

TRANSFORMATION OF PUBLIC SPACE:
THE CASE OF HACIBAYRAM SQUARE

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

NESLİHAN KULÖZÜ

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
URBAN DESIGN
IN
CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING

JUNE 2008

Approval of the thesis:

**TRANSFORMATION OF PUBLIC SPACE:
THE CASE OF HACIBAYRAM SQUARE**

submitted by **NESLİHAN KULÖZÜ** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in **Urban Design in City And Regional Planning Department, Middle East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Canan Özgen
Dean, Graduate School of **Natural and Applied Sciences**

Prof. Dr. Melih Ersoy
Head of Department, **City and Regional Planning**

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Baykan Günay
Supervisor, **City and Regional Planning Dept., METU**

Examining Committee Members:

Instructor Erhan Acar
City and Regional Planning Dept., METU

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Baykan Günay
City and Regional Planning Dept., METU

Prof. Dr. Yalçın Memlük
Landscape Architecture Dept., Ankara University

Assist. Prof. Dr. Elvan Altan-Ergut
Architecture Dept., METU

Instructor Can Kubin
City and Regional Planning Dept., METU

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 : Neslihan Kulözü

Signature :

ABSTRACT

TRANSFORMATION OF PUBLIC SPACE: THE CASE OF HACIBAYRAM SQUARE

Kulözü, Neslihan

M.S., Department of City and Regional Planning, Urban Design

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Baykan Günay

June 2008, 153 pages

Public space has been an important social and political space throughout the history. Although there are various definitions of the term *public space* in the literature, it can be defined as a place of interaction and social contact among different groups and individuals. Besides, the meaning, form and function of public spaces differ due to different socio-cultural structures of societies. The form of a public space is an essential urban design issue. Moreover, the meaning and function of a space have been also considered as the urban spatial form through the urban design processes.

Since the period when Ankara has been conceived and designed as a spatial project of the Turkish Republic in 1924, Hacıbayram Square has been transformed within the historical meaning, urban function and spatial form. Through changing contradictions and actors, these transformations have been experienced. Hacıbayram Square with its meaning, function and form in the 1930s shows differences from Hacıbayram Square in the first map of Ankara (1839), which is drawn by Von Vincke. However, although the meaning, function and form of the Square have been transformed with the effects of every urban project, the political character of the square transformed but protected itself. Through this study, it is aimed to analyze

how the historical meaning, urban function and spatial form of Hacıbayram Square have been transformed within a historical perspective.

Keywords: Public Space, Historical Meaning, Urban Function, Spatial Form, Ankara, Hacıbayram Square.

ÖZ

KAMUSAL MEKÂNIN DÖNÜŞÜMÜ: HACIBAYRAM MEYDANI ÖRNEĞİ

Kulözü, Neslihan

Yüksek Lisans, Sehir ve Bölge Planlama Bölümü, Kentsel Tasarım

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Baykan Günay

Haziran 2008, 153 sayfa

Tarih boyunca önemli sosyal ve politik mekânlar olan *kamusal mekân* için literatürde çok çeşitli tanımlamalar yapılmaktadır. Kamusal mekân bireylerin ve farklı toplumsal grupların bir araya geldikleri ve etkileşim içinde oldukları mekân olarak tanımlanabilir. Ancak, farklı sosyo-kültürel yapıya sahip toplumlar için kamusal mekânların anlam, fonksiyon ve formları farklılık göstermektedir. Kamusal mekânın formu kentsel tasarımın önemli bir konusudur. Bunun yanında kentsel tasarım süreçlerinde, mekânsal formla birlikte mekânın tarihsel anlam ve kentsel fonksiyonu da dikkate alınmaktadır.

