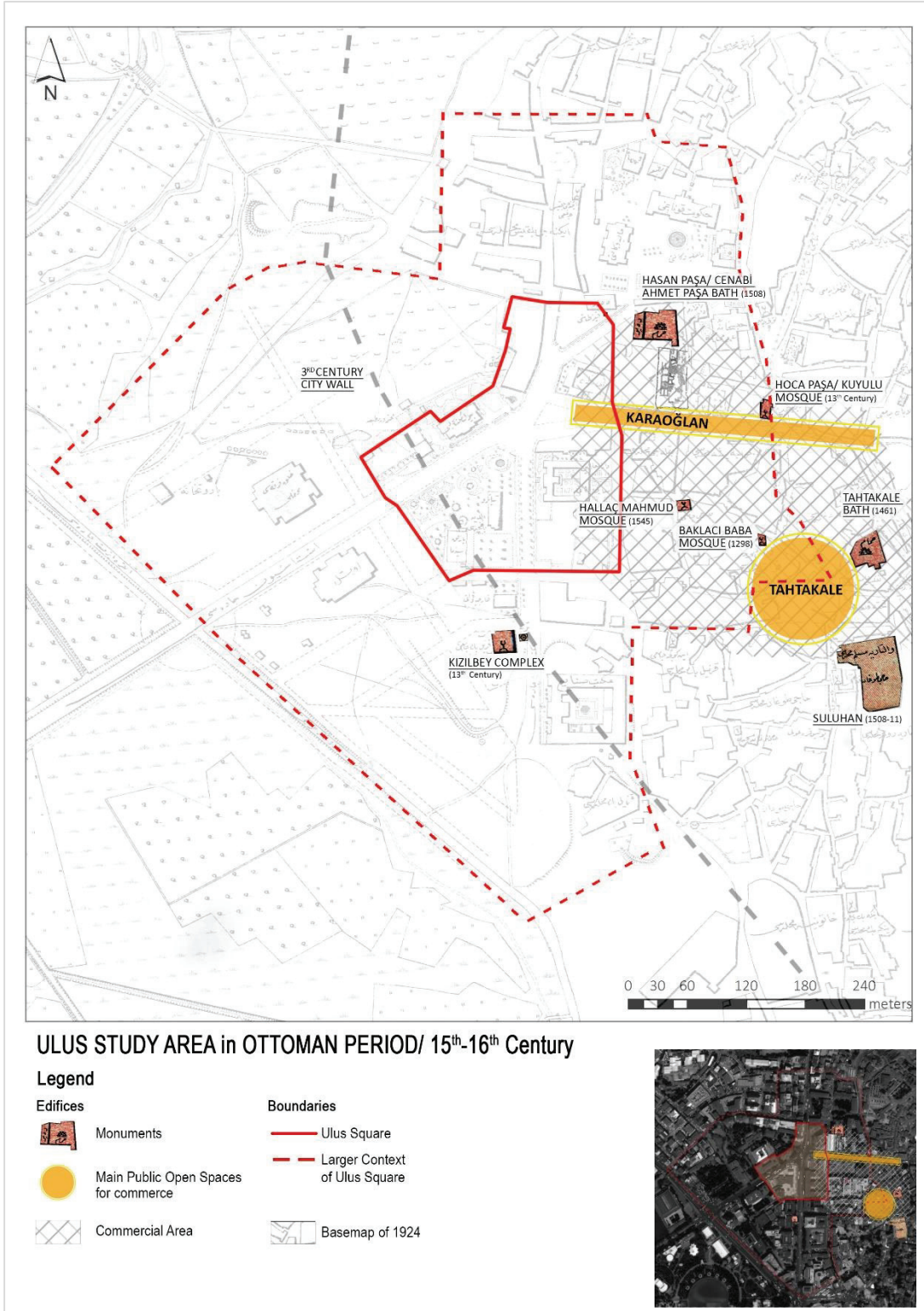


Figure 67 a. Ulus Study Area in Ottoman Period/15th-16th century (monuments are utilised from 1924 Ankara Map, city wall is utilised from *Plan 1. City Plan of Ancyra*/ Kadioğlu and Görkay: 2011)
b. Superimposition of Ottoman Period/ 15th-16th century Map on Google Earth/2018

3.1.3. Ottoman Period/ 17th Century

In the 17th century, Ankara witnessed the attacks of Celali Revolts that would affect the Angora's urban fabric. Most of the public buildings and commercial areas of the city – including Karaoğlan and Tahtakale – were burnt down and destroyed. In order to prevent these attacks, a third circuit of city walls with several gates had started to be constructed expeditiously. The construction was so fast that, even Simeon Madonna de Loret – who visited the city at the beginning of 17th century – described Angora as a city surrounded by three layers of walls (Alemdar: 2000, 98).

After the construction of the third circuit, most of the burnt down and demolished places had begun to revive, and Angora continued to develop within the boundaries defined by the third circuit. Aligned with the construction of the circuit, Suluhan and Tahtakale Bath had gone through several restorations. Although Tahtakale and Karaoğlan had begun to revitalize, they were still not as crowded as they were before.¹⁵⁰

Constructed on the northeast part of Karaoğlan, Zincirli Mosque was the only monumental building that had been erected within this area during the 17th century (**Figure 68a, b**). This remarkable decrease in construction activities proves that the area had lost its previous significance and revived gradually. Nevertheless, Karaoğlan had gradually been revived, Tahtakale had been reconstructed and started to function properly by the end of the century leading to an increase in the commercial activities and transportation between Karaoğlan and the city gates.

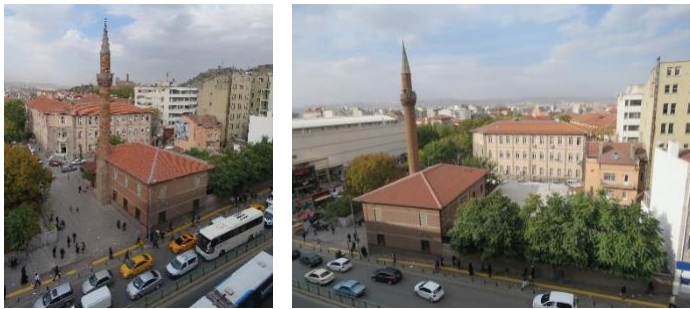


Figure 68 a. b. Zincirli Mosque constructed on Karaoğlan in 17th Century (Author: 2018)

¹⁵⁰ Evliya Çelebi – who visited Angora in 1648 – describes in his notes that; main commercial areas of the city are located on upper parts. Most crowded bazaars are listed as: *Uzunçarşı*, Sipahi Pazarı and At Pazarı. From Evliya Çelebi's notes, it can be analysed that during his visit, Tahtakale and Karaoğlan could not recover yet.

While the initial demolition of Karaoğlan and Tahtakale district had affected the development of *Ulus Square* in a negative way, the area continued to be used incrementally due to the construction of third circuit. As it is seen in **Figure 69a, b** the third circuit had eight main gates including İstanbul Gate located just in front of *Ulus Square*.¹⁵¹ It was one of the main gates especially used by foreigners for transportation and commercial activities.¹⁵² Therefore, the area between *Aşağı Yüz* and the third circuit was mainly utilised by foreigners (especially English, Dutch and French) for commercial and residential purposes (Danışman: 1970, 125-137).

Even though there is not any specific information on *Ulus Square* in the 17th century, referring to the shape of the circuit it can be suggested that this area had an importance for the city since the wall encircled western parts of the city and included *Ulus Square*. Additionally, due to the role and importance of İstanbul Gate for the city, *Ulus Square* evolved into an open space used for temporary commercial activities. As a result, *Ulus Square* and its larger context became the first spot for public activities and daily practices for merchants, foreigners and visitors who preferred to enter Angora from İstanbul Gate.

¹⁵¹ Location of İstanbul Gate corresponds to an area that was the centre of the cemetery aligned with Millet Square (Mamboury: 2014, 86).

¹⁵² Evliya Çelebi, who visited the city in 1640 mentioned that; the area between *Aşağı Yüz* and 3rd City Wall mainly used by foreigners for commercial and residential purposes (1970: 125-137).

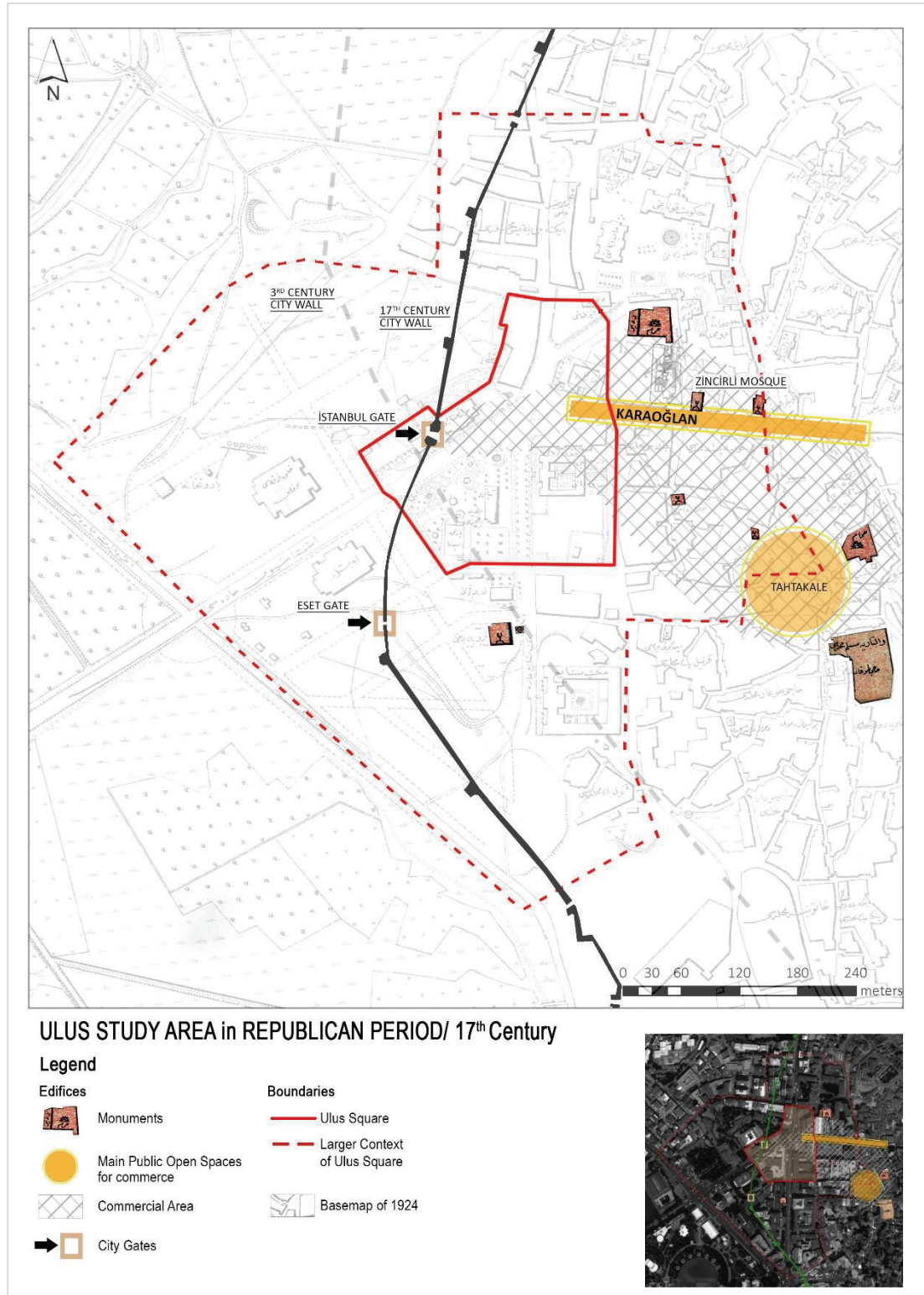


Figure 69 a. Ulus Study Area in Ottoman Period/ 17th century (monuments are utilised from 1924 Ankara Map, city wall is utilised from Von Vincke's Ankara Map)
b. Superimposition of Ottoman Period/ 17th century Map on Google Earth/2018

3.1.4. Ottoman Period/ 18th Century

Angora continued to develop within boundaries of the third circuit during the 18th century.¹⁵³ Although some parts of the wall were slightly demolished, it continued to function until the end of the century. Construction activities continued within the walls and among them İğneli Belkıs Mosque and St. Nicholas Church¹⁵⁴ were the main monuments located in the larger context of *Ulus Square*. According to Moustakas, after the arrival of Cappadocians (?) to Ankara, the metropolitan expanded its activities and constructed St. Nicholas Church (1794) on top of an older one (2016). Construction of this church at *Aşağı Yüz* had increased the amount and diversity of the inhabitants that use this area regularly, and also created a change in its meaning accordingly.

Most of the travellers depict Angora as a city with three circuits of walls. The 18th century painting of Jean Baptist van Mour, a Flemish artist, depicts Angora from Namazgah Direction/ south-west with three circuits of walls (**Figure 70**). The left side of the painting is defined by Eyice as the most realistic part depicting the districts close to *Ulus Square* and its surrounding areas (1972: 110-111). It is possible to identify monuments like; İğneli Belkıs Mosque, Hasan Paşa Bath, Julian Column, Hacıbayram Mosque, Temple of Augustus, Zincirli Mosque, Kuyulu Mosque and Hallaç Mahmud Masjîd (Eyice: 1972, 99-102, Tamur: 2008, 392-393). Additionally, main entrances to the city are also highlighted and from the identified monuments, it is also possible to locate İstanbul Gate among these entrances.

¹⁵³ Aubry de la Motraye also mentioned in his notes that, the city is surrounded with an irregular shaped city wall which is not in a good condition (1730: 226-228).

¹⁵⁴ Even though there is limited information on St. Nicholas Church, there are sources on its location and construction date. Galanti stated that it was located on the same place where Park Palas/ Lozan Palas was built (today Akbank is standing) (2005: 244). Additionally, Moeisides suggests that, St. Nicholas Church was built on 23 April 1794 under the metropolitan Ioannikios, on the location of an earlier church (1905: 415). It is known that, while Dernschwam visited Ankara in 16th Century, he mentioned a very worn and mediocre church that is located on the plain open space next to *Aşağı Yüz* (1987: 260). Thus, from the 16th century till the beginning of 20th century, this location was continuously used by at least two churches.

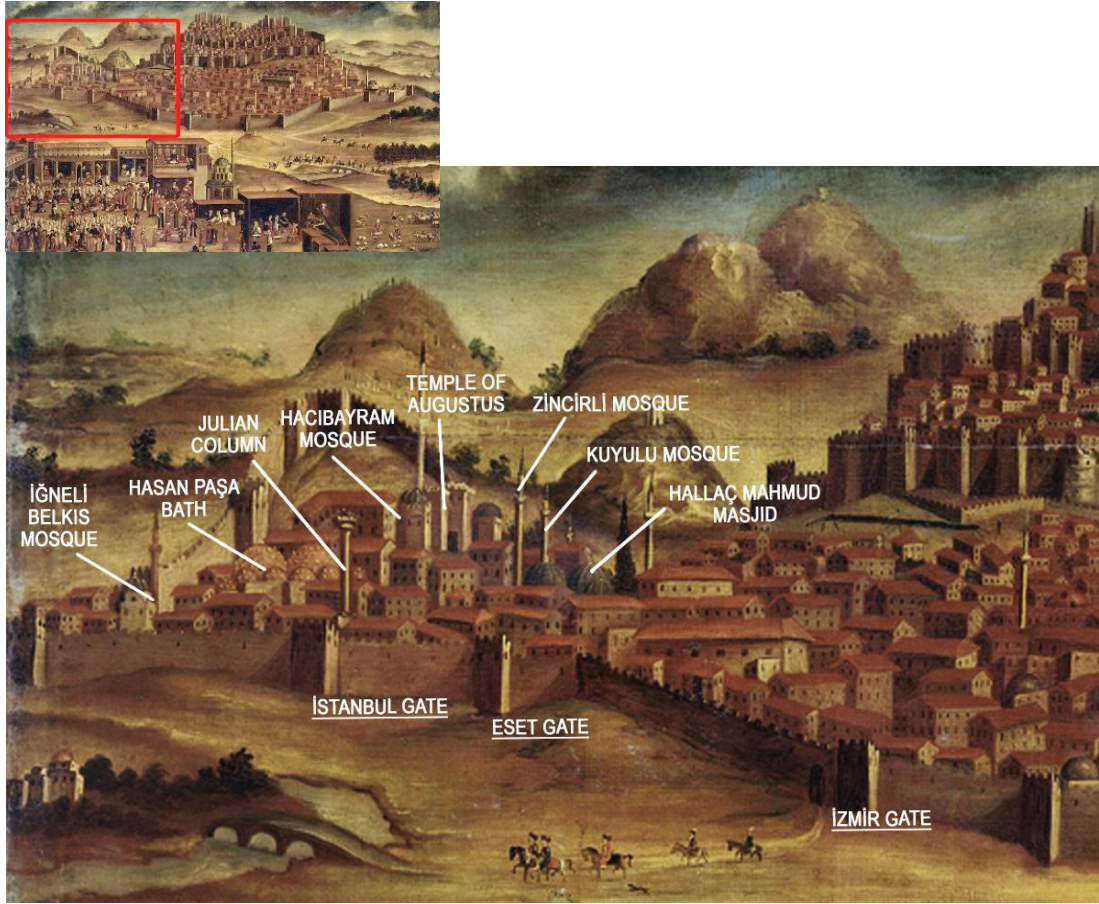


Figure 70 Upper left part of the 18th Century painting is enlarged for a detailed view of east and northeast parts of the city (Rijksmuseum Holland: 2015)

Furthermore, Pitton de Tournefort who visited the city in 1701 mentioned the third circuit as “low and finished with wicked battlements”, and gives detailed information on inscriptions located on the wall between İstanbul Gate and İzmir Gate (1717: 322-326). He also prepared an engraving depicting the 18th century Angora (**Figure 71a**). According to Eyice, Mahmutpaşa Bedesteni, Namazgah¹⁵⁵ and Namazgah Gate can be identified from this engraving (1972: 98), but it is not possible to find any other information on Ulus Square and its surrounding area.

¹⁵⁵ A sacred area which is believed to be used continuously both as a cemetery and as an open-air prayer area from the periods dated before Seljuk’s until Republic of Turkey (Etnoğrafya Müzesi Tarihi: 2017).

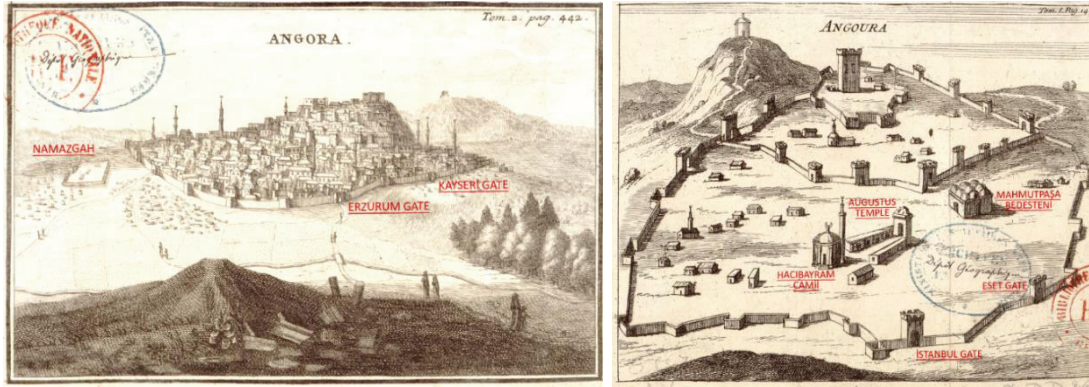


Figure 71 a. View of Ankara from south direction, Pitton de Tournefort, 1701 (BNF: ark:/12148/btv1b8592838m) b. Engraving of Angora by Paul Lucas, 1712 (BNF: ark:/12148/btv1b85928376): Except Mahmutpaşa Bedesteni which was identified by Eyice (1972: 97), all monuments are identified and marked by the author

Paul Lucas, another traveller who visited Angora in 1705, described the third circuit as constructed sixty years prior to his visit and mentioned that some parts of the walls were in bad condition (1712: 136-152). Additionally, he prepared an engraving showing the location of monumental buildings and three circuits of walls surrounding the city (**Figure 71b**). However, he only depicted certain monumental buildings in an oversimplified manner.¹⁵⁶ Most of the monumental buildings were neither appeared in the engraving nor their location/ depiction was correct. Contrasting to this, his engraving is much more reliable in terms of identifying the third circuit with its several gates¹⁵⁷ For instance; it is possible to estimate the location of İstanbul Gate (the gate in front of *Ulus Square*) through the identification of Hacıbayram Mosque, Temple of Augustus and Mahmutpaşa Bedesteni. Since Lucas did not give any information on public open spaces, bazaars, streets or urban texture of Angora, it is not possible to get further information on the condition and use of *Ulus Square*.

Another important source on *Ulus Square* and its larger context in the 18th century was court records mentioning the increase of commercial activities around *Aşağı Yüz*. A court record dated 18 October 1792 (Defter No: 184, Belge No: 67) records that there

¹⁵⁶ Even though he mentions 12 gates (7 main, 5 small) in his notes, there are only 5 gates visible in his sketch.

¹⁵⁷ According to Eyice, although Lucas' engraving is unreliable in terms of monuments and their location, how he depicted the 3rd Wall is quite realistic in terms of its bastions, gates and their form (1972: 97).

is a bazaar called “*Attar*”¹⁵⁸ located on the west side of Suluhan (Tunçer: 2014, 30). Additionally, the construction of Tahtakale Hanı between Tahtakale Hamamı and Suluhan also proves the demand for additional commercial buildings in the same area (**Figure 72a, b**). The court records and the increase in construction activities reveals that *Aşağı Yüz* – the area between Suluhan and Karaoğlan – continued to be utilised intensively. It can be summarized that, as being located between Karaoğlan and İstanbul Gate, *Ulus Square* in its larger context had continued to function as a transition area between *Aşağı Yüz* and outer parts of the city, mainly utilised by traders for temporary accommodation and as an open bazaar.

¹⁵⁸ This bazaar would have continued to function till the early periods of 20th century. Former mayor of Ankara Municipality (1950), Fuat Börekçi mentions that during his childhood Attar Han was one of the most crowded commercial spots of Samanpazarı district (cited in Bağlum: 1992, 41).

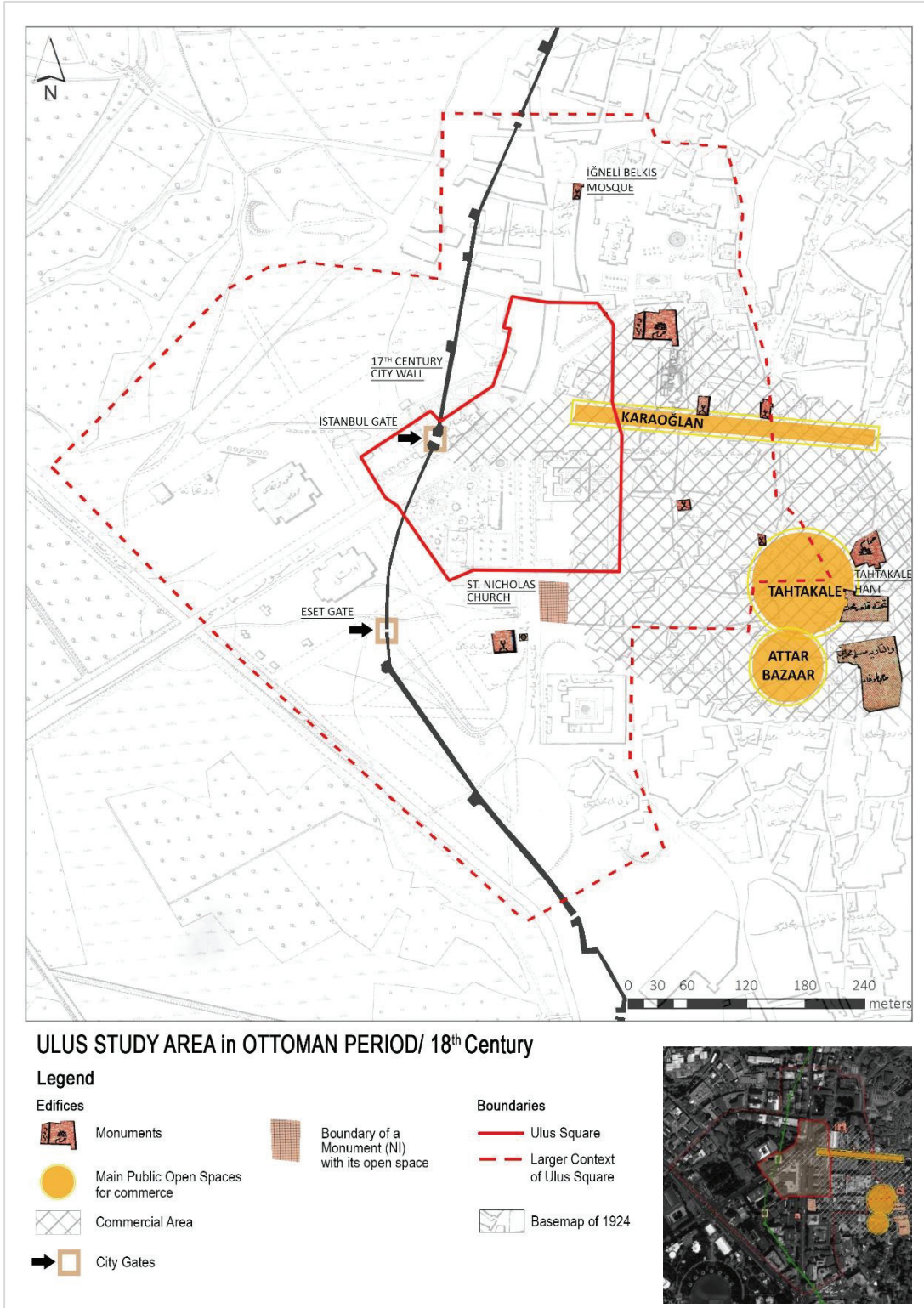


Figure 72 a. Ulus Study Area in Ottoman Period/ 18th century (monuments are utilised from 1924 Ankara Map, city wall is utilised from Von Vincke's Ankara Map)
b. Superimposition of Ottoman Period/ 18th century Map on Google Earth/2018

3.2. EMERGENCE OF THE SQUARE

From the beginning of the 19th century, due to the changes in administrative structure and regulations related to the city and daily life, a need for new type of buildings, public open spaces and monuments aroused. These events eventuated in the construction of the first building defining the north-northeast edge of Ulus Square can be regarded as the initiator of the emergence of this area. Named as Taşhan, this han-like hotel building created its own public open space in front of its main entrance and in a short period of time, this space was transformed into the main public square of the city.

Later on, the construction of Ittihat ve Terakki Building (a new building type with administrative function) on the opposite side of Taşhan increased the interest at the square as the main centre of the city. Followed by the declaration of Ankara as the capital during 1920s, this building started to be used as the National Assembly during the War of Independence. As a result, with additional buildings, open spaces and monuments, the square had a more definite shape and function, whereas daily usage and social practices gradually increased. More importantly, an ideological meaning mediated through national identity became the dominant attribute of the square. Until the end of 1930s, in addition to its ideological meaning, commercial and financial activities in/around the square appeared to be the most popular ones in Ankara. On the other hand, with the emergence of a new square called Havuzbaşı/ Kızılay in Yenışehir district¹⁵⁹, the main centre of Ankara started to shift from Ulus to Kızılay. Parallel to these developments, Taşhan was demolished in 1935 triggering the gradual decline of Ulus Square. The demolishment of Taşhan indicates an end of an era and therefore constitutes the last part of this section.

3.2.1. Emergence of an Open Space: Ottoman Period/ 19th Century

During the 19th century, there was an apparent transformation in political, administrative and social aspects of Ottoman Empire and its reflection on urban

¹⁵⁹ The area located on the southern parts of the old city beyond the railway and mainly encircles Sıhhiye, Kızılay and Kurtuluş districts.

space.¹⁶⁰ At the beginning of the 19th century, cities like Konya and Kütahya were under the attack of Kavalalı Mehmet Ali Paşa, who was the former governor of Egypt assigned by the Ottoman Empire. In 1833, the third circuit of the city walls was repaired as one of the precautions against the Egyptian forces.¹⁶¹ In parallel to this, most of the travellers visiting Ankara during the early 19th century only mentions the construction works of the third circuit.

Charles Texier, who visited the city in 1834, mentions that the city walls were prolonging to the plain (Texier and Pullan: 1865, 46) and W. J. Hamilton notes that doors of city gates were closed during nights (1842: 423). On the other hand, Baptistin Poujoulat who visited the city in 1837 emphasizes its poor physical condition by stating that Ankara was the most dispersed and neglected Turkish city (Madran: 2001, 156). Thus, it can be presumed that Ankara was having economic problems during the first decades of the century. On the other hand, with the promulgation of Tanzimat reforms (1839-1876)¹⁶², new regulations on political, administrative and urban issues induced an era of transformation for Ottoman cities and Ankara accordingly.

Right after the first edict of Tanzimat reforms, in 1839 Major Von Vincke prepared two maps for Ankara and its surrounding areas. Among these maps, *Plan Der Stadt Angora* (scale: 12.500) is the first document depicting Ankara with its topography, cemeteries, waterways, city walls and gates¹⁶³, castle, major roads and monumental buildings mostly labelled with their names (**Figure 73**). Additionally, this plan is the only document that clearly shows spatial aspects and street pattern of *Ulus Square* and its close vicinity. First of all, it can be observed from the map that, traces of the primary

¹⁶⁰ Tanzimat Fermanı (1839), Ebniye Nizamnameleri (1848-1849), Turuk ve Ebniye Nizamnamesi (1864), Vilayet-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi (1871), Vilayet Belediye Kanunu (1877) and Ebniye Kanunu (1882) were the main regulations introduced by Ottoman Empire during 19th century.

¹⁶¹ John Macdonald Kinneir who visited Ankara in 1813-1814 described city walls as “incapable of defence... in a most dilapidated and ruinous condition” (1818: 64).

¹⁶² Tanzimat, (Turkish: “Reorganization”), series of reforms promulgated in the Ottoman Empire between 1839 and 1876. These reforms, heavily influenced by European ideas, were intended to effectuate a fundamental change of the Empire from the old system based on theocratic principles to that of a modern state (Encyclopedia Britannica: 2018).

¹⁶³ Kinneir mentioned that İzmir, İstanbul and Çankırı Gates were both built in the same manner and with same sort of materials. İzmir Gate was built to all appearance from the shattered fragments of a destroyed portico or temple, whereas İstanbul and Çankırı Gates were built with a few Greek characters on each (1818: 67-68).

roads and streets that are still utilised today are visualised as paths. Most of these paths emerged at the beginning of the 19th century, were gradually widened during 1880s and got their definite form between 1920s and 1930s. The main axes connecting north to south and west to east today were utilised in the form of paths in 1839.

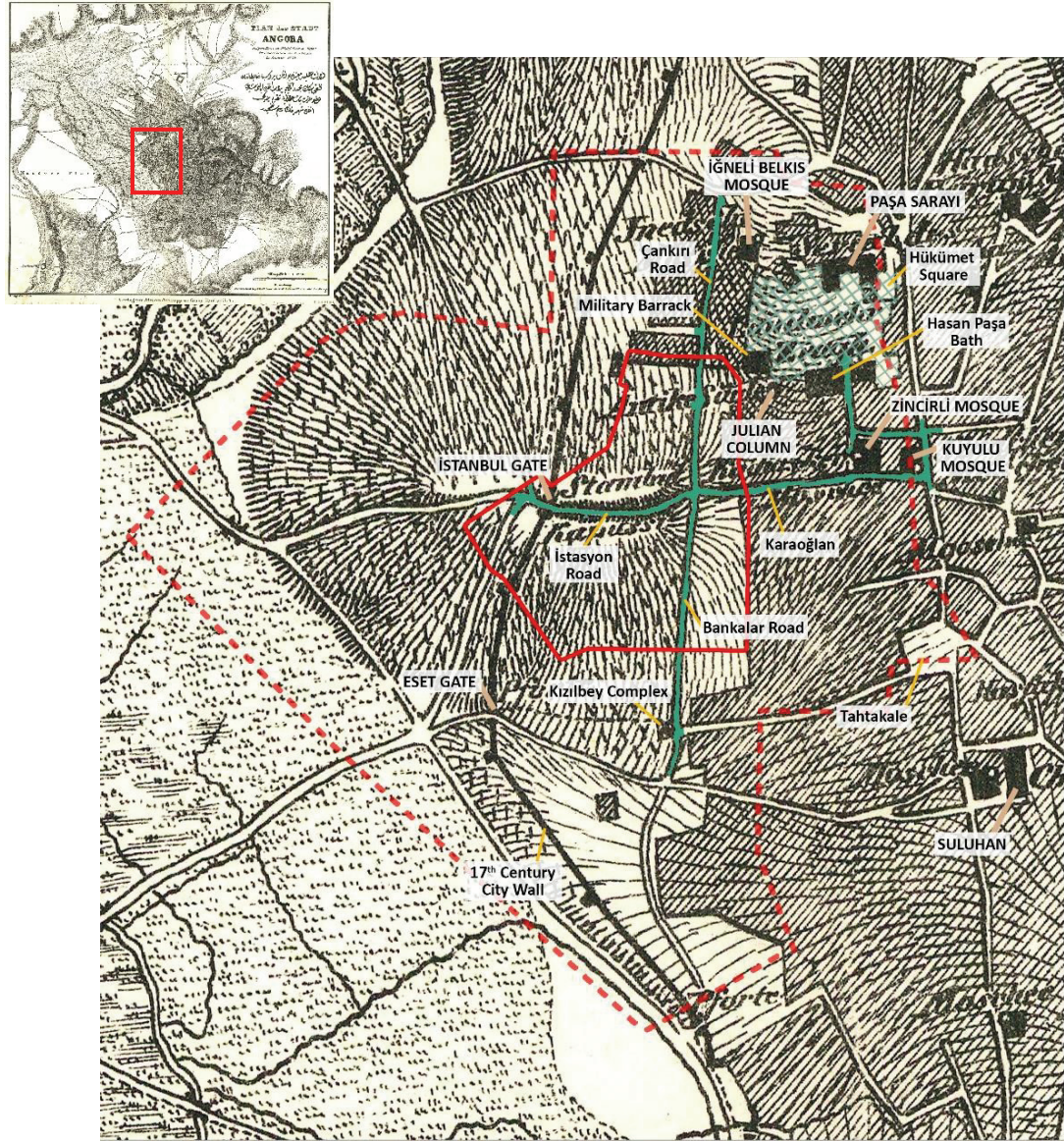


Figure 73 Partial view of Von Vincke's Map of Angora (Red Line: Ulus Square, Red Dotted Line: Larger Context of Ulus Square, Beige lines with Capital Letters: Monuments that are labelled by Von Vincke, Orange lines: Remarks of the author, Blue Lines: Traces of roads, streets and square that are still utilised today).

As can be followed in **Figure 73**, among these paths, the first one located on the east is Karaoğlu, which was a commercial street utilised from the 16th century onwards. The continuation of Karaoğlu to the direction of İstanbul Gate was the second path,

which was the primary phase of İstasyon Road. Since most of the commercial activities of *Aşağı Yüz* district were carried around Karaoğlan (Aktüre: 1994, 105) this path was opened during the early 19th century to connect Karaoğlan and İstanbul Gate. The third path was connecting north and south of *Ulus Square*. Starting from the north of İğneli Belkıs Mosque and ending on the south of Kızılbey Mosque, this path was the primary stage of today's Çankırı Road (**Figure 74a**) and Atatürk Boulevard/ Bankalar Road. In addition to these paths, there was an L-shaped street connecting Karaoğlan to Hükümet Square, which is still utilised today (**Figure 74b, c**). Named as Zincirli Mosque Alley, this street was framed by trees on both sides. Although southern parts of this alley were not completed yet, the first attempt to open today's Mahmut Atalay Street can be dated back to these years.

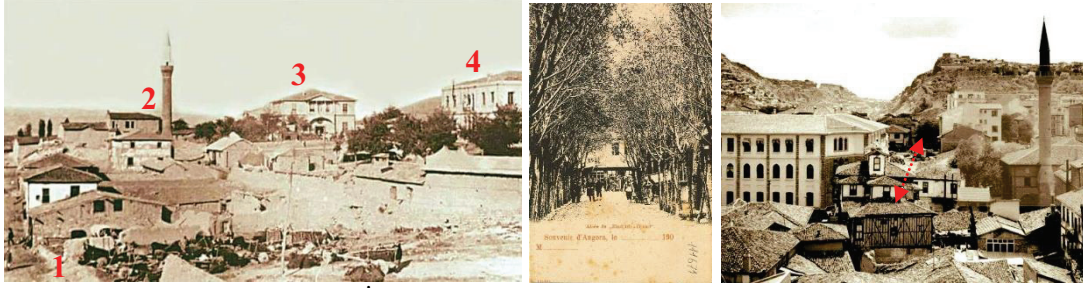


Figure 74 a. 1.Çankırı Road, 2.İğneli Belkıs Mosque, 3.Telgrafhane, 4.Paşa Sarayı, the early 19th century (PIN: 2017) b. A postcard from the early years of 20th century, Zincirli Mosque Alley (Cangır: 2007, 40) c. Zincirli Mosque Alley, labelled with a red arrow (TA: 2017)

Secondly, Von Vincke Map clearly depicts a new square called *Hükümet Meydanı*/ Hükümet Square (Government Square) and Tahtakale as open spaces. This information indicates that Tahtakale continued functioning as a commercial public open space, whereas Hükümet Square had already begun to emerge as a small garden¹⁶⁴ in between surrounding governmental buildings. On the other, the map does not indicate Ulus Square.

The decline of commercial activities in *Yukarı Yüz* region and the changes in the administrative structure of the Ottoman Empire caused the shift of administrative and military areas from the Castle to *Aşağı Yüz* district, where the new city was

¹⁶⁴ There was a worn out, small *memleket*/ hometown garden in this square. This garden was described as a puny greenery where destitute, homeless people, and some of the local tradesman spent their time (Ortaylı, cited in Yalım: 2001, 67).

emerging.¹⁶⁵ The area between İğneli Belkıs Mosque and Hasan Paşa Bath was selected for administrative and military buildings such as Paşa Sarayı¹⁶⁶ and *Redif Kışlası*/ Military Barrack¹⁶⁷. Although there is not any information on their construction dates, it can be seen in Von Vincke's Map that; Hükümet Square had already arranged in between İğneli Belkıs Mosque, Paşa Sarayı, Military Barrack, Julian Column and Hasan Paşa Bath in 1839 (**Figure 75a-c**), and continued in the following years with the construction of other public buildings like *Telgrafhane*/ Telegraph Office¹⁶⁸.



Figure 75 a. The second building of Paşa Sarayı, the late 19th century (Aktürk: 2006, 2) **b.** Military Barrack white building on the left of Julian Colum (Cangır: 2007, 282) **c.** Telegraph Office during the late 19th century (Aktürk: 2006, 4)

Von Vincke's map also depicts the boundary of the settled areas (**Figure 76**). It is clearly visible that, in 1839 the area corresponding to today's Ulus Square was mainly a cemetery and a small part of it was an empty open space. As mentioned in previous sections, most of the daily visitors of Ankara preferred to stay close to Hükümet Square and Karaoğlu. Especially the visitors coming from surrounding villages with

¹⁶⁵ Before the 19th century, governor of the city used to rent a house at *Yukarı Yüz* area to conduct administrative issues. This is why it was not possible to see governmental houses in Anatolian lands of Ottoman Empire (Ortaylı: 1984, 3). But after 1839 with the reforms of Tanzimat, a need aroused for a large building that can host all the officials of state in an hierarchical order (Yalım: 2017, 172). This is the reason why displacement of administrative functions from *Yukarı Yüz* to a new area – an empty area that can be utilised for constructing new buildings symbolizing the modernisation – was a necessity for that period.

¹⁶⁶ At the first quarter of 19th Century, in the place of Paşa Sarayı, a timber framed konak was located and used as the administrative building of the governor. Later on, a new building was constructed at the same location in 1886 (**Figure 75a**) (Hızal, cited in Bağlum: 1992, 59) and the final building that is still used today was constructed in 1897.

¹⁶⁷ After regulations on military organisations in 1834, all around the Empire in every city *Redif Kışlası*/Military Barrack was started to build. Thus, it is assumed that Military Barrack located in Ankara was constructed on a period between regulations and Von Vincke's Map (1834-1839).

¹⁶⁸ Even though Telegraph Office is not visible as a monument on Von Vincke's Map of 1839, its location on the west of Paşa Sarayı is labelled with a different hatch. Additionally, a salary payment document on Ankara Court Records n. 258-130, dated to 1848, defines post office located in Ankara as postahane, whereas other ones in Ayaş, Beypazarı and Nallıhan are defined as kirahane/ rental place (Çadırcı: 1997, 233-4). This clearly proves that Telegraph Office building of Ankara was constructed between 1839 and 1848.

ox cart, preferred this empty space for temporary accommodation (Sarioğlu: 1995, 185 and Şapolyo: 1967, 161) since rough, sloppy and narrow streets of Ankara were not suitable for their ox carts and animals. Regarding the fact that there was still a lack of a building stock for accommodation in, it can be assumed that empty open spaces labelled on Von Vincke's map are mainly used for temporal accommodations¹⁶⁹ (labelled as pale blue on Figure 76).

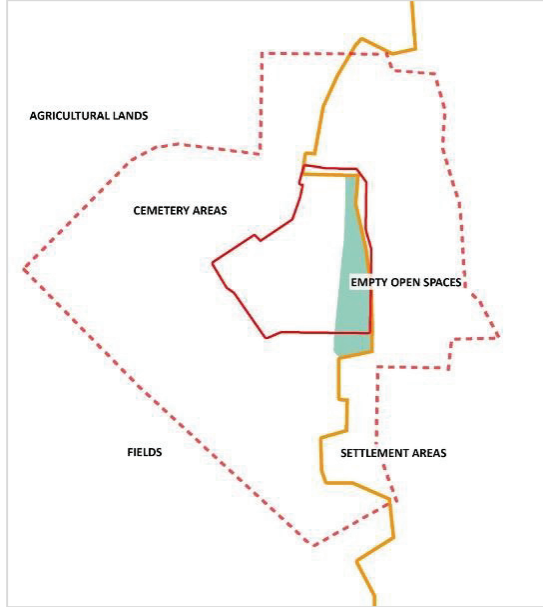


Figure 76 Characteristics of lands that are labelled on Von Vincke's Map of Angora, detailed view of Ulu Square and its close vicinity (Orange line: Boundary of settlement areas, Blue Hatch: Empty open spaces).¹⁷⁰

After 1840¹⁷¹, Ankara and its environs exposed to several disasters: Famine in 1846 and 1874-1877 that caused the death of around 18000 inhabitants and the migration of thousands (Burnaby: 2007, 71). Additionally, a fire in 1881 had changed the characteristics of *Yukarı Yüz* region dramatically. Even though the famines had an impact on the population of Ankara, their reflection on *Ulu Square*'s spatial formation is not evident. On the other hand, the fire of 1881 had an indirect impact on the

¹⁶⁹ According to Bağlum, a part of the area where today's Central Bank is located, for long periods was mainly used by the visitors of Ankara who brought goods from other cities to land their camels and for short term accommodation (1992: 61).

¹⁷⁰ Although lands located on northwest and southwest parts of the plan are labelled with different hatches, Sevgi Aktüre defines both as agricultural lands (1978: 119). For this study it is assumed that northwest parts – hatched with regular lines – are agricultural lands, whereas southwest parts – hatched with random dots – are fields.

¹⁷¹ Treaty of Balta Limanı (1838), which is a formal trade agreement signed between Ottoman Empire and United Kingdom affected financial status of Ottoman Empire in a negative way. It was after 1840, when Ankara experienced consequences of this treaty intensely.

physical and functional aspects of *Ulus Square* and its larger context. Since the fire burned down the commercial centre of *Yukarı Yüz*, the most important commercial buildings of this region – Mahmut Paşa Bedesteni and Kurşunlu Han – were partially demolished. As a result, activities around these buildings slightly shifted to *Aşağı Yüz* district strengthening the vitality of the commercial life in Karaoğlu and its surrounding.

While commercial centre shifted from *Yukarı Yüz* to *Aşağı Yüz* district, the changes in the administrative structure had a direct effect on spatial characteristics of the larger context of *Ulus Square*. In 1882-1883, Ankara became the administrative centre of *Ankara Vilayeti*/ Ankara Province (Çorum, Kayseri, Kırşehir and Yozgat were under its jurisdiction) and according to British vice-consular Gatheral, officers in administrative works were high in number (cited in Şimşir: 2006, 33). Parallel to this change, daily visitors of Ankara for administrative purposes gradually increased and Hükümet Square turned into one of the most crowded public open spaces of Ankara. Moreover, on specific days due to the location of Military Barrack, Hükümet Square became crowded with soldiers that were mustered out, and their family members waiting for them (Mordtmann, cited in Pınar: 1998, 80). Hence, a need aroused for the square to have a more proper spatial organization. As a result, a modest urban park with several trees was arranged at the centre of Hükümet Square and this area has begun to be used mainly by daily visitors of surrounding administrative buildings (Ortaylı: 1994, 116). Although it was a modest park during the 19th century, this park and square witnessed several important events of the city in later periods.

The urban character of Ankara remained almost the same until *Ebniye Kanunu*/ Law of Buildings enacted in 1882. After this law, the remaining parts of the third circuit of the city walls were partially demolished¹⁷², road works were accelerated¹⁷³ and a new understanding of urban space organization had started at the west part of the city

¹⁷² During their visit in Ankara, Carl Humann and Otto Puchstein witnessed the partial demolishment of the third circuit of city walls, and how the remaining lands and materials were sold (1890: 38-43).

¹⁷³ A development report prepared in 1884 explains construction activities of Ankara in detail: widening of roads, construction of a park and planting trees etc. (Önsoy: 1994, 125).

(Yalım: 2017, 173). Especially during the governorship of Abidin Paşa between 1886 and 1894, Ankara witnessed a complete change in its urban character that; new roads were opened with pavements and trees, public open spaces were integrated into daily life, and new public buildings were erected.¹⁷⁴ Parallel to these changes, the path that was utilised in 1839 to connect Karaoğlan to İstanbul Gate was repaired and gradually widened.

In terms of the change on physical aspects, the last quarter of the 19th century can be considered as the most intense period for *Ulus Square* and its larger context. As mentioned before, Karaoğlan and its surrounding areas were the main centres of Ankara for commercial and administrative activities in the previous decades. Due to the increase in administrative and commercial activities, the number of daily visitors also increased and a need aroused for short term accommodation. İsmail Bey, the chief clerk of governor Abidin Paşa, bought the land located at the end of Karaoğlan (in the location of today's Sümerbank)¹⁷⁵ and constructed a *han* with rooms for accommodation called Taşhan in 1888 (Tunçer: 2001, 61-62, Sarioğlu: 1995, 185) (Figure 77a-c).

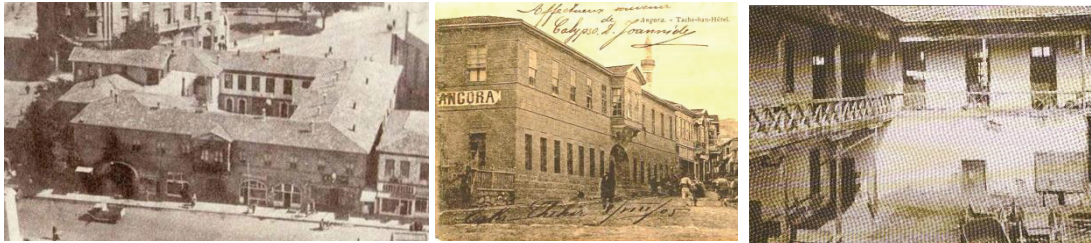


Figure 77 a. Taşhan, 1930 (VEKAM: 1687) **b.** Taşhan at Karaoğlan, 1890's (Cangır: 2007, 27) **c.** Courtyard of Taşhan, 1921 (Streit: 2011, 55)

It can be stated that, Taşhan was the witness of Ankara's decline but at the same time it was the protagonist in the formation of *Ulus Square*. With its interior space organisations and distribution of functions, Taşhan¹⁷⁶ was the last traditional *han*

¹⁷⁴ Baptistin Poujoulat mentioned during his visit in 1837 that, he didn't see any trees in the city (1841: 141). On the other hand, at the end of 1892, during the governorship of Abidin Paşa, number of trees that are planted on Hükümet Square, *Balk Pazarı* and İstasyon Road were more than 50.000 (Aydın et al.: 2005, 255).

¹⁷⁵ Seyfettin Taşhan (the grandson of İsmail Bey) stated that; prior to Taşhan, the land and its surrounding areas were occupied by brothels. This is the reason why governor Abidin Paşa demolished all those buildings on that district and right afterwards his grandfather İsmail Bey bought the empty land (cited in Bağlum: 1992, 36).

¹⁷⁶ For detailed information on Taşhan, see Aydın et al. (2005: 289) and Evren (1998: 174-182).

erected in the city (Aktüre: 1978, 127). Even though it was designed according to the physical characteristics of a typical han, at the same time it was designed to function as a hotel of its period. With a plate of “Hotel Angora” hanged on its west façade that was clearly visible from the direction of where the station was going to be built, Taşhan was the only place for accommodating the new visitors of Ankara. According to Yalım, it was consciously built away from the traditional centre, where it could immediately strike the attention of a newcomer, looking for a place to stay such as foreign traders and German technicians involved in the construction of the railway (2001, 69). As a result, after the construction of Taşhan, surrounding empty open spaces started to evolve and being transformed into the main public open space of Ankara. Consequently, the opening of Taşhan in 1888 is the first milestone marking the formation of Ulus Square.

The change that had started with the opening of Taşhan can be followed from a panoramic photo labelled “Vue générale de la Ville d'Angora” taken by Guillaume Berggren in 1889¹⁷⁷ (**Figure 78**). This photo is a major source showing the first stage of Ulus Square’s spatial organisation in the 19th century, with buildings and roads defining its character. Compared to 1840s, Hükümet Square gained a more definite form with the construction of Telegraph Office next to Paşa Sarayı. Cemetery areas on west-southwest parts of Taşhan were still in use and the north-south path is easily visible. Settlement areas started to extend towards eastern parts where previously labelled as empty open space in Von Vincke’s Map.

¹⁷⁷ Although most of the sources and collections indicate the date of this photo as 1870-1880, this information contradicts with the date photographer had visited Ankara. Colmar Freiherr von der Goltz mentions in his book “Anatolische Ausflüge” that during his journey on the route of railway construction, he visited Ankara on 31 May 1889 (1896: 220). He also states that, during this journey photos were taken by Berggren. Therefore, it is possible that this photo should be taken during their visit to Ankara in 1889. Additionally, in the photo, Taşhan is clearly visible. Since Taşhan was constructed in 1888, the date of the photo cannot be earlier than this year. Thus, for this study the date of the photo is accepted as 1889.



Figure 78 Location of monuments on Guillaume Berggren's panoramic photo of Ankara and their detailed images: 1. İğneli Belkıs Mosque, 2. Telegraph Office, 3. Paşa Sarayı, 4. Military Barrack, 5. Julian Column, 6. Hasan Paşa Bath, 7. Taşhan, 8. Zincirli Mosque, 9. Kuyulu Mosque, 10. Mustafa Tevfik Efendi Hanı, 11. St. Nicholas Church¹⁷⁸ 12. Kızılbey Complex (Fonds Paris Collection: 2016)

¹⁷⁸ There are not any photos identifying the location of this church. However, from the descriptions of travellers and scholars it is known that the church was located on the opposite side of Kızılbey Complex, where today's Akbank is standing. Additionally, Dernschwam describes a church in Ankara which was constructed by mud brick and it was so tiny that its dimensions were only four steps in length and width (1987: 253). It is known that St.

Another important development for Ankara was the introduction of railway. In 1885, a petition was published in the Vilayet Journal sent by the villagers to the Sultan and Minister of Interior demanding a railway that would increase the wealth and prosperity of the city (Ortaylı: 2000, 207). Just seven years after the petition, the railway between İstanbul and Ankara was completed. In 1892 the train station was constructed in the southwestern part of historic Ankara to the direction of İstanbul Gate (**Figure 79a-c**).

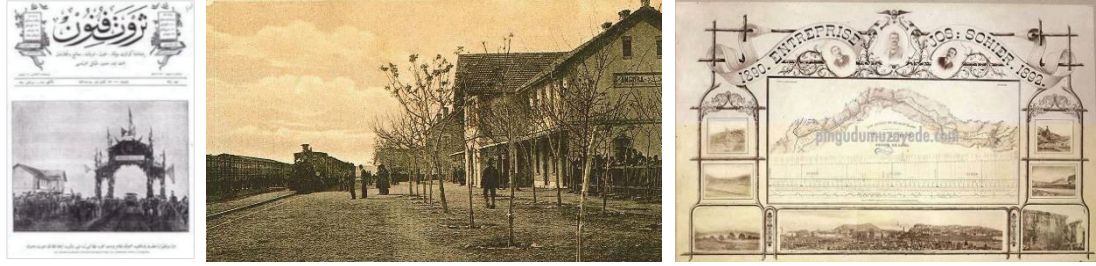


Figure 79 a. Cover of Servet-i Fünun on 17.12.1892, celebrating the opening of train station in Ankara b. First buildings of the station, 1900s (Cangir: 2007, 29) c. Plan/route of İzmit-Ankara railway (TA: 2017)

Being connected to the outer world through railway changed the amount and speed of commercial transportation between Ankara and other cities.¹⁷⁹ As a result transportation of goods in a cheaper and faster way activated a gradual transformation in the structure of urban facilities and the spatial organization of the city (Tekeli: 1994, 175-176). Between 1895 and 1902, more than 200 shops were opened in Ankara (Aktüre: 1978, 127), mostly around Karaoğlu and its close vicinity (between Karaoğlu and Tahtakale). More importantly, Taşhan and its surrounding area started to appear as a defined urban space (Yalın: 2017, 173).

Due to the increase in the transportation of goods between İstasyon/ train station and Karaoğlu, the city centre showed a tendency to develop towards the south-west direction (Tekeli: 1994, 176). Thus, the path previously used for connecting Karaoğlu to İstanbul Gate had shifted to south-west direction and evolved into İstasyon Road (Sarioğlu: 2001, 73) (**Figure 80a, b**). Starting from Ulus Square and ending at the train

Nicholas Church was constructed on the same location where the church that Dernschwam described. Therefore, it is possible that they have similar dimensions and it is most likely that one of the buildings within the stone fenced area in picture 11 can be St. Nicholas Church.

¹⁷⁹ It is defined in the yearbook of 1893-1894 that, construction of a train station had changed a lot in the economic position of Ankara through the increase of commercial and financial activities (Koç: 2014, 533).

station, İstasyon Road¹⁸⁰ became the most important road with its role in connecting the city to the outer world. Since the area between the train station and Taşhan was a huge empty lot filled with cemeteries, Ulus Square was the first spot of Ankara for the visitors approaching the city from the station. Additionally, Taşhan, being a huge building for its time, presented a greeting for the passengers coming to Ankara, both by its appearance and by its accommodation facilities (Yalım: 2001, 70). By this way, a new notion of “gate” was developed for the first time in Ankara (Yalım: 2017, 173) after the city gates of the 16th-17th centuries. Hence, how it is presented to the visitors and foreigners became an important issue.

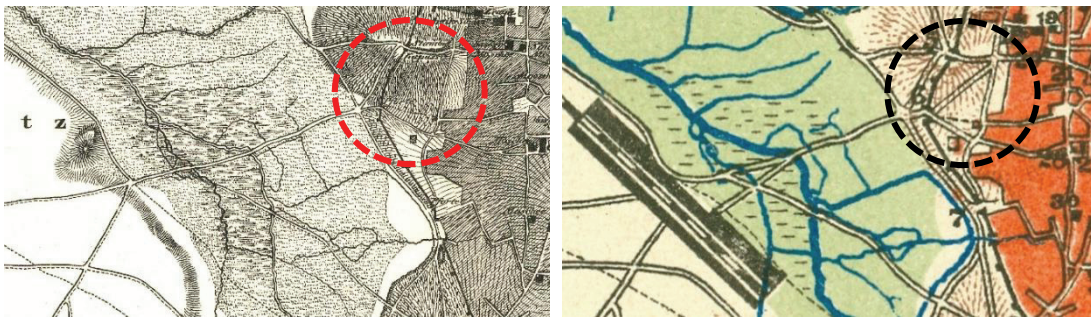


Figure 80 Comparison of the road network **a.** 1839 Von Vincke Plan **b.** Emergence of İstasyon Road after the opening of train station, updated version of the same plan by Edmund Naumann (1893: 132)

The opening of İstasyon Road had an important impact on the visual characteristics of Ulus Square. While approaching the city from the station through İstasyon Road; panoramic view of Ankara was welcoming the visitors. Abidin Paşa as the governor of Ankara, was aware of this view and the potential of Castle and Ulus Square as an attraction point from long distance. He demanded a budget from the Sultan to paint or plaster houses with white colour for improving visual aspects of the city right before the opening of train station in 1891. At first, before the opening of train station in 1891, he demanded a budget from the Sultan explaining;

Most of the houses in Ankara are composed of black mud-brick. As you know, after the opening of the train station there will be a lot of foreigners visiting Ankara. From a long distance, these houses appear as if they were burned down, and this image is not proper for presenting Ankara to foreigners. Thus, we need a budget for painting or plastering houses with white colour.¹⁸¹

¹⁸⁰ The path previously connecting Karaoğlan and İstanbul Gate was extended towards the station and called as İstasyon Road after the opening of station.

¹⁸¹ Ovalıoğlu et al. (2014: 131-132).

Right after this demand, it is clearly seen in the photos taken during 1890s that most of the houses that are visible from İstasyon Road – especially the ones surrounding the Castle – were painted with white colour. Additionally, while depicting Ankara Colman von der Goltz also mentioned that the only aspect that caught his attention was the houses around castle with their white coloured front facades (1896: 220). Also Elliot, who was working for English Government mentioned that most of the houses were painted in white just after he had visited Ankara in 1893. Like Goltz, he also noted that this work conducted by the governor of Ankara for presenting the city in a better way (Şimşir: 2006, 45). On the other hand, even though governors' main aim was to increase the visual quality of the city, some other visitors of Ankara were interpreting this attempt in a negative way. For instance, accompanied by a committee from İstanbul, Halil Edhem¹⁸² visited Ankara for the opening ceremony of the train station. When he saw the Castle area from the train station, he expressed that (cited in İnan: 2013, 352);

The governor of that period did an over-officious work; due to his will to display the Castle to the ones coming from İstanbul, he had the highest bastion dyed. When I saw this catastrophe, I was nonplussed.



Figure 81 a. Ottoman Coat of Arm painted on the wall of Castle in 1889, second part of Guillaume Berggren's panoramic photo ((Fonds Paris Collection) **b.** Remaining parts of the painting after it is covered with white dye (Cangır: 2007, 1149)

¹⁸² Historian, archaeologist and a specialist in numismatics (for detailed information see; Halil Edhem Hatıra Kitabı: 2013).

The second proposal that governor prepared was specifically concentrating on Castle. He ordered a 40m² Ottoman Coat of Arms to be painted on the western walls of the castle that can easily be seen from İstasyon direction (**Figure 81a, b**). It was painted next to the entrance door as the most suitable place that can easily be seen from İstasyon direction, since it was governors' aim to attract visitors of Ankara's attention on the painting during their way to the city (Yavuztürk: 2001, 223). As a result, this part of the castle turned into a landmark for the city, and from that time on it was called as Akkale/ White Castle (Mamboury: 2014, 189). Consequently, the view of Castle and Ankara from İstasyon Road was a visual aspect that gained value during the last decade of the 19th century.

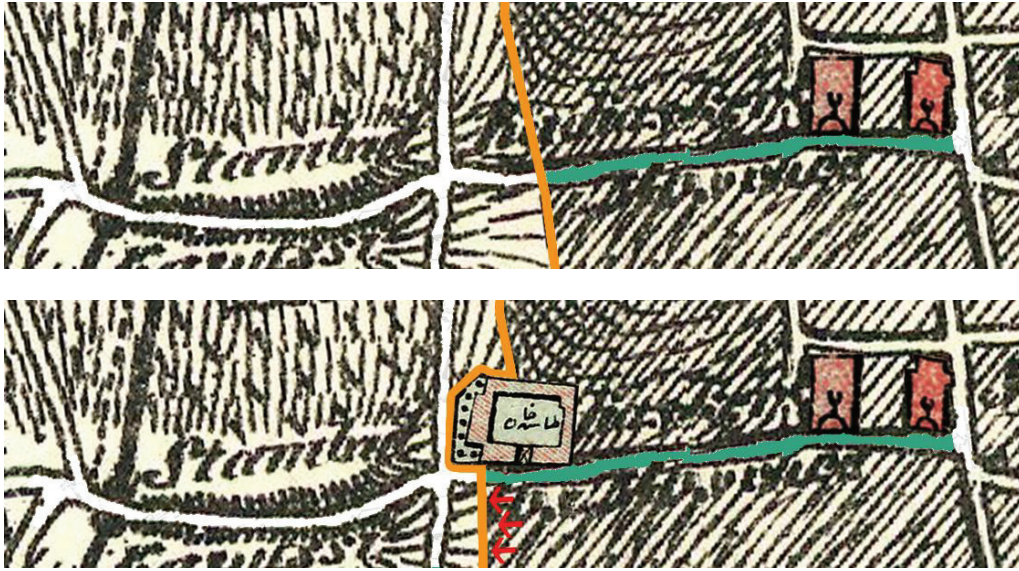


Figure 82 a. Karaoğlan in 1839, before construction of Taşhan **b.** Extension of Karaoğlan during 1890's, after the construction of Taşhan (Von Vincke's Map of Angora is used as the base for the figures, orange line indicates the boundary of built areas)

As mentioned before, with the opening of train station, most of the buildings located at Karaoğlan and Ulus Square – previously used for agricultural commerce and storage – began to be replaced with modern shops, cafes, restaurants and hotels. Moreover, the construction of Taşhan at the western periphery of Karaoğlan led to the extension of the street to the west (**Figure 82a, b**). With this shift, Karaoğlan started to become a centre for social activities additional to its commercial function. On the other hand, accommodation close to commercial and administrative centres of Ankara was still a major problem. Between 1892 and 1899, several hans were constructed especially

around Karaoğlan including Şakir Bey Hanı and Kayseri Han¹⁸³ (two of the important hans constructed next to Taşhan as attached buildings).

The physical characteristics of Karaoğlan and the transformation of buildings aligned on the street can be obtained from a postcard from 1890s.¹⁸⁴ By comparing this postcard with Guillaume Berggren's photo (1889), it is possible to follow changes in the physical aspects of Karaoğlan within a decade (**Figure 83a-d**). While Berggren's photo shows modest one-two storey buildings aligned to Taşhan, these buildings were demolished in 1890s and more elaborated ones like Şakir Bey Hanı, Kayseri Han and other two storey buildings were neatly constructed next to Taşhan. Additionally, a small garden surrounded by a fence was implemented on the west side of Taşhan.

Secondly, on Berggren's photo, the area across the main entrance of Taşhan was an elevated empty open space. It can be seen on the right side of the photo that people are sitting and lying in this elevated open space. On the other hand, during 1890s this land was also used for the construction of new buildings. Starting from an elevated garden with stones (on the right side of the postcard), two storey buildings were aligned next to each other.

¹⁸³ Although several sources mention the construction date of these two *hans* as 1902, with a detailed analysis of urban development around Ulus Square it can be concluded that they were erected earlier than Darülmualimin. Since Karaoğlan is the most important commercial street of Ankara, new developments mainly occurred around this street. However, decision of the place where Darülmualimin was constructed proves that, the land around Karaoğlan is occupied with other buildings and therefore it was constructed on southern parts of these buildings. Because of this reason, these two *hans* should be constructed before 1899.

¹⁸⁴ Although the date was labelled on the postcard as 1905, it is clear that the photo was taken in an earlier time. Since road works on widening of Karaoğlan and erection of Darülmualimin were not started yet, it is assumed that the photo was taken during 1890s.

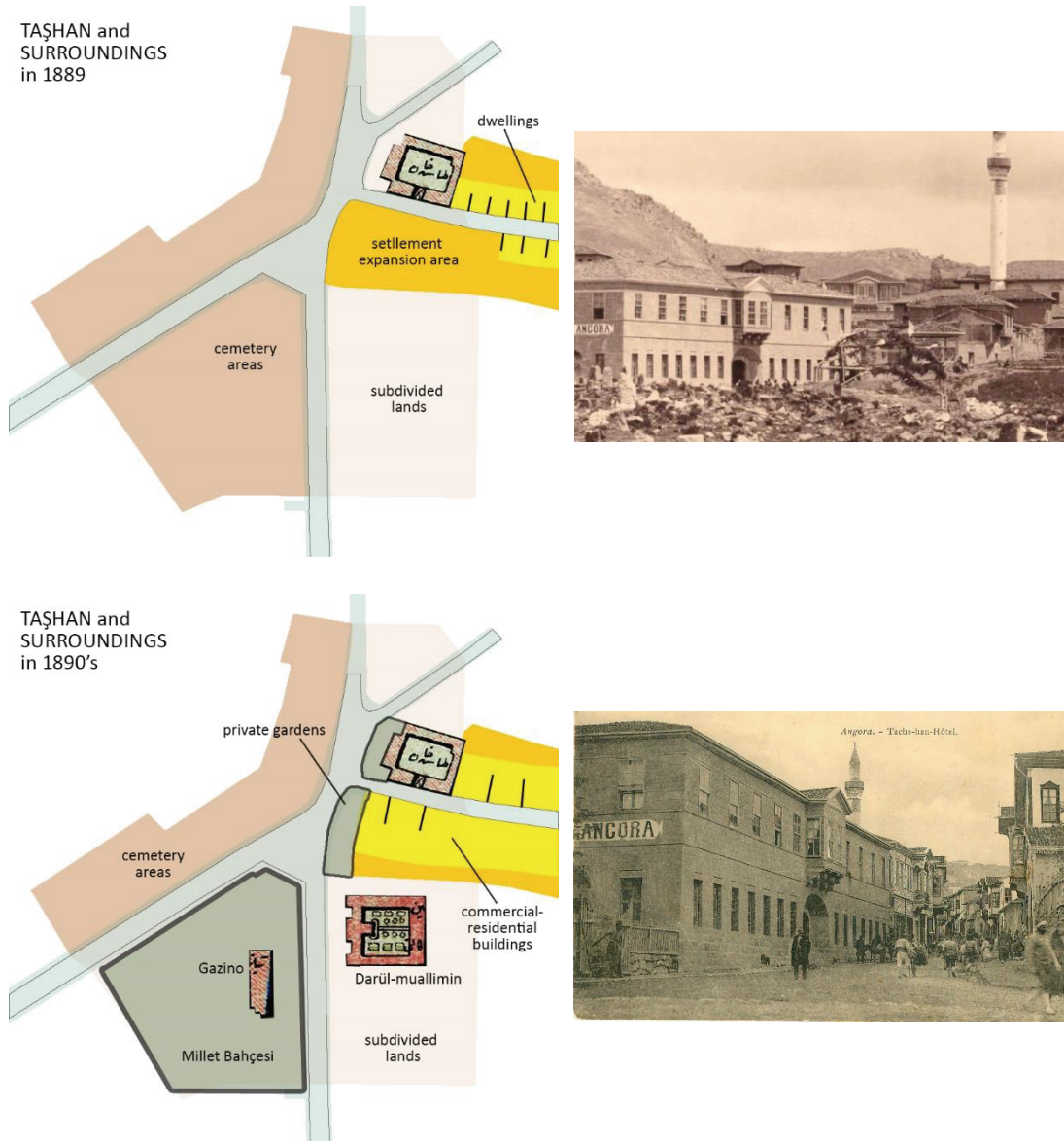


Figure 83 Transformation of Karaoğlan, Taşhan and surroundings between 1889 and 1890s **a.** Visualization of the information gathered from the 3rd part of Guillaume Berggren's photo, 1889 **b.** Detailed view of the third part of Guillaume Berggren's photo, 1889 (Fonds Paris Collection) **c.** Visualization of the information gathered from the postcard of 1890s **d.** Postcard giving detailed information on Taşhan and Karaoğlan, 1890s (VEKAM: 0975)

This postcard is the only document defining the physical features of Karaoğlan and the eastern parts of Ulus Square in last decade of the century. Moreover, it is possible to identify surface characteristics of Karaoğlan in the postcard. It was paved with cobblestone and its width was approximately 8-9 m long (sidewalks 1.5 m, vehicle way 5-6 m). Sidewalks had already been paved on the street and this clearly shows the priority of Karaoğlan for Ankara during 1890s. This postcard indicates that works for

widening the roads had already been started, Karaoğlan was widened out towards south and improved with a new pavement, sidewalk and buildings were constructed on both sides.

Another important proposal in the last decade of 19th century was the formation of a public garden/park in Ankara. *Millet Bahçesi*/Millet Garden (Nation Garden) was an idea developed in Europe and it spread to Ottoman cities and eventually to Ankara parallel to modernisation movements. After the failure of the first attempt¹⁸⁵, in 1895 the area called *Beylik* located on the northeast of İstasyon Road (in the location of today's *100. Yıl Çarşısı*/Bazaar) was chosen for a new garden (**Figure 84a, Figure 83b**). With its green areas and the pool in the middle, this garden was like an oasis for the residents of Ankara (Memlük: 2009, 73). Additionally, Mustafa Tevfik Efendi Hanı located within the area of Millet Garden, was rearranged as a *gazino*¹⁸⁶ and was used by the residents regularly (**Figure 84b, Figure 78**). Depending on the request of the user group, it functioned alternately either as a gazino, a restaurant or a *kahvehane*/coffehouse (Hüseyin: 1998, 46). With these developments, first green public open space of Ankara was formed at Ulus Square.

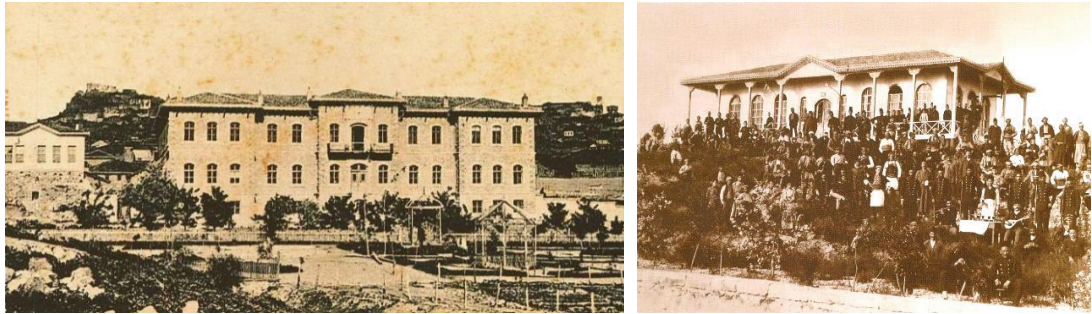


Figure 84 a. Darülmualimin and Millet Garden (VEKAM: ACF0037) **b.** Gazino in Millet Garden, with its staff, 1893 (Serveti Fünun: 03.08.1893, 328)

At the end of the century, the decline of Ottoman Empire had already been accelerated and foreign banks mostly charged to collect Ottoman debts were opened in every part of the empire. Accordingly, on the west of the road connecting Ulus Square and Kızıl

¹⁸⁵ The first attempt to implement a garden in the city was on an area where today's Kurtuluş Savaşı Müzesi is located. Due to various reasons, *Atik Millet Bahçesi* /Precious Nation Garden was not succeeded. For detailed information see Aydın et al. (2005: 255).

¹⁸⁶ A public building that is used as a music hall with dining and drinks.

Bey Complex, *Düyun-u Umumiye-Reji/* Administration of Public Dept¹⁸⁷ was constructed next to Kızılbey Mosque. The opening of this building spurred financial and transportation activities around Ulus Square and increased the number of building constructions. Right after that, on the southern parts of the square, Darülmualimin¹⁸⁸ – the second monumental building defining the boundary of Ulus Square – was erected in 1899 (**Figure 84a**). It can easily be identified from **Figure 83b** and **Figure 83d** that, before the construction of Darülmualimin, the area between Karaoğlan and Darülmualimin had already filled with houses within a decade.¹⁸⁹ This is the reason why Darülmualimin was erected not at the centre of the square but on its southern parts. By comparing these two figures with **Figure 84a**, it is possible to trace the transformation regarding the physical/spatial characteristics of the area even before Darülmualimin had been constructed.¹⁹⁰

The implementation of a public garden and construction of several public buildings around, indicate the popularity of this location and with the opening of Darülmualimin, this interest also begun to expand to the southern parts (Yalım: 2017, 174). After its opening, the southern parts of Ulus Square turned into the main expansion area of the city. Parallel to the expansion of the city, most of the remaining parts of third circuit of the city walls had been demolished and road works on east-west and north-south directions increased accordingly at the end of 19th century.

¹⁸⁷ Although there is no information on the construction date of this building, it is known that Düyun-u Umumiye in Ankara collected taxes in 1892 (Consulate reports of Henry Alfred Cumberbatch in 1893, cited in Aydın et al.: 2005, 243).

¹⁸⁸ Teacher's training school for secondary education. Although there is detailed information on Darülmualimin in the year books of Ankara in 1900 (Koç: 2014, 586) 1902 (Koç: 2014, 677) and 1907 (Koç: 2014, 762); the year book of 1894 (Koç: 2014, 480-569) did not give information on such a building/ school. Additionally, Bağlum states that, Darülmualimin had established in 1897 (1992: 128). Therefore, for this study a period between 1897 and 1900 is accepted as the construction date of this building.

¹⁸⁹ **Figure 83d**: On the right side of the picture it is seen that southern parts of Karaoğlan – which were previously used as open space – were filled with new houses. **Figure 84a**: On the left side of the picture, it is identified that there is a two storey house located next to Darülmualimin (on the northern part). On Von Vincke's Map, this area was labelled as an empty field, whereas on this picture it is easily identified that there are several buildings located within the area.

¹⁹⁰ As it is identified from the figures that this area had been already filled with houses. It could be the case that why Darülmualimin was constructed not exactly at the intersection of Karaoğlan and Kızılbey Road but on an area located a bit further south.

To sum up, by the end of the 19th century there was an increasing interest in Karaoğlan and Ulus Square in terms of the evolution of street pattern, changes in physical aspects and distribution of functions. It is important to highlight that widening of roads with pavement and pedestrian ways had definitely changed the characteristics of Ulus Square. A further analysis of Ulus Square and its larger context can be derived from the photos taken during this period and memoirs of citizens of Ankara:

- The road (today's Atatürk Boulevard) between Ulus Square and Kızılbaş Mosque started to receive its form with the construction of buildings like Darülmualimin, Düyun-u Umumiye (**Figure 85a**) and other private buildings. Additionally, the repair works of St. Nicholas Church – which had burned down in early the 19th century – was completed in 1873¹⁹¹ as the metropolitan church of Ancyra (Moeisides: 1905, 415).¹⁹² In compliance with these activities, the road was widened, paved and planted with trees on both sides. As a result, the small path depicted in Von Vincke's 1839 Map evolved into one of the main axes of Ankara and started to be called as Kızılbaş Road¹⁹³ (**Figure 85b**).

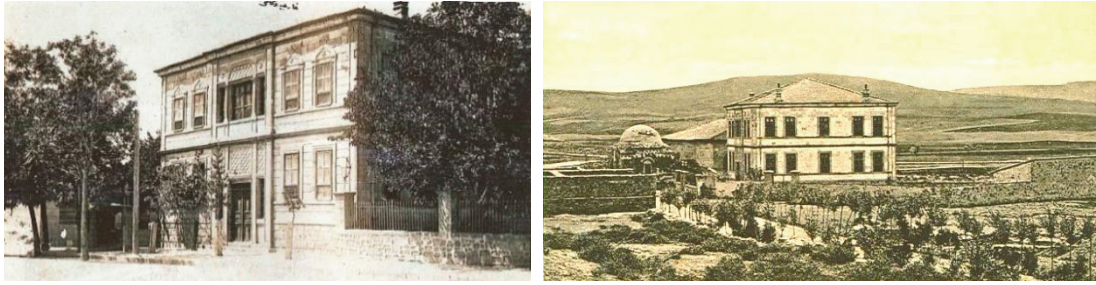


Figure 85 a. Düyun-u Umumiye, 1923 (Cangır: 2007, 1236) **b.** The importance of Kızılbaş Road increased and it was planted with trees (VEKAM: 2439)

- At the end of 19th century, carts were used for inner city transportation (Tunçer: 2001, 72). Accordingly, main roads such as İstasyon Road (today's Cumhuriyet Road), Karaoğlan and Kızılbaş Road were repaired and improved for a better cart transportation.

¹⁹¹ Büyükyıldız states that; according to the records of Ankara Metropolitan, the church burnt down on a period between 1793 and 1810, and repaired in 1877 (2008: 112).

¹⁹² Most likely before the erection of the church of St Nicholas, the church of St Clement was used as the metropolitan/cathedral church of Ankyra (Moeisides: 1905, 415). This church was located on the *Yukarı Yüz* district, and lost its significance due to the economic collapse of the area.

¹⁹³ Even though it is highly possible that this road had already been called as *Kızılbaş Yolu* starting from the period Kızılbaş Mosque was constructed on the site (13th century), there is no information on this issue before the 19th century.

- Even though Ulus Square's importance for the city had increased with the construction of buildings like Taşhan, Darülmualimin and the opening of Millet Garden, it was still in its primary stages. Ulus Square was dusty during summer times and muddy on winters.

- Andreas David Mordtmann who visited the city in 1859 mentioned that Paşa Sarayı was composed of several buildings, all of which were in a really poor physical condition (Pınar: 1998, 78). With the increase in administrative activities in Ankara, Paşa Sarayı became utterly inadequate and a new building called *Vilayet/ Hükümet Konağı* and *Zaptiye Nezareti/ Directorate of Police* (**Figure 86a, c**) was constructed at Hükümet Square in 1882 (Aktüre: 2001, 53). These buildings further emphasised the boundaries of the square and increased its importance for Ankara in terms of administrative activities.¹⁹⁴

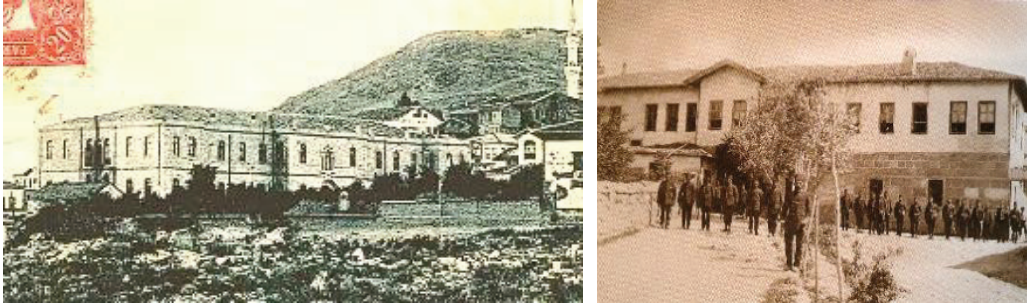


Figure 86 a. *Vilayet* Building, 1897 (Cangır: 2007, 44) **b.** Directorate of Police, 1895 (Aktürk: 2006, 6)

- A path between Taşhan and Military Barrack was not defined in Von Vincke's Ankara Map of 1839. At the end of the 19th century, it is clearly visible that a narrow street (today's Çam Street) between the north of Taşhan and Hükümet Square was opened to connect Hükümet Square to İstasyon Road through Çankırı Road (**Figure 87a, b**).

¹⁹⁴ In 1893, governor demanded a budget for construction of a new building in the place of Paşa Sarayı and additional buildings (*kıraathane*/coffee house, pharmacy, *lokanta*/restaurant and other small shops) on a land within Ahi District (Ovalıoğlu et al.: 2014, 60-64).



Figure 87 Different views of the street between Çankırı Road and Hükümet Square **a.** (Cangır: 2007, 1102) **b.** (Cangır: 2007, 184)

- The empty open space located at the end of Karaoğlan started to have a more definite form with the construction of Taşhan, Millet Garden and Darülmualimin. Even if the space surrounding Taşhan did not have the spatial aspects of an urban square, due to the increase of its public function, this small open space started to be named as “Taşhan Square” at the end of the 19th century.¹⁹⁵ Even though it had an earth surface, as the extension of Karaoğlan Taşhan Square was used regularly by men spending their leisure time strolling in groups and chatting (Sarioğlu: 1995, 186).

The emergence of Ulus Square is directly related to the changes in administrative, financial and social life of Ankara and its impacts on urban space. With the effect of *Tanzimat* reforms, there was a conscious intention to pull the city beyond its boundaries for the sake of 'modernization', and the new institutional buildings, the new roads, a square were all the manifestations of this ideology (Yalın: 2001, 82). Ulus Square and its close vicinity were the core of these manifestations. Within this context, paths that are crossing at Ulus Square had transformed into more definite streets, the first green area of Ankara was implemented, major roads were widened, paved and planted with trees, and several monumental buildings were constructed within Ulus Square and its larger context. Even though Tahtakale and *Balık Pazarı* had continued to function with commercial activities, Karaoğlan and Ulus Square was transformed into the main commercial and leisure centre of Ankara. And most importantly, two urban squares emerged: Hükümet Square and Taşhan Square (**Table 4**). Although their

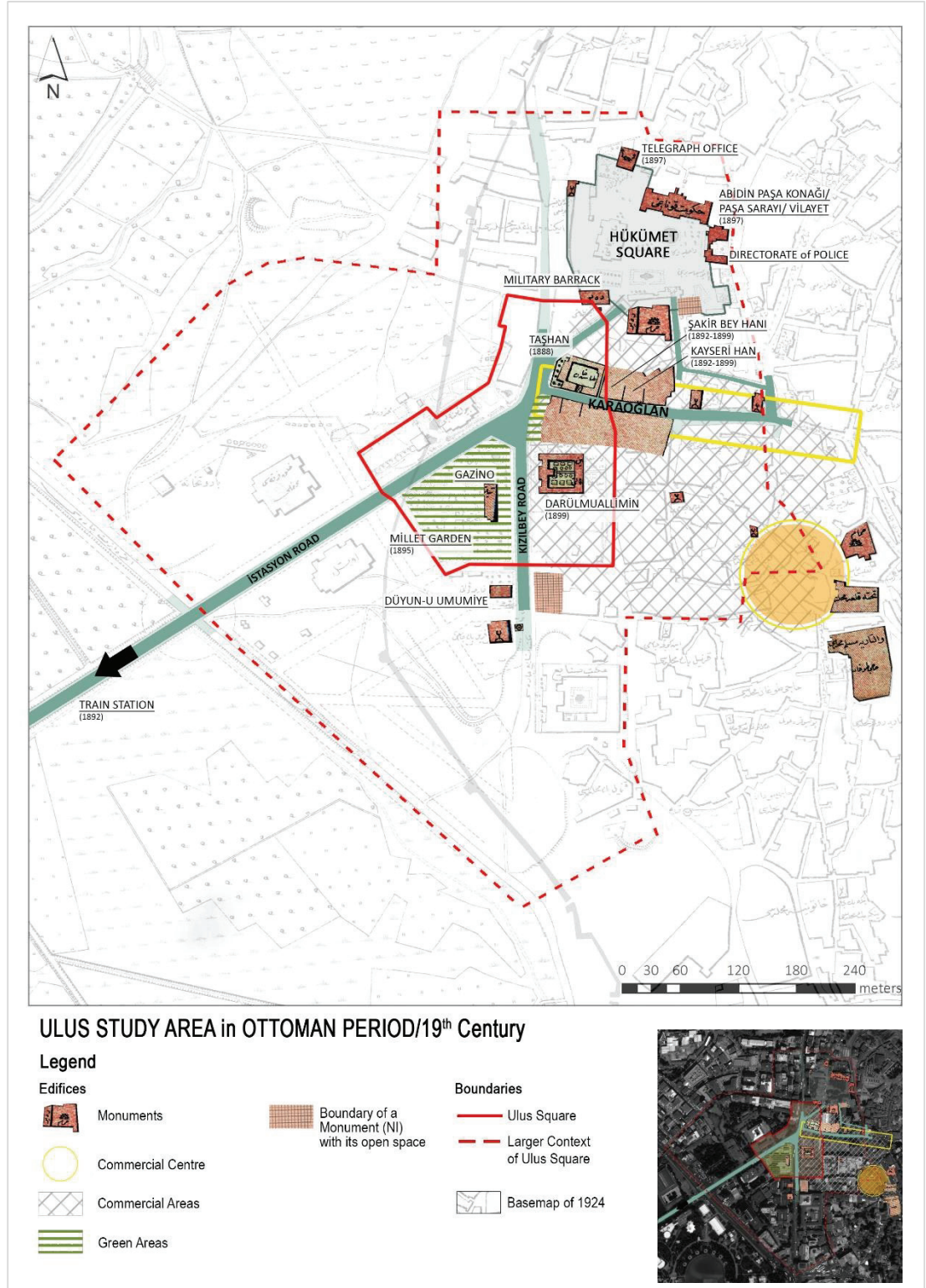
¹⁹⁵ Even though Taşhan Square cannot be defined as a public square in terms of its physical characteristics, at the end of 19th Century the meaning of this space had completely changed and it was started to be perceived and called as a square by the public.

emergence process is completely different¹⁹⁶, their formation had increased daily usage by the public and brought vitality to the area (**Figure 88a, b**).

Table 4 Stages of evolution for Ulus Square during the 19th century

1839		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hükümet Square started to be used for administrative facilities - Karaoğlu used for commercial activities - A narrow street between Karaoğlu and Hükümet Square - A path between Istanbul Gate and Karaoğlu (west-east axis) - A path between İğneli Mosque and Kızılbaş Mosque (north-south axis) - Limits of settlement areas
1889		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - With the construction of additional buildings, Hükümet Square became the administrative centre - Construction of Taşhan at Ulus Square - Mustafa Tefrik Efendi Hani at the south west of Ulus Square
1895		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Opening of Train Station - Opening of İstasyon Road between Karaoğlu and Train Station - Road works for Karaoğlu and other primary roads - Karaoğlu and its close vicinity became the main commercial area - Implementation of Millet Garden on the main commercial area - Adaptation of Mustafa Tefrik Efendi Hani into Gazino - Construction of Düyün-u Umumiye at the south of Ulus Square
1899		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Construction of additional buildings, more definite space for Hükümet Square - Road works for improving İstasyon Road - Construction of Darülmülmin at Ulus Square - Improvement of Kızılbaş Road - A narrow street between Taşhan and Kızılbaş Mosque - Improvement of Cankırı Road - New buildings on both sides of Karaoğlu and Hükümet Square (Kızıtaşı Road) - The open space in front of Taşhan named as TAŞHAN SQUARE

¹⁹⁶ Hükümet Square was the outcome of the urban regulations after the declaration of *Tanzimat*. Governors were encouraged to open squares, gardens and public open spaces within their cities, and accordingly Hükümet Square was one of the main actions of the governor of Ankara. On the other hand, the emergence of Taşhan Square was completely related to economic and social factors that had changed the city with the opening of train station. The formation of the square was a spontaneous process that evolved through time with the construction of additional buildings to the area. As a result, it can be concluded that, Hükümet Square was the product of the empire's will, whereas Taşhan Square had emerged according to local needs.



3.2.2. Taşhan Square in 1900-1920

At the beginning of the 20th century, negative impacts of the political and economic problems were spread among every part of the Ottoman Empire. After the collapse of local industry and artisanry, early 20th century had become the period of increasing foreign debts, financial bankruptcy and the European seizure of Ottoman revenues through *Düyun-u Umumiye* (Timur: 1987, 9). It was an agonising period for the Empire that, most of the cities and villages were in poor physical condition. As being the administrative centre of Ankara Province, problems of the empire accelerated the decline of Ankara that had already begun in the *Yukarı Yüz* in the 19th century and expanded during following years. Ahmet Şerif who was a journalist for *Tanin Gazetesi*/ Reverberation Newspaper visited Ankara in 1909 and described the city as a big village with full of mediocre houses and monumental buildings (1977: 91-96).

Additionally, Governor Reşit Bey (the governor of Ankara in early periods of the 20th century) described the city again as a big village surrounded by dark coloured and demolished cemetery areas. He also added that apart from one district the rest of the city was in a poor condition (Müderrisoğlu: 1993, 21). This relatively better part was the area covering Taşhan Square, Karaoğlan and Hükümet Square. These areas were slightly less deteriorated and continued to function regularly. Additionally, Fuat Börekcî¹⁹⁷ described Taşhan as one of the most important business districts of Ankara in the early 20th century. He added that the visitors from other cities first stop by at Taşhan and then continue on to Karaoğlan, Atpazarı, Samanpazarı and Saraçlar to accomplish their main purpose of visiting Ankara (cited in Bağlum: 1992, 36). Moreover, according to the memoirs of Vehbi Koç, before the First World War whenever the governor gets out from the Vilayet and starts to walk through the main commercial street – presumably Karaoğlan – everyone gathers on the street to salute him (1983: 9). This implies a lively area that was still utilised by the most important figures of the period and by the public too.

¹⁹⁷ Lawyer Fuat Börekcî the son of Rıfat Börekcî (mufti of Ankara) and a member of one of the most well-known families of Ankara, Börekcizade. He was born in 1911 in Ankara.

Furthermore, it is also possible to analyse the importance of Karaoğlan and Taşhan for gatherings and meetings through Orhan Karaveli's book. He explained the day his grandfather Halil Efe, the head of Seymenler¹⁹⁸, and his group were getting prepared for a special parade in 1908, as follows (2009: 32-35);

For the second time, Meşrutiyet/ Constitution was promulgated. For the people, this exactly meant '*Hürriyet/ Freedom*' that for a long time they were waiting for... Soon after, the head of Seymenler decided to organise *Seymen Alayı/ Seymen Regiment* in the honour of *Hürriyet*... After organising every single detail, Halil Efe rode his horse through the rough streets of Ankara and reached the meeting/starting point of the Regiment, 'Taşhan'. Everything was ready, and the group was waiting for him to command: 'Walk!'

Since most of the commercial, administrative, social and political activities were carried out around Taşhan Square, Karaoğlan and Hükümet Square, for a long period it was only possible to see the construction of a new building or repair of a traditional one only in these areas. In addition to the repair of Telegraph Office at Hükümet Square in 1902 (**Figure 89a, b**) and Hallaç Mahmud Masjid in 1905, the construction of *Mekteb-i Sanayi/ The School of Industry* in 1905 (**Figure 89c**) at the end of Kızılbey Road proves that the heart of the city had moved to Taşhan Square and its close vicinity.¹⁹⁹ After the construction of this building, the road renamed as *Mekteb-i Sanayi*. Consequently, the remaining parts of the third circuit of the city walls was almost demolished and Ankara started to become an open city again (Mihçioğlu Bilgi: 2010, 50).



Figure 89 a. Telegraph Office before repair, the late 19th century (Aktürk: 2006, 4) **b.** Telegraph Office after repair, 1905 (Cangır: 2007, 28) **c.** Mekteb-i Sanayi and Mekteb-i Sanayi Road (Cangır: 2007, 1244)

¹⁹⁸ Originally dated back to Ahis Period (13-14th centuries), *Seymenler* was a voluntary group composed of notable figures of the city. The head of this group also had a special role on administrative issues of the city. For centuries, they were the main figures of fests and gatherings with their ceremonial parades displaying traditional costumes and dances (for more information see Özaslan: 2012, 131-145).

¹⁹⁹ Because of economic problems and lack of students, the school could only stay open for four years. During his Ankara visit in 1909, Ahmet Şerif mentions that this school is in a bad physical condition. Windows are broken and the school is closed. Is it possible not to sadden the short and tragic story of this school" (1977: 92, 93).

The opening of Mekteb-i Sanayi created physical and perceptual changes for the road itself: it was widened and elongated to southern direction and started to be called as Mekteb-i Sanayi Road (**Figure 89c**). On the other hand, these alterations also affected Taşhan Square indirectly that in the following years physical and visual aspects of the square started to be transformed. By being located at the intersection of main roads – İstasyon, Mekteb-i Sanayi and Karaoğlan – Taşhan Square became the centre of the city and started to be utilised more frequently.

As mentioned previously, Taşhan was used as the main gathering point for public activities. The Governor Reşit Bey, also recognized the importance of Taşhan Square as the main entrance to the city from the train station. He organized the space and improve its physical conditions in 1911-1912.²⁰⁰ He explained his activities as (cited in Müderrisoğlu: 1993, 22);

- The widening and repair of İstasyon Road which was in poor condition.
- The construction of a stone wall around Millet Garden (**Figure 90a**), a timber framed pavilion (probably used as a theatre²⁰¹) (**Figure 90b**) and planting new trees to increase the importance of the garden for the city as a leisure time area. During the nights, this garden was also illuminated by kerosene lamps.
- The opening of Taşhan Square²⁰² (**Figure 90c**).

²⁰⁰ Müderrisoğlu mentions 1907 as the year Governor Reşit Bey's duty in Ankara was started (1993: 21). On the other hand by citing sources of The Prime Minister's Ottoman Archives İ-DH V:20 T:1329-B-16; ESA D: M0622993-11993, Gemici and Şahin stated that the governor worked in Ankara between 23.July.1911 and 1.October.1912 (2007: 6). Additionally Şapolyo also dated Governor Reşit Bey's activities in Ankara for a period after 2. *Meşrutiyet*/ Second Constitution that was promulgated on 24.07.1908 (1969: 161). Thus, for this study, 1911-1912 is considered as the governance period of Governor Reşit Bey in Ankara.

²⁰¹ A theatre play that was adapted from the play of Aka Gündüz called *Muhterem Katil*, was organized at the pavilion located in Millet Garden during the early 20th century (Erdoğan: 1965, 41).

²⁰² Although the open space in front of Taşhan was named as Taşhan Square at the end of 19th century, this space started to function as a public square after the works done by Governor Reşit Bey. Both Şapolyo (1971: 57), Çakır (2012) and Yalım (2017: 173-174) mentioned that Governor Reşit Bey had opened Taşhan Square during his governance.

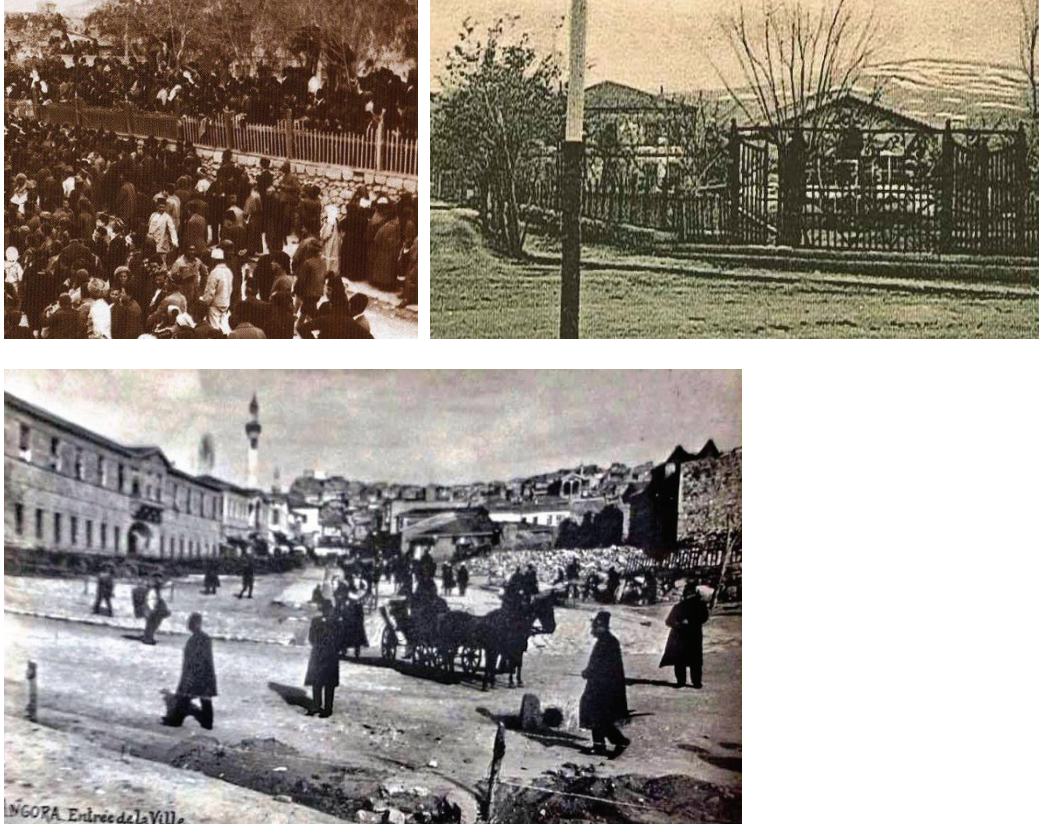


Figure 90 a. Millet Garden encircled with a stone fence, 1920 (TA: 2017) b. A timber framed pavilion at Millet Garden, the early 20th century (Cangır: 2007, 38) c. Taşhan Square, the early 20th century (TA: 2017)²⁰³

Parallel to the widening of İstasyon Road and the opening of Taşhan Square, the first privately owned car²⁰⁴ was seen on the roads of Ankara in 1912 (Kınacı cited in Bağlum: 1992, 72-73). One of the notable figures of Ankara recalled that day in his memoirs as (cited in Kemal: 1983, 145-146);

I never forget that the first automobile was brought to Ankara by a Catholic merchant called Arslangüller. Whole Ankara gathered in front of Taşhan. When the automobile started to carry people to the station, everybody was gaping with full astonishment.

²⁰³ These ruins belonged to the buildings that were located on the southern part of Karaoğlan and demolished during widening of Karaoğlan and opening of Taşhan Square. It can also be identified from the photo that, Karaoğlan was widened to the southern direction, nearly to Darülmualimin.

²⁰⁴ Even though before 1912 there were several attempts by military forces to drive their trucks at the roads of Ankara, because of limited conditions, they could only drive until the barracks and couldn't enter the city (Halim Kınacı, cited in Bağlum: 1992, 72).

Taşhan Square was located at the intersection of major roads and a great importance was attached to the square after the works conducted by Governor Reşit Bey (Şapolyo: 1971, 57). Boundaries of Taşhan Square were enlarged catalysing a series of events in the area. Among them, the most significant one was the construction of a building for *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*/ The Committee of Union and Progress in 1915-1916 (**Figure 91a, b**).²⁰⁵ It was a modest building constructed in an area – that was previously used as a cemetery – located at the end of İstasyon Road, on the west of Taşhan.²⁰⁶ With the construction of this building, Taşhan Square's western edge became clearer and it had a more definite form. On the other hand, *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti* cannot be evaluated only with its physical attributes that symbolizes architectural trends of the period, but also with its impact on the daily life of the square.

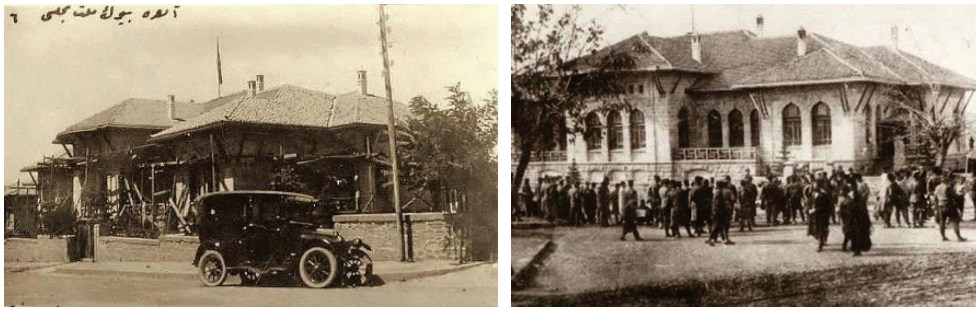


Figure 91 a. b. İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti Building (TA 2017)

The ideology of *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti* was mainly focusing on building a common history that Turkish identity was based upon, and the evolution of a new language that was constructed through the images of this common past (Yalım: 2017, 176). With the construction of the building, an ideological meaning was attached to the open space around the building that would later affect the perception and usage of the square. Concurrently the name of the hotel in Taşhan was changed from Hotel Angora to *Meşrutiyet Hotel*/ Constitution Hotel²⁰⁷ as a result of the efforts of the *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti* to imprint their own ideology to the square (Yalım: 2001, 71). Hence, for the first time an ideological meaning was attached to Taşhan Square

²⁰⁵ The building was designed by a Turkish architect Salim Bey and the construction process was organized by a military architect Hasip Bey. Construction of the building was started in 1915, continued for several years and partially opened in 1916. For detailed information see Şapolyo (1944: 246).

²⁰⁶ Before the construction of this building, at the same location there was a cottage owned by a dervish, who was collecting money from foreigners that enter the city from İstasyon Road (Şapolyo: 1969, 6-7).

²⁰⁷ During his visit to Ankara in 1921, Streit used the name Constitution Hotel for this hotel (2011: 53).

through the function of the buildings and its main users. Consequently, from this day onwards, Taşhan Square became a critical spot in the spatial representation of the governing ideologies (Yalım: 2001, 73).

Another important building of the early 19th century was a bar called *Fresko/ Fresco*, located at the southern corner of Millet Garden (Tanyer: 2009, 137, Kaftangil cited in Gülekli and Onaran: 1973, 169). On those days, for the Muslim residents of Ankara, it was not common to own a place that men accompanied by women could drink and entertain together. With the efforts of the owner Fresko Bey²⁰⁸, a new type of entertainment activity was introduced to Ankara. Before Fresko, Millet Garden and its surrounding areas (there was a gazino – transformed from Mustafa Tevfik Efendi Hanı – and a club house on the top floor of *Düyun-u Umumiye*) was used only by men during daytime. With the opening of Fresko, Taşhan Square and its close vicinity was started to be utilised during nights more frequently.²⁰⁹

Starting from 1910s with the widening of the square by Governor Reşit Bey and later on continued with the construction of İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti Building on the west and Fresko on the south, the physical, functional and visual aspects of Taşhan Square and its meaning started to transform gradually. Even though previously, residents referred to this open space as a square, it was difficult to define it as a functioning square with a definite form and edge. On the other hand, after these interventions Taşhan Square formed a clear boundary that was defined by İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti Building on the west, Millet Garden and Fresko on the south-west/ south, Darülmualimin on the east and Taşhan on the northeast (**Figure 92**). From this period onwards, the square can easily be defined as a public open space with an irregular geometric form framed by monumental buildings and a public garden. Additionally daily usage intensity of Taşhan Square also increased. Consequently, the square started to function as one of the main public open spaces of the city utilised for meetings and gatherings (**Figure 96a, b**).

²⁰⁸ Fresko Bey was a Jewish and women employees were all Hungarian” (Kısakürek: 1999, 40).

²⁰⁹ Vali Reşit Bey’s idea on implementing kerosene lamps at Millet Garden also had an influence on this increase.

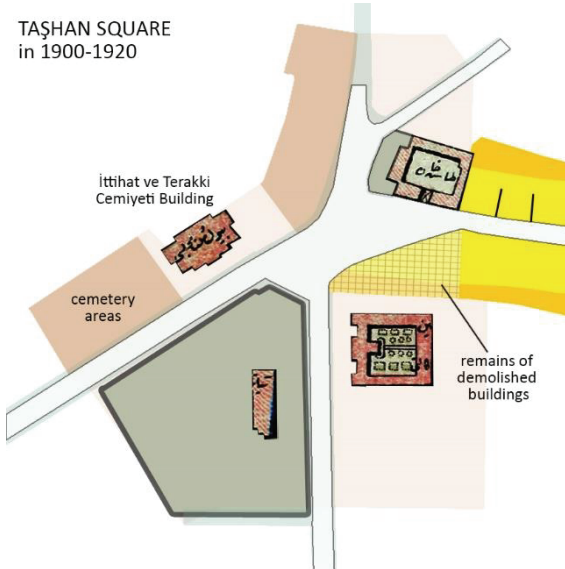


Figure 92 Schematic view of Taşhan Square during 1910s

Parallel to these changes in and around Taşhan Square, the fire of 1916, which had started in *Yukarı Yüz* and expanded all around the city, burnt down a considerable amount of residential and commercial buildings in the area (**Figure 93a-c**). In addition to the demolishment of buildings located around *Yukarı Yüz*, St. Nicholas Church at Mekteb-i Sanayi Road also burned down (Esin and Etöz: 2015, 182). Even though this fire dramatically changed the physical and functional aspects of the *Yukarı Yüz* region of the city, its impacts expanded all around the city and changed its physical, functional and socio-cultural aspects.



Figure 93 After the fire of 1916 **a.** In front of the citadel (A. Yüksel Archive) **b.** Castle and the lower parts of the citadel (A. Yüksel Archive) **c.** *Uzunçarşılı* in 1924 (A. Yüksel Archive)

As a result of the fire, upper parts of the city that had already been suffering from commercial demolition throughout previous century, started to lose its residential value too. After the fire of 1916, the drastic change in the appearance of the *Yukarı Yüz* and Castle area, also affected visual characteristics of the city. In her memories,

Nezihe Araz remembers her father – a member of an established family of Ankara, Bulgurluzade – depicting Ankara of those days as (1998: 25);

Those narrow streets, dark, without light. Hills that were previously defined as pinetum now became barren, without a tree. Green had been erased from Ankara and everywhere is under a roily silence. Neither there is a healthcare organisation, or an activity of culture, fest, sport or entertainment. The city was totally introverted... Areas of plague, dust storms, with no school, no theatre, no museum, no music. In short, deprived of all the blessings of the civilisation... A town that is small, dark and somber...

After the First World War (1914-1915) Ottoman Empire had been defeated at several battlefields and the political control of the Sultan had diminished extensively in most of the territories. As a consequence of this authority gap, the power of foreign military officials increased all around the Empire. Accordingly, İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti Building started to be used by French troops in 1918 and 1919 (Şimşir: 2006, 112 and Şapolyo: 1971, 9-11). İhsan Köknel²¹⁰ remembers those days as (cited in Bağlum: 1992, 186);

French soldiers were occupying the area around the National Assembly Building. Whenever I visited Ankara with my uncle and aunt, I remember them strictly telling me not to get close to that area.

This functional change in one of the most important buildings of Taşhan Square affected the daily use of the square too. Even though, Taşhan Square and Millet Garden were used regularly in the previous times by the public for leisure time activities, the frequency and intensity of public usage noticeably decreased after the occupation of French troops. Therefore, for a short period of time – between 1918 to 1920 – Taşhan Square and its surrounding lost its importance for the city. On the contrary, the vitality of Karaoğlan²¹¹ and Hükümet Square continued to a certain extent. For instance, the residents utilised Hükümet Square to protest İstanbul Government and the occupation by allied forces on 29 May 1919, or for protesting

²¹⁰ Retired president of Supreme Court of 1956, elected as the member of the parliament and worked as the Minister of Justice in 1965.

²¹¹ In 1918, there were lots of shops called *aktariye* located at Karaoğlan which were selling household hardware (Koç: 1983, 23).

local issues such as actions of the governor Muhittin Paşa on 5 October 1919 (Bağlum: 1992, 85, 112). Therefore, instead of Taşhan Square, these two spots were chosen as the central locations for public gatherings and meetings during the following years.²¹²

In November 1918, Allied Forces occupied İstanbul – the capital city of Ottoman Empire – and set up a military administration. After this, a new organisation called *Kuva-yi Milliye*/ The National Forces was established a year later as a reaction to the occupation and to fight against the political and military dissolution of Ottoman Empire. Representatives from each province were selected and under the guidance of primary spokesman Mustafa Kemal, a series of agreements and conferences were held in different parts of the country.

Meanwhile, all around the country supporters of *Kuva-yi Milliye* started to organise gatherings and celebrations in their cities. Among them, Ankara was one of the most prominent cities in terms of public support. Starting from 1919, Hükümet Square had witnessed numerous gatherings and meetings to support *Kuva-yi Milliye*.²¹³ Additionally, most of the public places were utilised for meetings and for theatre plays; to inform and unite people for the future of the country. Even Fresko was utilised for supporting these activities in that period.²¹⁴ Because of this support and other strategic reasons, on 27 December 1919 Mustafa Kemal (head of the movement) had arrived at Ankara and announced the city as the operational centre of *Kuva-yi Milliye* movement.²¹⁵ To celebrate his arrival a patriotic pageantry and a public meeting was organised at Hükümet Square.²¹⁶ Şapolyo explains that day in detail (1944: 260-267);

²¹² As Koç mentioned in his memoirs that, celebrations for the promulgation of 2. *Meşrutiyet*/ Second Constitutional Period were organized at Hükümet Square indicating that this square was the main public space of Ankara that is utilised for gatherings and meetings (1983: 10).

²¹³ Mustafa Kemal had published a notice on 28.May.1919 and asked their supporters to organize meetings to protest occupation of İzmir and Manisa by allied troops. Ankara was one of the first cities that organized a protest at Hükümet Square, on 29.May.1919 (Şimşir: 2006, 115).

²¹⁴ To protest the occupation of İzmir, a play called Karagün/ Black Day was organized at the garden of Fresko (Sakallı: 1986: 46).

²¹⁵ There are several reasons behind Ankara's selection as the operational centre of this movement: Geographically located at the centre, can be protected easily from military attacks, connected different parts of the country through train, and most importantly complete support of the people of Ankara. For detailed information see Tekeli (1994: 144-148).

²¹⁶ For additional information, see Şimşir (2006: 171, 175), Sarioğlu (2001: 12, 14) and Müderrisoğlu (1993: 67-73).

Preparations had begun three days advance to the arrival of Mustafa Kemal. The city was decorated with flags and flowers. On the day of the meeting, all men and women, seymenler, dervishes from different cults, craftsmen and students from schools started gathering at the corner of Karaoğlan, continued their walk through Mekteb-i Sanayi Road and divided into smaller groups to welcome Mustafa Kemal in different locations (**Figure 94a**).

Mustafa Kemal arrived in Ankara with a car, he preferred to enter the city from İstasyon area, stopped there and watched the performance of Seymenler and continued from İstasyon Road to Hükümet Square. While passing through İstasyon Road, French soldiers who were occupying İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti Building were stunned by this ceremony.²¹⁷ Afterwards, he reached to Taşhan Square: It was in a poor physical condition and the space was covered with stones and dust. Additionally, front part of Taşhan was called as Meşrutiyet Otel.²¹⁸ In front of that hotel, Darülmualimin was standing and next to Darülmualimin there were the ruins of a demolished han.²¹⁹ Then he continued through Karaoğlan, first visited Hacıbayram Mosque and finally he went to Hükümet Square to meet public and to make his speech (**Figure 94b**).

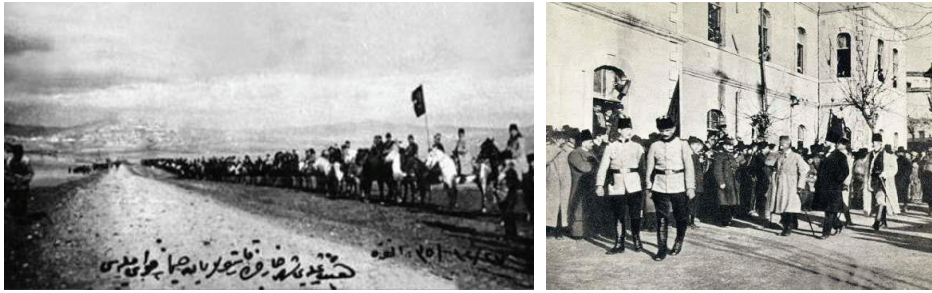


Figure 94 a. Seymenler waiting for Mustafa Kemal in Yenisehir (Müderrişoğlu: 1993, 70) **b.** Arrival of Mustafa Kemal and the Representative Committee at Hükümet Square (Erdoğan and Günel: 2007, 117)

Within this context, it can be concluded that during the early periods of the 20th century, Hükümet Square was used as the primary public open space for meetings and ceremonies (**Figure 95a**). At the same time, it is known that, most of the essential public buildings that were regularly used during this period – army corps, police department, Telegraph Office, *Umum Teçhizat Ambarı*/ Military Storehouse (transformed from Military Barrack), another arsenal that was transformed from a hamam's interior spaces (Bağlum: 1992, 37) – were all located at Hükümet Square and increased the density and variety of daily users (**Figure 95b**). For instance, in his

²¹⁷ After this ceremony, French soldiers had started to leave the building and Ankara in the course of time.

²¹⁸ Taşhan was divided into two. Front part was transformed into a hotel, and the back part continued to be used as a han.

²¹⁹ This han should have been demolished during the widening of Karaoğlan by Governor Reşit Bey in 1911-1912.

memoirs, Mahmut Aslantaş²²⁰ described Telegraph Office (**Figure 95c**) as a crowded place especially on specific days of the week (cited in Bağlum: 1992, 125);



Figure 95 a. A meeting at Hükümet Square, early 20th century (TI: 2016) b. English officers at Hükümet Square, 1914-1920 (Cangır: 2007, 61) c. Telegraph Office, 1922 (Frédéric Gadmer Archive, A036968)

More importantly, Vilayet as the main governmental building located at Hükümet Square was the main reason why this area was selected as the public open space for celebrations during the arrival of Mustafa Kemal and the Representative Committee at Ankara. On the other hand, a ceremonial route was also emerged during this period which started at İstasyon Road, continued from Taşhan Square and Karaoğlan, and finalised at Hükümet Square. To conclude, the arrival of the members of the National Forces at Ankara marked a new period both for Turkey and the city in terms of political, economic and spatial transformation. Concurrent to these developments, the Treaty of Sevres was signed in 1920 with Allied Forces and the partitioning of the Ottoman Empire had begun. As a reaction to this agreement, the War of Independence organized by National Forces also begun and Ankara became one of the most important locations within the country as being the administrative centre of the National Forces.

²²⁰ He was born in 1911 in Ankara. He worked as the head of the registry office and also as the head of the department of advertisement at Ministry of Tourism.

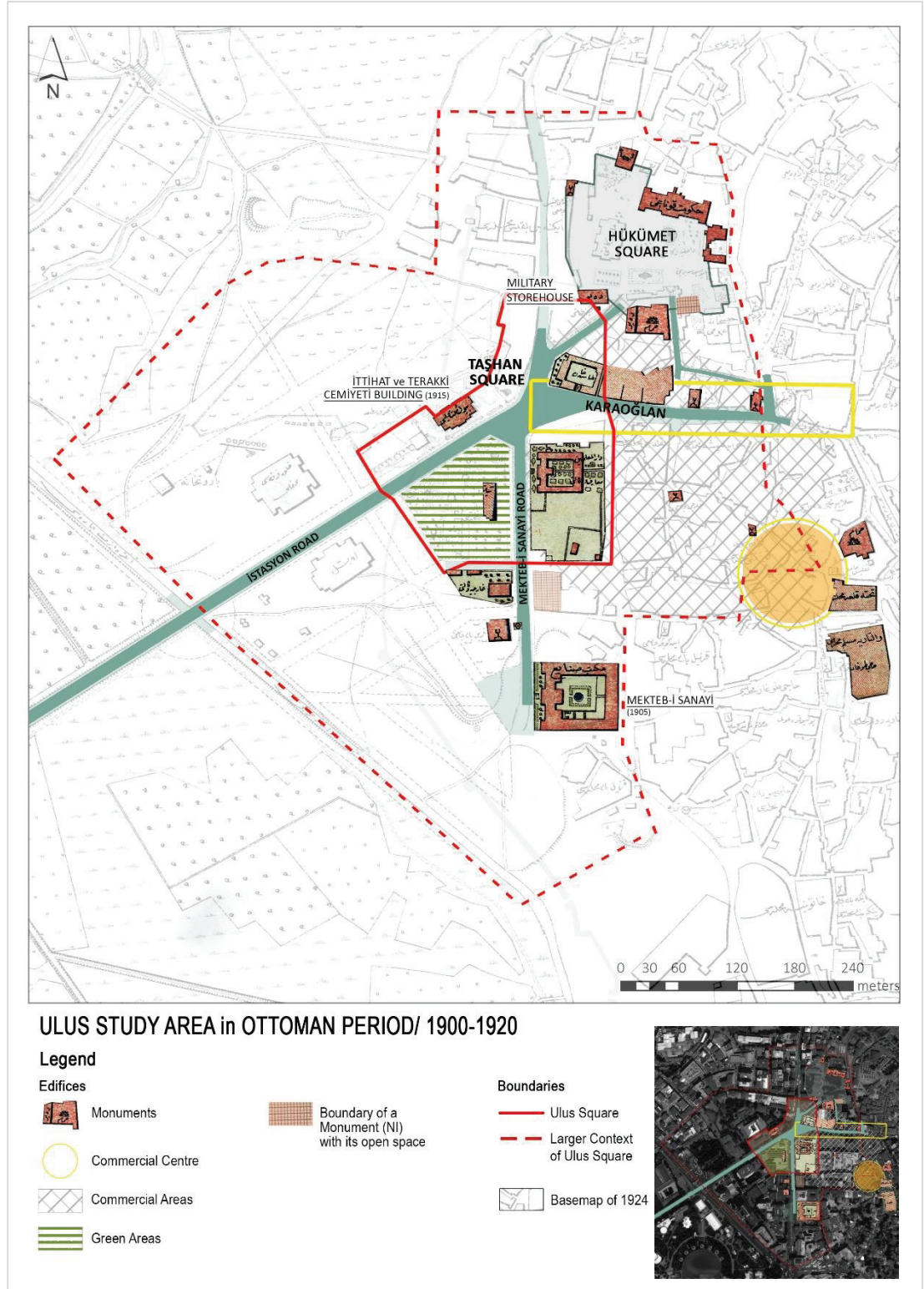


Figure 96 a. Ulus Study Area in Ottoman Period/ 1900-1920 (monuments are utilised from 1924 Ankara Map, city wall is utilised from Von Vincke's Ankara Map)
b. Superimposition of Ottoman Period/ 1900-1920 Map on Google Earth/2018

3.2.3. Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square in 1920-1923: The War of Independence

*“Zarf ile mazruf arasında ne büyük tezat!”
Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu²²¹*

After the occupation of İstanbul by Allied Forces and quashing *Meclisi-i Mebusan*/The Chamber of Deputies in 1920, Mustafa Kemal and the Representative Committee accelerated the preparations to open a national assembly independent from İstanbul with limited funds. Therefore, instead of constructing a new building, İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti Building was selected as to be utilised as the assembly due to its location and physical aspects. With the opening of the National Assembly on 23 April 1920, Ankara concurrently became the centre²²² of the War of Independence. Consequently, the building started to function as the main administrative building of the city, and most importantly Taşhan Square turned into the main public open space of Ankara.

Mustafa Kemal, deputies from all around the country, soldiers, Seymenler, religious leaders and a great number of residents of Ankara were ready for the opening ceremony (Müderrişoğlu: 1993, 83-84) (**Figure 97a, b**). The building was decorated with flags and flowers, and Taşhan Square turned into a stage. Almost every man and woman were there to see the opening ceremony of the Assembly. First, Mustafa Kemal gave a speech and afterwards Rifat Efendi prayed beautifully (Vehbi Koç cited in Gülekli and Onaran: 1973, 175). This was the first time, a ceremony started at Hacıbayram with prays, continued through Karaoğlan and finalised at Taşhan Square. Thus, the opening ceremony of the National Assembly remarked the emergence of Taşhan Square as the administrative centre of the War of Independence, adding a new meaning for the public. Before the opening of the National Assembly, Taşhan Square was used only by men to spend their leisure time strolling in groups and chatting. But from now on it was transformed into the main spot for several gatherings, meetings,

²²¹ “What an extreme contradiction between the envelope and the enclosure” (1993: 101). This is a phrase used by Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu when he arrived at Ankara. He compared physical condition of buildings, roads and streets of Ankara to determination, will and power of the people of the War of Independence.

²²² According to Halide Edip Adivar, Ankara is the Kaaba of National Movement (1962: 116).

protests and ceremonies²²³, and most importantly used both by men and women at the same time. With the effect of the opening ceremony organized at this square, Taşhan Square became the continuous stage for open space celebrations and meetings (Yalım: 2017, 177). Hence, after the opening of the National Assembly, Taşhan Square started to function as the main public open space of Ankara.



Figure 97 a. b. Photos from the opening ceremony of National Assembly (TA: 2018)

Opening of the National Assembly had excited substantial changes in the physical, socio-cultural, functional aspects of Taşhan Square and its meaning for the public. First of all, with the opening of National Assembly, deputies and other administrative and military figures had moved to Ankara. This enormous migration of significant figures from all around the country got Von Mikusch's attention that he specifically mentioned this situation as follows (1981: 243-244);

In the springtime of 1920, for the first time in its history residents of Ankara had witnessed a crowd composed of officers worked as attaché in Berlin or Paris, high officers from İstanbul, notable figures of high society whom were living in luxurious houses of the Bosphorus, and also writers and scholars who had a really good education in western standards.

Even though most of these new comers²²⁴ preferred to stay at Taşhan²²⁵ as the only hotel in Ankara, it had limited rooms and was not enough to accommodate everyone. Among these groups, only the most privileged deputies were able to find a place in

²²³ Meetings to protest occupation of Edirne (1920) and Gaziantep (1921), celebrations after the victory of the First and Second Battle of İnönü (1921), and also religious fests like Kurban Bayramı (1921).

²²⁴ Especially the ones escaped from İstanbul called *Tenasütcüler*/ Solidarists preferred to gather in a relatively long shop – which later will have been named as *Tenasüt* by the public – located at the ground floor of Taşhan (Şapolyo: 1969, 119-121).

²²⁵ From the accounting books of National Assembly., it is observed that deputies preferred Taşhan for accommodation at first place. For detailed information see Şimşir (2006: 185, 186).

Taşhan under the condition of sharing their room with four others. This is the reason why before his arrival to the city in 1921, Karaosmanoğlu was warned by his friends that Taşhan was as crowded as The Tower of Babel (1993: 103). Moreover, when Taşhan became completely full, the second option would be the dormitories of Darülmualimin and other buildings nearby.²²⁶ As Hüseyin Aksu (Erzincan) mentioned, most of the deputies had to sleep in student beds in the dormitories of Darülmualimin and had to eat table d'hôte menu (cited in Gülekli and Onaran: 1973, 95).



Figure 98 a. Independence Tribunal from Millet Garden direction, 1922 (Frédéric Gadmer Archive, A036956) **b.** Independence Tribunal, the National Assembly and İstasyon Road in 1921 (TA: 2017) **c.** (Cangır: 2007, 523)

This period also marked by the opening of *İstiklal Mahkemeleri*/Independence Tribunals in 1920, to prosecute the rebels against the Independence Movement. The independent tribunals in Ankara were located next to the National Assembly building (Bekata: 1990, 152) (**Figure 98a-c**).²²⁷ Announced one day prior on the newspapers²²⁸, Independence Tribunal and its surrounding areas were full of curious people during the case day; waiting in the yard of the building, scattered around at İstasyon Road and Taşhan Square, and also sitting on top of the stone fence of Millet Garden. Hence,

²²⁶ During the War of Independence, top floor of Darülmualimin was used as the Ministry of Education and other floors transformed into dormitories (Şimşir: 2006, 465, and Müderrisoğlu: 1993, 206). In his memoirs, Yunus Nadi explained his daily life and the life at Darülmualimin in detail (1955: 83-94). In the following years, some rooms at its entrance floor were used as the first public library of Ankara (Hakimiyet-i Milliye: 26.07.1922).

²²⁷ Even though there is no information on the construction date of the building, a time period can be identified from visual and written documents. On the photos taken during the opening ceremony of National Assembly, the area next to the building was empty. On the other hand, first functioning period of Ankara Independence Tribunal was dated to 18 September 1920 and 17 February 1921. Additionally, Ankara Independence Tribunal is clearly visible on the pictures taken during the ceremonies of the first anniversary of National Assembly in 23 April 1921. Therefore, building of Ankara Independence Tribunal should have been constructed in late 1920s or early 1921s.

²²⁸ The newspaper *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*/ National Sovereignty was established by Mustafa Kemal in 1920 to function as the media organ of the Independence Movement. Starting from 22.01.1921 former barn of Veli Han which was located at the garden of the First National Assembly was utilised as a press house for *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* newspaper (Önder: 2017).

the opening of Independence Tribunal and the National Assembly had an impact on the revival of Millet Garden.

During the War of Independence, most of the deputies spend their free time at Millet Garden and had the chance to gather around Mustafa Kemal to carry long conversations (Kandemir: 1955, 3597). After the departure of French soldiers from Ankara, Millet Garden became one of the main spots of the city. Despite being neglected due to the hard conditions of war period (**Figure 99a, b**), the garden still carried a relaxing atmosphere (Hüseyin: 1998, 45-46). By being the closest green open space to the National Assembly and Independence Tribunal, Millet Garden was transformed into an open space for the deputies and officials to give a break, and at the same time for the rest of the society to watch and understand what was going on. Karaosmanoğlu narrated this garden as a place where “most of the fresh leaking news from the Assembly can be heard and heated debates on the war could take place” (2001: 88). As a result, during the War of Independence times, Millet Garden became one of the most favourable open spaces of Ankara that was utilised by different kind of residents living in Ankara.

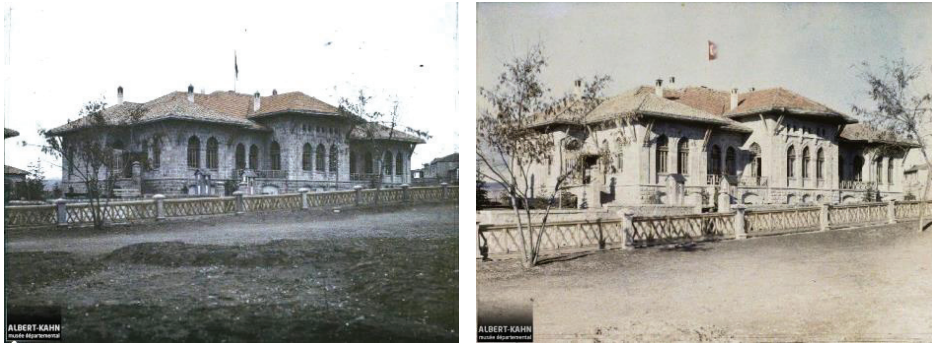


Figure 99 Millet Garden in a neglected state, 1922 (Frédéric Gadmer Archive) **a.** (A036954) **b.** (A037122)

Consequently, within a short period of time daily usage of Gazino and Millet Garden gradually increased. People used to watch ceremonies from the side of the garden facing the assembly, thus it was a part of the ceremonial tradition of the Taşhan Square (Yalım: 2001, 78). Additionally, important events, receptions and dinners organised

for the National Assembly were also taking place at Gazino.²²⁹ Parallel to this change, the garden was transformed into the main leisure time public open space of Ankara. Şapolyo mentions in his memoirs that, with a pool in the middle, Millet Garden was the only green area in Ankara (1969: 170). Moreover, Schlicklin²³⁰ also remembers that on a Ramadan night he met The Minister of Justice Refik Şevket Bey at Millet Garden while listening to the melancholic music clumsily played by the musicians (1994: 314).

By being located in the middle of monumental buildings such as the National Assembly, Independence Tribunal, Taşhan and Darülmüallimin and the main green area of Ankara, Taşhan Square was transformed into the centre of the War of Independence and accordingly the most vivacious public open space of the city (**Figure 107a, b**). Yalın summarizes this transformation as (2001: 79);

Taşhan Square became the locus where the collective will of the 'nation' is represented on every occasion. Every artefact in the area became re-written, converging around a different ideology, thus the ideology becomes condensed in that space. The space itself becomes a 'zero', the initiating point of a new memory, continually activated by meetings and ceremonies.

The construction of administrative buildings, the opening of new shops, offices and restaurants one after another (mainly at Karaoğlan and relatively less at Mekteb-i Sanayi Road and Çankırıkapı Road) also increased the popularity of Taşhan Square. During the years of War of Independence, shops and offices that are located on the ground floor of Taşhan were the most popular ones among others at Karaoğlan. One of these shops was used by Hacı Veli from Eskişehir as an office and the other one next to it was rented by the contractor Mithat Bey. The rest were used as law offices and one of them was used by dentist Sezai Bey (Sarioğlu: 1995, 189). As a result, “formed as a crisscross at the intersection of four main roads, due to the width of the roads and the importance of the surrounding buildings Taşhan Square could be the

²²⁹ For instance on 15-16 June 1920 a reception was organized for Ethem Bey and his corps in Millet Garden (Şimşir: 2006, 188).

²³⁰ French journalist and writer, who visited Turkey several times between 1919 and 1922.

highest adornment of any Anatolian city and even could be a precious ornament of İstanbul” (İsmail Habib Sevük: 2001, 57).

In this period, Taşhan Square turned out to be a stage and people of Ankara to be the audience. The bustle of the city can easily be followed from Taşhan Square just by sitting there for a short period of time for an observation. Deputies, the governor, general commanders and soldiers, officers, judges, policemen, religious figures, journalists, foreign visitors and traders, they were all running around in between İstasyon Road, Karaoğlan, and Taşhan Square. Along with its popularity, still main roads²³¹ were intersecting at Taşhan Square and the square itself were in a poor condition. According to Şapolyo, even one stone was not paved for a side walk. The group of stones dispersed everywhere, Taşhan Square was dusty and also muddy during winters (1969: 163-164).

Even though Taşhan Square was still in a bad physical condition, it was used by smaller groups for daily practices. Except the days for collective activities, the square was “regularly used by women during afternoons, sitting and watching people’s daily rush” (Şapolyo: 1969, 164). As being located at the intersection of administrative and commercial areas, Taşhan Square was the most attractive point to sit and observe people and their behaviours during this period. As a result, it is possible to state that, additional to its political meaning Taşhan Square continued its importance for daily usage and leisure time activities.

Compared to the rest of the city, Karaoğlan’s physical condition was relatively better. It was uninterruptedly utilised for commercial activities since the 16th century, and during the late 19th century it had already been widened and paved with cobblestone. It became one of the liveliest, well-conditioned and widest streets of the city. Hence, while depicting Ankara through its comparison with İstanbul, İsmail Habib Sevük described Karaoğlan as a road that was probably wider than Divanyolu/ İstanbul

²³¹ According to Ellison, on the roads of Ankara the car of Mustafa Kemal was dancing like the devils of Shakespeare. She believes, the person who is capable of being Mustafa Kemal’s chauffeur on these roads, can easily drive in every country in the world (1973, 136).

(2001: 57). However, Karaoğlan – as the main commercial street of the city – could not resist the needs of the period and started to change during 1920s. In addition to the opening of new shops with specialised commercial functions²³², new administrative functions started to appear on Karaoğlan.

On the other hand, the interior of some monumental buildings was re-organized to create space for the newcomers to the city during the War of Independence. For instance, similar to Darülmualimin, the upper floor of Şakir Bey Hanı next to Taşhan had also transformed into a dormitory. It was started to be called as İzmir Yurdu, Bursa Yurdu and Trakya Paşaeli Yurdu respectively (**Figure 100a, b**), and the shops and the coffee house at its ground floor gain a specialised character. Called as *Zeybekler Kahvehanesi*, the coffee house was used only by Seymenler and important military, administrative figures of the period for meetings and discussions (İşçen: 2016).



Figure 100 a. Şakir Bey Hanı/ Bursa Yurdu (left) and Kayseri Han (right) in 1922 (Cangır: 2007, 1093)
b. Şakir Bey Hanı/ Bursa Yurdu during War of Independence (Müderrişoğlu: 1993, 116)

Additionally, in 1921, a room at the entrance floor of Taşhan was started to host a museum called *İnkılap-İstiklal Müzesi*/ Revolution-Independence Museum exhibiting documents, photographs, articles from newspapers, maps, photos of generals, weapons and bullets etc. related to the War of Independence (Şapolyo: 1971, 58). By this way, an administrative and political meaning was also attached to Karaoğlan during 1920s.²³³

²³² After the opening of train station, diversity and type of goods that were transported through Ankara increased gradually. Accordingly, shops mainly located at Karaoğlan became specialized according to the type of products.

²³³ It is known that as an extension of Taşhan Square, Karaoğlan was used for meetings, celebrations and protests. Additionally, by being considered as the main public space of the city and located close to Independence Tribunal, executions by hanging were also taking place at Taşhan Square and Karaoğlan (dated on 31 July 1921 and others). This clearly shows that starting from 1920s, Karaoğlan's homogeneous commercial character had started to evolve with additional functions and meanings.

On the other hand, Hükümet Square was in a slight decline. Although it was the main public open space for collective activities and meetings, with the changes in Taşhan Square, it had lost its role for Ankara in 1920s. After the opening of National Assembly, the main administrative centre had shifted to Taşhan Square. Nevertheless, most of the ministries either had continued to function in the Vilayet Building²³⁴, or re-used the buildings of former administrative buildings located at Hükümet Square. For instance, Directorate of Police located on the east of Vilayet was started to be reused as *Dahiliye Vekaleti*/ Ministry of Interior Affairs (**Figure 101a**), and another modest one was utilised as the municipality (**Figure 101b**). Thus, Hükümet Square slightly kept its importance as the secondary administrative centre for Ankara. As can be seen in **Figure 101c**, even though it was dusty and lacking trees, the park had continued to be used regularly. This change also affected the ceremonial route, previously ending at Hükümet Square. After the opening of the National Assembly, İstasyon-Karaoğlan axis developed as the new ceremonial route and Taşhan Square became the main ceremonial centre for Ankara.



Figure 101 a. Ministry of Interior Affairs, 1922 (Frédéric Gadmer Archive, A036965) **b.** Municipality, 1922 (Frédéric Gadmer Archive, A036967) **c.** Hükümet Square in 1922 (VEKAM: 2892)

This period had witnessed a fast and extensive change in the physical, functional, political and socio-cultural aspects of Taşhan Square and its close vicinity. First of all, with the construction of Independence Tribunal next to the National Assembly, west-southwest edge of the square became more definite (**Figure 102a**). On the other hand, it is clearly visible in **Figure 102b** that, the empty open space – which remained after the demolition of buildings during the widening of Taşhan Square and Karaoğlan

²³⁴ Except: *Hariciye Vekaleti*/ Ministry of Foreign Affairs was located on the second floor of Düyun-u Umumiye Building, and *Maarif Vekaleti*/ Ministry of Education was located on the top floor of Darülmuallimin (Karaosmanoğlu: 1993, 107).

in 1911-1912 by Governor Reşit Bey – was reorganized and a raised triangular semi-space was implemented at the middle of the square (**Figure 102c**). In parallel to the change in its physical aspects, the square started to be named as *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* due to its significant role during the War of Independence.²³⁵

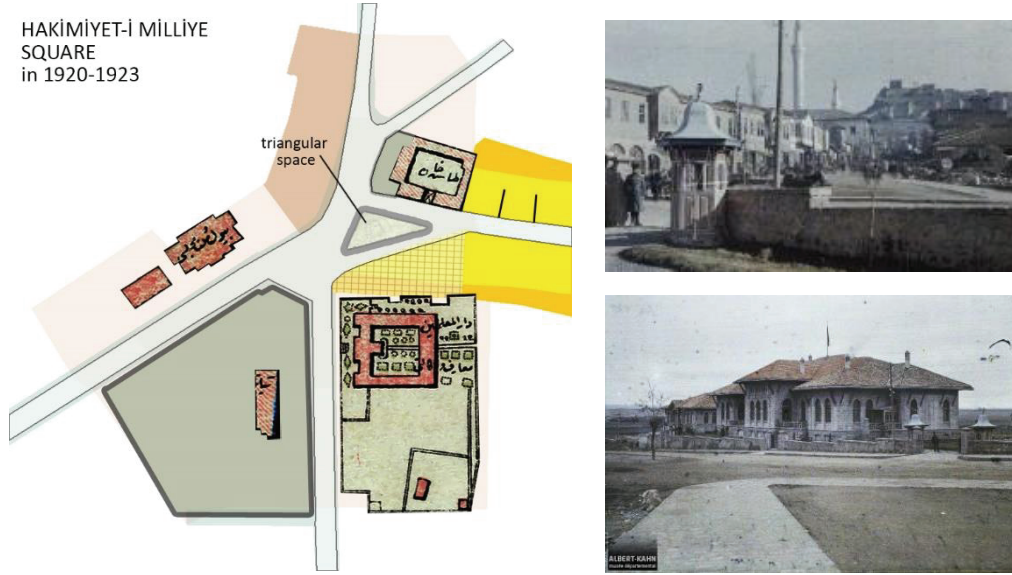


Figure 102 a. Schematic view of Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square, 1920-1923 b. View of the triangular space from the eastern entrance of the National Assembly Garden, 1922 (Frédéric Gadmer Archive, partial A037026) c. Surface properties of the triangular space, 1922 (Frédéric Gadmer Archive, A036960)

According to Alderman, a named public space creates associations or linkages between different people and places in the city, and have a connectivity that allows them to touch the consciousness of social actors and groups who may or may not identify with the person or event being remembered (2003: 166). Therefore, unlike previous times, for the first time the square was named by the state authorities intentionally as *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*/ National Sovereignty, where national consciousness and collective memory had started to emerge during the War of Independence (Yalım: 2017, 180).²³⁶ Even though usage and meaning of Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square had changed completely in the 1920s, it had remained in a relatively poor physical condition compared to the 19th century (**Figure 103a-d**).

²³⁵ *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*/ National Sovereignty: Most likely this name was inspired from the namesake newspaper that was established by Mustafa Kemal in 1920 to function as the media organ of Independence Movement.

²³⁶ Even though both Taşhan and Hakimiyet-i Milliye was interchangeably used by the public, the name Hakimiyet-i Milliye was mainly used on official visual and written documents of the period. Because of this reason, starting from this section Hakimiyet-i Milliye will be used for referring to the square.

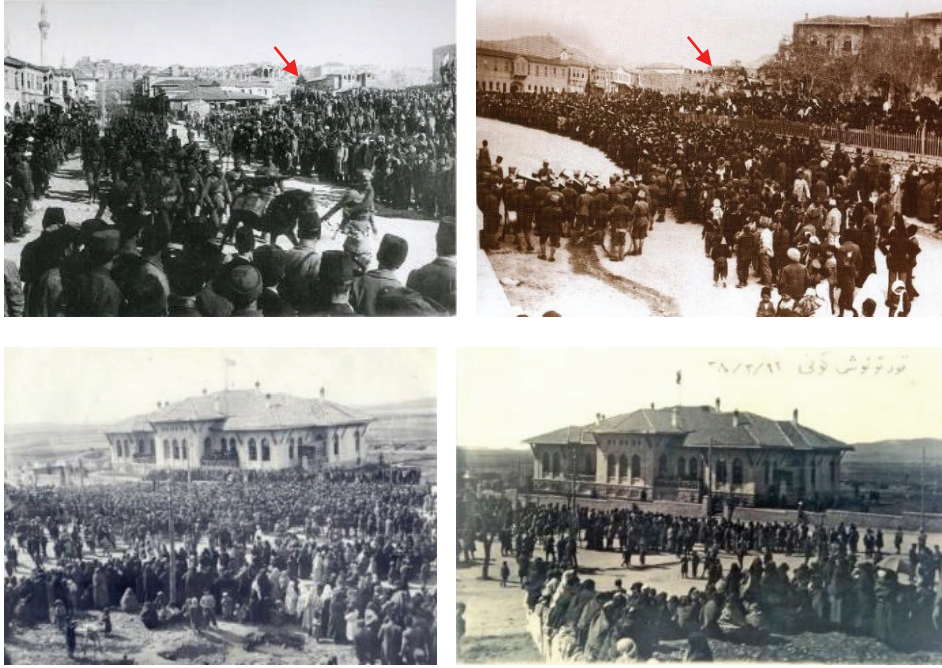


Figure 103 Meetings and celebrations at Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square during the War of Independence, 1919-1922²³⁷ a. (PIN: 2015) b. c. (Aktürk: 2006, 11) d. (PIN: 2015)

While Ankara became more and more crowded, neither places for accommodation nor infrastructure and transportation services in the city were adequate. There were only two private automobiles, whereas ox-carts, donkeys and horse-drawn vehicles called *yaylı*²³⁸ were still utilised primarily for transportation and Taşhan was the main station for these vehicles (Şapolyo: 1935, 314) (**Figure 104a-c**). On the other hand, due of the increase on the number of vehicles for transportation, cobblestones of Karaoğlan that were paved during the end of 19th century were gradually worn away in 1921 (Karaosmanoğlu: 1993, 103).



Figure 104 a. *Yaylı*, 1922 (Frédéric Gadmer Archive, A036992) b. *Yaylı* (Müderrişoğlu: 1993, 223) c. *Yaylı* and ox carts at Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square, during repair works for the pavement (TA: 2016)

²³⁷ It is clearly visible on each photo that just to be close to the event; spectators (mostly women and children) preferred to stand on the ruins of previous buildings. These ruins belonged to the buildings that were located on the southern part of Karaoğlan and demolished during widening of Karaoğlan on early 20th century.

²³⁸ According to Araz, for intercity transportation ox carts were mainly used. On the other hand, for inner city transportation, special type of horse-drawn vehicles called *yaylı*, *körüük* and *lardon* were preferred. Additionally, horses and donkeys were also used in the narrow streets of Ankara during the first years of 1920s (1998: 27).

Furthermore, with a width of three or four *yaylı* could pass at the same time, İstasyon Road was the main axis from İstasyon heading to sacred Ankara (Grace M. Ellison: 1973, 134). However, it was still a soil road with mud and dust (**Figure 105a, b**), affecting the visitor's perception of Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square and Ankara in a negative way. But still, compared to the rest of the city, Karaoğlan (**Figure 105c**), İstasyon Road and Mekteb-i Sanayi Road were still in a better physical condition.

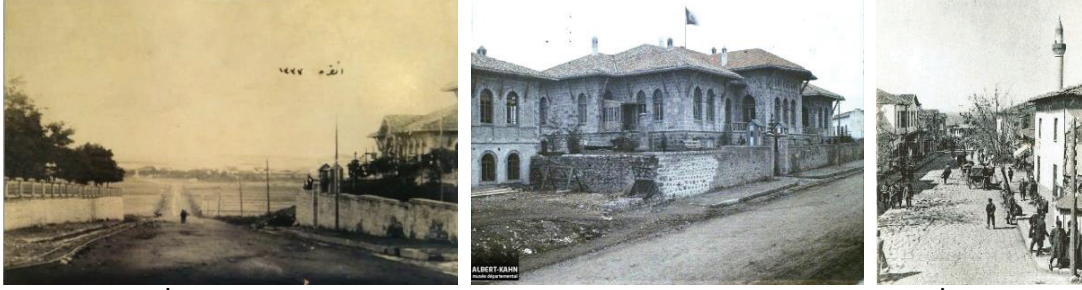


Figure 105 a. İstasyon Road, 1921 (Cangır: 2007, 1419) b. the National Assembly at İstasyon Road, 1922 (Frédéric Gadmer Archive, A036953) c. Karaoğlan, 1922 (Cangır: 2007, 1095)

In terms of visual and physical aspects, Ankara was in a severe condition. After the fire of 1916, the debris left in these areas dominated the image of the city. Despite the efforts of Governor Abidin Paşa, the view of the city from İstasyon Road was still devoid of visual quality due to the gradual decline of its physical structure especially around the castle (**Figure 106b**). As Karaosmanoğlu mentions, the image of Ankara was not compatible with the strength and effort of the people of War of Independence (1993: 101). So, it has to change urgently



Figure 106 After the great victory, residents of Ankara were celebrating Mustafa Kemal's arrival to the city at İstasyon Road, 1922 (Erdoğan et al.: 2007b, 26-27)

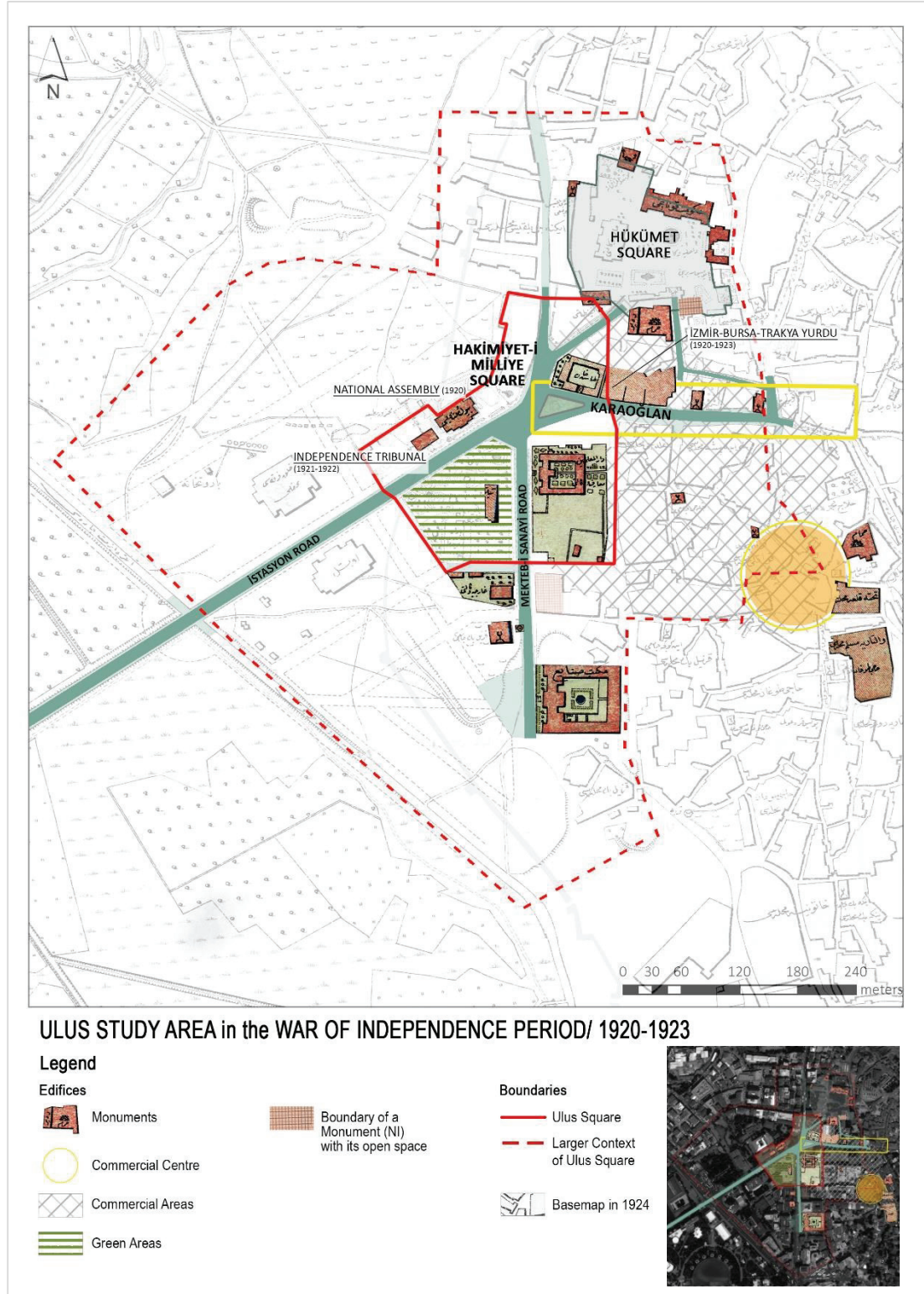


Figure 107 a. Ulus Study Area in Ottoman Period/ 1920-1923 (monuments are utilised from 1924 Ankara Map, city wall is utilised from Von Vincke's Ankara Map)
b. Superimposition of Ottoman Period/ 1920-1923 Map on Google Earth/2018

3.2.4. Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square in 1923-1924: Proclamation of The Republic

The Sense of Exhilaration of Being the Capital

“The capital is the symbol of our hopes, reflection of our expectations. This is why the physical appearance of a capital has great importance since it is the guarantee of national vitality and continuation ”²³⁹

During the War of Independence, Ankara was struggling with economic crises, construction activities were bogged down and not even a tree was planted in the city. Houses, monumental buildings and public open spaces were in poor condition. Especially with the effect of several fires that had occurred during the beginning of the century, Ankara looked shabbier than ever before.²⁴⁰ Additionally, except some major roads like Karaoğlu, İstasyon and Mekteb-i Sanayi, most of the streets were dusty, sinuous, irregular and very dark at nights.²⁴¹ Transportation services were handled by primitive vehicles. And most importantly, there were no hotels except Taşhan to accommodate people who were gathering in Ankara for the War of Independence. Therefore, a new hotel called İstanbul Oteli was opened on Karaoğlu in January 1923 (Aydın et al.: 2005, 397 and Şapolyo: 1969, 164) and served as a catalyst for new activities around Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square.

İstanbul Oteli was a two-storey building having a patisserie on its ground floor (İstanbul Pastanesi²⁴²) and hotel rooms on its first floor (**Figure 108a, b**). Even though it was a rudimentary hotel, compared to Taşhan, it was the favourite one with upgraded comfort and cleanness. Necip Fazıl Kısakürek described this patisserie as one of the most distinguished and noteworthy locations in Ankara and equivalent to the İkbâl and Meserret coffee shops of İstanbul (1999: 95). Additionally, Damar Arıkoğlu – deputy of Adana – who had to stay at Taşhan and one day later moved to İstanbul Oteli described his experience as (1961: 141-145);

²³⁹ Doxiades Associates “Program and Plan Document” (1960: 160).

²⁴⁰ According to Falih Rifkî Atay, 1920’s Ankara was an Anatolian town where everything that can accommodate people totally burnt down (29.10.1950).

²⁴¹ In his novel called Ankara, Karaosmanoğlu depicted the darkness of streets of Ankara at night as pitch black and defined that sometimes to be able to walk one should use his/her hands to navigate (2001: 89).

²⁴² Since it was the first and only patisserie in Ankara, it continued to be popular and crowded for a long time.

After a long search for a place to stay in Ankara, the landlord of Taşhan decided to hire his own room to me at the end. During whole night I could barely sleep because of the terrible itches caused by hundreds of bedbugs. Early in the morning, I left the room and went to Millet Garden. When I was sitting there in a desperate way, one of my friends told me that İstanbul Oteli is going to have a vacant room today. The moment I heard this news was like a festival. I run to Taşhan, packed my suitcase, thanked the landlord for renting his own room and run away from Taşhan for good.



Figure 108 a. Karaoğlu, 1922: İstanbul Oteli/ Pastanesi on the right (Cangır: 2007, 1093) b. İstanbul Pastanesi, 1930s (TA: 2016) c. Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square; Millet Garden, İstasyon Road and the National Assembly (EAFF: 2014)

Because of financial problems, İstanbul Oteli was the first and the only construction within the city during the War of Independence. Therefore, most of the visitors of Ankara were complaining about the poor physical conditions and limited opportunities of daily life. Paul Erio, a French journalist who visited Ankara in 1923, wrote his observations on Ankara as (cited in Şimşir: 2006, 361-362);

Even though there is only one hotel and a dingy han in the city, nobody was left out. In Ankara, one can forget about the time. There is no place for entertainment, theatre and cinema. This city which doesn't have electricity yet seems like it is dead after 7 pm.

Additionally, another article published on Le Matin/ Paris on 2 January 1923, also mentioned similar problems (cited in Şimşir: 2006, 361);

This city where almost a thousand of leaders from the Turkish Renaissance gather is the least comfortable one among capitals. In this place, people have to live on top of each other. In terms of entertainment, there is nothing except a cinema and several traditional *coffee houses*.

Also, Falih Rıfkı Atay described the physical condition of Ankara and his feelings about the city life as follows (2010: 440-441);

I don't think that a conservative village is as rudimentary as Ankara... The main commercial street is so rudimentary that it is hard to find a set of glass, plate or cup to furnish a small table. When compared to Karaoğlan, Beyoğlu is like a boulevard in Paris... Since we were always the same people who walk around or have a meeting either at the restaurant next to the National Assembly or Millet *Garden*, we don't even intend to greet each other (**Figure 108c**). We were hankering, 'Ahh we could ever have the chance to be anonymous, to mingle in the crowd and get lost'. There is no other place than the assembly to spend time during the day time. And during the nights we were yearning for Mustafa Kemal to invite us...

Nevertheless, the physical and social environment had started to change incredibly fast in the second half of 1923. First, on October 13th Ankara was declared as the capital city. For the state, the capital should host a city life in modern Westernized standards and be the ideal model for Turkey (Tekeli: 2000, 325). For this reason, on October 17th Municipality was re-organized to start urban activities rapidly. It was followed by the establishment of the Republic of Turkey on October 29th. With the declaration of the Republic, in a short period of time, Ankara had witnessed a rapid change in the population of civil servants and bureaucrats. This increase also affected the main character and social life of the city, which was previously known for trade/production and now became the centre of administration.

Additionally, the change in the character of the population also fostered the development of city plans for new Ankara. The physical aspects of Ankara were considered as an important issue for this period since it would reflect the new political model of the Republic (Tankut: 1990, 8-9). The new capital should break the bonds with everything related to the Ottoman Empire and it had to be the epitome for the rest of the country in terms of both physical appearance and organisation of social life. Hence, structural change in urban space and traditional urban activities were almost inevitable (Bademli: 1985, 10). As a result, Ankara's planning and development became one of the major issues of the state, and activities had started immediately. Among these activities, the ones that had affected Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square and its close vicinity might be the most important ones as it would transform the urban space on the main axis connecting the old city to the new.

Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square as the main public open space of Ankara hosting the National Assembly was cleared from dust and paved with cobblestone.²⁴³ By this way, the square became more defined and suitable for daily activities, gatherings, meetings and celebrations, and also for modern transportation. Additionally, the first power plant of Ankara was built at Bendderesi in 1924 (Erkuş: 2009, 7, and Tekeli: 1994, 178), to illuminate main public buildings and open spaces around the square. Thus, after having electricity in Ankara gradually after 1924²⁴⁴, the square started to be used also during the nights since lots of people prefer to stay at Taşhan and spend some time at the square.

The same year, on the 16th of February 1924, *Ankara Şehremaneti*/ Ankara Municipality was established by adopting the organisation model of İstanbul Municipality with slight but significant differences (Tekeli: 1982, 55). Since Ankara had an exceptional status compared to the rest of the country, Şehremaneti was organised as a specialised municipality in terms of selection of members and its authority (Tankut: 1990, 31). Only by this way public works could start immediately and continue apace.

The first service of the Municipality was organised under the commission of vice president of Public Works and Settlement, Muhtar Bey. The commission prepared a map to be utilised as a base for directing construction and planning activities (Cengizkan: 2004, 17-18). Finalised in 1924 with a scale of 1/4000, this map documented Historic Ankara with Castle and residential areas, monumental buildings and public open spaces. Additionally, water ways, bridges, fountains, cemetery areas and areas that are reserved for new constructions were also clearly visible on the map (**Figure 109**).²⁴⁵

²⁴³ For detailed information see Tunçer (2001: 81), Sarioğlu (2001: 47) and Şapolyo (1969: 165).

²⁴⁴ Several additional power plants were implemented in Ankara during the first years of The Republic: 720 BG in 1925-1926, 650 BG in 1926, and 2500 kW in 1927. For detailed information, see Tekeli (1994: 179).

²⁴⁵ For detailed information on 1924 Ankara map, see Günel and Kılıcı (2015: 78-104).

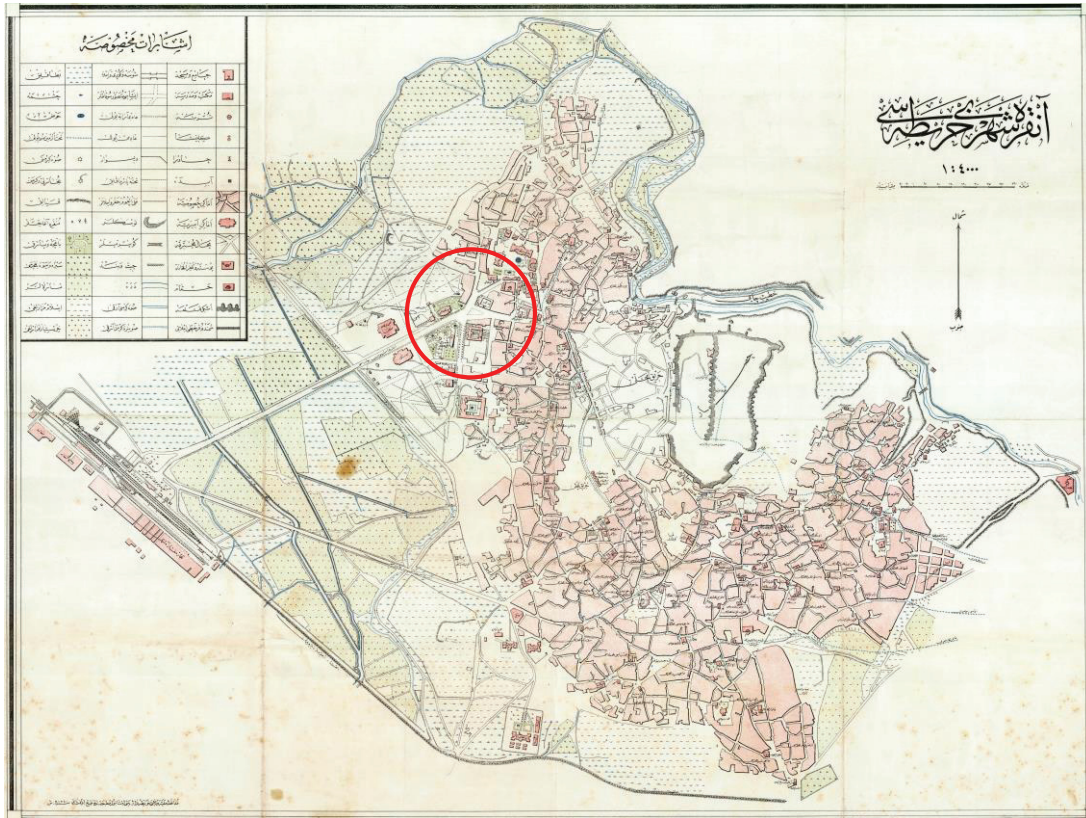


Figure 109 1924 Ankara Map prepared (Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square labelled with red circle) (VEKAM: H004)

Through a detailed analysis of the map, it is possible to identify the characteristics of buildings and public open spaces composing Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square and its close vicinity (**Figure 110**). It is clearly visible on the map that, Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square had a more definite boundary in 1924 with the increase in the number of surrounding buildings and additions to the existing ones. Especially, the construction of new buildings on empty open spaces – which are located on the north of Darülmualimin and northeast of the National Assembly –enhanced the feeling of enclosure for the square.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁶ In the map of 1924, except monumental buildings, building groups and residential areas were labelled as urban blocks. This is why, to have a better understanding of the area, it is important to support this information with photos.



Figure 110 Detailed view of Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square: Y is used for Burla Biraderler, one storey high-single building and X for attached small shops

As it is labelled on **Figure 110** as “X”, buildings constructed on the northern part of Darülmualimin were organised as six attached small shops²⁴⁷ owned by the municipality and two additional ones that were privately owned (**Figure 111a**). These six shops were designed in a square like plan and single storey high, and mainly utilised for different commercial purposes (**Figure 111b**). Based on the memoirs of Şapolyo, the first shop at the junction of Mekteb-i Sanayi Road and Karaoğlan was belonging to Mehmetçe; who was selling shoes. The second shop was *Umum İthalat ve İhracat Şirketi/* An Imports and Exports Company. A little further Mühendis Han was located hosting the newspaper *Yeni Dünya* (1969: 167-168). Additionally, Halil Makaracı also remembers a retail shop named *Yıldız Tecim Evi*, a bookstore named Tarık Edip Kütüphanesi, a shop specialized in electronics, and a clothing shop called Karamürsel Mağazası. Next to these shops, privately owned *Kızılırmak Kırathanesi/* Kızılırmak Coffee Shop and *İstanbul Oteli-Pastanesi* were located on the southern parts of Karaoğlan (cited in Ergir: 2017).

²⁴⁷ On the cadastral map of 1925-1932, the owner of these shops was labelled as Ankara Province. Additionally, Tanyer mentions that, Municipality of Ankara had constructed these shops (2009, 137).



Figure 111 Small shops attached to the north of Darülmüallimin **a.** (VEKAM: 1597) **b.** (TA: 2014)

Additionally, on the north of National Assembly, at Çankırı Road several buildings were laid next to each other (**Figure 109b**). The first building (**labelled on Figure 110 as “Y”**) facing the square was a one storey high-single shop in rectangular shape. Managed by *Burla Biraderler*/ Burla Brothers, this building was one of the first shops of Ankara where numerous types of new products were brought from Europe to Ankara.²⁴⁸ Following Burla Biraderler’s shop, a shop (owned by Hadiye Hanım), another building (Meydan Palas would later be erected at this location), Mustafa Efendi Hanı, a small building owned by *Vakıf*/ Foundation, Hacı Bekir and Veli Usta Hanı and their small shop (soon would be reused as Kulüp Cinema), a building/han (owned by Mehmet Ali and his wife Eftariye, its entrance floor was utilised as Tabarin Bar) were located at Çankırı Road²⁴⁹ (**Figure 112a**). Parallel to these changes, the arrangement of private gardens around the National Assembly (a garden with a small pool) and Darülmüallimin (a terraced garden) also affected the physical and visual aspects of the square (**Figure 110, Figure 112b**). It was the first time that natural elements were predominant and Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square had a brand-new image.



Figure 112 a. Buildings at the west side of Çankırı Road, 1927-1928 (İş Bank Archive) **b.** Garden of the National Assembly on the left and triangular green area at the square, 1926 (Cangir: 2007, 523)

²⁴⁸ Such as; textile, automobile, stationary, electrical materials, types of bearings, photography machines and domestic appliances.

²⁴⁹ This information was gathered from the Cadastral Map of 1925-1932 (sheet numbered 15, scale: 1/500) and memoirs of Vehbi Koç (1983: 56).

The other important information that can be gathered from the 1924 map is the spatial reorganisation of the square. During 1910s with the widening of Karaoğlan's end to the west, the square was enlarged and left as an empty open space for almost a decade (**Figure 113a**). In 1922, to create more legible areas within the square, construction activities had started within the area in the location of the ruins of previous buildings. By this way, the empty open space was organized through the implementation of a raised triangular platform in the middle of the square (**Figure 113b**). Finally in 1923/1924, additional works were held: the square was paved with cobblestone and the triangular space in the middle was redesigned (**Figure 113c-e**). Although the details of this triangular area are not labelled on the map, it is possible to identify its physical characteristics through photos taken during this period.



Figure 113 Transformation of the empty open space at the centre of the square **a**. The early 20th century (TA: 2017) **b**. First implementation works, 1922 (TA: 2016) **c**. Second implementation works, 1923-1924 (VEKAM: 0767) **d**. Triangular space and its pool, 1924 (Önen: 2004, 16) **e**. Trees were planted and a pool was implemented at the triangular space, 1925 (Weinberg: 1933)

Triangular space was inserted at the centre of the square where its contour was raised and used as a pedestrian way. On the other hand, the inner part is designed as a sunken area on the slope of Karaoğlan. It was surrounded by a fence and trees were planted all around it. In the western part of this triangle, a small pool was built on the plain surface in the middle (the pool must have been built after the preparation of the map between 1924 and 1927) (**Figure 113d**). Starting behind the pool up to the end of the eastern corner of the triangle, the rest of the sunken area was sloppy and filled with

grass and several trees. Consequently, this triangular open space became the landmark for the residents of Ankara. They regularly used this open space as a meeting point and spend their leisure time, and also took photos in front of the pool as a reminiscence (**Figure 113d**). Moreover, Mekteb-i Sanayi Road was also labelled on the 1924 map as planted with trees.

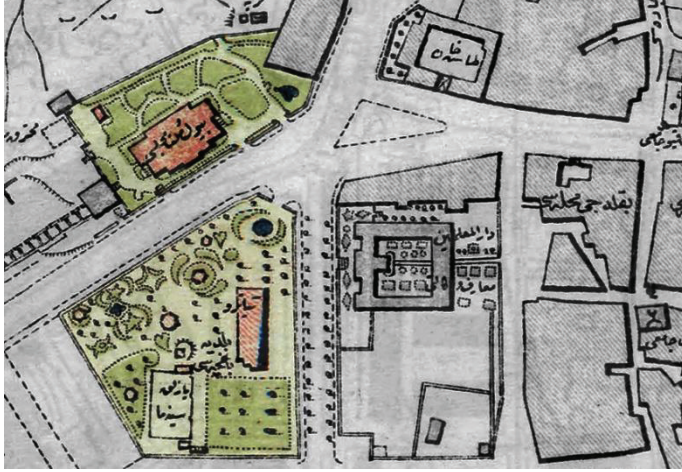


Figure 114 a. Partial area of Ankara Map prepared in 1924, the First National Assembly Garden (north) and Belediye Garden (south) **b.** Belediye Garden (Aydın et al.: 2005, 398) **c.** It is written “cinema” at the entrance of Belediye Garden from Mekteb-i Sanayi Road, 1921 (Cangır: 2007, 1229) **d.** The First Assembly and its garden (Dericizade: 2016)

In addition, the map labels Millet Garden and its elements in detail. The municipality reorganised this garden and changed its name with *Belediye Bahçesi*/ Belediye Garden (Municipality Garden)²⁵⁰ (**Figure 114a, b**). By hanging a screen at the stage, the theatre was started to be utilised also as a cinema (İbrahim: 1924, 15) and called as *Milli Sinema*/ Milli Cinema (National Cinema).²⁵¹ Next to this theatre/cinema, a new area was labelled as *Yazlık Sinema*/ Summer-Outdoor Cinema (**Figure 114c**). Most importantly, the design of the garden is clearly visible in the map: there were pools,

²⁵⁰ From that period onwards, names such as Millet Garden and Belediye Garden were interchangeably used.

²⁵¹ This building was also used by the orchestras to perform their concerts till a new concert hall was built in Ankara. For instance, Büyük Orkestra from İstanbul performed two concerts at that building on 11th of March and 2nd of April (Hakimiyet-i Milliye: 06.03.1924).

trees, lawn areas in different geometric forms. Similarly, a detailed information regarding the garden of the First National Assembly can be gathered from the same map: it was re-designed and trees were planted within lawn areas in geometrical forms (**Figure 114a, d**). Therefore, the preliminary attempt of landscape design implemented for Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square dates after the establishment of Ankara Municipality.

In this period, the square was surrounded by low-rise monumental buildings, small shops and green public/ private open spaces and started to function as the centre of administration, commerce and entertainment. With the opening of an open-air cinema, the re-functioning of Milli Cinema, utilization of Fresko and re-organization of the abandoned garden and its tea house²⁵², Belediye Garden became one of the most prestigious and popular public spaces of Ankara.²⁵³ Especially, with a small orchestra performing inside, Fresko was considered as a restaurant commendable by foreign visitors (Woods and Farrer cited in Şimşir: 2006, 329). Falih Rıfkı Atay announced the re-opening of Fresko in *Akşam*/ Evening newspaper as follows (14.08.1923);

Mr Jul Fresko has finished his summer works at Millet Garden. Tomorrow, he is opening it to everyone. This garden is bigger than Tepebaşı Garden and it is better organized. For now, the garden has a kiosk and an open-air cinema... (**Figure 115a**)



Figure 115 a. Fresko Bar and its garden, 1925 (50 Yıllık Yaşantımız: 1975, 49) **b.** Mekteb-i Sanayi Road with trees, 1922 (Cangır: 2007, 1232)

²⁵² The small tea house had several platforms that can be used both by old and young people together. On special occasions, a small sized orchestra play Turkish Music songs, youngsters dance and elder people sing along (Tanrıku: 1985, 25).

²⁵³ According to Sertel, in 1923 there is nothing easy on eyes except the building of National Assembly and small Millet Garden in front of it... Especially at nights there is nowhere to go in Ankara except the cinema in this garden (1977: 113-114). From this information, it is possible to suggest that opening of the cinema and implementation of the garden was dated before the map was prepared, possibly early 1923.

The other significant information that can be gathered from the map is about Hükümet Square. It is clearly visible that, Hükümet Square was reorganised with a pool in front of Vilayet Building and trees were planted in its surrounding. The square had a more definite form with the construction of *Maliye Vekaleti*/ Ministry of Finance²⁵⁴ (1924) on the west, Gendarmerie Department on the south and Directorate of Police on the south-east. On the south of the area between Gendarmerie and Police, a prison was located (**Figure 116a, b**). Additionally, Directorate of Police that was located on the east of Vilayet had already started to be reused as *Dahiliye Vekaleti*/ Ministry of Interior Affairs in 1922, since a new police department was constructed at the square. As a result, with the increase on administrative buildings around, Hükümet Square continued its importance for the city and became a green public open space mainly used by the people having work with state offices during daytime.

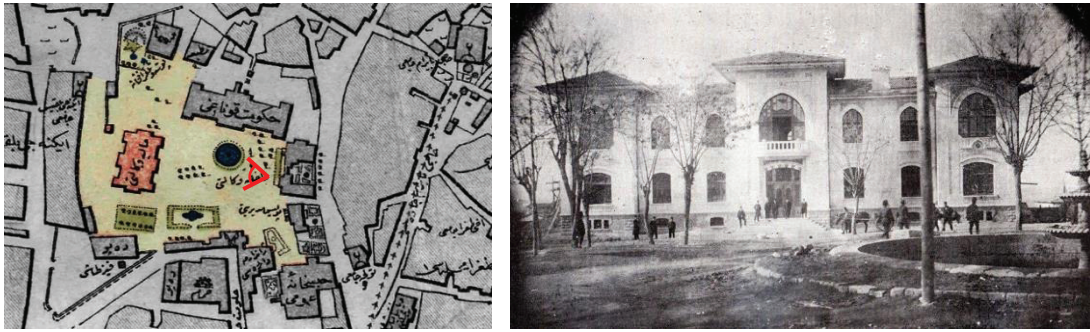


Figure 116 a. Detailed view of Hükümet Square in 1924 map (photo shooting angle is labelled with red triangle) **b.** Maliye Vekaleti and green public open space in front of the building at Hükümet Square, 1926 (TA: 2016)

Further information regarding physical characteristics of the area can be obtained through a detailed comparison of 1839 Von Vincke map and 1924 map (**Figure 117a, c**). While Zincirli Mosque Alley (**labelled as “X” on both figures**) was formed in an L shape orientation in Von Vincke’s Map, in the 1924 map southern part of the same street was extended up to Karaoğlan creating a direct link between Hükümet Square and Karaoğlan (**labelled within red circle in Figure 117c**), and this street was labelled as Hükümet Road.

²⁵⁴ This building was first used as *Baş Vekalet*/ Presidential Building, and later as the Ministry of Finance.



Figure 117 a. Detailed view of 1839 Von Vincke map b. Kızıtaşı Road, 19th century (Cangır: 2007, 1102) c. Partial view of 1924 map d. Today's Çam Street, the early years of Republic (TA: 2017)

In contrast to Hükümet Road, there is not any information on whether Kızıtaşı Road²⁵⁵ (today's Çam Street) (labelled as “Y” on Figure 117c) had existed during the preparations of 1839 Von Vincke’s Map. On the other hand, a path between Taşhan and Military Storehouse was clearly visible in photos taken at the end of the 19th century (Figure 117b). Even though it is possible to identify the first stages of Kızıtaşı Road on these photos, the 1924 map was the first official visual document defining its physical character. The extension of Hükümet Road to the western direction to meet Kızıtaşı Road indicated the first step to create a direct link between Karaoğlan, Hükümet Square and Çankırı Road.²⁵⁶ Additionally, it can easily be identified in Figure 117d that this road was paved with cobblestone and the pedestrian way was implemented on both sides. The effect of these changes in the permeability of Hükümet Square and the increase in the number of streets between Karaoğlan, Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square and Hükümet Square, reveal that these two squares had specific roles for the city of Ankara.

²⁵⁵ The first official visual document that labelled this road as Kızıtaşı Road was The Cadastral Plan prepared between 1925 and 1929.

²⁵⁶ In the upcoming years, by demolishing the buildings located on the south of Hükümet Square such as the Hasan Paşa Bath, Hükümet Road would have become the direct link between Karaoğlan and Hükümet Square for a long time. And this narrow street will become the main connection between Çankırı Road and Hükümet Square.

After 1924 map, the first city plans of Ankara were designed by Dr. Carl Christoph Lörcher in 1924-1925. The first plan of Lörcher concentrated on the old city and proposed the regeneration of the area between the castle and the train station (Çınar: 2014, 1138). Due to its inadequate implementation capacity, the plan was not approved by the authorised Municipal Committee. The second plan of Lörcher concentrated on the new development areas and proposed a compact city, whereby a new centre would be around the central station laying the foundations of the New City (Günay: 2012). Due to the urgent need for housing, Lörcher's second plan was approved immediately (Tekeli: 1982, 60 and Cengizkan: 2004, 35-36). This plan intentionally isolated the old city from the newly proposed district in the south and provided a new setting in which administrative and residential buildings were dominated as a new centre (Çınar: 2014, 1138). Since Hakimiyyet-i Milliye Square and its close vicinity was located at the intersection of old and new parts of the city, it was possible to see the effects of both plans in this area even though they were not completely approved by the municipality but served as major guidance for the development of Ankara.²⁵⁷

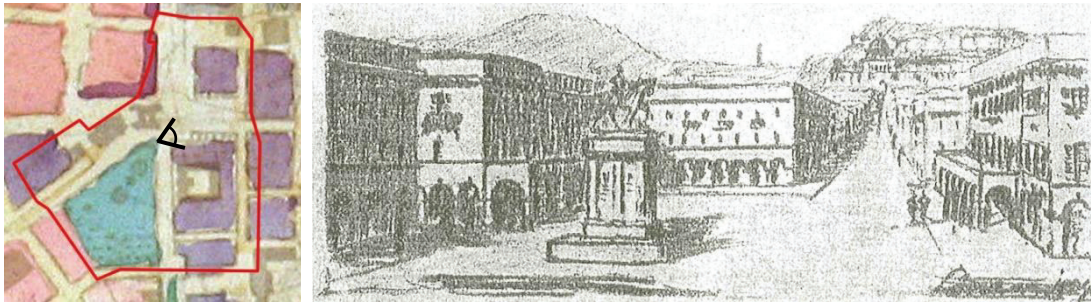


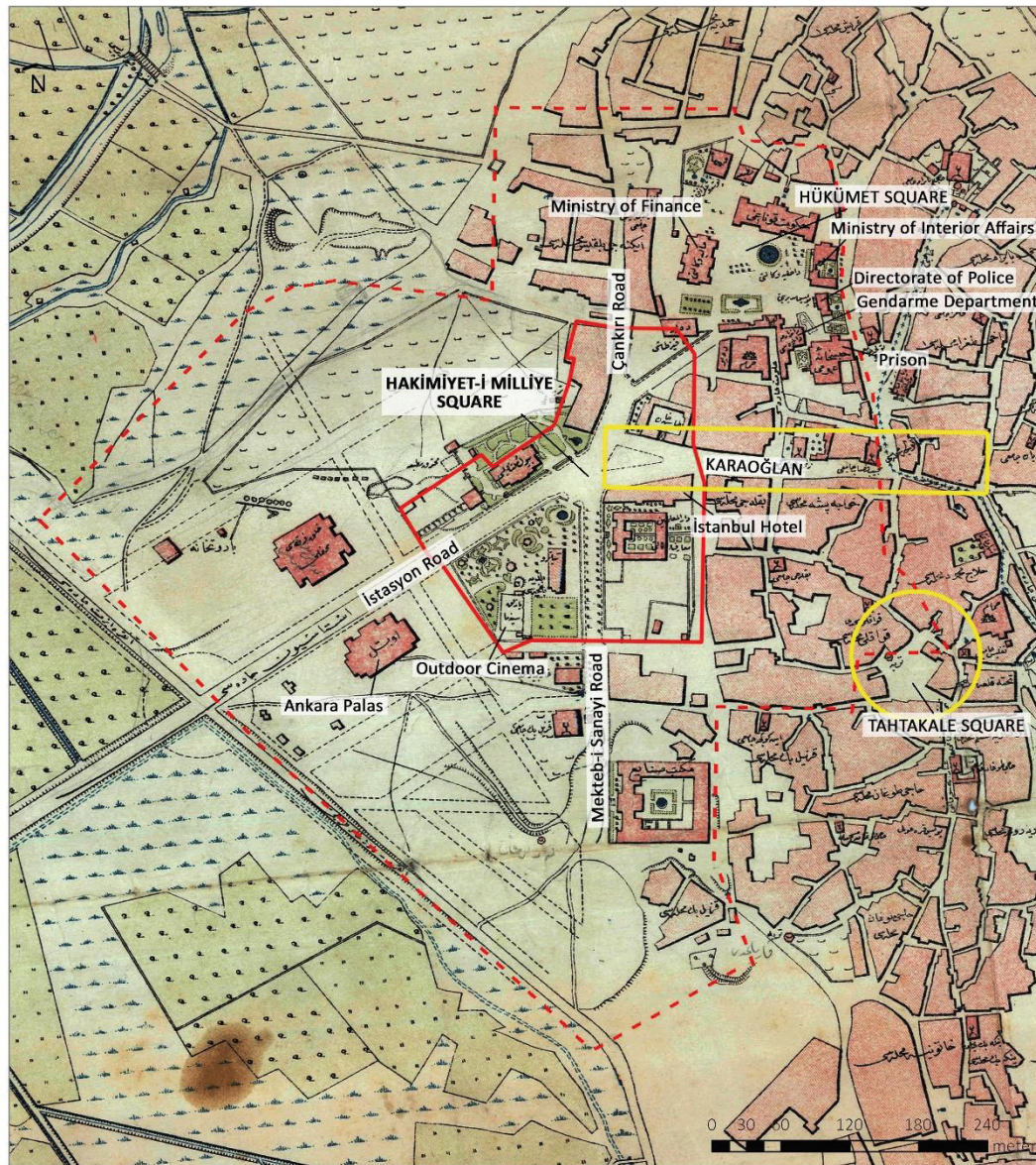
Figure 118 a. Partial view of Lörcher's plan (Goethe Institute: 2015) **b.** Lörcher's perspective drawing on Hakimiyyet-i Milliye Square, 1924-1925 (Cengizkan: 2004, 64)

For instance, Lörcher proposed widening the boundaries of Hakimiyyet-i Milliye Square, to change its form into a more rectangular/square shape with new monumental buildings around it (**Figure 118a, b**). He believed Hakimiyyet-i Milliye Square was the entrance point for Historic Ankara and the castle was the most beautiful part of the historic city (cited in Cengizkan: 2004, 85). Hence, it is clearly visible in his sketches

²⁵⁷ Contrary to what is believed, Cengizkan proposed that Lörcher's plans were not only responsible of Kızılay to be chosen as the next development area for the city, but also it was used as the main guidance for most of the plans that were prepared afterwards and it provided formation of several public open spaces in between the old and new areas of Ankara (Cengizkan: 2017, 220).

and plans that the view of the Castle was highlighted with a straight axis between Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square and the Castle.

He also proposed a statue at the centre of the square to improve the visual quality of the open space as the liveliest and most attractive part of the city. Moreover, he wanted to create vista points from new parts to historical areas, emphasizing the Castle. Although most of his ideas were not implemented for the square, his proposals regarding the landmarks and visual aspects were taken into consideration by the Municipality. The following sections discuss that, even though Lörcher's plan of Ankara was not fully implemented, his plan was used as guidance by the authorities and some of his ideas were utilised to form the spatial organization of the city between 1925 and 1929.



ULUS STUDY AREA in REPUBLICAN PERIOD/ 1924

Legend

Edifices

-  Monuments
-  Commercial Centre
-  Green Areas

Boundaries

-  Ulus Square
-  Larger Context of Ulus Square

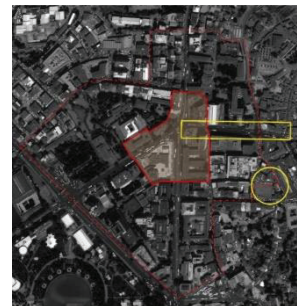


Figure 119 a. Ulus Study Area in Republican Period/ 1924 (Partial view of the map prepared by the Municipality)
b. Boundaries and commercial areas of Ulus Study Area in Republican Period/ 1924 labelled on Google Earth/2018

3.2.5. Hakimiyet-i Milliye/ Millet/ Ulus Square in 1924-1935

Constructing the Future next to A Frozen City

Starting from 1924, Ankara started to develop randomly and undergone a rapid change. The characteristics and location of many administrative and public buildings constructed within the new parts of the city were mainly developed through personal needs and daily trends. Additionally, the lack of a master plan resulted with the construction of distinct structures within historic parts of the city. Moreover, *İmar Müdürlüğü*/ Directorate of Urban Development²⁵⁸ was organised in 1923, but again their organisational structure could not function properly until the end of 1920s. On the other hand, there were important attempts to develop a framework for the urban development of Ankara during this period.

In parallel to these, an invitational competition was organised and three well-known European City planners (J. Brix, H. Jansen and L. Jausseley) were invited for the development of a master plan for Ankara (Vardar: 1989, 42).²⁵⁹ The committee accepted Hermann Jansen's proposal in 1929. However, due to the bureaucratic process and the insufficiency of number and quality of personnel to implement this plan, it was not possible to identify marks of Jansen's plan in the city until 1932. Therefore, the period is examined in two sections: before and after 1929.

²⁵⁸ Established in 1928 with the Act n. 1351, Directorate of Urban Development was the central authority that took the responsibility of planning the city of Ankara. Additionally, after the Act n. 1504, Directorate of Urban Development also gained the right to approve implementation of constructions, maps, plans and programmes within the city (Tankut: 1990, 92).

²⁵⁹ For detailed information on the proposals of J. Brix, H. Jansen and L. Jausseley, see Sarioğlu (2001: 52-60). For detailed information on H. Jansen's plan, see Vardar (1989: 42-50).

1924-1929: A Period with No Plan

*“Bilmiş olsaydım eğer cilve-i istikbali
Hiç kaçırmazdım elimden o güzel ikbali
Satarak hane-i viranımı dellal dellal
İki üç dükkan alırdım Karaoğlan mali...
...Koca Taşhan iki bin altına dellalde idi
Şimdi var mı acaba kıymetinin emsali...”*

*Kave-i Zalim/ Hüseyin Suad (Yedi Sene Evvel)*²⁶⁰

Between 1924 and 1929 Ankara continued to develop without a plan and its transformation was determined by two main factors: activities of the land speculators and the Law of Expropriation. Parallel to the increase in population and the demand for residential areas, land speculators became the main decision makers of urban development. Witnessing the change in land prices, Paul Gentizon was so bewildered that he wrote an article drawing attention to abnormal increase in land prices. He emphasised that “the price of a tiny house/land in Ankara was tenfold multiplied by the price in İstanbul.” And he believed this could soon create serious problems for the city to develop in a balanced way.²⁶¹

Another factor affecting the urban development was *İstimlak Kanunu*/ the Law of Expropriation n. 583.²⁶² It was enacted in 1925 to expedite public construction activities by the expropriation of vast amount of lands mainly in new parts of the city.²⁶³ This act became determinant in the axial development of the city from the old city towards Çankaya direction²⁶⁴ and the location of the future city of Ankara was defined by this law (Tekeli: 1978, 28, Tekeli: 1982, 58). For this reason, in a short

²⁶⁰ “What if I knew the fate of the future
I would never miss that beautiful prosperity
By loudly announcing to sell my ruined house
I would buy two-three shops at Karaoğlan...
... Huge Taşhan was worth under two thousand
I wonder if today there is any price for its value”

A poem with irony called *Yedi Sene Evvel*/ Seven Years Ago published on a magazine to attract public’s attention on speculations and the rise on rent prices (Dünkü Mizahımızdan Yazı ve Çizgiler, 45).

²⁶¹ An article published in Journal de Geneve, 02.02.1926 (cited in Şimşir: 2006, 390).

²⁶² This law was prepared by changing several clauses of *Ebniye Kanunu* (1882) (Görmez: 1997, 107).

²⁶³ According to Şahin, this act has primary importance for the preservation of the historic pattern that directed the development of the city not to the old pattern but to the newly planned areas (1995: 62).

²⁶⁴ According to Şenyapılı, location of Mustafa Kemal/ Atatürk’s residence (Çankaya) also affected the direction of city’s development (1985: 14).

period of time several construction activities were completed around Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square and its close vicinity, and additionally in the other parts of the new city such as Yenışehir district²⁶⁵ (Figure 147a, b).

Yeşilkaya states that, when the state desires to reorganize the city life, the establishment of a definite and standard program of construction in every city becomes important (cited in Yalım: 2001, 103). Since Ankara was the capital of the Republic, construction activities started immediately to create a model for the rest of the country. First of all, a new building for the National Assembly²⁶⁶ was constructed in 1924 along İstasyon Road, on the south-west of the previous one (Figure 120a, b). Starting from 1925, the former one started to function as the central building of *Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası* (CHF)/ The Republican People's Party²⁶⁷ (Arcayürek: 2005, 50).²⁶⁸ Consequently, the political and administrative importance of the road increased and this part of the road would soon be named as *Büyük Millet Meclisi Caddesi*/ The Grand National Assembly Road (Büyük Millet Meclisi Road), whereas the rest continued to be called as İstasyon Road.



Figure 120 a. During construction of the Second National Assembly (Selahattin Duman Archive) **b.** The Second National Assembly Building, 1924 (TA: 2017) **c.** Private garden of the Second National Assembly, 1926 (Cangır: 2007, 222)

²⁶⁵ *Memurin Evleri*/ Officials Houses which were constructed in Yenışehir district after the Law of Expropriation, were one of the first and most important attempts that directed the city to grow on southern parts, which would finally reach Çankaya area through Atatürk Boulevard (Keskinok: 2009, 42).

²⁶⁶ This building was previously designed to function as the central building of Halk Fırkası (the first political party of the Republic), but later utilised as the Second National Assembly (Yavuz: 1994, 203).

²⁶⁷ CHF (was founded by Mustafa Kemal) remained as the only political party till the foundation of *Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası* (SCF)/ Free Republican Party in 1930. But also, SCF was ordered to close after a brief life of three months (Keyder: 1987, 35) and monoparty period had continued almost for two decades.

²⁶⁸ After the relocation of the assembly, a new building for the newspaper was constructed at 30 Ağustos 1922 Road and the press house was moved to its new building around 1926-1927. The press house was labelled on the map of Kandemir (1932) with number 14 at 30 Ağustos 1922 Road. Moreover, the building was also labelled on the Cadastral Map which was prepared between 1925 and 1932.

Within two years, a vast and beautiful private garden with cascaded pools was implemented on the west of the Second National Assembly (**Figure 120c**). Talip Apaydın remembers this garden from his childhood as; “The garden of the Assembly is a heaven... They don’t let you in, but we can see it behind the walls. Pools, flowers, every kind of trees... That magnificence turns our head... Such a beauty that is impossible to express...” (cited in Kemal: 1983, 56). While Belediye Garden was used for leisure activities by the residents, *Meclis Bahçesi*/ the Assembly Garden (Meclis Garden) was the green open space of the state for formal activities (Yalım: 2017, 195).

Other public buildings that were constructed around Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square can be listed as; *Divan-ı Muhasebat*/ Court of Accounts (1925) (**Figure 121a**) and Ankara Palas (1927) (**Figure 121b**) – the first hotel with high standards – on Büyük Millet Meclisi Road, *Posta ve Telgraf Umum Müdürlüğü (PTT)*/ General Directorate of Post and Telegraph (1925)²⁶⁹ (**Figure 122a**), Lozan Palas (1926) (**Figure 122b**), *Tekel Baş Müdürlüğü*/ General Directorate of The State Monopolies (1928) (**Figure 122c**), *Osmanlı Bankası*/ Ottoman Bank (Osmanlı Bank) (**Figure 122d**) (1926) and *Ziraat Bankası*/ Agriculture Bank (Ziraat Bank)²⁷⁰ (1929) (**Figure 122e, f**) on Mekteb-i Sanayi Road, *Maliye Vekaleti*/ Ministry of Finance (1925) at Hükümet Square and its terraced garden on the west (**Figure 123a**), and *İş Bankası*/ Business Bank (İş Bank) (1929) (**Figure 123b**) on Çankırı Road close to the north of Taşhan. All of these buildings were designed in the First National Style, with references to the Seljukid and Ottoman architecture²⁷¹ and therefore they were seen as opposed to the 'national identity' that the new state was struggling to construct, with their facades evoking a collective memory rooted in the Ottoman past (Yalım: 2001, 108-109).²⁷² On the other hand, the location and density of construction activities indicate a departure from old Ankara (Işın: 2009, 13) and the increasing importance of Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square and its southern parts for the state.

²⁶⁹ Bağlum stated that a *han* was previously located at the same place where PTT was built (1992: 61).

²⁷⁰ Short after, an additional building for Ziraat Bank was constructed on the west of the main building (**Figure 147** and **Figure 122f**).

²⁷¹ For further information on the main features of this style (Aslanoğlu, 1986: 16-17).

²⁷² Later on, other public buildings were going to be constructed with a completely different/new style that would represent the image of modernisation period.



Figure 121 Buildings constructed on Büyük Millet Meclisi Road **a.** Court of Accounts, 1927 (Cangır: 2007, 546) **b.** Ankara Palas, 1927 (Cangır: 2007, 1056)



Figure 122 Buildings constructed on Mekteb-i Sanayi Road **a.** PTT (Dericizade: 2016) **b.** Lozan Palas, 1929 (Atılım University Archive: 2016) **c.** General Directorate of The State Monopolies, 1930 (Cangır: 2007, 795) **d.** Osmanlı Bank, 1928 (Cangır: 2007, 801) **e.** Ziraat Bank, 1930 (Cangır: 2007, 455) **f.** Ziraat Bank and its annex (VEKAM: 0525)

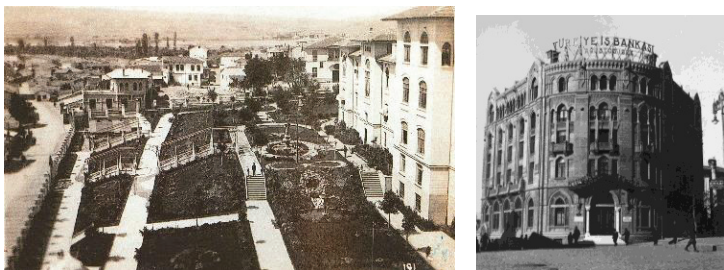


Figure 123 Buildings constructed on Çankırı Road **a.** Ministry of Finance and its terraced garden, 1929 (Cangır: 2007, 849) **b.** İş Bank facing Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square, 1930 (İş Bank Archive)

Parallel to new constructions, refunctioning of existing building also continued to change Ankara day by day. After Independence Tribunal lost its function²⁷³, authorities decided to re-use the building with minor interventions, as a meeting place called *Mahfel* (Milli Nevsal: 1924, 85) (**Figure 124a-c**).²⁷⁴ On the other hand, Darülmualimin started to be used entirely by the Ministry of Education, *Düyun-u Umumiye* by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (until it was burned down in 1930) and the Vilayet as the Prime Ministry.

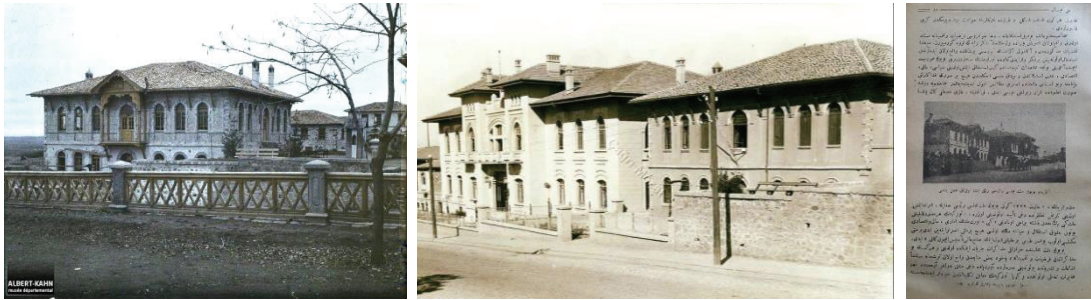


Figure 124 a. Independence Tribunal, 1922 (Frédéric Gadmer Archive, A036956) **b.** Court of Accounts on the left and *Mahfel* on the right, 1927 (TA: 2017) **c.** An introductory text on *Mahfel* and the First National Assembly Building in *Milli Nevsal*/ National Annual (1924: 85)

However, rapid urbanisation necessitating additional spaces for construction activities resulted with the demolishment of several monumental buildings through the law of expropriation in the historic parts of Ankara. On Mekteb-i Sanayi Road, one of the eldest and important monuments of Ankara, Kızılbey Complex (13th century) was demolished to open space for Ziraat Bank (1929).²⁷⁵ On the other hand, the former *Düyun-u Umumiye* building that was being transformed into the Ministry of Foreign Affairs during early Republican Period, was burned down in 1930.²⁷⁶

²⁷³ Independence Tribunals had been repealed two years after their opening, and most of these buildings were either used with a new function or completely demolished.

²⁷⁴ Although the building continued to be used for meetings, there is no detailed information related to its function (can be used for private sessions, or used as a restaurant, concert hall etc.).

²⁷⁵ In 1921 the article published in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* newspaper, announced that; Ministry of Education has the idea to repair one of the beautiful examples of Seljuk period architecture like Kızılbey Complex that is in a bad condition, and re-use this monument as the national library (08.07.1921). However, till the demolition of the building in 1929, no further activity was done.

²⁷⁶ Even though there is no information on the date of *Düyun-u Umumiye* fire, it is clearly visible on several photos that it continued to be used after the erection of Ziraat Bank (**Figure 153a**). Additionally, the Central Bank was constructed on the area where *Düyun-u Umumiye* was located. Thus, it is possible to suggest that it was burnt down between the construction of Ziraat Bank and the Central Bank, which was approximately dated between 1929 and 1931.

Along with these changes, the last decade also witnessed a great interest in widening existing roads, opening new ones and renaming of them for ideological purposes.²⁷⁷ These works were considered as an important issue and had an irremediable effect on the physical and social aspects of the city. For instance, a new axis “İstiklal Road” was opened to connect south end of Mekteb-i Sanayi Road-Hergelen Square to the west of Büyük Millet Meclisi Road (**Figure 125a, Figure 147a, b**).²⁷⁸ A new open space *Baruthane Meydanı*/ Gunpowder Square²⁷⁹ emerged at their junction (**Figure 125b**). At the same time, by connecting these roads to each other, a triangular area was defined by the Municipality as the new construction zone (**Figure 125c**). Consequently, the swampy land next to it should be drained to be used for future development activities. In this sense, it is possible to state that first activities were started in 1925 to implement the idea of a city park (*Gençlik Parkı*/ Youth Park).²⁸⁰



Figure 125 a. İstiklal Road, 1928 (Cangır: 2007, 180) **b.** Baruthane Square, 1926 (Cangır: 2007, 781) **c.** Aerial view of the triangular space, 1938 (Cangır: 2007, 1405)

Since old roads in the historic parts of the city were not suitable for vehicular traffic, certain roads had to be widened to connect old and new centres of the city. The widening works were held to connect Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square to Samanpazarı²⁸¹ through Karaoğlan Road, *Balık Pazarı* and *Uzunçarşı* as a continuous axis (50 Yıllık

²⁷⁷ Public open space names have the potential to be imprinted on both individual and collective memory easily, and therefore naming of streets with ideological purposes became essential for ideological memory production projects (Özkan and Yoloğlu: 2005, 55). Within this context, for a certain period, most of the boulevards, roads and streets received names reminding the times of war, victory, independence, proclamation of the republic and most importantly main figures of those times. Some of those names were; *Cumhuriyet*/ Republic, *İstiklal*/ Independence, *Anafartalar*, *Gazi Mustafa Kemal*, *İnönü*, *Necatibey*, *Mithat Paşa* etc.

²⁷⁸ The shortcut between Mekteb-i Sanayi Road and İstasyon Road – starting between Ziraat Bank and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and finalized at the north of Ankara Palas – was emerged during 1924-1929 period. Today, this street is not permeable, but it is possible to trace its path on aerial photos and also through referencing from the other parallel street called İnebolu Street (**Figure 147a, b**).

²⁷⁹ A *Baruthane*/Gunpowder Magazine was located on the southwest of the Second National Assembly, on an area close to the intersection of main roads. This is why the square was named as Baruthane Square.

²⁸⁰ First activities to drain the swampy land was started in 1926 (Hakimiyet-i Milliye: 22.03.1926) and after several interruptions, construction of the park was completed in 1944.

²⁸¹ The Ambassador of Afghanistan Sultan Ahmet Han described Samanpazarı areas as; it was enlarged and paved with asphalt, and now what had remained from the square is only its name (cited in Uluğ: 1997, 215)

Yaşantımız: 1975, 25). This axis was called Anafartalar Road²⁸² and in a short period of time, it became one of the main arteries of the old city.²⁸³ Awning shops lined along the sidewalks were abundantly stacked to meet all kinds of needs ranging from stationary to cologne, from shoes to clothes (Tanyer: 2009, 139).²⁸⁴ Moreover, Anafartalar Road also occupied with administrative and educational buildings and became the liveliest part of the old Ankara.



Figure 126 Transformation of İstasyon Road, before and after road works **a.** 1920 (BNF: ark:/12148/btv1b53119802t) **b.** 1930 (Cangir: 2007, 1043)

After the Law of Expropriation, main roads of Ankara including Çankırı Road, Karaoğlan Road²⁸⁵, İstasyon Road²⁸⁶ (**Figure 126a, b**) and Büyük Millet Meclisi Road were widened, paved and planted with trees²⁸⁷ (Cengizkan: 2004, 52, 59). For instance, in 1926-1929, most of the one or two storey high buildings with traditional architectural aspects located at the west part of Çankırı Road were demolished and the road was widened to west direction in 1930-1931 (**Figure 127a**). Moreover, lot boundaries were rearranged either by combinations or subdivisions between 1924 and 1932 (**Figure 127b, c**). In a short period of time, buildings with different functions such as; Meydan Palas, Koç Han and the new building of Kulüp Cinema were aligned

²⁸² The name of the road is referring to the Anafartalar Victory of Mustafa Kemal as the commander, which was considered as one of the turning points of the Gallipoli Battle in 1915.

²⁸³ Even though the name Karaoğlan continued to be used by the public, after 1925 in official documents it was labelled as a part of Anafartalar Road. Moreover this road was so long that, for a certain period of time it was divided in to two: Anafartalar I and Anafartalar 2. Therefore, even its name had changed to Anafartalar, for this study the name Karaoğlan is continued to be used to refer a specific section of Anafartalar Road that has a critical role on transformation of the square.

²⁸⁴ Even, one of the most famous furniture shops of the period was opened by the interior designer Refik Selahattin Sırmalı was believed to be located at Anafartalar Road (Tosun and Özsu: 2014, 219).

²⁸⁵ Koç mentioned that, one of the houses that were demolished during the widening of Karaoğlan Road is their home with a shop on the ground floor. This is why they constructed a new building called *Koç Han* on the northeast of National Assembly (1983: 33, 35) (**Figure 152a**).

²⁸⁶ Additionally, *İstasyon Meydanı*/ Station Square was reorganized and paved with cobblestone in 1928 (50 Yıllık Yaşantımız: 1975, 42).

²⁸⁷ During his first visit to Ankara, Kurdaş – who was the Minister of Finance in 1961 – realised that most of the trees planted were acacia (1990: 130).

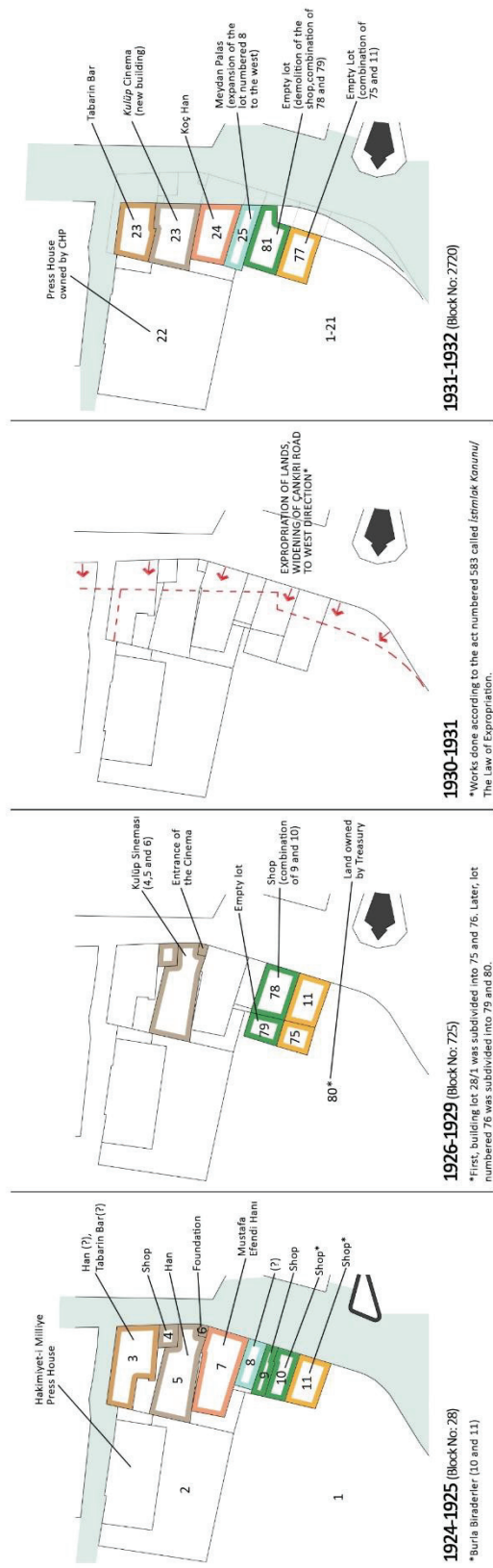
along the south-west part of Çankırı Road facing Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square (Table 5).