Ankara'nın ulus devletin modernite projesi olarak ele alınarak 1924' te Lörcher tarafından kurgulanıp tasarlandığı dönemden beri, Hacıbayram Meydanı'nın anlam, işlev ve formunun değişen aktörler ve her bir plan döneminde yapılan mücadelelerle birlikte dönüştüğü gözlenmiştir. Von Vincke (1839) tarafından çizilen Ankara'nın ilk haritasında görülen Hacıbayram Meydanının, Cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarında uygulanan kentsel projeler ile anlam, işlev ve form bakımından farklılaştığı görülmektedir. Bu farklılaşma her plan döneminde değişen aktörlerle birlikte yinelenmiştir. Ancak Hacıbayram meydanının her bir plan döneminde değişen anlam, işlev ve formuna

karşın meydanın politik niteliđi dönüşerek önemini korumuştur. Bu çalışmada, Hacıbayram Meydanının tarihsel anlam, kentsel işlev ve mekânsal formunun geçirdiđi dönüşüm tarihsel çerçevede kentsel projelere bađlı olarak incelenecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kamusal Mekân, Tarihsel Anlam, Kentsel İşlev, Mekânsal Form, Ankara, Hacıbayram Meydanı.

to my mother...

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Assoc. Prof. Dr. Baykan GÜNAY for his guidance and insights during the preparation of the thesis. I would also like to thank Prof. Dr. Yalçın MEMLÜK, Assist. Prof. Dr. Elvan ALTAN-ERGUT, Instructor Erhan ACAR and Instructor Can KUBİN for their valuable contributions and critiques on my thesis. I offer special thanks to Prof. Dr. Gül ASATEKİN and Instructor Tuğrul KANIK for their advice and suggestions throughout the research. It would be hard to develop and complete the study without their comments and guidance.

I would like to thank to my dear friends who have been by my side to overcome the difficulties all through this research period, especially Aslı BUGAY, Y. Fatih MENDİ, Erkin ÖZDEMİR, Gülşah ÇELİK and Başak UÇAR. Without their presence and moral supports it would be hard to overcome such a difficult period.

Lastly, I offer very special thanks to my family. I am deeply grateful to my parents for their consistent encouragement and support not only during this study but also throughout my life. I offer my special thanks to my sister Filiz ÇAKMAK for her moral support and encouragement through my research. I would also like to thank to my nephew N. Yağız KULÖZÜ, his presence in my life is so special.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZ	vi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS	x
LIST OF TABLES	xiv
LIST OF FIGURES	xv
CHAPTER	
1.INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Aim of the Study	1
1.3 Content of the Study	4
1.4 Theoretical Framework and Basic Concepts.....	6
1.4.1 Space and Society	7
1.4.2 Production of Space	9
1.4.3 Public Realm and Public Space	10
1.4.3.1 Public Realm	10
1.4.3.2 Public Space and Lefebvre.....	15
1.4.3.2.1 Spatial Practice.....	17
1.4.3.2.2 Representations of Space	18
1.4.3.2.3 Representational Spaces.....	18

1.5 Conflict over Space	19
1.5.1 Historical Meaning.....	20
1.5.2 Urban Function	21
1.5.3 Spatial Form.....	22
2. TRANSFORMATION OF PUBLIC SPACE	23
2.1 Public Spaces	23
2.1.1 Streets.....	25
2.2 Historical Development of Public Space	26
2.2.1 Cities without Public Spaces	27
2.2.2 Greek Agora.....	28
2.2.3 Roman Forum	29
2.2.4 The Medieval Market Square.....	30
2.2.5 The Renaissance Square.....	31
2.2.6 The Street as a Public Space	31
2.2.7 The Emergence of Parks, Playgrounds and Malls	33
2.3 Transformation of Public Spaces in Anatolia	34
2.3.1 Public Spaces in the Byzantine Cities.....	35
2.3.2 Public Spaces in Traditional Islamic City.....	36
2.3.3 Public Spaces in Seljuk Cities.....	38
2.3.4 Ottoman Cities and Public Spaces	42
2.3.5 Public Spaces of Turkish Republic in the case of Ankara	48
2.3.5.1 Public Spaces of Ankara before 1920s	48
2.3.5.2 Public Spaces of Ankara after 1920s	49
3. GENERAL HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT.....	53