Figure 127 a. Transformation of Çankırı Road **a.** During the works for widening the road (50 Yıllık Yaşantımız: 1975, 51) **b.** 1924-1925, before the demolishments (Cangır: 2007, 547) **c.** 1932, after the demolishments, construction of new buildings to the same building lots (Atalay Franck: 2013, 102)

Table 5 Land subdivisions of south-west part of Çankırı Road between 1924 and 1932

**ÇANKIRI CADDESİ: BEFORE AND AFTER EXPROPRIATION*
SUBDIVISION OF THE LANDS, FUNCTIONAL TRANSFORMATION**



* To emphasize the change on land subdivisions between 1924 and 1932, only boundaries of building lots that were re-arranged/re-functioned are labelled with colors.

There were also urban development activities around Hükümet Square. For instance, Military Storehouse was demolished for the construction of İş Bank (Şapolyo: 1971, 62). The narrow street connecting Çankırı Road and Hükümet Square was also widened, paved and started to be named as *Kıztaşı Caddesi*/ Girlstone Road²⁸⁸. On the other hand, İğneli Belkıs Mosque (18th century) and Hasan Paşa Bath (1508) were demolished to widen existing roads around Hükümet Square (Mamboury: 2014, 146, Artun et al.: 1946, 213) (**Figure 128a, b**).²⁸⁹ In relation to this, Hükümet Road became a direct axis connecting Karaoğlan and Hükümet Square, and was renamed as Hasanpaşa Road.²⁹⁰ Moreover, the main street connecting Karaoğlan and Hacıbayram Mosque/ Temple of Augustus, was enlarged by demolishing Kuyulu Mosque, its coffee house and several buildings, and named as Hükümet Road (**Figure 147a**). After the demolishments, an additional green space was arranged at Hükümet Square as a new public open space (**Figure 128c**). Consequently, the area defined by Çankırı Road, Hükümet Square, Karaoğlan and Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square became more permeable with the continuation of surrounding streets.



Figure 128 a. Julian Column and Hasan Paşa Bath on the back, 1922 (Frédéric Gadmer Archive, A037019) b. Hasan Paşa Bath was demolished in 1927-1928 to create space for new roads (TA: 2016) c. Hükümet Square, 1929 (Cangır: 2007, 857)

As a result of urban construction activities, several districts became more permeable and accessible. With wide and more comfortable roads, transportation with motor vehicles became much easier. In addition to private cars, it was possible to see first

²⁸⁸ Instead of using the name “Julian Column”, most of the locals preferred to refer this column either as *Kıztaşı*/ Girlstone or Belkız Sütunu. Therefore, this street where Julian Column/ *Kıztaşı* located, was called as *Kıztaşı Road*.

²⁸⁹ At Hükümet Square, not all of the buildings were demolished but also some of them were reused with a new public function. For instance: Telegraph Office was first transformed into *Hukuk Mektebi*/ School of Law and then *Hukuk Fakültesi*/ Faculty of Law (Şenyapılı: 1985, 24-25).

²⁹⁰ After the widening of the street parallel to Hasanpaşa Road, it became the main road for vehicular traffic to reach Hükümet Square. Thus, this road was named as Hükümet Road.

public buses called *Kaptıkaçtı*²⁹¹ managed by private companies/ individuals together with buses²⁹² managed by İmalat-ı Harbiye (**Figure 129a, b and AppendixA1**) on the main roads of Ankara. Eventually, Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square became the central location for bus stops.



Figure 129 a. *Kaptıkaçtı* in front of Taşhan, 1927 (Cangır: 2007, 1073) **b.** *Kaptıkaçtı* in front of the First National Assembly, 1928 (Önen: 2004, 22)

The construction of public and residential buildings had continued expeditiously around Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square and also in the empty lots that are close to Büyük Millet Meclisi Road, İstasyon Road, Çankırı Road and Mekteb-i Sanayi Road. According to Yavuz, especially the triangular area defined by Mekteb-i Sanayi, Büyük Millet Meclisi and İstiklal Roads were filled with numerous buildings symbolising the power and pride of the Republic (1994: 202). First of all, four model houses were built to the right of Ankara Palas, for *Evkaf* Foundations (Koyunoğlu, cited in Birkan and Pehlivanlı: 1977, 11). Afterwards, *Sanayi ve Maadin Bankası*/ Industry and Mine Bank (Sanayi ve Maadin Bank)²⁹³ and İş Bank²⁹⁴ rented two of these buildings located at Baruthane Square (**Figure 130**).

²⁹¹ Grey in colour, carries up to 5, 6 or 8 people (Halil Makaracı, cited in Ergir: 2017). These vehicles are clearly visible in the documentary called *Türkiye'nin Kalbi Ankara*/ Ankara, The Heart of Turkey, in the scenes shown between 07:52 and 07:59.

²⁹² Upper parts in light yellow and lower parts in green colour, carries up to 12-14 people (Halil Makaracı, cited in Ergir: 2017).

²⁹³ *Türkiye Sanayi ve Maadin Bankası Kanunu*/ The Law of Industry and Mine Bank of Turkey (Kanunlar Dergisi: 1935, 224-225).

²⁹⁴ In 1924, İş Bank begun to operate in a building that was rented from Directory of Evkaf for the period until construction of the new building at Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square (Uluğ: 1997, 222 and 50 Yıllık Yaşantımız: 1975, 190). Additionally, Bağlum stated that, the first building of İş Bank was operating in one of the two storey houses of Evkaf Konutları that was located at İstasyon Road (1992, 138).

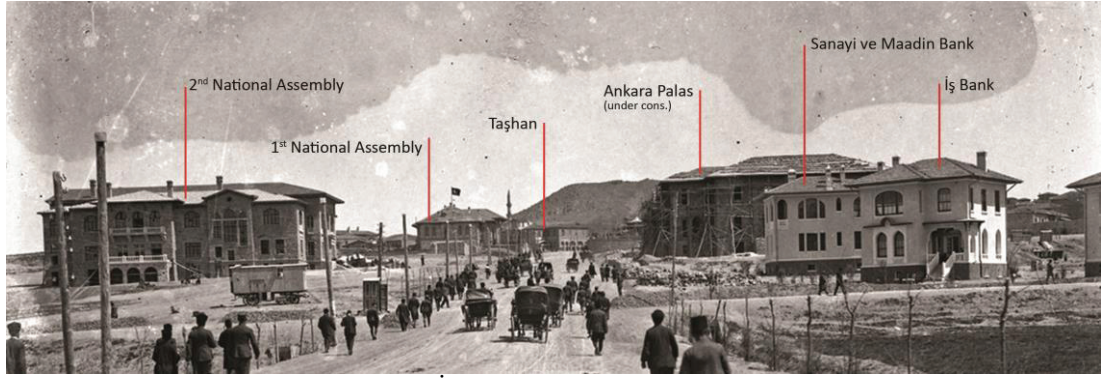


Figure 130 Sanayi ve Maadin Bank and İş Bank at Baruthane Square, early 1920s (Levent Civelekoğlu Archive)

Moreover, next to İş Bank, on the land owned by Evkaf, several detached houses (Evkaf Konutları²⁹⁵) and two apartment blocks – the First Evkaf Apartmanı (soon started to function as a hotel called Belvü Palas²⁹⁶, **Figure 131a**) and the Second Evkaf Apartmanı²⁹⁷ – were constructed. Designed by Kemalettin Bey and contracted by Arif Hikmet Bey (Cengizkan: 2009, 40), these buildings were the epitome of Ankara's modern image during the first years of the Republic (**Figure 131b, c**).²⁹⁸ Since it was the demand of state authorities to create a modern urban space through the outcomes of construction works (Bilgen: 1985, 18), Evkaf Konutları were introduced as the prototype of how a residential building in modern Ankara should look like.



Figure 131 a. Belvü Palas, 1929 (VEKAM: 1084) **b.** Evkaf Konutları²⁹⁹, 1926 (Cangır: 2007, 1051) **c.** The Second office building of İş Bank³⁰⁰, 1925 (Cangır: 2007, 518)

²⁹⁵ According to the state newspaper *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, these houses were built in two storeys, either with four or five rooms, with a kitchen and a bathroom in modern standards and a room for the house maid (23.07.1924, 1).

²⁹⁶ Arcayürek defined this hotel as one of the most important hotels of 1930s in Ankara (2005: 133).

²⁹⁷ This building hosted some of the most notable figures of that period such as: Orhan Veli Kanık (poet), Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar (writer) and Saip Tuna (painter).

²⁹⁸ In the newspapers of the period, these six storey high apartment blocks were defined as a small city, a universe on their own (Şenol Cantek: 2003, 109).

²⁹⁹ Residential buildings that were constructed on new parts of Ankara between İstasyon, Bankalar and İstiklal Roads. Especially single detached houses were mainly used not as a residence but an embassy or a bank. According to Arcayürek, one of those houses was rented as American Embassy (2005: 20).

³⁰⁰ Due to the rapid increase on workload of İş Bank, in a short amount of time the first building became inadequate to meet the needs of the Bank. "Therefore general directory and the branch moved to another Evkaf Building located at İstiklal Road" (Uluğ: 1997, 222).

Concurrently, in Yenışehir, *Memurin Evleri*/ Officials Houses were built as the first attempt of the state to develop a modern residential area in 1925 (50 Yıllık Yaşantımız: 1975, 29) (**Figure 132**). As prototypes of modern houses, Falih Rıfkı Atay also celebrated these activities in state-based newspaper called *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* and advised others to pay attention to the appearance of their houses (*Örnek Şehir*/ Ideal City: 01.08.1929);

Everything that forms the outer look of the city; building facades, building heights, building colours, window shapes, garden and woodland forms, fences, even a small sales buffet, will all be under the control of city artists. Everybody can decorate the interior of their house, but their taste cannot go out from the door. It is the right of the artist to create and resurrect that public image.



Figure 132 Emergence of Yenışehir first started by the construction of one storey single houses. This photo was taken from the second construction site located at Kazım Özalp Road, 1927 (50 Yıllık Yaşantımız: 1975, 29)

With the rapid urban transformation mainly concentrated in new parts, Ankara became surprisingly beautiful and young in a short period of time (Faruk Nafiz Çamlıbel: 2001, 82). The location of construction activities was the first sign for the city to grow to the direction of Yenışehir³⁰¹/ Çankaya.³⁰² On the other hand, a more fragmentary development approach was experienced in the historic parts of the city. Instead of re-organising urban spaces or repair of buildings, the authorities preferred to freeze the old city until they find a solution on how to deal with it (Bademli: 1985, 11-12).

³⁰¹ The first step to build Yenışehir was dated back to May 1925, when the empty lands that were located on the south of settlement areas, beyond the railway were expropriated (Batuman: 2017, 43).

³⁰² First official document that defines the emergence of Kızılay Square (first called as Cumhuriyet, then as Kurtuluş and finally got its name from the Kızılay Building that defined its western boundary) at Yenışehir district was a technical drawing on a gas line construction dated back to 1929. On that document, Kızılay Square was labelled as a traffic node (Cengizkan: 2004, 75).

The dual planning approach regarding the old and new parts of the city started to create a double character for Ankara. It was the period of Republican values to clash with values of traditional Turkish society (Görmez: 2004, 41). If old parts of Ankara were representing the Ottoman life, then new parts should be organised as a scene by the founders of the Republic to materialise their ideology. The physical transformation of the small Ottoman town into a modern capital was seen as a counterpart to the nation's social transformation that would gradually affect the resident's daily habits and urban practices (Batuman: 2008, 101).

The duality of planning approaches can easily be followed in the daily life of different groups living in Ankara. The first group is the locals of Ankara “*yerli*” who continued to live in historic parts with limited urban facilities (**Figure 133a**).³⁰³ They had financial problems, their houses were in poor condition, and most importantly they did not know how to adapt modern life. On the other hand, the second group was composed of wealthy and educated newcomers mainly from İstanbul and called by the locals as “*yaban/stranger*” (**Figure 133b**).³⁰⁴ This group would have composed the first example of the core of bourgeoisie and became the object of the modern life style (Batuman: 2017, 46-47). They were almost ready to interiorize main aspects of the new Republican ideology. Most importantly, they preferred to live in the new parts of the city, where an embodiment of the Republican ideology had concentrated. By considering this group as the apostle of the new regime/ modernism, Şenol Canteke believed that one of the main reasons behind their existence in the city is transforming the daily life of Ankara (2006: 46).³⁰⁵

³⁰³ According to Sertel, in 1923 locals who are living in historical districts of Ankara cannot be identified as poor people, they are worse than poor. On the other hand, they were the real figures and witnesses of War of Independence. They are the absolute reality of Anatolia (1977: 116). Additionally in his novel called *Ankara*, Karaosmanoğlu also depicted the severe urban conditions of historical districts of Ankara mentioning that, none of the houses had electricity or water (2001: 137).

³⁰⁴ A new comer from İstanbul, Falih Rıfkı Atay narrated his experience with one of the locals of Ankara as: *Yerliler* were calling us as *yaban* and they don't like to interact with our community... we were total strangers to each of us (2010: 441).

³⁰⁵ The image of the new, Western-looking Turkish woman was symbolising Republican modernity more forcefully than any other image. This was in keeping with the early twentieth century trends where “the new woman” came to symbolise the new nation and its modernist and nationalist ideals... Women's issues such as women's education, women's public visibility, and women's appearance were also central to the Kemalist project of cultural transformation (Yılmaz: 2013, 78).



Figure 133 a. Locals of Ankara (*yerli*) living in the old parts of the city, 1929 (PIN: 2017) b. Newcomers (*yaban*) waiting at the train station, 1928 (EAFF: 2016) c. Local of Ankara (*yerli*) at Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square (VEKAM: 0230)

The third group can be defined under two main sub-groups; immigrants coming either from abroad or other parts of the country. The first group was mainly composed of the immigrants who came to Turkey with the help of the government and therefore their arrival can be considered as a planned activity.³⁰⁶ Whereas, the other group that was composed of villagers migrated from rural areas of the country to find jobs in the new capital, created several problems for the city. Called as *Yorganlılar*/ People with Duvets, this group of people were working for a small amount of money, living in harsh conditions and most of them were sleeping on the streets by snuggling their duvets (Aslandaş and Bıçakçı: 1995, 246). Since their population was not crowded enough to create a community, they did not contribute to the spatial organisation of Ankara till 1930s (Şahin: 1995, 63). But on the other hand, their presence was considered as a threat to the Republican image of the city since it was almost like a rule for Ankara residents not to enter the city centre either with their traditional clothes or animals (Akşit: 2006, 164).³⁰⁷

Even though, there was a public pressure to keep new parts of Ankara homogeneous in terms of wealth, political view and daily life of the people, the city centre was always an attraction point for different groups. During those days, every resident had visited or passed through Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square at least once a day and they became familiar after seeing each other for several times (Çağlayangil: 1990, 106).

³⁰⁶ Between 1923 and 1929, more than 500.000 people had migrated mainly from Greece, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to Turkey, and only a small amount of these groups were placed in Ankara (İnkaya: 1972, 50). Therefore their arrival didn't create a big housing problem for Ankara.

³⁰⁷ In 1930, the municipality published a notice in Hakimiyet-i Milliye newspaper that was warning the residents not to graze their cows, sheep and lambs at the city, and not to walk with the animals on the streets of Ankara. The ones who do not obey this notice would be heavily punished (06.07.1930).

Both for locals and newcomers, Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square was the centre of the city where they met their daily needs (Güneş: 2013, 17). As being located at the intersection of old and new parts of the city, Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square would have witnessed the clash of lifestyles with opposite socio-cultural and financial backgrounds and its reflection on daily practices (**Figure 133c**). As mentioned by the Italian journalist Giovanni Alessio³⁰⁸ (cited in Şimşir: 2006, 378):

It is possible to see two different civilisations in Ankara. On one hand, a city dated back to Seljuks, on the other hand, the new city. On one hand, the sound of ezan coming from minaret, on the other hand, Charleston dances of New York. There are always conflicts in the city of Ankara which reminds far west cities of America. There is a continuous clash between old and new, ‘poem of the past and prose of the day’...

This duality can also be followed in the description of W.M.³⁰⁹, on the street life of Ankara (cited in Şimşir: 2006, 396):

Streets of Ankara display amusing scenes of two civilisations side by side... Here is a camel train coming from the deepest parts of Asia and history. Here are nomads walking around, here is black veiled women waiting in front of the fountain and the crowd of Samanpazarı. On the other side here is a man wearing a hat, woman without a veil and fast cars raising dust. And thousands of electric lights that illuminate the city for *Cumhuriyet Bayramı*/ Republic Day...

Between 1924 and 1929, Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square was transformed into one of the most important urban spaces of Ankara than ever before. It was located at the junction of the main roads like Büyük Millet Meclisi/ İstasyon, Çankırı, Mekteb-i Sanayi and Karaoğlan. Since it was the introductory space of the city for the visitors traveling by train, the company called Wagons Lits³¹⁰ (luxurious trains with sleeping coaches and restaurant) opened its ticket agency at Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square on Mekteb-i Sanayi

³⁰⁸ “Ankara: The City of Conflicts” published on Il Giornale d’Italia, 4.June.1927.

³⁰⁹ An article called “Angora” published on Journal de Geneve, 16.November.1927.

³¹⁰ After the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey, Director of State Railways entered into an agreement with Wagons-Lits (spelled and written as *Vagonli* in Turkish) in 1924, to operate a luxurious trains with sleeping coaches and restaurant between Ankara and İstanbul. Starting from 1924 till 1972 *Vagonli*/ Wagons-Lits continued to operate trains in Turkey (Çelebi: 2017, *The History*, Wagons-Lits-Diffusion: 2017).

Road³¹¹, next to one of the most important hotels in Ankara, Lozan Palas in 1925-1929³¹² (**Figure 134a, b and Figure 143**). Moreover, Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square played an important role in commercial activities, since it was close to Karaoğlan which was the main core of commercial activities. Most of the commercial activities were centred on the main roads and secondary streets located in between Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square, Karaoğlan, *Balık Pazarı*, Tahtakale³¹³ and Suluhan (Tunçer: 2001, 89). On the other hand, administrative centre was located in the area between Büyük Millet Meclisi Road and Hükümet Square since it hosted most of the governmental buildings.



Figure 134 Vagonli Ticket Agency labelled with red arrow **a.** Vagonli on the left and Lozan Palas on the right (Bir Zamanlar Ankara: 1993, 51) **b.** Private garden of Darülmualimin and Vagonli attached on its south fence (Keskinok: 2009, 144)

Concurrently, the new financial centre was emerging also in/around the square. As the indicator of the financial transformation which is inseparable from the political transformation that had started with the proclamation of the Republic (Altan Ergut: 2005, 28), the head offices of Turkish Banks begun to build around Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square, especially on Mekteb-i Sanayi Road. In a short amount of time, the road became the financial axis of the city with the opening of several banks including the Ottoman Bank, Ziraat Bank and İş Bank (**Figure 147**). Its name soon changed to

³¹¹ On following years, together with several other factors, the opening of Vagonli ticket agency also affected the direction of commercial activities to expand on Mekteb-i Sanayi Road.

³¹² This building was absent in 1924 map, whereas it is possible to see the building on photos taken after 1925. By referring to the opening date of the company in Turkey in 1924, it is assumed that the ticket agency of Vagonli was opened between 1925 and 1929.

³¹³ Comprised of small and wooden adjoining huts, Tahtakale Bazaar would be filled with people, as well as stray donkeys and horses. There was always a commotion at the bazaar... The villagers of Ankara would sell goods like chicken, yogurt, and firewood they brought from their villages and would purchase their needs including chintz, sandals, copper bowls, spoons, mirrors, combs, and other objects (Tanyer: 2009, 131).

Bankalar Caddesi/ Banks Road during the first decade of the Republic (Tunçer: 2014, 32).

Regarding the concentration of leisure time activities, Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square was also a central location. It is known that the first and only public garden with its cinema was located in this square. Milli Cinema was such a popular place for the people of Ankara that, it continued to function until 1929 when it was completely burned down.³¹⁴ Halil Makaracı remembers a great sorrow among the public after the demolition of this cinema (cited in Bozyiğit: 1999, 172). On the other hand, *Kulüp Sineması/ Kulüp Cinema* (Club Cinema) located at the junction of Çankırı Road and 30 Ağustos 1922 Road (today's Rüzgarlı Street) was also an important place for public activity.³¹⁵ It had started to function after the adaptation of Hacı Bekir and Veli Usta Hanı into a cinema during mid-1920s and rebuilt as a modern cinema building in 1930-1931 (**Figure 135a-c**). Starting from 1930s, Kulüp Cinema attracted public's attention and increased the daily usage of Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square accordingly.



Figure 135 a. Side view of Kulüp Cinema (re-use of two hans and their small shop) before the demolishments (Yavuz İşçen Archive) **b.** Entrance of Kulüp Cinema at Çankırı Road, mid-20's (Tanyer: 2012, 521) **c.** New Building of Kulüp Cinema, 1932 (Atalay Franck: 2013, 102)

³¹⁴ This fire also affected the garden and Ankara Şehremaneti had to redesign and open it again for the public (Sahil: 1986, 184).

³¹⁵ Halil Makaracı explained interior of the cinema in detail (cited in Bozyiğit: 1999, 172).

In 1928, Şakir Bey Hanı at Karaoğlan was redesigned with additional mass as one of the first cinemas of Ankara (Tanyer: 2012, 526). Named as *Yeni Sinema*/Yeni Cinema (New Cinema), this building brightened up the evenings of the residents (**Figure 136a, b**). Its entrance floor, which was a coffee house previously utilised for the private meetings during the War of Independence, started to be used as the entrance hall of the cinema (Şapolyo: 1971, 61). The additional mass was utilised as the stage of the cinema (**Figure 136c, d**).

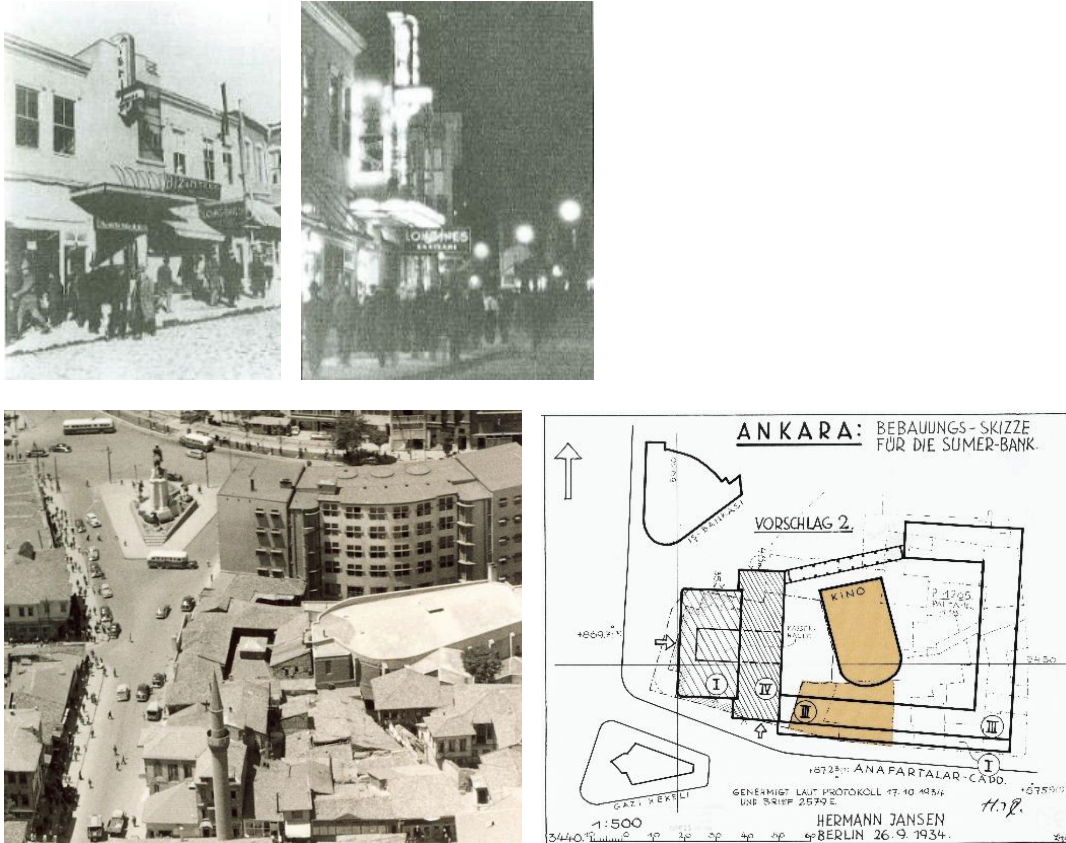


Figure 136 a. Entrance of Yeni Cinema, 1930's (APKBFA: 1994, 101) **b.** Yeni Cinema illuminated during the night, 1930's (APKBFA: 1994, 101) **c.** Aerial photo of Yeni Cinema, late 1940s (VEKAM: 0520 partial) **d.** Şakir Bey Hanı and the additional mass on its north (Proposal of Jansen in 1934, Hermann Jansen: Projekte: In. No: 22790)

Next to the entrance of Yeni Cinema, there was a Longines Clock Shop (**Figure 136a, b**)³¹⁶ where everybody passing by stopped and set their watches according to its clock set to Greenwich on display (Halil Makaracı, cited in Ergir: 2017). On the other side

³¹⁶ Lonjin Saatleri owned by Abdülhalim Ahmet Kardeşler, located at Anafartalar Road N. 25, Ulus (Artun et al.: 1946, 224).

of the Karaoğlan, İstanbul Pastanesi³¹⁷, as one of the most popular meeting place was located (**Figure 137a-c**). In his article called *Geçerken*, Burhan Asaf described his feelings about İstanbul Pastanesi as; “it is a need during daytime, it is a need during night time, it is a need after midnight that is to say after bar time.” (Hakimiyet-i Milliye: 30.01.1929).



Figure 137 İstanbul Pastanesi a. On the left side of the monument, 1927 (VEKAM: 1026) b. 1930s (PIN: 2017) c. Detailed view, 1930s (TA: 2016)

Another important meeting point for dining was a restaurant called Karpiç.³¹⁸ After Taşhan was repaired, its upper floor was converted into a modern hotel and its courtyard into a restaurant (Seyfettin Taşhan, cited in Bağlum: 1992, 36) (**Figure 138b**). For the courtyard, Cemal Bey (the owner of Taşhan, son of İsmail Bey) invited *Juri Georges Karpovitch/ Karpiç Baba* (**Figure 138a**) – who was a restaurateur in Russia and escaped from the revolution to İstanbul³¹⁹ – to open a restaurant serving in modern conditions. In 1928, the first restaurant of Ankara, Şölen Lokantası³²⁰/ Karpiç³²¹ was opened, which was a milestone for Ankara that tablecloths, towels and forks-knives were changed for every customer in a restaurant for the first time (50

³¹⁷ İstanbul Pastanesi was popular among teachers, journalists, painters, officers, politicians and notable figures of the period. There were specific groups of people regularly visiting this place including Şevket Rado, Samet Ağaoğlu, Şapolyo, Hüseyin Rahmi and Yahya Kemal (Şapolyo: 1971, 59).

³¹⁸ Even though *Şölen Lokantası/ Feast Restaurant* was the official name of the restaurant, Karpiç Lokantası was used commonly by the public. This is why, the name Karpiç will be used to refer this restaurant. For detailed information see İlkin (1994: 66).

³¹⁹ Türkiye İş Bankası, Kültür ve Sanat Dergisi (1993: 29).

³²⁰ Even though Tanrıkulu (1985: 23-24) and some others mention the name of the restaurant as “Şehir Lokantası”, it is known that the name *Şölen* would change to *Şehir* during the relocation of the restaurant in 1932.

³²¹ Since most of the Turkish people could not spell its name easily, instead of Karpovitch the Turkish pronunciation *Karpiç* was used regularly by the people of Ankara (Tanyer: 2006, 16).

Yıllık Yaşantımız: 1975, 82) (**Figure 138c**). Moreover, again it was the first time in the history of Ankara that in a restaurant women and men were eating good food together (without any separator) and listening to music (Bağlum: 1992, 144).

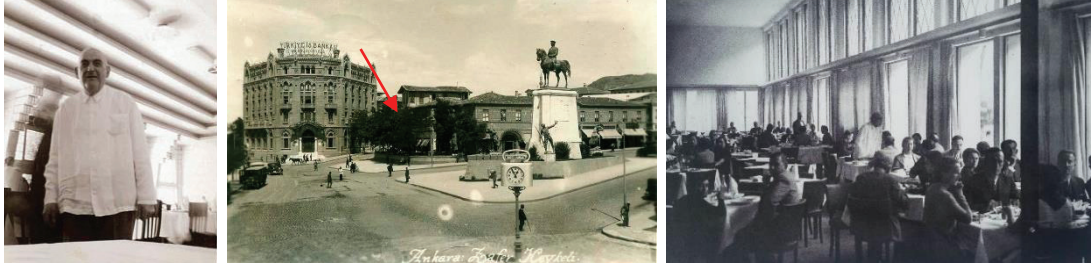


Figure 138 a. Father Karpıç (Tanyer: 2011, 234) b. Karpıç, 1931 (TA: 2017) c. Interior of Karpıç (Turan Tanyer Archive, cited in Işın: 2013, 386)

In a short period of time Karpıç became the most popular place for the notables of the city (Sarıoğlu: 1995, 190).³²² For instance, General Fahrettin Altay mentioned in one of his memoirs that, he had a meeting with the minister of national defence Recep Peker at Karpıç (cited in Kemal: 1983, 21). Furthermore, Mehmet Kemal expressed that until 1950s, as a youngster it was the only way for him and his friends to get inside Karpıç was being accompanied by someone who is a notable figure of the period. Apart from that, they could only look inside of Karpıç from the door and cannot enter (1983: 63).

As mentioned above, Karpıç became one of the most famous places in Ankara, in a short period of time. Therefore it was also possible to follow Karpıç as a part of the narration in several novels and short stories depicting the period. For instance, in his novel *Tersine Giden Yol/ Retrograde Road*, Nahid Sırrı Örik preferred to depict Karpıç through the eyes of the male protagonist Cezmi. Even though Cezmi was not an Ankara lover and constantly belittling the city, he thinks Karpıç is the only place in Ankara that is worthy to mention (2008: 29-30).

Even though most of the visitors of Karpıç were from the upper class, it was the one and only place for Ankara to eat and entertain in modern standards. Even the ones who

³²² Vehbi Koç mentioned on his memoirs that, they (with his friend Nafiz Kotan) preferred to go Karpıç often and eat delicious food there (1983: 44).

cannot afford to eat at Karpiç, also preferred to hang around at Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square just to create a chance of seeing any of the notable figures. Consequently, the increase in popularity of Karpiç also affected the usage of Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square and eventually increased the number and diversity of people using the square during day and night. With the opening of Karpiç, old parts of Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square got its role in the modernisation process of Ankara by becoming a milieu for modern social life (Yalım: 2017, 189).

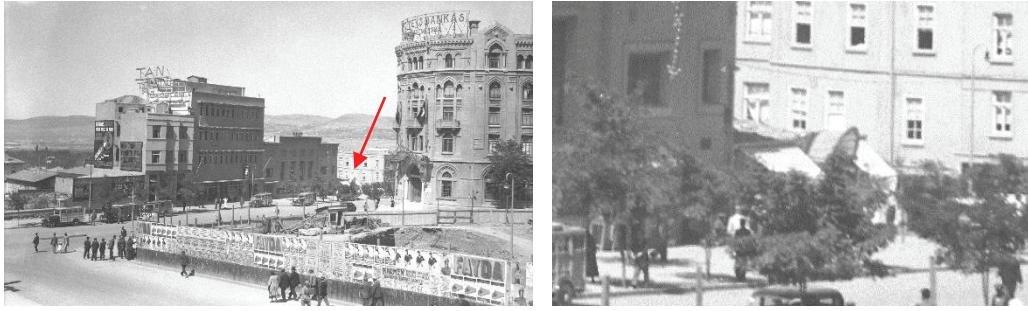


Figure 139 (Işın: 2009, 199) **a.** Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square, 1935 **b.** Entrance of Tabarin Bar

Along with these places, there were special types of *pavyons*³²³/bars/ *gazinós*³²⁴ mainly concentrated at the southern parts of Çankırı Road.³²⁵ Among these places, the oldest and most popular ones were Elhamra Bar³²⁶ (**Figure 140a**) and Tabarin Bar³²⁷ (**Figure 139a, b**) where the customers were selected among notable male figures.³²⁸ Malik Aksel remembers an interesting event occurred in Tabarin Bar, when a group of villagers intended to spend some time in the bar and expressed their wills to become like one of the notable male figures of the period (2011: 162);

³²³ *Pavyon*, translated from the French word pavilion, is the entertainment place where alcoholic beverages are available and is open during nights.

³²⁴ Before 1930s, canto was the most favourable activity at these places, but later on shows and dances of foreign artists became more popular (Tanrikulu: 1985, 26-27). Over the years, new venues such as Yeni Bar, Nil Bar, Turkuvaz, Necip Bar were added to the string of bars... (Tanyer: 2009, 142).

³²⁵ Starting from mid-1920s, Çankırı Road became the main location for most of the bars, pavyons and night clubs of Ankara. It is possible that, during his visit to Ankara in 1921, Streit's description of a "small limited area reserved for gambling and inebriety" (2011: 63) could also refer to southern parts of Çankırı Road.

³²⁶ One of the first bars of Ankara that was opened at Çankırı Road was Elhamra Bar. By bringing popular artists from İstanbul and Europe in 1926, this bar was competing with Fresko's place (50 Yıllık Yaşantımız: 1975, 84). Today, Turist Otel stands at the same location.

³²⁷ Starting from 1930s till 1960, Tabarin Bar was regularly used by authors, poets and artists such as; Aka Gündüz, Nahid Sırrı Örik, Suut Kemal Yektin, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, Yusuf Ziya Ortaç, Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, Ahmet Oktay and Halil Soyuer (Tonga: 2016, 214-215).

³²⁸ Mini orchestra was taking stage at these bars between 10 pm to 3 am. Most of the times, there were street peddlers waiting around the entrance of these bars to sell food to the customers. With these activities, usage intensity of Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square increased.

The year is 1930. Tabarin Bar is at Ankara Çankırıkapı... A group of villagers with *efe* costumes get in. They shout at the entrance:

- Gentlemen, we are here to be gentleman too, we are going to be gentleman too...But later they would have learnt how expensive it is to become a gentleman.



Figure 140 a. Elhamra Bar (50 Yıllık Yaşantımız: 1975, 84) **b.** A ball at Ankara Palas (*Tarihçe*, Ankara Palas: 2018)

In addition to Elhamra and Tabarin Bar, the prestigious club called *Ankara Kulübü*/ Ankara Club³²⁹ also continued to function until 1927, on the upper floor of Düyun-u Umumiye, on Bankalar Road. Additionally, Ankara Palas located on Büyük Millet Meclisi Road – with its high-quality restaurant/ ballroom and modern rooms – was the attraction point both for day and night time organisations by “housing balls and parties as stages for the new lifestyle to be spread nation-wide” (Batuman: 2008, 99) (**Figure 140b**). It was also used as the state guest house and important guests were lodged (ambassadors, kings, diplomats etc.) at this hotel too.

The state authorities believed that their modernisation project could only be actualized through the production of identical spaces for the modern life (Kılınç: 2017, 123) and were aware of the importance of Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square for the city. They showed great interest in the improvement of the square as a public open space to represent and spread the ideology of the state. Therefore, the newly established nation-state tried to imprint a formal memory on a formal-semiformal public space. At the same time, the square would manifest a new identity that can relate collective memory to the memory of the nation state through the practices in the square (Yalım: 2017, 158). For this

³²⁹ Lady Drummond Hay, an English woman who visited Ankara in 1926 mentioned that, one can comprehend the real spirit of New Turkey in Ankara Club (cited in Şimşir: 2006, 371).

purpose, Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square was used as a starting point for the rest of the city to create a collective memory through the re-organisation of public urban space.³³⁰

First of all, a competition was organised to erect a monument (in the place of the fountain) at the centre of the square for Republican “ideology to show/remind itself to the users” (Şenol Cantek 2003: 289).³³¹ The requirements for the competitors was prepared in detail and it was highlighted that “the monument should be designed in a manner that future generations could easily comprehend the great struggle once made by their ancestors for the independence of Turkey” (Benli: 1999, 132). However, none of the competitors was found successful and the search had continued for a while. At the end, authorities invited Austrian sculptor Heinrich Krippel. Consequently, *Zafer (Atatürk) Anıtı*/ the Victory Monument was erected with an opening ceremony in 1927 (Cengizkan: 2004, 64) (**Figure 141a, b**).



Figure 141 a. Opening ceremony, 1927 (VEKAM: 0931) **b.** Hakimiyet-i Milliye (25.11.1927) **c.** The Victory Monument and its surrounding area (TA: 2016)

The rectangular base of the monument was placed at the geometrical centre of the square. It was directed the west, facing the First National Assembly as if it would protect the building (**Figure 141c**). Taller than the surrounding buildings by being located on a higher level, the glorious Victory Monument was welcoming the ones approaching the city from the İstasyon direction (Büyükyıldız: 2008, 83). In addition to its direct and powerful impact on constructing a collective identity and memory, the monument also defined a public space by creating an activity area around (Yalım:

³³⁰ Monumentality, always embodies and imposes a clearly intelligible message. It says what it wishes to say - yet it hides a good deal more: being political, military, and ultimately fascist in character, monumental buildings mask the will to power and the arbitrariness of power beneath signs and surfaces which claim to express collective will and collective thought (Lefebvre: 1991, 143).

³³¹ This idea was proposed by Lörcher in 1924-1925 (see section 3.2.4. **Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square in 1923-1924: Proclamation of The Republic**).

2017, 196-197). As a result, with the erection of a sculpture symbolising the soul of the War of Independence and the new Republic, the square augmented its political meaning for the public, and continued to be used for any kind of organisation, meeting and celebration related to the state (**Figure 142a, b**). The sculpture itself turned into the landmark of the square and at the same time functioned as *the point* to gather around for the meetings. According to Şenol Cantek, the reason behind the allurements of this location for commemorations and celebrations, was the aura of untouchableness and holiness that surrounds the monument itself and its close vicinity (2003: 289). Parallel to these events, the square started to be called both as *Zafer Meydanı*/ The Victory Square and *Millet Meydanı*/ Nation Square (Millet Square) (**Figure 143**).³³²



Figure 142 Meetings and celebrations at Millet Square **a.** (VEKAM: 0060) **b.** (VEKAM: 0026)

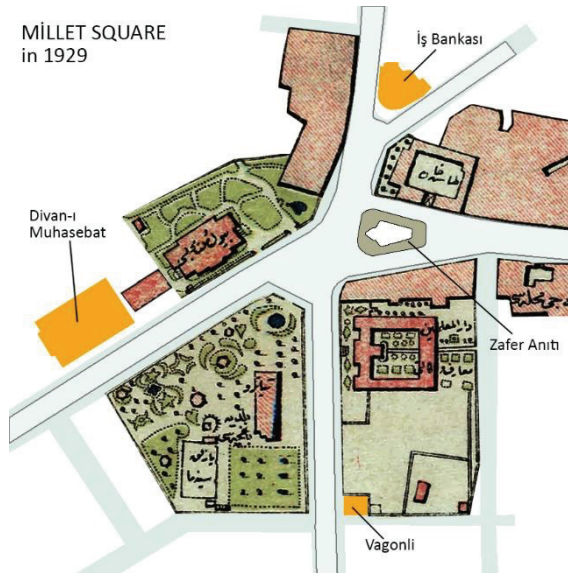


Figure 143 Schematic view of Millet Square in 1929

³³² In the cadastral map prepared between 1925 and 1932, this square was labelled as Zafer Square, whereas in most of the official documents and photos the name Millet Square was preferably used. Additionally, Şenol Cantek stated that, after the erection of Victory Monument at the square, residents started to call that district as Heykel/ Monument (2003: 288). Since different names were used both by the officials and the public, for this part of the study Millet Square will be used to refer this square.

Even though, this square had already been used for gatherings and meetings for decades, from now on it had to host fests and celebrations related to the War of Independence and establishment of the Republic. Encouraging the society to progress and at the same time threatening the ones who are against their ideology³³³, celebrations should highlight the power and determination of the Republic. Because of this reason, each meeting and celebration related to the Republic has to be magnificent. For this purpose, the axis of İstasyon Road and Büyük Millet Meclisi Road was started to be used as the main road³³⁴ for ceremonial processions and Millet Square as the gathering space at the beginning/end of this route.



Figure 144 a. Celebrations during 29 October 1927³³⁵ at Büyük Millet Meclisi Road, and a ceremony arch at the end (TA:2014) b. Foreign officials watching the ceremony, 1928 (Cangır: 2007, 233) c. Part of a march at Büyük Millet Meclisi Road during 29 October 1928 celebrations (TA: 2014)

In each and every gathering, fest or celebration, İstasyon Road, Büyük Millet Meclisi Road and Millet Square were decorated with flowers, posters and banners. A ceremonial arch was erected either at Baruthane Square or Bankalar Road (or both) to point the entrance to the ceremony area. Also, it is possible to see an additional ceremonial arch at Millet Square (**Figure 144a**). Moreover, the entrance of the Second National Assembly was organized for Mustafa Kemal to accept greetings and later on start the ceremony. In front of the Second National Assembly Building, Court of Accounts and Ankara Palas, temporary timber framed semi-open stages were placed for the authorities and their guests to watch the ceremony and at the same time to greet people (**Figure 144b**). The rest of the road was mainly filled with people who wanted

³³³ Hakimiyyet-i Milliye Square was also used as the main stage for the executions of rebellions against the Republic. For instance, after their trial, members of *Tarikat-ı Selahiye* Group, who were supporters of Ottoman Empire and Sultanate were hanged at this square (Şapolyo: 1971, 60).

³³⁴ Additional to the main axis, other roads that intersect at Millet Square such as Bankalar Road and Karaoğlan, were also decorated with flags and flowers during celebrations.

³³⁵ John Grew, who was the first ambassador of USA to Turkey, explained the celebrations of 29 October 1927 in a detailed way (2000: 157).

to find a place in the front to see the march closer, since every ceremony was organised beautifully in detail (**Figure 144c**) and attracted great public attention.

Hence, for the first time the state used the power of collective activity and the regulation of urban space to impose its own ideology. This notion was materialised at Millet Square where thousands of people from different backgrounds come together regularly for a common purpose.³³⁶ As a result, a new political meaning was gradually attached to Millet Square after the erection of the statue and especially with the tradition of celebrating important days for the state such as the Republic Day (29 October) or the National Sovereignty Day (23 April). Nezihe Araz describes her memories on the Republic Day as (1998: 10);

During those years, Republic Days had a special, a very special meaning for Ankara. On the day of the fest, first of all, Mustafa Kemal was greeting the guests at the National Assembly. After that, it was followed by a magnificent parade that starts in front of the ceremonial arches located at Millet Square.

As the major centre representing the ideology of the state, Millet Square became the activity area for the authorities to proclaim their progress through time. Additionally, it was the main open space of the city hosting powerful stimulants of national identity that make people remember the past and act accordingly for the future. Statues, public spaces for gatherings and rearrangement for ceremonial activities were all for the purpose of reproducing the state ideology (Adam: 1985, 29). For this reason, Millet Square was a platform to highlight Republican ideology and contemporary way of life and at the same time a sharp interface between old and new parts of the city. For the newcomers and foreigners, Millet Square was a modern, almost like a European public square with its contemporary public buildings (Belgian journalist Chalux³³⁷, cited in Şimşir: 2006, 402).

³³⁶ Even though for locals, new comers and villagers it was not possible either to communicate or share daily activities, when it comes to Millet Square the case was completely different on specific days of the year. It is possible to state that during festivals, meetings and ceremonies Millet Square transformed into the only public open space of Ankara where people with different backgrounds can come together for a common purpose and share a collective activity.

³³⁷ “Les Grandes Enquetes de la ‘Nation Belge’: Angora, La Nouvelle, Capitale Turque” published on La Nation Belge on 10 January 1926.

The square had an ellipsoid shape framed by the facades of Taşhan and İş Bank on the north, commercial buildings, the First National Assembly Building, Mahfel and Court of Accounts next to it on the northwest-west-southwest, Belediye Garden, The Ministry of Education (former Darülmualimin) and its garden on the south, and small one-storey attached shops on the south-southeast. The square and the main roads intersecting at the square were paved, pedestrian areas were implemented, trees were planted on both sides and in the middle of the roads³³⁸, street lights³³⁹ were placed and also monumental buildings were illuminated (**Figure 145a, b**) at nights especially during fests and celebrations.

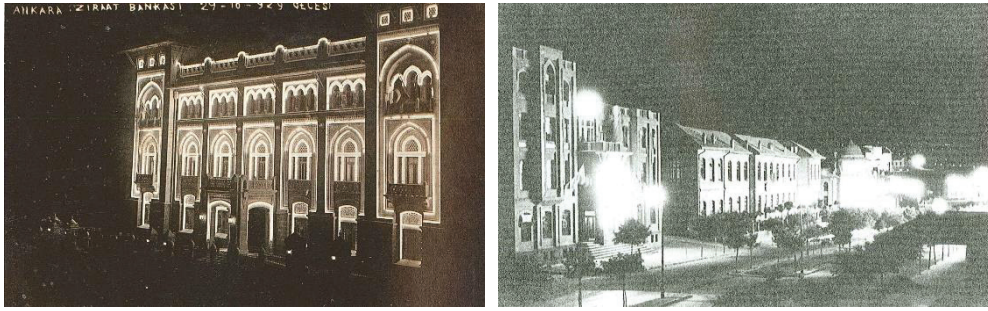


Figure 145 a. Ziraat Bank illuminated during celebrations, 1929 (Cangır: 2007, 784) **b.** Bankalar Road during nights, 1930 (APKBFA: 1994, 75)

Illuminated buildings and streets were so remarkable that, even in his novel called *Ankaralı Dört Hanım/ Four Women from Ankara*, Claude Farrere used detailed depictions of these areas. The atmosphere of Bankalar Road through the eyes of the male protagonist Villandry while he was walking back to his home during the night is narrated as follows (2003: 53-54);

Not even Paris Boulevard was illuminated with this much of power, all this area was filled with light by triple electric bulbs that are hung on poles, and placed intermittently on both sides of the road. Villandry thought ‘It is incomparably beautiful than what can be seen during daytime’. Full of light and at the same time incomprehensibly empty, the appearance of this road can drive someone crazy. Not even a car or a pedestrian... nothing except that exaggerated dazzling illumination...

³³⁸ During his visit to Ankara in 1927, Giovanni Alessio was fascinated by the wideness and modern look of İstasyon Road (“Ankara: The City of Conflicts” published on *Il Giornale d’Italia*, 4 June 1927, cited in Şimşir: 2006, 378). Additionally, a Bulgarian journalist mentioned İstasyon Road as a wide boulevard with trees planted on both sides (Angora, Nouvelle Capitale des Turcs, Slovo, 24 November 1928, cited in Şimşir: 2006, 409).

³³⁹ During the early years of Republic, streets were illuminated by the storm lamp like lights that were hanged on trees. Even this was better than having nothing (Bağlum: 1992, 78).

Moreover, for the first time in Ankara, street clocks that were designed in the shape of coin banks³⁴⁰ (products of İş Bank) started to be erected in Millet Square and on Bankalar Road (**Figure 146a, b** and **AppendixB**). According to Şenol Cantek, these clocks were there to remind the fact to transform time to money (2003: 157, 158). In parallel to this, it can also be stated that with the erection of these street clocks, the message of the open space to its users had started to gain a new meaning: time is running, and we have to catch the standards of modern life. In parallel to this, with the increase in vehicular transportation, platforms were designed for policemen to organize the traffic flow (**Figure 146c**).³⁴¹ Furthermore, at the entrance of main public buildings, small sheds were also designed for the staff welcoming guests and responsible for their security. Hence, to improve the spatial and functional qualities of the square, authorities were fully concerned with every detail.

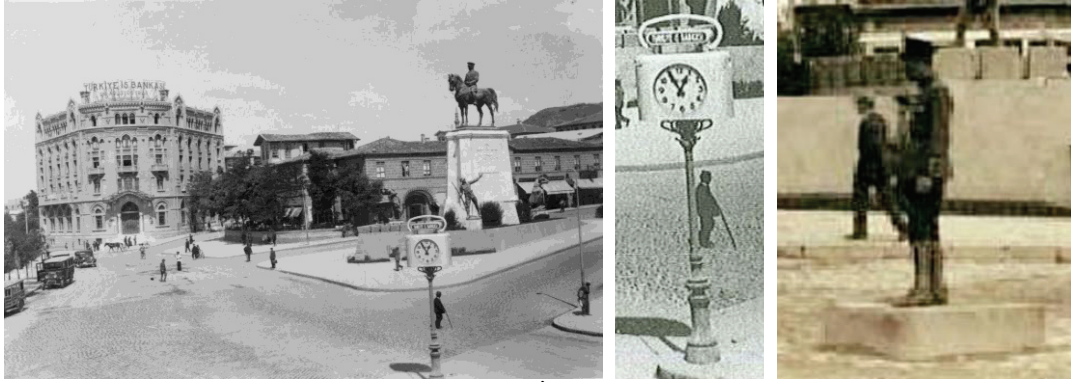


Figure 146 a. Street clock at Millet Square, 1931 (İş Bank Archive) **b.** Detailed view of the street clock, 1931 (TA: 2017) **c.** A traffic police at Millet Square, 1928 (TA: 2017)

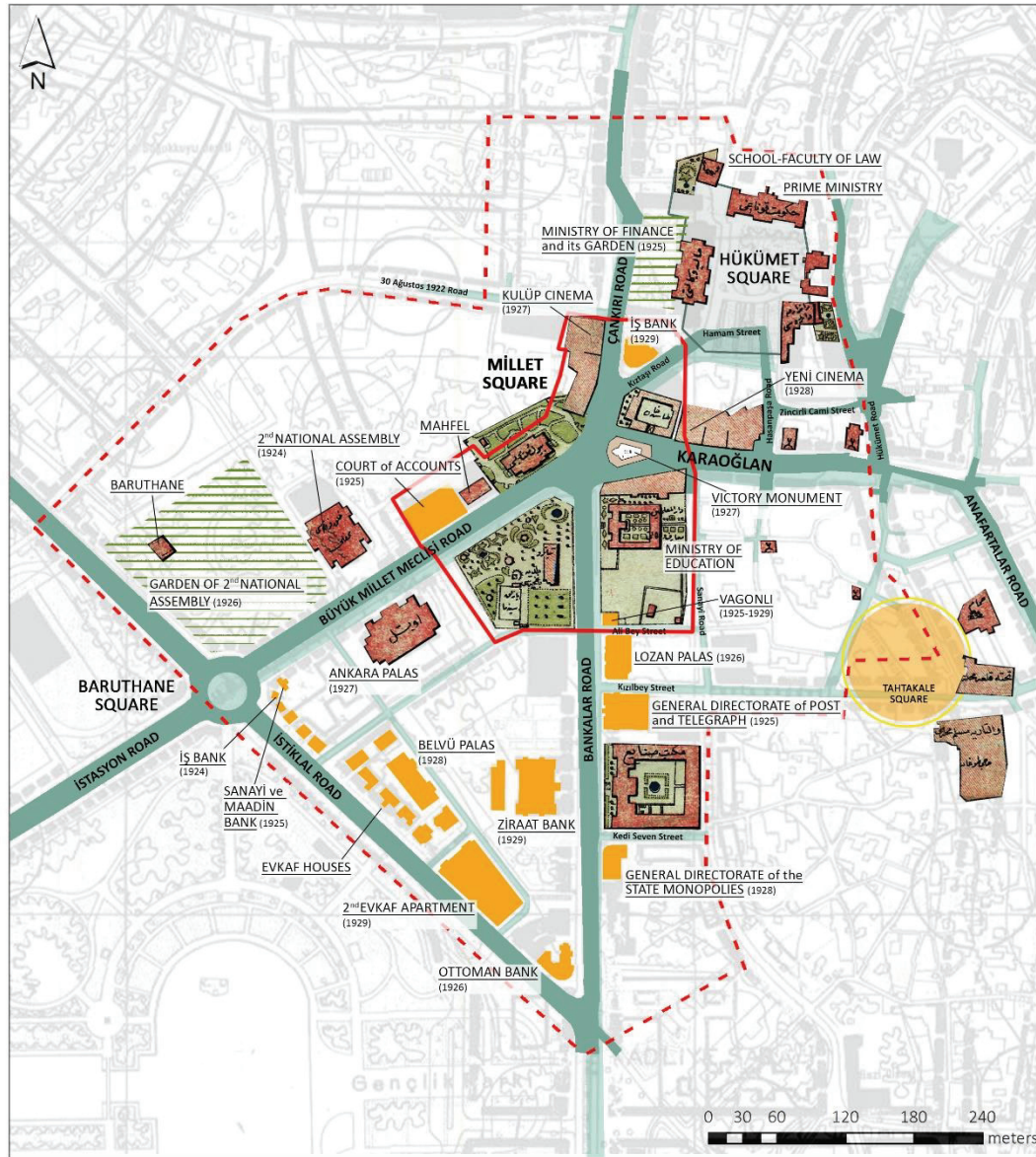
The daily life of people (mainly *yerli*) also gives detailed information on how the new Republic wants the society to behave. They walk around with stylish clothes and hats³⁴², do shopping at Karaoğlan, eat either at Karpıç or İstanbul Pastanesi, take memory pictures in front of the Victory Monument, enjoy the green areas of Belediye Garden, spend some time at the cinema/theatre or the tea house and have parties at Ankara Palas during the nights. From its public buildings to the clothing of the new

³⁴⁰ Before these, the first street clock implemented at Millet Square was a wall clock hung above the main entrance of PTT (**AppendixB**).

³⁴¹ A Danish engineer Brynjolf Björset who visited Ankara in 1928 stated that, like in London, at the corner of a street there was a policeman with gloves organizing the flow of the traffic (“Angora”, Aftenposten/ Copenhagen, 20 July 1928, cited on Şimşir: 2006, 411).

³⁴² In 1925, in his report to Chamberlain, British Ambassador Lindsay mentioned that, everyone on the streets were wearing hats (the law of hat must have been widely spread) (cited in Şimşir: 2006, 334).

residents, there was a high degree of coherence in everything happening at Millet Square and in its close vicinity. Social life and modern identity that was produced in new parts of the city, affirm and legitimize itself by being visible to the eyes of “the other” (Batuman: 2017, 49). The message of the state to the rest of the country was clear: This is how a modern Turkish city and the citizen should look like!






ULUS STUDY AREA in REPUBLICAN PERIOD/ 1924-1929

Legend

Edifices

-  Monuments built before 1925
-  Monuments built in/after 1925
-  Commercial Centre
-  Green Areas (implemented after 1924)
-  Green Areas (labelled in 1924 map)

Boundaries

-  Ulus Square
-  Larger Context of Ulus Square
-  Basemap of 1954

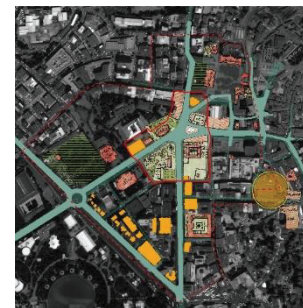


Figure 147 a. Ulus Study Area in Republican Period/ 1924-1929 (monuments are utilised from 1924 Ankara Map and Yücel-Uybadin Master Plan of 1954)
b. Superimposition of Republican Period/ 1924-1929 Map on Google Earth/2018

1929-1935: Planning Conflicts, Hasty Decisions and the End of an Era

“The spell that reflected everything so glamorous and attractive was gone. The ones, who built the history of 5 years back, left its enlightenment and live under the light of daily things.”

Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar (1972: 7)

During the period between 1929 and 1935, the city of Ankara had continued to develop with several attempts of construction and planning activities. First of all, state institutions invited foreign architects and planners as advisors, teachers and practitioners, and it is regarded as the first attempt of the state to reorient the direction and the purpose of architecture (Yalın: 2001, 110). Notwithstanding the fact that the knowledge and will to organise urban activities in a planned manner had increased, most of these attempts had resulted in failure because of the pressure of political and economic factors. Among these attempts, Jansen’s master plan proposal was significant in directing the development of the city.

As it is mentioned in the previous section, Jansen’s master plan proposal was approved in 1929. According to Bademli, Jansen’s proposal tried to find balance between old and new parts of Ankara through small interventions in the historic parts³⁴³ with limited change in the character of urban fabric and street pattern.³⁴⁴ However, Jansen’s proposal was incomplete and necessitated major additions before it could be implemented as a master plan. The main reason behind these necessary alterations can be summarised under two headings. First; population growth was underestimated by the officials who prepared the content of the competition, and therefore Jansen’s plan had lost its feasibility after a short period of time, like all other plan proposals.³⁴⁵ Secondly; technical documents and data related to the city were not sufficient enough

³⁴³ It has shown a great concern for the preservation of historical monuments, thus maintaining the Citadel as a major landmark, and with a great recreational and cultural park under it (Polonyi: 1988, 106).

³⁴⁴ Jansen neither proposed a change on the character of historic city though urban renewal like Jausseley did, nor he left historic parts untouched as defined in Brix’s proposal. If analysed in detail it is possible to see on Jansen’s proposal that; on one hand he tried to subdivide historic parts of Ankara through creating new roads or widening the existing ones. But on the other hand, for the lands remained among these roads, he preferred to conserve existing urban pattern and street networks (Bademli: 1985, 13).

³⁴⁵ Ankara already had a population of 75.000, when Hermann Jansen's entry was selected as a winning scheme of the international competition, and it grew to 110.000 by 1932, when his master plan was approved with a target population of only 300.000 by 2000 (Polonyi: 1988, 106).

to prepare a city plan. Since the last detailed map of the city was prepared in 1924 and the cadastral map was not prepared before 1929³⁴⁶, it was inevitable for the planners to misinterpret the city. Therefore, there were significant conflicts between the plans prepared and the existing condition of the city. (Tankut: 1990, 97) Because of these reasons, Jansen was given time to prepare a more feasible master plan that would be developed after a detailed site analysis and evaluation process.

Even Jansen himself criticized his own proposal and begun to prepare a more detailed and reliable master plan for Ankara. However, the detailed master plan would take three years and Ankara did not have any patience to wait. Even though, Falih Rıfki Atay (head of Directorate of Urban Development) and Robert Oerley (his consultant) had insisted on waiting for Jansen's plan, they could not resist the public pressure and political demand. After a short amount of time, they had to continue their activities according to the 1929 proposal of Jansen (Sarioğlu: 2001, 68).

Between 1929 and 1932, construction and planning activities had continued based on an incomplete proposal, which would later create serious problems and irreversible harm to the city. Furthermore, there was inconsistency between the proposal of Jansen and what was actually implemented; since his proposal was flouted several times by the officials and notable figures of the city. As a result, the period of 1929-1932 can be defined as a failure in terms of developing the city of Ankara in a planned manner. Apart from these problems, there were other reasons behind the failure of implementation:

- Jansen's main decisions were interrupted several times by the dignitaries of the municipality; especially Nevzat Tandoğan who was charged both as the governor and the mayor between 1930 and 1946.³⁴⁷ Similarly, some of the members of the National

³⁴⁶ Preparations for the cadastral map of selected cities such as Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir, Bursa and Konya had started after the Law of Cadastre (n. 658) was enacted in 1925, and works continued between 1925 and 1936 (Yaşayan, Erkan and Seylam: 2011). Additionally, according to Cevat, preparations for a detailed cadastral map of Ankara had started in 1925 and finalized in 1929 (1934: 50-55).

³⁴⁷ Falih Rıfki Atay who was the head of Directorate of Urban Development, evaluated that period as a mistake. He believed that the city plan should have been implemented by the most competent authorities but not directed by a "know-it-all person" (08.05.1949 and 2010, 533). Since Tandoğan's interruptions were well known by everyone, it became a common topic for the authors of the period to mention his actions while depicting Ankara. For instance; on his short story called *Nihavent Saz Semaisi*, Vüsa'at O. Bener defined Tandoğan and other public

Assembly and other notable figures tried to interfere the implementation of Jansen's Plan by putting a constant pressure on authorities to rearrange development plan according to their personal requests and gains.³⁴⁸ At the end, the proposal became ineffective due to the major changes that fully change the original idea of the planner.³⁴⁹

- Mainly determined by land speculations³⁵⁰, the increase in land prices affected the urban development trends in Ankara.³⁵¹

- To top it all, the worldwide economic crisis started in 1929 affected the economy of Turkey in a negative way. Due to the economic crisis,³⁵² the economic power and speed of state decreased to continue urban activities in Ankara. It also created a gap in the state's control on private construction activities resulting with constructions without following the regulations.³⁵³

- The lack of qualified/ well-trained employees as well as sufficient laws/ regulations to implement the decisions of Jansen (Tankut: 1990, 94-95).

Although the improvement of the organizational structure of the municipality³⁵⁴ and the finalization of the first cadastral map (prepared between 1925 and 1929, and updated in 1932, 1936 and 1940 respectively) (**Figure 148**) were promising, they were

figures' resistance against the discipline of planning as one of the most weary topics that Mustafa Kemal had to deal with during the first years of the Republic (2002: 68).

³⁴⁸ According to Bağlum, lands that were located around today's Atatürk Boulevard were constantly sold to the members of National Assembly with reduced prices. And afterwards, they also lost their lands to the commissioners coming from İstanbul. For instance; a deputy was selling the land that cost 50 lira, for 1000 lira to the commissioners. And right afterwards, the same land was sold by commissioners for 30-35000 lira (1992, 145).

³⁴⁹ In his book Falih Rıfkı Atay explained how Jansen had troubles with most of the politicians and the main reasons behind these conflicts in a detailed way, on a section called "Constructing A City" (2010: 523-539).

³⁵⁰ Most of the lands on the new areas of Ankara was owned by the speculators and they were constantly protesting the plan and tried to intervene Jansen's decisions (Atay: 2010, 533).

³⁵¹ Interviewees of Şenol Cantek (Mr. A.B. and Ms H. A) who had close relationships either with the employees of Municipalities or Ministries mentioned that, the ones working at those places had prior information on the direction of development plans, and invested on those lands with speculative prices. At the end, they earned lots of money from these investments (2003: 115-116).

³⁵² Turkish trade accounts had run a deficit during each of the first five years of the Republic and now a long-postponed crisis took its toll. Agricultural prices, affecting Turkish export earnings, had already begun to decline in 1926; mercantile credits, which had provided crucial foreign exchange, were no longer forthcoming (Keyder: 1987, 33).

³⁵³ According to the observations of the Ambassador of United Kingdom in Turkey, economic crisis had slowed down construction activities in Ankara, but anyhow construction of public buildings didn't stop... Additionally he thought that; Turkey has taken amateurish precautions against World Economic Crisis (The Annual Report about Turkey 1929, prepared by G. Clerk for the Minister of Foreign Affairs A. Henderson, cited in *Şimşir: 2006, 417*).

³⁵⁴ The municipality of Ankara had previously transformed into a *Şehremaneti* in 1924, and re-organized again as a municipality with the *Belediyeler Kanunu/ Law of Municipalities* (Act n. 1580) in 1930 (Sarioğlu: 2001, 68 and Tekeli: 1978, 50-58).

not sufficient enough for developing a planned future for the city.³⁵⁵ While it seems like Ankara was developing based on Jansen's proposal, it was rather directed by the pressure of economic or political factors. The group with economic and politic power continued to control the patterns of urban development. On the other hand, most of the locals were struggling with poor conditions and could not contribute to any decisions related to the city. The gap between *yerli* and *yaban* gradually expanded and its reflection on the daily life was clearly visible in public open spaces of the city, especially in Millet Square.

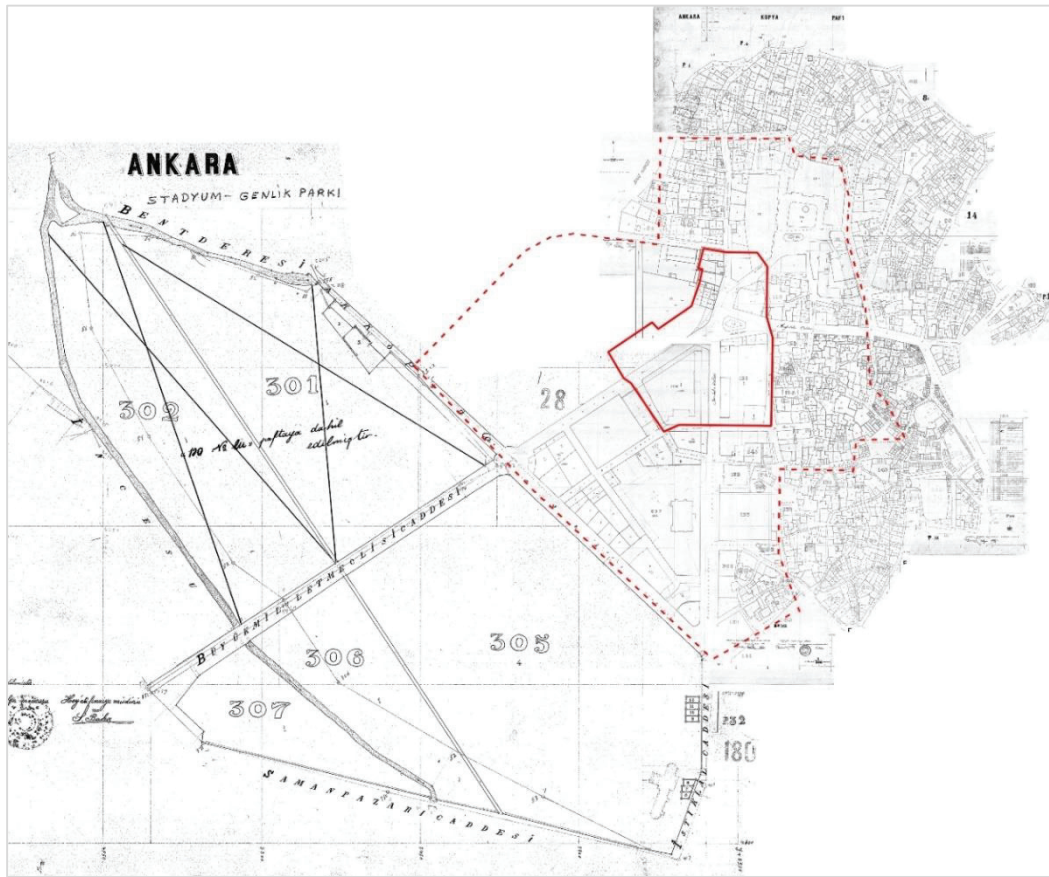


Figure 148 Cadastral Map of Millet Square and its close vicinity (Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Archive)

In his article, Burhan Asaf criticised that donkeys and bicycle riders were damaging the image of the city by emphasizing this as uncivilised (Hakimiyet-i Milliye:

³⁵⁵ For instance, by defining the governor also to be mayor, it is aimed to ease bureaucratic procedures, create harmony between different institutions of the state and also to expedite the process of urban activities in Ankara. On the other hand, issued between 1930s and 1948, this regulation eventuated in the single authority in urban issues of Ankara (İmga: 2006, 81).

27.02.1929). He was not the only one who believed that Ankara was the ideal city for the rest of the country and public open spaces with their users should reflect the modern image of the Republic. For this reason, from time to time conferences were organised to educate residents of Ankara to teach how to “behave properly” in a city space and the rules of being a modern citizen (Sarioğlu: 2001, 115). However, it was not easy for the lower income groups to adapt the modern city. They were living in the old districts, continued their traditional way of life, they did not want to interact with the newcomers and be a part of the life around new districts. Their daily activities generally took place within the old parts of the city with one exception: Millet Square. Since it was located at the intersection of new and old parts of the city, and most of the administrative, commercial, financial and entertainment activities took place at or around Millet Square, it was common for the lower income groups to visit this area regularly for several purposes. Hence, Millet Square was the only urban space in the city where the clash between rich and poor, conservative and modern, old and new, and *yerli* and *yaban* was sharply apparent.



Figure 149 Before the 1929 fire **a.** Suluhan (Mehmet Tunçer Archive) **b.** Tahtakale Çarşısı (TA: 2016) **c.** Çıkırıkcılar Yokuşu and *Uzunçarşı* (WOW: 2016)

While Millet Square was the multi-functional centre of Ankara and continued to be used regularly by the residents of the city from different socio-cultural and financial backgrounds, the majority of the users were the new comers. On the other hand, there was a slight increase in the number of locals at the square after the fire of Tahtakale occurred in 1929. Utilised as one of the main commercial centres of the city for centuries, Suluhan, Tahtakale³⁵⁶, Çıkırıkcılar Yokuşu and *Uzunçarşı* (**Figure 149a-c**) were favourable among *yerli* and especially villagers during the first decade of the Republic, whereas Karaoğlan was mainly utilised by high-income groups/*yaban*.

³⁵⁶ Şapolyo defines Tahtakale with a square. Villagers were selling their products at this square, and also do shopping from the shops located at this square. Every commercial activity related to the villagers were happening at this square (1969: 187).

But the fire of 1929 occurred at Tahtakale and its close vicinity completely changed the physical characteristics of the area and the density of daily usage in a negative way. During this fire, almost 500 shops and 100 houses were burnt down around Tahtakale area (**Figure 150a, b, c**) and it was announced as a national disaster on newspapers (Şimşir: 2006, 337). The biggest commercial area/*çarşı* of historic Ankara was burnt down completely (Nadire Mumcu, cited in Kemal: 1983, 51). Predictably, the users of Tahtakale area – especially Suluhan (**Figure 150d**) – had to change their daily shopping routine and started to use Karaoğlan and its close vicinity more often. Therefore, after Tahtakale fire there was a slight increase in the number of daily users (mainly by low-income groups) at Karaoğlan and Millet Square.³⁵⁷

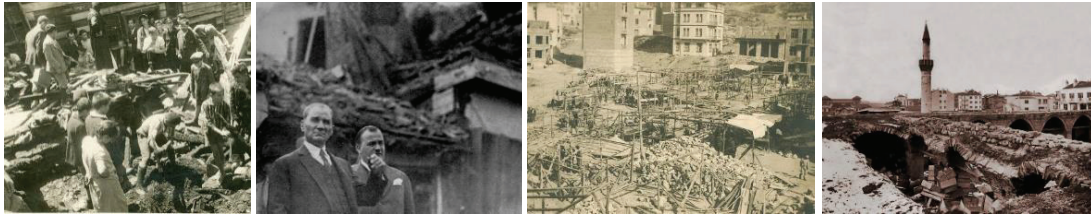


Figure 150 a. During the fire of 1929 (Mehmet Tunçer Archive) b. Atatürk visiting Tahtakale during the fire (Cumhuriyet: 21.07.1929) c. Tahtakale after the fire (Mehmet Tunçer Archive) d. Suluhan, after the fire (Mehmet Tunçer Archive)

There were other events that affected physical and functional attributes of the Millet Square either directly or indirectly. As it is mentioned before, after 1927-1928, the state started to change its attitude against the construction of buildings in nationalist style that evokes Ottoman past. The denial of the past and the attraction of the West (Yerasimos: 1987, 77) led to the search for a national identity that had its roots in the principles of western modernisation. Due to the urgent need for a new and modernized image that would strengthen the new national identity, regulations on every aspect of life and city accelerated. Especially after 1929, it was possible to trace a shift either in the construction of public buildings in general, or the demolition of former ones that could evoke the Ottoman past. Hence, the transformation of the Ottoman Millet Square into a modern Republican Millet Square started. Consequently, Western architectural styles begun to appear in Ankara towards the end of the 1920s through the designs of foreign architects, but still national style practiced by Turkish and

³⁵⁷ For locals of Ankara, Karaoğlan and its close vicinity became the most favourable area for commercial activities, till a new building for fish-fruit-vegetable market (*Ulus Hali*) was constructed in 1930-1931 at Tahtakale area.

occasionally foreign architects were dominating the period (Aslanoğlu: 1986, 17). The construction activities of the state were accelerated to change the Ottoman style appearance of the public buildings and urban spaces of the city into modern ones.

Starting from 1930s, principles of First International Style had totally replaced those of the First National Style which Aslanoğlu categorized under three main styles; international (rational-functional) approach, the Western neo-classical attitude and the national style (1986: 19). Most of the traditional aspects of buildings designed with First National Style were replaced with modern, simplified and functional designs of First International Style, and new buildings were constructed in the same manner. Karaosmanoğlu appreciated these activities and stated that, through these interventions most of the buildings started to change, become purified and simplified like the face of a man who shaved his beard and moustache (2001: 128). As a part of these activities, Court of Accounts was transformed in line with the “Vienna Cubist” style of the early 20th century (Aslanoğlu: 2009, 78) by Ernst A. Egli (**Figure 151a, b**). During these interventions, Mahfel Building located next to Court of Accounts was also demolished.

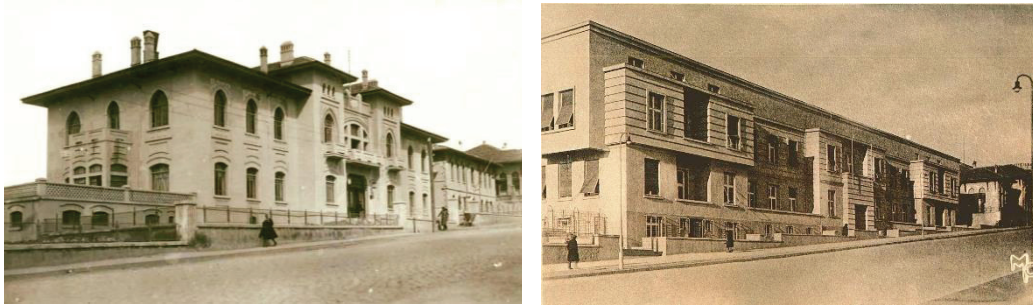


Figure 151 a. Court of Accounts on the left and *Mahfel* on the right, before the intervention of Egli (TA: 2016) **b.** Court of Accounts after the intervention, 1932 (Cangir: 2007, 171)

With the integration of the empty space of Mahfel into the Court of Accounts, Büyük Millet Meclisi Road began to be filled with buildings having a modern appearance (**Figure 152a**). As it is known that, the state was promoting modern buildings around Millet Square to take advantage of visual aspects of buildings that constructed a new collective identity and memory (Yalım: 2017, 187). For this reason, visual aspects of the square were also getting a more modern appearance and in a short period of time

this change increased the pressure on the historical buildings located at/around Millet Square (**Figure 152b**).

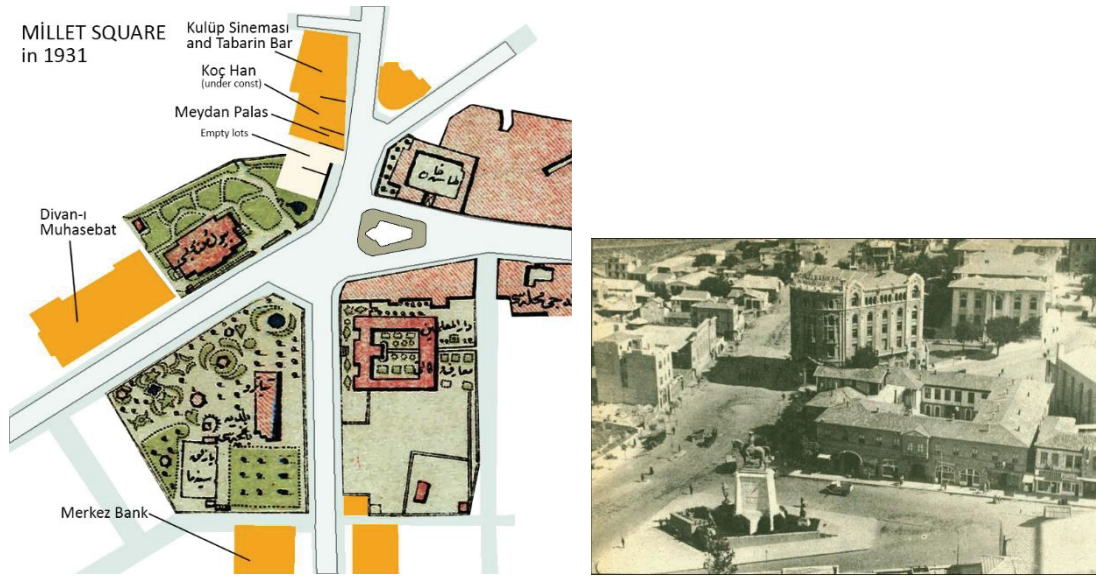


Figure 152 a. Schematic view of Millet Square in 1931 **b.** Millet Square, 1931 (50 Yıllık Yaşantımız: 1975, 52)

Parallel to these developments, the erection of *Merkez Bankası*/ Central Bank³⁵⁸ in 1931 on Bankalar Road (Figure 152a) framing the southern edge of Millet Square, in the area previously occupied by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was the second important factor that accelerated its transformation(**Figure 153a, b**). Designed by the architect Clemens Holzmeister with “inverted T-shaped projections that were distinct leitmotifs of so-called Ankara cubic or Viennese cubic style” (Bozdoğan: 2001, 182), this building can be considered as the pioneer of modern buildings constructed at Millet Square.

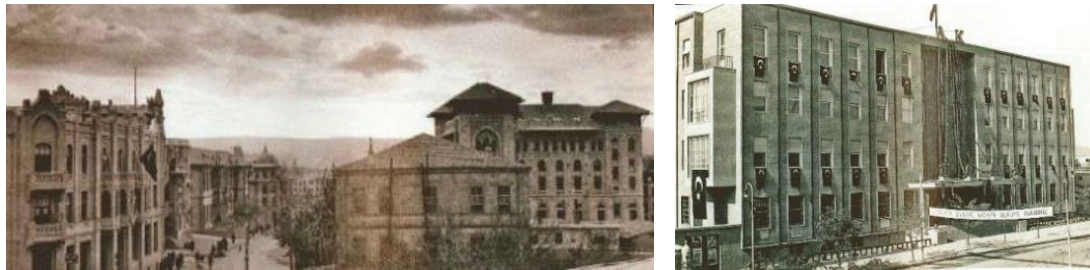


Figure 153 a. Before the Central Bank: Düyun-u Umumiye/ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the right and Ziraat Bank on the back, 1929 (Cangır: 2007, 1236) **b.** The Central Bank, 1933 (Cangır: 2007, 1242)

³⁵⁸ The building was first designed as the headquarters of Emlak ve Eytam Bankası/ Emlak ve Eytam Bank (Real Estate and Orphan Bank), but later because of financial problems, it was transformed into the Central Bank during its construction.

Anadolu Kulübü/ the Anatolia Club³⁵⁹ – previously utilizing one of the buildings of Evkaf located at İstiklal Road (Goloğlu: 1981, 10) – continued to provide service on the top floor of Central Bank for daily gatherings and organisations. This club was mainly addressing deputies and ministers of the period and this group had an impact on the user profile of Bankalar Road and Millet Square accordingly. Concurrent with the renaming of Bankalar Road as Mustafa Necati Bey Road in 1929 (the name Bankalar also continued to be used), the area between Central Bank and Ziraat Bank was organized as an urban park and called as Necati Bey Park³⁶⁰ (**Figure 154a, b**).³⁶¹ Hence; the opening of this bank and the park had a great impact on Millet Square in terms of its capacity to transform the city centre into a spot of financial and social activity.



Figure 154 a. Necati Bey Park, Ziraat Bank and its annex behind (Levent Civelekoğlu Archive) **b.** Aerial view of Necati Bey Park, 1936-1944

Similar to the change in Court of Accounts, PTT went under a transformation process during the early 1930s. Its decorative parts referring to Seljukid and Ottoman period architecture were removed to give a more modern appearance to the building (**Figure 155a, b**). In his article *New and Old Architecture*, Architect Behçet Bedrettin also encouraged these interventions as (1934: 176);

There are several benefits of the transformation which means trimming and cleaning of the artefacts with no historic and architectural value. At the same

³⁵⁹ The Anatolia Club was established on 31.10.1926, as a meeting and resting area which creates opportunities for their Turkish and foreigner members to socialize, interact and make use of the collection composed of books, newspapers and documents (*First Charter of The Club*, cited in Goloğlu: 1981, 141).

³⁶⁰ Some of the residents of Ankara recalls this park as *Ziraat Parkı*/ Ziraat Park (Fügen İlter, 2018).

³⁶¹ Mustafa Necati Bey (Uğural), who was one of the intellectual figures of early Republican Period and at the same time a close friend of Atatürk, had a premature death in 1929. After his death, Bankalar Road was renamed in memory of him as Mustafa Necati Bey Road (Kandemir: 1932, 196). On the other hand, on postcards and personal photos still Bankalar Road was continued to be used by the residents of the city. Therefore, in this study both names are used to refer the northern part of the road.

time, in terms of economic issues it is also substantial to get forms that could answer the needs of contemporary life with small expenses. *Divan-ı Muhasebat*/ Court of Accounts, which was transformed by a foreign architect proves that, like Europe, it is also possible to see good results in our country. Changing old and insignificant buildings into modern forms, is an idea that cannot be disregarded.



Figure 155 PTT a. 1925-1926 (Dericizade: 2016) b. After alteration, 1930s (Dericizade: 2016)

In 1933-1934, Emlak ve Eytam Bank³⁶², another financial building designed with the aspects of First International Style, was constructed at the end of Mustafa Necati Bey/ Bankalar Road, next to Tekel Building. (**Figure 156**). While the construction of Central Bank and Emlak ve Eytam Bank strengthened the character of Mustafa Necati Bey/ Bankalar Road as the finance centre, they were also imprints of modernisation through their architectural styles and users “who were internalizing and displaying them as models to be remembered by the rest of the society” (Yalım: 2001, 113).



Figure 156 Emlak ve Eytam Bank (VEKAM: 2070)

³⁶² On 22.May.1926, with Act No 844, Emlak ve Eytam Bank was established to provide loan for construction activities in Turkey (İmga: 2006, 73-74). Even though it was a specialized bank serving for Turkey, during the first years, the bank could spend most of its resources only for the construction of Ankara (Tekeli and İlkin: 1984, 15).

Along with this, Kızılbey Street that was previously emerged between Mustafa Necati Bey/ Bankalar Road and Anafartalar Road, started to be called by a new name derived from the PTT (General Directorate of Post and Telegraph), *Postane-Posta Caddesi/* Post Road³⁶³ (today's Şehir Teğmen Kalmaz Road). It was enlarged and framed by new apartment blocks with their shops at the entrance floor.³⁶⁴ By this way, for the first time, Karaoğlan's commercial function expanded to the direction of Mustafa Necati Bey/ Bankalar Road. In a short amount of time, several other events would follow this trend and increase the role of Mustafa Necati Bey/ Bankalar Road as the commercial axis of the city.

Since, Milli Cinema was burned down in 1929, it affected the physical characteristics of Belediye Garden. Thus, in 1931 Robert Oerley was assigned to redesign the garden and changed its name into *Şehir Bahçesi/* City Garden (Şehir Garden). He divided the garden into smaller parts and proposed an additional *çarşı/bazaar* on its east part (labelled within the red rectangle on Figure 158a, Figure 157a). Named as *Muhasebe-i Hususiye (Özel İdare) Çarşısı*, this bazaar was composed of small attached shops facing Mustafa Necati Bey/ Bankalar Road to address the the increasing demand for additional commercial units for the centre of the city (Figure 157b).

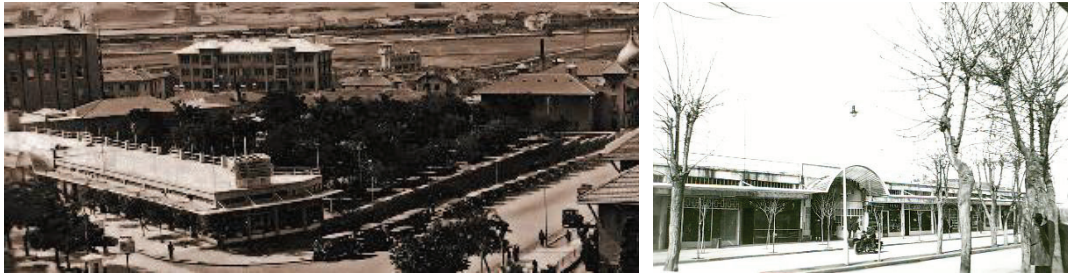


Figure 157 a. Şehir Garden and Özel İdare Bazaar (Erdoğan et al.: 2007b, 99) **b.** Özel İdare Bazaar, 1933-35 (VEKAM: 2059)

³⁶³ Even its name had changed to *Posta Road*, for a decade its previous name *Kızılbey Street-Road* continued to be used on documents (Figure 148: Cadastral Map of 1929-1932 and its updated version of 1936).

³⁶⁴ In the first years of Postane Road, shops concentrated on main needs of the city such as construction materials and technical equipment were located at this road and additionally at Sanayi Road (Dinçer: 2014, 41). Later on, it started to host several small taverns such as the most famous ones called *Yeni Hayat/* New Life and *Şükran*. Literary nights of Ankara transpired for a long time at these two venues (Tanyer: 2009, 143). On memories of his youth, Ahmet Muhip Diranas recalls "Posta Street and the small clubhouses located there as the academy of literature and art" (1973, TRT Archive).

Like several examples in the history of Republic, when there was a need of a construction area, most of the time green spaces were considered as dispensable. Perhaps, Robert Oerley's attempt can be identified as the first regulation of state to squander green areas for construction activities. This attempt did not simply decrease the amount of green area at the centre of the city (**Figure 157c, d**), but it triggered sequences of several additional attempts that would completely change functional, physical and social values attached to the square. Consequently, a similar type of attached commercial buildings (**Figure 158 a, b, c**) were erected right across the road, in front of the west façade of the Ministry of Education (former Darülmualimin) till the two storey Vagonli ticket agency building at the junction of Mustafa Necati Bey/ Bankalar Road and Ali Bey Street. With the extension of commercial units from Karaoğlan to Bankalar Road, and the shops aligned on both sides of the road, this axis started to become an important commercial spot for the city (**Figure 157d**).

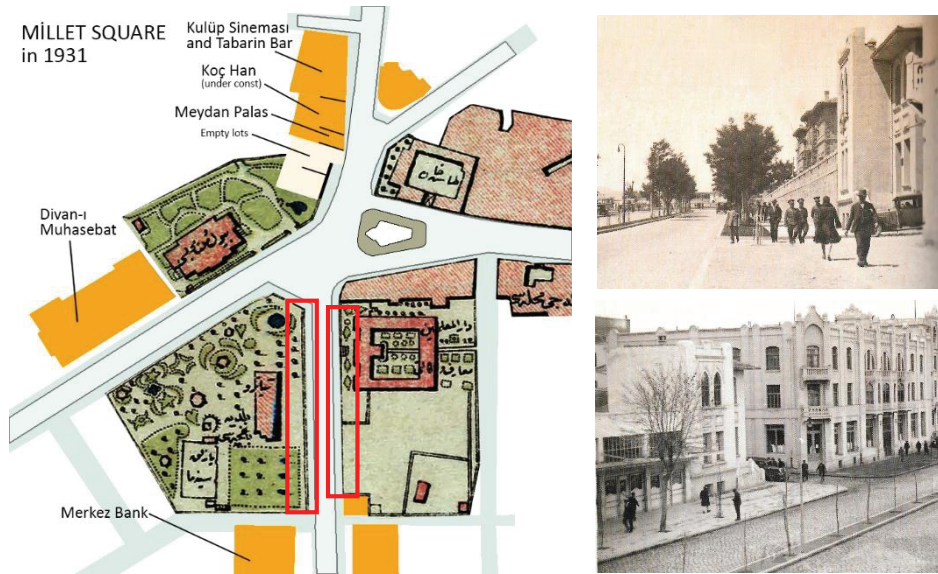


Figure 158 a. Labelled with red rectangle on the schematic view of Millet Square in 1931: First Phase (left), second phase (right) **b.** Before the commercial units of Özel İdare Bazaar: Private garden of Darülmualimin still exists and Vagonli building was on its south (Keskinok: 2009, 144) **c.** After the commercial units of Özel İdare Bazaar: Private garden of Darülmualimin demolished, commercial attached buildings expanded towards Vagonli (Keskinok: 2009, 124)

In a short amount of time, famous brands started to appear at this location. On one side, next to Ministry of Education, a buffet, a grocery, the shop of the Kavaklıdere Wine Factory, Vagonli ticket office, tailors (Necati Halit and Yaşar Kotay), a barber and the bookshop of the Ministry of Education were opened. On the other side of the

road, in front of Şehir Garden, brands like Hacı Bekir (confectionery), Osman Nuri Bey (confectionery), Akba Kitabevi³⁶⁵ (bookstore), Hachette (bookstore), Gömlekçi Orhan (shirt maker), Sabuncakis (the famous İstanbul originated florist), David (garments), Photo Naim Gören etc. were either opened their first shop in Ankara at this location or move their existing shops to this new commercial area.

Among these brands, transfer of Karpiç at the entrance floor of Taşhan to the place where previously occupied by Fresko Bar, had a special meaning both for Mustafa Necati Bey/ Bankalar Road and Millet Square.³⁶⁶ Since, Taşhan had lost its popularity as a hotel after the opening of İstanbul Oteli, Ankara Palas, Lozan Palas and Belvü Palas, Karpiç was the only reason for Taşhan to be able function that long. The move of Karpiç³⁶⁷ to its new place³⁶⁸ (**Figure 159**) in 1932, marked a countdown both for Taşhan and Millet Square in terms of an inevitable change and decline in a relatively long time period.



Figure 159 Karpiç (labelled with red arrow) at Bankalar Road, 1930s (VEKAM: 1316)

Jansen's development master plan was also approved in 1932. This plan was the main official document for the construction activities within the city until 1939. Jansen

³⁶⁵ A popular meeting point for journalists (Tanyer: 2009, 138).

³⁶⁶ According to Bağlum, the two main reasons of the incline on the popularity of Mustafa Necati Bey/ Bankalar Road were Anadolu Klübü (located at the top floor of the Central Bank) and Karpiç Restaurant. Atatürk and İsmet İnönü were the main figures visiting the Anatolia Club regularly. Including them, most of the other frequenters prefer to eat their dinner at Karpiç, after their visit at the Anatolia Club (1992, 144).

³⁶⁷ Even though the official name of the restaurant was *Şehir Lokantası*/ City Restaurant, visitors of this place was calling it as Karpiç (İlkin: 1994, 66).

³⁶⁸ The new restaurant was located at the intersection of Mustafa Necati Bey/ Bankalar Road and today's İnebolu Street (Tanyer: 2011, 237).

directed the development of Ankara to south, towards Yenışehir (today's Sıhhiye and Kızılay³⁶⁹), Bakanlıklar³⁷⁰ and Çankaya direction. Additionally, his previous proposal to connect Mustafa Necati Bey/ Bankalar Road, Yenışehir and Çankaya was implemented in 1929 as a 40 m wide road³⁷¹ (a boulevard), and started to be utilised as a protocol way in 1932. Even though, this road cannot be considered as a European boulevard in terms of the vitality and crowdness (Karaosmanoğlu: 2001, 176), it became the most important axis of the city and one of the most advantageous one in terms of municipal activities (**Figure 160a, b**). Until 1934, this road was referred as *Gazi*³⁷² *Boulevard*, and later on called as *Atatürk Boulevard* by the end of 1930s.³⁷³ Moreover, in the same direction, he also proposed new zones for sport, education, cultural, administrative and commercial facilities. Residential areas in Yenışehir and Cebeci, hospitals, administrative and higher education buildings, sport-leisure areas and main connections between sub-centres of the city were implemented with respect to the plan of Jansen (Bademli: 1994, 162).



Figure 160 Mustafa Necati Bey/ Bankalar Road **a.** First urban activities, 1929-1931 (Levent Civelekoğlu Archive) **b.** Following years with a greener appearance, 1934-1935 (Tekcan: 2014, 100)

³⁶⁹ At the end of 1930s, Kızılay Square became one of the most important squares of Ankara with its theatres, buildings, monuments and fountains (Cengizkan: 2004, 75-76).

³⁷⁰ Between 1927 and 1935, a large number of ministry buildings were constructed at Bakanlıklar/ Ministries area such as Interior (1932-1934), Labour (1929-1934), Public Works (1933-1934), Commerce (1934-1935), Defence (1927-1931) etc. By this way, administrative functions were distributed around Ulus and Kızılay.

³⁷¹ On his plan report, Jansen highlighted that this road was intentionally widened to 40 m to create the most glorious road of the city (1937: 25-26).

³⁷² In 1922, The Grand National Assembly honoured Mustafa Kemal by giving him the *title Gazi/ Veteran*. He used this *title* until 1934, when he was given the surname *Atatürk/ Father of Turks*.

³⁷³ Between 1929 and 1933, the northern part of this road was continued to be called as Mustafa Necati Bey/ Bankalar Road (between Millet Square and Osmanlı Bank). Whereas the rest was called either as *Cumhuriyet Caddesi/ Republican Road* or *Mustafa Kemal Caddesi/ Mustafa Kemal Road* in different sources: In an article published in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* (31.07.1929), the newly emerging road which was proposed by Jansen for Ankara, was defined as *Cumhuriyet Road*. On the other hand, according to Cengizkan, this road was labelled as *Mustafa Kemal Road* on an earlier version of Jansen's plan dated to 1932 (2017, 232). Later on, in 1933, by combining northern and southern parts under one name, this road was renamed as *Gazi Boulevard*: On the city map prepared by Mamboury in 1933, the same road was labelled as *Gazi Boulevard* (2014: 142-143). Additionally, in his notes Ahmet Muhip Dıranas also used the name *Gazi Boulevard* while describing Ankara and its main axis (cited in Batur: 1994, 345).

Even though the authorities tried their best to utilize Jansen's plan properly, land speculations, economic factors and personal interests of notable figures such as the members of the National Assembly, bureaucrats or high-income groups increased their pressure on Directorate of Urban Development gradually. According to Erendil and Ulusoy, lands located on both sides of the road between Ulus and Çankaya were sold to deputies, officials and also to embassies³⁷⁴ at a cheap price (2004: 233). Hıfzı Veldet Velidedeoğlu also observed that when Ankara was considered as the permanent capital, rich notable figures of the period were being greedy to buy a land in the new districts of Ankara (1971: 185). Hence, right after the declaration of Jansen plan, attempts to change the plan for personal interests also started (Bademli: 1994, 162). Especially after 1935, the number of minor changes in Jansen's plan increased to such an extent that Jansen resigned in 1938.

Parallel to the problems in planning activities, there were other developments gradually affecting the Turkish society, the residents of Ankara and their way of using urban spaces. Since it was the main objective of the state "to raise strong, Republican, nationalist, and secular citizens" (Yakut: 2013, 132), several regulations were prepared to furnish the society with modern standards. Several measures started to be taken by the state to accelerate modernisation process.³⁷⁵ First of all, *Halkevleri*/People's Houses³⁷⁶ project officially began in 1931, by the opening of educational buildings all around Turkey "to serve as centres for propagating the official ideology" (Keyder: 1987, 36). Another important regulation was the law defining a framework for proper clothing.³⁷⁷ Within a short period of time, the streets of Ankara were filled with people wearing hats, voilettes, suits, and also women with *a la garson* hair cut whereas men using brilliantine (Şenol Cantek: 2003, 231). Parallel to the modern image of the buildings and public open spaces functioning as the symbol

³⁷⁴ At the beginning of 1930s, within Kavaklıdere district, Embassies of Greece, Italy and Poland were located a little bit further than German and Soviet Embassies which were facing the main boulevard connecting the city to Çankaya. French Embassy was located at the back of the same boulevard, on top of a small hill, whereas UK Embassy was located at the closest area to the presidential palace at Çankaya (Kezer: 2012, 271).

³⁷⁵ Numerous revolutions and regulations on political, social, legal, cultural and economic areas were issued between 1923 and 1937.

³⁷⁶ Between 1932 and 1939, more than 4000 *Halkevi*/ People's House or *Halkodası*/ People's Room was opened in Turkey (Ertuğrul: 2008, 51).

³⁷⁷ The Clothing Reform issued in 1934.

of the Republic, users of these spaces also promoted this image with their clothes and behaviour patterns.

Additionally, “purifying” Turkish from other languages and the dissemination of modern Turkish within the country was another aim of the state. Hence, there has been a major breakthrough in the Turkish Language Revolution (officially begun in 1928) after the establishment of *Türk Dil Kurumu*/ the Turkish Language Institution in 1932.³⁷⁸ This attempt also had an impact on Millet Square. Since the word “Millet” is Arabic, the square was renamed as *Ulus*, believed to be a ‘pure Turkish’ word, for the main public open space of Ankara in 1932. While former names of the square³⁷⁹ such as Taşhan, Hakimiyet-i Milliye and Millet continued to be used by the public for a while³⁸⁰, the name *Ulus* which was required to be used in the official documents, eventually embraced by the locals of Ankara, and has continued to be used till today.³⁸¹



Figure 161 a. Hakimiyet-i Milliye newspaper, early 1920s (National Library of Turkey Archive) b. The first issue of *Ulus* newspaper³⁸² (28.11.1934) (National Library of Turkey Archive)

The year of 1933 had a special meaning for the history of the country since it was the tenth year of the establishment of the Republic of Turkey. After a decade, Turkey

³⁷⁸ As a part of the Turkish Language Revolution, *Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası* (CHF) also replaced the Arabic word *fırka* with *parti* in 1935, and *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* (CHP) became its official name.

³⁷⁹ On the cadastral map of 1929-1932, Ulus Square was labelled as *Zafer Meydanı*/ Victory Square. It is assumed that, this name was originated from the Victory Monument that was located at the square and therefore used to refer the monument's location on the map. Besides, except this map Zafer Square was not used in any other official or private document. This is why, for this study Zafer Square was not listed as a common name for the square.

³⁸⁰ On the labelling of photos taken during that period, it is possible to see that different names were used to refer Ulus Square. Additionally, on the city map prepared by Mamboury in 1933, he also preferred to use Millet instead of Ulus to refer the square (The City Map of Ankara: Location of the most important monuments, 2014: 142-143).

³⁸¹ In 1934, also the state newspaper *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* changed its name to *Ulus* (Önder: 2017, Ana Britannica: 1992, 277) (Figure 161a, b).

³⁸² The heading of the newspaper dated to 28 November 1934 was: “Atatürk was the founder of Hakimiyet-i Milliye. He is also the one who gave the name Ulus to our newspaper”.

developed significantly, and the ideology of the state spread all around the country. Especially, as being the capital, Ankara was the most significant example of how the state used its authority to construct a new ideology through its urban space, daily life of the residents and organisation of legislations and reforms.³⁸³ Especially with its public open spaces such as Ulus Square and the main intersecting roads, new parts of Ankara were the central platform for the state to promote its ideology through social practices. According to Işın, Ankara opposed all traditions and cultural mentalities of the old world and surpassed the logical boundaries of modern urban design and turned into an ideology. This ideology became an integral part of the city's identity, from architecture to daily life and social practices (2009: 11-12). Thus, the celebrations for the tenth year of the Republic should be significant.

To emphasise the importance of tenth anniversary of the Republic in the progress and to increase the effect of state's ideology on public, different media were utilised. In addition to photographs, posters and brochures, a documentary called *Türkiye'nin Kalbi Ankara/ Ankara, the Heart of Turkey*³⁸⁴ was shoot in 1933. Even though the documentary was narrating the trip of Soviet Delegation (starting from İstanbul and ending in Ankara) to attend the celebrations organized for the tenth anniversary of the Republic of Turkey, it was a propaganda type of documentary where specific images were dominant to promote the modern face of the Republic (**Figure 162a-c**).



Figure 162 Scenes from the documentary **a.** Old, neglected towns of Anatolia (03:45) **b.** Celebrations at Karaoğlan (06:55) **c.** Starting image of the section introducing the newly erected modern buildings of Ankara (32:06)

³⁸³ On his newspaper article called “*Ankara Halkbilgisi Notları*”, Hamit Zübeyir Koşay mentioned that while locals of Ankara/ *Yerliler* were taught to behave properly according to the traditions brought by *Yabanlar*, unfortunately at the same time they were inevitably losing their traditional habits (Hakimiyet-i Milliye: 15.01.1933)

³⁸⁴ Director: Sergei Yutkevich, scenario: Lev Arnshtam and Sergei Yutkevich.