3.1 General Historical Development of Social and Spatial Structure-From the Beginning Until The Establishment of The Turkish Republic	53
3.1.1 Historical Artifacts of the City of Ankara.....	54
3.1.2 The Hacibayram Area in Ankara	57
3.1.3 The Temple of Augustus & the Mosque of Hacibayram	60
3.1.3.1 The Temple of Augustus.....	64
3.1.3.2 The Hacibayram Mosque	66
3.2 Development with Reference to Planning Activities on Ankara and Ulus after the Establishment of Turkish Republic	67
3.2.1 The Relation between the Development Plans and the Historical Urban Site	68
3.2.2 Conservation Oriented Planning Studies	69
3.2.2.1 Planning Efforts in Ulus before the Project Competition on Ulus-Historical Center	70
3.2.2.2 Ulus Historical Centre Planning Competition Project	72
3.2.2.3 Planning Efforts in Ulus after the Project Competition on Ulus-Historical City Center	78
4.CASE STUDY:	83
TRANSFORMATION OF HACIBAYRAM SQUARE	83
4.1 Hacibayram Square in the Von Vincke Map (1839).....	83
4.2 Transformation of the Hacibayram Square with Reference to Planning Activities (after the establishment of the Republic).....	98
4.2.1 Hacibayram Square in the Lörcher Plan (1924).....	99
4.2.2 Hacibayram Square in the Jansen Plan (1932).....	106

4.2.3 Hacıbayram Square in the Uybadin-Yücel Plan (1957).....	113
4.2.4 Hacıbayram Square in the AMANPB Plan (1982)	117
4.2.5 The Hacıbayram Veli Mosque Environmental Renewal Project (1986)	119
4.2.6 Ankara Ulus Historical City Center Urban Regeneration Project (2006)	125
5.CONCLUSION	132
5.1 Findings.....	132
5.2 Conclusion	134
BIBLIOGRAPHY	144

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES

Table 1. Transformation of Historical Meaning, Urban Function, and Spatial Form of Hacıbayram Square.	133
---	-----

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES

Figure 1. 1 Contextualizing Lefebvre in the U.S. city	17
Figure 3. 1 The City of Ankara by Pitton de Tournefort in 1717	55
Figure 3. 2 The City of Ankara by Flemish painter J.B. van Mour in 18 th century ...	56
Figure 3. 3 The City of Ankara in 1926	59
Figure 3. 4 The Temple of Augustus and Hacibayram Mosque	62
Figure 3. 5 The layout of the Temple of Augustus and Hacibayram Mosque	63
Figure 3. 6 The Temple of Augustus	65
Figure 3. 7 The Temple of Augustus (longitudinal section)	66
Figure 3. 8 The Ulus Historical Center Project-1986 (1/1000).....	75
Figure 3. 9 Conservation Sites and Registered Buildings around the case area (1979)	80
Figure 3. 10 The Ankara Ulus Historical City Center Urban Regeneration Project (1/5000).....	80
Figure 4. 1 Ankara neighborhoods religious division in the Seljuk period	84
Figure 4. 2 The spatial distribution of muslim and non-muslim population.....	85
Figure 4. 3 City Center of Ankara in the 17 th and 18 th century.....	86
Figure 4. 4 Von Vincke' Ankara Map in 1839	87
Figure 4. 5 Topographical implementation of the Map of Von Vincke (1839).....	88
Figure 4. 6 Hacibayram Neighborhood in the Ottoman period	89

Figure 4. 7 The city center of Ankara in the 17 th and 18 th century	90
Figure 4. 8 The dual center structure of Ankara at the end of the 19 th century	91
Figure 4. 9 The Hacı Bayram Mosque and the Augustus Temple.....	92
Figure 4. 10 Hacı Bayram Mosque and its close environment in the Von Vincke'Ankara Map.....	93
Figure 4. 11 The Augustus Temple.....	94
Figure 4. 12 The Augustus Temple (1830s)	95
Figure 4. 13 The Hacı Bayram Mosque and its environment in 1864.	96
Figure 4. 14 The old Ankara plan drawn by C. Lörcher in 1924.....	99
Figure 4. 15 The Hacı Bayram Mosque and its environment	100
Figure 4. 16 Old Ankara in 1924.	102
Figure 4. 17 Hacıbayram Square and its close environment in the Lörcher Plan in 1924.....	102
Figure 4. 18 The perspective of Hacıbayram Square drawn by C. Lörcher in 1924	104
Figure 4. 19 Hacıbayram Square in 1926	105
Figure 4. 20 Hacıbayram Square and its close environment.....	106
Figure 4. 21 Old City in the Jansen Plan in 1932	107
Figure 4. 22 A view of the Augustus Temple and the Hacı Bayram Mosque.	109
Figure 4. 23 Hacıbayram Square designed by Jansen in 1936.....	110
Figure 4. 24 Hacıbayram square and its close environment in the Jansen Plan.....	111
Figure 4. 25 Hacıbayram Square in the Jansen plan period.....	112
Figure 4. 26 A view of the Hacıbayram Square in 1930s.....	113
Figure 4. 27 Old city in Uybadin-Yücel Plan (1957).....	114

Figure 4. 28 Hacібayram Square and its close environment in the Uybadin-Yücel Plan.....	116
Figure 4. 29 Hacібayram Conservation Project-1985.....	118
Figure 4. 30 Hacібayram Square in 1980s	118
Figure 4. 31 Hacібayram Square and its close environment,.....	119
Figure 4. 32 Hacі Bayram Veli Mosque Environmental Design Project.....	120
Figure 4. 33 Hacібayram Square before uncompleted implementation.....	120
Figure 4. 34 Hacібayram after uncompleted implementation process.....	123
Figure 4. 35 Hacі Bayram Mosque and its courtyard during Friday namaz in 2006.	123
Figure 4. 36 Hacібayram Square.....	124
Figure 4. 37 Hacібayram Square in 2006.	126
Figure 4. 38 Hacібayram Square in June, 2008.	126
Figure 4. 39 Hacібayram Square and its close environments in the Ankara Ulus Historical City Center Urban Regeneration Project.....	127
Figure 4. 40 A view of Augustus Temple and Hacі Bayram Mosque in June, 2008.	127
Figure 4. 41 Hacібayram Square.....	130

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aim of the Study

The purpose of the present study was to analyze and formulate the transformation of public space before and after the establishment of the Turkish Republic in the case of Hacıbayram Square. In the achievement of this intend, the understanding of the changes taking place in city also included because of the relation between the transformations of the public space. The main question was how meaning, function and form of the Hacıbayram Square transformed with respect to plans and changing actors during plan periods. For the analyses, maps, development plans, design projects and the other visual materials were used. Through this investigation, related with socio-spatial, socio-economic, and political context, the major dynamics of the political struggle which is thought to affect the meaning, function and form of the Hacıbayram Square was examined within a historical frame of reference. This analysis especially focused on after the establishment of the Republic when the city began to develop with reference to planning activities.

Even though there are various definitions of the term public space in the literature, public space can be defined as a place of interaction, social contact among different groups and individuals. People come together, interact and exchange goods, ideas at public space. In other words social life has been continued on public spaces. In addition to the definition of the public space, the meaning, form and function of public spaces differ due to different socio-cultural structures of societies. The form of the public spaces is an essential urban design issue. Moreover, through the urban

design processes, the meaning and the function of the space in the urban spatial pattern have been considered.

Urban space is both a social and a historical product. It is socially shaped, produced and reproduced through the conflicts of societal actors and elements of economic, political structures, framed within a social, political and economic context. Moreover, space includes the social relations of reproduction and these relations are interrelated with each other. As a result of these relations, space was called as social space and defined as a social product by Lefebvre (1991). Production of space primarily refers to the activity of constructing a built environment. As it was argued by Castells (1983) space, as a social product, becomes the subject of conflict within three dimensions as historical meaning, urban function and spatial form.