For instance, the documentary starts with scenes of the old, neglected towns of Anatolia where people are living in harsh conditions (**Figure 162a**). Following these scenes, Ankara started to appear in the middle of a stepped land as the newly constructed modern capital city. Among these images, scenes focusing on the preparations and celebrations for the tenth anniversary of the Republic which mainly occurs in and around Ulus Square were shown at intervals (**Figure 162b**). Among these scenes, the newly developed parts of the city with its modern public buildings starting from Ulus Square and continuing to the south up until Yenışehir were shown in succession to highlight the modern face of the capital (**Figure 162c**). The ideology of the state was clearly imprinted in every single scene of the documentary and soon public screening of the documentary would take its place in cinemas of Ankara to fulfil its mission.³⁸⁵



Figure 163 a. b. Celebrations for the tenth year of the Republic, at Ulus Square (PIN: 2016) **c.** A ceremonial arch designed for the ceremony (Kaya: 1933)

The day of the celebrations was organized in detail. Mainly concentrated around Ulus Square, every road and street of the city was decorated with flags, ceremonial arches were erected at the entrance points of the city (at İstasyon Road, Büyük Millet Meclisi Road and Mustafa Necati Bey/ Bankalar Road, and on a location where they intersect at Ulus Square) (**Figure 163a, b**) and most importantly streets and public buildings were all illuminated during the nights³⁸⁶ (**Figure 163c**). Morgan narrated preparations one day before the fest as follows (cited in Şimşir: 2006, 450-451);

Celebrations for the Tenth Year of the Republic will start tomorrow and will continue for three days. Each and every house will hang flags and will be decorated. Everywhere is full of flag sellers. From İstasyon to Çankaya flags

³⁸⁵ With the help of curtains that were implemented at public squares of the city, Ankara, The Heart of Turkey was shown to the public on summer days (Kemal: 1990, 97)

³⁸⁶ For detailed photos taken during celebrations of 10th anniversary of the Republic, see the photo album of Photographer İzzet Kaya (1933).

and banners were hung with slogans: ‘Equal Budget, Regular Payment, Here is Finance of the Republic’ or ‘I am a Turk, How Happy I am!’, or ‘Soldier, The Essence of Nation’, ‘Gazi is from one of us: He is the Greatest. He is all of us.’...

The year 1933 also had a special meaning for the establishment of the first public transportation system of Ankara. With the new law called *Yapı ve Yollar Kanunu*/ Law of Building and Roads (Act n. 2290) – replacing 1882 *Ebniye Kanunu*/ Law of Buildings – characteristics of main and secondary roads, height of buildings and new development activities for fire areas were clearly defined.³⁸⁷ Consequently, main arteries of the city were widened and surface properties were improved with the guidance of this law (Sarioğlu: 2001, 148 and Tekeli: 1978, 76, 77, 92).³⁸⁸ During his visit to Ankara in 1933, Abdülhak Şinasi described the roads of the city as “paved with asphalt that automobiles could easily ride, wide enough to be planted with trees on both sides and illuminated with electricity” (Yeni İstanbul: 1949). Right after these improvements, there was a significant increase in the number of buses and the diversity of routes.³⁸⁹ Even though public transportation was not operated by the municipality yet, these improvement led a new organization of the municipality for public transportation.

Ankara Municipality Bus Administration was established in 1935 and started to utilize the first buses of the municipality for public transportation.³⁹⁰ All previously used private vehicles like *kaptıkaçtı* etc. were banned (Ulus: 01.10.1935, 8), and only the new buses of the municipality – with the brand ZIS (Zavod imeni Stalina)³⁹¹ – were allowed on the streets of Ankara (**Figure 164a**). In a short amount of time,

³⁸⁷ Although The Law of Building and Roads had several deficiencies, it was a legal framework that consisted lots of practical and guiding information for a period where legislations on urban space and city facilities were quite new for the world. Till the preparation of the new development plan law in 1956, this law had continued to be used not as a guideline but as the major decision maker for construction activities of Ankara (Tankut: 1990, 141).

³⁸⁸ After the Law of Buildings and Roads, to provide financial support to the municipalities for the provision of the development plans, *Belediyeler Bankası*/ Bank of Municipalities was established in 1933 (Emiroğlu and Ünsal: 2006, 44-48).

³⁸⁹ On the scheme which was prepared by Mamboury in 1933, it is defined that right after the changes on physical properties of roads, the transportation network was expanded to the new areas of the city with 12 lines, all of them departing from Millet Square (2014: 24) (**Appendix A2**).

³⁹⁰ Even though a suburban train line was operating between the city centre and Mamak-Kayaş districts since 1929 (Ankara’da Toplu Taşımanın Tarihsel Gelişimi: 1979, 55-71), the first inner city public bus transportation was dated back to 1935’s.

³⁹¹ The municipality had bought 100 ZIS buses from Soviet Union in 1935 (Tekeli: 1982, 63).

approximately 40 buses started to operate on 15 lines in Ankara (Tekeli et al.: 1987, 65).³⁹² By being located physically, functionally and sociologically at the intersection of two opposite sides of Ankara, Ulus Square was announced as the central departure point for public transportation (**Figure 164b, c** and **AppendixA2-3**).³⁹³ After this regulation, “bus stop” as a new type of urban element, was introduced to the square. Concurrently, a new type of sub-areas and daily patterns for the users of Ulus Square started to emerge (**Figure 164d**). Moreover, this choice increased the amount and diversity of people using Ulus Square, and eventually had an impact on the transformation of socio-cultural values attached to the area.



Figure 164 a. ZIS brand public bus (Keskinok: 2009, 131) b. Bus stops in front of the First Assembly, 1935 (TA: 2017) c. Bus stops in front of Taşhan (demolished) at Ulus Square, 1935 (Dericizade: 2016) d. A photo used with an article titled: “Yesterday, in front of the shops people were waiting to see the new buses” (Ulus: 02.10.1935, 3)

While Ulus Square was the core of attention for the Republic, Taşhan was losing its popularity among the residents of Ankara. This decline which had started with the opening of better-quality hotels in the close vicinity, accelerated by the relocation of Karpiç from Taşhan to newly built Özel İdare Bazaar. Moreover, the physical aspects

³⁹² Even though, previously used vehicles were forbidden within the operation areas of municipality buses, these vehicles continued to operate on the peripheral zones where municipality could not provide transportation services.

³⁹³ On an interview with the mayor-governor Nevzat Tandoğan, he explained that; all bus stops will be departed from Taşhan. The location of bus stops for Keçiören, Etlik and İstasyon directions (**Figure 164c**) will remain the same, whereas new bus stops that will serve for Çankaya, Dikmen and Yenışehir directions will be in front of the Ministry of Culture (Ulus: 02.10.1935, 3).

of Taşhan was not compatible with state's ideology in creating a modern image for the city. As a result, the owner of Taşhan could not resist economic and political pressures anymore and he had to sell the building. Necdet Taşhan, the son of Taşhan's owner remembers those days as (cited in Kemal: 1983, 179);

After the death of my father, there was an urgency for the payments of our debts to İş Bank, – I guess to prevent the building to be sold to other people – we were forced to sell Taşhan to Sümerbank.

At the beginning of March 1935, the demolishment of Taşhan had started (Sarioğlu: 1995, 192) (**Figure 165a-c, Figure 167a, b**). Ankara was witnessing the demolishment of a building that had historic, functional and memory value for the entire city and most of its residents. Thus, this event would be recognised as a precursor of several others.³⁹⁴ Triggered with demolishment of Taşhan, historic buildings – that were mainly constructed before the Republican Period or the ones that could not reflect the modern image state wanted to promote – had lost their battle one by one against new buildings. Starting from 1935 and accelerated during 1950s it was common to see the disappearance of historic buildings within old quarters of Ankara and several buildings around Ulus Square either demolished by the state or burned down after accidental fires.



Figure 165 Last photos taken before Taşhan was demolished **a.** A close up of Taşhan (Ulus: 04.03.1935) **b.** Ulus Square, 1935 (TA: 2017) **c.** After the demolishment, 1935 (Uğur Kavas Archive, cited in Işın: 2009, 199)³⁹⁵

³⁹⁴ In 1934, Julian Column/ *Belkız Sütunu* – which was erected at the west-southwest of Hükümet Square in 361-363 AD – was relocated at the east of Hükümet Square for opening an additional space for the new building that would be constructed in the place of Taşhan (will be discussed on next section).

³⁹⁵ Buildings located on the left side of Çankırı Road were (from left to right): A small shop, Meydan Palas, Koç Han, Kulüp Cinema and Tabarin Bar at the corner. In 1937, the name of *Kulüp Sineması*/ Clup Cinema was changed into *Halk Sineması*/ Halk Cinema (People's Cinema) (Tanyer: 2012, 541).

Along with these demolishments, the number of construction of new buildings and roads planted with trees (mainly acacia³⁹⁶) in the newly developed districts (especially Mustafa Necati Bey/ Bankalar Road that was connecting Ulus to Yenışehir and Çankaya direction) were increasing day by day. Among all, Yenışehir area, which had emerged as a residential district mainly inhabited by the high-income groups of new comers, started to develop as the ideal face of the Republic regarding to the modern houses and the daily activities of the residents within its gardens, streets and roads. The state's special interest in this area gave its fruits within a decade that, Sultan Ahmet Han (the Ambassador of Afghanistan) expressed his feelings on the incredible development of the new parts of Ankara as follows (cited in Uluğ: 1997, 215-218);

Without being excited, is it possible to talk about Yenışehir which is a complete new modern city all by itself, with its asphalt roads, monuments, public squares, parks, thousands of houses, one more elegant than the other, mansions, apartments? Here, the human intervention did not only create a nice area but also developed a spacious and sweet district where the land was previously barren and now full of trees and gardens...The ones who were living in Ankara all along could not grasp the unbelievable development move of the state. But people like me, who knew the earlier periods of Ankara, and after leaving the city for a period and come back, could easily appreciate the incomparable difference.

This period of rapid change concentrating on the newly developed areas, had two major results. Firstly, by neglecting old districts or not taking any measures for the future of empty lots, authorities underestimated the danger of *gecekondu*/ squatter areas³⁹⁷ to expand (**Figure 166a, b**).³⁹⁸ And secondly, by directing the development activities to the west and south, and creating a new residential and administrative area

³⁹⁶ Şevket Rado, who visited the city in 1930, remembers that acacia trees were planted on the roads and each of them were nursed like babies (1978: 7).

³⁹⁷ Polonyi clearly summarized the emergence of squatter areas as: "... many of them have been built by rural communities which, due to the depeasantisation – characteristic of the modernisation of Third World countries – migrate to urban centres where they create large pseudo-villages. They have no chance to meet the requirements of building regulations in order to have a shelter. They take possession of publicly owned unoccupied land without the written consent of the authorities and erect their self-constructed shelters. They are helped by the skills of some semi-professionals from their home towns, producing a kind of folk-architecture while using partly recycled waste materials of the urban civilization" (1988, 108).

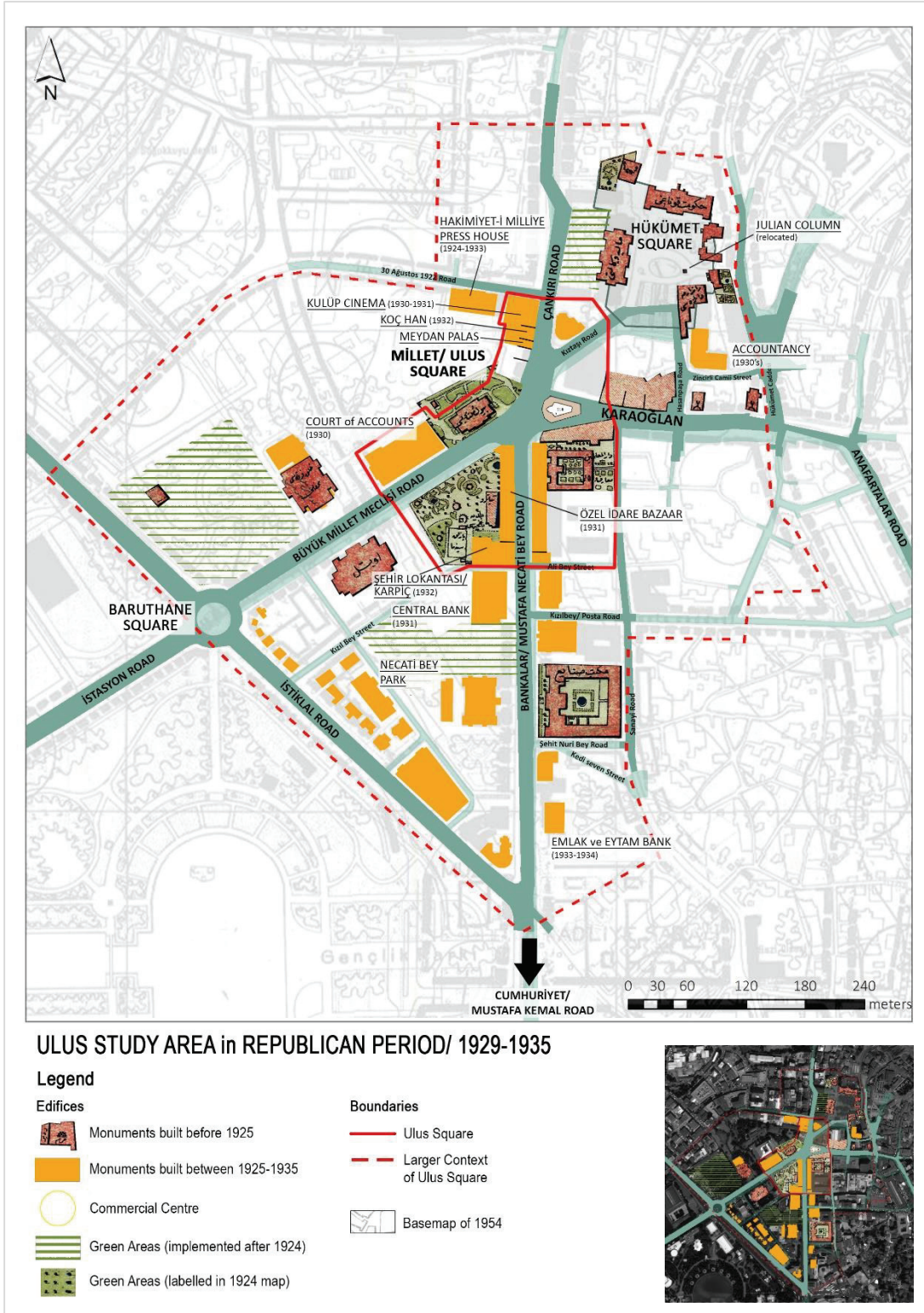
³⁹⁸ In 1934, Şükrü Kaya (Minister of Interior between 1927 and 1938) pointed out on his speech that, the third Ankara consists of houses that were constructed within one-two nights. Even though there were several activities to demolish these houses located on squatter areas around İncesu and Akköprü districts, still state had lots to do for revitalizing squatter areas in Ankara (Ergüven: 1938, 130).

at Yenişehir, a new centre for the city had started to emerge around Kızılay. Moreover, starting with the influx of commercial activities from Karaoğlan to Mustafa Necati Bey/ Bankalar Road, major functions of the city also started to relocate themselves slowly from Ulus Square to the direction of Yenişehir.



Figure 166 a. b. Barracks erected at empty open spaces around Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Tekcan: 2014, 174)

To conclude, as being at the core of the city, Ulus Square witnessed a substantial transformation in terms of its physical, socio-cultural and functional aspects due to the shift of planning activities towards the newly developed areas. Taşhan's fragile position in this process was quite important in terms of its role in activating a series of additional physical alterations and socio-cultural changes within the area. While Taşhan's construction at the end of the 19th century triggered the emergence of Ulus Square, its demolition in 1935 marked a new era for the square catalysing several event.



CHAPTER 4

THE TALE OF ULUS SQUARE II: TRANSFORMATION

This chapter examines the transformation period of Ulus Square from 1935 until present and it is structured in three sections. The first part, *Phase I: Jansen vs. Tandoğan/ Indiscriminate Urban Development*, focuses on the period between 1935 and 1945, where conflicts between Jansen, Tandoğan and several other administrative powers led to the departures from Jansen Plan are explained by giving examples of their reflection on urban development. In addition, other important factors such as economic and migration problems caused by the Second World War, and their effect on Ulus Square in its close vicinity is discussed in detail.

The second section *Phase II: A New Understanding of Urban Space and Relocation of the City Centre*, focuses on the period between 1945 and 1980. First, radical changes in state ideology taking USA as a model and its reflection on urban development and the understanding of urban space are presented. Afterwards, the implementation process of Yücel-Uybadin Plan and the following attempts of regenerating the city centre are discussed in detail. Finally, the transformation of physical, functional, socio-cultural and visual aspects of Ulus Square after the Ulus Project and Yücel-Uybadin Plan is analysed with an emphasis on the mutual relationship between these projects and the fall of Ankara (against İstanbul) and the fall of Ulus (against Kızılay) after 1970s.

The last section; *Phase III: From the Stability of Negligence to the Uncertainties of Renovation*, examines the period between 1980 until today. It is structured under three periods that are mainly identified with political, economic and socio-cultural change within Turkey and its effect on public open spaces, including Ulus Square. The first part emphasises the decline of Ulus Square against Kızılay as well as Ankara's decline against İstanbul, which had started by the end of 1960s and considerably accelerated

in 1980s. Concurrent with this decline, the increasing pressure of vehicular traffic and the radical change on functions, user groups and their daily activity patterns within the area also discussed in detail. Secondly, the transformation of political tendencies in the state during 1990s is examined and its impact on local authorities to neglect Ulus Square were presented. Parallel to this, development of the first conservation master plan for historic Ankara and other conservation activities were also analysed in detail.

The last part of this section discusses the period between 2005 and 2018 by focusing mainly on the impact of political issues on development and conservation activities in Ankara. Therefore, several changes in legal and administrative issues, regulations and laws regarding conservation activities, and their impact on Ulus Square are examined in detail. This period witnessed the approval and repeal of three conservation master plans and numerous changes in the boundaries of conservation sites (renovation area, urban site and archaeological site), and therefore it was marked by the uncertainty of the authorities regarding historic Ankara, including Ulus Square. Accordingly, this chapter focuses on the main factors activating the alteration, transformation and change in the values attached to Ulus Square and the modes of continuity.

4.1. PHASE I: JANSEN VS. TANDOĞAN/ INDISCRIMINATE URBAN DEVELOPMENT (1935-1945)

This section focuses on a period when Ankara continued to develop indiscriminately, without following the guidelines of Jansen's master plan. Even though the plan was approved in 1932, due to the increase in flouts especially after 1935, the plan lost its validity by the end of 1930s. Consequently, the city had to develop through minor implementation projects of the Directorate of Urban Development and their temporary solutions for problem areas. Besides, political factors and changes in economic development had a more intense effect on planning activities and organization of urban space in Ankara than ever before.

The Second World War (1939-1945) created new agendas for almost every country in the world. Although Turkey decided to stay neutral during war times, it was impossible

to refrain from the effects of political shifts and economic fluctuations. Hence, compared to other cities of the Republic, Ankara was exposed to the consequences of war the most in terms economic-political issues and their reflection on urban space. Meanwhile, Ulus Square – as the main administrative and commercial centre of Ankara – continued to maintain its importance for the city during this period. But on the other hand, it witnessed changes on the attitude of the state on physical, functional and socio-cultural character of the square.

The second important factor affecting the use of Ulus Square and its meaning for the residents of Ankara, was the emergence of Yenışehir area, especially Kızılay Square and its surroundings. Even though Kızılay Square cannot be compared to Ulus Square due to its importance for the city and the variety of its functions for this period, it is important to highlight the concurrent similarities in their transformation process within two decades time. To sum up, this section aims at defining the transformation of Ulus Square with its elements and values, by mainly analysing the effects of political and economic factors which at the same time caused the emergence of a new square on the south of the city.

4.1.1. Expansion of Modernisation Activities

A Brief Overview of Ulus Square During early 1930s

Starting from the 1920s, Ulus Square had gradually turned into the only public open space of Ankara where values derived from interlacing political, ideological, financial, commercial, residential and socio-cultural activities. As it is mentioned before, the first National Assembly was located at the centre of Ulus Square. After the Second National Assembly was built, the former building started to be used by *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP)*/ Republican People's Party. In addition to the administrative functions attached to the square, ministry buildings and other administrative buildings around Hükümet Square strengthen this attachment. More importantly, erection of the Victory Monument and the construction of new public buildings with modern style intensified the role of Ulus Square as the ideological centre of the New Republic.

Concurrently, the name of the streets, roads, squares and even schools that are important for the state to reflect its ideology were replaced with others reminiscing the War of Independence and the foundation of the Republic. During 1930s, the name of Karaoğlan was replaced with Anafartalar, Mustafa Necati Bey/ Bankalar Road was replaced first with Cumhuriyet Road and later started to be called as Gazi Boulevard. Certain section of İstasyon Road was also changed into Büyük Millet Meclisi Road. Additionally, newly created streets, roads and squares were also named with similar intentions: Mustafa Kemal Road, İstiklal Road, Zafer Square, Kurtuluş Square, 30 Ağustos Road etc. In this way, on every corner of Ulus Square and its close vicinity, it was possible to run into a reminiscence of the Republican ideology that was strongly underlined either by its architecture and elements of urban space, or by their names. As a result, Ulus Square and its close vicinity became a prototype for other cities of Turkey revealing how an urban square of a Republican city should look like and the way of integrating a modernised Republican citizen to this image with the help of relevant daily activities.

Ulus Square also hosted almost every kind of shop, office and bank etc. as the main area for financial and commercial activities. Gazi Boulevard was filled with İş Bank, Ziraat Bank, Central Bank, Emlak ve Eytam Bank and Osmanlı Bank, whereas Karaoğlan and Anafartalar Road were the main areas for traditional and contemporary shopping. Additionally, after the opening of shops along the northern part of Gazi Boulevard, the commercial activity area was gradually widened to the direction of south/ Sıhhiye area. As a result, Gazi Boulevard became one of the exceptional roads in Ankara with the juxtaposition of luxurious shops, pavements and green areas. Parallel to the physical and functional change occurred at this boulevard, in a short amount of time it became the most favourable promenade for the city that filled an important gap in the social life of residents.

In addition to shops, banks and other commercial spaces at Gazi Boulevard, the existence of Karpiç Restaurant and the Anatolia Club extensively improved the daily usage of the road. Meanwhile, Çankırı Road became a frequently used urban space

due to the concentration of specific type of leisure time activity areas such as cinema, *gazinos* and bars. Almost for a century Çankırı Road continued to maintain its functional character. Eventually during 1930s it became the main spot for leisure time activities, especially used at nights by the target audience mainly composed of wealthy men.³⁹⁹

In addition to Çankırı Road, there were other places at Ulus Square where families can spend their free time all together. Şehir Garden and the garden of the Second National Assembly were the main green areas of Ankara where decorative pools with coloured fishes could be found, and occasionally an orchestra playing soft music (**Figure 168a**). Even though these places were open to everyone, they were mainly used by *yaban*. Therefore, they were transformed into the symbols of the modern Republic in terms of their visual attributes and their user profiles. On the other hand most of the time, *yerli* preferred to gather at *Cumhuriyet Bahçesi*/ Republic Garden, around *Bendderesi*/ Bend River and *Hatip Çayı*/ Hatip Stream to have picnic at the weekends (Bayraktar: 2016, 75) (**Figure 168b, c**).



Figure 168 a. Garden of the Second National Assembly (VEKAM: 1181) **b.** Picnic areas around Hatip Çayı/Bendderesi (ANT: 2018) **c.** Recreational areas along Bendderesi River, 1927-1928 (VEKAM: 1275)

Similarly, for residential areas, a differentiation also started to occur between Yenışehir and old parts of the city. As it was mentioned before, one of the reasons behind the gradual expansion of the city to the south was the location of Mustafa Kemal's residence in Çankaya.⁴⁰⁰ Consequently, in order to connect Ulus Square to Çankaya, a 40 m wide paved protocol road with modern style buildings was established. By being located in the middle of this protocol road, Yenışehir became

³⁹⁹ With the opening of the first bar (signboard is labelled with a red arrow on **Figure 127a**), Çankırı Road started to become the main centre for entertainment activities (50 Yıllık Yaşantımız: 1975, 51).

⁴⁰⁰ Both on Lörcher's and Jansen's city plans, Kızılay-Çankaya direction was defined as the main expansion area for the city.

the most favourable residential area of the new comers to the city.⁴⁰¹ Most of the houses in Yenışehir area were luxurious⁴⁰², whereas the old districts were still composed of traditional houses (**Figure 169a**). Parallel to the development of Yenışehir area, Kızılay Square⁴⁰³ increased its importance for Ankara as the secondary public square of the city (**Figure 169b**). While, Kızılay Square was utilised only by *yaban* owning houses at Yenışehir area (**Figure 169c**), Ulus Square continued its importance by being the central public open space for the city where residents with different background could come together casually.

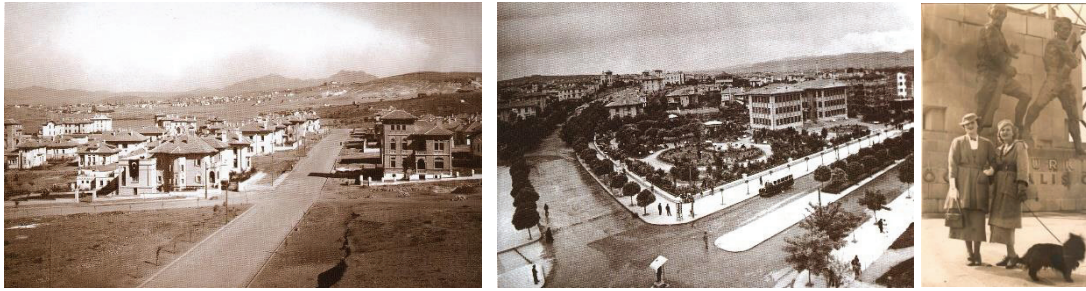


Figure 169 a. Newly emerged residential area at Yenışehir district: Luxurious detached house units, late 1920s (Aktürk: 2006) b. Kızılay Building and its public garden at Kızılay Square, Yenışehir (Aktürk: 2006) c. Zsa Zsa Gabor (a famous actress) and her friend, in front of *Güven Anıtı*/ Trust Monument, early 1930s of Kızılay Square (Selahattin Duman Archive)

Despite the fact that several precautions taken by the state to integrate *yerli* and *yaban* (most of the time this attempt aimed to transform *yerli* into *yaban*/ a modern citizen), in the course of time the gap between these two groups became wider.⁴⁰⁴ From mid-1930s, newly developed areas such as the western and southern parts of Ulus Square were mainly inhabited by high-income groups such as officials, bureaucrats, deputies and their family members. Whereas low-income groups could rarely involve to the daily life of these areas except special occasions such as; national fests, celebrations and meetings. It it was almost impossible for them to get involved in the daily life in

⁴⁰¹ During the first years of the Republic, people with different socio-cultural and economic backgrounds were living together since the state had limited funds to build new residential areas fast. Later, during 1930s new residential areas started to appear. Eventually *yaban* and *yerli* started to be distinguished from each other gradually and the bewildering difference between the new and old parts of the city increased.

⁴⁰² Karaosmanoğlu associated these houses to the palaces of Indian Rajahs (2001: 127).

⁴⁰³ Construction of the Head Building of *Kızılay*/ Red Crescent (1929), implementation of a green area with a pool around the building and erection of *Güven Anıtı*/ the Trust Monument (1935) within a park on the opposite side of the road, were the indicators of state's attitude towards the development of this area.

⁴⁰⁴ Neşet Sabit, who is one of the main characters of the novel called *Ankara*, had witnessed the big difference between two districts of Ankara that are just 2-3 km far from each other, by saying that: 30 minutes ago, this young man was at far-west (where tea parties with whiskey and dance were organized), and afterwards within 30 minutes time now he is at the middle of Asia from Medieval Ages (Karaosmanoğlu: 2001, 138-139).

the areas emerged further south than Ulus Square, especially to the direction of Kızılay. For instance, Arcayürek explains the gap between Ulus Square and the areas located further as (1983: 31-32);

During my childhood Ankara was divided into two in terms of social structure. Yenışehir and its vicinity was a distinct area where it was almost impossible to reach for the residents of old districts. Hence, especially during my childhood times, because of curiosity we were trying to penetrate to that part of the city regularly. And most of the time they gaze on us as if we were coming from another planet.

Based on Arcayürek's impressions, it is possible to state that Ulus Square became an edge for the residents of Ankara with different socio-cultural and economic backgrounds by the end of 1930s. They did not want to pass the psychological border of Ulus and associate themselves with "others". But on the other hand, Ulus was the only focal point of the city where these groups can come together and get involved to the city life frequently. Therefore, Ulus Square became the most important milieu for the state to promote its ideology. Within this context, it was an unwritten rule for the state where every single element contradicting with the state ideology should be removed from the urban space and replaced expeditiously with proper elements of modernisation. Consequently, the demolishment of Taşhan and several other buildings was legitimised by the state.

Acceleration of Modernisation Activities: Construction of Sümerbank

Republic of Turkey is one of the new and young countries that had emerged after war period. Although this Republic was established on the land of Ottoman Empire that Turks had settled, it has connections with Ottoman Empire. When old Empire is compared to the new Republic in terms of cultural, social, economic and political issues, it is clearly visible that this connection is only related to a historical link... On the contrary, main components of the Republic of Turkey is representing exact opposite of what belonged to Ottoman Empire.

The Preface of "Turkey with Photographs" ⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰⁵ The preface called "From Ottoman Empire to Republic of Turkey" was an anonymous article published on the photograph album prepared by *Matbua Umum Müdürlüğü*/ General Directory of Press in 1938 (Oktay: 2001, 275).

Starting from the early periods onwards, the state had a clear agenda on the way of interpreting the past for creating the future for the Republic. The national trend of the 1920s gave way to modernism in the 1930s (Aslanoğlu: 2009, 67). The new Republic embraced the idea of developing a modernised image that would help the state disassociate itself from its Ottoman past. In order to achieve this, every type of urban activity strengthening the modernised image of the Republic was intensely promoted. Especially, Atatürk himself emphasised the role of architecture and planning to create modernised cities for Turkish people, and asked authorities to work with the knowledge of this mission.⁴⁰⁶ With this ideology, 1930s became the period for the country to replace the Ottoman image with the modern Republican image through architecture and planning.

Parallel to the regulations of the state, most of the municipalities had developed a program to give a modern look to their cities. The urban activities utilised by the municipalities can be listed as: the opening of regular neat roads, providing urban lighting, implementing wide green areas, parks, improving water infrastructure, inserting loud speakers at the central squares and setting up open markets, or constructing fruit-vegetable markets (Tekeli: 1978, 92). Since Ankara was the capital of the Republic, in addition to these activities there were several others contributing to the gradual transformation of the physical character of the city.

In addition to the regulations of the state, there were local actors accelerating the modernisation process of Ankara: Jansen and Tandoğan. While Jansen was the author of the city's master plan, Tandoğan got extensive authorisation and power since he was both the governor and mayor of Ankara from 1930. Even though there were several problems in the development of Ankara in a planned manner, major effects of this duality in decision making and implementation process became more evident by the end of the decade. On the other hand, for Ulus Square there were additional implementations that would soon cause vital changes in the physical, functional and visual characteristics of the square.

⁴⁰⁶ Summarised from his speech on the Republican Day ceremony in 1935 (Belediyeler Dergisi: 1935).

Even though Jansen prepared a detailed master plan in 1932, in a short amount of time it was either changed by the attempts of notable figures or implemented unsuccessfully by the technical staff. Additionally, there were intentions to extend the boundaries of the 1932 master plan up to the municipal border (Şenyapılı: 1985, 65).⁴⁰⁷ Therefore, Jansen was asked to propose a set of changes to adapt the city for the new circumstances in 1936 (Mihçioğlu Bilgi: 2010, 231). He proposed a 1/10 000 scaled conceptual plan covering an area of Castle, Keçiören-Etlik, Cebeci and Çankaya areas, and prepared several partial documents.⁴⁰⁸ However, his proposals were not implemented properly and Tandoğan started to increase his influence on the planning activities in Ankara.

According to Atay, Tandoğan reacted against Jansen's proposals starting from the first day he was assigned and gradually increased his pressure by several attempts to sabotage his plans (2010: 533). As a result of increasing tension between Jansen and Tandoğan, in 1938 Jansen's contract was not renewed and a new period for the urban development of Ankara began under the authority of Directorate of Urban Development (Tekeli: 1982, 64 and İmga: 2006, 92-94).⁴⁰⁹ This department had a strong connection with Tandoğan and especially after 1939, urban planning activities were mainly directed through his continuous interferences.⁴¹⁰ Nevertheless, for the period of 1935-1939, Jansen's ideas on the capital city of Turkey were clearly visible and modernisation of Ankara had accelerated.

Since Ulus Square was the core of Ankara, modernisation activities continued more intensely on Square compared to other parts of the city. Even though most of the

⁴⁰⁷ According to Şenyapılı, it is clear that the attempt for extending the boundaries of settlement areas also means to widen the area for speculation activities and therefore can be considered as the main obstacle for Jansen's plan to operate properly (1985: 65).

⁴⁰⁸ Some of the partial projects Jansen prepared can be listed as: 1933: Bankalar Road North, *Gençlik Parkı*, Stadium, 1934: Anafartalar and Tahtakale, Çankırı Road, Station and İstiklal Road, Intersection of İstiklal Road and Bankalar Road, Sümerbank, 1935: Bus Terminal at Bankalar and Anafartalar Roads, Çankırı Road, Castle, Tahtakale and its environs etc. (Hermann Jansen: *Proje*: 2017).

⁴⁰⁹ In 1939, due to several interruptions and the increase on flouts, Jansen declared that his signature should be removed from the master plan that he had prepared for Ankara (Bademli: 1985, 15-16).

⁴¹⁰ According to İmga, the period of Tandoğan can be described as the concentration of unplanned activities which would have soon caused a divergence from planning a modern Ankara and also caused an enormous increase on the amount of scattered areas (2006: 131).

executive institutions had moved to Bakanlıklar district at Yenışehir by the end of 1930s, the legislative body continued to stay at the main public square of the city (Batuman: 2017, 49). Therefore, Ulus Square continued to maintain its importance for the city by hosting the National Assembly, the Governor's Office and the Victory Monument within its close vicinity. With its administrative buildings and the monument symbolising the days of the War of Independence and victory, Ulus Square and main roads defining this square were the only place for public activities, gatherings and celebrations for the state.⁴¹¹ In addition to its administrative function, Ulus Square continued to strengthen its ideological meaning for the city. This public open space, especially the area around the monument was considered almost as sacred by the visitors of Ulus Square.

For instance; Öymen remembers that “when he was a kid, showing a great respect to Atatürk was a common behaviour in Ankara. Therefore, even if it was an exaggerative way of expressing his feelings, whenever they pass through the Victory Monument, he gave a soldier salute to the monument” (2002: 17). Additionally during April 23 celebrations, Bağlum remembers that “they used to gather at Ulus Square and walk through Atatürk Boulevard to see/ talk to Atatürk” (1992: 141) **(Figure 170)**. Similarly, Makaracı remembers the day when Atatürk passed away. He mentions that, the moment they heard the death of Atatürk, everyone run to the Victory Monument and they were all together screaming as “Our father, we follow your footsteps!” (cited in Ergir: 2017). Therefore, both Ulus Square and the main roads intersecting at the square continued to maintain their characteristics as being the administrative and ideological centre for the city. Besides, with the increasing urban and construction activities within these areas, these locations concurrently strengthen their meaning for the city in terms of financial⁴¹², commercial⁴¹³ and leisure time activities.

⁴¹¹ Till the opening of Stadium and Hippodrome in 1936, Ulus Square and these roads continued to be used for the celebrations organised by the state. After their opening, most of the ceremonial activities had moved to Stadium and Hippodrome. Even though this change decreased the usage intensity of Ulus Square and its close vicinity as an official ceremonial space of the state, but still these areas continued to be used for public meetings and celebrations by the residents of Ankara.

⁴¹² All of the banks were located between Ulus Square and northern part of Atatürk Boulevard (also continued to be called as Bankalar Road).

⁴¹³ Most of the commercial activities concentrated around Anafartalar Road and Atatürk Boulevard.



Figure 170 A national day, groups of people including officials, children and also soldiers walking at Atatürk Boulevard towards Ulus Square (Tekcan: 2014, 100)

With the increase of construction activities, Ulus Square gained a more modern look day by day with its public buildings, wide planted roads, green open spaces, theatres-cinemas-gazinos-restaurants and most importantly with the people living in a complete harmony with the Republican ideology regarding their clothes and daily activities. This situation can easily be traced in the depictions of foreign journalists who visited Ankara in this period. For instance, in the article “Ankara, The Heart of New Turkey”, M. Svetovski⁴¹⁴ mentions that (Ulus: 07.01.1936);

With its geometrical lined boulevards, the new and mosque-free Ankara lies as the bravest piece of aesthetics and secularity... Ankara attracts the attention by being the symbol of determination and human victory.

Additionally, Henri Liebrecht⁴¹⁵ claimed that Ankara of 1937 has an impressive image and elaborated his ideas as (cited in Şimşir: 2006, 405-406);

And there it is, Ankara... In the past hosted only a small Turkish village and an almost demolished castle, these arid lands became the new administrative centre of the new Turkey in 12 years of time... A few minutes ago, we were in the middle of a desert; after we got out from the station we found ourselves in the middle of the dynamism and vitality of a modernized and big city with its asphalt paved roads contradicting the narrow, crooked streets of İstanbul...

⁴¹⁴ Vreme/ Belgrad.

⁴¹⁵ Le Soir/ Brussels.

These asphalt paved roads were mainly concentrated on the newly developed parts of Ankara, especially between Ulus Square and Yenışehir axis. Among these roads, *Gazi Boulevard* (later changed to *Atatürk Boulevard*⁴¹⁶), connecting Ulus Square to Çankaya, was the main and most important axis of the city where every type of activity was taking place. This road was filled with monumental buildings of banks, public institutions and administrative functions and at the same time smaller commercial and entertainment units. The boulevard itself was also an attraction point for the citizens of Ankara, as one of the most suitable area for daily walks and leisure time activities. It was paved with asphalt and its sidewalk with cobble stone. Additionally, it was planted with oleasters, almond trees and acacias in equal intervals (Bağlum: 1992, 141 and Erdoğan et al.: 2007b, 104). In a short amount of time, a new social habit for the residents of Ankara had emerged: walking along *Atatürk Boulevard*, sitting on benches under the shade of trees and socializing with other residents of Ankara.

Moreover, garden of the Second National Assembly and Şehir Garden were other attraction points for the residents.⁴¹⁷ Especially garden of the Second National Assembly gained more importance after the shrinking of green areas at Şehir Garden, due to the construction of *Muhasebe-i Hususiye (Özel İdare Çarşısı)* in 1931. It was a designed garden with pools, different types of trees and several specialized activity areas. During day time, the residents preferred to visit this garden to socialise with others and also just to see red fish in the pools.⁴¹⁸ On the other hand, several activities were organised at this garden such as concerts of *Riyaseti Cumhur Orkestrası*/ Orchestra of the President (Renda et al.: 2004, 99).

The other important development for Ankara was the construction of a new Central Train Station with a restaurant/gazino in 1937. Designed by Şekip Akalın, this new train station created a compatible image with the modernised face of the city (**Figure 171a**). Likewise, Gar Gazinosu was also reflecting every aspect of modern

⁴¹⁶ The name Atatürk was given to this road after the death of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk on 10 November 1938.

⁴¹⁷ According to the interviewee of Özaloğlu, even though they were living close to Hacettepe Park (traditional residential area within historic quarters of Ankara), most of the time they preferred going to Şehir Garden and garden of the Second Assembly (2009: 27).

⁴¹⁸ Some of the residents of Ankara was calling this park as Balıklı Park/ The Park with Fish (Fügen İlter: 2018).

architecture and forming a unified station area through its curvilinear colonnade (Aslanoğlu: 2001, 330-331) (**Figure 171b**). For this reason, the entire area became the representative of Ankara's modern image.



Figure 171 a. Station area, 1940s: General Directorate of State Railways, the Central Train Station and Gar Gazinosu (VEKAM: 0147) **b.** The restaurant at the station (“Ankara Construit” in *La Turquie Kemaliste*⁴¹⁹: 1938, 28)

After getting off from the train, the station was the first image for the visitors where the modern face of the state was introduced, and the gazino would be the next. Therefore these buildings were designed and promoted accordingly (**Figure 172a**). On the other hand, Gazino was not only intended to serve guests but at the same time the residents of Ankara. In a short amount of time, by hosting one of the most luxurious restaurants of the city, station area was transformed into the main gathering place for the notable figures and high-income groups of the period, and this change increased the day-night usage of station area accordingly (Uludağ: 2005, 32). Linking the gate of the city to the main central public open space, İstasyon Road (**Figure 172 b**) aided the state to strengthen the idea of a modernised Ankara. Therefore, in a short period of time, – in addition to Atatürk Boulevard and Büyük Millet Meclisi Road – station area and İstasyon Road also became the modern face of Ankara with its physical, visual and socio-cultural aspects.

⁴¹⁹ A major publication of the General Directorate of Press Directorate that was intended for foreign audience as well as the Turkish; hence articles were published in French, English and German. It included high quality photographs from different parts of the country displaying historical sites and natural environments. The journal also included a section exclusively on Ankara, “Ankara Construit”, depicting the city under construction, in comparison to the İstanbul section representing what had been culturally inherited (Batuman: 2008, 102).

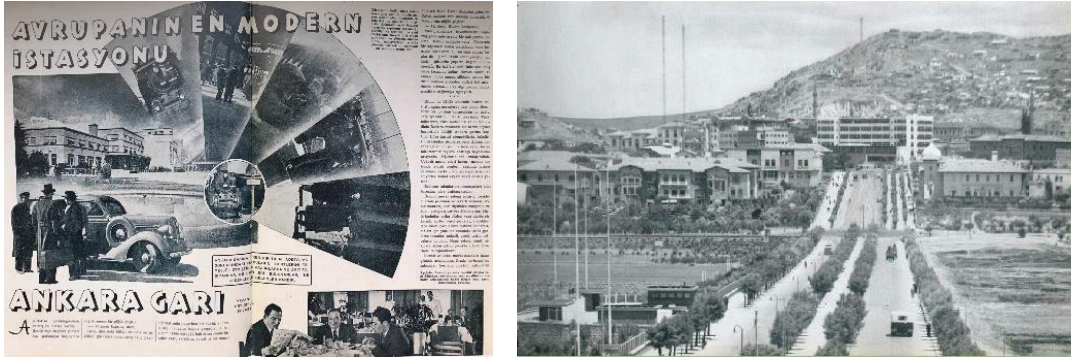


Figure 172 a. An advertisement titled “The most modern train station in Europe” (Yedigün: 30.05.1939) b. The station avenue (“Ankara Construit” in *La Turquie Kemaliste*: 1938, 29)

Along with the erection of new buildings around the train station, there were other monumental buildings/public spaces designed to reflect the modern face of the Republic within Ulus Square and its close vicinity. A number of parks, sport and recreational facility areas were built in Ankara during 1930s that also became urban and architectural icons of the Republican modernity (Bozdoğan: 2001, 75). For instance, *19 Mayıs Stadyumu*/ 19 May Stadium was a sports complex that was also used as a stage for many celebrations of national holidays. Therefore, after the opening of this complex in 1936, ceremonial activities had gradually moved from Ulus Square to the Stadium area, inevitably affecting the ceremonial usage of the square in a negative way.⁴²⁰ But on the other hand, Ulus Square and Atatürk Boulevard continued to be utilised for parades and ceremonies during national fests and special events.

For instance, right after the death of Atatürk, his body was brought back from İstanbul and placed in front of the Second National Assembly for the public. Later, on 21 November 1938, he was carried from the Second National Assembly to the Museum of Ethnography with a ceremonial funeral organised along a route including the main roads around Ulus Square (Günver: 1990, 69). Hence, the functional attribute of Ulus Square as the main centre of the city for public gatherings continued albeit less frequently. On the other hand, there were specific events that triggered the transformation process of Ulus Square during 1930s.

⁴²⁰ According to Yalım, even though opening of the stadium had a negative impact on Ulus Square, at the same time it reinforced the importance of the protocol area. The stadium area was designed with the idea of integrating the view of the Second National Assembly and the castle as a background while watching the stage from the tribunes. By this visual relationship with the Assembly building, the importance of the administrative centre of the city was highlighted (2001: 155).

Among several new constructions⁴²¹, Sümerbank occupies an important role in accelerating the physical, functional, and visual transformation of Ulus Square and its meaning for the city. Like other countries of the period, Turkey focused on industrialisation as a big spurt for the modernisation process of the Republic.⁴²² Among these attempts, the construction of industrial buildings all around the country became the pillars of promoting the modernisation progress of the state. At the same time, it was the will to construct a modern nation by implementing modern architecture as the setting of the daily life. Parallel to this, the construction of a monumental building in Ankara symbolising industrialisation was brought to the agenda of state authorities. As a result, Sümerbank⁴²³ building was erected at the most important location of the city centre where Taşhan was previously located (**Figure 173a, b**). According to Yalım, Taşhan was rather an 'old' building that is not much suitable with the appearance of the 'modern' Ankara... and was seen as an obstacle in the formation of the 'modern' image which should spread from the Ulus Square as the centre of the city (2001: 148).

⁴²¹ Designed by Sami Arsev, the first building of Etibank was constructed in 1935-1936, next to Ottoman Bank. (For further information, see Aslanoğlu: 2010, 255).

⁴²² The First Industry Plan of Turkey was promulgated in 1934. This plan was mainly concentrated on the national production of raw materials, developing industrial projects with huge capitals and advanced level of technology and most importantly at least production for meeting the domestic demand. Six sectors were determined: chemistry, paper, mining, weaving, ceramics and iron-steel, and Sümerbank was charged for establishing twenty factories for these sectors (Ertuğrul: 2008, 55). Therefore, Sümerbank became the most important actor for Turkey's industrialisation period and its building must be designed in order to reflect this importance.

⁴²³ Sanayi ve Maadin Bank was established in 1925 to provide loan for industrial enterprises and promote factories. In 1932 all of its factories were transferred to *Sanayi Ofisi*/ Industry Office, and remaining activities were utilised under *Türkiye Sanayi ve Kredi Bankası*/ Turkish Industry and Loan Bank. Later in 1933 to establish and manage main industrial enterprises of Turkey, Sümerbank was established and all of these factories previously belonging to Sanayi Ofisi were transferred to Sümerbank (Sanayi ve Maadin Bankası: 2017). With the construction of Sümerbank, the building that was used as Sanayi ve Maadin Bank located at Baruthane Square lost its importance and started to be utilised with another function.



Figure 173 a. İŞ Bank, Taşhan and the Victory Monument, 1931 (TA: 2016) **b.** İŞ Bank, Sümerbank and the Victory Monument (İŞ Bank Archive)

Before the construction of Sümerbank, Julian Column-Belkız Sütunu was relocated to open additional space for the building in 1934 from its original location between İŞ Bank and the Ministry of Finance to its current location further east (Kadıoğlu and Görkay: 2008, 227) at Hükümet Square (**Figure 174a-d**). Therefore, even before the construction of Sümerbank, the physical and visual aspects of the square started to change immediately.



Figure 174 a. b. Original location of the column between İş Bank and the Ministry of Finance (İş Bank Archive), (Cangır: 2007, 206) **c.** Transfer of the column, 1934 (WOW: 2018) **d.** New location of the column at Hükümet Square, 1937 (Cangır: 2007, 643)

However, the erection of Sümerbank in the place of Taşhan had an irreversible effect on how Ulus Square was perceived and utilised by the public. Undoubtedly, substantial change in the physical, visual and functional aspects of the main building defining the northern edge of Ulus Square also triggered the transformation at the square. Additionally, the meaning attached to the square either by the public or the state also changed during this period. Therefore, a new era has started for Ulus Square which was triggered by demolition of Taşhan and accelerated after the construction of Sümerbank in its place, with completely new visual aspects and values attached to it **(summarised in Table 6).**

First of all, two buildings underwent a completely different naming process. For *Taşhan*/ Stone Han, its name was determined by its function and construction material. On the other hand, for *Sümerbank*/ Sümerian Bank the naming process was completely different. It was constructed during a Republican period when the researches to create a connection between Turkish history and ancient civilizations native to Anatolia or its surrounding made a breakthrough. Therefore, it was a common attitude for the state to name public institutions after those civilizations such as *Sümerbank*/ Sumerian

Bank and *Etibank*/ Hittite Bank. Therefore, self-evolving naming of Taşhan, and the ideological naming of Sümerbank has completely different effects on the meaning of Ulus Square and its interpretation by the public. A parallel situation can be traced for the naming of the square. While the naming of the open space in front of Taşhan was again a self-evolving process, right before the construction of Sümerbank, this public open space was given a new name by the state – *Ulus*/ Nation – reflecting the ideology of state to create a united nation. Therefore, the naming of these buildings and the square by the state authorities has similar features.

Secondly, there is a noticeable difference between physical aspects of Taşhan and Sümerbank in terms of their mass/ height properties. Architectural style and construction technique of each building reflect a complete different period. Taşhan that was constructed at the end of 19th century had typical features and architectural style of a stone masonry Ottoman Han (**Figure 175a**). On the other hand, when compared to the rest of the *hans* located in Ankara, especially due to the spatial characteristics of the upper floor, Taşhan was rather a contemporary interpretation of a typical han with its hotel-like interior space organization. On the other hand, Sümerbank had completely different physical aspects.



Figure 175 a. Taşhan, 1928 (Cangır: 2007, 1073) **b.** Sümerbank (APKBFA: 1994, 05)

Designed by the German architect Martin Elsaesser in 1937-1938 (**Figure 176**), Sümerbank was an attractive building with its modern architectural aspects. “With its concave entrance façade, curvilinear entrance canopy and an arch shaped office block rising behind the two floored front block, Sümerbank became the most significant building at Ulus Square in a short amount of time” (Yavuz: 1992, 101-102) (**Figure 175b**). The introduction of a completely new building typology with contrasting

physical aspects within the environment defining the edge of Ulus Square, created an irreversible effect on the visual aspects of the main public open space in Ankara. Thus, the transformation of Ulus Square from an Ottoman public square into a Republican one accelerated by the construction of Sümerbank.

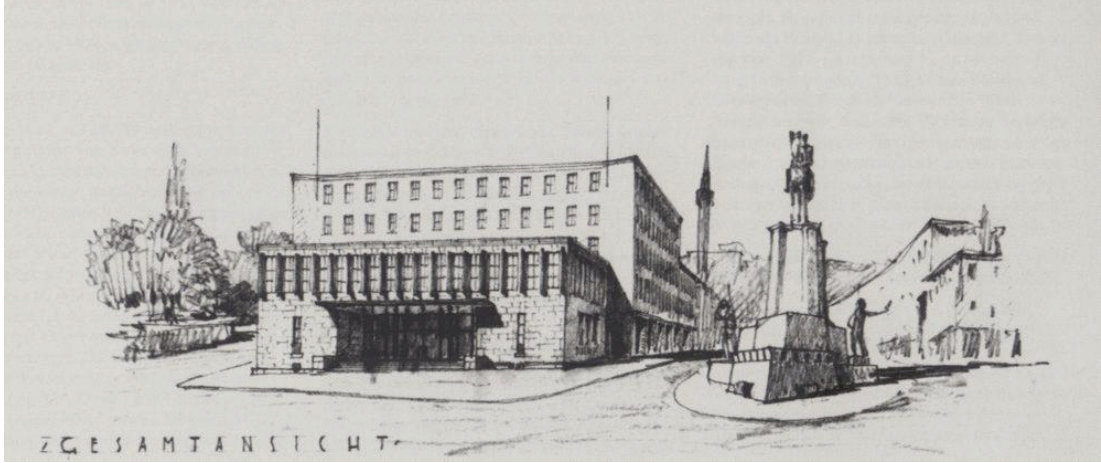


Figure 176 Architectural sketch of Sümerbank by Martin Elsaesser (*Ulus'un Sakinleri*, Lavarla: 2017)

Major differences of the physical aspects of these two buildings had been of particular importance in not only the change of visual aspects but also the spatial perception of the users. In terms of mass and height properties, Taşhan was harmonious with the rest of the buildings at the square. It was clearly visible from the station area and still did not block the view of the castle (**Figure 177a**). After its erection, the Victory Monument became the first eye catching urban element at the square and Taşhan became a background figure. However, this arrangement was not the same for Sümerbank.

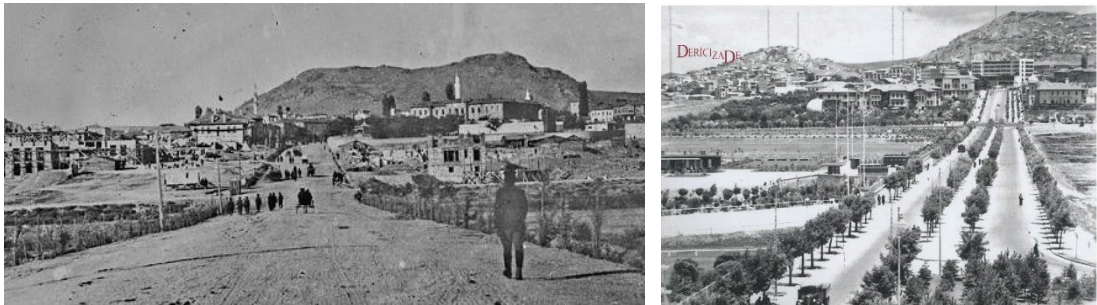


Figure 177 View of Ulus Square from station area **a.** Taşhan, 1923 (BNF: ark:/12148/btv1b53119802t) **b.** The view of Sümerbank from İstasyon Road (Dericizade: 2016)

In an area that was dominated by old-style buildings with Ottoman architectural features, Sümerbank was rendering a modern outlook to Ulus Square (Aslanoğlu:

2009, 82). Especially while reaching the city centre from the station area, Sümerbank became the most remarkable building at the end of the road (**Figure 177b**) and the Victory Monument standing next to it became a secondary element. Even though the building was not blocking the view of the castle or the Victory Monument, due to its mass/ height characteristics it had a vitiating effect on how the monument is perceived at the square (**Figure 178a, b**). The scale of the urban fabric was completely transformed, the old buildings of the citadel area in the background were diminished, and the entire public space of Ulus Square was redefined (Bozdoğan: 2001, 137).

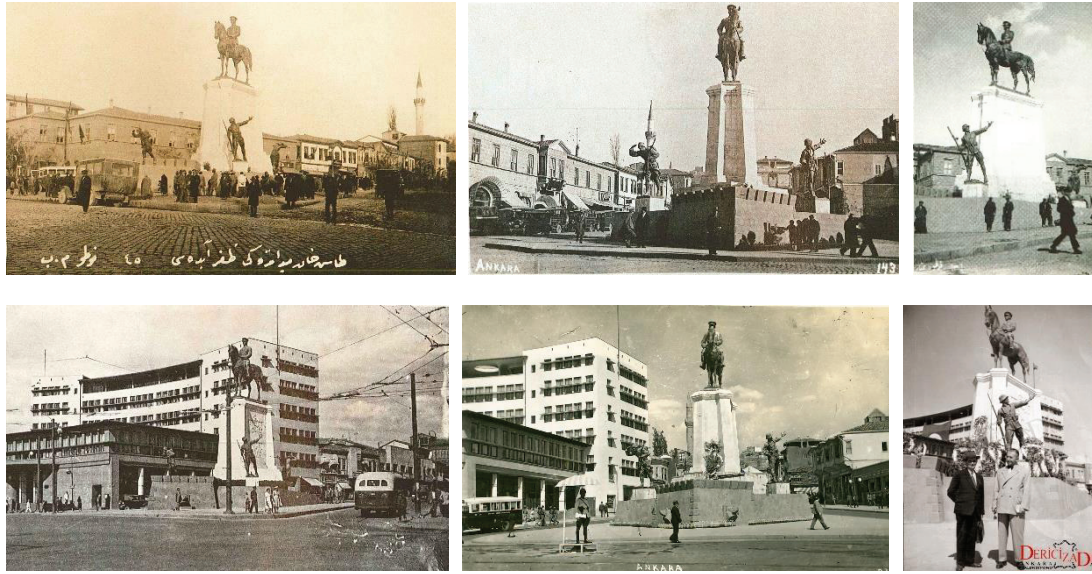


Figure 178 Transformation of visual aspects of the square **a.** Taşhan Period, 1. 1927 (Cangır: 2007, 114), 2. 1928 (Cangır: 2007, 93), 3. 1932 (Cangır: 2007, 839) **b.** Sümerbank Period, 1. 1945 (Cangır: 2007, 815), 2. 1945 (VEKAM: 0818), 3. (Dericizade: 2016)

The change of the main building framing Ulus Square also initiated a functional transformation and a change in its user profile.⁴²⁴ Originally built to serve for trade and accommodation facilities, the socio-political life of Ankara was reshaped around Taşhan-Assembly-Millet Garden triangle during the War of Independence due to its usage by the deputies and administrative figures of the period for accommodation. In late 1920s, with the opening of Karpiç Restaurant at the entrance floor of Taşhan, it was regularly used by the notable and financially strong figures of the period, both

⁴²⁴ There is a high degree of coherence between functional aspects and emergence of social practices either for the building or the public open space in front of it. Therefore, these two topics are explained together.

in day and night times for gastronomic and entertainment purposes.⁴²⁵ In addition to this, when the city was dark and it was not easy to find someone at the streets, Ulus Square and its close vicinity became the one and only place with full of lights and entertainment. Therefore, both Taşhan, Karpiç and Ulus Square could be considered as crowded compared to the rest of the city. But this routine did not last long and right after the relocation of Karpiç to south part of the square, usage of Taşhan severely decreased and it had lost its popularity for Ankara as being the centre of social practices.

On the contrary to Taşhan, Sümerbank was both designed and utilised as the central building of the state-owned industry, and therefore had administrative, financial and commercial function. Similar to its design, the building was also divided into two function wise: The two-storey block at the front consisted of a sales store⁴²⁶ and Ulus branch of the bank, whereas the multi-storey block at the back was utilised as office units. Due to its multi-functional character, Sümerbank became one of the most crowded public buildings of Ankara that was regularly used during working hours, by people with different profiles (welfare, education and social status). But this crowd observed during day hours, left its place to silence when the building was closed after working hours. Thus, after the construction Sümerbank, the vitality of the square at nights that was previously fostered by Şölen/ Karpiç in Taşhan could not be achieved. As a result, there are slight differences in the effect of Taşhan and Sümerbank on the usage intensity and vitality of Ulus Square in different hours of the day.

With the construction of Sümerbank, not only the usage intensity and frequency of the square had changed, but also a new era for Ulus Square had started. The meaning attached to the building and the square changed gradually. Regarding the fact that,

⁴²⁵ After the opening of Ankara Palas, Taşhan lost its importance as being the only hotel of Ankara. Thus, for this study Taşhan's identity as being a hotel is not primarily considered as the main functional attribute attached to the building during the Republican period.

⁴²⁶ Sümerbank facilities that were established in different regions of Anatolia (manufacturing a broad range of products from iron-steel to ready-made clothing) have provided basic consumer products to become accessible at affordable prices (Göncü Berk: 2016, 111). Most of the products related to clothing, textile and housewares that were manufactured at the factories of Sümerbank, were sold at this store. Both the materials (such as different types of fabrics) and the product itself (such as clothes, shoes, dinnerware etc.)

Taşhan had witnessed a series of important events, activities, gatherings, meetings and celebrations. Therefore the building and the open space in front of it had a special meaning both for the public and also for the urban memory of Ankara. First of all, during the late Ottoman period, the building appeared first while heading the city from the station area. Hence, it was considered as the symbol, one of the most important buildings of the city. It was a landmark for the Ottoman Ankara. Additionally, the open space that started to emerge at the junction of Karaoğlan, İstasyon, Çankırı and Kızılbey Roads was named by the public as Taşhan Square. This clearly shows how the open space was correlated with the building and the building's critical role on emergence process of the square and its meaning for the public.

In addition to its symbolic meaning for the public, due to its role in accommodating most of the notable figures of the War of Independence, Taşhan became one of the symbols of the War of Independence. It was not just a building for accommodation, but a place where socio-political life was taking part. On the other hand with the opening of Ankara Palas at İstasyon Road, Taşhan had lost its importance as a hotel during the Early Republican period. However, its meaning and value for the residents of Ankara continued for a decade. Most of the memory photos continued to be taken in front of Taşhan, next to the Victory Monument. Additionally, even though the name of the square was changed by the state as Hakimiyet-i Milliye, it was continued to be called as Taşhan Square by most of the public.

On the contrary to public's strong connections with the memory of Taşhan, it had a complete different meaning for the state. First of all, after the opening of Ankara Palas, Taşhan lost its functional and economical importance. Secondly, due to the importance of its location, a modest building such as Taşhan was not considered attractive enough by the authorities. And most importantly, it was a building that reminded pre-Republican periods of Turkey which the state clearly put a distance to. Therefore, construction of a building promoting the states ideology through its visual, physical and functional aspects was an important change for Ulus Square.

Even though the state had already implemented several buildings and urban elements at the vicinity of Ulus Square and the newly developed parts of Ankara, the construction of Sümerbank would be a first for Ulus Square. The construction of Sümerbank opened a new era for Ulus Square as the scene of an idealised image of modern, industrialised Republic. It gave additional impetus to many urban activities aiming to create a modern urban image for the Republic's capital. Therefore, Sümerbank was designed and constructed as the ideal building for the state that simply reflected the modern face of the Republic, indicating the developments in industry and promoted the progress of the state in reconstructing a new national identity without being affected from the pre-war economic problems of the world (**Figure 179a**).

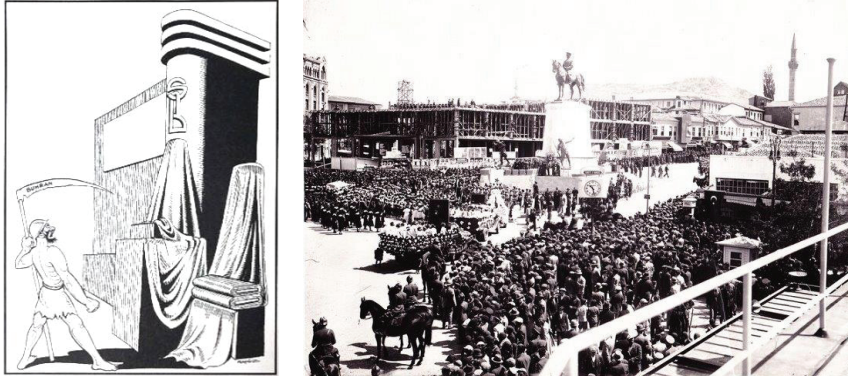


Figure 179 A caricature by Ramiz Gökçe (Akbaba: 8.11.1934, 45) with its text: ECONOMIC CRISIS – Now I should start searching for a new country for myself... There is no chance to get in from the door locked by this key (SB/SümerBank)!.. **b.** Sümerbank under construction, 1937 (EAFF: 2013)

Although public did not easily embrace a new building in the place of Taşhan⁴²⁷ (especially *yerli*), after a short amount of time Sümerbank started to take its place in the daily life of Ankara as an attractive modern building. Everyone started to value this building as one of the most prestigious elements of the square together with the Victory Monument (Öymen: 2002, 59). Souvenir photos were started to be taken and celebrations-meetings-fests organized by the state continued to take place in front of Sümerbank even before the construction was finalized (**Figure 179b**). Although the physical, functional and visual aspects of the square and social practices of individuals started to transform, the collective activities organised by the state continued at Ulus Square with no interruption.

⁴²⁷ After the demolition of Taşhan, for a period of time people continued to call Ulus Square as Taşhan Square (Öymen: 2002, 59).

Table 6 Comparison of selected aspects of Taşhan and Sümerbank and their impact on Ulus Square

	TAŞHAN (Stone Han)	SÜMERBANK (Sumerian Bank)
Name	Naming Process: Self-evolving naming process by the public - <i>Taş</i> : Stone: Main construction material used for the building - <i>Han</i> : Ottoman Inn for commerce and accommodation at the same time. Has similarities with self-evolving naming process of Taşhan Square (Ottoman Period)	Naming Process: Ideological naming process by the state - <i>Sümer</i> : Sumerian - <i>Bank</i> : Bank Has similarities with the ideological naming process of Ulus Square (Republican Period)
Physical	A two storey modest building with traditional Ottoman architectural aspects	- An attractive building with modern architectural aspects, consisting two blocks: Front: Two floored small sized block Back: Multi storey large office block
Visual	- Visible from station area - Not blocking the view of neither the castle nor the Victory Monument - In harmony with the rest of the elements of the square - Dominant figure: The Victory Monument	- Clearly visible from station area. - Not blocking the view of the castle or the Victory Monument - Had a vitiating effect on how monument is perceived - Dominant figure: Sümerbank
Functional	Trade and Accommodation (han-hotel) + Gastronomy (Karpiç at the entrance floor)	Central building of the State Owned Industry + Branch of a bank + Sales store
Social Practices and user profile	Late Ottoman: han-hotel, utilized by visitors and people of commerce Independence War: Hosted deputies and administrative figures - Socio-political life of Ankara was reshaped around Early Republican: Opening of Şölen/ Karpiç - Lost its importance as a hotel - Restaurant used by notable and wealthy figures - Open: Day, evening and night - Increased the number of certain type of people during day hours - Increased the usage intensity during night hours 1930s Republican: Relocation of Karpiç - Usage density decreased (only used as a secondary hotel)	1930s Republican: - Multifunctional character: Used by the ones with different profiles (welfare, education and social status) - Open: Working hours - Increased the number of various types of people visiting Ulus Square during day hours - No effect on the usage intensity of Ulus Square during night hours
Meaning for the Public/ State	Late Ottoman: - A landmark for the Ottoman Ankara. - Taşhan/ Taşhan Square: has a critical role on emergence process of the square Independence War: Hosting most of the deputies and notable figures of the period - One of the symbols of Independence War Early Republican: Kept its meaning and value for the residents of Ankara - People continued to take memory photos in front of Taşhan - Official name: Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square, Public Name: Taşhan Square - Opening of Karpiç increased its importance for the city 1930s Republican: Relocation of Karpiç and the beginning of the demolishment process Public: strong connections with the memory of Taşhan State: - lost its functional aspect - reminding pre-Republican periods of Turkey - constructed with an old fashioned architectural style - not attractive as it has to be	Public: strong connections with the memory of Taşhan but get used to the idea of a modern building State: an ideal building - physically and visually dominating the square - help the state to promote its ideology through visual, physical and functional aspects - reflecting the modern face of the Republic, - indicating the developments in Industrial fields - promoting the progress of the state on reconstructing a new national identity

In addition to Sümerbank, there were other monumental buildings with modern aspects started to emerge within Ulus Square and its close vicinity. Among all, *Hal Binası*/ Market Building designed by Robert Oerley in 1937, created an important impact on the physical aspects of the Tahtakale area (**Figure 180a, b**). With its visual and functional aspects, in a short amount of time *Hal* became an inseparable part of Anafartalar Road where most of the shops selling various kinds of products were located (Dinçer: 2009, 20). By being constructed within a dense commercial district used both by *yerli* and *yaban*⁴²⁸, *Hal* became one of the buildings of the Early Republican period, which effectively helped the state to promote its own ideology.

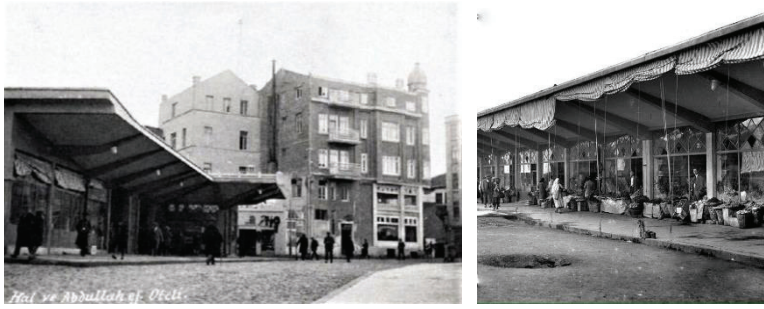


Figure 180 a. b. *Hal Binası*/ Market Building (ANT: 2018)

Even though the number of buildings with modern aspects increased day by day, construction activities within the traditional Ankara was relatively slow. Except the opening of roads such as Talat Paşa Boulevard, Ulucanlar Road, Denizciler Road and widening of Anafartalar Road; urban activities were few and limited with specific districts (Bademli: 1985, 16). Even the works for conservation of the urban tissue in and around the Protocol Area⁴²⁹ could not be implemented due to the lack of financial sources and professionals. But on the other hand, newly developing districts of Ankara were rapidly changing. New buildings were constructed, new roads and streets were opening and widening of existing ones such as Atatürk Boulevard and Çankırı Road⁴³⁰

⁴²⁸ For instance, Altan Öymen – as the son of a deputy and a member of a wealthy family – remembers that, when he was a kid his family used to buy their daily needs from *Hal* (2002: 16). On the other hand, the protagonist of the story written by Memduh Şevket Esendal, *Haşmet Güllökân* was a simple officer with middle-low income also uses *Hal* and its surrounding areas for daily shopping (2002: 2).

⁴²⁹ After Jansen's definition of the Castle and its surrounding areas as the crown of the city and should be protected from construction activities and kept as a museum, in a short amount of time Municipality of Ankara announced that the area called The Protocol Area – including the districts located in between The Castle, Talat Paşa Boulevard and Samanpazarı – was announced as the conservation area (Keleş: 1971, 164).

⁴³⁰ For instance, permission for the building heights within the area starting from Hacıbayram area till the end of the junction of Etlik road was increased to 9,5 m (Şenyapılı: 1985, 61). By these changes on urban legislations and

continued. The mayor-governor Nevzat Tandoğan's strict authoritarian presence was felt in every corner; charming flower beds were planted in the central median refuge of Atatürk Boulevard and along the sidewalks and locus, horse chestnut, silverberry and pine trees were beginning to flourish (Tanyer: 2009, 150).

Concurrently, Yenışehir district which had started to emerge on the southern parts of Atatürk Boulevard, continued to develop as the one and only residential centre⁴³¹ of Ankara with its modern streets suitable for motor vehicle traffic, one-two storey houses and private gardens. The intention of the Republic to create a modern image for Ankara similar to European cities, could only be actualised within this area (Şenol Cantek: 2003, 338). Therefore, in a short amount of time Yenışehir became an entirely disparate environment both with its physical aspects and the daily life of the residents (Figure 181a, b).

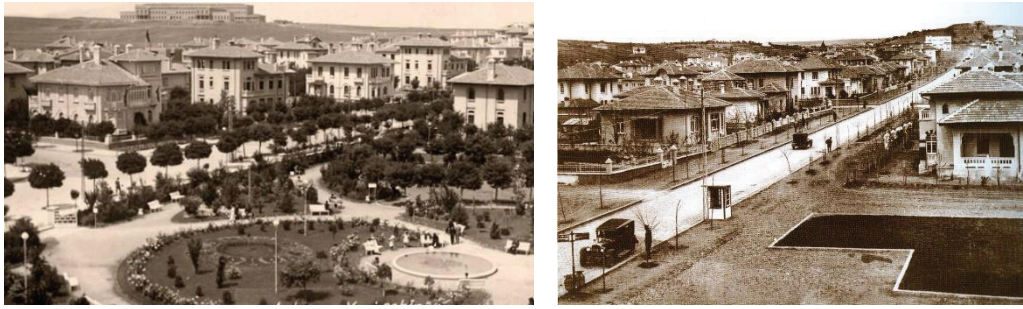


Figure 181 a. Kızılay Square: densely planted with trees, 1936 (EAFF: 2016) b. Residential areas in Yenışehir district, 1930 (Aktürk: 2006)

Compared to the problems of densely inhabited quarters of traditional Ankara, Yenışehir became the most popular area for the residents who can afford modern life style. In 1939, Ertuğrul Şevket Avaroğlu expressed his feelings when he saw the Yenışehir (cited in Tanyer: 2009, 150);

As soon as we crossed the railway bridge in Yenışehir, the scenery changed completely. I encountered a gallery with green paintings. The pine and locust trees planted on both sides of the straight road are swaying in the spring breeze.

laws, this and several other areas were continuously changing and the increase on the number of modern buildings with 3-4 storey heights started to affect the visual characteristic of Ulus Square and its close vicinity.

⁴³¹ During 1930s Bakanlıklar was an administrative area and Yenışehir was a residential area with minor scale commercial, health and education activities. Considerable amount of facilities were still concentrated around Ulus Square and its close vicinity.

A fine stream of water pleasantly pours out of the cherubs and into the pool between the tree branches.

The balconies of apartments are filled with people of all sizes. For the exhausted souls, seeing people having conversation with the passers-by, reading books, and sunbathing intensifies the need to rest. All the windows are open. A playful laughter emerges from one and the sound of the radio from another.

The noticeable difference between the physical aspects and daily life of newly developed residential areas in Yenışehir and the traditional districts of Ankara created a population movement within the city. Mainly composed of middle-high income groups of *yaban*, a considerable number of residents started to move from their rental houses in traditional Ankara to the new houses of Yenışehir. Additionally, locals were still living in “old Ankara”, and especially the wealthy ones have mansion type traditional houses with private gardens around Ulus area (Öymen: 2002, 140). As a result, the mixed characteristics of the population began to change. Traditional districts were slowly abandoned by the new comers of Ankara and these areas were rapidly filled by the locals who has less income. This movement can be considered as the first sign of the emergence of a double centred urban character of Ankara and the flow from Ulus area to the south, to Yenışehir.

Parallel to this flow, due to the modern urban character and popularity of Yenışehir among the wealthy residents of Ankara, the district started to be transformed into a place of interest for the rest of the city. Walking at Atatürk Boulevard (especially between Ulus Square and Sıhhiye) had already been a daily activity for the residents of Ankara. In addition to this routine, a new urban activity emerged during the end of 1930s: a trip to Yenışehir. It was the fastest planted area, the buildings were new and modern, streets were wide and clean, and the daily life of the residents were completely different than the ones living in the traditional districts of Ankara. Preferably using the bus for transportation between Ulus and Kızılay, like Altan Öymen and his mother (2002: 75-76), most of these people started to visit Kızılay Square just for curiosity, spend their leisure time there and try to experience the daily life of a new world. With the increase in trips to Yenışehir, residential character of the

area also started to be transformed. One by one, buildings with commercial or entertainment functions began to emerge. And gradually, the gap which almost always existed between the old and new parts of Ankara, widened. According to M. Svetovski⁴³², this gap appeared between the two worlds of Ankara that are mixing each other, rising next to each other and nevertheless terribly different from each other (cited in Şimşir: 2006, 413).

Either held by public interventions (a gradual implementation of minor changes on Jansen's plan) or private sectors (without following the construction regulations), between 1930 and 1940 Ankara continued to develop indiscriminately, without following the guidelines of Jansen's 1932 master plan. Especially after the resignation of Jansen in 1938, the city had to develop through minor implementation projects of the Directorate of Urban Development and their temporary solutions for problematic locations. Among these problems, housing was one of the most important and urgent one to be solved in detail. Even though, the problem of housing for the middle and high-income groups was trying to be solved either by the state or private construction companies, the lack of a master plan simply resulted with unplanned districts within newly developed parts of Ankara. Hence, the demand for luxurious housing was more or less met during 1930s. However, for the low-income groups the case was getting more and more complicated.

The residents of Ankara, who were already living in traditional districts continued to live under really hard conditions with limited urban services. On the other hand, there was a third group composed of new comers/villagers who migrated to Ankara to work and at the same time do not have a place to stay. Day by day, their number increased, and the government could not find solutions for their accommodation problem. As a result, between 1923 and 1930 they solved their housing problem by constructing their own home on empty lands owned by the state (Şenyapılı: 1985, 69). This was the period when squatter areas emerged around Bendderesi in 1929 (**Figure 182**), and

⁴³² A Yugoslavian journalist, who published an article called Ankara-The Heart of New Turkey, in the newspaper called Vreme/ Belgrade, in 1936.

later on at the peripheries of the city around İncesu (southeast) and Akköprü (northwest) in 1934.



Figure 182 Squatters started to appear on the eastern parts of Bendderesi (VEKAM: 1266)

By the end of 1930s, these areas started to expand and new squatter areas emerged on the sloppy hills located around Castle and its close vicinity (İmga: 2006, 93).⁴³³ In this way, new districts which were completely different from the traditional and newly constructed areas of the Republican Period, started to appear at the peripheries of Ankara. The gap between different parts of the city became wider and more visible than ever before. It was a gap that can simply attract one's attention even during a short visit to the city such as Nazım Hikmet⁴³⁴, who describes his impressions as follows (2002: 214-215);

They pass the Hippodrome.
And a brand-new city faces them:
 proud and victorious,
 disowning its suburbs,
it rises in the middle of the steppe,
no expense spared.
.....
They pass the stadium:
this place stands in the city like a
ready-to-wear suit
– strangely new, strangely pressed –
 displayed on a mannequin in a
 store window.

Hipdromun yanından geçiliyor.
Ve yepyeni bir şehir karşıdadır:
 kibirli ve muzaffer
 inkar ederek varoşlarını
bozkırın ortasında başıboş bir israfla
peyda oluveren.
.....
Geçiliyor stadyumun yanından:
burası hazır elbise gibi bir tuhaf yeni, bir tuhaf ütülü
ve şehre değil de
 camekanda bir mankene giydirilmiş gibi
duruyor.

⁴³³ Even though the Commission of Infrastructure and Construction took the decision for demolishing these buildings, municipality couldn't perform its duty in an efficient way. As a result, this would later cause a big problem for the city of Ankara (İmga: 2009, 93-94).

⁴³⁴ Nazım Hikmet visited Ankara in 1938 for the last time when he was brought to the city for his trial (Batuman: 2017, 42).

4.1.2. Broadened Authority of Mayor-Governor Tandoğan/ The Period of Partial Implementation Projects

The Second World War, had affected almost every country in the world in a negative way. Among these countries, Turkey that had stayed neutral during the war period, but suffered a lot due to the decrease in economic activities, blockade and military expenditures (Timur: 1987, 7-8). Started during early 1940s and gradually increased during the war period, economic problems affected every aspect of life in Turkey and specifically the capital Ankara. Even though the state had to take extraordinary measures⁴³⁵ to inhibit these negative effects (**Figure 183a, b**), it also showed a great endeavour to continue its development and modernisation program through the construction of public buildings, urban works and the organization of social-cultural and educational activities.⁴³⁶



Figure 183 Articles published in *Cumhuriyet* newspaper a. “First day of rationing the bread was quite organised”(15.01.1942) b. “High income citizens will be taxed”⁴³⁷ (12.11.1942)

Starting from 1938 and continued till the end of 1940s, partial implementation projects marked the urban development understanding of Ankara municipality. After the

⁴³⁵ For instance, due to the shortage of agricultural products, the government rationed bread out during the war period. Additionally, during nights dimming street lights was a common activity of municipalities all around Turkey to decrease the electricity usage.

⁴³⁶ According to Şenyapılı, even though most of the cities in Turkey was suffering from the economic problems caused by the war, by being the capital of the country, Ankara continued to witness the concentration of construction, service and commercial activities in the city. Therefore, contrary to the rest of the country, population of Ankara had slightly increased during this period (1985: 67).

⁴³⁷ Another policy during that period was the *Varlık Vergisi*/ Capital Levy of 1942, ostensibly aimed at taxing profiteers. In its application, however, the once-and-for-all tax fell disproportionately on non-Muslims, who were forced to sell their properties at a loss, thus serving the further accumulation of wealth by the Muslim bourgeoisie (Keyder: 1987, 37-38).

resignation of Jansen, and with the full administrative power of Governor/ Mayor Tandoğan on urban activities, the period between 1939 and 1945 can be considered as Tandoğan's period. He had the power and voice in almost every decision regarding the city (İmga: 2006, 125-127). His limitless authorization also dominated the development process of partial implementation projects⁴³⁸. These "1/500 or 1/1000 scale projects comprising the drawings of mostly plans, sometimes sections and elevations" (Mihçioğlu Bilgi: 2010, 232) were prepared mainly by the Directorate of Urban Development, controlled by Tandoğan and later discussed and approved by the Council of Ministers. This hierarchical order clearly stresses the importance of Tandoğan and the way he implemented his ideals on Ankara, especially in the newly developed, modern parts of the city.

Atatürk Boulevard became a 30 m wide road that has trees planted both on the wide sidewalks and also on the median refuge during the early periods of Tandoğan (Batuman: 2017, 67). Its clean and well-organized sidewalks and resting areas with benches were all designed for an ideal route to walk with the fragrance smell of acacias. Therefore, due to its physical aspects as well its function to connect main administrative centres such as Ulus Square, Hükümet Square and Bakanlıklar, early 1940s had witnessed the transformation of this road from being a protocol road into a stage (**Figure 184a, b**).



Figure 184 a. In 1935, couple of people were walking at the boulevard, trees were newly growing (Library of Congress Archive: 16729) **b.** Early 1940s, it became a daily routine for the residents of Ankara to walk along Atatürk Boulevard (Tekcan: 2014, 86)

⁴³⁸ During her documentary research on archives of Altındağ Municipality, Mihçioğlu Bilgi accessed 73 pieces of partial implementation plans. Since these plans were not archived systematically and kept unofficially, many of them could be lost to great extent (2010: 231).

It was a daily routine for almost every resident of Ankara – rich or poor, politician or unemployed, old or young – to walk along Atatürk Boulevard during different times of the day. During day time, it was common to see housewives with their children, and during rush hours especially afternoons, the boulevard was full of officials and workers. On one hand, the elegance of officials, politicians and high-income groups was creating an enchanting atmosphere and dominating the modern look of the boulevard. But on the other hand, a construction worker or a person with low-income walking along the boulevard in shabby clothes also proved the extent of the gap between two opposite worlds emerging in Ankara.⁴³⁹

Similar to Atatürk Boulevard, Ulus Square and its close vicinity also continued to be used regularly for leisure time activities. Especially it was used by the people living in the nearby neighbourhoods. As a part of their daily routine, preferably at evenings, they were visiting Ulus Square just to get fresh air, to do shopping at the commercial buildings surrounding the square and pass through to the market area; or just to sit in a coffeehouse, a park and drink tea (Özaloğlu: 2009, 33). In addition to this, the number of public green open areas around the square also increased and the physical quality of existing ones were improved.⁴⁴⁰ The reason behind was simply related to the ideology of the state and the physical representations of this ideology through urban elements in Ankara. Bozdoğan clearly explains the importance of such places for the state as (2001: 75);

The idealized qualities of being “young” and “healthy” signified a state that had successfully broken ties with “the *old* empire” or “the sick man of Europe”, as the Ottoman Empire was known in the 19th century. Ankara was the ultimate embodiment of youth and health, and these attributes found their more literal spatial expression in places of public recreation where the generation of the body and, in turn, of the nation was to take place... Conceived as a large urban park with an artificial lake to provide much-needed greenery and water in arid Ankara, *Gençlik Parkı*/ Youth Park is one of the particularly representative public spaces of the city.

⁴³⁹ In her novel, Adalet Ağaoğlu mentioned a phrase from an article “The Peasant Workers of Ankara” to reveal the disturbing differences between these two worlds and how high-income groups perceive others (2015: 36);

⁴⁴⁰ Kızılay Parkı, Emniyet Parkı, Topraklık area, Kocatepe, Dilektepe, Aktepe and İnönü can be listed as other parks and recreational areas in Ankara during the years of The Second World War (Güneş: 2013, 184).

As it is mentioned before, the idea of implementing a city park that can represent the ideology of the Republic and at the same time help the state to integrate a modern way of living⁴⁴¹ for residents, had first came to the agenda of state authorities in 1925. Consequently, a swampy land located next to İstiklal Road was selected for a city park. Before the construction of the park⁴⁴², a part of this land was occupied by a football field called *Ay-Yıldız/ Moon-Star*⁴⁴³, and also the building of *Park ve Bahçeler Müdürlüğü/ Directorate of Parks and Gardens* and their greenhouses (**Figure 185 a, b and Figure 186a**).⁴⁴⁴

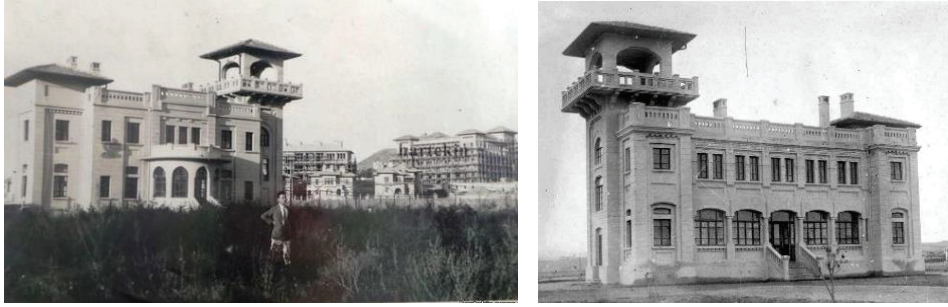


Figure 185 a. b. Directorate of Parks and Gardens (PIN: 2018)

After the draining of the swampy lands, Theo Leveau was assigned to design a project⁴⁴⁵ that was approved by the Council of Ministers in 1936. Although, construction activities started immediately, due to several interruptions and financial problems, the park was opened in 1944 (**Figure 186a, b**). Right after the opening, with its trees, a big pool suitable for boating, restaurants and walking trails, *Gençlik Parkı* became one of the most favourable recreational areas in the city (Öymen: 2004, 50). Described by the state newspaper *Ulus* “as an ocean/sea in the middle of Ankara and the heaven in steppe” (1942), *Gençlik Parkı* not only gained a great importance in the

⁴⁴¹ In her novel Ağaoğlu mentioned *Gençlik Parkı* as the place where she first became “A European Girl” (2015: 282).

⁴⁴² During the Ottoman Period, the corner of *Gençlik Parkı* that faces Ottoman Bank was called as *Çirkef Ayağı/ The Foot of Slop*. Even though whole land was a swamp, there was a fountain at *Çirkef Ayağı*. Most of the residents of that area used to provide their water from this fountain (Bağlum: 1992, 61).

⁴⁴³ During his childhood, Mehmet Kemal remembers that most of the youngsters used to play football at *Ay-Yıldız* field where *Gençlik Parkı* stands today (1996: 208).

⁴⁴⁴ The glorious building of Directorate of Parks and Gardens was located in today’s *Gençlik Parkı*. At the same place, there were greenhouses where tens of different kinds of flowers were planted. On one hand, The Directorate increased the number of flower saplings to beautify the city and its parks, on the other hand they sell potted flowers with affordable prices to the citizens (Türkoğlu: 2009, 71).

⁴⁴⁵ After the draining, first in 1933-1934 Jansen prepared a design for *Gençlik Parkı* as a part of his master plan. But later, to be more economic, The Ministry of Public Works decided to apply the project of Theo Leveau – who was working with Jansen – that was similar to Jansen’s proposal with slight differences in the design of the pool and the geometrical organizations (Memlük: 2009, 81)

daily life and memories of the residents of Ankara but also it was famous among the citizens of Turkey.



Figure 186 a. Aerial photo of *Gençlik Parkı* area, before the implementation of the park (TA: 2017) **b.** Aerial photo of *Gençlik Parkı* area, after the opening of the park (VEKAM: 0524)

Concurrent to these improvements, 1940s also witnessed the transformation of Baruthane Square from a junction into a green open space (**Figure 187a**). With the implementation of green areas, tress and street furniture, it started to be used as a resting point before reaching Ulus Square. İlter remembers this square as an important location for her childhood memories and explains as (2018);

We used to walk along the walls of *Gençlik Parkı*. İstasyon-Ulus and Evkaf Apartmanları-at the intersection of Akköprü Road, there used to be a roundabout not an underpass. A roundabout with flowers, lawn, lions (**Figure 187b**). I suppose they were Hittite Lions... Kids were introduced to civilizations and at the same time they love to play with the lion sculptures I guess. We used to take a break at that location...

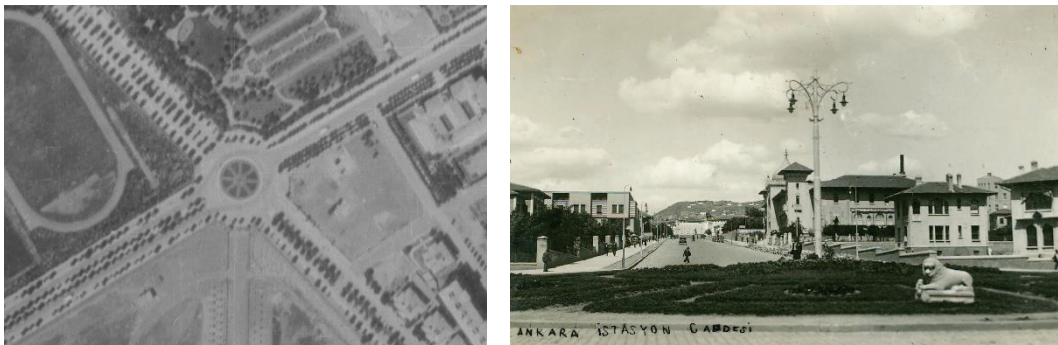


Figure 187 a. İstasyon Road, Baruthane Square, Millet Meclisi Road, 1942 **b.** Baruthane Square with the lion sculpture and green areas (VEKAM: 1979)

Even though the economic problems were affecting the life of citizens in Turkey, development of modern areas and modern way of living continued without any break

in Ankara. Therefore, Ankara fulfilled the demands of the administrators to a certain extent as the capital of Turkey (Tekeli: 1982, 79). Similarly, as being the main and only central space of the city, Ulus Square also continued its administrative, ideological, commercial, financial, political and entertainment functions during 1940s. Everyone was still showing great respect to the Victory Monument and continued to use the surrounding area regularly. And although the stadium was used as the main space for the celebrations of national days, it is possible to trace that these celebrations were gradually effusing into Ulus Square and Atatürk Boulevard.

The northern part of Atatürk Boulevard, previously called as Bankalar Road, was still considered as the most prestigious part of Ankara specifically with the erection of banks one after another. Moreover, the high-quality shops were still located at the intersection where Bankalar Road meets Ulus Square. Especially during rush hours in the evenings, Bankalar Road was transformed into a chirpy place that was full of young women either window shopping or strolling along (anonymous interviewee, cited in Özaloğlu: 2009, 29). Due to the demand for additional small units at Bankalar Road, during early 1940s the two storey building of Vagonli was demolished⁴⁴⁶ and several commercial units were placed next to Özel İdare Bazaar built during early 1930s (**Figure 188a, b**).

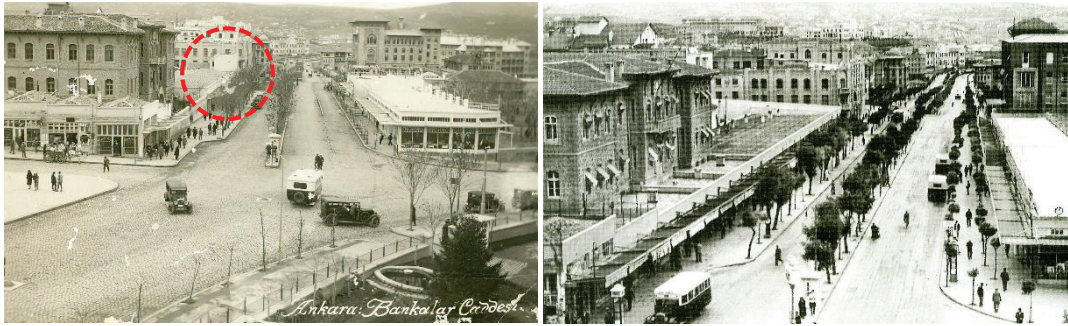


Figure 188 a. Labelled with red circle: Vagonli building standing next to the attached shops, late 1930s (VEKAM: 1316) **b.** After Vagonli building was demolished and small attached shops were extending to the south direction, early 1940s (Bir Zamanlar Ankara: 1993, 50)

⁴⁴⁶ According to the guide prepared in 1946, Vagonli ticket agency was described as located at Bankalar Road before reaching to Park Palas (Lozan Palas in 1940s). From this information, it is assumed that after the demolishment of the two storey building, agency had moved in one of the newly constructed commercial units of Özel İdare Bazaar (Artun et al.: 1946, 197).

In addition to Bankalar Road, Karaoğlan and Anafartalar Road were also defined as the most favourite shopping areas of Ankara during early 1940s. Moreover, Ulus district was again the main area for gastronomic activities. Starting from Karpiç to the direction of either Çankırı Road or sprawled around Karaoğlan-Anafartalar axis, these activities also increased the usage of this area at nights. Karpiç continued to be the official dining place used mainly by the delegates of the CHP, and became mostly identified with the party (Yalım: 2001, 153). On the other hand, restaurants like Zevk, Smyrna, Lezzet and Gümüş Kepçe around Karoğlan were addressing the middle-income groups (*Ankara Rehberi* 1934, cited in Güneş: 2013, 189). Due to the concentration of these activities, crowd and charm, the first street snapshot photography office “Atlas Foto” was opened at Ulus Square, at the entrance floor of Yeni Cinema (Yalçın Ergir: 2018) (**Figure 189a-d**).

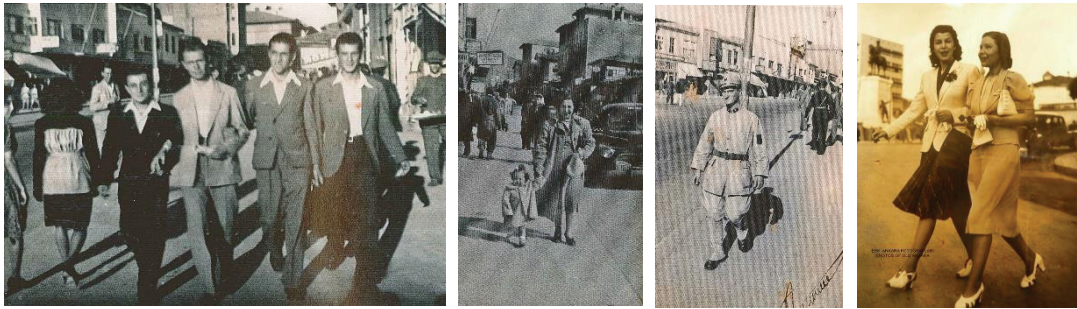


Figure 189 Starting from 1940s, it was popular to have a snapshot, especially at Ulus Square and its close vicinity **a.** Karaoğlan (Cangır: 2007, 1096) **b.** Anafartalar Road (Cangır: 2007, 1097) **c.** Karaoğlan (Cangır: 2007, 1099) **d.** Ulus Square, 1940s (PIN: 2016)

During the early years of the war period, there was a noticeable decrease in the number of cinema customers – especially middle income groups – due to the economic problems. On the other hand, in a short amount of time, cinema again became one of the regular entertainment activities in Ankara.⁴⁴⁷ Yeni Cinema, was still considered as the main and most favourable cinema of Ankara even if there were several others opened in Ulus and Kızılay districts. It was quite hard to attend a soiree, or find a ticket during the premieres of selected movies (Günver: 1990, 71). Except the premieres mainly occupied by the notable figures, the cinema was densely used by the high-

⁴⁴⁷ Halk Cinema – previously named as Kulüp Cinema – which was located at the intersection of Çankırı Road and Ulus Square, burnt down in 1941 (Makaracı, cited in Bozyiğit: 1999, 172). Subsequently it was rebuilt again in 1942 and a new name was given to the cinema; *Park Sineması*/ Park Cinema (Tanyer: 2012, 542). This clearly shows that the public demand for cinema was still high and therefore the owner decided to construct the building again in a short amount of time.

middle income groups and therefore, operation hours of public buses were arranged accordingly (Akgün: 1996, 232).⁴⁴⁸

Public transportation was mainly provided by the municipality through the buses operating between Ulus Square and other districts of the city such as; Kavaklıdere, Çankaya, Dikmen, Etlik, Yenişehir, Cebeci, Bahçelievler and İstasyon (*Ulus*, 1942). However, economic problems of early 1940s also affected the municipality in terms of budgetary savings, and bus fleet was unable to meet the demands of a rapidly increasing population⁴⁴⁹. The ZIS brand buses, which were introduced a decade ago, were still operating on the roads of Ankara. This had resulted with the increase in long queues at the bus stops located in Ulus Square (Büyükyıldız: 2008, 78) and over loaded buses. This problem created two major events, which would soon affect the physical and visual characteristic of the square as well as its socio-cultural attributes in long term.

Consequently, the municipality decided to construct metal frames to regulate the flow of people. By implementing these fences at every corner of Ulus Square, the routes of daily walking routines within the square started to change accordingly. At the same time, it created a visual barrier for the landmarks of Ulus Square. But on the other hand, this attempt can be considered as the first bus stop design in the history of Ankara. These bus stops were primarily placed at the corner of Atatürk Boulevard-Millet Meclisi Road and Millet Meclisi Road-Çankırı Road (**Figure 190a**), and later distributed to the other parts of the city. Each bus stop was designed as a free-standing canopy composed of parallel linear metal elements aligned perpendicular to the road and rectangular metal plates inserted in between (**Figure 190b**). Additionally, by reserving certain areas in the square for the ones waiting the bus, these bus stops also created a change in the movement patterns of residents using or passing through Ulus Square. And most importantly, the design of these bus stops was defined as “pretty”

⁴⁴⁸ Normally, operating hours of public buses were ending at 9 pm. There was an additional service at 11pm, for the ones who went to Yeni Cinema (Akgün: 1996, 232).

⁴⁴⁹ Ankara was the only city in Turkey that the population growth was around six percent. On the other hand when compared to previous years, the degree of population growth of cities such as İstanbul and İzmir was decreasing (Tekeli: 1978, 48).

by its users⁴⁵⁰, which is significant as a street furniture to be used frequently.⁴⁵¹ Hence, for a decade this street furniture functioned perfectly to gather and direct the flow of the crowd waiting for the buses at Ulus Square.



Figure 190 a. First two of the bus stops constructed at the square (WOW: 2017) **b.** Details of the bus stop located at the corner of Atatürk Boulevard and Millet Meclisi Road, in front of Özel İdare Bazaar (VEKAM: 1899)

The second major event occurred after the problems caused by insufficient number of public buses, was the emergence of a new type of transportation. Introduced by private entrepreneurs as a shared-taxi (later would be called as *taxi-dolmuş*⁴⁵²), this model of transportation was the first solution to meet the demands of public transportation (Tekeli and Okyay: 1981, 67). Mainly operating between Ulus and the districts that buses of municipality did not operate, these shared-taxis simply created the chance for the ones who could not afford to come Ulus regularly. In this way, even before the ideological shift and physical changes regarding Ulus Square, early signs indicating the socio-cultural transformation of its user profile was apparent during 1940s.

After being announced as the protocol area, it was almost impossible to see any construction activities within the old parts of Ankara. Dereliction resulted with high-income groups abandoning their homes to newly developed districts of the city. The ones who could not afford Yenışehir moved to the newly built apartments in Ulus mainly located around Anafartalar Road. In a short amount of time the abandoned

⁴⁵⁰ Savaş Sönmez clearly remembers these bus stops with their trees, arbours and the iron rails that provides passenger to get in line. He thinks that these bus stops are definitely prettier than the ones that are used today (2016: 198).

⁴⁵¹ The street clock designed in the shape of İş Bank coin bank was also an important street furniture at Ulus Square. Sönmez thinks, this street clock was so beautiful that even cannot be compared to the ones that are erected in public open spaces of today's Ankara (2016: 198).

⁴⁵² *Dolmuş* meaning full in Turkish, which refers to the way these mini buses-taxis operate. Without having any time table, these vehicles operate only when they are full.

houses were occupied by low-income groups. As a result of this cycle, the complex layering of the population was gradually changing and the low-income groups were dominating the old districts of Ankara. Thereby, starting from 1940s the city space has begun to show a more concrete differentiation based on income groups (Şenyapılı: 1985, 99).

Compared to low-income groups, there was another group mainly composed of the immigrants coming from the rural parts of the country to find a job in Ankara. Members of these groups were working in hard conditions with minimum salaries, and their living conditions were not healthy. With the economic instability caused by the Second World War, their living conditions became worse than ever.⁴⁵³ Moreover, as an outcome of the war, the interruption in construction activities for residential areas also created an enormous increase in rent prices (Adam, Tekeli and Altaban: 1978, 31). Due to the War economy, the inadequate regulations⁴⁵⁴ of the state and the rapid increase in the number of immigrants, the need for additional residential areas became more urgent than ever before. Consequently, the new paupers and the workers of the city developed their own solution by constructing their houses on the lands of state or private property⁴⁵⁵ (Yıldırım: 2015, 552). Based on the municipality report of 1945, squatter areas were mainly concentrated around three different axis; Altındağ, Mamak and Cebeci.⁴⁵⁶

While low income groups were struggling, the situation was not the same for the high-income groups living in Ankara. They were not affected as much as the rest of the city.