In historical period, within different economic, social and political contexts, meaning, function, forms of public space have been transformed; each transformation resulted in a change of influence in urban life. Public space changes through societal transformation inevitably. Examining the transformation of European public spaces, *Agora* appeared as the essential public space of Ancient Greece, both politically and socially. In addition, commercial life flowed at Agora. As a continuation of Agora, *Roman Forum* merged the Greek Acropolis and Agora on oneself. Added to the religious and commercial functions; both the political activity and daily activities were all being performed at Forum. *Market places* of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance *Plazas* were similar places of Agora and Forum. Both Market places and Plazas were used for economic and political aims. The streets and cathedrals also occurred to be the places where citizens from different classes came together. Parks, cafes, buildings of theatre had been added to the context of public spaces in 17th and 18th century when working place and living place (home) was differentiated. In 19th century, new kinds of consumption and shopping places appeared. Spaces like restaurants, cinema, zoos, and theatres presented new opportunities for entertainment, recreation, feeding and consumption in 20th century. These occurred to be owned privately, but used publicly.

On the other hand, unlike the antique Anatolia heritage, the attitudes of the Turkish people do not include public initiative, common spirit. At this point it must be mentioned that the Byzantine era has a transitional character. According to Tankut (2007), the Anatolian city already loses the defined character of its urban street network in the Byzantine period. Within the city walls in the Byzantine city, no provision for an open market square, out of security reasons it is pushed beyond the city walls. Moreover, a mosque plaza does not exist either, as a gathering place. Therefore, the mosque is equipped with a spacious court in its own structure and this court, interior of the mosque, is the actual forum of the Muslim city (Tankut, 2007). Since there is no space in Anatolian cities for public spirit, along Near Eastern habit comes to an end, although Summerians, Egyptians; Greeks and Romans all favored such spaces in the city. It can be said that while the Western cities of the same centuries have squares or public parks for social interaction and communication, Anatolian cities did not have.

The literature on the public spaces of Ankara before the Republican era is quite limited, however it is clear that places within which the social life took place before the Republican era were commercial and business places like bedesten, han, open bazaars and enclosed çarşı. Moreover, mosques and Turkish baths were spaces where people gathered. On the other hand, in the new Turkish Republic, efforts in the way to become a nation-state went hand in hand with a modernity project that tried to form a new socio-cultural life. These efforts found its reflections in the development of the public spaces of Ankara. In the early years of the Republic public spaces were needed to create a modern urban life and the modern Turkish citizen. In this respects the Hacıbayram Square can be seen as an effort to integrate the old and the new city, to bring modern values to the traditional one.

Although the case area has transformed beginning from the construction of the first temple in the area, this study concentrated on the transformation of the meaning, function and form of the Hacıbayram Square beginning from 19th century when the first map of Ankara was drawn by Von Vincke. However, the transformation of public spaces has become more evident since 1920s. Because with the establishment

of the Republic Ankara began to develop with reference to planning activities. Therefore, the main issue of this thesis was the transformation meaning, function and form of Hacібayram Square within the plans periods.

1.2 Methodology of the Study

Within this thesis the transformation of Hacібayram Square before 19th century can be analyzed just with the written materials since there are not enough visual materials to make some assumption about the transformation of meaning, function and form of the case area. For that reason, although the case area has transformed beginning from the construction of the first temple in the area, this study concentrated on the transformation of the meaning, function and form of the Hacібayram Square beginning from 19th century when the first map of Ankara was drawn by Von Vincke. However, the transformation of public spaces has become more evident since 1920s. Because with the establishment of the Republic Ankara began to develop with reference to planning activities. Therefore, the main issue of this thesis was the transformation meaning, function and form of Hacібayram Square within the plans periods.

Transformation of meaning, function and form of the square was held in the Lörcher Plan, the Jansen Plan, the Uybadin-Yücel Plan, the Ankara 1990, the Hacібayram Environmental Renewal Project as a sub-project of the Ulus Historical Centre Planning Project and lastly the Ankara Ulus Historical City Center Urban Regeneration Project, demolish studies for the implementation of that has been started in 2008.

1.3 Content of the Study

The thesis composed of five chapters. After the introduction, the second part of the first chapter concentrated on conceptualizing the problematic within basic concepts and a related theoretical framework. In the second chapter, the development and the transformation of public spaces in history were investigated; both in Europe and

Anatolia. In the third chapter, a general historical development of Ankara was discussed under two headings as until the establishment of Turkish Republic and after the establishment of Turkish Republic that were stated with reference to planning activities. Additionally in this chapter, historical artifacts of the city and the conservation policies were examined. In the fourth chapter, transformation of meaning, function and form of the Hacıbayram Square was questioned with reference to the maps, plans and other visual materials. Lastly, the fifth chapter was a conclusion part.

First chapter was concentrated firstly on the relationship of *space, society* and *power* that were held to give a possibility to deepen the political character of public spaces. Then *production of space* was examined briefly related with the space, society and power relation. *Public Realm* and *Public Space* were another focus of this chapter. To put the different definitions of public realm and public space, these two terms were discussed. Definition of public space was relatively more specific triad- *Spatial Practice, Representations of Space* and *Representational Spaces*, was held with reference to Lefebvre. First chapter of the study ended with the focus on *conflict over space*. Conflict on public space was the power relations and struggles performed to transform the public space in terms of *meaning, function and form*.

Second chapter presented the historical developments and transformation of public spaces. Firstly, historical development of public spaces was examined. Secondly, transformation of public spaces in Anatolia was analyzed since it showed differences from the western examples. This chapter finished with the investigation of public spaces of Ankara before and after the Republican period.

Third chapter presented a historical development of social and spatial structure of Ankara before and after the establishment of Turkish Republic. Development of the city after the establishment of Turkish Republic was investigated with reference to planning activities. In this chapter Conservation Oriented Planning Studies was also questioned. Lastly, historical artifacts of Ankara included the Temple of Augustus and the Hacı Bayram Mosque was held.

Fourth chapter was concentrated on the transformation of the meaning, function and form of the Hacıbayram Square beginning from 19th century. This part of the study was based on the maps and plans prepared for Ankara, Ulus and Hacıbayram Square. Since the first map of Ankara drawn by Von Vincke in 1839, discussion on the transformation of the Hacıbayram Square began from the 19th century.

Transformation of meaning, function and form of the square was held in *the Lörcher Plan, the Jansen Plan, the Uybadin-Yücel Plan, Ankara 1990 Plan, Hacıbayram Environmental Renewal Project* as a sub-project of *the Ulus Historical Centre Planning Project* and lastly *the Ankara Ulus Historical City Center Urban Regeneration Project* was examined.

And finally fifth chapter was planned to conclude how meaning, function and form of the Hacıbayram Square transformed with respect to plans, changing actors during plan periods and the political struggle among them.

1.4 Theoretical Framework and Basic Concepts

The analysis of the transformation of public space is related with the analysis of the city that is its wider setting. Thus, in order to develop the broader approach, this chapter aimed to present both conceptual and theoretical tools to examine and explain the transformation of the space, production and reproduction of the public space.

Space is inevitable both for human existence and societal existence. The structure of the society influences the spatial form of the space since changes occur in urban area is related with historical evolution. According to Harvey (1999), space is considered as a social phenomenon that is naturalized through the *daily routines* and *meanings*. Direction, distance, area, form, repeated pattern, and volume can be counted as some of the concepts which naturalize and concretize the phenomenon of space. On the other side, Castells (1983) mentioned that spatial structures are transformed and

urban meaning with its functions is redefined through mechanisms that in order to examine cities and their connection to social change, should be determined.

Space is considered to be inevitable for both individuals and societies. Beyond being a geographical location or a piece of real estate, space is both the place/site of the action and also it gives possibility of social engagement to actions. With respect to these ideas, space is assumed to be related with social phenomenon. Different approaches explain this relation through different definitions of space and identifications of relations between space and social object. Space is related with both the individuals and society so it is a part of the social theories. The components of the political and economic systems and the societal processes and practices, created on the base of these systems produce space. Space is an abstract issue and is concrete issue at the same time. In other words, space is not totally a mental concept or a physical medium. Therefore, space occurs to be contradictory on the base of the *binaries* it consists of, through the production of space. Moreover, space is both a tool of ideas and actions and public space occurs to be at the core of the exercise of hegemony. The *meaning, form* and *function* of public space are redefined in time through contradictions and struggles. They also indicate both the transformation of political struggle on space and the transformation of space itself.