⁴⁵³ The number of homeless and poor people living in Ankara and also the ones with infectious diseases had increased so much that starting from 1944, Ankara Municipality announced that every day of the week between 08.00 and 21.00, poor people can have a bath for free, in the building of Teşhircane located at İtfaiye Square (Ulus: 07.02.1944).

⁴⁵⁴ 1 January 1940; *Milli Korunma Kanunu*/ The Law of National Protection (n. 3780) was enacted to balance the rent prices, reduce the effect of speculations and to encourage construction activities. But soon afterwards, the effectiveness of this law was vitiated.

⁴⁵⁵ The reasons behind the selection of these lands were; their close locations to the city centre, they were rarely inspected by the municipality, due to the topographical features they were creating a physical threshold for the city, and most of the time they were sloppy areas with more than an inclination angle of %25 (Şenyapılı: 1985, 82).

⁴⁵⁶ First axis was developing within an area defined by Altındağ, Hıdırlık Hill and Bendderesi, today called as Altındağ, Atıf Bey, Yenidoğan and Telsizler districts. The second axis was developing between Mamak Road and the railway, and today called as Gülveren district. And the last axis was developing on the area defined by İncesu River located between Cebeci and Yenışehir, today called as Seyranbağları and Balkehriz districts (Şenyapılı: 1985, 81-82).

While low ranking officials and workers could not even buy new clothes or simple foods to eat, high-income groups continue to spare no expense to organize balls in Ankara Palas⁴⁵⁷ (Güneş: 2013, 178). Consequently, the rapidly expanding gap between different parts of the city can be interpreted as an outcome of the Second World War, but still the degradation of urban space and unbalanced concentration of public facilities should be evaluated as a part of a process that had started during the early Republican period and continued till today.

⁴⁵⁷In his novel Orhan Veli Kanık emphasised that almost every day Ankara Palas was full of customers from all over the country with different backgrounds (2001: 115).

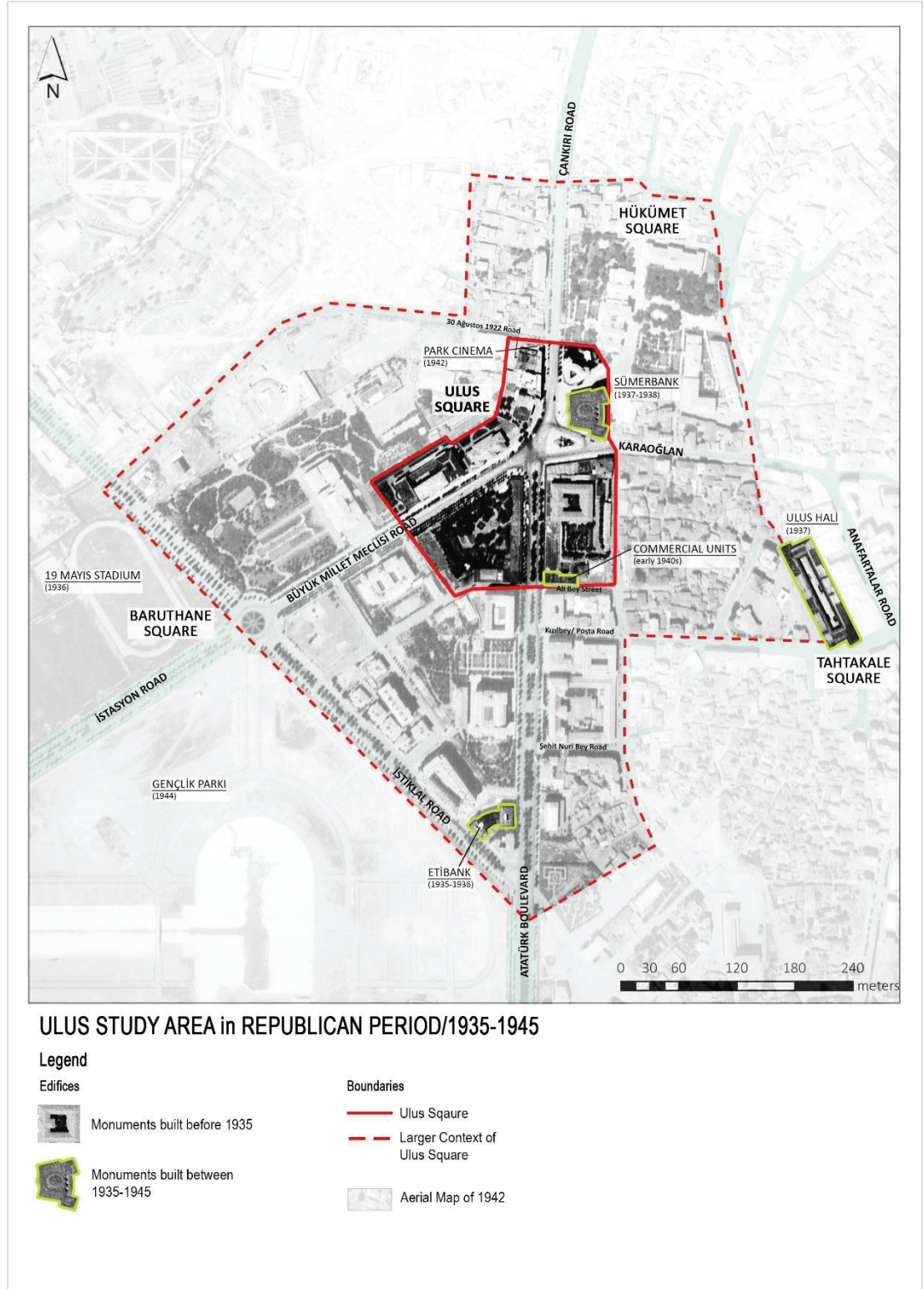


Figure 191 Ulus Study Area in Republican Period/ 1935-1945 (1942 Aerial Photo is utilised as the basemap)

4.2. PHASE II: A NEW UNDERSTANDING OF URBAN SPACE AND RELOCATION OF THE CITY CENTRE (1945-1980)

The period of 1939-1945, created its own agenda in terms of political and financial issues regarding both national issues and international relationships. Even though, the Second World War ended, the following years witnessed the impacts of war period on the emergence of new orders and associations in the world. Turkey, as being seriously affected from the consequences of the war especially in financial issues, witnessed an important shift in its international relationships and political tendencies.

To understand the reflection of these political and financial shift in urban space, it is critical to discuss important milestones regarding the administrative and legal issues in Turkey and also in Ankara. Therefore, in the first three sections, the aftermath of the war is discussed by emphasising its impacts on political and socio-cultural life of Turkey between the years of 1945 and 1955. In the second part, major planning and construction activities triggering the transformation of Ulus Square are described by referring to the outcomes of the change in political and administrative bodies and their urban/ public space understanding. In addition to this, the tendency of the city centre to shift from Ulus Square to Kızılay Square is explained by giving references to a parallel transformation in socio-cultural aspects of the user profile of Ulus Square and its close vicinity.

4.2.1. The Aftermath of the Second World War (1945-1955)

The Critical Change in Socio-political Context of Turkey

Parallel to worldwide changes after the Second World War, Turkey witnessed a shift both in its interior and exterior structural organization and relationships. As an outcome of this shift and also with the effect of the new political system in Turkey, early 1950s witnessed radical changes in the administrative and legal issues of urban development and its implementation. To clarify the process of political change and its long-term impact on urban development, it is important to discuss the political atmosphere of between 1945 and 1955.

Beginning of Multiparty System in Turkey

Most of the activities of the state between 1923 and 1950 can be considered as attempts of self-proving the ideology and power of the Republic both to its citizens and the world. It was a period of urbanization of the nation state (Şengül, cited in Kaynar: 2015, 686) where most of the public buildings were designed and used as the symbols of the Republican ideology. On the other hand, years of the Second World War declined the overall speed of the state to strengthen its own ideology through architecture and urban space. Even though economic problems interrupted urban facilities all around Turkey, overall condition of Ankara was considerably better compared to the rest of the country. But it was around 1945 that even for Ankara, it was not possible for the state to hide the economic crises that the country was facing with.

One of the major outcomes of war period was the rising questions on the administrative competency of the existing ruling party to shape the future of the country. For the first time in the history of the Republic, main ideology of the state was indirectly questioned through the insufficient actions of the existing ruling party to reduce the negative impacts of the economic crisis. This period of political and ideological transformation both in the ruling group and the community is summarised by Tamer as (1987: 18);

In the years immediately following the Second World War, Turkey moved away from Kemalist policies, in the domain of internal affairs and the political regime as well as in international relations. In a way, this took place at the cost of curbing some tendencies of the Turkish revolution, and even reversing them. The transformation involved the establishment of a multiparty system on the political front; the adoption of liberalism in economic policy; and the abandonment of neutralism in foreign affairs...

Within such a period, a group of former deputies of CHP⁴⁵⁸ decided to establish a new political party called *Demokrat Parti (DP)*/ Democrat Party in 1946. With the

⁴⁵⁸ Four founders of DP – Celal Bayar, Adnan Menderes, Refik Koraltan, and Fuat Köprülü – had been members of the CHP; they had absolutely no ties to either the Left or the illegal Right. Celal Bayar, the chairman of the new party and Atatürk's last prime minister, had been in constant contact with İnönü throughout the foundation process.

formation of DP and several other political parties⁴⁵⁹, Turkey was ready to experience a new multiparty political system based on democratic elections for the first time in its history.⁴⁶⁰ The first multi-party elections took place in 1946, where CHP managed to maintain its position whereas DP also got the chance to enter the parliament. Several accusations were brought against the methods used during the elections and especially DP launched a campaign against CHP and the government (Ertuğrul: 2008, 76). Especially, on the opening day of the parliament, followers of DP across the country gathered at Ulus Square to protest CHP. Öymen clearly remembers that day (2002: 536);

Groups of DP members across the country came to Ankara for the opening day of the National Assembly. These groups were gathering at Ulus Square and constantly chanting... On Bankalar Road, a massive group composed of DP members and followers, were either applauded enthusiastically if a DP deputy passed through, or boos if a CHP party member passed.

Following 1946 and continued incrementally until the elections of 1950, a significant shift in the attitude of ruling party/ CHP was noticeable regarding their earlier policies, specifically in secularism.⁴⁶¹ In addition to the gradual transformation in CHP's ideas, *Millet Partisi/* Nation's Party was established in 1948, indicating the increasing tendency of political parties to develop more conservative and nationalistic ideologies during late 1940s. Therefore, the overall political atmosphere in Turkey started to transform and this development had several impacts on socio-cultural and physical aspects of cities, and their public open spaces such as Ulus Square in Ankara.

In short, by having them found the party, the rulers attempted to realise a 'loyal opposition' model (Ertuğrul: 1987, 104).

⁴⁵⁹ *Çiftçi ve Köylü Partisi/* Farmer and Peasant Party, *Türkiye Sosyal Demokrat Partisi/* Social Democrat Party of Turkey, *Türkiye Sosyalist Partisi/* Socialist Party of Turkey etc.

⁴⁶⁰ It was almost the same years when newspapers of Ankara other than *Ulus* were started to be published. Among these newspapers, if *Ulus* can be considered as the newspaper of CHP, then *Kudret/* Puissance was the voice of Millet Partisi and *Zafer/* Victory was the voice of DP. At the same time a newspaper of İstanbul called *Cumhuriyet/* The Republic was also popular in Ankara due to the fact that it remained neutral in the political struggle of the country, and tried to publish articles as objective as possible.

⁴⁶¹ In its seventh general congress held in 1947, a year after the first competitive elections of the Republican history, the party's strict understanding of secularism was criticized leading to changes in religious policy⁴⁶¹ (Toprak: 1987, 226).

A New Balance of Power in the World/ American Influence on Turkey

While Turkey's internal struggle was simmering during late 1940s, the overall situation in the world was nearly the same. After witnessing the troubles caused by the war, most of the powerful countries of Europe entered a period of economic and political stagnation. To prevent the geopolitical expansion of the Soviets, the announcement of Truman Doctrine by USA aiming to provide economic and military aid both to Greece and Turkey⁴⁶² and Marshall Plan (extensive version of Truman Doctrine that includes every country in Europe), directly affected political and economic atmosphere of Turkey in a short amount of time, its socio-cultural life and its urban space in the long term (**Figure 192**).



Figure 192 An information board explaining the American Marshall Plan, placed at Haydarpaşa Train Station in İstanbul (PIN: 2018)

Started first with the economic aid agreement between USA and Turkey in 1947 for the purpose of military development and continued with the second economic agreement as a part of Marshall Plan in 1948, day by day interests of USA interpenetrate into the external and internal policies of Turkey. Especially after Marshal Plan⁴⁶³ Turkey's dependency to USA considerably increased (Ertuğrul: 2008,

⁴⁶² Truman Doctrine; declaration of immediate economic and military aid to the governments of Greece, threatened by Communist insurrection, and Turkey, under pressure from Soviet expansion in the Mediterranean area (Encyclopedia Britannica: 2017). According to Üstün, The Truman Doctrine, referred specifically to the urgency of the Greek situation, while Turkey was only marginally mentioned (1997: 33-34).

⁴⁶³ The Country Report on Turkey, submitted to Congress in 1948 pointed out that; Turkey's economy and exports being overwhelmingly based on agriculture, would necessitate her recovery programme to concentrate upon the

81). Starting from late 1940s, it was possible to follow the American impact on the country not only in economic activities, but also in governmental policies affecting the socio-cultural aspects, urban development policies as well as daily life and routines.

One of the main emphasis of Marshall Aid was given to agricultural production, concentrating on its mechanisation, and on irrigation and reclaiming project. The mechanization programme, aimed at the utilisation of Turkey's vast arable space with the agricultural equipment and machinery (Üstün: 1997, 42). To achieve this goal, %22 of the aid was decided to be spend for agricultural products and machinery, and the period of transportation of tractors from USA to Turkey has started.⁴⁶⁴ Day by day, with the mechanisation of agriculture in the country, the labour oriented structure started to diminish and the period created its own unemployed community composed of villages and peasants. This would soon increase migration to big cities for job opportunities during 1950s and 1960s.⁴⁶⁵

Concurrent to the growing economic dependency of Turkey to USA, there was a clear propaganda of American culture. Especially intensified by the help of radio programmes, magazines⁴⁶⁶, posters, advertisements and movies, an “Official Cultural Dissemination Programme of America” was activated to change the image of USA in Turkish community. From clothes⁴⁶⁷ to hair styles, daily practices to gastronomic habits, music and cinema culture, everything related to daily life and routines were

development of the agricultural sector, rather than the industrial sector (Üstün: 1997, 35). Therefore, most of the funding given by USA to Turkey as a part of the Marshal Plan aid, was spend in agricultural sector.

⁴⁶⁴ The number of tractors in Turkey by years/ 1936: 961, 1940: 1066, 1948: 1756, 1952: 31415.

The number of combine harvesters in Turkey by years/ 1936: 104, 1952: 3222 (Şenyapılı: 1985, 73).

⁴⁶⁵ According to Yıldırım, the second important impact of Marshall Plan on migration of villagers-peasants to big cities, mainly occurred due to the activities to expedite the delivery of the products in a faster and easier way. To achieve that, automobile roads in Turkey were improved for fast transportation. As a result likewise the fast transportation of agricultural products, it became possible for villagers-peasants to reach cities faster and easier compared to previous decades (2015: 545).

⁴⁶⁶ Cultural transformation of Turkey due to American lifestyle was highly promoted by the magazines and newspapers. America was the role model of magazines where the popular figures representing American lifestyle, its urbanisation, architecture and decoration styles, fashion, products of popular culture, socialization spaces and their forms were all the main material for the press (Şenol Cantek: 2015, 429).

⁴⁶⁷ Consumer goods of American middle class such as blue-jean and coca-cola was introduced to Turkey during this period. With the increase on the demand on American products, shops called *Amerikan Pazarı*/ American Bazaar emerged in big cities such as Ankara and İstanbul, where products of American culture was mainly sold. In that period, it was popular among high income groups to buy products from these shops (Alkan: 2015, 596).

influenced from the American culture during 1950s and 1960s. In a short amount of time, America took its place in the daily life of Turkey as the country that is envied most and that represents the ideal culture (Alkan: 2015, 595). In her novel, Ayşe Kulin depicts the social life of Ankara which was highly affected from American culture, as follows (cited in Bozyiğit: 2002, 221);

Meltem started to date with an American private (soldier) who is commissioned in Ankara. During those days it was really popular to make friends with Americans or to wear American clothes. Most of the young girls were looking forward to find an American boyfriend for themselves. Wearing American shoes, socks and sweaters immediately gave the feeling of superiority over others.

The 1950 General Elections

As an outcome of the insufficient strategies of the government and CHP during the financial help of USA, CHP could not maintain its position and DP won the 1950 elections⁴⁶⁸ that would significantly transform the nature of Turkish politics. Right after the elections, DP put into action its political strategy on socio-cultural issues, which Batuman defines as “a hegemonic setup that is achieved by attaching every kind of traditional, religious and anti-progress factor to the new way of understanding modernity” (2017: 55). Additionally, according to Oktay, the modernity that was promoted by DP was the combination of conservative approaches, religious motives, anti-secular movements, privatization and Americanisation at the same time. Turkey became a loyal follower of American life style and the pruner of revolutions of Kemalist ideology by the end of 1950⁴⁶⁹ (2001, 283).

In addition to the regulations on socio-cultural issues, DP also announced several measures and economic strategies distinguishing itself from the Republican period. The new government abandoned statist policies of protectionism and put liberal

⁴⁶⁸ The DP promised to curtail state intervention in the economy, transfer state-owned enterprises to the private sector, ensure full recompense for the peasant's toil, and guarantee religious freedom. The scope of the opposition block the DP was able to forge during the 1946-50 period explains its resounding success in the 1950 elections (Keyder: 1987, 39).

⁴⁶⁹ 1950 emerges as the crucial break with the restricted formulas of Kemalism, excluding the rural masses from political participation-in its wider significance akin to the late episodes of the great bourgeois (Keyder: 1987, 41).

policies into implementation, integrating the country's economy into the world market (Batuman: 2008, 105). By increasing the role of private enterprise on financial issues, introducing the Turkish economy especially to American market and supporting the integration of the American and Turkish culture, policies of DP also triggered the emergence of a new understanding of architectural and urban space production.

Their understanding of a 'modern' city was based on the model of the American Metropolis, where architecture, now serving the needs of the liberal economy, had adopted the architectonic forms of this international system of capitalism (Yalim:2001, 157). In this way, a new urbanization period began. From then on, the Republican way of utilising the architecture and urban space as a tool of promoting state ideology had left its place to the new strategies of urbanisation mainly shaped and managed by the market demand and the popular architectural tendencies adopted from USA.

Among the actions of DP, some had direct effects on the physical, socio-cultural and financial aspects of Ankara and Ulus Square as the city centre. First of all, it was the first time in the Republican history that İstanbul was in spotlight again. The main reason behind this change was mainly related to Ankara's strong associations with the Kemalist ideology and the single party period of Turkey as the symbol of the War of Independence and the Republic. Moreover, it was common to ignore İstanbul in the early Republican period since it was associated with the Ottoman past of the country. Therefore, with the government of DP, a new era started both for İstanbul and Ankara. To create its own architecture and urban space, DP reversed the tendencies of former governments and started to invest in İstanbul⁴⁷⁰, which in mid-term would cause physical and socio-cultural⁴⁷¹ changes in Ankara. But before the activities, it is

⁴⁷⁰ Starting from 1956, DP implemented series of urban development activities in İstanbul. Şenyapılı considered these activities, as the actions of a government – whose policies on economy was in a state of insolvency – that tried to protect its prestige and at the same time to create the image of success through spatial activities and construction of urban space (1985: 119).

⁴⁷¹ As an outcome of DP's policies on investing İstanbul, late 1950s and early 1960s witnessed high-income groups, educated families and artists' migration from Ankara to İstanbul gradually. Even though Ankara was still remained its importance for the country and continued to be the financial, administrative and cultural centre, day by day İstanbul became more popular. By criticising the migration of the elite groups from Ankara to İstanbul, Falih Rıfkı Atay defines this period as the beginning of the downfall of Ankara (08.05.1949).

important to mention laws enacted during late 1940s by CHP government and how these regulations created the base for the urban activities of DP during 1950s.

Impact of Laws and Regulations in the Urban Development of Ankara

During the last years of the governance of CHP, the law authorising the same person to be the mayor and governor at the same time, was repealed.⁴⁷² With this act, Ankara had the chance to distinguish the major urban topics that should be discussed and solved by the specialists of either the governorship or the municipality. On the other hand, the second series of law n. 5218⁴⁷³ and 5228⁴⁷⁴ enacted in 1948 accelerated the demolition of existing buildings and construction of higher ones at the same location, radically damaging the physical aspects of Ulus Square and its close vicinity.

The post war politics of the government and mechanisation of the agriculture mainly supported by Marshall Plan, resulted with a serious increase on the number of immigrants – mostly villagers and peasants – in big cities during 1950s.⁴⁷⁵ However, the newly developing but limited industrial and service sectors in urban areas were not able to absorb rural immigrants (Duyar-Kienast: 2005, 35). As a result, the squatter areas, which emerged in late 1920s-1930s in open spaces close to the city centres, started to expand to the outskirts of the city. Erman summarized the emergence of housing problem and the reason of continuous increase in the number of migrants in big cities as (2001: 985);

Predictably, the housing stock of the cities lagged far behind the housing needs of the newcomers. Thus, in the late 1940s and early 1950s, the newcomers, who were mostly young men, first built shanties in and around the city at geographically undesirable sites, preferably close to the jobs available to them. Eventually, they were joined by their families and, in growing numbers, by their kin and by fellow villagers who were encouraged to migrate to the city because they already had contacts there.

⁴⁷² Act n. 5168, 4.02.1948.

⁴⁷³ *Ankara Belediyesine, Arsa ve Arazisinden Belli Bir Kısımını Mesken Yapacaklara 2490 Sayılı Kanun Hüükümlerine Bağlı Olmaksızın ve Muayyen Şartlarla Tahsis ve Temlik Yetkisi Verilmesi Hakkında Kanun*/ the Law on the Allocation of Municipality and Government Lands for the Construction of Houses in Ankara.

⁴⁷⁴ *Bina Yapımını Teşvik Kanunu*/ the Law for the Encouragement of Construction.

⁴⁷⁵ There was a growing rate of %89 in the population of Ankara between 1935 and 1950.

Among these cities Ankara had already been witnessing the negative impacts of migration and illegal construction activities.⁴⁷⁶ To handle the problem of housing and to reduce the economic pressure of construction activities, the law n. 5218 was enacted in 1948 only for Ankara. This law was the first legal attempt to deal with the problem of squatters. Even if the term *gecekondu* was not mentioned, the law's main aim was to improve the living conditions in Ankara, especially in squatter areas.⁴⁷⁷ In exchange of a small amount of money, most of the squatters labelled on the map (**Figure 193**) were registered by the Municipality of Ankara. The rest of the areas labelled on the map belonging to the Treasury and were not occupied by squatters yet, were transferred to the Municipality to provide cheap land for prospective squatters where they could have legal status (Keleş and Geray: 1995, 144).

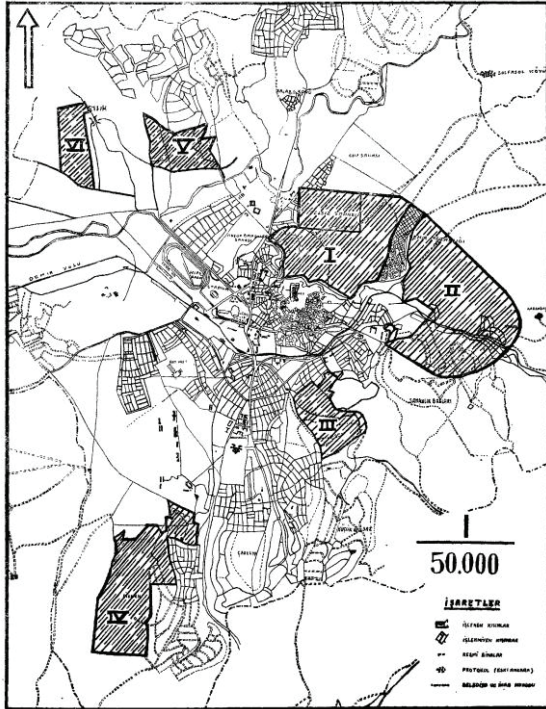


Figure 193 A map attached to the Law 5218, labelling the areas where squatters were concentrated in Ankara: Yenidoğan (Area I), Mamak and Balçık (Area II), Seyran Bağları, İncesu and Topraklık (Area III)⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁷⁶ According to the guide prepared in 1946, eastern parts of the Castle Hill were filled with unplanned houses. This part called as Hıdırlık Hill where main squatter areas such as Atıfbey, Altındağ and Yenidoğan districts were located, was described as an area composed of shapeless houses that were springing up like mushrooms (Artun et al.: 1946, 185, 192).

⁴⁷⁷ During the sessions at the Assembly, there were several oppositions to this law in terms of the way it encourages the increase of squatter on the lands of Municipality in Ankara. Especially Refik Koraltan described the emergence of squatter as a social issue and blamed the government for not dealing with these issues (*Meclis Zabıtları*, v.12, cited in Şenyapılı: 1985, 88).

⁴⁷⁸ Resmi Gazete (22.06.1948, n. 14219)

Short after, the Law 5228 extended the rights given to the Municipality of Ankara, and expanded to the entire country with several additions to increase its applicability (such as providing housing credits etc.). Even though these two laws intended to prevent further squatters, right after their announcement squatter areas, illegal construction activities, attempts to increase building heights and land speculations were accelerated more than any period of the Republic. Between 1940 and 1950, the floor numbers of the buildings located on Atatürk Boulevard increased to four and Posta Road increased from two to three (Şenyapılı: 1985, 103).⁴⁷⁹ In this way, the urban characteristic of Ankara and especially Ulus Square and its close vicinity started to transform with a new understanding of architecture and urban space.

Along with new urban regulations, a key development in conservation of historic monuments took place which in a certain way would have reduced the impact of government's uncontrolled actions during late 1950s. *Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu (GEEAYK)*/ The High Council of Immovable Antiquities and Monuments was established in 1951 (n. 5805).⁴⁸⁰ Before GEEAYK and the law explaining their responsibilities in the field of conservation, Ottoman period regulations were still in effect. Therefore, this was the first law of the Republic of Turkey, which had binding statements on conservation of historic monuments (Tekeli: 1978, 147).⁴⁸¹ Right after its establishment, GEEAYK prepared several regulations on re-functioning, consolidation and documentation of historic buildings. Additionally, their regulations were not only highlighting the importance and value of individual buildings but also the importance of historic areas. Therefore, in a short amount of

⁴⁷⁹ On the other hand the demand to increase building heights at Işıklar Road was rejected by referring to Jansen plan for the Castle area. The castle should be clearly visible from every part of the city and the increase on the number of floors at Işıklar Road would interrupt this view. Additionally, the demands to increase building heights to five along Atatürk Boulevard and Çankırı Road were also rejected (Şenyapılı: 1985, 104).

⁴⁸⁰ GEEAYK was assigned to define principles and strategies for conservation, maintenance and repair and at the same time to ensure that conservation of historic buildings is organized by scientific measures. Even though the council was quite successful in terms of developing measures and making decisions for building scale conservation, due to the lack of sufficient number of specialists in Turkey, it was deficient in implementation and monitoring process (Altınyıldız: 1997, 84).

⁴⁸¹ Even though compared to the counterparts in Europe, this law can be considered as a preliminary attempt but still its presence was important for the creation of an understanding in the field of conservation in Turkey.

time, GEEAYK became an obstacle⁴⁸² for DP who sought to create its own architecture and urban space either by constructing new buildings or demolishing the historic ones.⁴⁸³

Parallel to these, a change in Article 26 of the *Tapu Kanunu*/ Land Registry Law came into effect in 1954.⁴⁸⁴ Till that time, a title deed can only be registered to a single person⁴⁸⁵ and therefore most of the lands were either left empty or only utilised for low buildings due to the expenses of constructing an apartment block. With the change in the ownership status, a sharp increase in land speculations and a period of apartment blocks began for Ankara. Most of the small privately-owned empty lots were combined and with their multiple number of shareholders, apartment blocks started to emerge all around Ankara in a short amount of time (Adam, Tekeli and Altaban: 1978, 31). Therefore, by increasing the role of private sector in construction activities, this change on the Land Registry Law aided DP to accelerate urban activities for the production of new urban spaces.

Developments in Public Transportation Network and Emergence of Alternative Methods

Another important indicator of American influence on the state policies can be traced in transportation issues. At the beginning of 1946, the municipality ordered 19 buses from Switzerland and USA⁴⁸⁶ to solve the transportation problems for the increasing population of Ankara. But this minor attempt could not solve the problem and the problem aggravated. Therefore, during late 1940s with the attempts of Ankara General

⁴⁸² According to Kuban, the establishment of GEEAYK was not matching with the priorities of DP and therefore the most distinct conflict of GEEAYK was with Adnan Menderes, who was the head of the party and the prime minister of DP government (1996: 440).

⁴⁸³ In one of his speeches, Menderes stated that; during their urban demolishment and construction activities they worked meticulously like a jeweller not to sacrifice areas that have historic value. The mosques that were demolished were already in a bad condition and had no historic value (Dünya Gazetesi: 16.05.1961).

⁴⁸⁴ According to the Article 26, with an annotation on the title deed of a land, the shareholders would have the right to benefit from a floor, a flat or a space that can be utilised, either in the existing building or in the one to be built on that land (Resmi Gazete: 06.01.1954).

⁴⁸⁵ Turkish Civil Code, approved in 1926, had several restrictions on mutual ownership. In Article 619, it is described that if someone owns an asset, every piece related to that asset also belongs to that person. Moreover, in Article 644 it was clearly stated that flat ownership is strictly forbidden. And finally, in Article 652, it is described that flat ownership cannot be applied as a construction right on that land.

⁴⁸⁶ Ankara Kentsel Ulaşım Çalışması (1987: 45).

Automobile and Driver Association (with the approval of the municipality), taxi-dolmuş (**Figure 195a**) services began to operate in central and profitable lines such as Ulus-Cebeci, Cebeci-Sıhhiye and Ulus-Bakanlık directions (Öncü: 2009, 5).

In addition to road widening works of the municipality for a faster and easier vehicular traffic, the state also adopted trolleybus⁴⁸⁷, an alternative transportation system that was used in USA (Cengizkan: 2004, 24). After necessary preparations⁴⁸⁸, the fleet of 10 trolleybuses were ordered from USA and the first trolleybus of Ankara started to operate between Bakanlıklar-Ulus axis in 1947, and short after Dışkapı was also included to the route (**Figure 194a, b**). Called by the public as *Boynuzlu*/ Horned regarding to its overhead wires (Tanıl: 2011, 195), these vehicles were designed to transport three times more than a bus can do, and therefore welcomed by the residents of Ankara (Öymen: 2004, 57).



Figure 194 a. A close up of Trolleybus (AA: 2018) **b. c.** Trolleybus at Ulus Square (WOW: 2018), (VEKAM: 2740)

Even though implementation of a trolleybus route to the public transportation network of Ankara had an effect on reducing the density of vehicular traffic, it did not create a substantial change as it was planned by the authorities. During early 1950s, there were 16 routes for public buses and additional 33 routes for trolleybuses⁴⁸⁹ in Ankara, but even this fleet was not enough to transport the increasing number of population. Since Ulus Square was the central location for almost every transportation route in the city during 1940s (Artun et al.: 1946, 197), especially at rush hours, it was possible to see senior officials in their expensive/high quality dresses, scuffling with each other to

⁴⁸⁷ Trolleybus is a vehicle that operated on the streets on rubber tires and powered by electricity drawn from two overhead wires by trolley poles (Encyclopedia Britannica: 2018).

⁴⁸⁸ Electricity power lines were installed on the routes, bus stops were reorganized and announcements were published to introduce this vehicle to the public.

⁴⁸⁹ 10 F.B.W. brand trolleybuses were ordered in 1948 and 13 more with MAN brand were ordered in 1952. In this way, the fleet had 33 trolleybuses during 1950s.

enter the bus as if they were conquering a castle (Karaosmanoğlu: 2013, 34). Due to the insufficiency of the municipality to answer the demands of public transportation, a new organisation called EGO/ Ankara Electricity, Gas and Bus Operations was established in 1950. But again, this organisation could not solve the problem and new types of private transportation methods such as *minibüs*⁴⁹⁰ and *dolmuş*⁴⁹¹ emerged during early 1950s.⁴⁹²



Figure 195 a. *Taxi-dolmuş* in front of Ankara Palas (ETF: 2018) b. Minibus at Hükümet Square (AA: 2018) c. *Dolmuş* operating between Ulus and Akdere (a squatter area located on the east of central Ankara (WOW: 2018)

While minibuses were operating in the central locations of the city, *dolmuş* was mainly answering the demands of low-income groups living in squatter areas located on the outskirts of the city, to reach the central places of Ankara (**Figure 195b, c**). Most of these groups were working at business lines concentrated around Ulus such as hawking, peddling, apprenticeship and portorage (Şenyapılı: 1985, 111). Therefore, *dolmuş* routes were introduced in between the residential areas and Ulus Square where they can reach their working places in a short amount of time. Since there were no transportation from these districts to Bakanlıklar/Kızılay district, the only way for these groups to reach areas other than Ulus was to change lines at Ulus Square. Consequently, with the role of *dolmuş* as faster and easier transportation for the residents living in squatter areas to Ulus Square, 1950s witnessed a dramatic increase

⁴⁹⁰ Small/mini buses that can carry eleven passengers.

⁴⁹¹ Meaning full in Turkish, *dolmuş* is a small vehicle where passengers get in one by one and departs when it is full (Tekeli and Okay: 1981, 8). It does not have either a timetable or a *dolmuş* stop. Due to the demand of passengers, it can stop in everywhere.

⁴⁹² Until *minibuses* were approved by the municipality in 1954, *dolmuş* was considered as illegal. But in a short amount of time, *dolmuş* was also acknowledged by the state. On following decades, all transportation services based on small privately owned vehicles were combined and new regulations were developed.

in the number of low-income groups visiting⁴⁹³, working at or passing through Ulus Square and the socio-cultural transformation of this area.⁴⁹⁴

Transformation of Ulus Square and its Close Vicinity

Socio-Cultural Transformation

In the following years, Yenışehir continued to develop incrementally and by 1950s it became the main residential area of the city composed of apartment blocks rented by middle-income groups and single-detached houses owned by high-income groups. Especially with the changes in laws and regulations related to urban issues, the number of apartment blocks within Yenışehir district increased and the influx of middle-income groups from Ulus to Yenışehir area started a change the socio-cultural structure of Ankara. Middle income groups were moving from Ulus to Kızılay district, whereas high-income groups were moving from Kızılay district to the southern parts of Atatürk Boulevard, around Kavaklıdere.⁴⁹⁵ As a result, after the abandonment of middle-income groups, the population diversity in Ulus Area started to change and by the 1950s the residential areas within Ulus district were mainly inhabited by low-income groups and their families.

The reason of the flow from Ulus to Yenışehir was not only limited to residential aspects. The necessity to stay close to the target group also affected the distribution of specific commercial and entertainment activities that were mainly utilised by high-income groups. Among these movements, the transfer of the Anatolia Club from the top floor of the Central Bank to its new building in Yenışehir area⁴⁹⁶ in 1953 created

⁴⁹³ Before 1950s, the ones living in squatter areas could only afford to pass through Ulus Square to reach their working place. Apart from these groups, it was rare to see a low-income family to visit Ulus Square and its close vicinity for entertainment and leisure time activities. With the emergence of dolmuş, low income groups had started to utilize Ulus Square in real terms.

⁴⁹⁴ Since *dolmuş* had an important role in the integration of the population living in central parts of the city and the ones in squatter areas. Therefore, later dolmuş became the symbol of the socio-cultural structure that was newly emerging at squatter areas (Emiroğlu: 2011, 489).

⁴⁹⁵ Most of the Americans who were in Ankara for duty were staying in Kavaklıdere area. Therefore, this district became one of the most popular residential areas among high income groups believing in the high culture and lifestyle of America. The ones who could not afford to rent/buy a house at Kavaklıdere, regularly visits this district during weekends for change of socialising with Americans or to buy American products from the shops there.

⁴⁹⁶ Due to the lack of space, the club had started to search for a new place in Kızılay in 1941. On 15.03.1953 a house located at İzmir Road, Kızılay was bought by the club and an opening ceremony in its new location was organized on 23.03.1953 (Goloğlu: 1981, 19, 22).

an important change in the socio-cultural structure of Ulus Square and its close vicinity. Even though deputies and ministers continued to use the areas around the National Assembly and Hükümet Square, they started to spend their leisure time at Yenişehir area.

Furthermore, until the beginning of 1950s, Karpiç continued to be the most prestigious restaurants in Ankara. Even though, on its first year's members of DP continued the trend of using this place, after sometime the frequency of their visits decreased. Additionally, the service quality was getting worse regarding the illness of Father Karpiç which kept him apart from the daily routines of the restaurant. Consequently, the customer profile of Karpiç started to change and it lost its previous charm. Bohemians, not only young journalists but also their families and friends, young poets, disfavoured bureaucrats and managers⁴⁹⁷, suspended mayors and other officials became the main customers of Karpiç (Kemal: 1983, 67). After the death of Father Karpiç in 1953, the period of decline started for the restaurant. Due to these two important changes in the entertainment life, slowly but assuredly a transformation started in the socio-cultural structure of the user group of Ulus Square and its close vicinity.

The second important factor that fostered the socio-cultural change within Ulus district was the migration of villagers and peasants from all around the country to Ankara, after the mechanisation of agriculture. The population of Ankara had increased enormously, and the government's exchequer was not enough to answer the demand for cheap housing and affordable residential areas. Since these groups could not rent a house even at Ulus district, they began to build squatters on the lands owned by the state, which are close to Ulus area. In a short amount of time, the periphery of Ulus was filled with squatters. Most of the time working hard in low paid jobs, people living in squatters could not afford to be a part of the social life at Ulus Square, Atatürk Boulevard, Kızılay Square and Kavaklıdere. Their welfare status hampered their integration with the rest of the city and limited their interaction zone to few public

⁴⁹⁷ Aka Gündüz who was not elected as a deputy, Nurettin Arta who resigned from his job at radio newspaper.

open spaces close to their residential areas. Parallel to this, it was the end of 1940s that for the first time in Ankara the number of beggars radically increased that even every corner of the busiest parts of Ulus Square, it was possible to see one of them (Öymen: 2004, 273). Therefore, the migration created an important change on the socio-cultural aspects of Ulus Square and its close vicinity.

Additionally, the transportation system of Ankara was concentrated at Ulus Square as the departure and final destination location for all directions in Ankara. For a person with limited amount of money, Kızılay or Kavaklıdere were almost impossible to reach regarding the need to buy several bus tickets. Therefore, Ulus Square was the only option especially for the low-income groups to travel during their weekends. As a result, visiting Ulus Square as a leisure time activity became mainstreamed by the low-income groups and the ones living in squatters during 1950s.⁴⁹⁸ On the other hand, Kızılay turned into the symbol of specific type of life standards, an eternal ideal and model that was spectated from far distance and desired by the owners of squatters (Batuman: 2017, 55 and Tarus: 1947, 87-88).⁴⁹⁹ Consequently, the social and financial gap between these two residential areas had a severe impact on the physical, socio-cultural and functional transformation of Ulus Square during 1950s and 1960s.

Distribution of Functions

Ulus Square of 1945 was still the centre of the city. Even though Kızılay was emerging as the secondary focal point of the city – mainly composed of residential areas and partially utilised for entertainment, gastronomic and commercial purposes – Ulus Square and its close vicinity was the only urban square that had political, administrative, ideological, financial, commercial, entertainment and historic value for the city.⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹⁸ Mrs HA believes that due to the emergence of the ones living in that districts [villager and *yerli*] the order was deteriorated during the period of 1950s, which she called as “The Period of Menderes” (cited in Şenol Cantek: 2003, 220).

⁴⁹⁹ The desire of squatter owners to be a part of the social life at Kızılay district was depicted by Orhan Veli Kanık in his poem Altındağ (2001b: 95).

⁵⁰⁰ The Yenışehir neighbourhood, a modern area with some high-income residents, became the only consumer service-based sub-centre in this period. Whereas, from the beginning of the Republic to the mid-1950s, producer services concentrated around the Ulus centre (Gökçe: 2008, 117).

As hosting the National Assembly building, ministry buildings and several other administrative buildings within, Ulus Square was the heart of the country in terms of political activities and regulations. In a regular day at Ulus Square, it was possible to see political figures such as Adnan Menderes (Prime Minister) or İsmet İnönü (Head of CHP) walking in the square and talking to the residents just to remind their political power to the community and also to the members of opposite political group. Öymen clearly remembers those day as follows (2009: 40-42);

After working at the building of Prime Ministry-Finance till noon, Menderes liked to walk at the streets of Ulus, with the company of one or two of his friends. Sometimes he preferred to have lunch at Zevk Lokantası⁵⁰¹ and other days at Karpiç. Moreover, his tailor's shop, Kemal Milaşlı⁵⁰² was located at Ulus. Sometimes, after he had his lunch outside, prime minister stopped by Milaşlı's shop. And after stopping at Milaşlı's shop, Menderes again walked back to his office in Prime Ministry Building. These daily tours were creating an opportunity for Menderes to "integrate with the community" and therefore he was highly appreciated by the public during his walks at Ulus.

Due to the location of his office at Hükümet Square, Çam Street (former Kızıtaşı Road)⁵⁰³ – the narrow street between İş Bank and Sümerbank – became one of the main streets of Menderes to reach Ulus Square during his daily routines, and it started to be used by the public more often due to the possibility of seeing Menderes. Similar to Menderes, İsmet İnönü also had a daily walking routine within Ulus Square and its close vicinity. Öymen explains his routine in detail (2009: 42-44, 46);

The First National Assembly Building was occupied by CHP after the assembly started to function at its new place. In the most central location of Ulus, in front of Atatürk Monument, CHP party building was standing (**Figure 196a**)... As being at the centre of Ulus Square, it was a must for everyone to pass in front of CHP building to reach their destination at Ulus Square. Therefore İnönü took this advantage to promote his party. At certain times of the day, its garden was filled with the visitors of İsmet Paşa (İnönü) that are

⁵⁰¹ Around Hükümet Park, N. 2, Ulus (Artun et al.: 1946, *advertisements*).

⁵⁰² Bankalar Road, N. 30, Ulus/Ankara (Artun et al.: 1946, 228).

⁵⁰³ In 1934 to open a space for Sümerbank, Julian Column was moved from its original location to the east at the centre of Hükümet Square, in front of *Vilayet/* Governors' Head building. Since this narrow street took its name from Julian Column (*Jülyen Kolonu/Belkız Sütunu/ Kızıtaşı*), and after its relocation from this street, this connection between Ulus Square and Hükümet Square was renamed as *Çam Sokak/* Pine Street⁵⁰³, referring to the trees on both side of the street.

coming from all around the country. They took pictures in front of the building and having a chat for hours at the garden. As a result, these collective movements by the CHP members in and around the party building was living up the square and attract the attention of the ones who are passing.

Additionally, İnönü also had a daily walking routine at Ulus Square. Sometimes he used to go out from his party building and come to our *Ulus* newspaper building, to visit our manager Nihat Erim. As it is known that Ulus newspaper building and the party were really close to each other. By walking though the pedestrian way facing the Atatürk Monument, it took five-six minutes to reach our building. Besides, there was a “private path” between the party building and Ulus newspaper which can be entered from the back door of the party building. From that path, it took two-three minutes to reach our building. Whenever İnönü wanted to visit Ulus newspaper he could have used the shortcut. But most of the time he preferred to use the long way; by taking one or two of his politician friends with him, first he goes out to Ulus Square and walks though the same road with everyone who uses to reach the newspaper.⁵⁰⁴ This walk was taking more than expected since they had to stop several times during their walk by the ones who wanted to kiss İnönü’s hand. Therefore this walk was İnönü’s opportunity to “integrate with the community”.



Figure 196 a The First National Assembly utilised by CHP as the central party building, during 1930s (AA: 2018) **b.** Newspaper article regarding the Law 6195, published in Milliyet (16.12.1953)

To sum up, even though Ulus Square continued to be used as a political arena both by the leaders and members of the ruling and opposition party during 1945-1955 period, it was utilised as a part of the propaganda activities of CHP more dominantly. As a result, the deputies of DP were extremely annoyed that CHP was still utilising the former National Assembly building and could easily interact with the society and continue its propaganda. Consequently, also with the effect of several other

⁵⁰⁴ Ulus newspaper was located at Rüzgarlı Street, and next to its building a huge newspaper building for *Zafer* – a newspaper that had close ties with DP – was constructed in 1949. In a short amount of time Rüzgarlı Street transformed into the main location for the offices and buildings of press.

developments in the political arena, in 16 December 1953 a Law n. 6195 was approved mainly dealing with the expropriation of CHP's material possessions and assets (**Figure 196b**). Among these assets, CHP's party buildings including the former assembly building and Ulus newspaper building were all transferred to the Treasury. This change would soon have a critical effect in the functions within Ulus Square and its daily usage intensity.

Corresponding the same years, the names of the many streets, roads and public open spaces that could remind the ruling years of CHP were changed by the government of DP.⁵⁰⁵ Due to the fact that, new governments, regimes wants to erase and transform the memories of previous order, fights for collective memory, and constantly contradicts with the memory of the past during the production of the new; therefore codes of the new should replace the symbols of the past (M. K. Matsuda, cited in Özkan and Yoloğlu: 2005, 55). Similar to the naming process of public buildings and open spaces during the Early Republican period, DP also replaced the earlier symbols of the Republic with its conservative political agenda. Several names emerged during the Early Republican period were replaced with their Ottoman versions – such as *Devrim*/ Revolution to *İnkılap* –, names of war heroes who had close ties with CHP – such as İsmet Paşa Road was replaced with Mithat Paşa Road, Kazım Paşa (Özalp) replaced with Ziya Gökalp – were replaced with the names of conservative figures, and also names of the figures associated with the modern, secular face of the Republic such as Mustafa Necati Bey was also diminished from the public spaces of Ankara (Cengizkan: 2017, 238 and Öymen: 2002, 128).

Moreover, it was stated in the newspaper article published in *Akşam* that; most of the streets and roads that were associated with İsmet İnönü and his fellows were changed by the decision of the Municipal Council. İsmet Paşa Parkı was replaced by Hisar parkı, Altıok Street replaced by Turgut Reis Street, Ocak Street replaced by Alp Aslan,

⁵⁰⁵ Through the analysis of the map attached to the guidebook of Ankara it is possible to reveal several other changes in the names of public open spaces during late 1940s. İstasyon Road and Büyük Millet Meclisi Road was changed to *Cumhuriyet Bulvarı*/ Republic Boulevard; Baruthane Square was labelled as *Müdafai Hukuk Meydanı*/ Defence of Law Square; Ali Bey Street was labelled as *Yurt Sokakı*/ Homeland Street and 30 Ağustos 1922 Road was labelled as *Rüzgarlı Sokak*/ Windy Street (Hartalı Ankara Rehberi: 1949).

İnönü Boulevard replaced by Talat Paşa Boulevard, Saraçoğlu Mahallesi replaced by Namık Kemal Mahallesi and. Muhlis Erkmek Parkı replaced by Baba Harmanı Parkı (22.02.1951). In addition to these replacements, due to the decrease in the usage of buildings that were associated with CHP and its ruling period, the importance of Ankara Palas⁵⁰⁶, the former National Assembly building and Karpıç for the city decreased and within a decade they faded into obsolescence.



Figure 197 It was still popular to take souvenir photos in front of the Victory Monument during 1950s (Dericizade: 2016)

Apart from its importance for political parties for spreading their ideology, the vast majority of the community still perceived Ulus Square as the core of the Republic and War of Independence. The habit of visiting the square (**Figure 197**), saluting the Victory Monument during the Republic Day (29 October), celebrations and fests on national days were still part of the everyday life. For instance, Sönmez remembers the Republic Day of 1948, when he and his mother took their place in front of Ankara Palas to see the celebrations closely (2016: 194). Moreover an interviewee of Cengizkan and Kılıçkiran, also mentions that his mother used to take him to Ulus Square during *every fest and national holiday* in 1950s (2009: 56). Most importantly when construction of the mausoleum was completed in 1953, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's body was carried from Ethnography Museum to Anıtkabir via Atatürk Boulevard, Ulus Square, the National Assembly, Müdafa-i Hukuk Square and Cumhuriyet Boulevard direction (**Figure 198a-e**). This route clearly proves that, Ulus Square and its close vicinity was still used as the main milieu for ceremonial activities.

⁵⁰⁶ Even though Ankara Palas was intensively utilised by DP members for important activities and balls during the early 1950s, but later on with the opening of several other luxurious hotels at Yenışehir district such as Bulvar Palas, frequency of organizations had decreased on late 1950s.



Figure 198 The route followed during the transfer of Atatürk's body in 1953 **a. b.** Atatürk Boulevard (Levent Civelekoğlu Archive) **c. d.** Ulus Square (Ahmet Çetintaş Archive) **e.** Müdafai Hukuk Square (Levent Civelekoğlu Archive)

In addition to celebration of national days, Ulus Square and Atatürk Boulevard became the central location for protests and demonstrations either against the ruling/opposition party (national issues) or Soviets and communism (international issues) in the multi-party period by the end of 1950s. Especially the gatherings organised to protest the activities of radical religious groups – targeting secularism and Atatürk's reforms – were mainly organised at Ulus Square, around the Victory Monument. In this way, a new tradition started to emerge for the groups who associate themselves with the reforms of Atatürk, to gather at Ulus Square, around the Victory Monument either for celebrations or protests.

Along with its political, administrative and ideological importance for the city, Ulus Square continued to sustain its financial function by hosting the major banks of the country, and commercial function by hosting the most popular shops within its close vicinity. Especially after the opening of Sümerbank, its entrance floor became one of the most favourable shopping places of Ankara.⁵⁰⁷ Additionally, Bankalar Road and

⁵⁰⁷ ...Because women prefer to come Ulus for shopping. They come from everywhere and they queue most, in front of Sümerbank... (Ağaoğlu's novel *Ölmeye Yatmak*: 2015, 99-100).

Karaoğlan framed with small shops selling diverse range of products were utilised as the main commercial and financial axis of the city. Starting from Ulus Square on the right side of Bankalar Road Şehir Garden, Şehir Lokantası/ Karpiç, Bookstores, Anatolia Club, Central Bank, Ziraat Bank, Etibank and Osmanlı Bank were located. On the left side of, there were bookstores, several offices and shops, Vagonli Agency, Park Palas, Post Office, First Male Art Institute (former Mekteb-i Sanayi), Tekel Head Office and Emlak Bank (Artun et al.: 1946, 197). Parallel to this, Kızılay also continue to develop as the secondary commercial and financial centre for the city, mainly targeting medium and high-income groups with its cinemas, hotels, patisseries and branches of several banks.⁵⁰⁸ However, it could not be considered as a fully developed city square yet.

As it is mentioned before, after the opening of *Gençlik Parkı*, there was a slight decline in the usage intensity of the recreational activities taking place at gardens and parks of Ulus Square and its close vicinity. The Second National Assembly Park was still in a good condition and continued to be used regularly by the residents of Ulus district.⁵⁰⁹ It was an extremely quiet and tranquil green area where most the visitors who dressed properly come to this garden, eat *simit*/bagel, watch the fishes and go back to their homes on daily basis (Kazancı: 2014, 68). However, other green areas that were not designed as a part of an administrative building, were not in a good condition. Mainly derived from the state policy concentrating on the construction of massive buildings, authorities did not effectively deal either with the physical condition or loss of green areas within the most profitable parts of the city. Therefore, the green area left from Şehir Garden after the construction of small commercial attached units of Özel İdare Bazaar facing Bankalar Road, became neglected where trees and shrubs were overgrown (Aydın et al.: 2005, 545).⁵¹⁰

⁵⁰⁸ According to the guidebook of Ankara, only İş Bank and Yapı ve Kredi Bank had branches in Yenışehir district, at Atatürk Boulevard (Hartalı Ankara Rehberi: 1949, 39).

⁵⁰⁹ On his novel called *Bunlar Hep Aynı Olacak*, Necati Cumalı depicts the Ankara of 1940s, where the main character and his friend Selim were studying their lessons in Meclis Parkı and acacia tress were starting to grow branches of fruit (cited in Bozyiğit: 2001, 138).

⁵¹⁰ Even though the garden was still regularly used by the public (Sönmez: 2016, 198) for daily recreational activities during 1940s, in a short amount of time it become neglected in early 1950s.

The daytime entertainment activities also began to emerge between Ulus and *Gençlik Parkı* after the opening of gazinos and coffee houses in the park. These gazinos were taking lots of attraction since most of the popular singers were giving concerts and actors/actresses were organizing shows. In addition to these functions, an amusement park from Italy was installed in *Gençlik Parkı* in 1951, which would later become permanent due to the high demand in 1957. As a result, with its green areas, pool, gazinos, coffee houses and amusement park, *Gençlik Parkı* became the most popular recreational area of Ankara during 1950s. As being the main artery of the city connecting north and south and intersecting *Gençlik Parkı*, Atatürk Boulevard with its wide pedestrian ways filled with trees, green areas and patisseries aligned on both sides (**Figure 199b, c**), also increased its popularity among the residents of Ankara for daily walking and leisure time activities. Öymen depicts Atatürk Boulevard of early 1950s as (2004: 52);

Those years, Atatürk Boulevard was full of green areas (**Figure 199a**). They were planted during 1930s and now they became enormous. The median refuge was wide and also there were trees on that area too. Seasonably, these trees were full of birds tweeting continuously. Even sometimes, they were tweeting so loud that the ones in the patisseries of Atatürk Boulevard could barely hear each other talking.

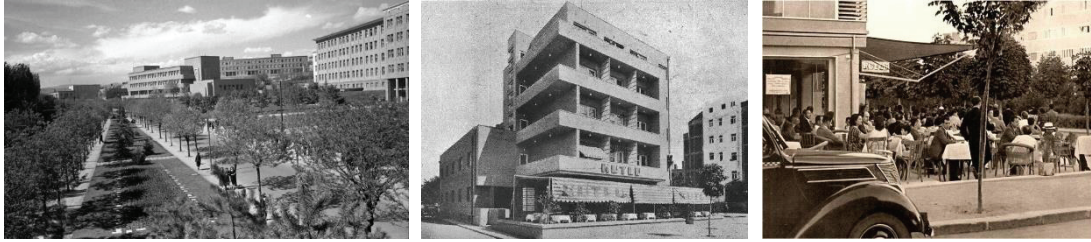


Figure 199 a. Atatürk Boulevard, 1950s (PIN: 2018) **b.** Kutlu Pastanesi, one of the most popular patisserie at Atatürk Boulevard (VEKAM: SMB251) **c.** La Turquie Kemaliste (1940: 70)

While day time entertainment activities were distributed between Ulus Square, *Gençlik Parkı* and Atatürk Boulevard, night time entertainment activities such as gazinos/bars were only concentrated in Çankırı Road⁵¹¹ and taverns/restaurants were

⁵¹¹ Ankara guidebooks lists three bars, which were Nilbar, Tabarinbar and Yenibar, which were located at Çankırı Road: (Hartalı Ankara Rehberi: 1949, 31).

concentrated in Posta Road.⁵¹² Parallel to the increase in the number of gazinos/bars in Çankırı Road, hotels that were mainly serving for tourists and customers of these gazinos/bars started to emerge around these areas.⁵¹³ Among these gazinos, Tabarin Bar was considered as the most popular gazino/bar in Ankara, which was mainly preferred by high-income groups, artists, poets and writers and also by the tourists. An article published in *Ankaramız* magazine introduced Tabarin Bar as follows (Gezici: 1950, 6);

You know Tabarin Bar, don't you? Sweetie, it is the first bar on the left-hand side of the road while going Dışkapı from Ulus. It is our İsmail Bey's bar. Noooo... Don't look at the small door with a narrow corridor that is standing next to the tobacco shop. Let's go inside and see how much you will find it stunning. Ooo, now you hear the saxophone sound from the speaker above the door.

The tobacco shop mentioned above was called *Tütüncü Behçet*/ Tobacco Seller Behçet. It was located at the corner of Rüzgarlı Street and Çankırı Road, right in front of Tabarin Bar (**Figure 207**). Due to its relationship with the customers of Tabarin Bar, Tütüncü Behçet's place was also open late at nights. On the other hand, it was located on one of the busiest streets of Ankara during day time, filled with journalists, politicians and members of the press. Thus, even though it seems like a small place, it was possible to find almost everything ranging from; magazines, snacks and juices, pencil and pencil sharpener, papers etc. It was a small shop surrounded by glass storefronts and had a small window sized front opening. From this opening, only the upper part of the shop's owner was visible (Öymen: 2004, 623). Consequently, Tütüncü Behçet became an important element of Ulus Square and can be considered as one of the first kiosks in Ankara that still functions today.⁵¹⁴

⁵¹² *Şükran*, *Yeni Hayat Lokantası/ Kürdün Meyhanesi* and *Palabıyık* were the most popular restaurants/bars located at Posta Road. Orhan Veli Kanık presided over the group of regulars in Kürdün Meyhanesi and most of the famous authors and poets such as Nurullah Ataç, Ahmet Muhip Dıranas, Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı, Melih Cevdet Anday and Çetin Altan were also the customers of this place.

⁵¹³ Among the 48 hotels that were listed in 1949 guide book, 10 of them were located at Çankırı Road: Çankırı Oteli, Ege Oteli, Emre Palas Oteli, Eskişehir Oteli, Hilal Oteli, Kastamoni ve Civarı Oteli, Meydan Palas Oteli, Sivas Oteli, Tan Oteli, Yenişehir Palas Oteli (**Figure 207**) (Hartalı Ankara Rehberi: 1949, 29-30).

⁵¹⁴ There is still a kiosk on the same spot where Tütüncü Behçet was located.

Physical Aspects

With the several important changes in political, administrative, ideological and financial activities of the state and as by being the centre of the capital, Ulus Square entered into a transformation process in terms of its physical and socio-cultural aspects. Even though Ulus Square was still considered as the main centre due to the concentration of administrative, commercial and leisure time activities, it gradually lost its importance to Kızılay district. Moreover, due to the radical change in the understanding of urbanisation of the state, Ulus Square was considered as the central location of the city needed to be re-organized accordingly.

The first change in the physical aspects of the buildings defining Ulus Square was the transformation of façades of Early Republican buildings, such as Lozan Palas (1926) and PTT (1925). Both buildings facing each other, were constructed on the corner of Posta Road and Atatürk Boulevard. Due to the ideological shift of the government regarding architecture and urban space, both buildings received new facades by removing the architectural features of the previous periods. As it is mentioned before, PTT had already gone through a transformation process during 1930s, where several decorative elements reminding Seljukian architecture were removed from the building (**Figure 200a, b**). This time, the remaining old elements were removed, and the building gained a pure modernist look. (**Figure 200c**).



Figure 200 Transformation of PTT **a.** 1925-1926 (Dericizade: 2016) **b.** 1930s (Dericizade: 2016) **c.** 1950s (ANT: 2018)

Similarly, the decorative elements of Lozan Palas were also removed from the building. The introduction of rectilinear architectural elements strengthened the

modern look of the building (**Figure 201a, b**).⁵¹⁵ After these changes, Lozan Palas changed its name to Park Palas in 1948. For a short period of time it continued to be used intensively as one of the favourable hotels of Ankara until it was sold to a private bank called Akbank⁵¹⁶ In 1951, the hotel was transformed into a bank and till today continued to function as the Ankara branch of Akbank (**Figure 201c**).

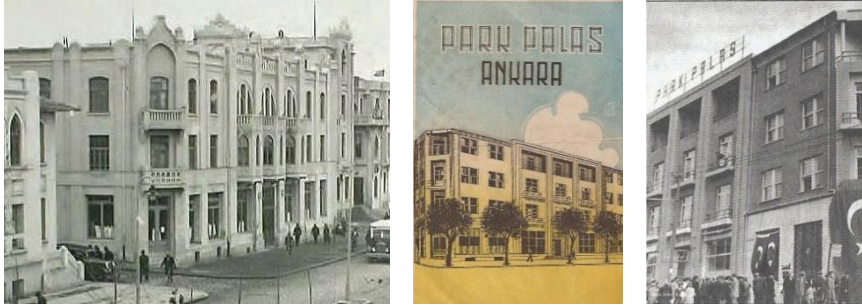


Figure 201 a. Lozan Palas, 1929 (PIN: 2017) **b.** Advertisement of Park Palas (Yavuz İşçen Archive) **c.** Opening day of Akbank, 1951 (Öymen: 2004, 53)

The second important change regarding Ulus Square was the abandonment of the National Assembly by CHP due to the transfer of its properties to the Treasury in 1953. For a short period, this building was utilised by the Ministry of Education and later as a Law School (Erdoğan et al.: 2007b, 113). This significant change would soon have a critical effect on the distribution of functions within Ulus Square, the daily usage and the user profile. In parallel to this, empty lots on Çankırı Road located next to the backyard of the First National Assembly were also filled with 4-5 storey commercial buildings (**Figure 202a-c**). With these new constructions, western parts of Ulus Square formed a more definite edge by the end of 1940s.

⁵¹⁵ Necdet Evliyagil first visited Ankara in 1949, when he was working for Cumhuriyet newspaper as a reporter. He stayed in Park Palas which he described as a newly constructed and therefore the most popular hotel in Ankara (1990: 162).

⁵¹⁶ Akbank was established in 1949 in Adana. Three years after the opening, Park Palas and the building next to it were being sold to the owners of Akbank (Öymen: 2004, 53, 54). By combining these two buildings, Ankara branch of Akbank was redesigned and it was officially opened in 25 October 1951 at Ulus.

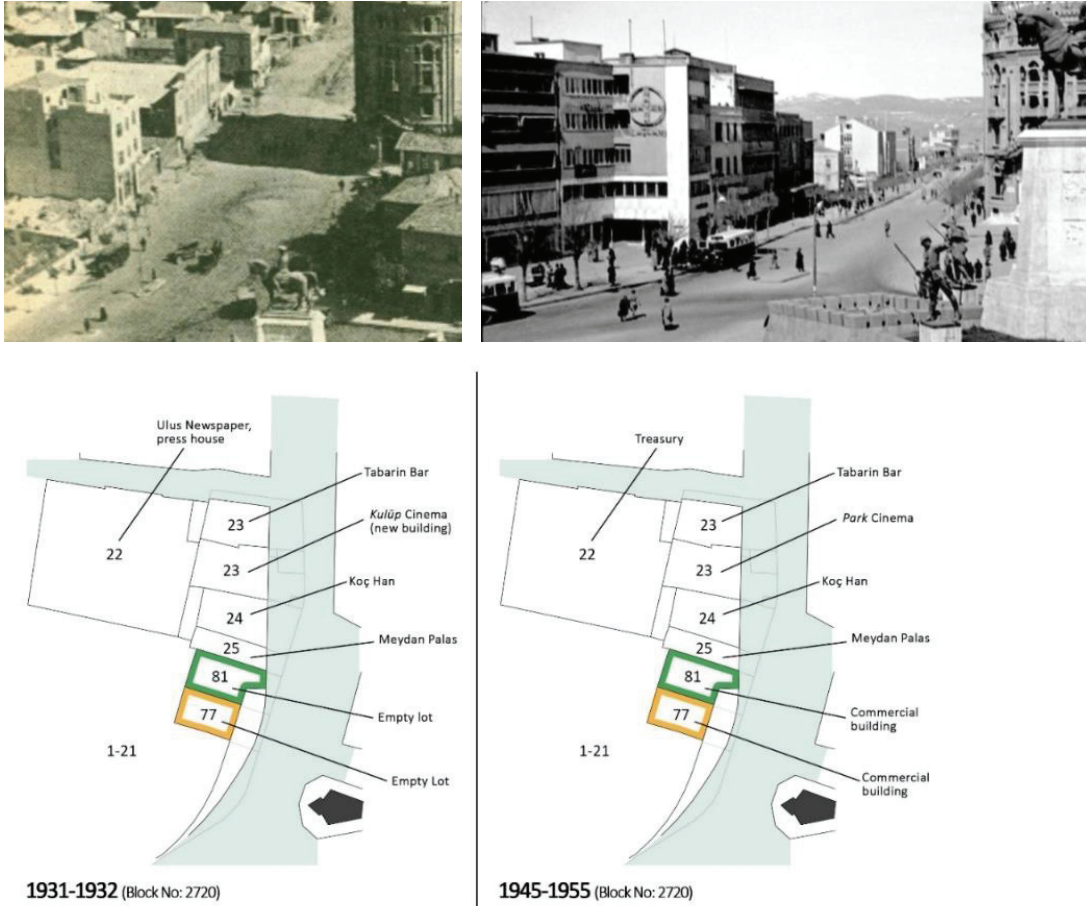


Figure 202 a. Empty lots located on Çankırı Road, next to Meydan Palas (TA: 2016) **b.** Empty lots were filled with commercial buildings, 1940s (TA: 2016) **c.** Transformation of the south-west part of Çankırı Road between 1945 and 1955

The last and most significant change in Ulus Square affecting its physical aspects was the fire the Ministry of Education (former Darülmualimin) in 1947. Even though part of its beautiful garden was demolished, and several small commercial units were constructed in front of the building, it sustained its architectural unity and functional importance for the city until 1940s. Moreover, due to its mass and height proportions, the Ministry of Education was harmonious with the Victory Monument and at the same time was not blocking the view of the castle from the Station area. Unfortunately, a major fire occurred in Darülmualimin resulting with the collapse of the building in 1947 (**Figure 203a, b**). Most of the residents of Ankara remember this fire in detail and therefore this incident also had an important role in the urban memory for

Ankara.⁵¹⁷ Nadire Mumcu, mother of prominent journalist Uğur Mumcu, remembers that day as (cited in Kemal: 1983, 51);

I remember that fire quite clearly. In that night we saw huge flames reaching almost to the sky. An outbreak of fire was happening really close to us. Everybody was running. They said, “The Ministry of Education is burning”. That huge building was burnt to ground within few hours. Somehow, the reason of the fire was never find out. They said communists did it... It also was not proven to be the truth.



Figure 203 a. Cumhuriyet newspaper heading mentions that all documents and folders of the ministry were burnt down (24.12.1947) **b.** A scene from fire (Cumhuriyet: 24.12.1947, 1) **c.** The condition of the building after the fire (TA: 2017)

After the fire, the building was abandoned for a while (**Figure 203c**). To save the image of the Ulus area in which Prime Ministry and the National Assembly buildings were located, the building of the Ministry of Education was demolished (Cengizkan and Kılıçkiran: 2009, 26). Consequently, an architectural project competition was opened in 1952-1953 to redesign the centre of Ankara, for the location of the former Darülmualim (**Figure 204a, b**). The project designed by Orhan Bolak, Orhan Bozkurt and Gazanfer Beken won the competition. While the block placed to create an urban square was found compatible with the tall part of Sümerbank by the jury, it was also found successful in framing the square on that direction. Moreover, the design of the public open space was found proportional as well as successful in directing to the Victory Monument. In addition, the roads, courtyards and the square were positively connected to each other, whereas the shops were easily accessible both from the road and public square (Cengizkan and Kılıçkiran: 2009, 23).

⁵¹⁷ For further impressions of the fire, see: Öymen (2002), Arcayürek (2005), Sönmez (2017).

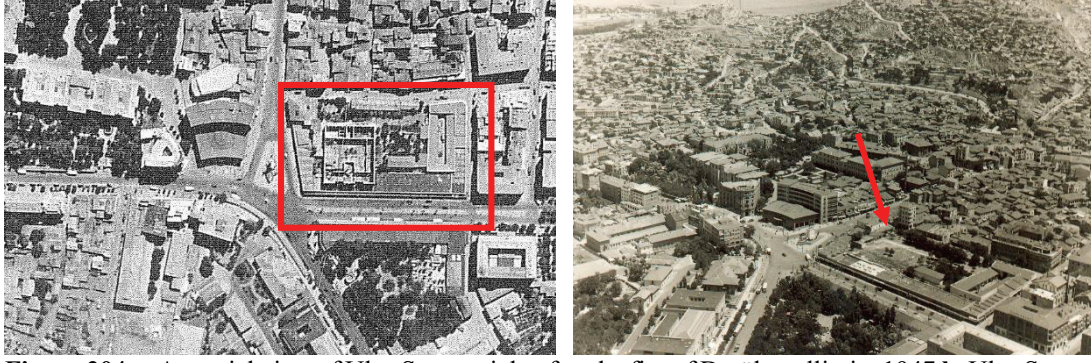


Figure 204 a. An aerial view of Uluş Square right after the fire of Darülmua'llimin, 1947 **b.** Uluş Square in 1953, after the demolition of Darülmua'llimin (VEKAM: 0519)

As a consequence of the multi-party system in Turkey, the effect of state on the dominant architectural style began to diminish. Consequently, the architects were rather under the influence of international forms that were popular as the country became more oriented towards the United States (Sözen: 1984, 273-285). Parallel to this ideology, Celal Bayar – the president of DP period – emphasised their Americanisation strategy by describing a projection for Turkey to become a mini-America within 30 years' time (Cumhuriyet: 21.10.1957, 1). Therefore, it is possible to expect parallel developments in architectural and urban issues too. Most of the architectural works produced in this period had references to the buildings designed in USA. Likewise other commercial buildings of the period, *Uluş İşhanı ve Çarşısı*/ Uluş Office Block and Bazaar (Uluş Bazaar) project was also designed with similar intentions where, rectangular prisms in different heights and convex facades were used on both sides of the tall office block (Aslanoğlu: 1994, 237-238) (**Figure 205**).

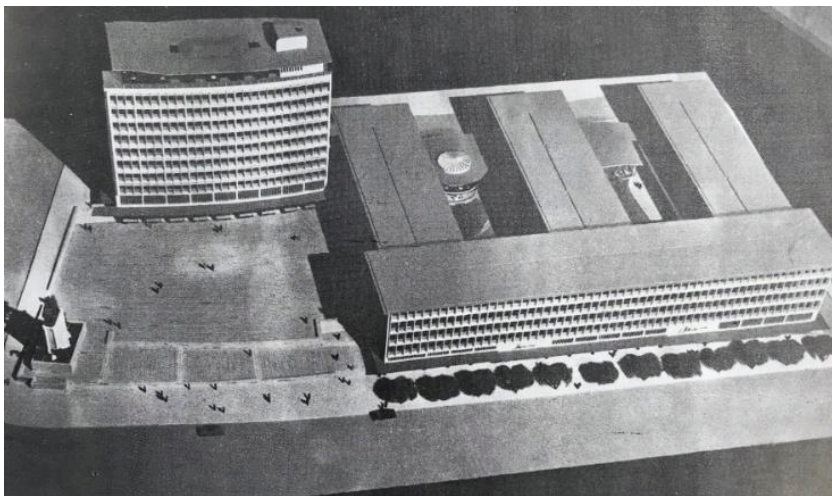


Figure 205 Building model of Uluş Bazaar project (Cengizkan and Kılıçkiran: 2009, 25)

Ulus Bazaar project can be considered as a successful design in terms of its ability to create a more definite and pedestrian friendly urban square and at the same time to gather different functions within one complex in a creative way. Moreover, it is quite important to mention that this design had references to Jansen's ideas developed in 1939 for the same area (**Figure 206a, b**).⁵¹⁸ Regarding the similarities between Jansen's ideas and Ulus Bazaar project, the architects of Ulus Bazaar project probably developed their ideas by interpreting the guidelines of Jansen. The references to Jansen in Ulus Bazaar Project and the re-organization of Ulus Square can be listed as; the transfer of the Victory Monument from the middle of Karaoğlan to the south on an elevated level from the ground, creating a vehicle free public open space on the corner of Karaoğlan and Atatürk Boulevard for gatherings and meetings, and placing rectangular blocks with different heights around this public open space to create a more definite area.

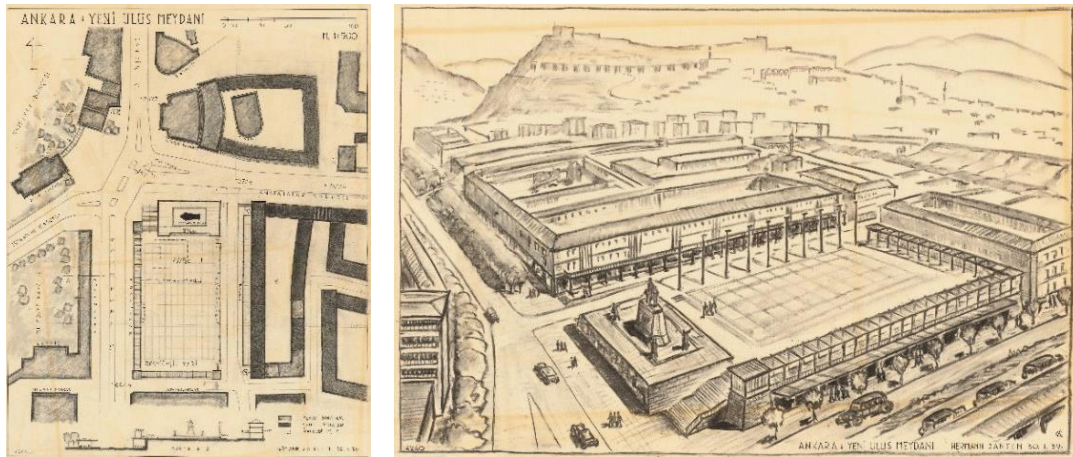


Figure 206 Jansen's partial drawings prepared in 1939 called *Ankara: Yeni Ulus Meydanı*/ Ankara: New Ulus Square **a.** Site Plan (Hermann Jansen: Projekte: In. No: 22786) **b.** Perspective (Hermann Jansen: Projekte: In. No: 22787)

By analysing Jansen's ideas to develop guidelines and harmonising them with their own understanding of architectural design, Bolak, Bozkurt and Beken answered the needs of this area in a creative way. Therefore, Ulus Bazaar project is a successful example of its own period that developed skilful solutions to functional and physical problems of the area. Although, the jury also evaluated the project in a similar way,

⁵¹⁸ As an architect and city planner, Jansen did not only designed the cities but also he proposed numerous architectural details. Therefore during 1930s, it was possible to find several correlations between the architectural features defined on Jansen's drawings and what architects propose for the same area (Cengizkan: 2012, 137-140).

they suggested several alterations before its implementation. The construction of the building eventually started in 1955 and later triggered a series of other physical changes in Ulus Square during 1960s.

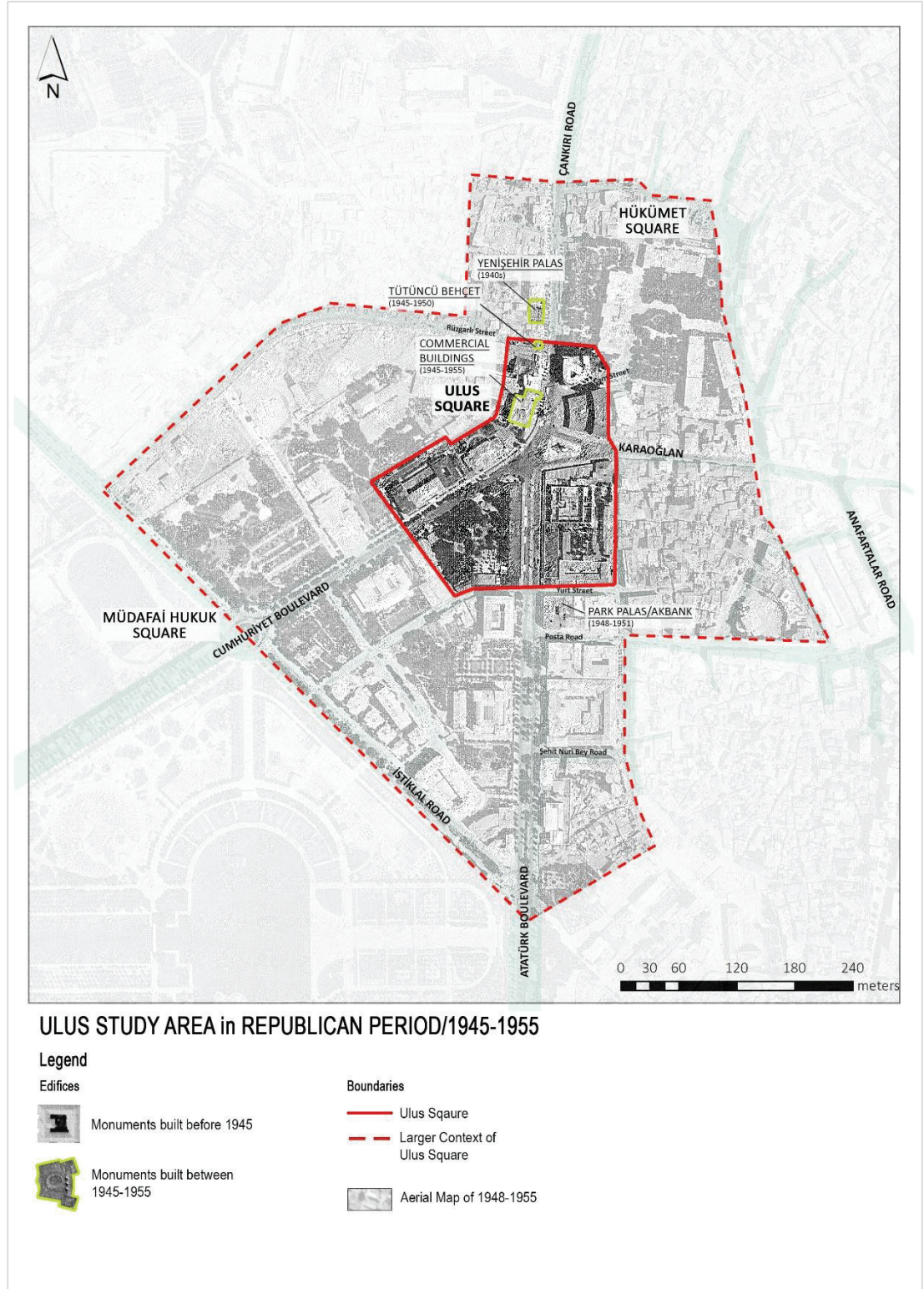


Figure 207 Ulus Study Area in Republican Period/ 1945-1955 (1948-1955 Aerial Photo is utilised as the basemap)⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁹ Date of the photo is not written on the document, therefore possible period is determined through an analysis on the existence or absence of the buildings visible on the photo. Darülmualimin is demolished and therefore the

4.2.2. A New Understanding of Urban Space and Relocation of the City Centre (1955-1980)

This part examines the two major developments that radically affected the physical character and urban structure of Ulus Square and its close vicinity. As a part of the urban policies of DP government between 1955 and 1965, the reorganisation of urban spaces reminding the single-party period increased extensively. Among these areas, Ulus Square and its close vicinity, representing the early Republican period of Ankara, was the focus of urban activities. Consequently, a major part of the lands within the area were demolished through expropriations to create space for the implementation of a series of projects. These projects were introducing a completely new understanding of architecture, urban space and daily life in Ulus Square. In addition to the idea of creating a new space that could represent DP period of Ankara, most of these projects also aimed at regeneration of Ulus Square since it began to lose its importance parallel to the rise of Kızılay and Kavaklıdere areas. Even though the master plan of Yücel-Uybadin emphasised Ulus Square as the main city centre, late 1960s witnessed a gradual decline of the square. Concurrently, with the shift of main functions to Kızılay, a socio-cultural transformation also began. By the end of 1970s, the physical, functional, socio-cultural, and political meaning of Ulus Square completely changed, and a new period began for the square.

Implementation of Ulus Project and Yücel-Uybadin Plan

Starting from 1951 and increased gradually in the following years, the government of Adnan Menderes (prime minister of DP) developed several regulations and implementation strategies not only in economy and politics but also in urban issues that were completely new to Turkey. Due to the fact that, 1950-1953 period of wealth that was considered as an achievement of DP governance came to an end, and starting from 1955 the crises caused by external and internal economic problems increased rapidly (Keyder: 1987, 45). Even the attempts of getting financial help from USA to pursue a drastic re-stabilization program did not help to recess the devastating

photo cannot be dated before 1948. Additionally Ulus Bazaar Project was not implemented and this proves that the aerial photo cannot be dated after 1955. Most probably, it was taken during late 1940s (1948 or 1949), but for a reliable information dating for this photo is defined as 1948-1955.

economic problems of Turkey.⁵²⁰ Therefore, as a political tactic, Prime Minister Menderes deflected domestic attention from financial failure of DP, to more convenient issues such as development and infrastructure issues of big cities as a national problem.

All around the country but especially in İstanbul and in Ankara, DP was determined to embark on urban activities mainly concentrated in expropriations, demolitions and the construction of massive buildings and opening of wide roads. The production of an American city image composed of wide roads, boulevards and squares filled with automobiles and skyscrapers was the main aim of DP government, which was also promoted as the image of contemporary city at the same time. To achieve this goal, on July 1956 *İmar Kanunu*/ the Development Law (n. 6785) was enacted.⁵²¹ The concepts such as master plan⁵²², macro form of the cities, transportation systems, urban infrastructure and patterns of social reinforcement, implementation development plan were all introduced by this law (Köroğlu and Ölmez: 2002, 17-18). In addition to this, this law allowed the central authority to control the development plans, put into practice the public interest approach in development plans and allowed the expropriation of private land (Ayataç: 2000, 112).⁵²³ On the other hand, it had major defects⁵²⁴ such as the allowance of expropriation of lands that helped the state in reshaping the urban tissue in a short amount of time.

In order to aid the administrative bodies to continue their urban activities in an easier way, *İstislak Kanunu*/ the Law of Expropriation was effectuated on 8 September 1956. This law became an important tool for demolishing existing urban tissue in a

⁵²⁰ Additionally series of chaotic situations between different socio-cultural, religious and political groups of Turkey (such as 6-7 September Incidents) had occurred as a result of changing strategies of DP government. These incidents eventuated in the first coup d'état of Turkey mainly staged by young Turkish military officers.

⁵²¹ Started with 1848/ *Ebniye Nizamnamesi* and evolved into *İmar Kanunu*/ The Law of Development in 1956, this regulation was considered as the fundamentals of urban planning theory and practices in Turkey (Köroğlu and Ölmez: 2002, 17).

⁵²² It was one year before the Master Plan competition for Ankara was organized and won by Yücel-Uybadin. But the implementation could start in 1957, after the Law of Development was put in force.

⁵²³ Two years later on 14 May 1958, The Ministry of Development was established.

⁵²⁴ Main principles and guidelines to be followed on a master plan were not defined in detail and therefore urban and master plans became deficient. Moreover, the law set conditions on the land subdivision during the preparation of master plans, which also caused an improper utilization of urban lands considering the understanding of modern urban planning (İnkaya: 1972, 59).

faster and legal way to open wide roads and at the same time to construct massive blocks. Even though several decrees were issued by GEEAYK against the demolition of historic monuments, most of the municipalities did not follow their decisions. Consequently, starting from 1956, historic tissue of big cities, especially İstanbul⁵²⁵, started to be demolished one by one. Meanwhile, Ankara as the capital city of Turkey, also witnessed a period of transformation to a certain extent. Main arteries and squares of the city were widened⁵²⁶, and massive blocks were introduced through a series of urban operations. With these activities, on one hand the city adapted the increase in population to a certain extent, but on the other hand a complete annihilation process started for the plan of Jansen (Tekeli: 1982, 71). Moreover, the regulation – issued by *Yapı ve Yollar Kanunu*/ the Law of Building and Roads (1933) – allowing the determination of building heights in reference to the width of the roads, was also recognised by the Development Law. In this way, the opening of wide roads simply triggered the demolition of existing small-scale buildings and construction of higher ones.

The last important change that affected the physical, functional and visual aspects in Ankara and Ulus Square, was the preparation of a master plan in mid 1950s. Since starting from late 1930s Jansen Plan lost its validity, and Ankara was growing faster than expected⁵²⁷, a new master plan became a necessity. But on the other hand, the ruling elites and notable figures were still trying to control the urban activities as it was used to be in the Early Republican period. Because of this reason, in 1954 an international competition for a master plan for Ankara was announced and a Turkish team composed of Nihat Yücel-Raşit Uybadin won in 1955.⁵²⁸

⁵²⁵ Since İstanbul was the favourite city of DP, most of the urban activities were concentrated in this city. DP took several actions to expropriate lands for physically and economically transforming İstanbul. For details of their urban activities in İstanbul between 1950 and 1957 see İstanbul'un Kitabı (1957), Kuban (1993), Şahenk (1996) and Özler (2007).

⁵²⁶ During his duty as a military serviceman in Ankara, Mercure remembers that the city of Ankara was in the process of a large repaving project during 1956s (2012: 100).

⁵²⁷ During 1940s, Ankara was growing fast and indiscriminately. Jansen estimated a population of 300.000 for Ankara within 50 years, but even before when it was 1950 the population had reached to 288.000.

⁵²⁸ The jury consisted of experienced planners like Sir Patrick Abercrombie (England), Prof. Gustav Oelsner (Germany) and Prof. Luigi Piccinato (Italy). The plan was approved by the Council of Ministers and the implementation process started in 1957.

Yücel-Uybadin Plan aspired to perpetuate the culturalist city⁵²⁹ approach of Jansen's first plan, and aimed to prevent further growth and density by directing new developments on the north-south axis of the city (Günay: 2012). But on the other hand, the plan proposed the development of Ankara as a single-centred city within the existing limits with high density (Kayasü: 2005, 176). In the plan report of Yücel-Uybadin, Ulus Square and its close vicinity is defined as follows (1957: 8);

Main commercial and protocol area of the city is concentrated around today's Ulus Square, Samapazarı district and Anafartalar Road that connects them to each other. In addition to this centre, there is also a region for commerce that have started to emerge around Kızılay. In the course of time, this area will be more populated with offices, entertainment places, restaurants, gazinos and retail shops. But Ulus will not change and will remain as the main centre of the city and will continue to develop accordingly.

It can be analysed from the plan report that, Yücel-Uybadin Plan considered Kızılay not as a rapidly growing city centre but as a sub-area that would be utilised mainly for entertainment and small business facilities. By not foreseeing the development of Kızılay and the tendency of the city centre to shift from Ulus Square to Kızılay district, Yücel-Uybadin Plan was inefficient to control and direct the complex urban relationships and development activities took place at the two centres of the city.⁵³⁰ As a result, late 1950s and early 1960s witnessed an arbitrary transformation of Ulus and Kızılay Squares with the minor implementation decisions made by the Ankara Municipality and Directorate of Urban Development.⁵³¹ Among these minor decisions, the expropriation of lands located at Karaoğlan and the construction activities for Ulus Bazaar project were the major determinant of this period initiating

⁵²⁹ 1928 Jansen Plan tried to incorporate social values with the values of new regime in line with the culturalist Garden City understanding (Günay, cited in Atıcı: 2018, 48). One of the main features of the Garden City was the idea of a garden ring that would lay at the centre of the city, and composed of civic and cultural complex including the city hall, a concert hall, museum, theatre, library and hospital (Encyclopedia Britannica: 2018).

⁵³⁰ Considering the incorrect projection for future population, its limited proposals for newly developed areas and the emerging squatter areas, and its negligence of historic areas, Bademli suggests that "the plan was born dead" (1994: 164).

⁵³¹ The first regulation issued by the Directorate of Urban Development to constrict the historic area labelled by Jansen as the protocol area, was realised by the Yücel-Uybadin Plan. With this regulation, a part of Samanpazarı was removed from the protocol area. Later in 1960, the second regulation was issued, and the protocol area shrunk to the left of the citadel (Keleş: 1971, 164).

a substantial transformation of Ulus Square and its close vicinity both in physical and later in socio-cultural aspects.

While the construction of Ulus Bazaar began, expropriations of lands located at Karaoğlu and Bankalar Road also started in 1956 (Şapolyo: 1971, 63), right after the law of expropriations.⁵³² Within one night, more than hundred buildings were evacuated (Milliyet: 13.09.1956). These buildings located on both sides of Karaoğlu included İstanbul Pastanesi/Oteli, five attached shops of the municipality, Kızılırmak Kiraathanesi, on the south, and Yeni Cinema, Kayseri Han, Cumhuriyet Yıldız Lokantası, the photographic studio and several other two-storey commercial buildings on the north dating back to the late 19th and early 20th century were all demolished.⁵³³ Not only traditional buildings facing Karaoğlu but also the ones located on the northern and southern parts of the street were also demolished.⁵³⁴ At the end of the expropriation and demolishment activities, except Zincirli Mosque and Hallaç Mahmud Masjid, a large historical area (**Figure 208a, b**) composed of traditional residential and commercial buildings, was completely diminished from the map.⁵³⁵

⁵³² First demolishment activities started at the land where Darülmüallimin and attached shops of Özel İdare Bazaar were located. Later these activities had continued till the end of 1960s with the demolishment of City Garden, buildings located on both sides of Karaoğlu, residential areas and Esen Park located at Samanpazarı area and Ulucanlar Bazaar (Dinçer: 2014, 55-56).

⁵³³ For detailed information on the shops that were demolished after the Law of Expropriation, at Karaoğlu see; Dinçer: 2014, 41-45, 50 Yıllık Yaşantımız: 1975, 52, Bozyiğit: 1999, 173.

⁵³⁴ Uğur Mumcu (journalist and an author) remembers that his grandfather's house located at Ulus, was demolished during the urban activities in 1956 (Kemal: 1983, 46).

⁵³⁵ Since historic urban areas were not considered as a subject of conservation in the world until mid-1960s, only principles for conservation of monuments with their immediate surroundings were discussed in detail. Parallel to the developments in the world, GEEAYK issued similar regulations concentrating on the conservation of monuments and their surroundings. Especially, GEEAYK's role in protecting these assets from expropriation and demolishment activities became critical during late 1950s. Even though GEEAYK was quite successful in terms of developing measures and making decisions for building scale conservation, due to the lack of the idea of conserving historic urban tissue in its integrity, there were no significant actions of GEEAYK regarding this issue. Therefore, during the urban activities at Karaoğlu and its close vicinity, historic monuments such as Zincirli Mosque and Hallaç Mahmud Masjid were conserved, whereas the rest of the traditional urban tissue was demolished to create additional space for new buildings and wide roads.

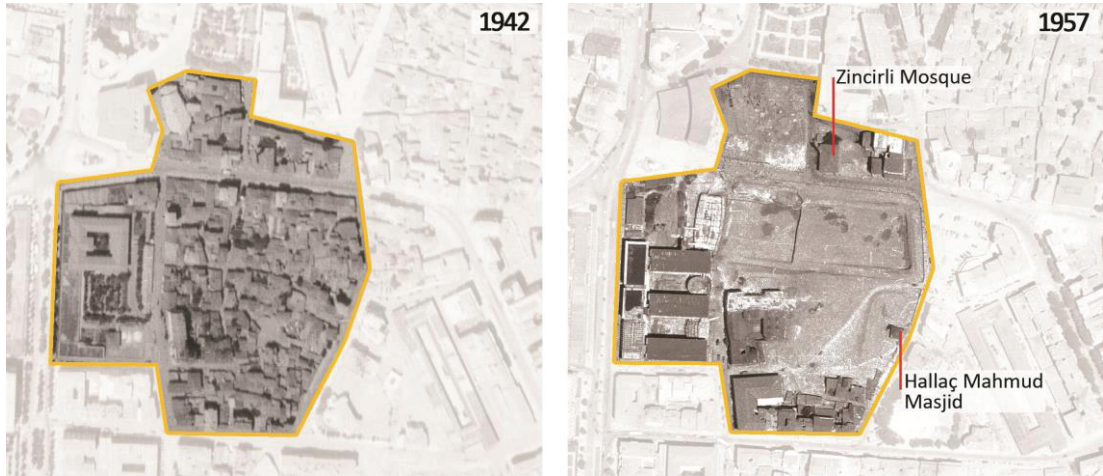


Figure 208 Comparison of Karaoğlu and its close vicinity before and after the demolishment **a.** 1942, Karaoğlu was surrounded by traditional urban fabric **b.** 1957, Zincirli Mosque and Hallaç Mahmud Masjid were still standing

For the owners of the shops demolished at Karaoğlu and Ulus Square, municipality searched for a place to build temporary shops. The first location offered was Şehir Garden, since it was so neglected that it was not utilized intensively anymore by the public for leisure time activities. In a short amount of time, the shops of Özel İdare Bazaar facing Bankalar Road were demolished and the construction of the new *han* started immediately (Şapolyo: 1969, 164). It was designed like a shopping centre composed of small shops with diverse commercial functions. Opened in 1956 with the name of *Şehir Çarşısı*/ City Bazaar (Şehir Bazaar), this shopping area was designed as a green courtyard surrounded with one storey attached shops facing Bankalar Road and Cumhuriyet Boulevard (**Figure 209a, b**).

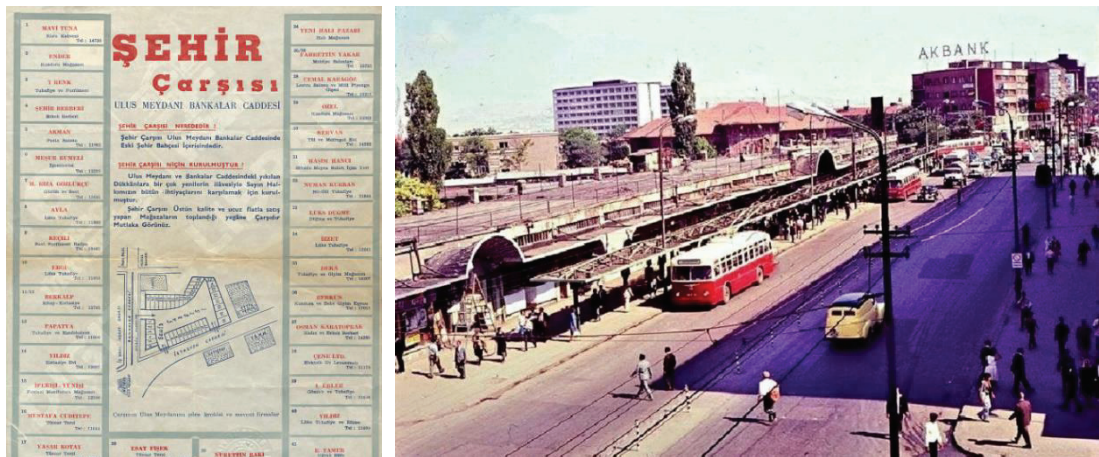


Figure 209 a. A flyer announcing the opening of *Şehir Çarşısı*/ Şehir Bazaar (PIN: 2017) **b.** Şehir Bazaar, 1963 (ETF: 2018)

With the construction of these shops on the location of Şehir Garden, the green area percentage at Ulus Square decreased radically (**Figure 210a, b**). After the opening of Şehir Bazaar composed of shops such as famous Akman Bozacısı⁵³⁶ and several others, usage intensity of this location increased immediately.

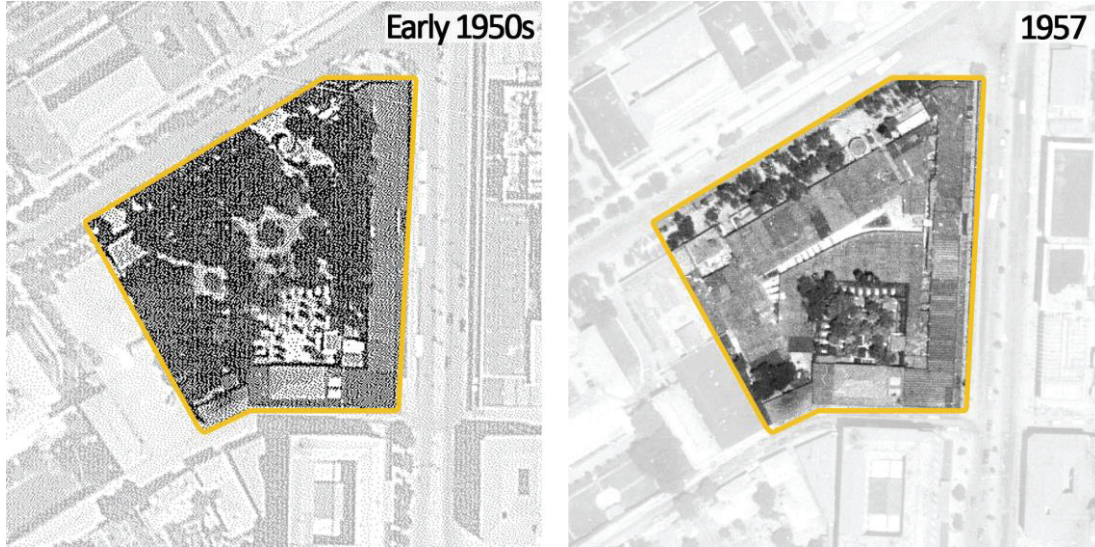


Figure 210 a. Early 1950s: Before Şehir Bazaar, only a small part of Şehir Garden facing Bankalar Road was filled with the shops **b.** 1957: Additional shops were built around the green courtyard

The Municipality also build additional shops in Sıhhiye area, in the empty open space located between Opera house and railway bridge (Şenyapılı: 1985, 163) (**Figure 211a-c**). Again, attached one storey units were temporarily constructed in this area to house the rest of the demolished shops. Ömer Faruk Erdem explains the story of their family pharmacy called İstanbul Eczanesi and the transfer of their pharmacy to Sıhhiye area as (cited in Cengizkan and Kılıçkiran: 2009, 27);

Our pharmacy was established in 1919, on Anafartalar Road. It was established in a district called Karaoğlan. Karaoğlan was a shopping centre back then. Later on, when that area was demolished single-row temporary shops were built, on the opposite side of Dil Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi, on the place where todays Court House is located. Before it was built İncesu River was flowing there (**Figure 211b**). Those were being evacuated from Karaoğlan, moved to the single-row shops located on the opposite side of Dil Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi. They stayed there for three years and when the construction of this block (Ulus Bazaar) was over, in 1960 they came back here.

⁵³⁶ After the demolishment of their shops located at Cihan Street, opposite of Zincirli Mosque, Akman Bozacısı moved into Şehir Bazaar and stayed there till the opening of the lower blocks of Ulus Bazaar in 1960 (Akman: 2011, 214).

With the opening of these temporary commercial buildings, the gap that had previously separated Kızılay and Ulus Square started to shrink and from then on Sıhhiye started to function as a secondary commercial spot uniting Ulus and Kızılay squares, as main centres of the city through Atatürk Boulevard (**Figure 211a-c**). However, this temporary transfer of main commercial activities from Ulus Square to Sıhhiye caused a decline in the usage intensity of Ulus Square and its close vicinity. Moreover, southern parts of Atatürk Boulevard, which were previously used for residential and entertainment purposes, started to be utilised also for commercial activities. As a result, in a short amount of time, Sıhhiye became an important area not only for shopping or leisure time activities but also for the officials using Atatürk Boulevard to walk through during rush hours. For this reason, in the following years till the opening of the lower blocks of Ulus Bazaar in 1960, main user profile of Ulus Square continued to use Sıhhiye for commercial purposes.

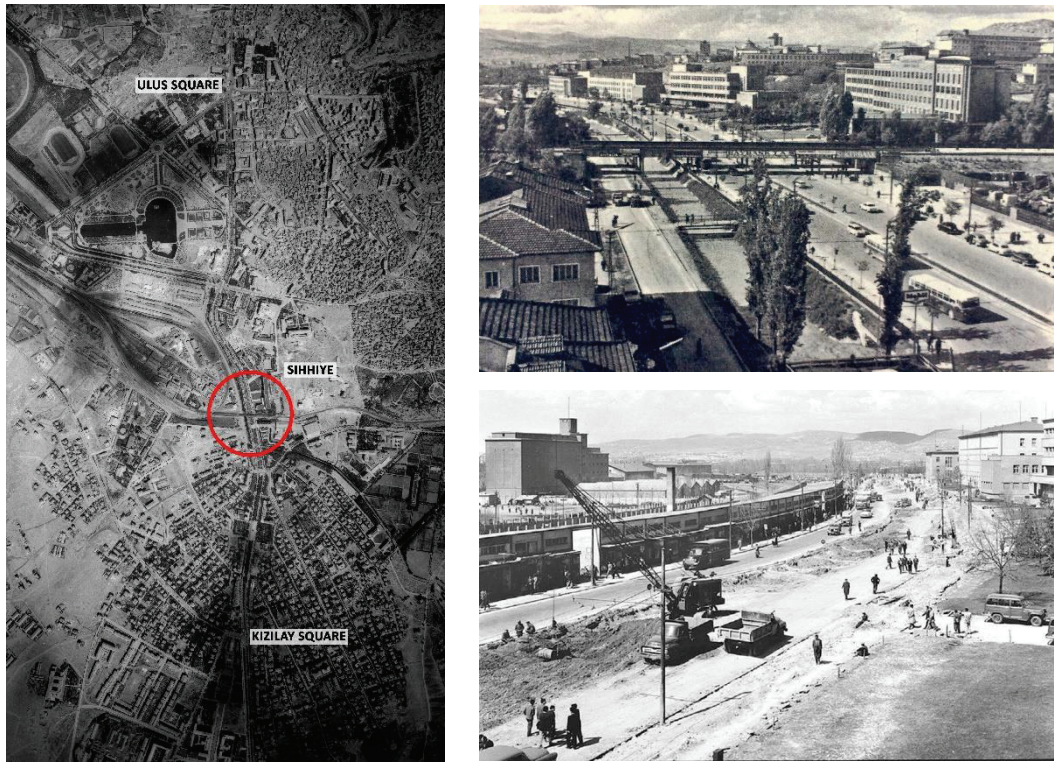


Figure 211 a. Aerial photo of Ankara; Sıhhiye is labelled with red circle **b.** Before widening of Atatürk Boulevard at Sıhhiye District; İncesu River was flowing, 1962 (WOW: 2016) **c.** After closing the river basin of İncesu river⁵³⁷; works for widening of Atatürk Boulevard continues, commercial temporary units were located on the west part of the road, 1963 (AA: 2017)

⁵³⁷ Starting from the end of 1950s, a systematic basin closure operation was carried out for the parts of Hatip Çayı-Bent Deresi and İncesu River that are visible in Ankara. During these operations bridges were demolished and wide roads were paved on top of the river basins (Tamur: 2012, 12) (**Figure 211b, c**).

In 1960, activities for the re-organisation of open spaces around Ulus Bazaar also began. As part of Ulus Bazaar project, a square shaped open space was proposed for pedestrians in between the northern part of the lower block and the higher block. Parallel to the implementation of the project, the Victory Monument was transferred from its original place at Karaoğlan to the north-west corner of this open area (**Figure 212a-c**). According to Yalım, after its transfer, the monument was no longer the focus of the square, where public gatherings could be held, but rather appeared out to be a part of the new commercial building (2001: 158). On the other hand, Kortan states that, the monument was standing all alone in the past, whereas after this project it became an integral part of a whole. This part is quite successful; but what bring success to that part was the buildings located behind and beside. All together they become united (cited in Cengizkan and Kılıçkiran: 2009, 96).

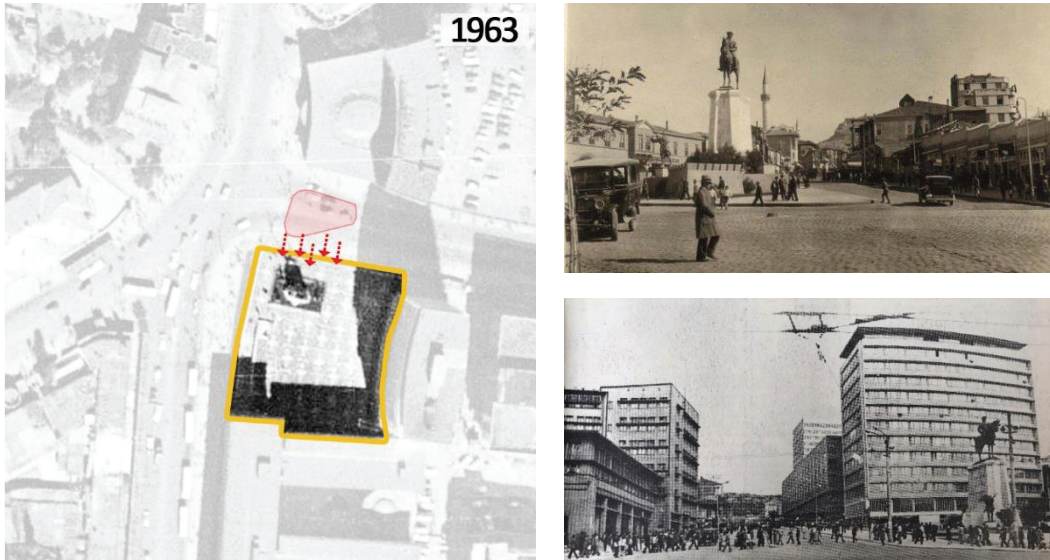


Figure 212 a. Transfer of the monument from its original location to the south **b.** Original location of the monument, late 1920s (TA: 2015) **c.** After the transfer of the Victory Monument (50 Yıllık Yaşantımız: 1975, 53)

The Victory Monument was one of the most important ideological landmarks of Ankara that can easily be seen while approaching Ulus Square from different directions. It was erected specifically in the middle of Karaoğlan, where the view of the castle was creating a background. Moreover, the direction of the monument facing the First Assembly Building was also giving clear message to the observer. Moreover, to isolate the monument where most of its surroundings were composed of lower

buildings, was a decision to increase the impact of the Victory Monument on the users of Ulus Square. Therefore, the transfer of the monument to its new location had both positive and negative effects on its perception by the public.

The higher block of Ulus Bazaar created a barrier where the visual continuity between the First National Assembly, the Victory Monument and the Castle was interrupted especially while approaching Ulus Square from the train station. Additionally, because of the proportions of Ulus Bazaar, the Victory Monument became less visible compared to its previous location.⁵³⁸ While these aspects had a negative impact on how the monument perceived, the Victory Monument became a part of a designed, definite public open space in its new location (**Figure 213a**). Being considered as a successful urban design project, the public open space of Ulus Project, is surrounded by massive blocks of Ulus Bazaar that created a new context for the monument and a new way of relating with the public.⁵³⁹

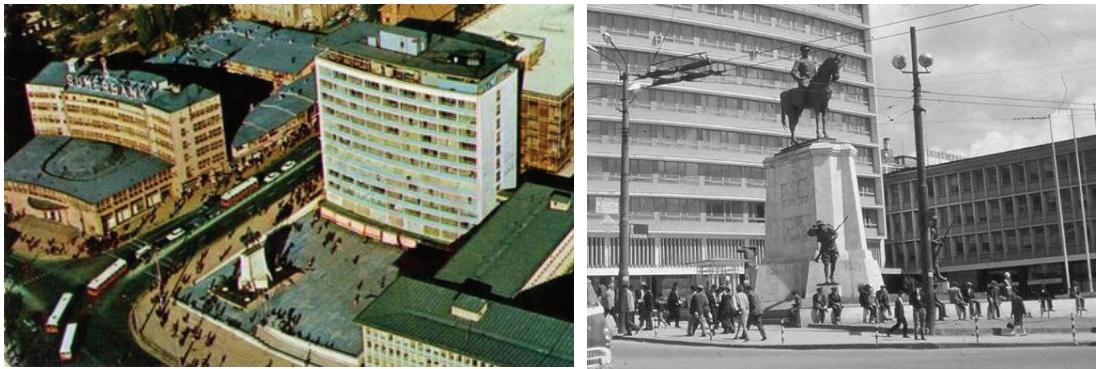


Figure 213 a. Victory Monument within its new context (Dericizade: 2016) **b.** Base of the monument utilised as a bench (TA: 2016)

First of all, the Victory Monument was not standing in the middle of a road anymore but it became a part of the public open space separate from the vehicular traffic. By being more accessible, the monument that was previously treated only as a landmark,

⁵³⁸ Yıldırım Yavuz also emphasises that it is unfortunate for Ulus Bazaar project to be designed without considering the vista. Nevertheless he still considers the project as a pioneer of its period regarding the modernity and internationalism of Turkey (cited in Cengizkan and Kılıçkiran: 2009, 95-96).

⁵³⁹ Several scholars define the reasons why Ulus Bazaar Project is a successful example for its period. Aslanoğlu states that the building complex was a summary of the 1950s architectural trends of 1950s with its design concept, form, materials used, and structural aspects. In addition to that, Balamir emphasises the strong public features of the project and its role to gather the community and at the same time create a background for the monument. Pamir evaluates this project as a successful urban design with its scale and composition (all cited in Cengizkan and Kılıçkiran: 2009, 95-97).

was transformed into an everyday object that was frequently utilised by the public both as a landmark to gather around, as a spot for meetings, as a background for memory pictures and also as a street furniture to sit on (**Figure 213b**). In this way, the relationship between the monument and the public entered a new phase.

After the transfer of the monument and the demolishment of traditional buildings within the area, Karaoğlu started to lose its ideological meaning for the city in terms of its relation to the War of Independence and proclamation of the Republic. Moreover, usage of this street for gatherings, meetings and celebrations also started to decline accordingly, and the street was transformed into a central commercial axis. This commercial character of Karaoğlu was intensified gradually with the opening of Ulus Bazaar in early 1960s. With this transformation, the name *Karaoğlu* gradually diminished from the daily life and the name Anafartalar Road was used to refer this street by the end of 1950s.⁵⁴⁰

Before the opening of Ulus Bazaar, Turkey witnessed its first coup d'état that created a significant change in the political and administrative system of Turkey and paused all activities related to the state for a period of time. Becoming increasingly authoritarian, DP governance not only exploited populist manipulation of religious and national sentiments of the discontented population (Ahmad cited in Kuyucu: 2005, 373), but also issued several anti-democratic actions and regulations. Moreover, the rising problems between groups with different socio-cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds and the limited response of DP government to prevent the tension, resulted with the military intervention on 27 May 1960.⁵⁴¹

The constitution prepared after the coup d'état in 1961⁵⁴² is often accepted as the most liberal constitution of Turkey considering its providence for extensive basic rights and

⁵⁴⁰ Although the municipality renamed the street Anafartalar Road in the early Republican period, the inhabitants continued to use the name Karaoğlu in their daily lives. After the demolishment of the main buildings defining Karaoğlu, the name also diminished from the memories of the public.

⁵⁴¹ For further information: See Kuyucu (2005), Güven (2011), Eroğlu (1987)

⁵⁴² The Turkish Constitution of 1961, had a provision related with the role of the state on conservation of monuments and properties with historic significance. As a part of the regulations prepared in parallel to the 1961 Constitution, the Ministry of Culture started a project within the territory of historic Ankara in 1964, for

liberties for individuals as well as democratic actors including trade unions and other non-governmental organizations that balance the transformation process of democratic Turkey (Örmeci: 2016, Tekeli: 1978, 179, Ertuğrul: 2008, 103-104, and Kaynar: 2015, 687). During this period, several important developments in urban issues were also taken into consideration and previous laws and regulations were replaced.⁵⁴³

Concurrently in 1960, lower blocks of Ulus Bazaar project were completed and most of the commercial units temporarily located either at Sıhhiye or Şehir Bazaar moved back to their permanent place. Three years after, in 1963, the higher block at the back of the Victory Monument was also completed and started to be used mainly by private offices and small businesses. In a short period of time, additional to its architectural and urban space values, Ulus Bazaar played an important role in the formation of new values attached to Ulus Square (Savaşır, cited in Cengizkan and Kılıçkiran: 2009, 98). However, due to the lack of an efficient development plan for Ankara, like other minor implementations, life span of Ulus Bazaar and its impact on regenerating the decline of the square was quite short.

As discussed previously, Yücel-Uybadin Plan did not suggest a new CBD, or a hierarchic sub-centre system. Thus, while the traditional Ulus CBD struggled to continue its functionality, a spontaneous centre started to emerge in Kızılay (Gökçe: 2008, 118). Eventually, within a period lacking planning decisions for the development of two centres in Ankara, the spontaneous shift of the city centre from Ulus Square to Kızılay began in the early 1960s. Especially the section of Atatürk Boulevard between Kızılay and Sıhhiye gained importance and in the following years, Kızılay started to be utilized as the main centre of Ankara.⁵⁴⁴ In order to understand

identification and documentation of the buildings to be conserved. Even though this attempt was considered as the first study on historic properties and monuments within the territory of Historic Ankara, it was insufficient to analyse the site as a whole.

⁵⁴³ In the early 1960s the government adopted a planned development approach by establishing several new agencies. For instance, *Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı*/ The State Planning Agency was established to revive the statist development model that was harmed during the 1950s under the rule of DP. Additionally, significant regulations and laws related to construction and urban development activities were put into force immediately.

⁵⁴⁴ Until 1955, the most expensive lands were located at Ulus area, whereas starting from 1955 land prices of Kızılay started to increase. Starting from 1960, lands located at Kızılay district became more expensive than the ones at Ulus area (Şenyapılı: 1985, 146). This change in the land prices clearly shows the shift of the centre from Ulus to Kızılay starting from 1960's.

this shift and its effects on the Ulus Square between 1955 and 1970, the transformation of physical, functional and socio-cultural character of Ankara should be discussed in detail.

The Role of Laws and Regulations in Physical Transformation of Ankara

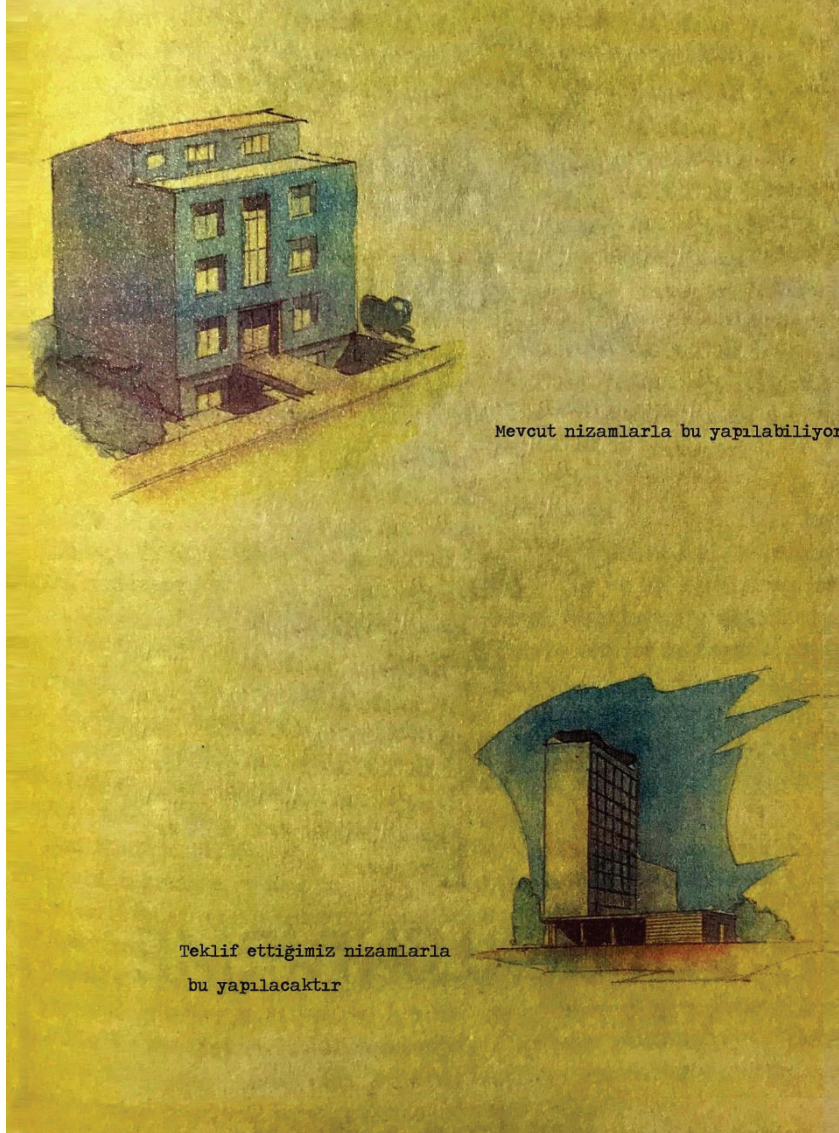


Figure 214 A poster attached to the Plan Report of Yücel Uybadin: “This can be done with the existing urban regulations” and “This will be done with the regulations that we propose” (1957: 18).

Short after the Yücel-Uybadin Plan, a revised plan proposal *Bölge Kat Nizamı*/ District Height Regulation was approved in 1961 (Çalışkan: 2009, 34) (**Figure 214**).⁵⁴⁵ Even

⁵⁴⁵ In the plan report of Yücel Uybadin (section: Building Heights), the term *aesthetics* was used for the first time as “if construction of high buildings is allowed... it will be possible to give an aesthetic beauty to the city” (Cengizkan: 2005, 34).

though the plan was a positive response to density requisitions, how it was implemented became questionable. With the inexactness of this revised plan and the impact of other regulations on urban issues, starting from 1960s a new *development by destruction* period began for Ankara.

In 1965, *Kat Mülkiyeti Kanunu*/ the Condominium Law or Law of Property (n. 634) was enacted⁵⁴⁶. With this law, ownership rights could be established for separate or particular parts of the property (such as a flat, apartment, office bureau, or shop) (*Turkish Condominium Law, Article 1*). Even though this law can be considered as a breakthrough regarding the ownership issues⁵⁴⁷, it had negative impacts on the urban tissue. With the approval of multiple ownership on the same land and individual ownership for separate flats, a considerable amount of existing privately-owned empty lands were gradually filled with high/wide buildings with the help of entrepreneurs⁵⁴⁸. As a result, in a short amount of time, the urban density of main arteries, urban squares and streets of Ankara increased without the control of a development plan.

While the Law of Condominium causing a rapid urbanisation in Ankara lacking infrastructure, to control the construction activities, administrators modified the plans prepared for District Height Regulation in 1961. By approving the increase in number of floors, it was aimed to slow down the expansion of new constructions, and rather increase the density of the current urban tissue. These new plans identifying the floor numbers in the existing districts were approved in 1968. These plans enabled the middle-income groups to cope with the high land prices and led to the construction of densely habited residential areas (Kayasü: 2005, 177).

⁵⁴⁶ Before this law, all buildings constructed on a specific land were considered as an inseparable part of the land and therefore should be registered to the Land Registry together with the land itself. For this reason, the ownership of an individual flat apart from the land and building did not exist in Turkey (Ansay: 1996, 143).

⁵⁴⁷ The Condominium Law decreased the intensity of land speculations by increasing the number of urban land owners, flat ownerships and joint tenancy status (İnkaya: 1972, 59).

⁵⁴⁸ Called as *yap-satıcı*/ builder-seller, these entrepreneurs covered the expenses of construction on a land through an agreement with the land owner. After the building is completed, they give a number of flats to the land owner and sell the rest for profit.

Depending on the district, the location and the width of the street/road, maximum floor numbers were increased up to eight to ten storeys (in some cases thirteen storeys were also approved). For instance, maximum building heights could increase up to ten storeys (30 meters) between Kızılay and Sıhhiye Square and to thirteen storeys (40 meters) between Kızılay and Akay junctions and to Çankaya direction (Cengizkan, 2005: 40) **(Figure 215a, b)** Moreover, this regulation also increased the number of applications seeking to combine small building lots for increasing the floor area, which resulted with the construction of massive blocks contrasting with the existing urban tissue. Consequently, the process eventually led to a total replacement of the urban fabric, where Ankara, as the model contemporary city, lost its values in the favour of a more chaotic order (Günay: 2012).



Figure 215 The view of Atatürk Boulevard from Kızılay Square **a.** 1940s (VEKAM: 0655) **b.** 1970s; Tall and massive buildings were erected, the integrity and density of the area has completely changed (PIN: 2018)

While these regulations and laws affected the urban tissue of Ankara in a negative way, there were positive developments regarding the conservation issues. In 1964 at the Second International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments adopted the Venice Charter, which provided a set of guiding principles for the protection of historic monuments and sites. According to Erder, the Venice Charter was set forth as the cornerstone of international principles regarding the historic environment (1977: 24). For the first time, a charter defined not only monuments but also urban and rural setting surrounding them as a value to be conserved.⁵⁴⁹ Starting from mid 1960s, the concept of *historic urban site* was

⁵⁴⁹ Venice Charter (ICOMOS: 1964)

introduced by ICOMOS⁵⁵⁰ and general principles and legislative frameworks for their conservation were developed by UNESCO⁵⁵¹.

Concurrent to the developments in the world, important changes in the field of conservation occurred also in Turkey. Starting with the 1961 Constitution recognising the state to take responsibilities for conservation of historic monuments⁵⁵², and continued with the incorporation of Venice Charter's principles into laws and regulations in 1967, a new period and understanding for conservation in Turkey began. First of all, an additional sixth clause of the Law n. 1605 was put into force in 1972, which soon changed the Development Law. This clause clearly had its references from the Venice Charter by defining urban elements situated around historic monuments to be subjects of conservation.⁵⁵³ Parallel to these events, for the first time in the history of the Republic, a project for identification and documentation of historic monuments within the territory of Ankara Citadel and its surroundings was developed by the state units⁵⁵⁴ in 1964. With several revisions regarding the registered buildings in 1972, the project continued almost for a decade and a list of registered buildings within the Citadel was prepared.

In the same period, *Eski Eserler Kanunu*/ Ancient Properties Law (n. 1710) was enacted in 1973. Before this law, only monuments and their immediate surroundings were considered as values to be conserved. With this law, additional measures and principles were defined in detail; such as the inclusion of sites and areas with archaeological, historical or natural significance to be conserved.⁵⁵⁵ Even though this

⁵⁵⁰ Resolutions on the Regeneration of Historic Urban Sites (1966).

⁵⁵¹ Recommendation Concerning the Preservation of Cultural Property Endangered by Public or Private Works (1968).

⁵⁵² According to the 50th article of the 1961 Constitution, the state must ensure the conservation of artefacts and monuments with historic and cultural value (Altınyıldız: 1997, 105).

⁵⁵³ Additional to historic monuments, conservation activities of fountains, historic streets and squares that are creating a unity with these monuments were initiated with the consultation of GEEAYK (Altınyıldız: 1997, 108).

⁵⁵⁴ Ministry of Culture was established in 1971. Until that, services regarding cultural issues were organised under Ministry of Education.

⁵⁵⁵ Starting from 1973, archaeological and urban sites are considered as a value to be conserved, and therefore this study recognises 1970s as the starting point for the emergence of urban space conservation. Regarding this fact, all urban activities that partially damaged the integrity of historic urban tissue of Ankara before 1970s, were not considered as intentional actions of destruction but as the outcome of lack of knowledge on the development of conservation in the world.

law can be considered as a pioneer in terms of conservation history in Turkey, due to the lack of technical personnel and financial resources, it could not put into practice in its entirety (Madran: 2005, 245).

The improvements in the field of conservation in Turkey⁵⁵⁶ between 1965 and 1980 were quite important in terms of ensuring the protection of historic monuments not as a single object but with their immediate surroundings. More importantly, the definition of new concepts such as historic sites and quarters, and legislative frameworks for their conservation were all adopted during this period. However, historic urban tissue was not fully embraced as a value both in the world and also in Turkey, until the end of 1970s. Therefore, especially public open spaces and the elements defining them became the most vulnerable parts of historic urban areas that were demolished easily during urban development activities in Turkey. Even if there were several attempts of *GEEAYK* and Ministry of Culture for documentation of selected historic areas, due to the lack of detailed legislative framework and organisation of governmental bodies, these ideas could not be implemented broadly. As a result, historic sites of Ankara with their buildings and public open spaces were dramatically reshaped between 1955 and 1980 through the implementations of The Condominium Law and District Height Regulation.

Economic Problems and Their Impact on Socio-Cultural Transformation of Ankara

The utmost population increase of Turkey was dated after 1960s. Starting after 1960s, with the state policies to facilitate the foreign industry, in a short amount of time foreign industry had developed rapidly in the country. Even though this change had increased the employment opportunities in big cities, at the same time it played an important role in the massive population shift from rural areas to cities (Adam, Tekeli and Altaban: 1978, 32). Parallel to the migration from rural areas to cities, the need for housing aroused and caused an enormous expansion of squatter settlements, which

⁵⁵⁶ ICOMOS Turkey National Committee was also established in 1974 and started to operate within the framework of international practices as a non-governmental organization ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) is a global non-governmental organisation associated with UNESCO founded in 1964 and works for the conservation and protection of cultural heritage places (ICOMOS Turkey: 2018).

soon addressed by the state by several precautionary regulations.⁵⁵⁷ Despite these regulations, in 1963, 64 percent of the housing stock of Ankara was composed of squatters that inhabited 59 percent of the population (Şenyapılı: 1985, 172) (**Figure 216**).⁵⁵⁸



Figure 216 a. The general view of gecekondu/ squatter settlements surrounding the eastern parts of the city, 1966 (TA: 2018) **b.** The aerial photo of the same area, 1963 (shooting angle is labelled with red lines)

Starting from 1960s, the government adopted a planned development approach with five-year plans⁵⁵⁹, viewing the squatter problem within the broader framework of the socio-economic development of the country (Keleş and Geray: 1995, 144). Among these plans, Law no 775 – the first legal document to use the term *gecekondu* – was adopted in 1966.⁵⁶⁰ It legalised the existing illegal settlements and the transfer of lands of public institutions occupied by squatters to be transferred to the municipalities. In addition, it provided a fund for the provision of land for cheap housing (Duyar-Kienast: 2005, 34). With the adoption of this law, for the first time of the history of Turkey, squatter settlements were legalised by the government at the same time the existence of their residents who were being ignored for decades were accepted. Since then, the population living in squatters started to be a part of the daily life in Ankara. As being the central area for the public transportation vehicles operating between

⁵⁵⁷ Law No. 6188, passed in 1953, aimed to legalise the squatter with the allocation of municipality owned land to needy families. Its aim was to legalize the squatters built up to the date of its enactment. Additionally, another attempt in this period was Law No. 7367, enacted in 1959, aimed at distributing state-owned lands within municipal boundaries. However, both of these laws failed to prevent the building of squatters (Keleş and Geray: 1995, 144).

⁵⁵⁸ In his short story, Fakir Baykurt also emphasises that during late 1960s gecekondu will smother Ankara soon (2001: 203-204).

⁵⁵⁹ These plans were focusing on the improvement of the living conditions, prevention, monitoring, acceleration of the major public services, infrastructure and the encouragement of core housing and self-help construction methods as ways to prevent squatters (Keleş and Geray: 1995, 144-146).

⁵⁶⁰ For detailed information see Tekeli and Ortaylı (1978: 212-213) and İnkaya (1972: 59).

squatter areas and the city, Ulus Square was the first stop for the residents of these squatter areas to experience the daily life of Ankara and at the same time to search for job opportunities. Because of this reason, eventually the inevitable transformation of the user profile and the socio-cultural structure of Ulus Square began.

Transformation of Ulus Square and its Close Vicinity

The Shift of the Centre from Ulus to Kızılay

As mentioned previously, compared to the land prices in Ulus area, lands located in Kızılay and its close vicinity started to increase during 1950s, in parallel to the fundamental change in its structure and density pattern. Although the concentration of services in Kızılay was too small compared to Ulus, a high-quality producer and consumer services began to be observed in Kızılay after the 1960s (Gökçe: 2008, 121). Lands located in Kızılay district became more expensive than the ones in Ulus. Parallel to the land prices, regarding the commercial⁵⁶¹ and leisure time activities, and the prices of rental houses⁵⁶², the popularity of Kızılay increased day by day. Atasü emphasises that (2001: 376);

During those years, Ankara was quite a small city. Everyone you wanted to see, you can meet them in Kızılay. It was the meeting point. Patisseries were aligned along the boulevard. Starting from Bakanlıklar up until Kavaklıdere. Hülya, Bade, Angora, Yaprak... and Milka...

Meanwhile, Ulus Square and its close vicinity continued to be utilised intensively by middle and low-income groups for commercial and entertainment activities. Most of the traditional commercial activities were concentrated in the historic parts of Ulus Square, whereas newly opened commercial buildings were located around Ulus Square, especially at Karaoğlu and Bankalar Road. With the opening of lower and higher blocks of Ulus Bazaar, most of the shops located at Karaoğlu and Özel İdare Bazaar were relocated in this building. Even though concentration of the popular shops

⁵⁶¹ Füsün Eker mentioned that, during 1960s they utilised Kızılay district for every kind of commercial and entertainment activities (2015).

⁵⁶² While searching for a place close to the newspaper that he was working for, Öymen emphasises that rental places in Kızılay were extremely costly (2013: 85).

of Ulus Square in a single building complex attracted the residents from different socio-economic backgrounds, this short-term interest did not prevent the gradual decline of Ulus Square's importance for the city. As a result, while Ulus contained almost all of the distributive services, including retail (food and clothing) and wholesaling addressing middle and low-income groups, Kızılay was attracting certain welfare and business services (Gökçe: 2008, 121).

The difference between Ulus and Kızılay regarding the vitality of daily life can easily be traced in the memoirs of Orhan Duru. He remembers that when he was studying at the university, sometimes they used to hang out around Ulus and most of the time in Yenışehir (cited in Şenyapılı, Ö.: 2005, 340). Within a decade, the balance between Ulus and Yenışehir started to change and Kızılay Square and its surrounding became more and more popular compared to Ulus, even at nights. Consequently, the main factors contributing to the transformation of Ulus Square into a secondary urban centre and later consigned the square into the place of oblivion can be discussed under physical, commercial, financial, administrative, social life, user group and transportation facilities.

The Physical Transformation

After the Condominium Law was enacted in 1965, a period of demolition-construction-intervention started immediately. A considerable percentage of existing privately-owned buildings were demolished for higher buildings and the empty lands were utilised to erect new buildings. On the other hand, most of the public buildings around Ulus Square either received an additional storey such as the Central Bank (**Figure 217a, b**), or annexes such as Ziraat Bank. Parallel to this, for the empty lands or green areas owned by the state were reconsidered as suitable areas to construct public buildings. Therefore, the end of 1960s was a period of architectural competitions for commercial and administrative buildings mainly owned by the state institutions.

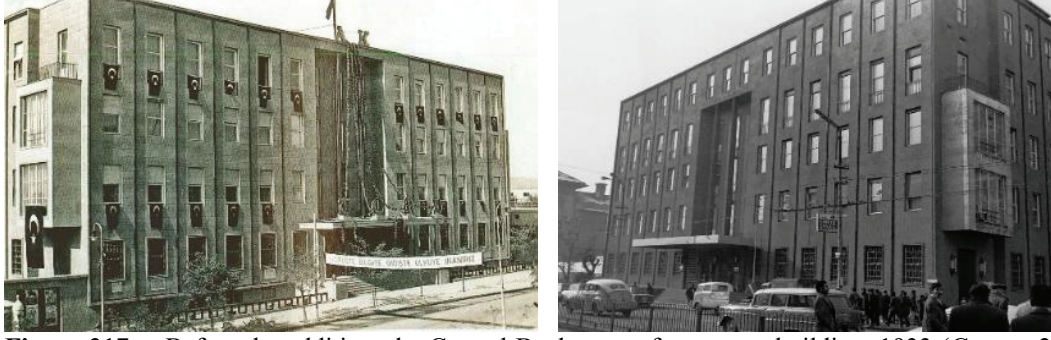


Figure 217 a. Before the addition, the Central Bank was a four storey building, 1933 (Cangır: 2007, 1242) **b.** After the law, one storey was added to the building (AA: 2018)

Right after the opening of Ulus Bazaar, an architectural project competition was opened for the construction of a commercial building behind Ulus Bazaar, the area of which was demolished after the Law of Expropriation in 1956. Ferzan Baydar, Affan Kırımlı and Tayfur Şahbaz won the competition, and Anafartalar Bazaar was constructed in 1967. Composed of a five-storey shopping block and a fifteen-storey office block (**Figure 218a, b**), Anafartalar Bazaar was one of the first and largest commercial buildings in Ulus district providing several types of shops for different user groups. Therefore, it can be considered as a pioneer of today's shopping malls (Ertemli: 2005). More importantly, its modest cubic forms and the use of metal and glass for its curtain walls was quite new for its period, reflecting the design tendencies of its period in a masterful way (Velioğlu: 2012).⁵⁶³ The way Anafartalar Bazaar was situated on Karaoğlan, the height difference between the masses and most importantly their coherence with Ulus Bazaar were quite important, and at the same time the similarity of design aspects reflecting the architectural trends of Turkey during 1960s (**Figure 218 b, c**).

⁵⁶³ Due to the rising slope of Karaoğlan, the building had several entrances from different levels and the circulation was provided either by the moving stairway or the elevator (Ertemli: 2005). It was the first building in Ankara with a moving stairway. Moreover, a competition was opened for its interior furnishing won by Architect Ruşen Dora (Arkitekt: 1963, 110-111). Additionally, some of the artworks on the interior walls of the shopping block also increased the importance of the building as a space hosting modern art; ceramics of Füreyâ Koral, Seniye Fenmen, Cevdet Altuğ ve Attila Galatalı, wall paintings of Nuri İyem ve Arif Kaptan and graffiti paintings of Adnan Turani were all displayed on the walls in between the shops. As a result, due to its architectural style, materials used, construction techniques and the artworks, Anafartalar Bazaar has been an important landmark both for Ulus and Ankara.



Figure 218 a. Anafartalar Bazaar (VEKAM: 2579) b. During the construction of Anafartalar Bazaar, office block (VEKAM: 2548) c. Ulus Square; Ulus Bazaar and Anafartalar Bazaar (Dericizade: 2016)

Along with Anafartalar Bazaar, another commercial building was constructed across the road, in the area where Yeni Cinema and other traditional commercial buildings were previously located (**Figure 218a**). After the demolishment of the urban tissue in the northern parts of Karaoğlan, the empty space was utilised as dolmuş stops for almost a decade. Later in 1976, *Ulus Şehir Çarşısı*/ Ulus City Bazaar (Ulus Şehir Bazaar), composed of attached two storey small sized shops around a courtyard, was constructed in the area (**Figure 219a-c**).⁵⁶⁴ Even though Ulus Şehir Bazaar was a modest building, with its physical aspects reminding Şehir Bazaar temporary built on Şehir Garden, it became a popular shopping area for low-income groups in a short amount of time. Therefore, construction of this bazaar increased the density of low-income groups using Ulus Square for commercial activities.



Figure 219 a. Northern entrance of Ulus Şehir Bazaar b. Courtyard and the pool c. Another view from the courtyard (Renovation Area Council Archive)

⁵⁶⁴ When aerial photos from 1966 and 1976 were compared, the construction of Ulus Şehir Bazaar should date before 1976.

The second architectural competition was opened for *100. Yıl Çarşısı/ 100th Year Shopping Centre (100. Yıl Bazaar)*, at the corner of Atatürk Boulevard and Cumhuriyet Boulevard. This area once hosted the first green public open space of Ankara, *Millet Bahçesi/ Millet Garden*⁵⁶⁵, witnessed the gradual shrunk of the green space on following decades. Eventually, with the construction of the temporary Şehir Bazaar, it completely lost its meaning for the city (**Figure 220**). Moreover, the land was transformed from the main public green open space of Ankara into a temporary commercial area. Therefore, the land was found suitable for the construction of a new commercial building.⁵⁶⁶

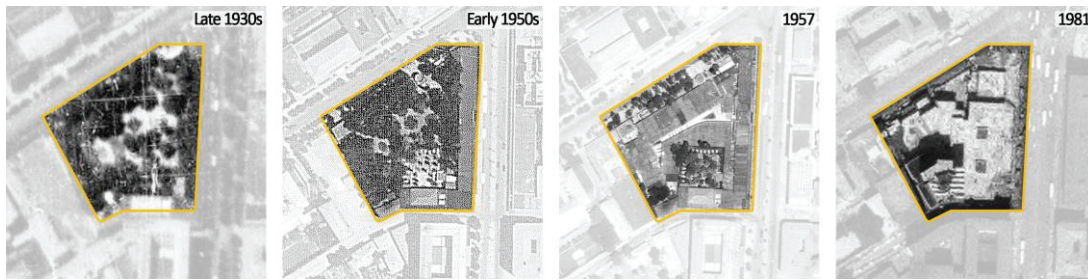


Figure 220 Transformation of the land between 1930s and 1980s

Semra and Orhan Dikel won the competition in 1967. The construction of 100. Yıl Bazaar continued almost for fifteen years and the building complex – composed of a lower and a higher block with commercial and office units, and a cinema – was opened in 1982 (**Figure 221a, b**). The shopping centre (lower block) framing Atatürk and Cumhuriyet Boulevards was designed as a fragmented mass having a strong relationship with the city through its openings forming a public open space in front of the building's entrance (Acar: 2012). Both with its design, materials and construction techniques, 100. Yıl Bazaar can also be considered as an important interpretation of the international architectural styles seen in Turkey during 1960s.⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶⁵ The name later changed to Belediye Bahçesi/ Belediye Garden (Municipality Garden) and Şehir Bahçesi/ Şehir Garden (City Garden) respectively.

⁵⁶⁶ This commercial building was constructed to be utilised by Özel İdare as a source of income.

⁵⁶⁷ Starting from 1950s, rationalist-purist, brutalist, independent styles and reinterpretation of traditional architectural aspects were main architectural styles originated from the West and adopted in Turkey (Sözen: 1984, 276).



Figure 221 a. Construction site of 100. Yıl Bazaar, early 1970s (50 Yıllık Yaşantımız: 1975, 55) b. After the construction (Dericizade: 2016)

After the construction of Ulus Bazaar, Anafartalar Bazaar and 100. Yıl Bazaar, Ulus Square gained a new physical, functional and visual character compared to previous decades. First of all, the similar architectural language of these buildings created a visual continuity for Ulus Square. The successful composition of their masses having diverse architectural aspects created a visual interest for the square and gave a more legible character to the area. Moreover, location of these buildings radically changed the characteristics of the edge, territory and form of Ulus Square that was not defined clearly in previous decades. Consequently, the feeling of enclosure within the square increased. Even though all three building complexes were composed of massive blocks, their fragmented design increased permeability within the square that directly affected the usage intensity and pedestrian flow in a positive way.

These three buildings also increased the usage intensity of Ulus Square. With their own public open areas and shops at their entrance levels, they encouraged pedestrians to move around the square, look at the shops and be a part of the daily life even if they were just passing by. At the same time, public open spaces of these buildings also increased the pedestrian movement within the square, slowed down the vehicular traffic, and most importantly enabled the users to enjoy the visual aspects of Ulus Square (**Figure 222**). Hence, these buildings with their well-defined and pedestrian friendly public open spaces gave Ulus Square the chance to re-integrate itself to the daily life of Ankara.

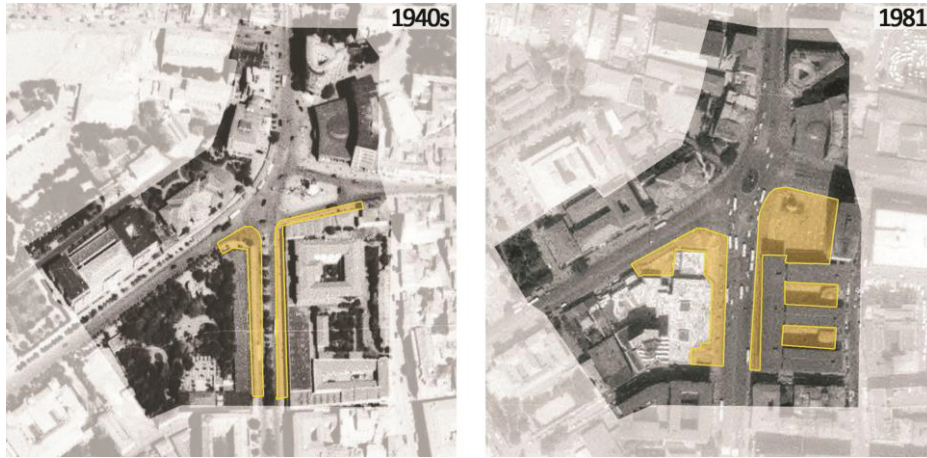


Figure 222 The change in pedestrian areas between 1940s and 1981

There were additional construction activities in the close vicinity of Ulus Square—especially in the triangular area defined by Cumhuriyet Boulevard, İstiklal Road and Bankalar Road – accelerating the transformation initiated with Ulus Bazaar project. As it is seen in **Figure 223**, these activities mainly concentrated on the new constructions in private and public open green areas. Consequently, the green area percentage of Ulus Square and its close vicinity radically decreased, in parallel with the increase in the building density and height. On the other hand, most of these new buildings were the successful interpretations of the architectural trends in Turkey.

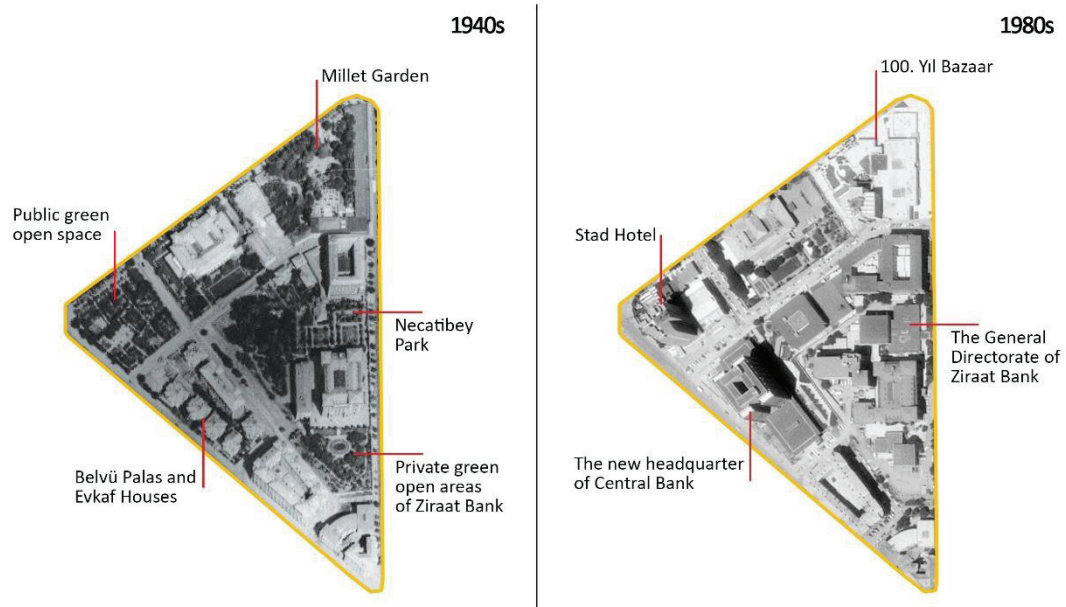


Figure 223 Transformation of the triangular area between 1940s and 1980s

Among these activities, *Stad Oteli*/ Stad Hotel, was an outcome of an architectural competition won by Metin Hepgüler, Doğan Tekeli and Sami Sisa in 1964 (Arkitekt: 1970, 53). Located at the corner of Baruthane Square, where Cumhuriyet Boulevard intersects with İstiklal Road, the hotel had similar architectural aspects with the buildings constructed at Ulus Square during 1960s (**Figure 224a, b**).⁵⁶⁸ Defining the western entrance of Ulus Square, it created a visual continuity between 100. Yıl Bazaar, Ulus Bazaar and Anafartalar Bazaar, and emphasised the linear visual connection between Cumhuriyet Boulevard and Anafartalar Road. Right after its opening in 1970, the building became a landmark for the city by framing the Castle area.

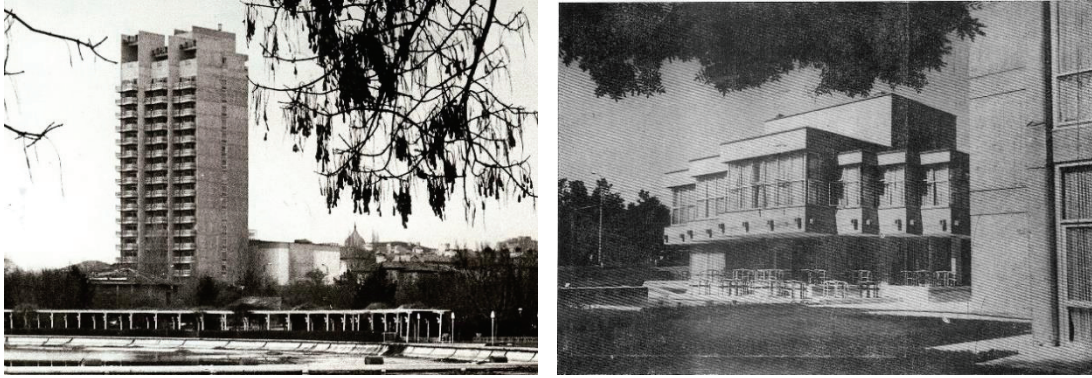


Figure 224 a. A view of; the high rise block utilised as the hotel (Stad Oteli, Tekeli-Sisa: 2017) **b.** A view of the cafeteria and the restaurant (Arkitekt: 1970, 53)

Next to Stad Hotel, a second architectural competition was opened in 1973, for a new headquarter of the Central Bank.⁵⁶⁹ Consequently, both Evkaf Evleri and Belvü Palas (**Figure 225a**) located on the project's area were demolished and the building complex, designed by Umut İnan, was implemented. Since, the construction area needed was quite massive, İnan aimed to minimize the blocking the view of castle by designing a compact office block (1989, 37). Composed of one high block and three lower blocks, the building was also an important representative of the period's architectural tendencies (**Figure 225a-c**).

⁵⁶⁸ Previously hosting the first prototype houses of Evkaf, later during 1950s these buildings were abandoned and the area was transformed into a green open space. Therefore, this land was not utilised properly for a decade.

⁵⁶⁹ Between 1957 and 1963, the annexes of the Central Bank located at its backyard were demolished and new annexes labelled on the site map (**Figure 225**) as Block E and F, were constructed at the same location in 1966 (This information is gathered through a detailed study in the archive of Renovation Area Council and aerial photos of 1957, 1963 and 1966).

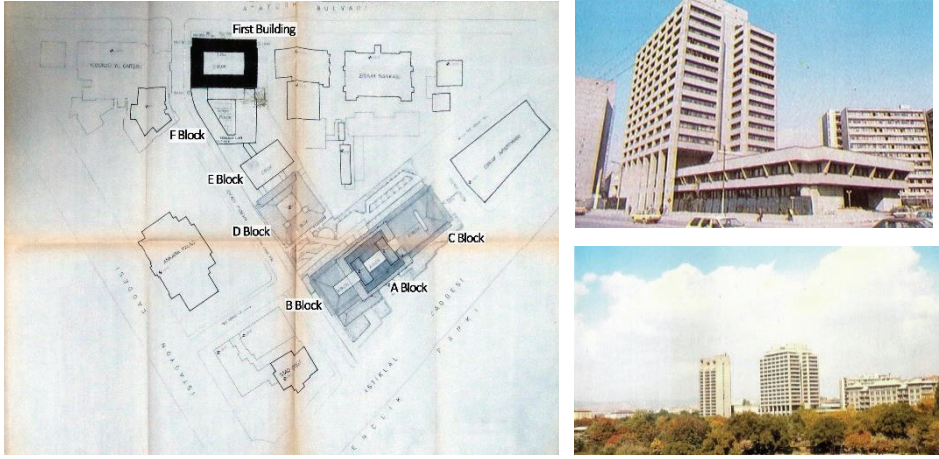


Figure 225 a. Site plan of the Central Bank (Renovation Area Council Archive) **b.** New headquarter (Mimarlık: 1989, 38) **c.** Stad Hotel Complex (left) and the new headquarter of Central Bank (right) (Mimarlık: 1989, 37)

As previously mentioned, during the early Republican period, this lot owned by Ziraat Bank was consist of two buildings and the rest was designed with green open spaces. Right after Ziraat Bank was erected in 1929, its annex was built on the backyard. Almost after three decades, first, the green open space called as Necati Bey Park located on the north of Ziraat Bank and other public green areas located on its south were all demolished (**Figure 226a, b**). For these areas, architectural competition was opened for the building of General Directorate of Ziraat Bank which was won by Yılmaz Sanlı, Güner Acar and Yılmaz Tuncer. Consequently, the General Directorate of Ziraat Bank (labelled as B, B1, C, C1 and C2) was opened in 1966, whereas the construction of its additional blocks (labelled as A, E and D) were finalised in 1976 (**Figure 227a, b**).

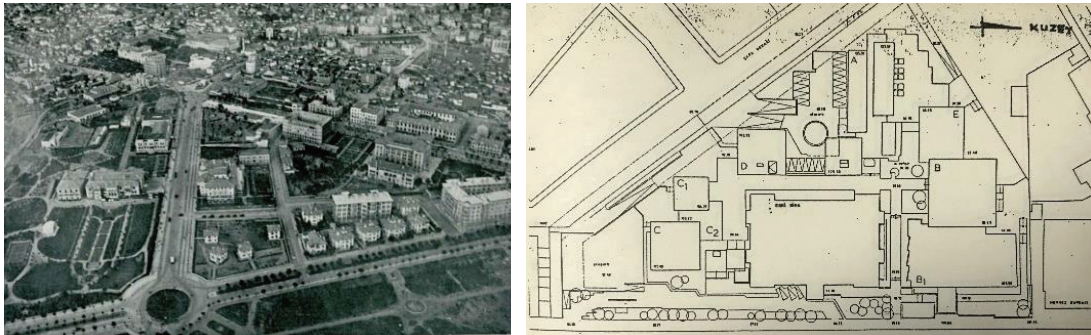


Figure 226 a. Triangular area in 1930s (TA: 2017) **b.** Site plan of Ziraat Bank and its annexes (Renovation Area Council Archive)



Figure 227 a. The General Directorate of Ziraat Bank: block B and B1 (Sanlı: 2009, 69) **b.** Last annexes: block A, E and D (Renovation Area Council Archive)

The last significant change in the physical aspects of Ulus Square was related to the post office building. Constructed in the early Republican period, the building was one of the rare examples that witnessed direct impact of changing architectural trends in Turkey, with the transformation of its façade both in 1930s and 1950s. While this building was demolished in 1976⁵⁷⁰, the new Posta Sarayı/ Post Palace was designed by Cihat Uysal and erected in 1982 (**Figure 228a, b**). Compared to the former building, due to the spatial requirements, it was designed considerably high and as a block extending to the eastern parts of the urban lot. Since early Republican period monuments were not considered as heritage in that period several buildings such as PTT, Evkaf Evleri and Belvü Palas were demolished for new constructions.⁵⁷¹



Figure 228 a. Flyer prepared for the opening of *Posta Sarayı*, 1982 (WOW: 2018) **b.** *Posta Sarayı* (Cihat Uysal Archive)

In addition to the constructions held at Ulus Square and its close vicinity, there were other activities changing the urban environment. As an outcome of Yücel-Uybadin

⁵⁷⁰ Through a detailed analysis on two aerial photos taken both in 1976, it is clearly seen that the building was still standing in one, whereas it was demolished on the other.

⁵⁷¹ Uysal declared that there was no information or attempt on registration of PTT during its demolition (2018).

Plan, The Condominium Law and District Height Regulation, a period of trivialization began for the traditional urban tissue of Ulus. The main reason behind was overcrowdness of the historic parts of Ankara as well as the ownership problems of most of the lands to be solved. On the other hand, several studies and documentation projects started after the 1961 Constitution and created a knowledge regarding conservation of these areas as a part of historic value for Ankara. Hence, demolishing existing one-two storey attached buildings to erect new apartment blocks in historic parts of Ulus was quite complicated and expensive.⁵⁷² Therefore, instead of historic districts, the newly developed parts of Ankara, especially the lands located on both sides of Atatürk Boulevard and Çankırı Road became an area where the demolition/construction activities of the period concentrated.



Figure 229 a. Atatürk Boulevard, filled with apartment blocks having shops, cafes, patisseries at the entrance floor, 1930s (Tekcan: 2014, 144) **b.** The widening of Atatürk Boulevard reduced the green areas and public open spaces (AA: 2018)

First of all, regarding the master plan of Ankara prepared by Yücel Uybadin⁵⁷³, urban works for widening of Atatürk Boulevard and Çankırı Road began in 1958-1959. To increase the vehicle capacity of these roads, sidewalks were narrowed and most of the trees were removed. The double alleys on each side of the major boulevard of the Garden City was cut down, and replaced with asphalted traffic lanes and wide sidewalks jammed causing a confusion both for vehicles and pedestrians (Polonyi: 1988, 106-107). Especially the wide green median refuge in the middle of Atatürk Boulevard for public use was radically narrowed down (**Figure 229a, b**). Moreover, with the Condominium Law and District Height Regulation, most of the houses and

⁵⁷² The complexity of issues needed to be solved for developing a project for the historic Ankara resulted in urban decay of the traditional tissue started from 1940s.

⁵⁷³ Widening of existing roads and opening of connection roads within the city and ring roads around, were one of the main structural changes that were implemented after Yücel Uybadin Plan (Aslanoğlu: 1994, 241).

three-four storey apartments in gardens built between 1920s and 1930s were all replaced with five to seven storey apartments, high-rise commercial buildings, banks and public institutions. In order to build larger blocks in the place of small scale apartments, most of the new buildings included the land reserved for private open spaces to their construction area. As a result, open spaces previously utilised as a part of the daily life of Atatürk Boulevard were removed and buildings were constructed closer to the roads.

Consequently, the pedestrian and public-transportation oriented traffic, especially along Atatürk Boulevard, was replaced with private vehicles where public squares were rapidly transforming into traffic nodes. Day by day, the daily routine of walking along Atatürk Boulevard and utilising the open spaces in front of cafés and patisseries diminished both from the daily life and memories of the residents of Ankara (Dinçer: 2009, 34). As a result, these rapid changes increased the density of built environment and the pressure of traffic, created several infrastructure problems, decreased the visual quality of the buildings and at the same time weakened the image of Atatürk Boulevard as the most prestigious and green⁵⁷⁴ urban axis of Ankara connecting Ulus and Çankaya districts.

Transfer of the Administrative Buildings to Kızılay and Its Impact on Ulus Square

From the 1960s onwards, Kızılay district started to gain political importance for Ankara with the activities emerged during early 1960s. For the first time in the history of Turkey, a political event took place in Kızılay in 1960, instead of Ulus Square. Parallel to the increase in popularity of Kızılay, political figures also started to spend more time on the streets of Kızılay to show political power.⁵⁷⁵ Started with these incidents and continued incrementally, Atatürk Boulevard and Kızılay was gradually transformed into the central locations of demonstrations and gatherings in Ankara.

⁵⁷⁴ The green spaces per capita for Ankara was 15,5 m² in 1953, whereas this number dropped to 7,85m² during 1970s (Şenyapılı: 1985, 170).

⁵⁷⁵ Like several others, İsmet İnönü whom previously used Ulus Square during 1950s, from now on started to use Kızılay Square and Atatürk Boulevard to show his political power. In 1960, rather than withdrawing his money from the İş Bank located at Ulus Square – which he always did on previous years –, İnönü preferred to go to the Yenışehir branch of the bank. Due to the political tensions between his party and DP, his followers led out a loud cheer that ended with the intervention of the police and several arrests (Batuman: 2017, 59).

Furthermore, in 1961, 23 years after the sod turning ceremony, the third building of National Assembly was completed in Kızılay district.⁵⁷⁶ With the opening of the new assembly, the one located at Ulus Square lost its meaning for the city. Parallel to this change, Ankara Palas which was utilised as the main hotel of the state also lost its importance. Especially with the opening of Grand Ankara Hotel at Atatürk Boulevard next to the Third Assembly complex, the reciprocal relationship between the First and Second National Assemblies and Ankara Palas, was restructured between the Third Assembly and the Grand National Hotel (Balamir and Erkmen: 2006, 96) (**Figure 230**).



Figure 230 The Third National Assembly and Grand Ankara Hotel facing each other (AA: 2018)

Furthermore, in the following decade, ministries, public institutions and offices were gradually transferred to Kızılay district (Aydın et al.: 2005, 538)⁵⁷⁷ and the triangular area defined by Kızılay-Sıhhiye-Cebeci became the new political centre of the city (Özkök: 1990, 119). Consequently, meetings, protests and political gatherings that had already started to be organised around Kızılay district left Ulus Square for good.⁵⁷⁸ As a result, 1960s witnessed the loss of one of the most important attributes defining the values of Ulus Square; the political meaning attached to the area. On the other hand,

⁵⁷⁶ After the opening of the Third National Assembly Building in Kızılay district, the popularity of Rüzgarlı Street decreased, and most of the press houses and newspapers transferred their offices from Rüzgarlı Sokak in Ulus to Kızılay (Öymen: 2009, 524).

⁵⁷⁷ During 1950s, starting first with Prime Ministry and Ministry of Finance, several administrative buildings moved to their new building located at Bakanlıklar and Yenışehir area.

⁵⁷⁸ Two protests in 1966 and 1968, the people selected Güvenpark in Kızılay and the new Assembly building to protest USA (Fişek: 2012, 139, Ertuğrul: 2008, 112).

the ideological meaning attached to the square continued for the residents of Ankara almost for a decade. Even though most of the political activities were relocated in Kızılay, due to the Victory Monument and the First National Assembly Building that were still located at Ulus Square – the ideological meaning attached to the square continued. For a period of time, most of the celebrations started first at Ulus Square, continued along Atatürk Boulevard and ended at Kızılay Square, where all the residents unite and the main activity took place (**Figure 231a-c**). Therefore, with or without the organisation of the state, the residents continued to gather at Ulus Square, around the monument during national holidays and specific events.



Figure 231 a. A national day, march of the soldiers from Ulus Square to Kızılay direction, 1970s (TA: 2016) b. Ulus Square during a national holiday (Keskinok: 2009, 226) c. A ceremony organised along Atatürk Boulevard for Queen Elizabeth II's visit to Ankara, 1971 (TA: 2016)

Moreover, it was possible to see individuals or a group of people having memory pictures in front of the Victory Monument, not only during special days but also on regular days (**Figure 232a-d**). In the interviews, most of the users of Ulus Square defined the Victory Monument as an important value for the square and remembers 1960s as follows (cited in Cengizkan and Kılıçkiran: 2009, 55-56);

We used to come to Ulus more often, since it was the centre previously, like today's Kızılay. The front of the monument has always been the meeting point... We used to go to Ulus during national holidays to place a wreath on the monument. (Age: 51/ Retired Teacher)

My mom used to bring us to Ulus when we were kids, for the Republic's Day. Each and every year! We used to come here during 1950s, 1960s... She used to bring us here because of her respect for Atatürk. She loved Atatürk a lot. (Age: 54/ Retired)

I used to visit Ulus during the years of my studentship... I took lots of pictures in front of Atatürk Monument.... Such a different emotion... it was so beautiful than today. (Age: 50, Shopkeeper)

This place was the most beautiful place of the past, we used to come here during my childhood, we used to come for the monument. (Age: 58/ Retired Chemical Engineer)



Figure 232 a, b Memory pictures taken in front of the Victory Monument, during 1960s (TA: 2017) c. (Ercan Kurt Archive) d. July 1980 (Author's Archive)

Nevertheless, this minor activity was not sufficient enough to keep the dynamic character of Ulus Square in the political, economic and daily life of the city. As a result, the loss of public activities was started to be filled by the newly emerging commercial facilities addressing the low-income groups (Yalım: 2017, 208).

Transformation of Economic, Commercial and Social Life

As it is mentioned before, the commercial character of Ulus Square started to change during 1950s with the increase in commerce-based facilities in Kızılay district. The construction of Ulus Bazaar, Anafartalar Bazaar and 100. Yıl Bazaar could only help the area continue its importance especially for the low-income groups. While the core of the square had the chance to renew itself partially, it could not escape to become the main commercial area for the vast amount of population based on low-income groups (Şenyapılı: 1985, 164). Between 1960s and 1970s, most of the well-known brands located at Ulus district either closed their shops and moved their business to Kızılay⁵⁷⁹ or opened a new shop in Kızılay as the head branch and transformed the one at Ulus as its branch.

⁵⁷⁹ The owner of a famous shop named *Ayhan Mağazası* remembers that while their shop was still located at Ulus district, most of their customers asked them to transfer their shop to Kızılay. As a result, they decided to move to Kızılay district in 1969 (Sümer: 2012, 220).

Right after the erection of the first high-rise building of Turkey at Kızılay Square (Emek İşhanı/ Bazaar) and the opening of the first supermarket called GİMA in its ground floor, the popularity of Kızılay Square for commercial, business and leisure time activities increased (**Figure 233a, b**). Arcayürek remembers the exaggerated popularity of the building as the Skyscraper, where it was possible to see long queues every day in front of the elevators of the building either to see the building or to go its upper parts to get an Ankara view (2005: 64). Moreover, the main meeting point for the residents of Ankara, which was previously defined as the Victory Monument and Sümerbank, also slightly shifted to Kızılay Square, to the entrance of GİMA.⁵⁸⁰



Figure 233 a. Emek Bazaar at Kızılay Square, 1970s (VEKAM: 2788) b. Entrance of GİMA (PIN: 2016)

Ulus Square that was the central shopping area for high-quality products for decades from then on was gradually transformed into the main location of budget shopping. In her novel, Ramazanoğlu clearly expressed the difference between Kızılay and Ulus in terms of the quality of shops in 1970s (2008: 154);

Even they bought a tie, a shirt for Peter, and dresses, necklaces for girls that were wrapped with packages and bags showing that they were bought from the shops of Kızılay district. Only the ones living in Ankara could understand this. How come a German guy can understand the difference... But still they insisted on explaining him that the gifts were all bought from Kızılay not from Ulus or Dışkapı area.

⁵⁸⁰ On her novel called *Bu Kentin Sokakları/ Streets of This City*, Nazlı Eray mentioned GİMA as the meeting point for the main characters of the story (2002: 245).

In her novel, Sevgi Soysal also successfully depicts the 1970s of Ankara and the popularity of Kızılay for the commercial activities as follows (2014: 21);

Ahmet was shocked. This kind of street sellers can be find in Ulus. Formerly, Tezkan Mağazası was also located in Ulus, right at the slope. From now on the self-conscious residents of Ankara do their shopping in Kızılay... For Ahmet, a product bought from Ulus has no value... Maybe derived from his mother's suggestions, shopping in Kızılay district created the idea of supremacy for him (**Figure 234**).



Figure 234 ABC/ One of the most popular clothing store located at Kızılay, 1970s (VEKAM: 1805)

The change in the price and quality of products sold at Ulus Square and its close vicinity also attracted the attention of the low-income groups mainly living in squatter areas. The increase in the frequency and intensity of low-income groups visiting Ulus Square coincide with the abandonment of the place by the former groups utilizing this area for decades. Thus, starting from 1970s, Kızılay became the commercial centre of Ankara with the concentration of expensive, high quality products, whereas Ulus was mainly utilised by middle and low income groups (Dinçer: 2009, 20-21) both for commercial activities and also for searching jobs (**Figure 235**). Mr. Muzaffer clearly express his ideas regarding the difference between Ulus and Kızılay during late 1960s as follows (cited in Yılmaz: 2006, 232);

First, we used to come Ulus, took a stroll there. After we went to Kızılay and see the atmosphere, we started to say the ones giving appointment at Ulus; “only villagers give an appointment at there”. The skyscraper in Kızılay was the meeting point. We were admiring the men with clean clothes and ties strolling around accompanied by their wives after the working hours. They

look like sophisticated people. Therefore Ulus was the place of villagers. These people won't take a stroll there...



Figure 235 Around the Victory Monument, 1979 (Kalvar: 1979)

The relocation of main commercial activities addressing high-income groups at Kızılay area also activated the transfer of financial centre from Ulus Square to Kızılay Square. Even though, it was possible to trace the opening of Yenişehir branches of the banks located at Ulus Square, most of the private banks⁵⁸¹ preferred to locate themselves mainly at Kızılay Square and its close vicinity during 1960s. Moreover, the opening of the new administration unit of the Central Bank at İstiklal Road and the transfer of İş Bank to its new building in Kavaklıdere area in 1976, completely changed the financial character of Ulus Square. Consequently, with the transfer of both administrative and financial units, a radical loss of identity and a period of decline had started for the square during 1980s.

As an outcome of the transfer of main administrative, commercial and financial functions identifying the character of Ulus Square, a considerable gap occurred in the continuity of leisure time activities and daily usage of the square by high-income groups and notable figures of the period. In a short amount of time, main leisure time activity places such as restaurants, bars, gazinos of Ulus Square either closed or adopted themselves to the demands of their new user groups by 1970s.⁵⁸²

⁵⁸¹ As a part of the radical change in the financial structure of the state featuring private sector, several private banks were opened in addition to public banks and their effectiveness in the system increased in a short amount of time (Altan Ergut: 2005, 29).

⁵⁸² According to Şenyapılı, the change in the user profile can be traced first from their clothes and then from their identities (2005: 335).

Jazz Bars left their places to the songs of Abdullah Yüce and folk songs of Bayram Aracı, whereas high quality bars located at Rüzgarlı Street, such as Tabarin Bar⁵⁸³ or Yeni Bar started to organize shows of belly dancers. Compared to the new centre of the city, Ulus Square was not reflecting the modern face of the country anymore, on the contrary it became a part of the degenerated and rube life of Ankara (Cantek: 1996, 120-125).

This also affected the rapid transformation of the user profile in Ulus Sqaure, from high-income groups to low income groups mainly living in squatter areas. Even the meaning of pavyon and bar radically changed. Previously both were defining a special kind of an entertainment place for high-income groups where alcoholic beverages were available. Starting from 1960s, both refer to places that cannot be utilised by families where shows with sexuality were performed (Şenyapılı, Ö.: 2005, 335-336). Therefore, Çankırı Road, where most of these entertainment places were located at since the Early Republican period, radically changed, lost its user group and meaning for Ankara. Among other places, Karpiç, Ankara Palas and Gar Lokantası also adopted to the new costumer profile especially after the relocation of the National Assembly. For instance, Karpiç, as one of the most popular restaurants of Ankara was transformed into a mediocre place like a gazino, serving fast foods and eventually closed for good. (Kemal: 1983, 69) (**Figure 236**). Kemal remembers the social transformation of Ulus Square and explains his feelings in detail (1983: 70);

After Karpiç closed, the ones who got used to spend time together at Karpiç started to look for a new place to meet. But none of the places were like Karpiç. Most of the groups were separated, everyone started to look for a place for themselves. Some of them changed their cities, some of them got old. Whenever the oldies met they said;

- Where are you going for god's sake?
- Nowhere!..
- Karpiç had ended, we got separated.
- Yes, it happened like that.

I was walking through Posta Road. The taverns that we used to go regularly left their places to carpet shops, spare part sellers. I wonder, where do our successors who spent a spiked life like us go? Of course, there are places for them to go, but where, where?

⁵⁸³ A big fire occurred at Park Cinema and the fire spread to Tabarin Bar in 1960. With several repairs the cinema could continue to function but Tabarin Bar was perished (Gümüşbaş: 1960).



Figure 236 Last years of Karpic: managed as a gazino named *Karpic Gazinosu* (PIN: 2017)

Compared to the decline of the popularity and usage intensity of restaurant, cafes, bars, gazinos and public green open spaces located at Ulus Square, *Gençlik Parkı* underwent a different transformation process. Starting from the 1950s, the park which was used by modern looking men and women for its green public open spaces including the pool and the *Park Gazino* playing beautiful jazz songs, turned into a commercial area where music halls, gazinos, restaurant and kiosks were opened (Yılmaz: 2006, 223). It became the central location for the most famous singers of Turkey to perform concerts (Memlük: 2009, 81) (**Figure 237a, b**). Most importantly, everyone with different economic backgrounds could enter the open areas of *Gençlik Parkı* whereas, the commercial places inside were still addressing groups with specific socio-cultural and economic backgrounds.



Figure 237 a. Zeki Müren, performing at Yazar Family Garden, *Gençlik Parkı* (TA: 2018) **b.** Füsün Önal and Erol Büyükburç performing at Lunapark Gazinosu, *Gençlik Parkı*, 1971 (ANT: 2018)

With the approval of 1958 plan of *Gençlik Parkı*, several projects were developed to reduce the number of restaurant and kiosks and to give the park a more aesthetic view (Uludağ: 1998, 210). But again, these attempts could only help *Gençlik Parkı* continue

its importance for a decade. Most of the high-income groups stopped using the park regularly, and they only visited *Gençlik Parkı* for wedding ceremonies (**Figure 238**) that took place at Göl Gazinosu (Yılmaz: 2006, 228). For middle and low-income groups, the park became the main leisure time activity area during late 1970s, and the gazinos and restaurant were transformed accordingly. For this reason, like all other places in Ulus area, the only public green open space of the district was abandoned by high-income groups and a socio-cultural and physical transformation occurred concurrently.



Figure 238 A wedding ceremony at *Gençlik Parkı*, 1977 (Author's Archive)

Transportation Facilities and Their Effect on the Transformation of Ulus Square

As an outcome of the rapid increase in the number and density of buildings in Ankara, most of the boulevards and roads started to be utilised regularly by a large number of people. To answer the demand for public transportation, municipality increased the number of buses and extended the trolleybus lines. However, these attempts were not enough for the population of Ankara. Bus stops that were distributed all around Ulus and Kızılay Square were overcrowded and filled with people waiting in the queue for a long time. Even after getting in, for most of the people using public transportation, the bus journey became a nightmare. Mercure also had a similar experience in the public transportation, when he was living in Ankara in 1958 (2012: 115);

Riding buses in Ankara was an experience you never forget. It was not something you would recommend to anyone. At the bus stations (stops), they used to have a bus employee to load the buses. He would shove people in (using his arms and knee to cram people) and shut the doors. This would result

in the bus being crammed with standing room only passengers, making it very difficult to get off at your stop.

Although trolleybus lines also extended and their numbers were increased, it did not help to solve the problems of over populated passengers. As a result, the role of minibuses and dolmuş on the public transportation system had increased. Since Ankara transformed into a two centred structure and the transportation was also divided into two; high and middle-income groups were concentrated in Kızılay, whereas for the low-income groups the central transportation area was Ulus. Most importantly, these two centres were highly integrated to each other and therefore the most crowded public transportation was operating in between these two centres of the city (Akçura: 1971, 97).⁵⁸⁴ As a result of the increase in public transportation vehicles, a need aroused for additional bus stops within Ulus Square and its close vicinity. Between 1966 and 1976 three important locations were rearranged as bus-dolmuş stops, which resulted in the partial destruction of existing public green open spaces of Ulus Square (**Figure 239a, b**).



Figure 239 Dolmuş stops during 1970s **a.** Hükümet Square (TA: 2016) **b.** The Second National Assembly Garden (PIN: 2016)

Almost half of the garden of Hükümet Square⁵⁸⁵ and the western part of Ministry of Finance's terraced garden were lost and rearranged as bus stops (Etlik-Keçiören-AOÇ direction). Similar to these public open areas, the western part of *Meclis Bahçesi*/ the garden of the Second National Assembly was also rearranged as a dolmuş/minibus stop (Yenimahalle direction) (**Figure 240**). These changes accelerated the

⁵⁸⁴ While minibuses were operating between the old centre/ Ulus and low-income residential areas, taxi-dolmuş were operating between the new centre/ Kızılay and mid-high income groups' residents (Tekeli: 1987, 68).

⁵⁸⁵ Until the construction of Ulus Şehir Bazaar, it continued to be used as dolmuş stop.

transformation of Ulus Square from a public open space into a traffic node. As a result, Ulus Square which was previously surrounded by green areas, lost a great percentage of its green areas as well as the continuity and unity of green areas around the square. Most importantly these changes accelerated the transformation of Ulus Square from a public open space into a traffic node.

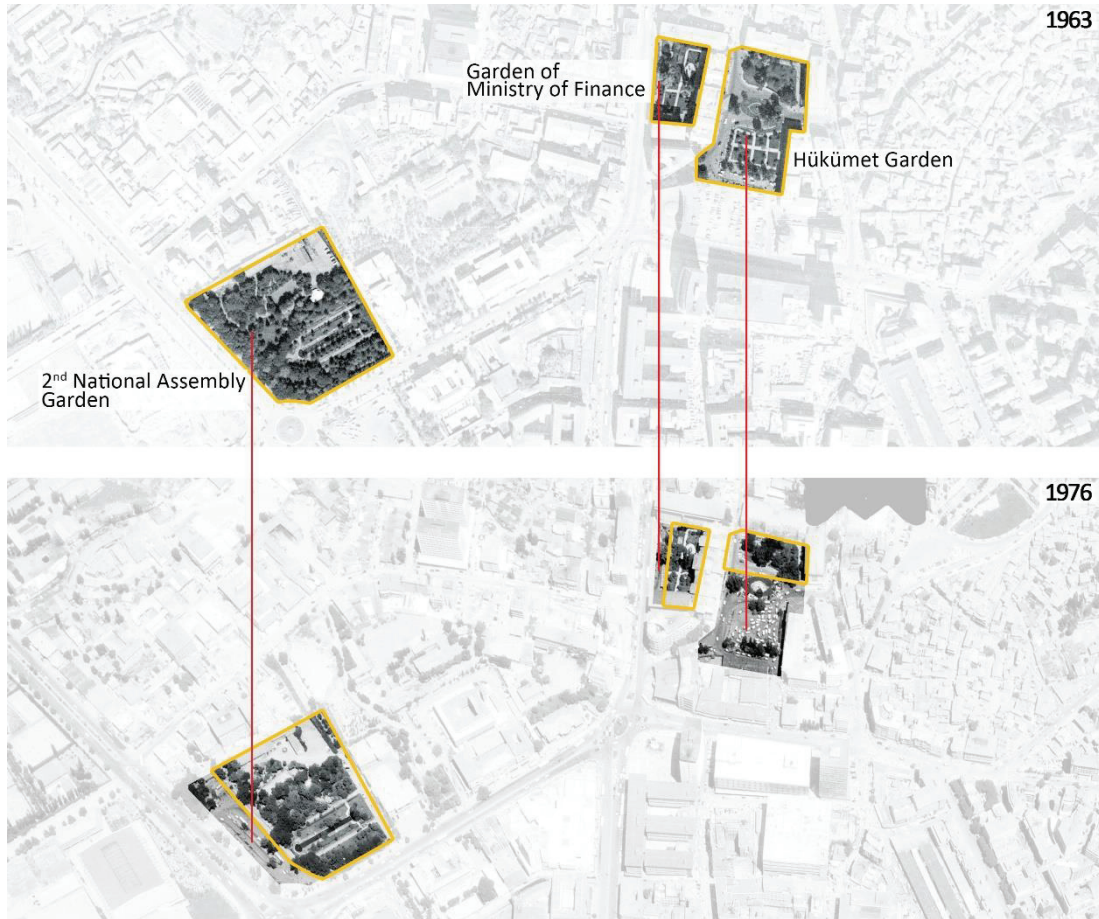


Figure 240 Partial transformation of green open spaces at Ulus Square into public transportation stops, between 1963 and 1976

Parallel to the loss of these public green areas, Baruthane Square was also transformed from a green area into a traffic node. While at first the lion sculpture was removed from its centre, soon the green area in its middle was lost due to the stepping on the grass to cross the square (**Figure 241a, b**). Consequently, not only its name was diminished from the daily life of Ankara but also its meaning was lost for the residents for good.



Figure 241 a. Baruthane Square with the lion sculpture and green areas (VEKAM: 1979) b. Baruthane Square, 1973 (TA: 2018)

Refunctioning of Abandoned Public Buildings

As it is mentioned above, several public institutions at Ulus Square and its vicinity were transferred to their new buildings in Kızılay and Bakanlıklar districts. Some of these buildings left empty for a short period of time and adaptation projects were developed for their reintegration to the daily life of Ulus Square. However, they were not successful enough to revitalise the social life of both the buildings and Ulus Square.

First of all, after the law of expropriation for CHP's assets, the First National Assembly building was transferred to the Treasury in 1953. Between 1957 and 1961, a project for transforming the building into a museum continued intensively. On 23 April 1961, the building was reopened as the Grand National Assembly of Turkey Museum (Erdoğan et al.: 2007b, 114). As Yalım suggests, even if this museum was the only reminder of the early Republican periods and the development of its ideological space, if it would not be integrated to the daily life of the city, it could not contribute or criticise the dynamic life where collective memory was continuously renewed (2017: 212-213).

On the other hand, after the relocation of the Assembly to its new building in Kızılay, the former building utilised as the Second National Assembly was left empty only for a short period of time. Between 1961 and 1979, the building was reopened as the head

quarter of CENTO⁵⁸⁶ (Erdoğan et al.: 2007b, 115). Similarly, Ankara Palas lost its political meaning for the city after the relocation of the Assembly and continued to function only till 1967 (Fırat: 1994, 476). Between 1967-68 and 1971, a restoration project was prepared and implemented by *Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü*/ Directorate General of Foundations, and the building was reopened as a hotel managed by OLEYİS⁵⁸⁷ until 1976. During those years, especially in summers, the hotel was intensively utilised as a garden-club where a popular Italian band was performing (Şenyapılı, Ö.: 2005, 329). Later, between 1976 and 1981, the building was rented by the Ministry of Industry and Technology and utilised as a bureau and museum.⁵⁸⁸ Compared to the new functions of other buildings discussed above, Ankara Palas was the only example that could maintain its original function for a decade. But on the other hand, due to the change on the user profile, the hotel could not sustain its meaning for the residents of Ankara. Therefore, it can be concluded that both the First and Second National Assembly buildings and Ankara Palace were exposed to the negative effects of the functional, physical, visual and socio-cultural transformation of Ulus Square and at the same time by having limited contacts with the square, they accelerated this transformation in a negative way.

⁵⁸⁶ Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), was a mutual security organisation dating from 1955 to 1979 and composed of Turkey, Iran, Pakistan and the UK. In 1959, the USA became an associate member and its headquarters was moved to Ankara. Following the fall of the shah in 1979, Iran withdrew, and CENTO was dissolved (Encyclopedia Britannica: 2017).

⁵⁸⁷ First named as The Union of Waiters, the union was established in 1947 by the gathering of hotel and restaurant employees. Later in 1951, the name of the union was changed into OLEYİS/ Hotel, Restaurant and Entertainment Places (*Tarihçe*, Türkiye Oleyis: 2017).

⁵⁸⁸ Ankara Palas'ın Tarihçesi (2016).

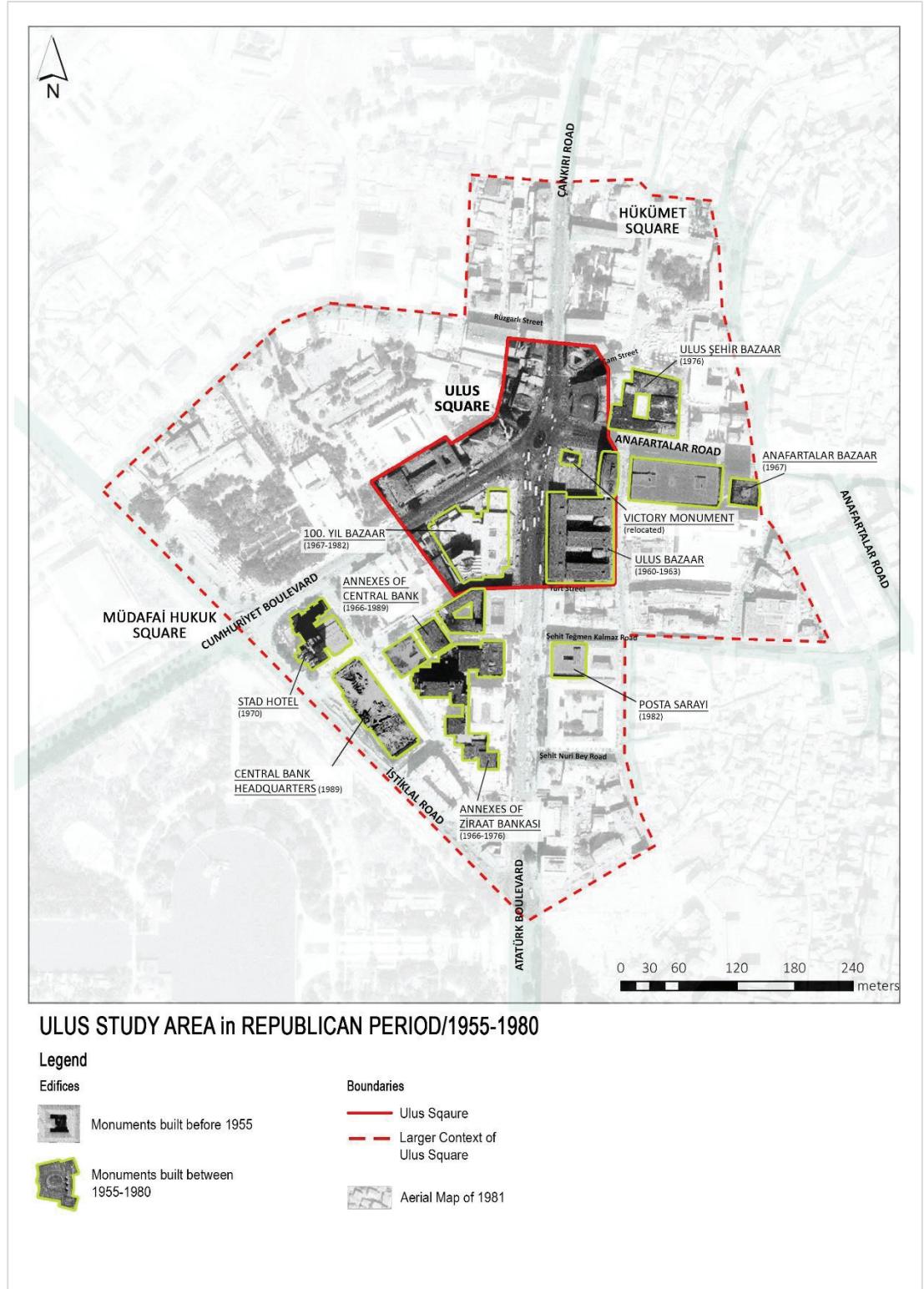


Figure 242 Ulus Study Area in Republican Period/ 1955-1980 (1981 Aerial Photo is utilised as the basemap)

4.3. PHASE III: FROM THE STABILITY OF NEGLIGENCE TO THE UNCERTAINTIES OF RENOVATION (1980-2018)

The first part of this section examines the period between 1980 and 1990, where the decline of both Ankara and Ulus Square radically accelerated regarding the socio-political, ideological and financial changes in Turkey. In addition to this, as an outcome of the implementations directed by master development plans and laws issued in previous decades, Ulus Square had lost its ideological and functional importance for Ankara. Along with this decline, several public buildings one by one lost their functional importance for the square, and eventually assigned with functions that could not prevent the decline of Ulus Square. Therefore, first part discusses the fall of Ulus Square and main factors that accelerated this fall in detail.

After a decade, starting from 1980s, Turkey witnessed several important developments in the field of conservation and in the urban conservation policies of the state, which started with the enactment of the Law on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property (2863). This radical change in the conservation understanding of state authorities activated a period for the development and implementation of the first conservation master plan of historic Ankara. But on the other hand, these positive events had limited impact on Ulus Square and its close vicinity to prevent its decline. Starting from 1990s, Turkey entered a period of radical transformation in the ideological tendencies of ruling parties. Most of the parties began to follow either conservative nationalistic ideologies, neo-liberal policies or both. Instead of developments related to urban issues, the transformation of political atmosphere and its impact on the transformation of socio-cultural structure in Turkey has marked 1990s. Therefore, in the second part of this section, concurrent with the conservation activities in Ankara, the socio-political atmosphere of 1990s is outlined and the emergence of the ideology that would later activate a series of planning and conservation decisions both in national and local areas is examined.

The last part of this section, examines the period between 2005 and 2018 where the radical change in planning and conservation issues in Turkey took place. Especially

for historic Ankara and Ulus Square, as the main activity area of the ruling party and the local authority, laws and regulations to change the existing urban fabric became remarkable in terms of their negative impacts on the integrity of historic urban tissue. Planning and conservation projects developed for historic Ankara are analysed and their impacts on the transformation of Ulus Square and its close vicinity are discussed in detail.

4.3.1. Fall of Ankara/ Fall of Ulus (1980-1990)

Starting from 1960s, the country witnessed an unprecedented growth of ideological movements represented by various political parties, institutions, and organisations. However, the liberal atmosphere⁵⁸⁹ created by the 1961 Constitution began to falter so quickly that, the increasing tendencies on Islamisation of several political parties⁵⁹⁰ resulted with a second military takeover in 1971 (Timur. 1987, 19). Even this attempt could not succeed in prohibiting the conservative trend in Turkey. Within a very short period, nationalistic-religious ideology increased its popularity (Toprak: 1987, 227). As a result, between 1971 and 1980, the rise of nationalistic-religious ideology accelerated faster than any decade in Turkey and a political polarisation between left and right-wing groups became sharper. Several incidents took place almost every day and the mass hostile activities between contradicting political groups aroused. As a result, in 1980, military has intervened directly in Turkish politics, and a totally new period for Turkey began with the new Constitution that was put into force in 1982.

Concurrent to the changes in socio-political atmosphere, Turkey embraced a liberal economic policies to find a solution for the problems such as the increase in monetary inflation, the decrease in foreign exchange reserves and the rate of unemployment; the state quickly adapted itself to the changing economic milieu of 1980s. As a part of liberal economic policies, new regulations on finance sector were developed for the

⁵⁸⁹ Toprak evaluates this period in Turkish history as probably the most liberal in terms of allowing social forces the freedom of expression (1987, 230).

⁵⁹⁰ *Milli Görüş*/ National Vision – a nationalistic-religious political vision – came into existence in Turkish political life with the foundation of the *Milli Nizam Partisi*/ National Order Party in January 1970. The party was shut down in May 1971 regarding its facilities to create an Islamic state in Turkey. In its place, *Milli Selamet Partisi*/ National Salvation Party was founded in October 1972, becoming the coalition partner in 1974, 1975 and 1977 (Atacan: 2006, 45).

economy as an attempt to be a part of global money circulation. Global banks and financial institutions were allowed to open their branches in Turkey. As an outcome of this change, central government-based liberalisation and adaptation policies brought İstanbul to the foreground as the financial centre of the country (Gökçe: 2008, 126). During 1980s, several international banks opened their branches in İstanbul and at the same time national banks (mostly privately owned and some of public banks) that were previously located in Ankara, one by one transferred their headquarters to İstanbul. Consequently, liberal economic policies, both at central and local government levels started to affect the urban macroforms and socio-spatial structures of cities (Gökçe: 2008, 126), especially Ankara.

The diminishing financial character of Ankara and the increasing importance of İstanbul both for the banks and the investors also activated several other profound changes that accelerated the decline of Ankara. With the shift in the financial activities from Ankara, most of the population dealing with finance sector and high-income groups living in Ankara also moved to İstanbul. By this way, a considerable amount of intellectual population started to move to İstanbul. Once, the migration that started from all around the country to Ankara with the excitement of War of Independence, was now directed to İstanbul (Özkök: 1990, 124). This decentralization of producer services was not experienced only from the capital to the primary city, but also in the internal structure of Ankara. Due to the transportation facilities and urban peripheralization, central business activities decentralized to the southern part of the Kızılay (Altaban: 1998 and Osmay: 1998, cited in Gökçe: 2008, 126). Concurrently, several activities regarding urban planning were taking place in Ankara between 1970 and 1994.

Planning and Conservation Activities in Ankara

According to Günay, in late 1960s planning environment was much better equipped through the experiences gained from previous decades (2012). In 1965, a specific type of bureau was established by the Ministry of Development, which was assigned in developing master plans for Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir. From now on, development

issues became the realm of three different authorities; Ankara Municipality, Directorate of Urban Development and the newly established *Ankara Metropolitan Alan Nazım Plan Bürosu* (AMANP)/ Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Bureau in 1969 (Tekeli: 1982, 76).

AMANP⁵⁹¹ prepared a continuously developing project starting with an intensive study based on analysis between 1970 and 1975, and 1990 Master Plan was approved in 1982. The plan was mainly developed as a strategic plan that aimed to prevent the negative impacts of land speculations and the implementations of District Height Regulation Plans on urban fabric of Ankara. Due to the limitations of their authority, these attempts were not successful enough to change the system (Günay: 2005, 98). On the other hand, 1990 Master Plan with a projection of twenty years (Sancaktar, cited in Kayasü: 2005, 177) was quite successful in terms of defining new areas for the urban growth, outside the borders of Yücel-Uybadin Plan.

For the first time in the planning history of Turkey, a plan estimated a realistic population growth for Ankara, 3.9 million for 1990. In addition to its realistic calculations for population, the second important proposal of the plan was to save the city from the over populated and densely developed bowl, that was surrounded by squatter areas, and to direct the development to new and more feasible areas (Şenyapılı, Tansı: 2005, 218). West corridors (north-west and south-west corridors) were defined as the main growth direction for Ankara, and to support this idea transferring public institutions and opening of new residential areas on the western part of the city were also proposed (Uzun: 2005, 204). Most importantly, this plan conceived Ulus area as more important than Kızılay, conceptualized it as the main core of the city centre and considered more fortunate to take up future spatial development services (Bademli: 1987, 158). Even though there were several other attempts for developing new plans for the city of Ankara such as the 2015 Structure Plan (1986), due to the problems related to regulations, laws and most importantly the

⁵⁹¹ It was a planning bureau directed by Haluk Alatan and Özcan Altaban, both city planners with architecture background, and most of the bureau members were mainly graduates of the METU City and Regional Planning.

pressure of political and administrative figures, this plan was not implemented during 1980s and 1990s. Therefore, The Master Plan 1990 continued to be utilised for decades with several interruptions changing the main objectives of this plan.

Parallel to the implementation of 1990 Ankara Master Plan, several developments in the field of conservation took place in Turkey. Even though the understanding of conservation gradually changed, its impact on the urban tissue around Ulus Square and its close vicinity was limited. With the introduction of the term ‘site’ by 1710 Ancient Properties Law in 1973, the maps defining conservation sites within historic Ankara were developed by the METU team, and approved by GEEAYK in 1980 (n. A-2167). For the first time in Ankara, boundaries of urban and archaeological sites were defined (**Figure 243**), and development conditions were defined by transition period conservation and development rules until the preparation of a conservation plan that would be utilised as the main guideline for the activities within the area defined as historic Ankara conservation site.

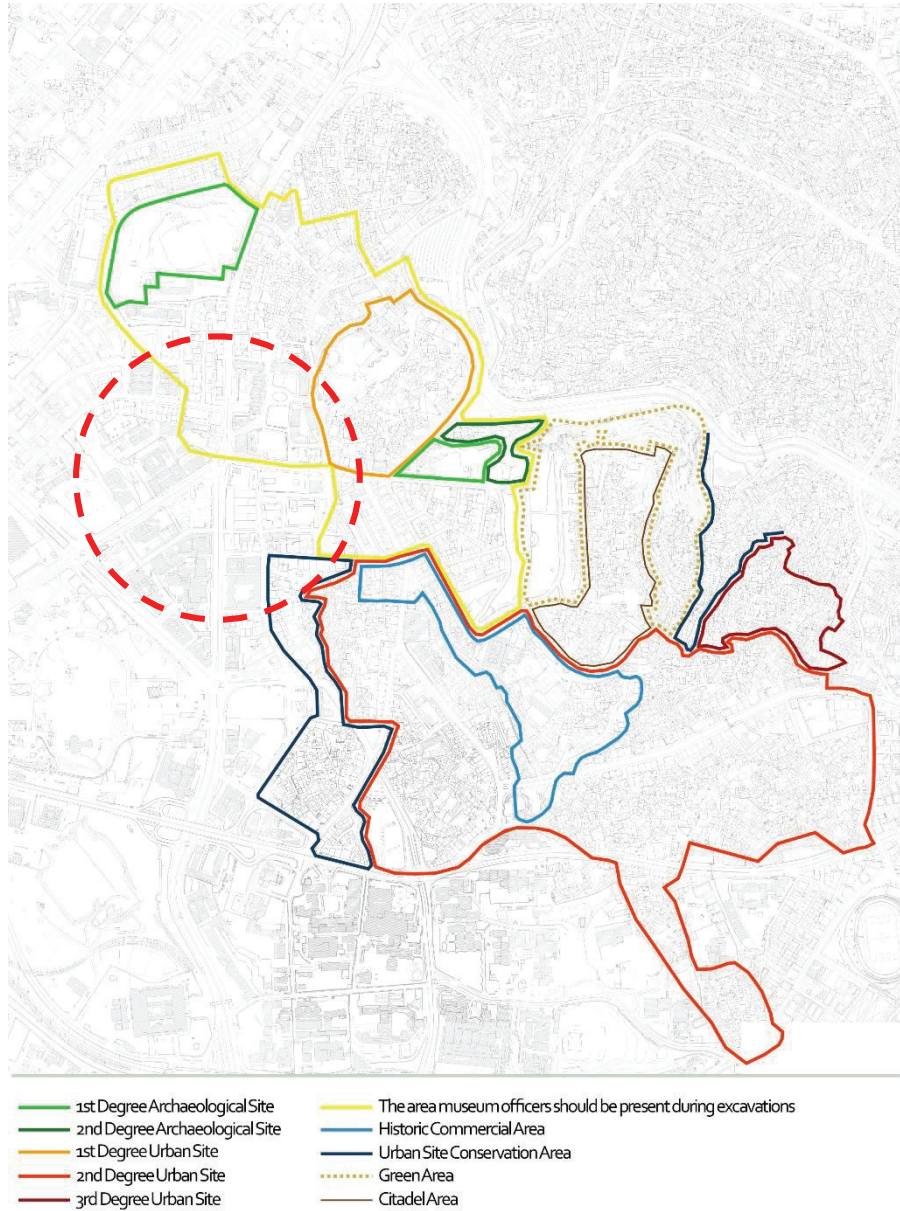


Figure 243 Archaeological and urban site boundaries within historic Ankara in 1980

Labelled on the map with red dotted circle in **Figure 243**, major part of Ulus Square and its close vicinity was not included in the conservation sites. On the other hand, the area on the northern parts of Ulus Square, situated both sides of Çankırı Road, was defined within the territory of “The area museum officers should be present during excavations”. Even though, this map can be considered as an important beginning regarding the conservation of historic Ankara in its entirety, for the case of Ulus Square and its close vicinity, it hardly defined any conservation measures for the continuity of values attached to the area throughout its history. Nevertheless,

monuments listed in **Table 7** that were located either at Ulus Square or its close vicinity were registered during this period. Therefore, 1970s and 1980s witnessed a radical shift in the conservation of monuments and historic areas; whereas public open spaces were still not discussed in detail as an essential element of historic areas.

Table 7 Registered heritage located in Ulus Square and its close vicinity, 1970-1980 period

Block/ Lot Number	Name of The Cultural Asset	Registration Date	Registration Level	Registered By
7217/1	Ankara Palas Devlet Konukevi/ Ankara Palas State Guesthouse	14.10.1972	1	
27/8	Ziraat Bankası Genel Müdürlüğü/ Head Quarter of Ziraat Bank	14.10.1972	1	6691
728/1	Osmanlı Bankası/ Ottoman Bank	14.10.1972	1	
720/28	I. TBMM Müzesi/ the First National Assembly Museum	14.10.1972	1	
2720/52	II. TBMM Binası/ the Second National Assembly Building	14.10.1972	1	
	Julien (Jülyen) Sütunu/ Julian Column	14.10.1972	1	
796/4	Gümrük ve Ticaret Bakanlığı Binası (Eski Maliye Bakanlığı Binası)/ the Ministry of Customs and Trade (former Ministry of Finance)	14.10.1972	1	
869/1, 2	Zincirli Camii/ Zincirli Mosque	14.10.1972	(-)	
796/5	Türkiye İş Bankası Binası/ Turkey İş Bank	14.10.1972	1	
6099/19	Hamidiye Çeşmesi/ Hamidiye Fountain	12.04.1980	3	A-2167
825/6	Ticaret/ Commerce	12.04.1980	2	A-2167
5862/2	Atatürk Heykeli/ Atatürk Monument	12.04.1980	1	A-2167
5866/5	İş Hanı/ Office Block	12.04.1980	3	A-2167
6950/2	Emlak Kredi Bankası Timlo Şirketi/ Emlak Kredi Bank Timlo Company	12.04.1980	1	A-2167
727/10	Merkez Bankası/ the Central Bank	12.04.1980	1	A-2167
728/2	Vakıflar Bölge Müdürlüğü Ek Binası/ Annex of Directorate General of Foundations	12.04.1980	1	A-2167
729/1	Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Evkaf Apartmanı/ Evkaf Apartment, Directorate General of Foundations	12.04.1980	2	A-2167
2720/28	Sayıştay Binası/ Court of Accounts Building	12.04.1980	1	A-2167

In parallel to these, legislative issues in the field of conservation in Turkey entered a transformation process during 1980s, in parallel to the changes in the definition and principles of conservation. First started with the adopting of the policies declared in Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage⁵⁹² by the National Assembly in 1982, the state accepted to take full responsibility in documentation, conservation and exhibition of cultural and natural assets of Turkey and accepted to apply the consultancy of national and international cooperation for financial, scientific and technical issues.

In 1983, a new conservation legislation, *Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu*/ Law on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property (n. 2863) was enacted replacing 1710 Ancient Properties Law. Parallel to this, GEEAYK was also replaced with *Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Yüksek Kurulu (KTVKYK)*/ the Superior Council for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property. Apart from its positive impacts in the field of conservation, one of the most important development introduced by this law was the definition of *Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planı*/ Conservation Master Plan that integrated the idea of master plan and conservation plan. With additional clauses and regulations, 2863 Law continued to be utilised as the primary law for conservation activities in Turkey.

As a part of these changes, two decisions were announced by KTVKYK in 1985 (n. 1378) and 1986 (n. 2458), which changed the boundaries of conservation sites for Ankara defined in 1980. As can be seen in **Figure 244a**, the area defined as 3rd degree Urban Site was cancelled and this area was included to 2nd Degree Urban Site, whereas a new area was defined as transition zone in 1985. A year later, there were further changes to these boundaries (**Figure 244b**). While boundary of transition zone and urban site conservation area was enlarged, historic commercial area and 2nd degree urban site was narrowed. Additionally, no further decision was taken regarding Ulus

⁵⁹² The General Conference of the UNESCO meeting in Paris from 17 October to 21 November 1972, at its seventeenth session.

Square and its close vicinity, and the boundary of “The area museum officers should be present during excavations” remained unchanged since 1980.

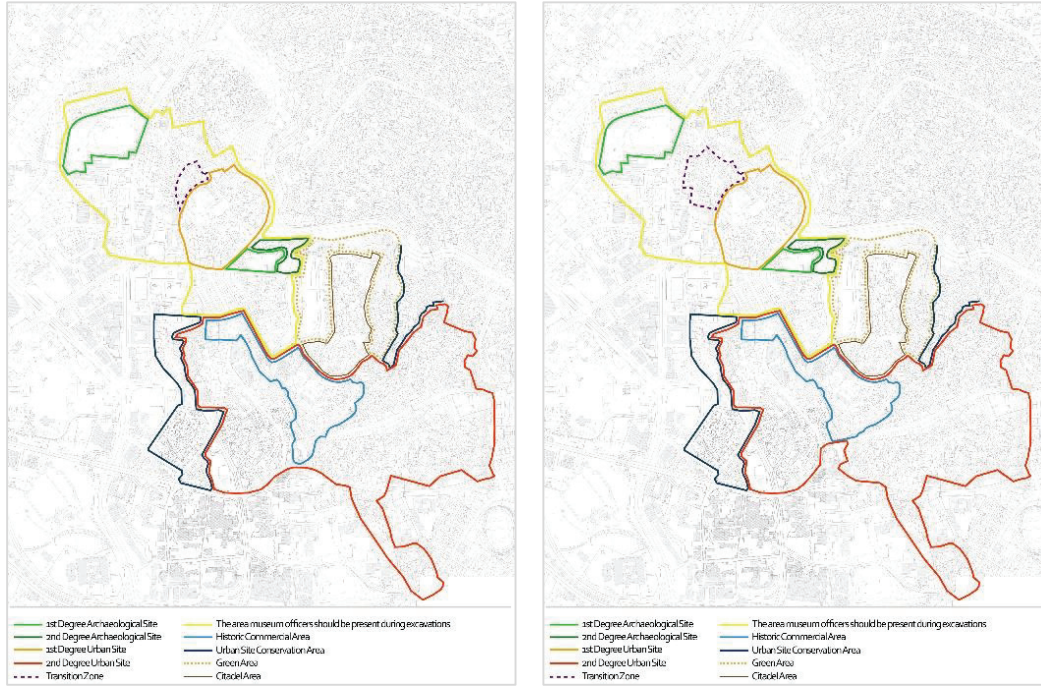


Figure 244 Archaeological and urban site boundaries within historic Ankara **a. 1985 a. 1986**

Although definition of sites (urban, archaeological etc.) and approval of their conservation plans were the responsibility of KTVKYK, 2863 Law also assigned municipalities as the responsible body for the development of these conservation plans. Accordingly, Ankara Municipality Urban Planning and Development Directorate organised a competition in 1986 and a project team from METU⁵⁹³ won the first prize. After a detailed analytical study, documentation and assessment process, *Ulus Tarihi Kent Merkezi Koruma Islah İmar Planı/ Ulus Historic City Centre Conservation and Improvement Master Plan* was approved by Ankara Regional Council for Conservation (decision n. 954) and put into force in 1990 with the decision of the Municipal Council (decision n. 33). Between 1990 and 2005, this conservation master plan was utilised as the main guideline for the urban activities continued in historic Ankara.