1.4.1 Space and Society

The issue of ‘social production of spatial forms’ inherited from Lefebvre (Lefebvre, 1991), has an essential role in the organization of this thesis. According to Castells four basic groups of activities can be distinguished to be located within urban space as production, consumption, exchange and administration.¹ With respect to the changing economic and political structure, these activities have been observed to concentrate on certain regions or zones of urban space (Castells, 1977: 20, 126-127).

¹ Production (for e.g. industry, offices), consumption (in other words the reproduction of labour power, for e.g. housing, public amenities), exchange (for e.g. traffic, commerce) and administration (for e.g. municipal administration, urban planning).

It is defined as mode of production by Lefebvre.² He proposed the concept of social space as a social product, and he stated that every mode of production produces its own space (Lefebvre, 1991: 26, 31).³

The attempt to examine the physical dimensions of space separately from the matter is an irrelevant trial since space did not exist before matter existed. Besides, as it was mentioned by Harvey (1999) the meanings attributed to space have been redefined several times within the material practices and processes which produce the societal life. In addition to the relations with social phenomena, space has both economic and political dimensions (Lefebvre, 1991: 10-11).

As it was discussed by Harvey (1999) each mode of production and societal pattern would produce both the spatial practice of oneself and the perception of space. It can be said that capitalism influence the practical matters related with urban space, in the form of construction of buildings, distribution of investments or division of labour. The physical features and meanings of space alter rapidly parallel to its character as a mode of production through capitalism. Besides, the tools to represent the space change leads to transformation of material reality to organize the daily life. However, hegemony referring to one class's domination over another one implies a more violent affect on space, than influence (Lefebvre, 1991).

Moreover, according to Lefebvre (1991) space plays an active and instrumental role through knowledge and action in the existing mode of production. In order to examine the role of space, Lefebvre proposed a trio of fields that are the physical (nature, the cosmos); the mental (in the form of logical and formal abstractions) and lastly the social (Lefebvre, 1991:11). On the other hand, he developed the concepts to define the distinction of spaces parallel to this trio on the base of the distinction between the ideal and real space. Ideal space implies the mental categories

² Castells (1977) exemplified the mode of production as following: the head offices of the firms being located at the city centres and some of the other spatial functions such as housing are distributed within variable densities. This distribution and zoning constitutes a 'specific' spatial organization which is a 'specific' production of social structure.

³ According to Castells (1977) space can be examined as the expression of societal structure, within two sub-issues: space is produced by the components of both the economic and political systems and space is produced through the societal practices that are formed by these components.

(logimathematical such as Cartesian notion of space) and real space indicates the space of social practice. There is always a distance between ideal and real one; space is coded and recoded through developing abstract representations (Lefebvre, 1991:14; İlkay 2007:19). As a result according to Lefebvre, space is not totally a mental category or a physical category. Since, space is both a tool of ideas, and actions and a means of control, power, and domination (Lefebvre, 1991:292).

1.4.2 Production of Space

Production of space primarily refers to the activity of constructing a built environment and also means that capital settles (becomes constant) at the space within certain distributions. Urban space has turned to be a commodity itself through this process (İlkay, 2007:20). In addition to the relations of production, space also includes the social relations of reproduction and these relations are interrelated with each other. As a result of these relations space is called as social space and defined as a social product (Lefebvre, 1991:32).

Urban space is socially produced among spatial affairs and social actors within a dialectical process. As it is argued by Lefebvre (1991) the issue of 'production of space' has not only physical dimensions; but also mental and social dimensions. In addition to this, according to Castells (1977) the components of the economic - political systems and societal practices influence on the production and transformation of space. However, differentiation in values and interests of classes, groups, and individuals and conflict and struggles occurred on the base of this differentiation are two critical points of socio-spatial transformation (Castells, 1977; cited in Şengül, 2001:13-14).