⁵⁹³ Team Members: Raci Bademli (team leader), City Planning Team: Ömer H. Kırıl, Baykan Günay, Funda Erkal, Zeki K. Ülkenli, Can Kubin, Deniz Altay; and Neriman Şahin, Ertuğrul Morçöl, Yeşim Nalcıoğlu; Architecture Team: Abdi Güzer, Çiğdem Tacal, Korkut Onaran and Barış Eyikan; Urban Furniture Team: Mehmet Asatekin; Landscape Advisor: Alaaddin Egemen, Transportation Advisor: Rüştü Yüce.

Overall Context of Ulus Square and Its Close Vicinity

The tendency of the city centre to shift from Ulus Square to Kızılay Square during 1960s resulted with the increase in the importance of Kızılay compared to Ulus by the end of the decade. Starting from 1970s, Kızılay became the main central area for the city in terms of the concentration of commercial, financial, administrative and leisure time activities. Whereas Ulus was mainly utilised by low-income groups for commercial and leisure time activities, and also by the officials working at public institutions and banks. Parallel to the transformation of the user profile and the rapid increase in the population and building density within districts located around Kızılay, a gradual shift on the residential areas of high-income groups from Kızılay district to southern parts of the city had started during the end of 1950s and accelerated in 1960s. As a result, in 1970s, the main residential area for high-income groups were concentrated around Kavaklıdere-Çankaya areas, whereas middle-income groups preferred Kızılay and its surrounding districts, and low-income groups were living in areas located around Ulus.

For instance; in Selçuk Baran's novel, the conversation between the protagonist and his wife Sevim – likes to have a luxurious life but married to a man with middle income – who wanted to move into a new house in Çankaya district simply reveals the trend of 1970s in Ankara (2002: 182);

Suddenly Sevim suggested: Let's move from this house.

- No way, don't create an inconvenience.

- ... What if we can go a little bit to the southern parts... to Çankaya, to Ayrancı... What do you think?

- Those houses must be expensive. We cannot afford it...

Similar to previous decades, during 1980s, after the transfer of residential areas inhabited by high-income groups from Kızılay to Kavaklıdere-Çankaya area, shops and offices addressing these groups gradually moved their business to Kavaklıdere area. In a short amount of time, Kavaklıdere became the main commercial area for the

high-income groups during 1980s.⁵⁹⁴ Kızılay was the main business and producer service centre (Bademli: 1987, 157), and therefore utilised by residents with different socio-economic backgrounds. And Ulus increased its importance for low-income groups mainly the migrants from rural areas of Turkey, due to its traditional commercial facilities.

Although the spatial boundaries of Ulus Square remained almost the same during 1980s, the service composition and the activities fundamentally changed, due to the downfall of business services (Levent: 2007, 159). Moreover, with the changing regulations of building heights and masses, Ulus Square, its close vicinity and the northern parts of Atatürk Boulevard were transformed into a crowded traffic node. The width of the vehicle way on the boulevard that was 30 m wide during 1940s, increased to 50m with the demolition of the green median refuge in the middle and the wide sidewalks on both sides of the boulevard (Batuman: 2017, 67) (**Figure 245a, b**).

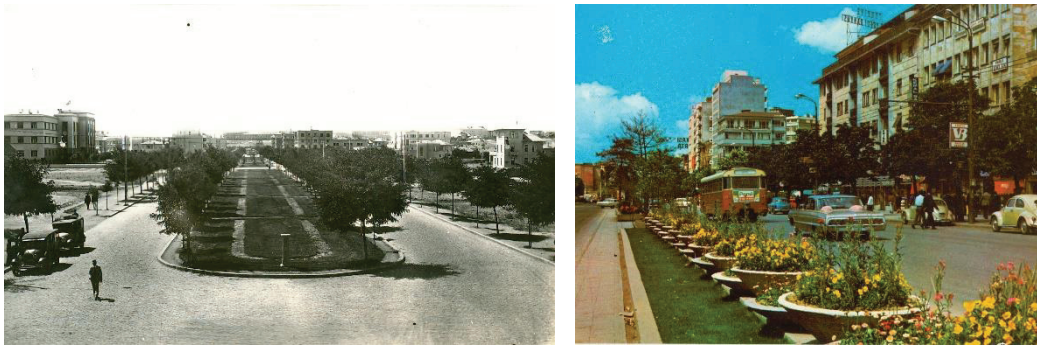


Figure 245 Transformation of Atatürk Boulevard, around Zafer Square **a.** Wide green median refuge in the middle, 1930s (VEKAM: 0886) **b.** Only a small green area was left and most of the trees were cut down, early 1980s (VEKAM: 2648)

As a result, a highly dense urban tissue was formed around Ulus Square and its close vicinity, where cars and motor vehicles were dominating the setting and almost no public open space were left for the residents of Ankara to socialise within the area (**Figure 246a-d**).⁵⁹⁵ The negative impacts of master plans, laws, regulations and

⁵⁹⁴ In Sevgi Özel's novel, the protagonist liked to do spend time at luxury shops. After her shopping for the whole day at Tunalı Hilmi Road (Kavaklıdere), she thought that "I bought whatever I wanted to buy from the most famous and expensive shops in the city" (2002: 295).

⁵⁹⁵ According to Batuman, the main factor that destroyed the square as a social space, was the destruction of public open green areas where predefined practices/activities could emerge easily (2017: 67).

problematic implementations on the urban tissue of Ulus Square and its immediate surrounding can easily be followed through the comments of its user groups:

Wide roads where one can follow the thought of the mind, dream of the heart, do not exist in Ankara anymore. People are living in the middle of a jungle there. Lahmacun and hamburger smells already dominated the odour of acacia. Besides, it has been a long time since acacias vanished... The metropolitan life demolished every beauty related to human kind. Everyone passing through look at the Castle as an irrelevant ruin. The Castle does not seem the same anymore to anyone, as it appears to Tanpınar (Oktay: 2001, 285-286).

There were birds in the capital then. The trees grow birds instead of leaves on their branches. Bird cheeping walked in the veins of the trees. When they hear those screams, residents of the capital embraced life more tightly. Even if they do not buy something, they are lined up in front of the showcases and look sincerely at the expensive beauty. Children's screams, alcohol-smelling laughter, tiredness of walks from the squatter areas to Kızılay, all mixed and vanished with the birds cheeping and the sea was over at the soaked sidewalk of beauty (Sezgin: 2001, 295).



Figure 246 Ulus Square in 1980s, overcrowded and transformed into a traffic node **a.** 1980s (ANT: 2018) **b.** 1986 (ANT: 2018) **c.** A view from the square to Çankırı Road (AA: 2017) **d.** Atatürk Boulevard (AA: 2017)

Ankara was attacked by unsophisticated money... To go out during 1980s disgusted me in another way, I could not find anything I wanted from the city. I could not find any addresses. You go there, demolished, replaced by a skyscraper. You go here, nothing! All contractors... contractors have ruined life. I cannot find an address. You go to a friend you know for forty years, nothing. It was destroyed. That moved there, this moved here... (Atasü: 2001, 379).

The rapid urbanisation and the increase in population without a policy of the state on industrialisation and development, unavoidably resulted with the housing shortage as one of the main problems of Turkey during 1980s (İnkaya: 1972, 56). This shortage did not only affect the physical aspects of the urban tissue in big cities, it also created several socio-cultural problems. Within this context, Ankara as the second populated city of Turkey – over two million – witnessed almost all negative impacts of this transformation during 1980s.

Even though the housing problem in Ankara dated back to the early periods of the Republic, it became an important issue starting from 1940s and 1950s where squatter areas started to expand almost every direction around the city. On the other hand, despite the lack of housing stocks for the immigrants coming from rural areas, with the encouragement of numerous repentance laws⁵⁹⁶ issued for squatter areas, the migration and construction of squatters continued during 1980s. As a result, central Ankara was surrounded by squatter districts⁵⁹⁷ where a high percentage of the population was living. According to Sema Erder, the new life of the ones migrated to the city was largely formed by the transformation of the cultural characteristics they brought from their villages through the experiences they had in the city (cited in, Yıldırım: 2015, 563). As the major interaction milieu of these migrants in terms of

⁵⁹⁶ In 1980s, the military government in power legalised existing squatters and prohibited new ones. A 1983 law no.2805 set forth criteria for distinguishing the illegal structures to be destroyed and those to be retained. Later in 1984, the law no 2981 legalising the existing squatters was a radical departure from former policies. As a result, in 1986 with the law no.3290, the title deeds were given to squatters (Keleş and Geray: 1995, 146). Moreover, the attempts to transform squatter areas into public open spaces by the Development Law, could only be effective in limited areas (Görmez: 2004, 52). Therefore, the problem of squatters became the main subject of political arena during 1980s that every party exploited as part of their propaganda before and during elections.

⁵⁹⁷ The east of the city was composed of only squatter districts (Günay: 2005, 88). During 1980s, expansion of squatter areas continued on the north, south and east peripheries of the city (Uzun: 2005, 204).

commercial and leisure time activities, the spatial characteristics and the meaning of Ulus Square also changed accordingly.

Among these changes, meaning of the Victory Monument for the residents of Ankara and its utilisation started to diminish. Most of the users previously valued the monument as the symbol of the War of Independence and utilised it for national celebrations abandoned Ulus Square. Parallel to their disappearance, a new user group mainly coming to Ankara from other cities emerged, having no interactions with the monument in their daily life, therefore they had no connection with the monument like the former users of the square. Thus, the monument gained a different meaning and purpose for these new users as a street furniture where its levelled surface was used as a bank while waiting for others or spending time to watch around (**Figure 247a, b**). Hence, the ideological meaning attached to the Victory Monument began to disappear starting from 1980s, and the statue turned into an object with no meaning for the new users of the square.

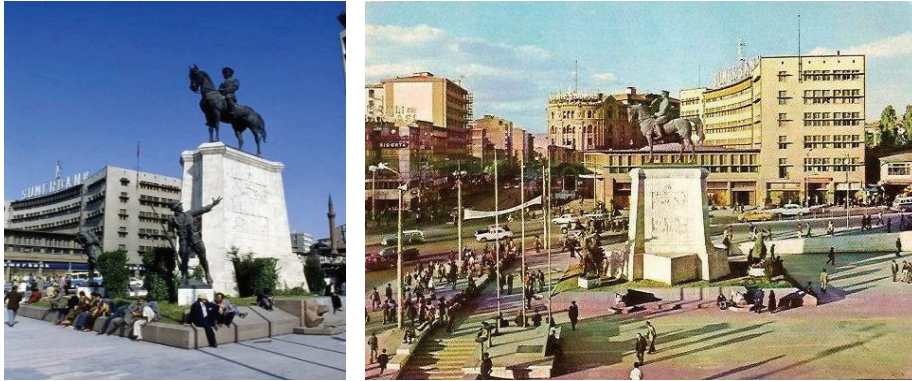


Figure 247 a. Victory Monument; users of the square were sitting on its platforms (AA: 2017) **b.** Surrounding of the monument is used as a waiting place (İşçen: 2017)

Parallel to the negative changes in the commercial and social life at Ulus Square, the gradual transformation of *Gençlik Parkı* came to a turning point during 1980s. Day by day the public lost its interest in the park and the abandonment of high-income groups was followed by the middle-income groups too. Moreover, authorities also stopped financing the park to maintain its activities and therefore, in a short amount of time careless treatments affected *Gençlik Parkı* both in physical and functional means. Several annexes for the gazinos located around the pool were built and the park went

under minor implementation projects that were not integrated with each other. As a result, most of the gazinos where most famous singers were taking place in the previous decades, started to be utilised as coffee houses and tea gardens by the low-income groups (**Figure 248a, b**).

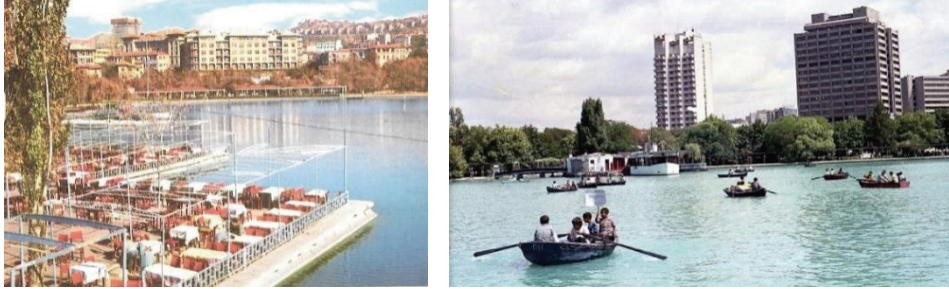


Figure 248 a. *Çaybahçesi*/ Tea garden at *Gençlik Parkı* (Keskinok: 2009, 226) **b.** Pool at *Gençlik Parkı*, 1980s (AA: 2017)

Despite these developments, there was a valuable aspect of Ankara that remained unchanged: The beautiful sunset experienced especially in the Citadel area and also in several other locations including Ulus Square (**Figure 249a, b**). Almost in every period of Ankara, a writer, poet, novelist, or a notable figure expressed their feelings on Ankara with a clear emphasis on the sunset as an important visual aspect about the historic parts of the city.⁵⁹⁸ Thus, specific settings⁵⁹⁹ within historic Ankara creating the chance to experience sunset with a wide angle were considered as valuable. By standing at the centre of Ulus Square and looking to the direction of İstasyon area, it is quite beautiful to see the sun set and the changing colour of the sky at the background of several monumental historic buildings aligned on the road.



Figure 249 Sunset a. The view of the city from the Castle, 1922 (Frédéric Gadmer Archive, A037131) **b.** View of *Gençlik Parkı* from Namazgahtepe area (Dericizade: 2016)

⁵⁹⁸ İsmail Habib Sevük (2001: 58) Ayla Kutlu (cited in Batur: 1994, 428), Paul Gentizon (2001), Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu (2001: 229), Ernest Mamboury (2014: 189), Hikmet Birand (1963: 29-30), Ali Cengizkan (1994: 497)

⁵⁹⁹ On his guide book, Mamboury described a location in Historic Ankara (also labelled on the map) that one can enjoy the view and visual aspects of sunset (2014: 138).

Ulus Square as a Transportation Hub

As a result of states' planning and conservation policy, Ulus Square and its close vicinity lost its importance as being the main centre of the city. Similar to other activities, Kızılay also became the main transportation hub for the city, and Ulus was transformed into a secondary station. Due to the rise of Kızılay Square and Kavaklıdere area, and the increase in the population of city's peripheries, privately owned buses started to operate in 1982 (EGO: 1987, 15). Due to the increase in the number of the privately-owned buses, municipality first cancelled the operations of station-dolmuş vehicles followed by the trolleybuses⁶⁰⁰ because of their technical problems and limited speed in 1980s (**Figure 250a, b**).



Figure 250 Last trolleybuses of Ankara **a.** Line 1: Çankaya -Yıldırımbeazıt (AA: 2018) **b.** Line 2: Yenimahalle - Ulus (AA: 2018)

Alienation of Public Buildings from the Daily Life of Ulus Square: Museumification of the Area

As mentioned in the previous section, after the abandonment of administrative functions located on Ulus Square, the buildings left empty for a short period of time and later, most of them were re-functioned due to the demand. Since the state and municipality's main focus had shifted from Ulus to the southern parts of the city, refunctioning projects for these abandoned buildings were developed with no detailed analytic studies or assessments. As a result, like several other activities in Ulus Square, refunctioning of these buildings also created problems regarding the usage intensity of Ulus Square.

⁶⁰⁰ Before the cancellation, trolleybuses were operating in these lines: 1. Çankaya - Yıldırımbeazıt, 2. Yenimahalle - Ulus, 3. Maltepe/Anıttepe - Ulus, 4. Cebeci - Ulus, 5. Bahçelievler - Ulus, 6. Kocatepe - Ulus, 10. Kavaklıdere (Farabi sok.) - Yıldırımbeazıt, 12. Kavaklıdere (Farabi sok.) - İstasyon, 17. Bahçelievler - Dikimevi.

Building of the First National Assembly was transformed into a museum and opened in 1961 as the Grand National Assembly of Turkey Museum. For almost two decades the building functioned as a museum. Moreover, as a part of the celebrations organised for the 100th birth anniversary of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, again the building went under a restoration and interior design project. Renamed as *Kurtuluş Savaşı Müzesi*/ War of Independence Museum, the building was opened on 23 April 1981 and continued to function until present day.⁶⁰¹ Concurrently, the Second National Assembly, which was utilised as the head quarter of CENTO between 1961 and 1979, was transferred to the Ministry of Culture after CENTO was dissolved. Again, as a part of the celebrations, the front part of the building was arranged (repair, restoration and exhibition design) as the *Cumhuriyet Müzesi*/ Republic Museum and back part as the service building of the *Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü*/ General Directorate of Ancient Objects and Museums.⁶⁰² But the museum could only stay opened until 1985, and again it was closed for a comprehensive restoration project to transform the entire building into a museum.

The last museumification project was developed for the first building of Ziraat Bank that was constructed in the Early Republican period. After the construction of several annexes and the building of General Directorate, most of the functions were transferred to this building and the adaptation project for the previous building into a museum began immediately. In a short amount of time, the building was transformed into the first specialised bank museum in Turkey that concentrated on the history of Ziraat Bank, was opened in 1981. Consequently, like the buildings mentioned previously, Ziraat Bank as one of the main financial buildings of the area also lost its importance for the area as one of the major financial buildings, and transformed into a museum during this period.

Contrary to above mentioned examples, the refunctioning of Ankara Palas had a different story. After the transfer of the Assembly to the southern parts of the city,

⁶⁰¹ Ankara Kurtuluş Savaşı Müzesi (2018).

⁶⁰² About the Republic Museum (2018).

Ankara Palas lost its importance as the main hotel of the state. Short after, a restoration project was prepared to revitalize the building as a hotel. After the restoration, Ankara Palas was rented by OLEYIS and continued to be utilised as a hotel until 1976. Then, the Ministry of Industry and Technology rented the building between 1976 and 1981. According to Fırat, introduction of the ideas to reveal the historic value of Ankara Palas, affected the periods Prime Minister to activate series of meetings for determining a suitable function for the building. As a result of the discussions, the building was re-functioned as *Konuklar Köşkü*/ Guests Mansion for the foreign and local guests of the state, which was found suitable for its historic value (1994: 476).

The second restoration project of Ankara Palas, mainly focusing on the basic repair activities was completed in 1982, and the building was re-assigned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Again the name of the building was changed and the name *Ankara Palas Devlet Konukevi*/ Ankara Palas State Guesthouse was used starting from its opening on 29 September 1983.⁶⁰³ Compared to the buildings discussed above, Ankara Palas had the chance to continue its function through proper restoration projects developed with the knowledge regarding its historic importance both for the city and the country. On the other hand, constant changes in its name created a confusion in the memory of the public, which would have a negative impact on its meaning for the city. As a result, even though the suitable functioning of a historic building was quite important for its physical, functional and ideological continuity, utilisation of only one building among others was not enough to slow down the collapse of Ulus Square and its ideological/political meaning in late 1980s.

As discussed above, except Ankara Palas, the rest of the abandoned public buildings located in Ulus Square and its close vicinity, were all refunctioned as museums. In addition to the problems of functional standardisation in the area, their projects lacking detailed analytic studies would soon create irreversible effects in the physical unity of the buildings. Moreover, the constant change in the functioning of these buildings also created an interruption in the functional continuity in the area. Most importantly,

⁶⁰³ (mfa.gov.tr, 2018).

prolonged restoration and repair projects became an important determinant for the weakening in the meaning attached to the buildings, the ideology they represented and the connection between the user and the buildings. Therefore this period created a gap in the memory of the public which resulted the radical decline in their ideological importance for the city. Since they were closed or under construction for long periods, this situation also affected their active role in the daily life of Ulus Square.

4.3.2. Years of Negligence for Ulus Square (1990-2005)

In 1980s, reformist developments in financial aspects created a change in the state economy to be opened to the world market. Even though the integration attempts had positive effects on Turkish economy, these policies also caused the country's economy to become completely vulnerable to external influences. As a result, financial crisis began to occur frequently due to the capital inflows and outflows (Şenses cited in, Eraydın and Armatlı-Köroğlu: 2005, 273). Regarding the rising economic inconsistency of 1990s, several socio-cultural and political deformations occurred in Turkey that could easily be seen at the metropolitan cities such as İstanbul and Ankara.

Starting from 1970s and raising considerably after 1980s, political parties⁶⁰⁴ and the society had an increasing interest in nationalistic-religious ideologies. Moreover, during the making of the Constitution of 1982, the army adopted the Turkish-Islamic synthesis as official ideology of the state in order to counter social and political polarization and to unite the nation under the Islamic umbrella (Oprea: 2014, 137). Along with the changes in the constitution and regulations of the state, a substantial transformation began in the ideological views of an important part of the society. For the first time in the history of the Republic, an Islamist government *Refah Partisi (RP)*/ Welfare Party won the elections in 1995. On the other hand, the increasing influence of political Islam also provoked a gradually intensifying anxiety for the urban middle classes that had embraced the modernist and secular culture of the Republic (Batuman: 2008, 106). Therefore, the political atmosphere of 1990s has fostered a religious-

⁶⁰⁴ The establishment of *Milli Selamet Partisi*/ National Salvation Party in 1972, which soon became one of the most powerful parties in the Assembly (the coalition partner in 1974, 1975 and 1977), activated the expansion of nationalistic-religious ideology in Turkey.

secular dichotomy that would reach to its climax with the several implementations and regulations of ruling parties.

Along with these events, İ. Melih Gökçek as the representative of RP was elected as the mayor of the Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara in 1994. During the first years of his administration, he preferred not to target the modernisation movements of the Republican period outspokenly. Instead, Gökçek started his activities by changing the names of the streets/ roads that were contradicting with their political ideology (Özkan and Yoloğlu: 2005, 54).⁶⁰⁵ Additionally, to reach larger masses, he developed several projects to transform the public open space character of Ankara. New statues and landscape designs started to be seen at the most crowded public open spaces of Ankara, especially at Kızılay Square⁶⁰⁶ (Batuman: 2017, 72). On the other hand, Ulus Square as the secondary central district of Ankara, was not considered as important as Kızılay and therefore became more and more neglected during 1990s.

Meanwhile, Ankara Urban Transportation Master Plan, prepared in 1985, was approved in 1994 with revisions. While the plan emphasised the integration of land use and transportation decisions and the priority of pedestrians (Atak: 2005, 102), it lacked short-term traffic solutions and public transportation regulations resulting in uncontrolled transportation infrastructure investments of the municipality for “saving the day” (Öncü, 2009: 9-10). Therefore, starting from 1995, urban transportation activities – that was in fact against the transportation plan – resulted in traffic congestion, air pollution, severe difficulties for pedestrians and at the same time the decline of public open spaces and their utilisation within Ankara.

⁶⁰⁵ Between 1994 and 2005, 235 of the streets, with names referring to modern bourgeoisie were replaced with the names associated with Islam or Ottoman. Some of the names that do not have any special meaning but have a place in collective memory were also changed (Bahçelievler 7th Road was replaced with Aşkabat Road). Most importantly names of the streets or roads that specific buildings are located or witnessed important events were also changed (Özkan and Yoloğlu: 2005, 54, 59).

⁶⁰⁶ Starting from the Ramadan month of 1997, every year The Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara set up iftar tent at Güvenpark/ Kızılay Square. This attempt induced the flow of Islamic identity to the city centre where clothes and attitudes of the ones utilising the tent became a part of the political narrative that the municipality wanted to promote (Batuman: 2017, 73).

Despite the intensive planning studies⁶⁰⁷ for a new master plan for Ankara, these plans were not officially approved and Ankara continued to develop through the framework defined by the Master Plan 1990 (prepared in 1982, revisions in 1990) (Günay: 2013, 17). Most of the urban development patterns of the city continued almost in the same order. As the continuation of previous decades, central business functions were still concentrated in Kızılay, and partially in Çankaya and Gaziosmanpaşa area. Ulus lost its remaining business service character for the city with the transfer of most of the activities from Ulus to Eskişehir Road. The northern parts of the central business district/ Ulus Square was surrounded by low-income residents and transition zone activities, whereas the southern part of the centre was surrounded by high-income residents, embassies, foreign representatives and public institutions (Gökçe: 2008, 129). Moreover, the demand in residential and commercial buildings on the southern parts of the city increased and Tunalı Hilmi Road had fringed to the southern parts of the city.

In a short amount of time Ankara was transformed into an overcrowded city dominated by massive buildings and vehicular traffic. With the laws encouraging the increase in building heights, most of the buildings located at the main axis, such as Atatürk Boulevard and Çankırı Road, were replaced with high-rise blocks by the end of 1990s (**Figure 251a, b**). As a result of vehicle and construction-oriented policies of the municipality, most of the urban activities and implementations of this period had negative impacts on the physical and functional unity of public open spaces in Ankara.

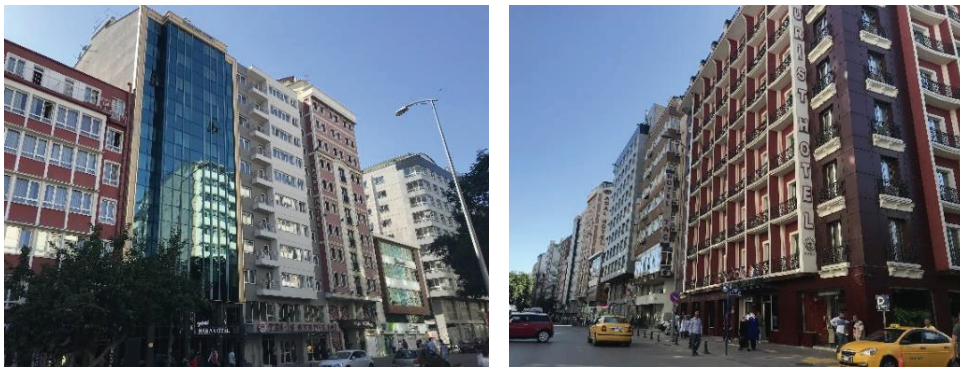


Figure 251 a. b. Çankırı Road, 2018 (Author)

⁶⁰⁷ In 1985 (Ankara Master Plan 2015) and 1989 (Ankara Master Plan 2025), the municipality assigned planning groups from METU Department of City and Regional Planning for the development of a new master plan. For further information, see: Kayasü (2005), Günay (2012, 2013), Çalışkan (2009) and Levent (2007).

This physical transformation was soon followed by the demise of the public open space utilisation, their transformation into places of dereliction, and most importantly detachment of the residents from the urban spaces began through the diminishing public open spaces in Ankara. Jale Erzen describes herself among the citizens who started to lose their attachment to the spaces of Ankara as follows (2001: 321-332);

As I pass through the streets today, I prefer not to look around, but to look backwards rather than forward. I cannot see the horizon. There are trucks, cars, multi-storey monotonous buildings lined up like soldiers, between us and the sky...The places where the cities can be shared with others, which makes people feel at home; especially if we can share not only these places but also the events there, then we feel ourselves more as a part of the community...The Republican period architecture was a very rich and pleasant architecture. It was much closer to the people. In every forty years, Ankara is destroyed to the ground and rebuilt. The only aim of this construction is to make a very short-term profit. Therefore, a diversified language in terms of visual, spatial and audial cannot be formed.

Ulus Historic City Centre Conservation and Improvement Master Plan and Its Impact on Ulus Square

As it is mentioned previously, *Ulus Tarihi Kent Merkezi Koruma Islah Planı*/ Ulus Historic City Centre Conservation and Improvement Master Plan was put into force in 1990. The plan not only defined conservation measures but also proposed planning decisions and implementation methods. By this way it was aimed to reduce the negative impacts of speculations within the area. Moreover, the plan was developed as a participatory management strategy for the conservation, utilisation, repair and construction processes in the area. Therefore, the concept of *Programme Area* was introduced to the conservation literature by this plan.⁶⁰⁸ In every programme area, different planning and conservation principles were defined regarding the ownership, function, development, transportation, infrastructure, urban landscape and regulations for implementation. The main objectives of the plan can be summarised as (Erkal, Kırıl and Günay: 2005, 34-43);

⁶⁰⁸ Three Programme Areas are defined by the plan: Conservation Programme Areas, Improvement Programme Areas and Renewal Programme Areas.

- to decrease the negative impacts of the pressure caused by the rapid urbanisation
- to encourage functions for common use and pedestrian-friendly traffic for the centre
- to solve ownership problems ignored by previous plans (Jansen and Yücel-Uybadin)
- to achieve building scale conservation and registration
- to regenerate urban spaces and open areas with specific projects for public use

Since the boundaries of the planning area and urban site labelled in **Figure 252**, partially covered Ulus Square and its close vicinity, this plan did not have a significant impact on the square in its entirety. Most of the measures developed for the urban site were only valid for the eastern and southern parts of the square. For the areas of Ulus Square within the urban site, strict regulations were defined and even most of the unregistered buildings were conserved by the regulations of the plan. On the other hand, excluded parts of Ulus Square from the Urban Site were not taken into consideration during the conservation master plan development process and almost for two decades these areas were neglected.

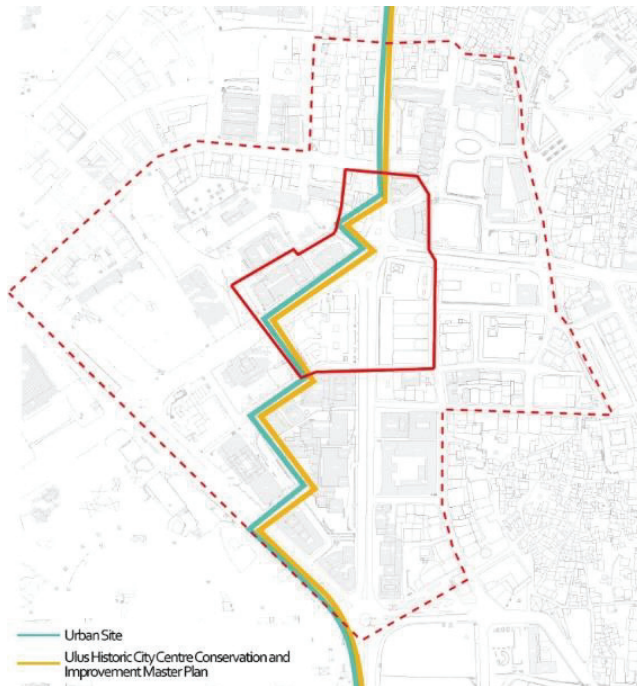


Figure 252 Boundaries of urban site, conservation master plan, Ulus Square and its close vicinity

As an outcome of this duality, Ulus Square as a historic public open space, could not sustain its integrity as well as the continuity of its physical, functional and visual

aspects. But on the other hand, continuous registration activities held within and surrounding areas of urban site (**Table 8**), had slightly reversed the decline of Ulus Square. But still, without developing principles and holistic measures for the conservation of Ulus Square with all the elements defining its unity, registration of selected buildings could only help the area to sustain its physical values.

Table 8 Registered heritages located in Ulus Square and its close vicinity, 1980-2005 period

Block/ Lot Number	Name of The Cultural Asset	Registration Date	Registration Level	Registered By
5866/6	<i>Yağcıoğlu Apartmanı/</i> Yağcıoğlu Apartment	10.07.1986	3	
2720/28	<i>Başbakanlık Basım Evi Binası/</i> Prime Ministry Press-house Building	04.04.1989	1	
2720/52	<i>II. TBMM Binası Müstemilâti (İdari Yapılar ve Eski Bando Pisti)/</i> Annex of the 2 nd National Assembly Building (Administrative Buildings and Former Band Area)	04.04.1989	1	
2720/52	<i>II. TBMM Binası Sığınağı/</i> Shelter of the 2 nd National Assembly Building	04.04.1989	1	
727/8	<i>Mithat Paşa Heykeli/</i> Statue of Mithat Paşa	13.07.1994	1	
6101/2	<i>Opus Sectile Döşemeli Yol/</i> Road with opus sectile pavement	04.11.1996	1	4863

The second important issue regarding Ulus Square and its close vicinity was related to (*Kamu Proje Alanı (KPA)/*Public Project Areas (**Figure 253a**). These areas – mainly owned by the public (expropriated if it's privately owned) – were defined as project packages containing construction, environmental design and refunctioning activities, aiming to give a new image to the city and to catalyse the re-development activities by maximising the commonweal (Günay: 2015). Among these Public Project Areas, KPA-5 comprised the area between Ulus Square and Hükümet Square (**Figure 253b**). Proposed as an urban design project integrating two main squares through pedestrian areas, KPA-5 was an important attempt to reduce the accelerated decline of Ulus Square.



Figure 253 a. KPA/ Public Project Areas defined for historic Ankara (KPA-5 and KPA-3 are labelled within red circle) **b.** The detailed view of the areas defined as KPA-5 and KPA-3 (Renovation Area Council Archive)

As seen in **Figure 254**, the project changed the name of the square to “National Sovereignty Square” and rearranged its spatial organisation through several interventions. The central area defined by Sümerbank, the First National Assembly, 100. Yıl Bazaar and Ulus Bazaar was proposed to be pedestrianised by introducing a vehicular underpass directing the traffic flow between Çankırı Road-Atatürk Boulevard and Cumhuriyet Boulevard-Anafartalar Road together with metro stations (in front of Ulus Bazaar, 100. Yıl Bazaar, on the north of the First National Assembly and the east of Sümerbank) and multi-storey car parking areas. This pedestrian zone was sub divided into three areas identified with different functional and ideological aspects. The area of Notable Figures of the War of Independence (defined next to the First National Assembly), Plaza (the area defined around the Victory Monument) and International Children Fest Area (between Hükümet Square and Anafartalar Road). By implementing levels, group of trees and different surface materials for sub-areas, the project achieved the differentiation of these areas as well as it created a visual continuity between these sub areas.

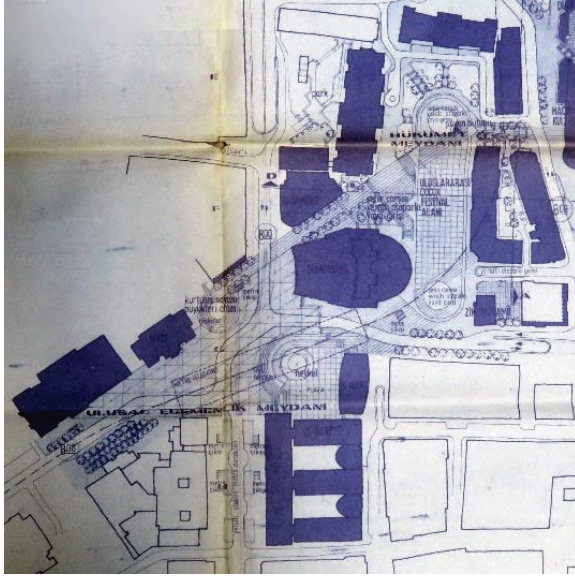


Figure 254 The project developed for KPA-5 (Renovation Area Council Archive)

Even though, KPA-5 was approved by KTVKYK and the Municipal Council, it could not have the chance to be implemented after the cancellation of the conservation master plan between 1990 and 2005. On the other hand, KPA-3 proposed for the area between Hükümet Building and Anafartlar Road, had a different story. The project proposed a new curvilinear building with commercial function (**Figure 254a**) next to Sümerbank, in the area where Ulus Şehir Bazaar was located. With partial alterations, the concept plan of the building was approved by Ankara KTVKK, under the condition of a detailed excavation study within the area (n.3036, 15.06.1993). After drilling was completed by the Anatolian Civilisations Museum Directorate,⁶⁰⁹ the excavations conducted by Prof. Dr. Cevdet Bayburtoğlu in 1995 and 1996 unearthed a part of the Roman commercial street *cardo maximus* paved with opus sectile panels and several ruins from the Phrygian, Galatian, Roman and Byzantine periods (**Figure 255a, b**).



Figure 255 a. Excavation site **b.** Opus sectile paving in the area (Renovation Area Council Archive)

⁶⁰⁹ The council decided for additional excavations for the area and assigned both the museum officers and academicians from universities to be a part of this study (n.3873, 20.02.1995).

Regarding the excavation reports and the suggestions of the advisory committee⁶¹⁰ assigned by Ankara KTVKK, only a small section of the area was reserved for construction⁶¹¹ whereas the remaining section was registered as 1st degree archaeological site in 1996.⁶¹² In the following year, alterations for the specifications of the development plan was approved in 1997.⁶¹³ Consequently, for the first time an archaeological site located within Ulus Square and its close vicinity was registered. Unfortunately, with the construction of a commercial building next to a 1st degree archaeological site, (**Figure 256a, b**) an important chance to ensure the continuity of an historic public open space of earlier civilisations was lost. Kadioğlu and Gökay criticise this event as follows (2011: 143);

The modern building activities which could not be prevented in the last century in the ancient centre of the city (Ulus and its surroundings) led to the destruction of many ancient buildings that existed or that may have existed in the past. The removal of *opus sectile* paved *stoa* to the west of the ancient road and the shops that were attached to the *stoa* for the sake of building *Ulus Şehir Çarşısı*/ Ulus Şehir Bazaar has clearly showed the neglect of historical and cultural heritage when profit is involved.



Figure 256 a.b. View of Ulus Şehir Bazaar and *cardo maximus*, 2017 (Author)

Eventually, construction works for the new building was finalized in 2004. Despite the negative impacts of the building on the continuity and conservation of the archaeological site, it also created problems for the area regarding its physical aspects. The plan notes regarding this urban block and lot (6101/2) clearly defined that, the

⁶¹⁰ Members of the advisory committee: Prof. Dr. Cevdet Bayburtoğlu, Prof. Dr. Coşkun Özgünel, Prof. Dr. Yıldız Ötüken, Prof. Dr. Vedat İdil and Prof. Dr. Orhan Bingöl.

⁶¹¹ The Ankara KTVKK (n: 4359, 27.11.1995).

⁶¹² The Ankara KTVKK (n: 4863, 04.11.1996).

⁶¹³ The Ankara KTVKK (n.5448, 10.10.1997).

height of the building should not exceed the building of Sümerbank. Additionally, in most of the official correspondences, Ankara KTVKK emphasized that the new building should be respectful to the existing urban tissue. As can be analysed in **Figure 256a-b**, the new building of Ulus Şehir Bazaar had contradicting physical aspects with the plan notes and decisions of the council.

The last significant issue was related on the conservation of natural heritage. As can be traced on most of the pictures dated from late Ottoman period, Zincirli Mosque was surrounded by willows and poplars (**Figure 257a**). On the other hand, most of these poplars were first pruned by the municipality and short after they were all cut down by the preacher of Zincirli Mosque in 1991 (**Figure 257c**). As a witness of this activity, Ismail Dabancı wrote a complaint petition to Ankara KTVKK. He emphasized that, these historic trees were inseparable parts of the view from Ulus Square to Citadel area (**Figure 257b**) and he was questioning whether the cutting was legal or not.⁶¹⁴ The director of the Ankara KTVKK has replied that, none of these trees were registered by the conservation law of 2863 and therefore the works were legal.⁶¹⁵ This petition clearly reflects the importance of historic trees for the urban memory and should be considered as values to be conserved.



Figure 257 a. Zincirli Mosque Alley, early 1900s (Cangır: 2007, 40) **b.** The view of castle from Ulus Square, 1925 (PIN: 2016) **c.** 2017 (Author)

The regulations of Ulus Historic City Centre Conservation and Improvement Master Plan was quite important for the conservation and the continuity of the values attached to historic Ankara. However, the partial inclusion of Ulus Square from the urban site

⁶¹⁴ The Ankara KTVKK (n: 14467, 05.12.1991).

⁶¹⁵ The Ankara KTVKK (n.1019, 30.06.1992).

boundary created several problems regarding the conservation of the square. Likewise, with cancellation of the plan before the implementation of KPA-5, the decline of Ulus Square and its close vicinity⁶¹⁶ could not be prevented between 1990 and 2005. User profile and their way of utilising the square has changed, resulting in the loss of Ulus Square's meaning for Ankara (**Figure 258a-c**). Even name of the Victory Monument was lost, and most of the residents started to call monument as Ulus Heykel/ Ulus Monument or just Heykel/ Monument (Cengizkan and Kılıçkiran: 2009, 21).



Figure 258 a.b.c. Users of the square having no connection with the ideological meaning of the Victory Monument (Renovation Area Council Archive)

Yalın explains the loss of identity and meaning of the Victory Monument and several other monumental buildings reminding the Early Republican period in a detailed way (2001: 162);

As the monument lost its visual dominance over the area, its narrative would be ignored by the users of the 'square', while the other architectonic forms could not be conceived as a whole since the 'square' had turned into a congested crossroads that fragmented the perception. So, we would argue that, after the practices enabling the dynamic regeneration of the collective memory, through

⁶¹⁶ The terrace of Gar Gazinosu was destroyed by the construction of an additional floor to the building. Moreover, several annexes were built next to the building that distracts the integrity of the area. Also, its interior organization has changed due to the projects applied for adaptation for a new function. Consequently, Gar Gazinosu lost its authenticity (Aslanoğlu: 2001, 331).

spatiality created whether by visual or bodily performance had left the area, the place had turned into a frozen and fragmented image, which is connected to the everyday life only by the commercial activities.

Parallel to the transformation of the user profile, utilisation of monuments and buildings in Ulus Square and the decline in the frequency of daily practices associated with these elements, their meaning and importance for the city also diminished. Similar to buildings, public green open spaces located at Ulus Square also lost their importance for the city due to the change in their user profile and the lack of interest of the state to protect their integrity. Furthermore, starting from 1990s until 2005, *Gençlik Parkı* gradually lost its authenticity and turned into a neglected public open space where numerous kiosks, beer houses and tea houses were randomly constructed, peddlers and thinner addicts were everywhere (Özer: 2005, 22).

4.3.3. Renovation for Reconstruction of the Past (2005-2018)

The last decades witnessed the gradual exclusion of pedestrians from public spaces and the loss of physical, functional and socio-cultural identity of these areas that was mainly caused by the car oriented planning approaches of most of the state and local authorities. Especially, between the years of 2005 and 2018, due to the transportation decisions of the municipality and their implementation, main arteries of Ankara such as Atatürk Boulevard turned into areas over loaded by vehicular traffic and its public character gradually diminished regarding the decrease in pedestrian circulation along the boulevard. One of the residents of Ankara criticizes this as follows (cited in Atasü: 2001, 383);

In this city life, car is extremely important. I have been living in Ankara since 1960s. During those days we used to walk along the streets, during the fall and spring times... We used to hear the sounds of the city. Nowadays, you cannot walk in the streets. The areas reserved for the pedestrian circulation were occupied by cars. It became really hard for a pedestrian to walk in between the cars. No one considers pedestrians while planning the transportation and circulation issues of the city, everything developed for cars...

Even though new developments took place regarding the public transportation issues in Ankara by the end of 2010⁶¹⁷, these attempts could not answer the demand of the residents and re-establish the public characteristic of open spaces. Moreover, due to the problematic activities of the municipality regarding the implementation of the conservation plan of historic Ankara, abandoned areas especially in residential districts started to appear.

Along with the physical decline of residential areas and the continuity of commercial facilities in historic Ankara⁶¹⁸, projects developed in previous decades for the refunctioning of public buildings as museums continued to be implemented in 2000s. By the end of 2010, two of the main administrative buildings with ideological meaning located in Ulus Square, were re-functioned as museums: the First National Assembly was transformed into the War of Independence Museum and the Second National Assembly was transformed into Republic Museum (restoration works continued between 1992 and 2008). Furthermore, several public buildings located around Hükümet Square were transferred to universities to function as campus buildings. Similarly, after privatisation of Sümerbank, the entrance floor was rented first by a ready-to-wear clothing company and later by a private bank. Eventually, it went under repair for its refunctioning as a university building starting from 2017.

Political Context in Turkey and the Urban Activities of Ankara Municipality

In 2002, a new party – established by the members of previous conservative parties – named *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP)*/ Justice and Development Party won the elections. Starting from 2002 until today, AKP is the governing party in Turkey. Consequently, İ. Melih Gökçek, re-elected as the mayor of Ankara, this time as AKP member, in 2004. With the help of several laws and regulations, Gökçek developed and implemented a series of projects, which had an irreversible impact on the integrity of urban tissue of historic Ankara.

⁶¹⁷ Starting from 2010s, two new metro lines were implemented in Ankara; one operating for the southwest corridor (Kızılay-Çayyolu), and the other was operating as an extension of the western corridor (Kızılay-Eryaman-Sincan).

⁶¹⁸ Traditional commercial areas such as Anafartalar Road and Hal continued to be utilised intensively by the middle and low-income groups.

Main construction activities of the period were mainly the transformation of façades of existing buildings to Ottoman-Seljukid period facades or the construction of public buildings with Ottoman-Seljukid period architectural features.⁶¹⁹ Starting from 2004 the projects developed by the municipality aimed at diminishing the existing attributes and values attached to the public open spaces in Ankara to re-establish a new identity for the city. For instance, gates with confusing architectural styles having no function were erected at the main roads approaching Ankara from other cities (**Figure 259a**).⁶²⁰ In addition this, project developed for Hacıbayram Square had a specific agenda to emphasise the Ottoman Period of the site through partial demolishments of Roman and Byzantine cultural heritage in the area (**Figure 259b**). The demolition of existing cultural heritage of different periods and implementation of a new buildings and public open spaces with specific functional, socio-cultural and physical aspects marked the beginning of a period of radical change for Ankara.



Figure 259 a. Monumental gate/arch erected at the Esenboğa Airport Road (Arkitera: 2018) **b.** Partial demolition of Roman Period city walls by the Municipality by stating that “the walls were dangerous for public due to the fall of stones”, 2016⁶²¹

2005: Repeal of the Ulus Historic City Centre Conservation and Improvement Master Plan

One of the first attempts of the Ankara Municipality for re-shaping the urban character of central areas in the city, was concentrated on Ulus Square. Although there was an urban design project already developed for Ulus Square and Hükümet Square (KPA-

⁶¹⁹ For detailed information on the subject “Ottoman-Seljukid as an architectural representation and the reconstruction of the nation”, see Batuman (2014: 65-73).

⁶²⁰ Peker describes these gates as triumphal arches which were the products of previous periods and have no place in the contemporary world regarding the changing physical and functional aspects of the cities. Moreover, he emphasised the problem of architectural quality of these arches and criticizes Gökçek for not explaining the reasons behind the erection of these arches in the city (2017).

⁶²¹ Ertuğrul (2017).

5, **Figure 254**) by the conservation plan, a new project named *Ulus Tarihi Kent Merkezi Projesi*/ Ulus Historic City Centre Project was developed by the Municipal Council in 2004⁶²². The project had several contradicting aspects and therefore was an illegal attempt that violated the principles of the conservation master plan. Without considering the proposal developed for KPA-5, municipality mainly focused on the demolition of 100. Yıl Bazaar, Ulus Şehir Bazaar, *Gençlik ve Spor Genel Müdürlüğü*⁶²³ and Anafartalar Bazaar to create space for the re-organisation of a new city square for Ulus Square (Ulusoy: 2018).⁶²⁴ Due to its contradicting aspects with the valid conservation plan, this proposal was not implemented.

However, several laws and regulations regarding the urban development having controversial effects on heritage places were issued by the government in a short period of time. Among these regulations, Law on Conservation by Renovation and Use by Revitalisation of the Deteriorated Historical and Cultural Immovable Property (n. 5366, 2005)⁶²⁵ was the main determinant regarding the future of historic areas in Turkey and in Ankara. As stated in its articles, the Law no 5366 aimed to protect already designated conservation areas by renovation and use for housing, trade, culture, tourism and social facilities.⁶²⁶ Furthermore, it also gave full authority to the municipalities regarding the planning and implementation process developed for renovation areas defined by the law. However, the lack of detailed explanations regarding the implementation process, and more importantly its incompatibility with the existing conservation law created several problems in the following years. Özçakır, Bilgin Altınöz and Mignosa clearly emphasised the danger of this law for conservation in Turkey as (2018: 3);

Since its introduction, this law, issued by central government and used by local governments, has been a powerful legal tool and policy instrument to regenerate and transform registered cultural and natural sites. By this law, it is

⁶²² The Municipal Decision on 16.12.2004

⁶²³ The higher block of Ulus Bazaar was rented by *Başbakanlık Gençlik ve Spor Genel Müdürlüğü*/ Prime Ministry General Directorate of Youth and Sports.

⁶²⁴ mimdap.org.tr, 2018.

⁶²⁵ *Yıpranan Tarihi ve Kültürel Taşınmaz Varlıkların Yenilenerek Korunması ve Yaşatılarak Kullanılması Hakkında Kanun* (kulturvarliklari.gov.tr/ 5366, 2016).

⁶²⁶ (kulturvarliklari.gov.tr/ 5366: Article 1, 2016).

easier for local authorities to intervene in heritage places; moreover, they have gained unlimited power in planning and implementation of urban regeneration and transformation projects for heritage, circumventing strict rules and regulations about its conservation. For this reason, the “renewal law” can be considered as a turning point, towards a negative direction, for conservation of heritage places in Turkey.

2006-2008: Ankara Historic Urban Centre Renovation Area Conservation Master Plan

With the introduction of the Law 5366, the Ulus Historic City Centre Conservation and Improvement Master Plan was repealed⁶²⁷ by the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality (n. 210) on 14 January 2005. The same year, the area comprising Ulus, Citadel, Historic Urban Tissue of Ankara and Roman Baths were declared as a Renovation Area.⁶²⁸ Consequently, the preparations for a new Renovation Area Plan has started immediately (**Figure 260a, b**).⁶²⁹

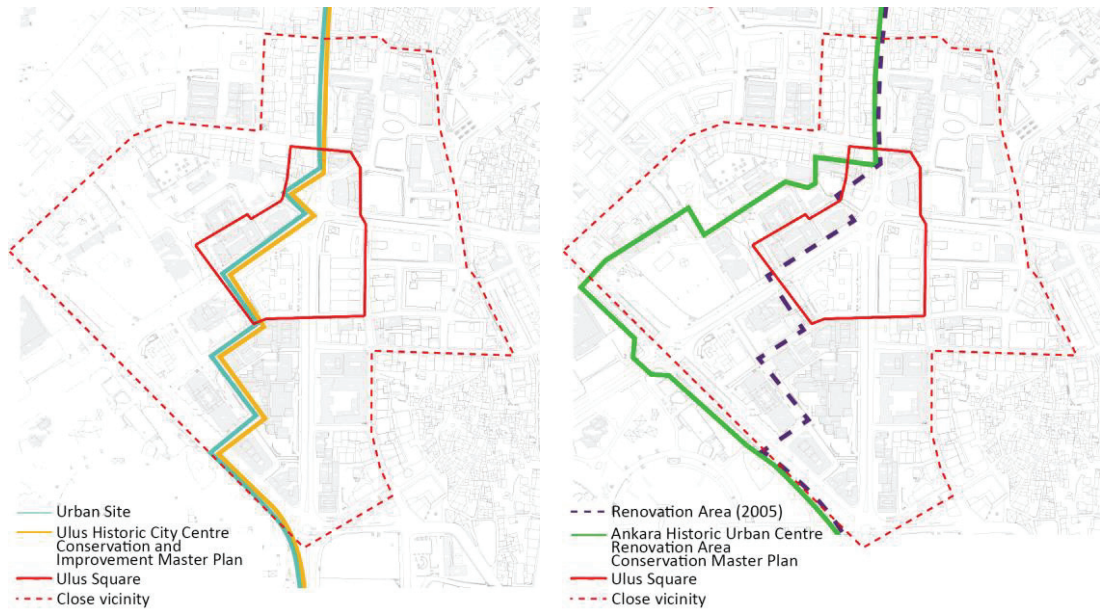


Figure 260 a. Boundaries of urban site, conservation master plan, and Ulus Square and its close vicinity, 1986 **b.** Boundaries of renovation area, renovation area plan, and Ulus Square and its close vicinity, 2005

⁶²⁷ Ankara Citadel Conservation and Improvement Master Plan and Historic Urban Tissue Conservation Master Plan were also repealed.

⁶²⁸ The Municipal Council decision (15 July 2005, n. 1952), and its approval by the Council of Ministers on 8 August 2005 (n. 2005/ 9289)

⁶²⁹ Compared to the boundaries of the previous conservation plan, the renovation area included the same parts of Ulus Square and its close vicinity. On the other hand, since the planning boundaries were defined for a wider area, it is traceable that almost every part of Ulus Square and its close vicinity was included to the boundaries of renovation plan.

As a precaution to protect buildings from the possible negative impacts of the future renovation area plan, the *Mimarlar Odası, Ankara Şubesi (MO/A)*/ Chamber of Architects, Ankara Branch applied to Ankara KTVKK for the registration of several buildings. Among these buildings, the ones located in Ulus Square and its close vicinity were Akbank/ Lozan Palas, Etibank (1935), Ankara Hali (1937), Ulus Bazaar (1954), Anafartalar Bazaar (1967) and 100. Yıl Bazaar (1967): However, only Akbank/ Lozan Palas building⁶³⁰ was registered, followed by the registration of the lower block of Ulus Bazaar by the Ankara Renovation Area Council.⁶³¹ Along with these developments, in 2006, HASSA Architecture Firm prepared *Ankara Tarihi Kent Merkezi Yenileme Alanı 1/5000 Ölçekli Koruma Amaçlı Nazım İmar Planı ve 1/1000 Ölçekli Koruma Amaçlı Uygulama İmar Planı*/ Ankara Historic Urban Centre Renovation Area 1/5000 Conservation Master Plan and 1/1000 Conservation Implementary Plan for the renovation area.⁶³² **(Figure 261).**

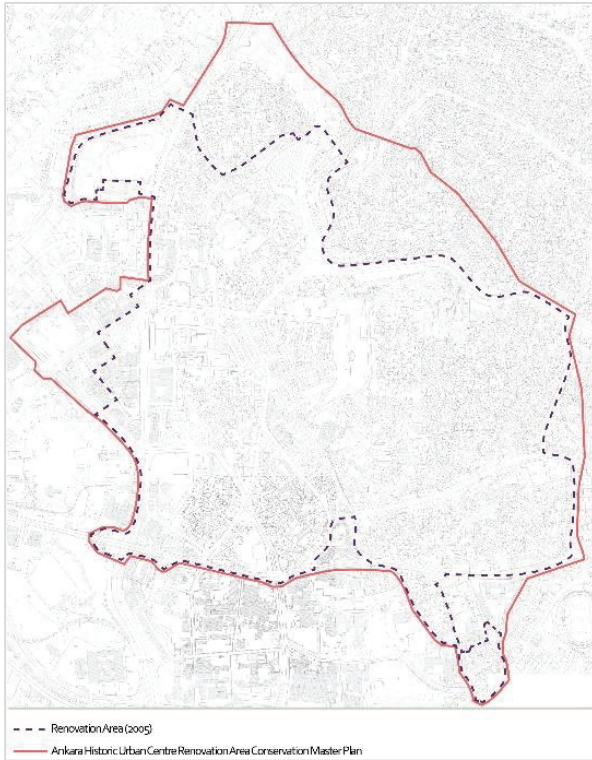


Figure 261 Boundaries of the Renovation Area and the Renovation Master Plan, 2005

⁶³⁰ Ankara KTVKK decision, 09.12.2005 (n. 1111),

⁶³¹ Ankara Renovation Area Council decision, 17.05.2007 (n. 25). The second regional council in Ankara was renamed as Ankara Renovation Area Council after the Law 5366.

⁶³² These plans were approved by *Ankara Yenileme Alanı Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Bölge Kurulu*/ Ankara Renovation Area Council for Conservation of Cultural and Natural Heritage on 17 May 2007 (n.25) and approved by the Municipal Council on 15 June 2007 (n.1619).

The 2007 Renovation Plan clearly emphasised that, re-interpretation of urban, architectural and cultural aspects of Roman, Seljukid, Ottoman and Early Republican period as the major determiners of the 1920s and 1930s urban macroform was considered as its main conservation-planning strategy (2006: 83).⁶³³ Most of the proposals developed by this plan were aiming to reveal specific values (associated with the Seljukid, Ottoman and early Republican periods of Ankara) and exclude several others. Furthermore, refunctioning of abandoned areas by integrating commercial, touristic and cultural activities with traditional residential areas located at the centre of the historic city was defined as the main aim of the plan. To achieve this goal, buildings that would be either restored or demolished for reconstruction were defined in detail. On the other hand, several minor implementation areas were defined, and 1/500-1/200 scaled urban design projects⁶³⁴ were proposed.

Among them, the urban design project developed for Ulus Square and its close vicinity proposed the demolishment of buildings specifically built during 1950s and later (**Figure 262**). While the plan recognised the importance of Ulus Square for the history of the Republic, it aimed to transform its existing traffic node image into a pedestrianised urban square by an underground passageway (Hassa Mimarlık 2006: 96). Moreover, it evaluated the buildings erected after 1950s as having limited or negative contribution to the square. Consequently, the plan proposed the demolishment of high-rise public buildings, including Ulus Bazaar, Anafartalar Bazaar and 100. Yıl Bazaar (Hassa Mimarlık: 2006, 97).⁶³⁵ With these demolishments, the plan also aimed to re-establish the historic relationship between the First National Assembly and Millet Bahçesi and *Millet Çarşısı*/ Millet Bazaar (Nations Bazaar) again (Hassa Mimarlık 2006: 97). Regarding the refunctioning of buildings surrounding Ulus Square, the plan envisioned Ulus Bazaar as a congress hotel, whereas it suggested

⁶³³ *Ankara Tarihi Kent Merkezi Yenileme Alanı Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planı Açıklama Raporu*.

⁶³⁴ Urban design projects were defined as; Hacıbayram Mosque and Square Special Project Area, Ulus Square and its close vicinity Special Project Area, Ankara Citadel Area, Anatolian Civilisations Special Project Area (Tunçer: 2013, 26).

⁶³⁵ For further information, see the values defined in the report of MO/A, prepared for the registration application (Madran, Altan Ergut and Özgönül: 2005b, 4-5).

to construct *Taşhan Kapalı Çarşısı*/ Taşhan Closed Bazaar⁶³⁶ and *Hal*⁶³⁷, ‘in the form of arasta’, for new commercial activities (Hassa Mimarlık 2006, 97-98). In addition, these buildings were proposed to be connected through passageways from their second or third floors for the continuity of the commercial activities (Hassa Mimarlık 2006, 92-93).

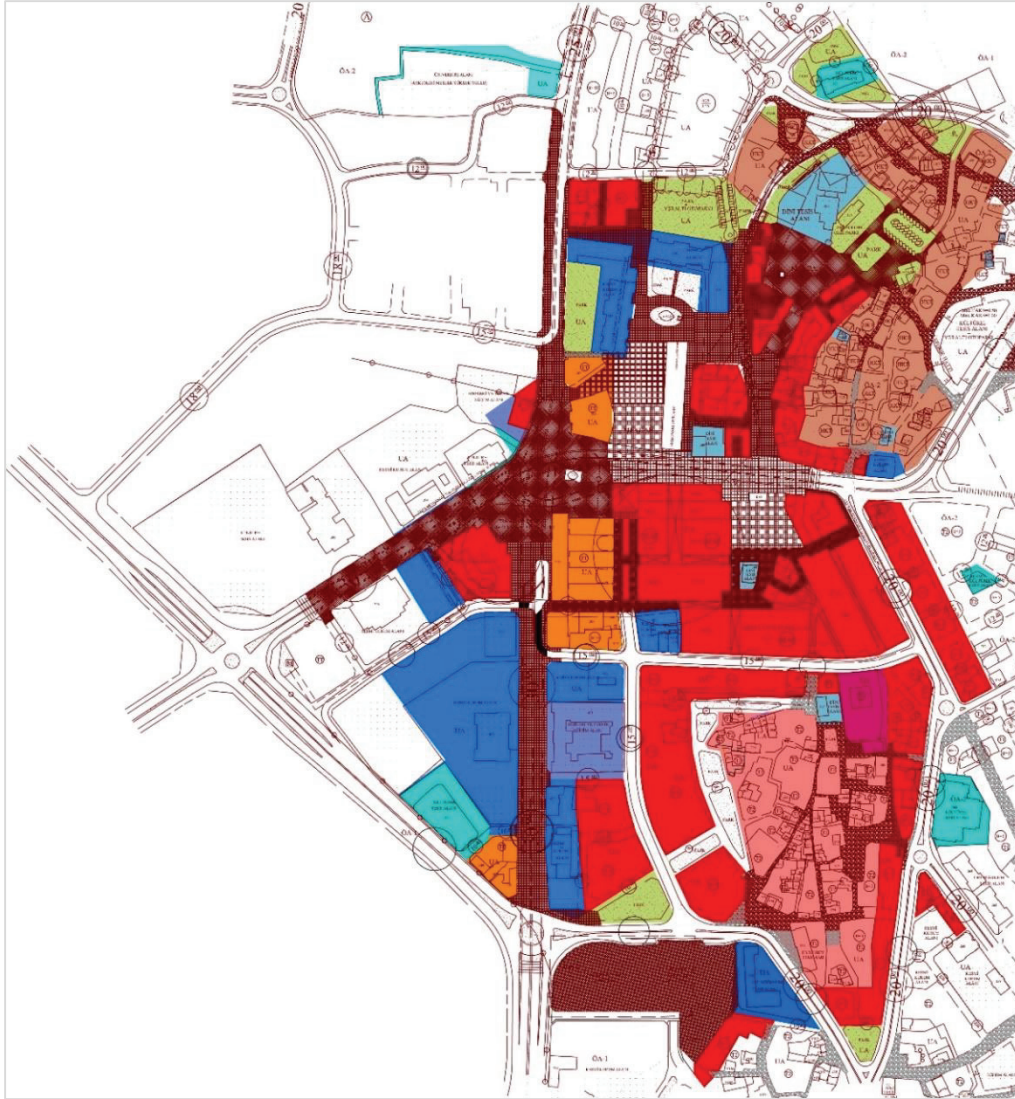


Figure 262 Detailed view of Ankara Historic Urban Centre Renovation Area Conservation Master Plan

⁶³⁶ In the 1/1000 plan notes, it was stated that, a design will be developed to integrate Ulus Bazaar, Ulus Square, registered buildings and Suluhan. New buildings (maximum five storey high and additional three storeys for underground parking) will be proposed for the area in the form of closed bazar system composed of traditional Turkish *hans* (article 5.2.2).

⁶³⁷ The building functioning as fruit and vegetable market.

Some parts of this statement has accurate descriptions such as the negative impacts of vehicular traffic on Ulus Square and the need for a detailed study for pedestrianisation of the area. On the other hand, the solutions proposed by the plan were quite vague and can be interpreted in different ways.⁶³⁸ Moreover, the second statement paraphrased below is completely against the basic principles and methods of conservation regarding the value definition and conservation of cultural heritage. It was defined on the following paragraph that (Hassa Mimarlık: 2006, 97);

Ulus Square gain its main spatial value by the Early Republican period buildings; and the buildings erected around the square after 1950s have limited contribution to the square. Moreover, in some cases it is analysed that some of these buildings have negative impact on the square.

Another subject of evaluation is the historic visual relationship between the Ulus Square and Ankara Citadel. It is a fact that, these high rise buildings were blocking the visual relationship between the Citadel-Ulus-Station. In this context, the annihilation of the high-rise public buildings with limited contribution to the square and Anafartalar Bazaar located in between these buildings, and reorganisation of the space for its integration to the open space system proposed for the area. By this way, the visual relationship between Ulus Square and the Citadel will be established as well as its physical relationship with Hükümet Square.

In addition to this, these buildings were described in the 1/1000 plan notes as (article 3.2);

- Blocking the vista of Citadel
- Breaking the relationship between Citadel, Hacıbayram and the surrounding historic tissue
- Instead of creating harmony with Sümerbank, along with Anafartalar Bazaar and *Gümrük Müsteşarlığı* (the higher block of Anafartalar Bazaar), the higher block of Ulus Bazaar oppress the buildings and spaces of former periods

First of all, during the analysis and value definition process for a conservation area, value assessment cannot be developed only from specific type of buildings. The

⁶³⁸ The spatial relationships between the early Republican buildings and their immediate surroundings will be re-interpreted through the contemporary methods of design. This statement is quite confusing in terms of the discussions on whether there is a need for re-interpretation of this relationship or not, what does the plan refer to by re-interpretation of this relationship, and also which contemporary methods of design will be proposed for this area and how.

context should be evaluated through a wider understanding that includes physical, functional, social, cultural, political, historical, natural and cognitive aspects that inherited in the area. Therefore, value assessment process followed by the plan for Ulus Square and its close vicinity was deficient and faulty.

Moreover, the buildings described in the plan report as lack of value – Ulus Bazaar, Anafartalar Bazaar and 100. Yıl Bazaar – were considered as the symbolic buildings of the period between 1950s and 1970s having diverse values to be conserved⁶³⁹, by most of the scholars and specialists in architecture and conservation. Regarding their physical aspects as the symbols of architectural trends of their period, these buildings are categorised under modern heritage and therefore defined as values of the city to be conserved.⁶⁴⁰ Furthermore, these buildings also had an important place on the collective memory, everyday life⁶⁴¹ and urban story of Ulus Square.⁶⁴² Due to their physical and socio-cultural aspects, these buildings should be evaluated as heritage values of Ankara.

More importantly, regarding the evolution of conservation understanding both in the world and in Turkey, the heritage value of a public open space should be defined through the analysis on main elements composing the space; buildings, open spaces, functional and socio-cultural aspects and especially its meaning for the users. Therefore, the value definition of the buildings surrounding the square was quite contradicting with the conservation understanding of the period.

⁶³⁹ See the values defined by Madran, Altan Ergut and Özgönül (2005a: 51-53).

⁶⁴⁰ By the end of 1980s, unique examples of modern era were started to be inscribed on the World Heritage List. By this way, first attempts on defining modern buildings as a heritage and discussions on their conservation has begun. In 2011 (update in 2014), ICOMOS adopted Madrid Document: Approaches for the Conservation of Twentieth-Century Architectural Heritage, which clearly stated that the obligation to conserve the heritage of the twentieth century is as important as our duty to conserve the significant heritage of previous eras (2018).

⁶⁴¹ 1987/ First Brazilian Seminar about the Preservation and Revitalization of Historic Centers/ Basic Principles II: Urban historical sites are part of a wider totality, comprising the natural and the built environment and the everyday living experience of their dwellers as well. Within this wider space, enriched with values of remote or recent origin and permanently undergoing a dynamic process of successive transformations, new urban spaces may be considered as environmental evidences in their formative stages (2018).

⁶⁴² 1987/ Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas (Washington Charter)/ Preamble and Definitions: The charter seeks to promote the harmony of both private and community life in these areas and to encourage the preservation of those cultural properties, however modest in scale, that constitute the memory of mankind (2018).

Even though plan defined the buildings as lack of value and to be demolished to create space for urban design projects in Ulus Square, the experts and scholars expressed completely different ideas on the topic. Both the expert reports, briefings and reports of the chambers and the architecture-conservation-planning departments of universities emphasised the heritage value of these buildings regarding their importance as being the rare examples of the architectural understanding of their period, the construction materials and techniques, designs developed as an outcome of an architectural competition and most importantly these building have a memory value for the users of the area and residents of Ankara. Therefore, regarding the values attached to these buildings, instead of the projects focused on their demolition, the plan should develop series of projects to conserve the buildings and sustain the functional continuity. Furthermore, the next paragraph of the plan report continues as (Hassa Mimarlık: 2006, 97);

As a result of the analysis of Ulus Square and the surrounding spaces integrating with the square, re-integration of the gardens of the Second National Assembly and the garden of Ankara Palas as it was used to be during the 1920s and 1930s, was developed as one of the main aspects of the plan. Moreover, during the integration process, the area will be redesigned in parallel to the image of the “city entrance”. Along with these proposals, by the demolition of 100. Yıl Bazaar that has negative impacts on Ulus Square and implementation of a *Millet Bahçesi/* Millet Garden (Nation Garden)⁶⁴³ instead, the plan aimed to re-establish the historic relationship between the First National Assembly and Millet Bahçesi and *Millet Çarşısı/* Millet Bazaar (Nations Bazaar) again.

In addition to previous explanation, the project of Millet Garden was also defined in the 1/1000 plan notes as follows (article 3.2);

Millet Garden located in front of the First National Assembly and the historic areas located between the Second National Assembly and Ankara Palas, will be re-interpreted within the scope of the project and the conservation decisions associated with the modern history of Ankara and Turkey will be actualised.

⁶⁴³ In the report, it was expressed that; this bazaar will be developed as a part of the commercial system defined by the buildings in the area. It will function as the extension of cultural and touristic transformation in the surrounding areas (2006: 93). In addition to this, in the 1/1000 plan notes the specifications of the building was defined as; maximum four storey high and should be integrated with the underground transportation system (article 5.2.3).

Like several other statements in the plan report, these paragraphs also contain unclear and contradictory statements with basic principles of conservation. First of all, reconstruction of a selected image of the past, and to achieve that demolition of assets produced on other periods, is an unacceptable and irreversible approach of the plan. The contemporary understanding of conservation is based on the definition of each and every period as valuable and it clearly disapproves the projects focused on the demolition of unique examples and urban tissue of other periods to uncover/reconstruct a specific one.⁶⁴⁴ The respect for every period was clearly defined in ICOMOS New Zealand Charter as follows (2010: 3);⁶⁴⁵

Conservation maintains and reveals the authenticity and integrity of a place, and involves the least possible loss of fabric or evidence of cultural heritage value. Respect for all forms of knowledge and existing evidence, of both tangible and intangible values, is essential to the authenticity and integrity of the place.

Conservation recognises the evidence of time and the contributions of all periods. The conservation of a place should identify and respect all aspects of its cultural heritage value without unwarranted emphasis on any one value at the expense of others.

The removal or obscuring of any physical evidence of any period or activity should be minimised, and should be explicitly justified where it does occur.

Therefore, either the plans' definition of these buildings as lack of value or having negative impacts on the area, the proposal for the demolition of these buildings to create a space for re-organisation of an imitated image of the past is compatible with the contemporary understanding of conservation. Physical reconstruction that permanently changes the character of the site should not be undertaken for the purpose of interpretation alone (ICOMOS-Ename: 2005, 37).

⁶⁴⁴ 2005/ ICOMOS-Ename Charter for the Interpretation of Cultural Heritage Sites/ Principle 3, 3.2: The contributions of all periods to the significance of a site should be respected. Although particular eras and themes may be highlighted, all periods of the site's history as well as its contemporary context and significance should be considered in the interpretation process (2005: 36).

⁶⁴⁵ ICOMOS New Zealand Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Heritage Value (Revised 2010).

Secondly, the proposal of redesigning the area in parallel to the idea of a city gate is also an outcome of the aim to reconstruct a selected past in Ulus Square and its close vicinity. Moreover, it was emphasised on the plan notes that, conservation decisions associated with the modern history of Ankara and Turkey will be utilised during this process. It is also contradictory that most of the statements in the plan report and plan notes that only the periods before 1950s are evaluated during the value assessment process. None of the products of modern period Ankara are considered in detail. On the other hand, it is stated that the conservation decisions will be developed in parallel to the modern history of Turkey. Therefore, development of conservation decisions associated with the modern history of Ankara and Turkey, without including the modern aspects of the city such as buildings, public open spaces, urban elements, public facilities etc., is considered as conflicting and lack of detailed knowledge on conservation understanding of the contemporary world.

The last explanation on Ulus Square was related to the refunctioning process of the buildings surrounded the victory monument. First, it was stated that; due to the strategic location of Ulus Square, the plan proposed a refunctioning for Ulus Bazaar as a congress hotel including cultural activities such as congress and exhibitions (Report: 2006, 97, 98). Additional to the refunctioning of the lower block of Ulus Bazaar, as a congress hotel, several other projects were developed for the commercial areas in historic Ankara. Among these projects, the ones located in the close vicinity of Ulus Square were summarised as: *Taşhan Kapalı Çarşısı*/ Taşhan Closed Bazaar⁶⁴⁶ for the commercial activities addressing the groups with different welfare status, and *Hal*⁶⁴⁷ will be redesigned in the form of an *arasta*⁶⁴⁸. To sustain a physical continuity among the commercial system developed by these buildings, passage ways on the second and third floor of the buildings would be implemented on the area (2006: 92, 93).

⁶⁴⁶ In the 1/1000 plan notes, it was stated that, a design will be developed to integrate Ulus Bazaar, Ulus Square, registered buildings and Suluhan. New buildings (maximum five storey high and additional three storeys for underground parking) will be proposed for the area in the form of closed bazar system composed of traditional Turkish *hans* (article 5.2.2).

⁶⁴⁷ The building functioning as fruit and vegetable market.

⁶⁴⁸ A traditional Ottoman building used for commercial activities.

After the approval of the Renovation Plan, several objections were announced by different institutions such as MO/A, *Şehir Plancıları Odası, Ankara Şubesi (ŞPO/A)/* Chamber of City Planners, Ankara Branch, *Peyzaj Mimarları Odası, Ankara Şubesi (PMO/A)/* Chamber of Landscape Architects, Ankara Branch as well as METU Faculty of Architecture and Gazi University Faculty of Architecture and Engineering. These reports were mainly focusing on the possible negative impacts of the plan on the continuity and conservation of historic Ankara.⁶⁴⁹ Despite these objections, municipality approved the plan in 2007.⁶⁵⁰ After the court appeals of MO/A and ŞPO/A, regarding the expertise report⁶⁵¹, the Ankara 10th Administrative Court repealed the plan on the grounds that the plan was contradicting with the basics and principles of conservation master plan and was against the commonweal (n. 2008/2233, 18.11.2008). Even though the plan was repealed before its implementation, it is possible to trace the impact of this plan on the projects prepared and implemented by the municipality between 2008 and 2018.

2008-2018: Implementation of an Invalid Plan to Construct the Selected Past

Short after the repeal of the 2007 Renovation Plan, Ankara Renovation Area Council issued series of acts regarding the historic Ankara. In 2008, two major areas were defined in the boundaries of urban site in historic Ankara: Renovation areas within the Urban Site⁶⁵² and the remaining areas within the Urban Site⁶⁵³ (**Figure 263**). Starting from 2010 until today, regulations and terms were developed separately for these two areas in historic Ankara. Moreover, due to the repeal of the Ankara Historic Urban Centre Renovation Area Conservation Master Plan, until the preparation of a new conservation master plan, all urban activities in historic Ankara were regulated by the

⁶⁴⁹ Main critics were summarised as; contradictions on principles of conservation and collaborative planning, problems on legal issues, unscientific approaches, against the public weal, lack of detailed analytic studies-synthesis and evaluation process, planning decisions were not based on reliable data and evaluations, renovation projects were contradictory with the basic principles of conservation (Üniversiteler Ulustaki Yanlışa Dur Dedi: 2006, 47-49).

⁶⁵⁰ Municipal Council decision (15.06.2007, n.1619. The plan was also approved by the Ankara Renovation Area Council (17.05.2007, n.25)

⁶⁵¹ *Bilirkişi Raporu/* Expert Report prepared by Prof. Dr. Melih Ersoy, Assoc. Prof. Mehmet Tunçer and Assoc. Prof. Çağatay Keskinok, for the court regarding the case 2007/1397.

⁶⁵² Including Ulus district, Citadel and Samanpazarı areas.

⁶⁵³ Including Hamamönü and Ulucanlar districts.

transition period regulations.⁶⁵⁴ Even though these transition period regulations were criticised by the scholars and chambers regarding their content mainly developed for construction activities with lack of detailed explanations on conservation issues, they were utilized as the main framework for the activities in historic Ankara until the approval of the new conservation master plan.

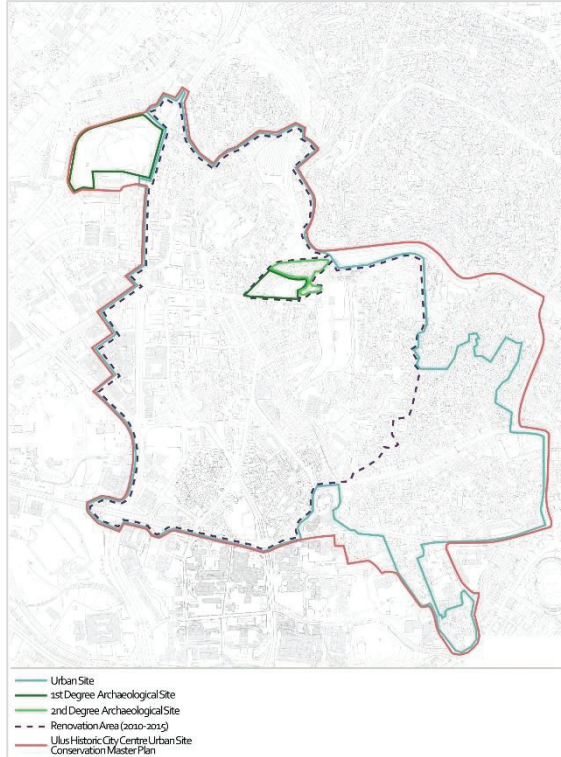


Figure 263 Boundaries of urban site, archaeological sites, renovation area and conservation plan, 2008

Meanwhile, for the celebrations of 86th anniversary of Ankara to become the capital city of Turkey, the Ankara Municipality painted the Victory Monument in gold colour, in 2009 (**Figure 264a, b**). Short after, several oppositions aroused both by the residents⁶⁵⁵ and also from the institutions and organisations. For instance, İlhami Baykaler expressed his feelings as follows (2011: 79);

I really love Ulus Square regarding the fact that it hosts most of the Republican period buildings. I also love the monument at Ulus Square. It symbolizes the

⁶⁵⁴ *Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu ile Çeşitli Kanunlarda Değişiklik Yapılması Hakkında Kanun* (n. 5226) proposing amendments to 2863 Law states that if a conservation masterplan is cancelled, principles and terms of use for the transition period should be defined by the Regional Conservation Council within three months' time, whereas a new conservation master plan should be developed within two years' time (27.07.2004, n. 25535)

⁶⁵⁵ The shop owner of Baykal Mağazası located at Atatürk Boulevard.

public, nation and the War of Independence. I love the original monument, not the one painted in gold colour.



Figure 264 Victory Monument **a.** Before the painting (PIN: 2018) **b.** After the painting (PIN: 2018) **c.** During the cleaning and removal of the gold colour⁶⁵⁶

Short after the oppositions, the monument was cleaned and turned back to its original bronze colour (**Figure 264c**). Due to the increasing activities either to demolish, reconstruct or transform cultural heritage other than Seljukid or Ottoman, oppositions against the mayor Gökçek began to rise. Followed by the new policies of AKP government demanding a radical change in the socio-cultural life and physical aspects of the cities, a considerable amount of people started to re-associate themselves with the early Republican areas and buildings as a reflection of their ideologies against the ruling group. Batuman clearly summarises this issue as follows (2008: 106, 107);

The feeling of being under the threat of Islamist oppression, such anxiety quickly molded itself into a form of nostalgia for the golden age of the Early Republic... Turkey witnessed the emergence of nostalgia for the Early Republican period, a major focus of which was the city of Ankara, the home imagined as the untainted locus of Republican modernity – A major instrument for such image construction was monuments built in various locations across city. – Imagined as a tabularasa for the republican project, Ankara of the 1930s was christened as “early Republican Ankara”, a fixed image to become the lost object of nostalgic yearning... In other words, nostalgia emerged as an ideological response to the declining material conditions of a particular social stratum in the 1990s. And “early Republican Ankara” was to be a significant object to be deployed in the materialization of this nostalgic discourse. Parallel to the political tides, it is possible to detect three instances where Ankara emerged as an instrument of politics of nostalgia: first in the early 1990s, then

⁶⁵⁶ (starcephe.com: 2018).

in 1997-98 (throughout the indirect military intervention forcing the Islamist Welfare Party government to step down and the consecutive celebration campaign for the 75th anniversary of the Republic), and finally during the presidential elections in 2007.

As an outcome of the increase in the number of opposition groups to Gökçek's urban activities in Ankara and the political activities of religious-conservative parties, Ulus Square and its close vicinity began to have an additional ideological meaning for specific parts of the society. The Victory Monument and its surrounding gained its ideological function by transforming into the gathering and demonstration area for the protests against the ruling party (**Figure 265**). As a result, after two decades the ideological meaning of the Victory Monument and surrounding early Republican buildings in Ulus Square for the residents of Ankara, and the use of the space for ideological activities were re-attached to the area. Therefore, the urban activities of the Ankara Municipality to re-arrange Ulus Square through demolishing the buildings with ideological references contradicting to their ideology should be evaluated in this context.



Figure 265 Police intervention with tear gas and water cannons against the celebrations for 29 October/ Republic Day organised by opposition groups in Ulus Square, 2012⁶⁵⁷

⁶⁵⁷ (sozcu.com.tr, 2018)

Starting from 2005 until the preparation of a new conservation master plan, several urban activities were held within the boundaries of urban site, mainly concentrating on street rehabilitation, restorations of registered public buildings, reconstructions, and the reorganisation of public open areas (**Figure 266a, b**). Along with these urban activities, for the reparation of a new conservation master plan, UTTA Planning Office was commissioned in 2010.



Figure 266 Before and after the implementation of street rehabilitation projects in Hamamönü, 2005-2008 (courtesy of Azize Elif Yabacı, 2012) **a.** Dutlu Street **b.** Mehmet Akif Street

Consequently, *Ulus Tarihi Kent Merkezi, Kentsel Sit Alanı 1/5000 Koruma Amaçlı Nazım İmar Plan (KAİP)/ Ulus Historic City Centre Urban Site 1/5000 Conservation Master Plan* was approved in 2013.⁶⁵⁸ Main approaches and principles of the plan were developed regarding the characteristics of sub areas in historic Ankara. The Conservation Area was divided into zones in terms of their physical tissue, distribution of functions, topography, the necessity for functional or physical transformation and the potential for functional or physical transformation. After definition of these zones, principles of the conservation plan was developed in detail.

⁶⁵⁸ Ankara Renovation Area Council Decision (18.12.2013, n. 716). After the implementation of changes regarding the oppositions on the plan, it was re-approved again by the Municipal Council on 14.10.2014 (n. 1871).

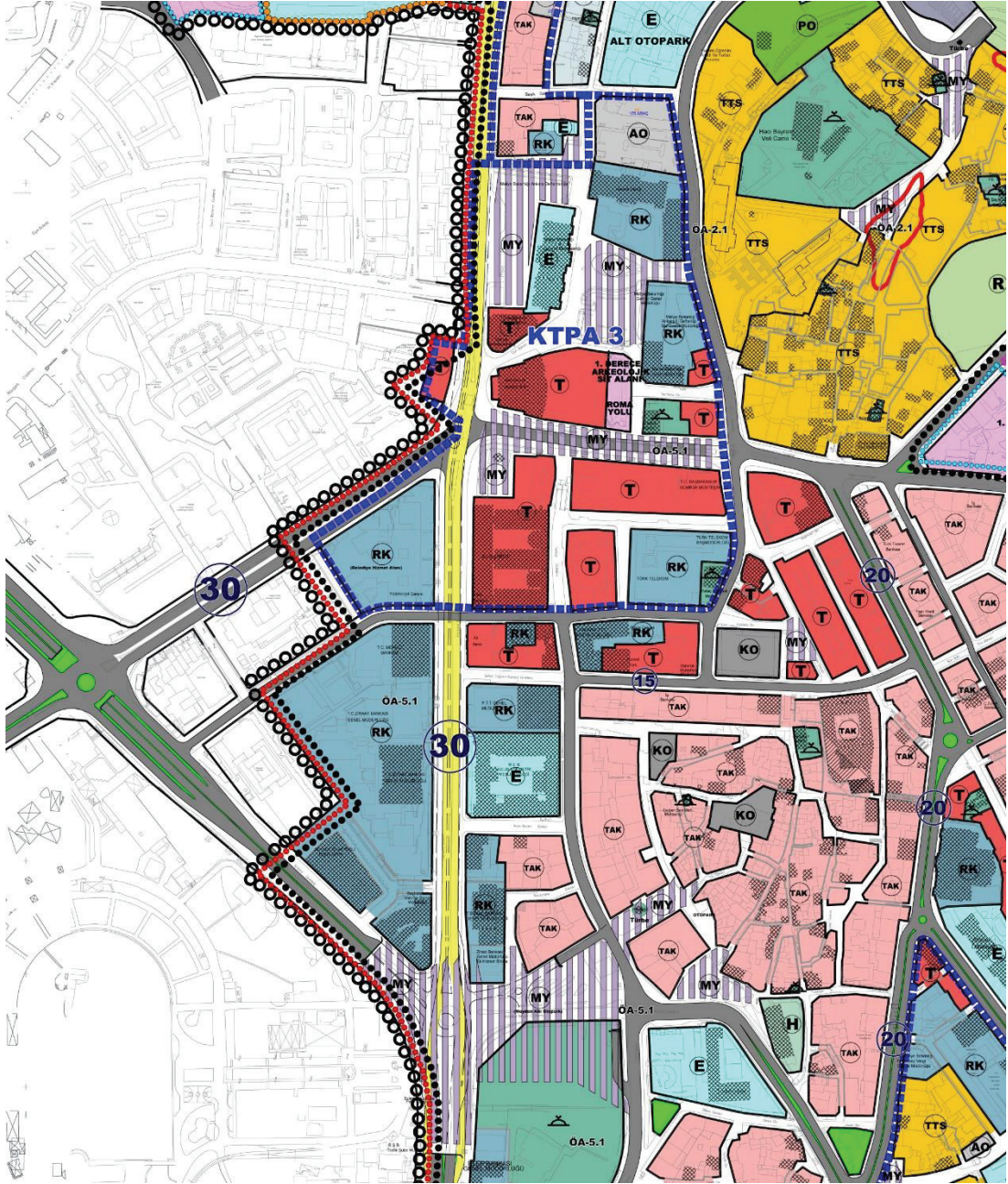


Figure 267 Detailed view of Ulus Historic City Centre Urban Site 1/5000 Conservation Master Plan

In addition, the plan developed several implementation projects for the areas labelled as *Kentsel Tasarım Proje Alanları (KTPA)/ Urban Design Project Areas*, to serve as catalysts (UTTA: 2014, 42-48). The area covering Ulus Square and its close vicinity was defined as *Kentsel Tasarım Proje Alanı-3: Ulus Heykel Meydanı ve Çevresi (KTPA 3)/ Urban Design Project Area-3: Ulus Monument Square and its Surroundings (Figure 267)*. However, the statements defined for the urban design project of Ulus

Square and its close vicinity consist of broad generalisations. Neither design criteria of the project nor the conservation measures developed for the area were explained in detail. On the other hand, by mentioning the discussions on the negative impact of high-rise buildings on the visual continuity between the Victory Monument and the Castle, the plan gave references to the Ankara Historic Urban Centre Renovation Area Conservation Master Plan (UTTA 2014: 14, UTTA: 2014, 46).

The above mentioned statements defined for the urban design project of Ulus Square and its close vicinity consist of broad generalisations. Neither design criteria of the project nor the conservation measures developed for the area were explained in detail. On the other hand, by mentioning the discussions on the negative impact of high-rise buildings on the visual continuity between the Victory Monument and the Castle, the plan gave references to the description used in the plan report of the Ankara Historic Urban Centre Renovation Area Conservation Master Plan. Even though the plan did not develop any guideline or framework for the reorganisation of Ulus Square and its close vicinity, it is possible to estimate its design approach through the implications referring to the decisions of previous plan. On the other hand, due to the problematic approaches and several faulty decisions, after the approval of the plan in 2014, several oppositions were aroused by the property owners, ŞPO/A and MO/A followed by the applications to the court for the suspension of execution and the repeal of the plan. In parallel to the expert report⁶⁵⁹, Ankara 7th Administrative Court repealed the plan in 2015.

On the other hand, due to the problematic approaches and several faulty decisions, the court first suspended the plan after several oppositions of the property owners, ŞPO/A and MO/A.⁶⁶⁰ While new conservation principles and terms of use for the transition period were prepared by the Renovation Area Council in 2015, the Council of Ministers redefined the boundaries of Renovation Area in historic Ankara the same

⁶⁵⁹ *Bilirkişi Raporu/* Expert Report prepared by Prof. Dr. Zuhâl Özcan, Prof. Dr. Mehmet Tunçer and Assoc.Prof. Dr. Savaş Zafer Şahin, for the court regarding the case 2014/659.

⁶⁶⁰ Ankara 7th Administrative Court decision (09.04.2015)

year (**Figure 268**).⁶⁶¹ Parallel to this development, new terms of use for the transition period regarding urban site was prepared by the Renovation Area Council.⁶⁶²

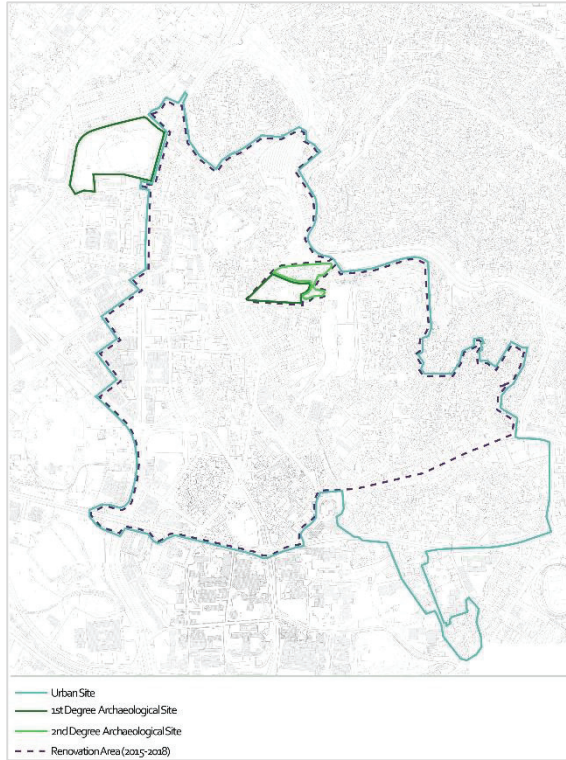


Figure 268 Renovation Area defined by the Council of Ministers in 2015, and urban-archaeological sites

Starting from 2015 until today, these terms are utilised as the main framework for the urban development and conservation activities within historic Ankara. Therefore, historic parts of the city have been developing randomly through implementation projects developed parallel to transition period regulations. As an outcome of the problematic definitions of the transition period regulations, within a short amount of time, Ulus Square and its close vicinity changed radically regarding physical and functional aspects (**Figure 272**). Especially, during the last three years, several implementation projects were developed in reference to the proposals of the renovation plan that was in fact repealed by court decision in 2008 (**Figure 269**). The

⁶⁶¹ Ankara Renovation Area Council Decision (27.04.2015, n. 1315) and the Council of Ministers decision (22.06.2015, n. 2015/7872)

⁶⁶² Terms for Renovation areas located in Urban Site was approved on 27.07.2015 (n. 1483) and for the areas excluding the Renovation Areas located in Urban Site was approved on 27.07.2015 (n. 1484).

new mayor of Ankara, Mustafa Tuna's statement on municipality's projections for historic Ankara as follows (2018);

Ulus Project has been continuing for almost 10-12 years. It was on the agenda during 2005. In the scope of the project, there were activities developed for the under passage ways of the main roads intersecting at Ulus Square, and implementation of a public square to create a touristic area. Regarding this project, a certain progress was made. Today, notice for evacuation was sent to most of the shop owners. As soon as they evacuate their shops, the municipality could start the process of implementation of the project (*Ulus Meydanı'na İlk Kepçe*, Sabah: 2018).



Figure 269 Still image of the animation of Ulus Square and its close vicinity pedestrianisation project, proposed by the municipality, 2018⁶⁶³

Among the implementation projects, the one focusing on the re-organisation of Ulus Square by demolishing the buildings erected after 1950s became the main urban design project of the municipality. To achieve this goal, first the municipality made an agreement with *Sosyal Sigortalar Kurumu (SGK)*/ Social Security Institution based on the transfer of Anafartalar Bazaar, Ulus Bazaar (higher and lower blocks) and the public open space around the Victory Monument, in return of lands owned by the municipality. In this way, the municipality overcome the main problem for

⁶⁶³ (TRT Haber: 2018)

demolishment of several modern period buildings. Even though MO/A and ŞPO/A, several initiatives and scholars expressed their opposition against the demolishment of higher block of Ulus Bazaar, Anafartalar Bazaar and 100. Yıl Bazaar, the Municipality continued its activities with no break. In 2018, the higher block of Anafartalar Bazaar was demolished within one month (**Figure 270a, b**).



Figure 270 The demolishment process of Anafartalar Bazaar higher block (Author) **a.** July 2018 **b.** August 2018

The last and significant change activated by the Municipality, was the refunctioning of buildings especially around Hükümet Square. Except *Vilayet*⁶⁶⁴, buildings surrounding Hükümet Square and Sümerbank were all transferred to ASBÜ. By this transfer, the administrative character of Hükümet Square was replaced with educational facilities. Moreover, Sümerbank, is currently under restoration (**Figure 271**). This cultural heritage which was constructed as the symbol of industrialisation of the early Republican Period and having commercial, memory and socio-cultural value for the residents of Ankara, would be transformed into a university campus by the end of 2018.

⁶⁶⁴ The transfer of this building is scheduled to 2019. The chancellor of the university, Prof. Dr. Mehmet Barca stated that, after the transfer they are planning to re-function the building as “Ankara Museum of Administration” (*12 Yeni Müze*, İlksayfa: 2018).



Figure 271 Sumerbank under restoration for refunctioning as a university building, 2018 (Author)

As a result, it can be concluded that recent projects of the Ankara Municipality concentrated in the destruction of selected buildings with specific historic references, refunctioning with no detailed analyses and reconstruction of traditional buildings defined risky, became the main determinant for the transformation of Ulus Square. Especially, starting from 2005 until today, Ulus Square and its close vicinity has been under a radical and irreversible transformation process which resulted in critical change in the integrity and authenticity of the area. In parallel to the change in physical and functional aspects identifying Ulus Square, it is also possible to identify the loss of socio-cultural values attached to the area. Thus, the period between 2005 and 2018 can be defined as the implementation of projects having irreversible impacts on the cultural significance of Ulus Square and values ascribed to the area.

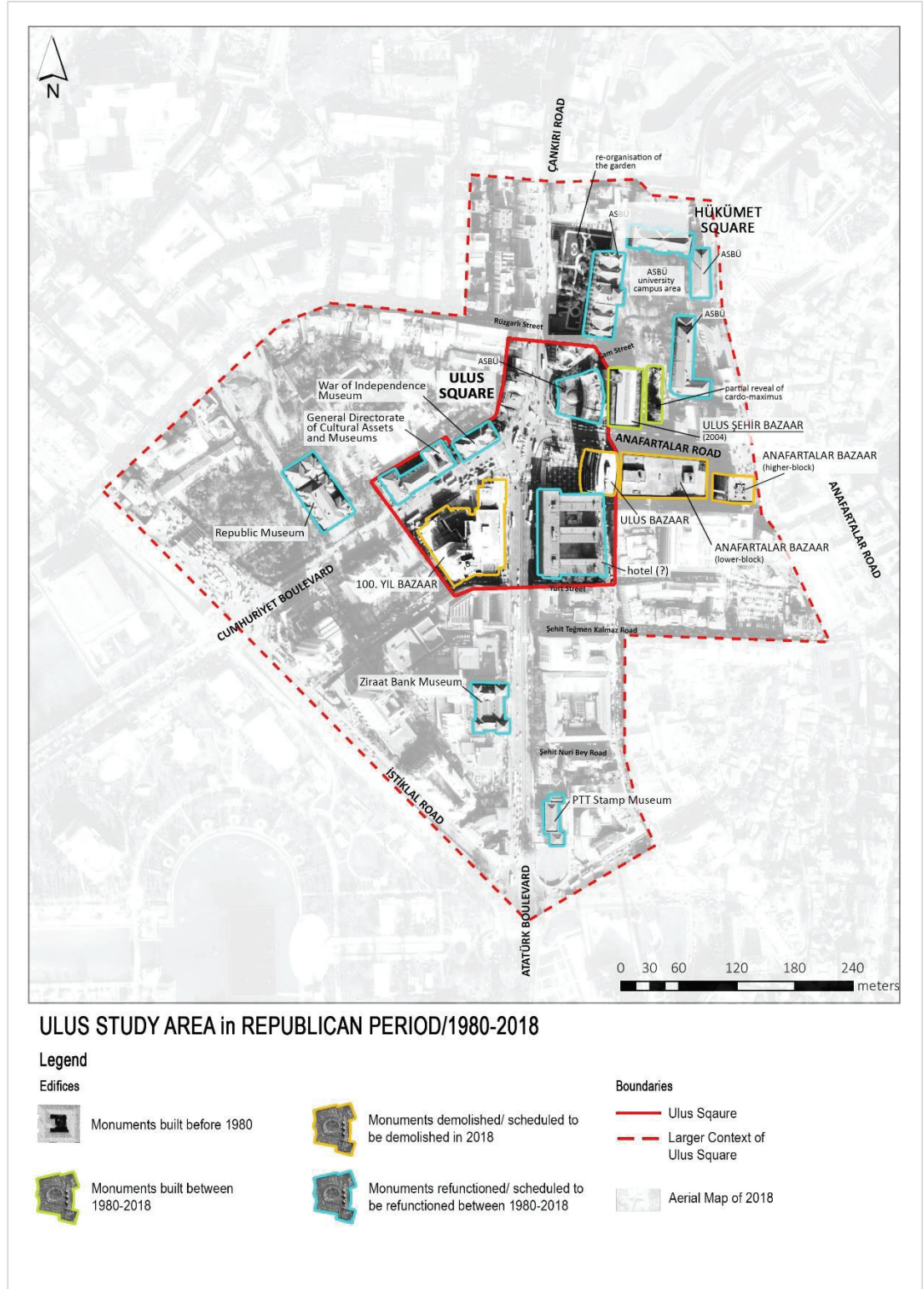


Figure 272 Ulus Study Area in Republican Period/ 1980-2018 (2018 Google Earth Photo is utilised as the basemap)

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.1. AN EVALUATIVE DISCUSSION ON THE CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF ULUS SQUARE

Conservation of cultural heritage in all its forms and historical periods is rooted in the values attributed to the heritage. Our ability to understand these values depends, in part, on the degree to which information sources about these values may be understood as credible or truthful. Knowledge and understanding of these sources of information, in relation to original and subsequent characteristics of the cultural heritage, and their meaning, is a requisite basis for assessing all aspects of authenticity.

Authenticity, considered in this way and affirmed in the Charter of Venice, appears as the essential qualifying factor concerning values.

The Nara Document on Authenticity (1994: 46, 47)

Conservation basically concentrates on sustaining the continuity of values that are ascribed to a cultural heritage. To achieve this aim, a systematic analyses and evaluation process should be developed. First, the heritage should be analysed in detail for a deeper understanding of its characteristics and identification of values attached to the area through time. By this way, it would be possible to reveal the cultural significance of the heritage place. Furthermore, an additional research for understanding the procession of historical events and their impact on the heritage place should also be conducted. Main factors causing transformation and change in these values through time should be examined. Through the determination of main factors and assessment of their impact on values ascribed in the heritage place, it would be possible to develop consistent and sustainable conservation measures for the continuity of a heritage place.

For the case of Ulus Square as a heritage place, its cultural significance should also be analysed through a similar process concentrated on a deep understanding of the area

and determination of values attached. Similar to the building scale conservation projects, a detailed restitution process is developed for Ulus Square. The data gathered from the emergence and transformation story of Ulus Square is evaluated and values ascribed to the area through time were identified. By this way, cultural significance of Ulus Square is revealed. Furthermore, main factors affecting these values were also examined and their role on the continuity of cultural significance of Ulus Square are defined. With the help of a detailed restitution, identification of values and evaluation of the data gathered from change factors, it became possible for Ulus Square to develop projects/ measures for conservation of this place and sustain its cultural significance. Since, initial focus of the study is to understand the story of Ulus Square as a heritage place and to reveal the values ascribed to the area through time, the restitution of Ulus Square was conducted on chapter three and four. In this chapter, the historic data gathered previously were analysed and the outcomes were evaluated through a three staged framework (**Table 9**).

Table 9 The framework developed for understanding the cultural significance of Ulus Square and main factors of change

Themes	Stages	Detail
1. Authenticity and integrity of Ulus Square	Identification of attributes conveying significance for Ulus Square (Cultural Significance/ CS)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Definition of features identifying Ulus Square - Definition of value types - Determination of the periods (past, present)
2. Factors of Change	a. Identification of factors activating/ causing a change (Factors of Change/ F) b. Determine the scale of the factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Definition of main factors affecting Ulus Square through time - Spatial (impact area) - Time (duration)
3. Evaluation of the data		

On the first part of the study, cultural significance of Ulus Square is discussed over the identification of its fundamental features conveying significance. For this process, features defining Ulus Square are determined and to understand their value, different methods for categorisation of value types are analysed. Consequently, the most

appropriate categorisation was chosen for value assessment process and by this way, features defining Ulus Square are evaluated regarding their values in different periods. In the following part, the factors mainly activating/ causing change in the attributes conveying significance for Ulus Square are examined in detail. Through a systematic historical analyses, each factor causing change are determined and their impact area and scale of duration are categorised. Hence, parameters causing change in Ulus Square, the change patterns and their characteristics are identified. For the last part of this study, outcomes of the first and second stages are associated, leading to form a conclusion on the relationship between the change factors and their impact on values and authenticity and integrity of the area. As a result, this part of the thesis finalizes through emphasizing the significant role of a systematic historical analyses both for understanding a heritage place, and developing coherent and sustainable projects for the continuity of cultural significance of Ulus Square.

5.1.1. Identification of Features Defining Ulus Square

This part of the study mainly aims to reveal the cultural significance of Ulus Square through the identification of values attached to the site through time. For this purpose, the data gathered on chapter three and four is systematically categorised and illustrated in a coherent way through tables. As can be followed in **Table 10** and **Table 11**, these tables are developed to summarise the historical information examined in previous chapters, to correlate separate information for a better understanding of the place, and also to follow the historical process through a systematic way. The data gathered from these charts are utilised as a base for identification of attributes conveying significance and value assessment, as well as determination of main factors affecting the authenticity and the integrity of the area.

As can be followed on **Table 10** and **Table 11**, diverse aspects defining Ulus Square in different time periods are defined through visual and written materials. Aspects, both existing and demolished/ diminished through time are listed under five sub-categories: the name, perceptual attributes (ideological/ symbolic meaning), physical attributes (edge-boundary-territory, intersecting streets, form-shape-size, characteristics of edifices and open spaces, landmarks, elements, surface properties),

functional attributes (square, intersecting streets, edifices and open spaces, user group), visual attributes (panoramic viewpoints, vista points, architectural frame). Starting from Roman Period onwards, each and every aspect defining these attributes are labelled in the table.⁶⁶⁵

By following the data summarised in a single column, historical analyses of a specific attribute, as well as continuity, transformation and change in that attribute through time can be examined. On the other hand, by following a single row, characteristics of Ulus Square (with all of its attributes) in a specific time period can be examined. By organizing the information regarding different aspects of Ulus Square in a single row, characteristics of the area in that period can easily be understood. As a result, with the help of these tables, on one hand it is possible to develop a better understanding on how Ulus Square transformed through time as well as to evaluate detailed information in its physical, visual, functional and perceptual aspects and their transformation through time. Through a detailed examination on these tables, main attributes defining Ulus Square through time are identified, categorised and listed horizontally in **Table 12** for conducting a deeper study on determination of their values.

⁶⁶⁵ For newly emerging aspects, red colour is used, whereas the continuous aspect is labelled with black and demolished aspects/critical loss on the aspect is labelled with grey.

Table 10 Emergence of Ulus Square and its close vicinity

	PERIOD	NAME	PERCEPTUAL ATTRIBUTES	PHYSICAL ATTRIBUTES						FUNCTIONAL ATTRIBUTES				VISUAL ATTRIBUTES			
			Ideological/ Symbolic Meaning	Edge-Boundary Territory	Intersecting Streets	Form-Shape Size	Characteristics of edifices and open spaces	Landmarks	Elements	Surface Properties	Square	Intersecting Streets	Edifices and open spaces	User Group	Panoramic viewpoints	+ Vista points + The architectural frame	
PRELIMINARY STAGE	Roman Galatian Period (300 BC. – AD. 400)	(-)	(-)	(NA)	(-)	(-)	Palatium	(-)	3rd Century city wall	(-)	COM+ADMIN	(-)	Palatium: ADMIN	(-)	(-)		
	Ottoman Period/ 15th-16th Century	(-)	(-)	(-)	Karaoğlan	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	temporary accommodation	Karaoğlan: COM	(-)	national and international visitors	(-)		
	Ottoman Period/ 17th Century	(-)	(-)	(-)	Karaoğlan	(-)	(-)	(-)	-17th Century city wall -Istanbul Gate	(-)	temporary accommodation and commercial activities	Karaoğlan: COM	(-)	national and international visitors	(-)		
	Ottoman Period/ 18th Century	(-)	(-)	(-)	Karaoğlan	(-)	(-)	(-)	-17th Century city wall -Istanbul Gate	(-)	temporary accommodation and commercial activities	Karaoğlan: COM	(-)	national and international visitors	(-)		
EMERGENCE OF THE SQUARE	Ottoman Period/ 19th Century	Taşhan Square	westernization process of the Otoman Empire entrance to the city		Karaoğlan Kızılbey Road İstasyon Road Primary phase of: Çankırı Road Kızıtaşı Road		- Taşhan: 2 storey OS han with a courtyard - Darülmualimin: 3 storey OS monumental public building - Gazino: 2 storey OS building - Fresco: (?) - Millet Garden: public garden - cemetery area - private gardens	Taşhan Darülmualimin	17th Century city wall gradually demolished	-Karaoğlan: paved with cobblestone -the rest: dirt surface, no sidewalk	COM	-Karaoğlan: COM -İstasyon Road: main entrance to the city	-Taşhan: hotel/ ACO -Darülmualimin: teachers school/ EDU -Gazino: coffee house/ ENT -Fresco: bar/ ENT -Millet Garden: garden/ LTA	-male residents -national and international visitors		P1: From İstasyon Road to Citadel area	
	Ottoman Period/ 1900-1920	Taşhan Square	westernization process of the Otoman Empire entrance to the city ideological space for İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti		Karaoğlan Mekteb-i Sanayi Road İstasyon Road Primary phase of: Çankırı Road Kızıtaşı Road		- Taşhan - Darülmualimin - İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti: 2 storey OS building - Millet Garden, Gazino, Fresco - cemetery area - private gardens	Taşhan Darülmualimin İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti	17th Century city wall gradually demolished	-Karaoğlan: cobblestone started to worn away -the rest: dirt surface, no sidewalk	COM+GTHR - secondary square of Ankara	-Karaoğlan: COM -Mekteb-i Sanayi Road: EDU+ ENT -İstasyon Road: main entrance to the city	-Taşhan: hotel/ ACO -Darülmualimin: teachers school/ EDU -Gazino: coffee house/ ENT -Fresco: bar/ ENT -İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti: union house/ POL+IDEO -Millet Garden: garden/ LTA	-male and few female residents -national and international visitors		P1: From İstasyon Road to Citadel area	
	Independence War Period/ 1920-1923	Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square	central space for the War of Independence		Karaoğlan Mekteb-i Sanayi Road İstasyon Road Primary phase of: Çankırı Road Kızıtaşı Road		- Taşhan - Darülmualimin - 1st National Assembly - İstiklal Mahkemesi: 2 storey OS building - Millet Garden, Gazino, Fresco - cemetery area - private gardens	Taşhan Darülmualimin 1st National Assembly	17th Century city wall almost demolished	- Karaoğlan: cobblestone gradually worn away - İstasyon Road: soil road with mud and dust - square and the rest: dirt surface, no sidewalk	COM+GTHR+MEET+ADMIN+ LTA - main square of Ankara	-Karaoğlan: COM+ACO+IDEO+ GST -Mekteb-i Sanayi Road: ACO+ ENT -İstasyon Road: main entrance to the city, ceremonial axis	-Taşhan: dormitory for deputies/ ACO -Darülmualimin: dormitory for deputies/ ACO -Gazino: coffee house/ ENT -Fresco: bar/ ENT -1st National Assembly: ADMIN+POL -Independence Tribunal: courthouse/ PI - Millet Garden: garden/ LTA	-deputies, political and notable figures -male and few female residents -national and international visitors		P1: From İstasyon Road to Citadel area (the view was devoid of visual quality)	
	Republican Period/ 1924	Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square	central space for the new Capital city of the new Republic		Karaoğlan Mekteb-i Sanayi Road İstasyon Road Çankırı Road Kızıtaşı Road		-Taşhan -Darülmualimin -1st National Assembly + private garden -Independence Tribunal -Buildings at Çankırı Road: attached, one or two storey OS buildings -Buildings at Karaoğlan: attached, one storey OS buildings -Belediye Garden, Gazino, Fresco, Cinema -triangular green area at the middle	Taşhan Darülmualimin 1st National Assembly triangular green area	Mekteb-i Sanayi Road planted with trees	-Square: paved with cobblestone -Karaoğlan: cobblestone in poor condition -İstasyon Road: soil road with mud and dust -Mekteb-i Sanayi Road: soil road with sidewalk -Kızıtaşı Road: cobblestone with sidewalk -the rest: dirt surface	COM+GTHR+MEET+ADMIN+ LTA+GST - main square of Ankara - day and night time use after electricity	-Karaoğlan: COM+ACO+LTA+ GST -Mekteb-i Sanayi Road: EDU+PI +ENT -İstasyon Road: ADMIN, main entrance to the city, ceremonial axis -Çankırı Road: COM+ENT	-Taşhan: hotel/ ACO -Darülmualimin: teachers school/ EDU -1st National Assembly: ADMIN+POL -Independence Tribunal: courthouse/ PI -Buildings at Çankırı Road: COM+ENT -Buildings at Karaoğlan: COM -Belediye Garden, Gazino, Fresco, Cinema: garden and buildings/ LTA+ENT	-deputies, political and notable figures -male and female residents -national and international visitors		P1: From İstasyon Road to Citadel area (the view was devoid of visual quality)	
	Republican Period/ 1924-1929	Millet Square + Zafer Square	central space for the modernisation movement of the Republic, spatialization of state's ideology		Karaoğlan Bankalar Road İstasyon Road + Büyük Millet Meclisi Road Çankırı Road Kızıtaşı Road		-Taşhan, Karpiç -Ministry of Education -CHP Head Building + private garden -Mahfel -Buildings at Çankırı Road -Buildings at Karaoğlan -Divan-i Muhasebat: 2 storey FNS monumental building -İş Bank: 4 storey FNS monumental building -Vağonli: 2 storey FNS building -Belediye Garden, Gazino, Fresco, Cinema	Taşhan Darülmualimin 1st National Assembly Victory Monument	-street clocks in coin bank shape -platforms for traffic polices -electric poles -variety of street lamps	-Square: cobblestone -Karaoğlan, İstasyon Road, Büyük Millet Meclisi Road, Çankırı Road: widened, repaired, cobblestone with sidewalk -Bankalar Road: soil road with sidewalk -Kızıtaşı Road: cobblestone with sidewalk -the rest: dirt surface	COM+GTHR+MEET+ADMIN+ LTA+ENT+GST+IDEO -main square of Ankara -day and night time use after electricity -central public transportation area -entrance point to the city	-Karaoğlan: COM+ACO+LTA+ GST -Bankalar Road: FIN+ADMIN +ENT -Büyük Millet Meclisi Road: ADMIN+ENT+ACO, ceremonial axis -İstasyon Road: main entrance to the city,ceremonial axis -Çankırı Road: ENT+COM	-Taşhan, Karpiç: hotel, restaurant/ ACO+GST -Ministry of Education: PI -CHP Head Building: POL -Mahfel: LTA+POL -Buildings at Çankırı Road: ENT+COM -Buildings at Karaoğlan: COM -Divan-i Muhasebat: PI -İş Bank: FIN -Vağonli: COM -Belediye Garden, Gazino, Fresco, Cinema: garden and buildings/ LTA+ENT Victory Monument: sculpture symbolises the soul of Independence War/ GTHR+MEET+IDEO	-deputies, political and notable figures, officials -male and female residents -national and international visitors -heterogenous group with different welfare status and socio-cultural background -yerli and yaban		P1: From İstasyon Road to Citadel area P2: From Victory Monument to İstasyon Area	
Republican Period/ 1929-1935	Ulus Square	central space for the modernisation movement of the Republic, spatialization of state's ideology		Karaoğlan Bankalar Road Mustafay Necati Bey Road (Gazi Blv.) İstasyon Road + Büyük Millet Meclisi Road Çankırı Road Kızıtaşı Road		-Taşhan -Ministry of Education -CHP Head Building + private garden -Kulüp Cinema and Tabarin Bar, Koç Han, Meydan Palas -Buildings at Karaoğlan -Divan-i Muhasebat, Mahfel: 2 storey FIS monumental building -İş Bank: 4 storey FNS monumental building -Vağonli: 2 storey FNS building -Şehir Garden, Gazino, Karpiç, Cinema -Muhasebe-i Hususiye (Özel Idare) Bazaar: one storey small attached shops	Taşhan Darülmualimin 1st National Assembly Victory Monument Karpiç	-bus stops -trash bins -hanging street lights -new platforms	-Square: asphalt -Karaoğlan, İstasyon Road, Büyük Millet Meclisi Road, Çankırı Road, Kızıtaşı Road: cobblestone with sidewalk -Bankalar Road/ Mustafa Necati Bey Road (Gazi Blv.): asphalt, 40 m wide road, wide sidewalks, trees implemented	COM+GTHR+MEET+ADMIN+ LTA+ENT+GST+IDEO+FIN -main square of Ankara -day and night time use after electricity -central public transportation area -entrance point to the city	-Karaoğlan: COM+ACO+LTA+ GST+BO -Bankalar Road/ Mustafa Necati Bey Road (Gazi Blv.): FIN+COM+ADMIN+ENT -Mustafa Necati Bey Road (Gazi Blv.): protocol road -Büyük Millet Meclisi Road: ADMIN+ENT+ACO, ceremonial axis -İstasyon Road: main entrance to the city,ceremonial axis -Çankırı Road: ENT+COM+LTA +ACO	-Taşhan: hotel/ ACO -Ministry of Education: PI -CHP Head Building: POL -Kulüp Cinema and Tabarin Bar, Koç Han, Meydan Palas: LTA+ENT+COM+BO+ACO -Buildings at Karaoğlan: COM -Divan-i Muhasebat, Mahfel: PI -İş Bank: FIN -Vağonli: COM -Şehir Garden, Gazino, Karpiç, Cinema: garden and buildings/ GST+LTA+ENT Victory Monument: sculpture symbolises the soul of Independence War/ GTHR+MEET+IDEO	-deputies, political and notable figures, officials -male and female residents -national and international visitors -heterogenous group with different welfare status and socio-cultural background -yerli and yaban		P1: From İstasyon Road to Citadel area P2: From Victory Monument to İstasyon Area P3: From Victory Monument to Citadel Area		

LEGEND

Function

ACO: Accommodation
GST: Gastronomy
PI: Public Institution
ADMIN: Administration

LTA: Leisure Time Activity
BO: Business/Office
ENT: Entertainment
COM: Commercial

FIN: Finance
EDU: Education
TRA: Transportation
MU: Museum

POL: Building used for political purposes
IDEO: Building/space built/ utilized for ideological purposes
GTHR: Building/space used for gatherings, celebrations, protests etc.
MEET: Building/space used as a meeting point








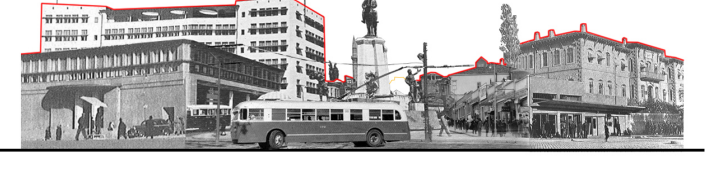


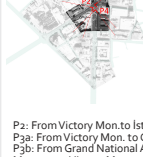
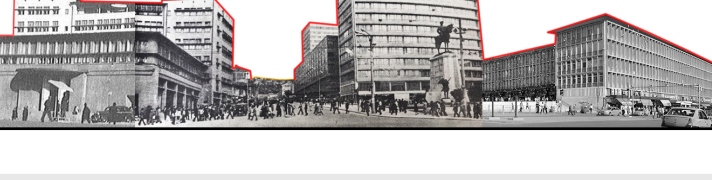


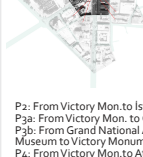

Architectural Styles

OS: Ottoman Style
FNS: First National Style (1920s)
FIS: First International Style (1930s)
SNS: Second National Style (1940s)
MS: Mixed Style (1950s and after)

Text Color

Heading Text: Ulus Square
Heading Text: Ulus Square and its larger context
Text: Continuous aspect
Text: New aspect
Text: Demolished aspect/ critical loss of aspect

Table 11 Transformation of Ulus Square and its close vicinity

PERIOD	NAME	PERCEPTUAL ATTRIBUTES	PHYSICAL ATTRIBUTES							FUNCTIONAL ATTRIBUTES				VISUAL ATTRIBUTES		
		Ideological/ Symbolic Meaning	Edge-Boundary Territory	Intersecting Streets	Form-Shape Size	Characteristics of edifices and open spaces	Landmarks	Elements	Surface Properties	Square	Intersecting Streets	Edifices and open spaces	User Group	Panoramic viewpoints	+ Vista points	The architectural frame
TRANSFORMATION OF THE SQUARE (PHASE I)	Republican Period/ 1935-1945	Ulus Square	central space for the modernisation movement of the Republic, spatialization of state's ideology, respected area for the public		Karaoğlu Bankalar Road/ Mustafa Necati Bey Road (Gazi Blv.- Atatürk Blv.) İstasyon Road + Büyük Millet Meclisi Road Çankırı Road Kızıtaşı Road, Çam Street		-Sümerbank: composed of two masses (2 storey front mass, multi-storey large block) FIS building -Ministry of Education -CHP Head Building + private garden -Kulüp Cinema and Tabarin Bar, Koç Han, Meydan Palas -Buildings at Karaoğlu -Divan-ı Muhasebat -İş Bank -Vagonlu/ attached small shops -City Garden, Gazino, Karpiç, Cinema -Muhassebe-i Hususiye (Özel İdare) Bazaar	Sümerbank Ministry of Education 1st National Assembly Victory Monument Karpiç	-bus stops -trash bins -hanging street lights -platforms -street benches	-Square: asphalt -Karaoğlu, İstasyon Road, Büyük Millet Meclisi Road, Çankırı Road, Çam Street: cobblestone with sidewalk -Bankalar Road/ Mustafa Necati Bey Road (Gazi Blv.- Atatürk Boulevard): asphalt	COM+GTHR+MEET+ADMIN+LTA+ENT+GST+IDEO+FIN -main square of Ankara -day and night time use after electricity -central public transportation area -entrance point to the city	-Karaoğlu: COM+ACO+LTA+GST+BO Bankalar Road/ Mustafa Necati Bey Road (Gazi Blv.-Atatürk Boulevard): FIN+COM+ADMIN+ENT+MEET+LTA, protocol road -Büyük Millet Meclisi Road: ADMIN+ENT+ACO, ceremonial axis -İstasyon Road: main entrance to the city,ceremonial axis -Çankırı Road: ENT+COM+LTA+ACO	-Sümerbank: ADMIN+FIN+COM -CHP Head Building: POL -Kulüp Cinema and Tabarin Bar, Koç Han, Meydan Palas: LTA+ENT+COM+BO+ACO -Buildings at Karaoğlu: COM -Divan-ı Muhasebat: PI -İş Bank: FIN -Şehir Garden, Gazino, Karpiç, Cinema: garden and buildings/ GST+LTA+ENT Victory Monument: sculpture symbolises the soul of Independence War/ GTHR+MEET+IDEO	-deputies, political and notable figures, officials -male and female residents -national and international visitors -heterogenous group with different welfare status and socio-cultural background -yerli and yaban	 P1: From Victory Mon. to İstasyon Area P2: From Victory Mon. to Citadel Area P3: From Victory Mon. to Citadel Area P4: From Victory Mon. to Atatürk Blv.	
	Republican Period/ 1945-1955	Ulus Square	central space for the modernisation movement of the Republic, spatialization of state's ideology, respected area for the public a stage to show political power		Karaoğlu Bankalar Caddesi (Gazi Blv.- Atatürk Blv.) İstasyon Road + Büyük Millet Meclisi Road Çankırı Road Çam Street		-Sümerbank: composed of two masses (2 storey front mass, multi-storey large block) FIS building -Ministry of Education -CHP Head Building + private garden -Kulüp Cinema and Tabarin Bar, Koç Han, Meydan Palas -Buildings at Karaoğlu -Divan-ı Muhasebat -İş Bank -Attached small shops -Şehir Garden, Gazino, Karpiç, Cinema -Muhassebe-i Hususiye (Özel İdare) Bazaar -Tutuncu Behçet	Sümerbank The Ministry of Education 1st National Assembly Victory Monument Karpiç	-new bus stops -stops for Trolleybus -trash bins -hanging street lights	-Square, Karaoğlu, İstasyon Road, Büyük Millet Meclisi Road, Çankırı Road, Bankalar Road (Atatürk Blv.): asphalt -Çam Street: cobblestone with sidewalk	COM+GTHR+MEET+ADMIN+LTA+ENT+GST+IDEO+FIN+TRA -main square of Ankara -day and night time use after electricity -central public transportation area -entrance point to the city	-Karaoğlu: COM+ACO+LTA+GST+BO Bankalar Road (Atatürk Boulevard): FIN+COM+ADMIN+ENT+MEET+LTA, protocol road -Büyük Millet Meclisi Road: ADMIN+ENT+ACO, ceremonial axis -İstasyon Road: main entrance to the city,ceremonial axis -Çankırı Road: ENT+COM+LTA+ACO	-Sümerbank: ADMIN+FIN+COM -CHP Head Building: POL -Kulüp Cinema and Tabarin Bar, Koç Han, Meydan Palas: LTA+ENT+COM+BO+ACO -Buildings at Karaoğlu: COM -İş Bank: FIN -Attached small shops -Commercial buildings -Şehir Garden, Gazino, Karpiç, Cinema: garden and buildings/ GST+LTA+ENT Victory Monument: sculpture symbolises the soul of Independence War/ GTHR+MEET+IDEO -Muhassebe-i Hususiye (Özel İdare) Çarşısı: COM -Tutuncu Behçet: COM	-deputies, political and notable figures, officials -male and female residents -national and international visitors -heterogenous group with different welfare status and socio-cultural background -yerli and yaban -immigrants from villages	 P1: From Victory Mon. to İstasyon Area P2: From Victory Mon. to Citadel Area P3: From Victory Mon. to Citadel Area P4: From Victory Mon. to Atatürk Blv.	
	Republican Period/ 1955-1980	Ulus Square	respected area for the public a stage to show political power a new urban space reflecting state's (DP) urban policy		Karaoğlu (Anafartalar Road) Bankalar Road (Atatürk Boulevard) İstasyon Road + Büyük Millet Meclisi Road Cumhuriyet Road Çankırı Road Çam Street		-Sümerbank -Ulus Bazaar: composed of two masses (higher office block, lower bazaar block) MS building -Grand National Assembly of Turkey Museum, CHP Head Building -Kulüp Cinema and Tabarin Bar, Koç Han, Meydan Palas -Buildings at Karaoğlu -Divan-ı Muhasebat/ Sayıştay -İş Bank -Şehir Bazaar Özel İdare Bazaar -100. Yıl Bazaar: composed of masses, MS building, Şehir Garden, Gazino, Karpiç, Cinema, Şehir Bazaar -Tutuncu Behçet (?)	Sümerbank Ulus Bazaar 1st National Assembly Victory Monument Karpiç	-new bus stops -stops for Trolleybus -stops for dolmuş-minibus -trash bins -hanging street lights	-Square, Anafartalar Road, İstasyon Road, Cumhuriyet Road, Çankırı Road, Atatürk Boulevard, Çam Street: asphalt	COM+GTHR+MEET+ADMIN+LTA+ENT+GST+IDEO+FIN+TRA -secondary square of Ankara -day and decreasing night time use -one of the central public transportation area -entrance point to the city	-Anafartalar Road: COM+ACO+LTA+GST+BO Atatürk Boulevard: FIN+COM+ADMIN+ENT+MEET+LTA, protocol road -Cumhuriyet Road: ADMIN+ENT+ACO, ceremonial axis -İstasyon Road: main entrance to the city,ceremonial axis -Çankırı Road: ENT+COM+LTA+ACO	-Sümerbank: ADMIN+FIN+COM -Ulus Bazaar: COM + BO -Grand National Assembly of Turkey Museum: MU -Kulüp Cinema and Tabarin Bar, Koç Han, Meydan Palas: LTA+ENT+COM+BO+ACO -Sayıştay: PI -İş Bank: FIN -Commercial buildings -100. Yıl Bazaar: COM + BO Victory Monument: sculpture symbolises the soul of Independence War/ GTHR+MEET+IDEO	-deputies, political and notable figures, officials -male and female residents -national and international visitors -middle and low income groups -immigrants from villages	 P1: From Victory Mon. to İstasyon Area P2: From Victory Mon. to Citadel Area P3: From Grand National Assembly of Turkey Museum to Victory Monument P4: From Victory Mon. to Atatürk Blv.	
TRANSFORMATION OF THE SQUARE (PHASE III)	Republican Period/ 1980-2018	Ulus Square	respected area for a group of the public a new urban space reflecting state's (DP) urban policy a new urban space reflecting state's (AKP) urban policy		Anafartalar Road Atatürk Boulevard İstasyon Road Cumhuriyet Road Çankırı Road Çam Street		-Sümerbank -Ulus Bazaar (high block) (?) -Ulus Bazaar (low block) -Grand National Assembly of Turkey Museum, War of Independence Museum -Koç Han, Meydan Palas -Sayıştay, General Directorate of Cultural Assets and Museums -İş Bank -100. Yıl Bazaar (?) -Tutuncu Behçet (?)	Sümerbank Ulus Bazaar 1st National Assembly Victory Monument	-bus stops -stops for Trolleybus -stops for dolmuş-minibus -trash bins -street lightings -street clocks	-Square, Anafartalar Road, İstasyon Road, Cumhuriyet Road, Çankırı Road, Atatürk Boulevard, Çam Street: asphalt	COM+GTHR+MEET+LTA+ENT+GST+IDEO+TRA+MU -secondary square of Ankara -day and decreasing night time use -one of the central public transportation area	-Anafartalar Road: COM+GST+BO Atatürk Boulevard:COM+ADMIN+MEET+ MU -Cumhuriyet Road: ADMIN+ENT+ACO, MU -Çankırı Road: ENT+COM+LTA+ACO	-Sümerbank: EDU -Ulus Bazaar: COM + BO -Grand National Assembly of Turkey Museum, War of Independence Museum:MU -Koç Han, Meydan Palas: COM+BO+ACO -Sayıştay, General Directorate of Cultural Assets and Museums: PI, MU -İş Bank: FIN -Commercial buildings -100. Yıl Bazaar: COM + BO Victory Monument: sculpture symbolises the soul of Independence War/ GTHR+MEET+IDEO	-male and female residents -national and international visitors -middle and low income group -immigrants from villages	 P1: From Victory Mon. to İstasyon Area P2: From Victory Mon. to Citadel Area P3: From Grand National Assembly of Turkey Museum to Victory Monument P4: From Victory Mon. to Atatürk Blv.	
LEGEND	<div>Function</div> <div>ACO: Accommodation GST: Gastronomy PI: Public Institution ADMIN: Administration</div> <div>LTA: Leisure Time Activity BO: Business/Office ENT: Entertainment COM: Commercial</div> <div>FIN: Finance EDU: Education TRA: Transportation MU: Museum</div> <div>POL: Building used for political purposes IDEO: Building/space built/utlized for ideological purposes GTHR: Building/space used for gatherings, celebrations, protests etc. MEET: Building/space used as a meeting point</div> <div>Architectural Styles</div> <div>OS: Ottoman Style FNS: First National Style (1920s) FIS: First International Style (1930s) SNS: Second National Style (1940s) MS: Mixed Style (1950s and after)</div> <div>Text Color</div> <div>Heading Text: Ulus Square Heading Text: Ulus Square and its larger context Text: Continuous aspect Text: New aspect Text: Demolished aspect/ critical loss of aspect</div>															

5.1.2. Significance of Ulus Square and Identification of its Ascribed Values

On the following stage, the data visualised in **Table 10** and **Table 11** is analysed for identification of values ascribed to Ulus Square through time. Since emergence and transformation process of Ulus Square is narrated through the story of main aspects identifying the square through time, the same method is utilised for identification of values attached to the area. Value types⁶⁶⁶ are identified and listed vertically in **Table 12**. As can be followed on the table values are categorised under eight headings: historical value, cultural/ symbolic value, social value, spiritual/religious value, aesthetic value, use/market value, non-use/non-market value, and intrinsic value. To have a reliable and coherent matching between the features identifying Ulus Square and the heritage value typologies, heritage value assessment developed by Mason (2002: 5-30) is utilised to create the framework of this part of the study:

1. Historical Value: The capacity of a site to convey, embody, or stimulate a relation or reaction to the past is part of the fundamental nature and meaning of heritage objects (Mason: 2002, 11). Historical Values attached to Ulus Square and its close vicinity are categorised as follows: material age, association with people or events, rarity and/ or uniqueness, technological qualities (referring the technological aspects of the asset as an example of its time), archival/ documentary potential (the document value of an asset to reflect the social, economic and cultural life of the past), education/ academic (the potential to gain knowledge about the past), artistic (being a good example of, being the work of a particular individual). Since Ulus Square is a multi-layered public open space, most of the attributes such as; cardomaximus (Roman period), Kızılbey Complex (13th cent), Zincirli Mosque (Ottoman period, 17th cent), İğneli Belkıs Mosque (Ottoman period, 18th cent), Governor's Office (Ottoman period, 19th cent),

⁶⁶⁶ Heritage values of Ulus Square and its close vicinity are defined as an outcome of a detailed analyses on studies developed by various scholars and organisations such as: Venice Charter (1964), Mason; Assessing Values in Conservation Planning: Methodological Issues and Choices (2002: 5-30), Reigl; The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and its Origins (1982: 21-56), Lipe; Value and meaning in cultural resources (1984), The Nara Document on Authenticity (1994), English Heritage; Sustaining the Historic Environment: New Perspectives on the Future (1997), Burra Charter (1998), Feilden and Jokilehto; Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites (1998: 18-22), Madran; Modern Mimarlık Ürünlerinin Belgelemesi ve Korunması Süreci için Bazı Notlar (2006), ICOMOS New Zealand Charter: 2010 (revised) and UNESCO's World Heritage Convention (1972, 2008). On the other hand, categorisation of the values defined for Ulus Square is based on the heritage value definitions developed by Mason (2002).

İttihat ve Terakki (early 20th cent), İş Bank (early Republican Period), Ulus Bazaar (1950s) have historical value. It can be followed on **Table 12** that a considerable part of the attributes having historical value were demolished through time.

2. Cultural/ Symbolic Value: Cultural values are used to build cultural affiliation in the present and can be historical, political, ethnic, or related to other means of living together (for instance, work- or craft-related). These values also refer to those shared meanings associated with heritage that are not, strictly speaking, historic (related to the chronological aspects and meanings of a site) (Mason: 2002, 11). Cultural/ symbolic values attached to Ulus Square and its close vicinity are categorised as follows: symbolic (possess a symbolic meaning for the people whether very small and local, or national in scale), political (the use of heritage to build or sustain civil relations), craft-work related (mainly refers to a group or community based traditional craft). Starting from the early 19th century, the commercial meaning of Ulus Square for the public started to change through the events having an impact on the administrative structure, daily life and organisation of urban space. With the construction of İttihat ve Terakki Building at Ulus Square in 1915-1916, for the first time in its history, the area gained an ideological meaning for the residents. Short after, this meaning was intensified by the opening of the First National Assembly at the same building which transformed Ulus Square into the central location of the War of Independence. With the proclamation of the Republic and construction of several monumental buildings and the Victory Monument reflecting the ideology of the state dominated the character of Ulus Square and its meaning. Until today, with slight differences due to the changes in socio-cultural and political transformation in the country, Ulus Square continued to sustain its symbolic meaning both for Ankara and Turkey. As can be followed on the **Table 12** that most of the attributes having symbolic/cultural value continued to sustain their integrity through time.

3. Social Value: The social values of heritage enable and facilitate social connections, networks, and other relations in a broad sense, one not necessarily related to central historical values of the heritage (Mason: 2002, 12). Social Values attached to Ulus

Square and its close vicinity are categorised as follows: social activity (public space/ shared space quality; sites for social gatherings such as celebrations, markets, picnics, or ball game), integrating (a potential site fostering different groups to gather for various activities, or encourage specific groups for local activities), place attachment (refers to the social cohesion, community identity, or other feelings of affiliation that social groups – whether very small and local, or national in scale – derive from the specific heritage and environment characteristics of their “home” territory). From its emergence until today, Ulus Square continuously function as a public open space for commercial activities and therefore it is a potential area for integrating different groups. Furthermore, through the course of time, additional functions regarding administrative, education, financial, political, ideological, recreational and entertainment facilities started to attach to Ulus Square which increased its social value. By hosting several ideological and administrative buildings, symbolic monuments and public open spaces, Ulus Square continuously used as a gathering, meeting place for celebrations, demonstrations and other public activities. The assets having social value with different functional aspects are listed in the **Table 12**.

4. Spiritual/ Religious Value: Heritage sites are sometimes associated or imbued with religious or other sacred meaning. These spiritual values can emanate from the beliefs and teachings of organized religion, but they can also encompass secular experiences of wonder, awe, and so on, which can be provoked by visiting heritage places (Mason: 2002, 12). Additional to the mosques located within Ulus Square and its close vicinity having religious value, there are also attributes having spiritual value such as the First National Assembly due to its significant role during the War of Independence and proclamation of the Republic.

5. Aesthetic Value: In the main, *aesthetic* refers to the visual qualities of heritage. The many interpretations of beauty, of the sublime, of ruins, and of the quality of formal relationships considered more broadly have long been among the most important criteria for labelling things and places as heritage (Mason: 2002, 12). For this study, Aesthetic Values attached to Ulus Square and its close vicinity are

identified as follows: the design and evolution, sensory experience (associated with strong sense of smell, sound, feeling and sight). From the Roman period onwards, Ulus Square continuously hosted buildings, open spaces and monuments of different periods which reflected the understanding of design and aesthetic of their period (**listed in Table 12**). The latest examples of the attributes having aesthetic value, are Ulus Bazaar, Anafartalar Bazaar and 100. Yıl Bazaar. Both with their design, materials and construction techniques, these buildings are the outcomes of successful interpretation of the international architectural styles seen in Turkey during 1950s and 1960s.

6. Use/ Market Value: The ones most easily assigned a price. Use values of material heritage refer to the goods and services that flow from it that are tradable and priceable in existing markets (Mason: 2002, 13). As mentioned previously, Ulus Square continued to function as the commercial centre of the city for centuries, and therefore hosted several assets having use/market value such as Karaoğlan, Ulus Bazaar and Özel İdare Bazaar. Even though a rapid transformation process can be followed regarding the buildings having use/market value in Ulus Square, still a considerable amount of them are standing.

7. Non-use/ Non-market Value: The economics field describes non-use values as emanating from the public-good qualities of heritage – those qualities that are “nonrival” (consumption by one person does not preclude consumption by someone else) and “nonexcludable” (once the good/service is provided to anyone, others are not excluded from consuming it) (Mason: 2002, 12-13). Non-use/ Non-market Value attached to Ulus Square and its close vicinity are categorised as follows: existence (individuals value a heritage item for its mere existence, even though they themselves may not experience it or “consume its services” directly), option value (the possibility of an assets services to be consumed in the future), bequest (stems from the wish to bequeath a heritage asset to future generations).

8. Intrinsic Value: Mainly associated with environmental conservation, through which it is assumed that “natural” characteristics (wildness) are intrinsically valuable. Intrinsic Values attached to Ulus Square and its close vicinity are categorised as follows: natural characteristics, authenticity of material (some kind of historic value is represented by – inherent in – some truly old and thus authentic material, authentic in that it was witness to history and carries the authority of this witness, Mason: 2002, 13). First started with the implementation of Millet Garden at Ulus Square and followed by the opening of the First and Second National Assembly Garden, Ministry of Finance Garden, Necatibey Park and Gençlik Parkı in Ulus Square and its close vicinity, the area gained a value derived from its natural characteristics. On the other hand, as can be followed on **Table 12**, most of these areas either demolished or lost their integrity through time. In addition to this, several attributes of Ulus Square having intrinsic value regarding the authenticity of the material used also identified on the same table.

5.1.3. Determination of Change Factors

For this part of the study, factors activating transformation and change in values ascribed in Ulus Square and its close vicinity are analysed through the data gathered from the emergence and transformation process of the site defined in Chapter 3 and 4. From this analyses, various factors affecting Ulus Square in different time intervals are identified and categorised under sixteen headings. As can be followed on **Table 13**, the main events defined as the change factor in Ulus Square and its close vicinity are listed as follows:

- Wars: Direct and indirect impact of wars (such as the Second World War) causing change in urban tissue, demolition/alteration/change in buildings and open spaces, change in socio-cultural and economic structure of the residents.
- Natural/ Manmade Disasters: Famine/ droughts that cause a radical decrease in population. Fires that cause a radical change on the urban tissue of the area or the buildings physical aspects.
- Activities related to *Sof*: Both increase and decline of production and commerce of *Sof* introduced new types of urban development for the city. These changes also affected the location of the city-centres, distribution of functions and socio-cultural and political life in the city.
- Construction of a Train Station: Introduction of new type of a transportation, increase in commercial activities and vitality of the areas close to the train station, the change on the urban tissue and distribution of facilities.
- Ankara Becoming the Administrative Centre (discussed under different periods): Transfer of administrative functions, radical increase in population, increase in administrative buildings, the change in the physical aspects and daily life in the city, change in urban space.
- Ideological Changes on State Policy (discussed under different periods): The ideological shift on states policy and its impact on architecture, urban space and development patterns of the city, and its indirect impact on the socio-cultural profile of the user group.

- Laws and Regulations in Development: Especially focused on the regulations regarding the increase in building height, mass and density, and a parallel transformation on user profile, usage preferences and the meaning of the site
- Development Plans: Plans prepared for the development of Ankara (Lörcher, Jansen, Yücel- Uybadin, 1990 Ankara Master Plan and 2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan) and their impact on urban development patterns, the shift of the city centre and main facilities from Ulus area to Kızılay.
- Expropriations: Urban activities focused on expropriations, demolishments, opening-widening main roads and constructing new buildings, as well as its indirect impact on the transformation of the socio-cultural aspects of the user group.
- Squatter Areas/ Socio-cultural Change in the Population (started by the end of 1940s): Radical changes in the socio-cultural background of the population as an outcome of national and international policies, economic shifts and ideological tendencies. Specifically focusing on the period dated after 1940s and continued almost for four decades, where mechanisation in rural areas activated a migration from rural areas to Ankara. With the radical increase in population, the problem of housing also increase and the number of illegal houses around Ulus emerged. This change in the population especially concentrated around Ulus area also changed the user profile and the meaning of the area.
- Relocation of the City Centre (discussed under different periods): The shift of the city centre to a new location caused by political, economic and ideological reasons. Relocation of commercial, administrative and financial activities from *Yukarı Yüz* to *Aşağı Yüz* during 19th century. The second period focusing on relocation of commercial, administrative, financial and entertainment/ leisure time activities from Ulus to Kızılay district and its impact on the decline of the square, as well as its impact on the changes of the user profile and the decline of the meaning.
- Transportation Facilities: main activities regarding opening or widening roads, the improvement of surface characteristics and spatial organisations in the area

for public transportation stops. Their impact on the physical integrity, visual aspects as well as the meaning attached to the site.

- Problems of Insufficiency: The change in the area caused by the refunctioning or abandonment of public buildings regarding their insufficiency. Either it can be a spatial insufficiency where a need for a bigger space aroused. Or it can also be related to the function of the space where the facilities are no longer answering the demand of contemporary periods.
- Conservation Activities: Conservation Plans developed and implemented between 1986 and 2005, registration activities started from 1972 until today.
- Renovation Activities: Reconstruction, refunctioning, rehabilitation and demolition activities regarding the renovation plan developed in 2006 and cancelled in 2007 (implemented or scheduled to be implemented in 2018).
- Adaptive Re-use: Buildings and open spaces assigned with new functions (without direction of any plan).

Table 13 List of factors causing/ activating change and their specifications regarding duration and impact area

TYPE		DURATION	Always	Frequently/ Once but long duration	At intervals	Seldom	Very seldom	Once
WARS change in urban tissue, change in city centre, demolition/ alteration/ change in buildings and public open spaces change in socio-cultural aspects								
NATURAL/ MANMADE DISASTERS	Famine/ droughts							
	Fires							
ACTIVITIES RELATED TO SOF sof production and commerce								
CONSTRUCTION OF A TRAIN STATION vitality of commercial activities, change on the urban tissue and facilities								
ANKARA BECOMING THE ADMINISTRATIVE CENTRE transfer of administrative functions to Ankara change in architecture and urban space increase in the population transformation in socio-cultural aspects of the residents	5a. Roman Period							
	5b. Late Ottoman Period (19th century)							
	5c. Republican Period							
	6a. Ottoman Tanzimat (19th Century)							
IDEOLOGICAL CHANGES ON STATE POLICY	6b. Early Republican (1920-1950)							
	6c. DP and following ideologies (1950-2000)							
	6d. AKP (2000-2018)							
LAWS and REGULATIONS IN DEVELOPMENT increase in building height, mass and density outcome of the Building Height Regulation and Plans, the Condominium Law, Speculations etc.								
DEVELOPMENT PLANS	8a. Lörcher							
	8b. Jansen							
	8c. Yücel Uybadin							
	8d. 1990 Plan, 2023 (IN)							
EXPROPRIATIONS and related demolishments								
SQUATTER AREAS/ SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGE IN THE POPULATION (started by the end of 1940s) mechanisation in rural areas, migration to big cities for job opportunities, radical increase in population, housing problem, illegal construction activities surrounding the city								
RELOCATION OF THE CITY CENTRE 19th cent: From Yukarı Yüz to Aşağı Yüz 20th cent: From Ulus to Kızılay	11a. The shift of commercial activities							
	11a. The shift of administrative activities							
	11c. The shift of financial activities							
	11d. The shift of entertainment/ leisure time activities							
TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES	12a. Roads (opening or widening roads)							
	12b. Surface Characteristics							
	12c. Spatial organisations for bus stops							
PROBLEMS OF INSUFFICIENCY	13a. Spatial (a need for a bigger space)							
	13b. Functional (lack of contemporary facilities)							
CONSERVATION ACTIVITIES Conservation plans, registration activities								
RENOVATION ACTIVITIES Reconstruction, refunctioning, rehabilitation and demolishments regarding the renovation plan (implemented or scheduled to be implemented in 2018)								
ADAPTIVE RE-USE								

Everywhere

Local

Indirect Impact

Wide

Single building
or/ and open space

As soon as identification of main factors activating radical change in Ulus Square is completed, the listed factors are evaluated by means of the impact areas (spatial) and the scale of duration (time). For this analysis, four impact area is defined: everywhere, wide, local and single building/ open space. In addition to this, same list of factors also analysed through their scale of duration. A duration range between always, frequently/ once but continued for a long period, at intervals, seldom, very seldom and once is defined, and for the factors that have indirect impact on the change in the area also categorised as indirect impact in the table (**Table 13**). By this way, it is aimed to understand the characteristics of factors in detail since this list will be utilised as the primary determiner on the development of conservation proposals for Ulus Square. As a result of these three levelled factor assessment process, sixteen main factors and their sub-factors are defined. Each factor is analysed in detail regarding its impact area and the duration. For instance, relocation of commercial activities was defined as a factor that impacted the city in a wider extent and continued for a long time. Whereas, the change caused by expropriations corresponds to a wide and local change occurred/activated in time intervals. Additionally, spatial organisations for bus stops corresponds to a variant change caused by either affecting wide areas in time intervals or seldom affecting single building/open space. By this categorisation and detailed explanations for each change factor, the second stage of the study is completed.

5.1.4. Evaluation and Discussions

Until here, the process is initiated by identification of main determiners of the matrix developed for understanding the values and the nature of change in Ulus Square. Starting from this stage, the definitions discussed in previous stages are utilised for evaluating the historic data for a deeper understanding of Ulus Square as a heritage place. This process is mainly based on a systematic examination focused on how factors of change impact the cultural significance of Ulus Square and the authenticity and integrity of the area.⁶⁶⁷ To achieve that, first of all, outcomes of the previous stages

⁶⁶⁷ ICOMOS New Zealand Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Heritage Value (revised 2010):

are associated to understand the complex relationship between the cultural significance and change factor and the level of its impact on the authenticity and integrity of Ulus Square.

To understand the nature of change and to be able to differentiate important moments and turning points for Ulus Square through time, the data is evaluated through the most relevant groupings, concentrated similarities and extreme differences observed in the history. Moreover, by facilitating a comparison between similar groups and patterns of change, it is aimed to develop generalisations regarding the impact of change factors on the integrity and authenticity of Ulus Square within its close vicinity. Thus, it is important to carry out separate surveys followed by their comparisons to relate their impact on Ulus Square will be the main structure of this part of the study. The evaluation of the data based on the factors of change is listed as follows:

The Most Affective Factors Activating Change in Ulus Square

- The shift of the administrative activities
- Early Republican Period Ideological Urban Policies (1920s-1950s)
- The shift of the commercial activities
- DP and its Ideological Urban Policies (1950s-2000)
- AKP and its Ideological Urban Policies (2000-2018)

The shift of administrative and commercial activities are categorised under the heading “Relocation of the City Centre”. Moreover, early Republican Period, DP Period and AKP Period activities are categorised under the heading “Ideological Changes on State Policy”. Thus, it can be claimed that relocation of the city centre from Ulus to Kızılay, and ideological urban activities of state are the two main factors of change which had a dominant impact on integrity and authenticity of Ulus Square and its close vicinity.

Authenticity means the credibility or truthfulness of the surviving evidence and knowledge of the cultural heritage value of a place. Relevant evidence includes form and design, substance and fabric, technology and craftsmanship, location and surroundings, context and setting, use and function, traditions, spiritual essence, and sense of place, and includes tangible and intangible values. Assessment of authenticity is based on identification and analysis of relevant evidence and knowledge, and respect for its cultural context (2010: 9)

Integrity means the wholeness or intactness of a place, including its meaning and sense of place, and all the tangible and intangible attributes and elements necessary to express its cultural heritage value (2010: 10).

Additionally, the level of change caused by ideological activities of the state are considerably high when compared to the impact of the relocation of the city centre. Therefore it is possible to claim that, the impact of ideological activities on the integrity and authenticity of Ulus Square are more radical and resulted mostly with loss of identity. Whereas the relocation of the city centre has an indirect impact on the square.⁶⁶⁸

Furthermore, to facilitate a deeper analysis on the ideological activities that are described as one of the main impact factor for the radical change in Ulus Square, each period is analysed separately. From this analysis, it is concluded that, the ideological shift on the state during *Tanzimat* Period has few impact on Ulus Square, mainly concentrated in physical-visual and functional change in separate levels. On the following decades, the ideological activities of the early Republican Period and the period starts with DP and continues until the end of 1970s are having similar patterns regarding the density of change factors and their impact on the continuity of values attached to Ulus Square and its close vicinity. Furthermore, the early periods of 2000s has activated/ caused change in relatively less number of assets in Ulus Square, whereas starting from 2008 until today the changes and transformation of significant number of values attached to the area can be observed.

Through a comparison between all four periods defined regarding to the differences on state ideology and policy, it is identified that current condition of Ulus Square is the most vulnerable one compared to the previous periods. Even though Ulus Square had the chance to sustain its cultural significance for centuries, a rapid and irreversible change in the urban tissue of historic Ankara created the danger of Ulus Square to lose its authenticity and integrity. Due to the role of current projects and plans developed by the state and local authorities on Ulus Square, the area is under the risk of a radical and irreversible transformation process concentrated on demolition, reconstruction

⁶⁶⁸ It is possible to analyse that, relocation of the city centre mainly caused a direct change in the user group of the area and the meaning attached to Ulus Square. On the other hand, various indirect changes (in differentiating levels) on features identifying Ulus Square are analysed on the table.

and refunctioning activities. In parallel to the change in physical and functional aspects identifying Ulus Square, it is also possible to identify the loss of socio-cultural values attached to the area. Thus, the period between 2000 and 2018 is defined as the most destructive period regarding the radical change and loss of authenticity-integrity in physical, functional, visual aspects of Ulus Square as well as its name, meaning and its user group.

The Least Affective/ Indirect Factors Activating Change in Ulus Square

To define the scale of impact ratios of change factors in Ulus Square, the analysis on the most effective factors should be followed by the identification of least affective factors of change and their impact in Ulus Square. The factors are identified as follows:⁶⁶⁹

- Activities Related to *Sof*
- Development Master Plans of 1990 and 2023
- Fires

By analysing the historical data examined in Chapter 3 and 4, it is concluded that unlike the previously discussed change factors, the factors listed above and their impact on Ulus Square are weak regarding their role on activating several types of change in various values ascribed in Ulus Square.

Impact of Urban Development Activities on the Change in Ulus Square

Following the analysis based on the most and least affective factors affecting change in Ulus Square, an additional survey is carried out to understand the role of laws and regulations in the continuity of cultural significance. To provide an overview on this subject, a comparison based on the development activities including development master plans and regulations are analysed together, and their impact on the values of Ulus Square is examined. It is clearly analysed that, Laws and Regulations (such as Building Height Regulation and Plans, the Condominium Law, Speculations etc.) are highly effective in activating a change in Ulus Square and create danger for the

⁶⁶⁹ The impact of Famine/ droughts is determined as ineffective, and therefore excluded from the chart.

integrity and authenticity of the area, compared to the impact of development plans prepared for Ankara.

First started by the end of 1940s, two series Law n. 5218 and 5228 triggered the demolition of existing buildings and construction of higher ones at the same location, radically damaging the physical aspects of Ulus Square and its close vicinity. Even though these two laws intended to prevent further squatters, right after their announcement illegal construction activities, attempts to increase building heights and land speculations accelerated more than any period of the Republic. During 1950s, floor numbers of the buildings located on Atatürk Boulevard increased to four and the urban characteristic of Ankara and especially Ulus Square and its close vicinity started to transform with a new understanding of architecture and urban space.

Following these laws, regarding the master plan of Ankara prepared by Yücel Uybadin, urban works for widening of Atatürk Boulevard and Çankırı Road began in 1958-1959. To increase the vehicle capacity of these roads, sidewalks were narrowed and most of the trees were removed. The double alleys on each side of the major boulevard cut down, and replaced with asphalted traffic lanes. Short after these works, *Bölge Kat Nizamı*/ District Height Regulation was approved in 1961 which activated a new *development by destruction* period for Ankara. Moreover, *Kat Mülkiyeti Kanunu*/ the Condominium Law or Law of Property (n. 634) was enacted in 1965. With the approval of multiple ownership on the same land and individual ownership for separate flats, a considerable amount of existing privately-owned empty lands were gradually filled with high/wide buildings. As a result, in a short amount of time, the urban density of main arteries, urban squares and streets of Ankara increased without the control of a development plan.

While the Law of Condominium causing a rapid urbanisation in Ankara lacking infrastructure, the update for District Height Regulation, which enables the increase in floor numbers in the existing districts was approved in 1968. Depending on the district, the location and the width of the street/road, maximum floor numbers were increased

up to eight to ten storeys (in some cases thirteen storeys). Moreover, this regulation also increased the number of applications to combine small building lots for increasing the floor area, which resulted with the construction of massive blocks contrasting with the existing urban tissue. Consequently, the process eventually led to a total replacement of the urban fabric.

As a result, between 1940s and 1960s, gradually main arteries of the city were widened through the demolishments of existing urban tissue, and filled with new buildings introducing totally new aspects to the area. Most of the houses and three-four storey apartments in gardens were all replaced with five to seven storey apartments, high-rise commercial buildings, banks and public institutions. In order to build larger blocks in the place of small scale apartments, most of the new buildings included the land reserved for private open spaces which were previously utilised as a part of the daily life of Atatürk Boulevard. This physical transformation caused an increase on the density of urban tissue to a critical level. This change in building height affected the character of main public open spaces such Ulus Square as well as Atatürk Boulevard and Çankırı Road. To conclude, construction of high and massive buildings such as Ulus Bazaar (1955), Anafartalar Bazaar (1967) and 100. Yıl Bazaar (1967-1982) at Ulus Square and expropriations for widening Karaoğlan and Çankırı Road introduced a totally new physical and visual character to Ulus Square in parallel to the transformation in socio-cultural and functional aspects of the area.

Impact of Socio-cultural Transformation on the Change in Ulus Square

It is analysed that, socio cultural change on the population of Ankara, especially concentrated on early Republican period and 1950s, activated a radical change in the user group of Ulus Square and its close vicinity. In addition to this, a concurrent change can also be followed on the meaning of the square for the user groups. Starting from the 16th century, even though it was an empty open space, the location of Ulus Square and its close vicinity were mainly used for commercial facilities, as a part of *Aşağı Yüz* district. On the other hand, by the end of the 19th century, with the decline of *Yukarı Yüz* district and the increasing importance of *Aşağı Yüz* regarding the

location of the Governor's office at Hükümet Square, Ulus Square started to gain an administrative function and used by different groups both for commercial and administrative activities. Moreover, after the construction of the train station, Karaoğlan and Ulus Square became the one and only commercial area that continued to function properly on this period.

During the War of Independence, the socio-political life of Ankara was reshaped around Taşhan-Assembly-Millet Garden triangle. Before the opening of the National Assembly, Ulus Square was used only by men to spend their leisure time strolling in groups and chatting. On the other hand, the opening of the National Assembly excited substantial changes in the socio-cultural, functional aspects of Taşhan Square and its meaning for the public. It was transformed into the main spot for several gatherings, meetings, protests and ceremonies, and most importantly used both by men and women at the same time. With the effect of the opening ceremony organized at this square, it became the continuous stage for open space celebrations and meetings. Additional to its political meaning Ulus Square continued its importance for commercial and leisure time activities.

During the early Republican Period, with the opening of several administrative buildings at Ulus Square, the area gained a dominant administrative character. Especially, with the erection of the Victory Monument symbolising the soul of the War of Independence and the new Republic, the square augmented its political meaning for the public, and continued to be used for any kind of organisation, meeting and celebration related to the state. On the other hand, by being the only centre of Ankara where commercial, administrative, entertainment, education, leisure time and transportation activities concentrated, Ulus Square witnessed the clash of lifestyles with opposite socio-cultural and financial backgrounds and its reflection on daily practices. Even though the majority of its users were the new comers, the amount and diversity of residents using Ulus Square gradually increased. Moreover, due to the shift of planning activities towards the newly developed areas, for the first time major

functions of the city started to relocate themselves slowly from Ulus Square to the direction of Yenışehir.

Starting from 1940s, with the impact of global and domestic events and the change in the ideology of state authorities, the transformation process regarding the user groups and their attachment to Ulus Square began. Starting from 1950s and increased gradually in the following decades, several regulations and implementation strategies not only in economy and politics but also in urban issues were developed that were completely new to Turkey. Additionally, with the increase in migration to big cities for job opportunities, the population of Ankara had increased enormously, and the government's exchequer was not enough to answer the demand for cheap housing and affordable residential areas. Since these groups could not afford to rent a house, they build squatters on the lands owned by the state, which are close to Ulus area. In a short amount of time, the periphery of Ulus was filled with squatters.

Due to the increase in squatters all around Ulus district, and the shift of the city centre from Ulus to Kızılay by the end of 1970s, the user group of Ulus Square and its meaning for them completely changed. Most of the users previously valued the monument as the symbol of the War of Independence and utilised it for national celebrations abandoned Ulus Square. Parallel to their disappearance, a new user group mainly coming to Ankara from other cities emerged, having no interactions with the monument in their daily life, therefore they had no connection with the monument and the square like the former users of the area. As a result of the socio-cultural transformation in the user groups, Ulus Square also lost its importance for the city by the end of 1980s which activated several events damaging its cultural significance through time.

Impact of Conservation Plans/Projects on the Change in Ulus Square

Another analysis was conducted regarding the role of conservation activities (such as conservation master plans and registration activities) on the change of Ulus Square. It can be followed from the historical data examined in Chapter 3 and 4 that, among

several values attached to Ulus Square and its close vicinity, only twenty three of them are registered and one of them is conserved by the regulation of the conservation plan. In this context, the impact of conservation activities to sustain the continuity of cultural significance of Ulus Square and its close vicinity can be evaluated as weak. The main reason behind this insufficiency derives from the fact that Ulus Square and its close vicinity was not included entirely to any of the conservation activities developed for historic Ankara. In addition to this problem, conservation of a public open space is a subject for the conservation laws and regulations in Turkey where without the buildings it is impossible to sustain the continuity of the open space as a heritage. Moreover, in most of the cases public open space conservation is considered in parallel to street rehabilitation activities or restoration of assets surrounding the space. To conclude, it is possible to state that conservation activities facilitated for historic Ankara had limited impact to sustain the integrity and authenticity of Ulus Square and its close vicinity.

Impact of Renovation Plans/Projects on the Change in Ulus Square

In contrast to the limited impact of conservation activities on Ulus Square, the change activated by renovation activities is considerably high. Most of the demolishments, reconstructions, rehabilitations and renovation activities developed in reference to the renovation plan prepared by Hassa in 2007, caused a radical and irreversible change in and around Ulus Square. As can be examined from chapter 4 that, most of the plans and projects developed during the last two decades, resulted with radical/irreversible changes on values and eventuated with the loss of authenticity and integrity of Ulus Square.

In addition to this, it is possible to evaluate that a considerable amount of the changes occurred regarding renovation activities, are having a radical impact on physical and functional aspects defining Ulus Square, causing a change that is considered as danger/threat for the cultural significance. To conclude, the renovation plan prepared by Hassa and all other projects developed in reference to this plan are creating a serious threat for the integrity and authenticity of Ulus Square and its close vicinity.

To summarize the analysis and outcomes of the previous stages, it can be stated that a considerable amount of the change factors having a role on continuity, transformation and change in values ascribed in Ulus Square are activating series of events that are above the limits of acceptable change. Therefore, it is possible to claim that, the nature of change for Ulus Square is mainly directed through the factors of change that are not acceptable for the continuity of significance of the area. Among these factors, it is identified that ideological shifts on state and local authorities' urban policy and related regulations and laws are the main determiners of the radical and irreversible change for Ulus Square. In addition to this, the insufficiency of conservation activities to ensure the continuity of values attached to Ulus Square and the destructive approaches of renovation activities can also be defined as other determiners of the change. The last group that can be defined as one of the main factors of change, was evaluated as the shift of administrative, commercial, financial and leisure time/entertainment activities from Ulus to Kızılay district/ the relocation of the city centre.

Due to the nature of public open spaces, emergence, evolution and transformation of the urban areas are most of the time shaped by ideological events and projects developed by the state and local authorities. A similar process can also be gathered from the historical narration expressed in Chapter 3 and 4 that, each and every ideology created its own agenda regarding architecture and urban development of Ankara, specifically for Ulus Square as one of the main centres of the city. Hence public open spaces are the main concentration areas for authorities to reflect their ideology, they became the most vulnerable ones in every period of the history. In parallel to the changes on ideologies and policies of the state and local authorities, the first areas to be impacted from this change was public open spaces. The case of Ulus Square is an important example for this process. It is analysed from the historical data that a shift on the ideology of state regularly followed by a change on the characteristics of the square either in physical, functional, socio-cultural, visual or both. Hence, the role on state ideology on the continuity of values attached to the square is the main determinant for the sustainability of cultural significance.

Once the broad array of values attached to Ulus Square, the main factors affecting change and their impact level and type are assessed, this information should be utilised to develop a systematic conservation project for the continuity of the cultural significance of Ulus Square. Since values ascribed to the area, their type, the nature of change and main factors directing this change are evaluated through the historical analysis, it is possible to develop a projection for the future of the area. At the end, the main aim of the study is not to propose a conservation project or principles to sustain the cultural significance of Ulus Square, but to develop a systematic framework for understanding the area extensively. It is important to stress that, the project development process for the continuity of Ulus Square should be an outcome of an interdisciplinary team work. Therefore, discussions on possible scenarios are not considered as an outcome of this study. On the contrary, the aim of the study is to introduce a systematic framework that can be utilised as a base for restitution of historic public open spaces and revealing the values ascribed to the area, through the case of Ulus Square. To conclude, by following the steps defined in this study, an effective restitution can be conducted and its outcomes can be utilised for developing conservation projects for sustaining the continuity of cultural significance of Ulus Square and its close vicinity.

5.2. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Ulus Square is one of the symbolic public open spaces in Ankara, constitutes a significant role in the history of the city through time. It was hosting the palace and was used as a part of the *Agora* during Roman Galatian times and therefore assumed to have commercial, administrative and socio-cultural functions on those periods. Even though, after the Roman domination, Ankara constantly changed hands and witnessed several attacks, the commercial area on the eastern parts of Ulus Square (*cardo-maximus*) continued to be utilised with several alterations during Byzantine and Ahis Period. Wars and attacks resulted with a considerable decrease in the usage density of the area, but close vicinity of Ulus Square continued to function with the existence of commercial facilities. Eventually, Ankara became a part of Ottoman Empire in 15th century, and its economic welfare radically increased in 16th century

regarding the *sof* production and commerce. As a result, the city gained a double centred structure; one concentrated on the *Yukarı Yüz* concentrated around citadel, and the other centre called *Aşağı Yüz*, covering an area between Hacıbayram Mosque, Karacabey Complex and eastern parts of Ulus Square. The centre of this area was formed between Tahtakale where Hasan Paşa Hanı (Suluhan), Tahtakale Bath and Karaoğlu were located. Therefore, the continuity of commercial activities can also be followed in the close vicinity of Ulus Square during the Ottoman Period of Ankara.

On following centuries, the character of the commercial areas around Ulus Square showed a parallel transformation with the overall condition of Ankara and Ottoman Empire. Starting from the 18th century, the vitality of the city began to diminish and economic problems aroused. On the other hand, with the construction of the train station in late 19th century, as being located on the closest area to the train station, Ulus Square started to gain importance for the city and transformed into one and only public open square of Ankara. Especially with the effect of *Tanzimat* reforms, introduction of new monumental buildings and a garden to the daily life of Ankara was only concentrated in Ulus Square and its close vicinity. But on following decades, political and economic problems were widespread across the Ottoman Empire and eventuated in the collapse of the Empire. As a reaction to this collapse, *Kuva-yi Milliye* was established in Ankara. In parallel to the selection of Ankara as the operational centre of this movement, Ulus Square became the location where all buildings and public open spaces related with National Forces were concentrated in the city. Therefore, the area gained an administrative function and symbolic meaning for the city. Short after, in 1920 the First National Assembly independent from İstanbul, was established in Ankara and its headquarters were located at Ulus Square. After the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey, Ankara was announced as the new capital city of the country and Ulus Square became the administrative and ideological centre of the capital.

Starting from the early Republican Period and continued for decades, Ulus Square sustained its role as being the main square of the city hosting commercial, administrative, financial, social activity and residential functions. Authorities showed

great interest in the improvement of the square to use the power of a public open space for representing and spreading the ideology of the state. On the other hand, starting from 1950s, for the third time in the last two centuries, the state authorities developed proposals to implement their ideas on urban space and architecture through Ulus Square, its close vicinity and major roads intersecting at the square. Several competitions were opened and buildings reflecting the architectural tendencies of the period were erected in Ulus Square during the re-organisation of the area. In parallel to this, regulations for widening the roads and increasing the building height and mass were also used for implementing a new character to the central areas of Ankara, regarding the reflection of the ideology of state authorities during 1950s and 1960s.

By the end of 1970s, the relocation of the city centre from Ulus Square to Kızılay and several other changes in the socio-cultural aspects of the area has resulted with the negligence of Ulus Square by the state and local authorities on following decades. Moreover, with the ideological shift on the state and the radical changes on the laws and policies in urban issues during early 21th century, several interventions and implementation projects developed by the Ankara Municipality created a risk of eroding the unity and authenticity of Ulus Square. Physical character of the square started to change by alterations on historical buildings framing the square and also through the uncontrolled reconstruction and rehabilitation activities in historic Ankara. Especially, current projects of the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality proposing a new vision for Ulus Square in which a specific time period was highlighted (Ottoman and Seljukid) and values of several historic periods were neglected, became an important change factor for the area. Despite the oppositions of scholars, universities, chambers and public initiatives, the Municipality continued to develop and implement projects creating a risk for the future of historic Ankara. Among these activities, the first demolition (İller Bankası)⁶⁷⁰ that was carried out in 2016 has an important meaning for the future of the area. Although, this demolition was not located in the

⁶⁷⁰ İller Bankası was designed by Seyfi Arkan (one of the notable architects of early Republican Period) and considered as one of the significant examples of early Republican Period architecture in Turkey. Despite the fact that it was registered, the registration was removed and the building was demolished in 2016 to create space for the construction activities of the Ankara Municipality.

boundaries of Ulus Square and its close vicinity, it was remarkable to point out the scale of the threat caused by the urban activities of the state and local authorities in Ankara, and their understanding of the notion of conservation.

Short after the demolishment of İller Bankası, one by one projections for transformation of Ulus Square and its close vicinity came to the agenda of the Ankara Municipality. Based on the renovation plan –values only a specific time period of Ulus Square and excludes the rest – which was repealed by the court decision in 2007, the Ankara Municipality developed series of projects for Historic Ankara and especially for Ulus Square. Again, several oppositions were aroused but the history repeated itself; none of the oppositions were taken into consideration by the local authorities and the first demolition began in 2018. The higher block of Anafartalar Bazaar, mainly used for office facilities was demolished in July 2018. It is also claimed by the local authorities that, demolishment of lower block of Anafartalar Bazaar, higher block of Ulus Bazaar and 100. Yıl Bazaar are also scheduled as a short term activity. Along with these demolishments, several refunctioning projects for a considerable number of monumental buildings located in Ulus Square are proposed and began to be realised one by one. It is noteworthy that most of these changes occurred in a short time period and with wide impact range. Therefore, it is important to develop a study emphasizing the risk of Ulus Square to lose its integrity and authenticity in a short amount of time regarding the rapid and inevitable change in its socio-cultural, functional, visual and physical values ascribed to the area.

Constraints and limitations of the study

Regarding the content of availability of written and visual sources concentrated on historic Ankara, some of the topics and periods were examined more extensively compared to others. Therefore, the narration developed for the story of Ulus Square and its close vicinity followed different methods for each period. Due to the availability and variety of sources gathered, while discussing the characteristics of Ulus Square and its close vicinity in a specific time period, some aspects of Ulus Square are discussed in detail whereas others are comparably less examined. For

instance, socio-cultural aspects of Ulus Square was discussed extensively during early Republican Period whereas due to the lack of information on Ottoman period, it was limited for the study to narrate these aspects in detail. Therefore, even though in each period a similar narration was developed for explaining the story of Ulus Square, minor differentiations and changes on the focus of the narration can be followed.

As previously explained in detail that Ulus Square is under a rapid transformation process and therefore it is possible to follow a continuous demolition, additions, removals and refunctioning of most of the values ascribed in the area. Regarding the unstable condition of Ulus Square, it was challenging to find relevant information in the archives regarding the features identifying Ulus Square. Especially, it was rarely possible to find any data in the state archives⁶⁷¹ regarding the buildings erected in Ulus Square on previous periods and demolished in time. On the other hand, due to the problematic conservation and renovation planning process of historic Ankara – three plans were repealed and urban site and conservation plan boundaries were changed several times – most of the archive files belonging to monumental buildings were missing. Therefore, it is possible to claim that the data gathered from archival survey on buildings (existing or demolished) was limited.

On the other hand, regarding the conservation and renovation plans, state archives contains detailed information on the development, authorisation and repeal process of these plans. The recommendations of the council on plan reports, their approval and rejections (with the reasons), and most importantly oppositions aroused by several chambers and public initiatives as well as the newspaper articles mentioning these oppositions were all accessible for the researchers. Especially the legal documents framing the court process, expert reports, comments of the Conservation Council, the Municipality and the Ministry of Culture on the issue and the decisions for the repeal of conservation and renovation plans were also accessible in the archive. Thus, in contrast to the problems faced during the archival survey on buildings, various

⁶⁷¹ Mainly focused on the Renovation Area Council Archive, Ankara.

information on the conservation and renovation plans of historic Ankara was gathered for the study.

Furthermore, another constraint on the data gathering and analysis process was on the reliability of the data in the sources focusing on Ankara. Due to the complex layering of Ulus Square and its existence for centuries, the written and especially visual data were considerably confusing and full of faulty information. To overcome this difficulty, comparisons between multiple sources were carried out to assess a reliable and consistent data. And a considerable part of the information that cannot be double checked with other sources were excluded from the study.

Another significant limitation for the thesis was to identify and analyse the characteristics of current user group of Ulus Square and their attachment to the area. As clearly defined on Chapter 4 that, starting from 1980s, the importance of Ulus Square for the city started to diminish and new meanings began to attach the square followed by the change in the user group. Especially, the negative impact of vehicular traffic and the concentration of public transformation activities in Ulus Square increased the amount of temporal user groups for Ulus Square. Hence, regarding the rapid transformation process of the area and the continuous change in the character of functions loaded in the area, compared to the physical, functional and visual aspects, it was considerably difficult to determine current socio-cultural aspects of Ulus Square and its meaning for the user groups.

The last limitation of the thesis is its nature to be a product of an individual study. On the other hand, conservation activities especially the ones in urban scale should be developed as an outcome of a team work composed of scholars with different backgrounds. Thus, the nature of the thesis can be defined as a constraint for the study to evolve and develop outcomes with a wider perspective.

Excluded topics and methods

In the thesis, some topics and methods were unfortunately excluded from the study regarding the scope and time limitations. First of all regarding the fact that, the area has archaeological sites within its boundary and therefore projects regarding these areas should be developed separately than the rest of Ulus Square. Even though the framework introduced by this thesis was developed as a systematic restitution process for a better understanding of Ulus Square and its close vicinity, additional measures should be defined specifically for archaeological areas. Hence, detailed proposals for archaeological sites in the area were excluded from the thesis for further, multidisciplinary studies.

In addition to this, conducting a social survey to identify the current relationship between the user groups, their daily activities and patterns in the area and the meaning of Ulus Square for these user groups is also excluded from the methods of the thesis. Several interviews by questionnaire and minor social surveys were conducted to collect data about the user group and stakeholders in Ulus Square, in different time intervals of the thesis. But on the other hand, the information gathered was not sufficient enough for coherent outcomes. Therefore, comprehensive and detailed social survey is excluded from the method of the thesis and a survey developed and conducted by a team work is recommended for further studies on this topic.

Contributions of the thesis

Ulus Square is one of the symbolic urban centres in Turkey conveying diverse values of various periods of the area. On the other hand, despite the fact that several conservation master plans were developed for historic Ankara, none of them included Ulus Square in its entirety to their planning area. Additionally, current projects (registration of selected assets symbolising specific periods of the area as well as excluding the rest) have radical and irreversible impacts on the integrity and authenticity of Ulus Square. In this context, the thesis evolved as an important source as being the first and only comprehensive restitutional study conducted in Ulus Square and its close vicinity. It constitutes a significance regarding the detailed documentation

of the historical evolution of Ulus Square from Roman Period onwards. Moreover, even though similar methods were developed for the cases in single building and city scale, a holistic approach specifically developed for public open spaces and tested through Ulus Square would be a first in the field of conservation in Turkey.

Despite the fact that there are numerous written and visual sources on historic Ankara and Ulus Square, most of them focuses either on a specific period or a topic regarding the area. Until this study, none of the researches on Ulus Square analyses the area extensively starting from Roman Period till today. Moreover, it is also an important contribution of this study to the fields of conservation and history that it discusses the historical evolution of the area through examining different aspects such as physical, functional, socio-cultural, political/ideological, visual, and their relation through time. Therefore, the way this thesis analyses Ulus Square is one of the first in terms of its methodology and the way it interrelates different materials and sources for developing new outcomes regarding the area.

In parallel to this, with its detailed historic analysis, categorisation and evaluation of the collected written and visual sources, utilisation of different methods for associating the data gathered from different fields and periods, visualisation of the outcomes through maps and schematic drawings, identification of values ascribed in Ulus Square, assessment of factors activating/ causing change and finally evaluation of this data for understanding the patterns of change in the area, the thesis contributes to the field of conservation by developing and testing a framework which introduces an extensive urban restitution process for understanding a public open space.

Moreover, due to the fact that Ulus Square and its close vicinity is under the threat of losing its authenticity and integrity due to the interventions caused by unsystematic and non-scientific methods. Especially the activities of the Municipality during the last decades increased the level and impact area of this danger. As a result, an urgent need aroused for a detailed study for conservation activities in Ulus Square. Since, only a minor part of Ulus Square is irreversibly affected from these activities, there is

still time to revert the course of events and to sustain the cultural significance of Ulus Square for future generations. Therefore, in such a short period, introduction of a systematic conservation study for Ulus Square is crucial for the future of the area as well as increasing the awareness on the vulnerability of the issue. It is obvious that if specific measures to mitigate the negative impacts of continuous implementations and demolition are not developed soon, it will be too late for Ulus Square to sustain its authenticity and integrity in the near future.

A considerable number of conservation activities developed for historic public open spaces such as squares and streets in Turkey are mainly resulted in rehabilitation of building facades, improvement of surface materials and implementation of street furniture in parallel with landscape design. On the other hand, the thesis clearly expressed that analysis, evaluation and project development process for public open spaces should be a considered as a complex study and cannot be reduced to above mentioned activities. By the thesis, it is emphasised that, the restitution process which is considered as one of the inseparable part of conservation projects developed for buildings listed as cultural heritage in Turkey, should also be conducted before developing conservation measures for public open spaces. Public open spaces cannot be evaluated only by the buildings surrounding them but also the main physical, functional, perceptual, visual defining their characteristics should be defined in detail. Therefore, the thesis plays a critical role in terms of increasing awareness on the complexity of the issue.

Recommendations for further studies

Regarding the explanations mentioned previously, four main topics are proposed for further studies:

- The data gathered from the restitution of Ulus Square and evaluation of the historical data can be utilised for developing principles for conservation measures for Ulus Square and its close vicinity. Among these measures, sharing the information with public to arouse awareness on the vulnerability of Ulus Square should be the primary objective of further studies conducted for Ulus Square and its close vicinity. In this

respect, development of a web site for illustrating the historical evolution of Ulus Square and the change on the values attached to the area through time is crucial. Moreover, it is also possible to design information panels, boards and brochures for Ulus Square that can be utilised for increasing the conscious on the cultural significance of Ulus Square both for Ankara and Turkey.

- Since development of conservation plans/ projects is a multidisciplinary process that should be conducted by a group of scholars with different specialisations in the fields of conservation, architecture, city and regional planning, urban design, archaeology, art history, landscape design, sociology and other related areas. Hence, the re-assessment of the evaluation process of the thesis (value assessment, identification of change factors) by a group of scholars can eventuate with more detailed outcomes. By this way, the methodology developed by the thesis can be tested and improved for further conservation activities.

- Preparation of a comprehensive social survey for understanding the socio-cultural aspects of the current user group and the stakeholders of Ulus Square is another recommendation to be studied in detail. Preparation of a social survey is an issue of specialisation and therefore should be developed by the direction of scholars having expertise in the issue. Moreover, with the help of the contribution of the needs and provisions of the user groups and stakeholder, it would be possible to revise the outcomes of the study, and propose additional measures for managing the change in the area.

- The role of state and local authorities in the radical change occurred in Ulus Square was discussed on previous chapters. Without their contribution to the study, the proposals will not have the chance to be realised and implemented properly. Therefore, ways of including state and local authorities to the process of evaluation and development of conservation proposals can be another issue to be studied in detail.

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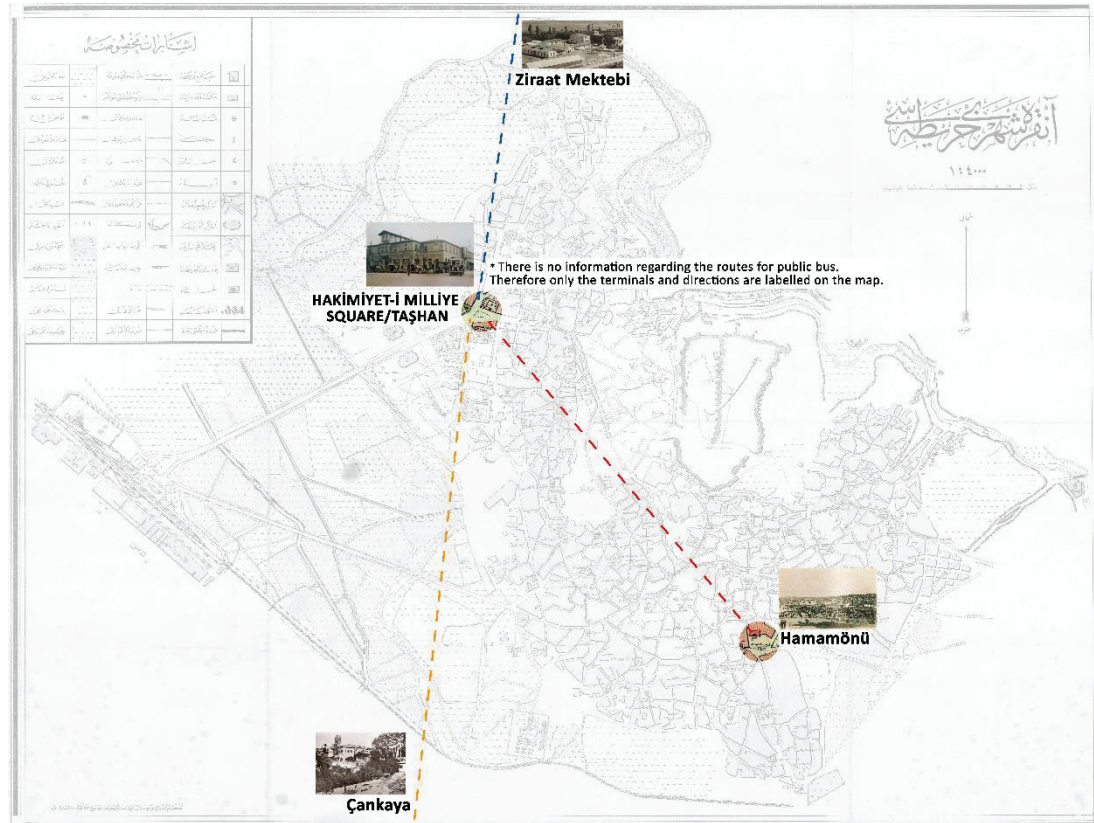
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APPENDICES

A. PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION

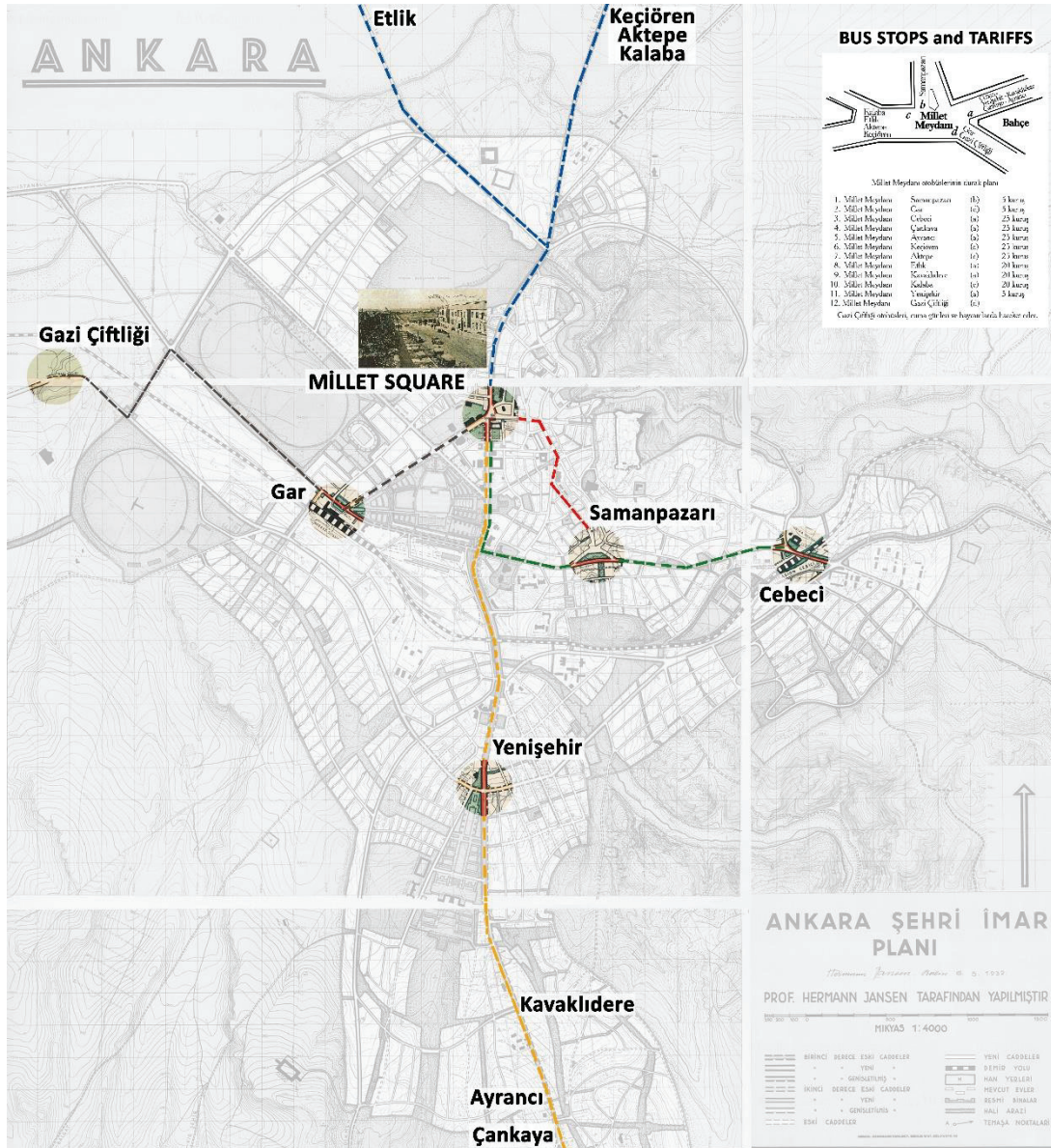
1. 1925⁶⁷²



انقره اتوبوسلری		BUS ROUTES OF ANKARA	
<p>هاتام اوکی - جیچی خطلی</p> <p>هاتام اوکی ۷.۱۵</p> <p>جیچی ۸.۴۵</p> <p>۹ ۱.۱۰</p> <p>۱.۲۵ ۲.۳۰</p> <p>۲.۴۵ ۳.۳۰</p> <p>۳.۴۵ ۴.۳۰</p> <p>۴.۴۵ ۵.۳۰</p>		<p>Hamamönü-Cebeci Route</p> <p>From</p> <p>Hamamönü Taşhan</p> <p>7:15 7</p> <p>9 8:45</p> <p>1:25 1:10</p> <p>4:45 4:30</p> <p>5:45 5:30</p>	
<p>چانکایا خطلی</p> <p>چانکایا ۹.۱۵</p> <p>چانکایا ۱۰.۳۰</p> <p>۱۰.۴۵ ۱۲.۳۰</p> <p>۱۲.۴۵ ۱.۳۰</p> <p>۱.۴۵ ۲.۳۰</p> <p>۲.۴۵ ۳.۳۰</p> <p>۳.۴۵ ۴.۳۰</p>		<p>Çankaya Route</p> <p>From</p> <p>Çankaya Taşhan</p> <p>9:30 9:15</p> <p>10:45 10:30</p> <p>12:45 12:30</p> <p>6:20 6</p> <p>6:55 6:40</p>	
<p>زراعت مکتبی خطلی</p> <p>زراعت مکتبی ۹.۴۵</p> <p>زراعت مکتبی ۱۰.۳۰</p> <p>۱۰.۴۵ ۱۲.۳۰</p> <p>۱۲.۴۵ ۱.۳۰</p> <p>۱.۴۵ ۲.۳۰</p> <p>۲.۴۵ ۳.۳۰</p> <p>۳.۴۵ ۴.۳۰</p>		<p>(*) Ziraat Mektebi Route</p> <p>From</p> <p>Ziraat Mektebi Taşhan</p> <p>9:45 9:30</p> <p>4:45 4:30</p>	
<p>بازار خطلی</p> <p>بازار ۹.۱۵</p> <p>بازار ۱۰.۳۰</p> <p>۱۰.۴۵ ۱۲.۳۰</p> <p>۱۲.۴۵ ۱.۳۰</p> <p>۱.۴۵ ۲.۳۰</p> <p>۲.۴۵ ۳.۳۰</p> <p>۳.۴۵ ۴.۳۰</p>		<p>(*) Two of our big and new busses will be ready soon and there is going to be a scheduled service at Keçiören for every hour regularly.</p> <p>Specific prices will be charged for the services except these hours.</p> <p>Except hand luggages, everything will be charged for a ticket price.</p>	

⁶⁷² Based on the information gathered from the brochure published on 12.03.1925 (EAFF: 2015): 1924 Ankara map is utilised as the basemap.

2. 1933⁶⁷³



⁶⁷³ Based on the information gathered from Mamboury (2014: 24): 1932 Ankara Plan of Jansen is utilised as the basemap.

ANKARA

Etlik Keçiören

Ziraat Mektebi

ULUS SQUARE/
TAŞHAN

İstasyon

Dış Bakanlık

Saman Pazarı

Cebeci

Sağlık Bakanlığı

Yenişehir

Havuzbaşı

Bakanlıklar

Kavaklıdere

Dikmen

Çankaya

Otobüs bilet tarifesi
Ankara Şarbayhından:

1 İlk kez 935 de taşlanarak başlayacak otobüslerde sayın halk,
tas bilet ücretleri karşılıklı şekilde alınacaktır.
Otobüs yolları bölgelere ayrılmıştır.
İlk bölge için 5 kuruş fazla bölgenin her biri için yüz
para alınacaktır.

Misal olarak bu esasa göre Taşhandan başlayan yolculukların
bu paralara tahmini olarak şöyledir. (2773)

Taşhandan:	Alveriş fabrikalarına	7,5	"
Bakanlıklara <td>10 <td>"</td> </td>	10 <td>"</td>	"	
Çankaya <td>10 <td>"</td> </td>	10 <td>"</td>	"	
Çankayaya <td>20 <td>"</td> </td>	20 <td>"</td>	"	
Çankaya ile ulaşımına <td>17,5 <td>"</td> </td>	17,5 <td>"</td>	"	
Dikmen <td>20 <td>"</td> </td>	20 <td>"</td>	"	
Dış Bakanlığa <td>5 <td>"</td> </td>	5 <td>"</td>	"	
Etiler <td>15 <td>"</td> </td>	15 <td>"</td>	"	
Havuzbaşına <td>10 <td>"</td> </td>	10 <td>"</td>	"	
İttispaşa <td>5 <td>"</td> </td>	5 <td>"</td>	"	
Kavaklıdereye <td>15 <td>"</td> </td>	15 <td>"</td>	"	
Keçiören <td>15 <td>"</td> </td>	15 <td>"</td>	"	
Saman pazarına <td>5 <td>"</td> </td>	5 <td>"</td>	"	
Sağlık Bakanlığını <td>7,5 <td>"</td> </td>	7,5 <td>"</td>	"	
Tarım enstitülerine <td>7,5 <td>"</td> </td>	7,5 <td>"</td>	"	
Yenişehir ve bakanlıklara <td>10 <td>"</td> </td>	10 <td>"</td>	"	

1-5113

ANKARA ŞEHİR İMAR PLANI
T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı İmar İşleri Bakanlığı
PROF. HERMANN JANSEN TARAFINDAN YAPILMIŞTIR
NİSAN 1930
KAYIT NO: 1/10000
KURUM: İZMİR KÜLTÜR VE TURİZM BAKANLIĞI

Legend:
BİRİNCİ SINIFLI ESMİ CADDELER
+ YENİ
İKİNCİ SINIFLI ESMİ CADDELER
+ YENİ
ESMİ CADDELER
YENİ CADDELER
DEMİR YOLU
MEVCUT EVLER
YENİ KONAKLAR
MALİ ARAZİ
TERAŞA NOTLARI

521

1935													
1934													
1933													
1932													
1931													
1930													
1929													
1928													
1927													
1926													
1925													
1924													
1920-1923													

D. TRANSFORMATION OF MONUMENTAL BUILDINGS THROUGH TIME

Aziz Nikola Kilisesi/ St. Nicholas Church (1794) – 1916 FIRE – 1929 Lozan Palas - Park Palas – 1948 Akbank (interventions+refunctioning)

Dar-ül Mualimin (1899) – 1920 Dormitory – 1920 Ministry of Education (only the top floor) – 1923 Ministry of Education – 1947 FIRE----- demolished/ 1954-1955 Ulus Bazaar

Divan-ı Muhasebat/ Court of Accounts (1925) – 1932 Sayıştay / Court of Accounts (interventions)

Düyun-u Umumiye/ Administration of Public Dept (late 19th cent) – Tuz Nazırlığı – 1923 Hariciye Vekâleti/ Ministry of Foreign Affairs – 1930 FIRE ----- demolished/ 1931 Merkez Bankası/ Central Bank

Emlak ve Eytam Bankası Genel Müdürlüğü/ Emlak ve Eytam Bank (1933-34) – 2013 PTT Stamp Museum (refunctioning)

Etibank (1935-36) – 2010s Vakıflar Kültür ve Tescil Daire Başkanlığı/ Directorate General of Foundations for Registration (refunctioning)

Evkaf Apartmanı (1929) – 1947 Opening of a theatre – Devlet Tiyatroları Genel Müdürlüğü/ Directorate General of National Theatres

Evkaf Oteli, Ankara Palas (1924-1927) – 1967-1971 restoration – 1971 reopened as a hotel managed by OLEYSSIS – 1976-1981 Ministry of Industry and Technology – 1982 restoration – 1983 Ankara Palas Devlet Konukevi/ Ankara Palas State Guesthouse

Hasan Paşa Bath (1508) – 19th cent Military Storehouse – 1927-1928 demolished

İğneli Belkıs Mosque – 1925 EXPROPRIATIONS----- demolished

İkinci. Meclis Binası/ the 2nd National Assembly Building (1924) – 1961 head quarter of CENTO – 1979 Ministry of Culture – 1981-1985 Cumhuriyet Müzesi/ Republic Museum and back part as the service building of the Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü/ General Directorate of Ancient Objects and Museums – 1985 restoration – 1992 and 2008 restoration – 2008 Cumhuriyet Müzesi/ Republic Museum

İstanbul Oteli ve Pastanesi/ İstanbul Hotel and Patisserie (1923) – 1956 EXPROPRIATIONS----- demolished/ 1954-1955 Ulus Bazaar

İttihat Terakki Building (1915-1916) – 1918 French occupation – 1920 Birinci Meclis Binası/ the First National Assembly Building (repair) – 1925 Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası

(CHF)/ The Republican People's Party (refunctioning) – **1953** Ministry of Education, Law School – **1957-1961** a project for transforming the building into a museum – **1961-1979** the Grand National Assembly of Turkey Museum – **1981** *Kurtuluş Savaşı Müzesi/ the War of Independence Museum*

Karpiç-Şölen Lokantası at the entrance floor of Taşhan (1928) – **1932** transfer of Karpiç to former location of Fresco – **1962** closed----- (?) **demolished/ 1982** 100. Yıl Bazaar

Kayseri Han: ground floor coffehouse, upper floor dormitory (1892-1899) – **1956 EXPROPRIATIONS----- demolished/ 1976** *Ulus Şehir Çarşısı/ Ulus City Bazaar* – **1997** new building *Ulus Şehir Çarşısı/ Ulus City Bazaar*

Kızılbey Complex (13th cent) – **1926----- demolished/ 1929** Ziraat Bankası Genel Müdürlüğü/ General Directorate of Ziraat Bank – **1981** Ziraat Bank Museum

Mekteb-i Sanayi/ The School of Industry (1905) – **1940s** First Male Art Institute (renamed) – **2010s** *Ulus Mesleki ve Teknik Anadolu Lisesi/ Ulus Industrial Vocational Anatolian High School* (renamed)

Posta ve Telgraf Umum Müdürlüğü (PTT)/ General Directorate of Post and Telegraph (1925) – **1930s** interventions – **1972----- demolished/ 1982** Posta Sarayı/ Post Palace

Prime Ministry and Ministry of Finance (1924) – Osmanlı Bankası (1926) – **1950s** Ministry of Finance – **2001** Undersecretariat of Customs – **2013** ASBÜ

Redif Kışlası/ Military Barrack (19th cent) – **early 20th cent** *Umum Teçhizat Ambarı/ Military Storehouse* – **1927-1928----- demolished/ 1929** *İş Bankası Genel Müdürlüğü/ General Directorate of İş Bank* – **1976** *İş Bankası Ulus Heykel Şubesi/ İş Bank Ulus Heykel Branch*

Şakir Bey Hanı (1892-1899) – **1920-1923** ground floor Zeybekler Kahvesi, upper floor dormitory – **1928** *Yeni Sinema/ Yeni Cinema* (redesigned with additional space) – **1956 EXPROPRIATIONS----- demolished/ 1976** *Ulus Şehir Çarşısı/ Ulus City Bazaar* – **1997** new building *Ulus Şehir Çarşısı/ Ulus City Bazaar*

Taşhan/H'Otel Angora (1888) – **after 1916** *Meşrutiyet Hotel/ Constitution Hotel* – **1921** *İnkılap-İstiklal Müzesi/ Revolution-Independence Museum* in a room at the entrance floor – **1924** Taşhan Hotel (repair) – **1933** sold – **1935----- demolished/ 1937-1938** Sümerbank – 1987 Sümer Holding (privatisation) – **2017** ASBÜ (refunctioning, restoration)

Tekel Baş Müdürlüğü/ General Directorate of The State Monopolies (1928) – **2007-2009** *Yunus Emre Enstitüsü/ Yunus Emre Institute* (refunctioning)

Telgrafhane/ Telegraph Office (19th cent) – 1902 repair – **1925** *Hukuk Mektebi/* School of Law – **1927** *Hukuk Fakültesi/* Faculty of Law----- (?) **demolished**

Timber framed *konak* (19th cent) – **1886** *Paşa Sarayı/* Paşa Palace – **1897** *Hükümet Konağı-Vilayet/* Governor's Office – **2019** ASBÜ (refunctioning as a museum)

Zafet Anıtı/ the Victory Monument (1927) – **1960** relocated

CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Date of birth : 05.12.1983
Nationality : Republic of Turkey
Languages : English (advanced), German (beginner), Turkish (native)
Work Address : Başkent University, Faculty of Fine Arts, Design and Architecture, Department of Architecture, Bağlıca Kampüsü, Eskişehir Yolu 20. Km Bağlıca, 06810, Ankara/TURKEY
Phone : (+90) 312 246 66 69 /1064
Fax : (+90) 312 246 66 39
e-mail : esayhan@baskent.edu.tr

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

2010 - 2018 Ph.D. - Graduate Program in Conservation of Cultural Heritage
Department of Architecture, METU/Ankara, Turkey
2006 - 2008 Master of Architecture
Department of Architecture/ DIA (Dessau Institute of Architecture)
Hochschule Anhalt / Dessau, Germany
2001 - 2005 Bachelor of Fine Arts
Department of Urban Design and Landscape Architecture
Bilkent University/Ankara, Turkey
2003 - 2004 Study Abroad Program
Department of Landscape Architecture
University of California-Davis, California/ USA

SCHOLARSHIPS and AWARDS

2017 “Koç University-VEKAM Library and Archive Research Award”
VEKAM, Ankara/ Turkey
2015 – 2016 “Kaplan Fellowships in Archaeological Site Management”
Junior Fellow
Koç University Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations and KAPLAN Foundation İstanbul/ Turkey
2011 - 2014 Project Scholarship for “Cultural Heritage of Civil Architecture in Ankara between 1930 and 1980: A Project for Research, Documentation and Developing Conservation Principles”, supported by TUBITAK, Başkent University and VEKAM, Ankara/ Turkey
2006 Purchasing with the team of Selami Demiralp from “Bursa Osmangazi Municipality” Kızıyakup Urban Park, Urban Design and Architecture Competition”

- 2006 Honourable Mention with Erdem Architects on “İstanbul Beylikdüzü” Cumhuriyet Avenue and Close Districts Urban Design Competition
- 2005 Purchasing with Erdem Architects on “Bursa Santral Garaj” Urban Square, Architectural and Urban Planning Project Competition”
- 2005 1’st degree on “Barış Eyikan Kılınç Student Design Competition” Department of Urban Design and Landscape Architecture, Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey
- 2001-2005 Bilkent University Full Scholarship (university entrance exam degree), Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey

WORK EXPERIENCE

- 2013- Başkent University
Faculty of Fine Arts, Design and Architecture,
Department of Architecture
Instructor
- 2009-2012 Başkent University
Faculty of Fine Arts, Design and Architecture,
Department of Interior Architecture and Environmental Design
Part-time Instructor

ACADEMIC ACTIVITIES

Book

“Sivil Mimari Bellek Ankara: 1930-1980 Sergi Kataloğu.” eds. Nuray Bayraktar, Bülent Batuman and Elif Selena Ayhan. Ankara: VEKAM Yayınları, 2014.

Contribution to a book

Ayhan Koçyiğit, Elif Selena. “Modern Dönem Mimari Mirasının Korunması”. *Sivil Mimari Bellek Ankara 1930-1980*. ed. Nuray Bayraktar. Ankara: VEKAM Yayınları, 2017, pp. 257-287.

Bayraktar, Nuray, Elif Selena Ayhan and Didem Bahar. “Ankara’da Yerleşim Ölçeğinde Modern Konut Uygulamaları.” *Başkent Oluşunun 90. Yılında Ankara: 1923-2013 Sempozyumu*. ed. Prof. Dr. Ayşegül Köroğlu. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2014. pp. 137-156.

Journal Article

Ayhan, Elif Selena. “Ankara Gazi Mahallesi.” *Mimarlık Dergisi*, 370 (2013). p. 32.

Presentation

Ayhan, Elif Selena. “Ankara Ulus Square: Transformation of a Public Open Space from Roman Galatia to Turkish Republic.” *ANAMED Fellows Symposium*, Koç University Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations. İstanbul, 20-22 April 2016.

Ayhan, Elif Selena. “An Inquiry on the Continuity of Public Open Spaces In Historic Ankara.” *Yeni Araştırma Projeleri: Anadolu’da Tarih ve Arkeoloji*, VEKAM and Koç University Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations (ANAMED). Ankara, 20 November 2015.

Poster Presentation

Ayhan, Elif Selena. “Ankara / 52. Sokak 33.” *Türkiye Mimarlığında Modernizmin Yerel Açılımları X*, DoCoMoMo Turkey. Erzurum, November 2014.

Ayhan, Elif Selena. “Taşkent Caddesi No: 35, Alev Apartmanı.” *Türkiye Mimarlığında Modernizmin Yerel Açılımları X*, DoCoMoMo Turkey. Erzurum, November 2014.

Ayhan, Elif Selena. “Ankara / Emek, 47. Sokak 29 Numaralı Konut.” *Türkiye Mimarlığında Modernizmin Yerel Açılımları IX*, DoCoMoMo Turkey. Antalya, December 2013.

Ayhan, Elif Selena. “Ankara / Emek, 4. Cadde 134 Numaralı Konut.” *Türkiye Mimarlığında Modernizmin Yerel Açılımları IX*, DoCoMoMo Turkey. Antalya, December 2013.

Bayraktar, Nuray and Elif Selena Ayhan. “M. Rıfat Akar Evi.” *Türkiye Mimarlığında Modernizmin Yerel Açılımları VIII*, DoCoMoMo Turkey. Kocaeli, October 2012.

Exhibition

Bayraktar, Nuray, Umut Şumnu, Y. Yeşim Uysal, Elif Selena Ayhan and Ece Akay Şumnu. “Sivil Mimari Bellek Ankara 1930-1980.” *Final Exhibition: Cultural Heritage of Civil Architecture in Ankara between 1930 and 1980: A Project for Research, Documentation and Developing Conservation Principles*. Çağdaş Sanatlar Merkezi, Ankara, 29 November-15 December 2014.