The movements of each actor (state, firms, agents etc.), dependently and separately, take place within a socio-spatial context that is produced historically by both the conscious or unconscious activities of the agents and mediation of these agents about state's intervention into urban space. Therefore, according to Keskinok (1997) reproduction of urban space is shaped within the continuous interaction of context,

activities, agents, etc., it is not a result of capital accumulation. Consequently it can be said that urban space is a product of societal relationships and struggles. According to Lefebvre (1991), capital accumulation processes has an essential role at producing and reproducing the space. However, it is clear that social-physical space is produced also at social levels added to the economic, political and cultural levels. Moreover, production of space implies a process, not a moment (Lefebvre, 1991:33).

On the other side, according to Günay (1999) production of urban space should be considered as a tool of urban design. Günay explained this as following:

“In the production of urban space, property plays a determinig role as an institution governing ‘social relations’, ‘evolution of power conflicts’ and ‘generation of symbolic values’. Furthermore, ownership patterns of real property and their transformation give the form of urban space (Günay, 1999:9).”

1.4.3 Public Realm and Public Space

The term public space is not only bound with democracy and political activities but it also covers social activities and daily routines of people in the cities. Furthermore, public realm is the subject of many different disciplines like; architectural history, sociology, urban geography, urban planning and urban design. Although transformations have affected the public realm of cities, urban space is generally accepted as a public realm where public social life takes place in all its forms. Before discuss public space, firstly the term public realm has to be analyzed.

1.4.3.1 Public Realm

Benhabib (1992) discusses questions of historical interpretation and classification in order to delineate three different conceptions of public space that correspond to three main currents of Western political thought. She described the view of public space common to the republican virtue or civic virtue tradition as the agonistis view with reference to the thought of Hannah Arendt.

According to the Agonistic view, the public realm represents that space of appearances in which moral and political greatness, heroism, and preeminence are revealed, displayed, shared with others. This is a competitive space in which one competes for recognition, precedence, and acclaim. Ultimately it is the space in which one seeks a guarantee against the futility and the passage of all things human: (Benhabib, 1992:77-78)

“For the Polis was for the Greeks, as the res publica was for the Romans, first of all their guarantee against the futility of individual life, the space protected against this futility and reserved for the relative permanence, if not immortality, of mortals.” (Arendt, 1973: 56; cited in Benhabib, 1992:78)

Secondly, she described the conception is provided by the liberal tradition, and particularly by those liberals who, beginning with Kant, make the problem of a just and stable public order the center of their political thinking as legalistic model of public space. According to Benhabib, the advantage of liberal concept of public space, compared to Arendt’s thoughts, is that the link between power, legitimacy, and public discourse is made most explicit by it (Benhabib, 1992:73-81; Benhabib, 1996:243-250).

Lastly, Benhabib names the model, which is the one implicit in Jürgen Habermas’s work, envisages a democratic-socialist restructuring of late-capitalist societies as discursive public space (Habermas, 1992: 81-85).

According to *Habermasian Model*, as it was stated by Benhabib (1992; 1996) the public sphere comes into existence whenever and wherever all affected by general social and political norms of action engage in a practical discourse, evaluating their validity. In effect, there may be as many publics as there are controversial general debates about the validity of norms.

In her article *Models of Public Space*, Benhabib criticizes three models of public space and according to her they are severely limited in their ability to help us cope with this task. She investigated these three models in the following:

“...Arendt’s agonistic model is at odds with the sociological reality of modernity, as well as with modern political struggles for justice. The liberal model of public space transforms the political dialogue of empowerment far too quickly into a juridical discourse about the right. The discourse model is the only one that is compatible both with the general social trends of our societies and with the emancipatory aspirations of new social movements, like woman’s movement...” (Benhabib, 1992:95)

In his influential work, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, Jürgen Habermas argued the rise and fall of the bourgeois public sphere. Habermas described a public sphere as follows:

“A public sphere that functioned in the political realm arose first in Great Britain at the turn of 18th century. Forces endeavoring to influence the decisions of state authority appealed to the critical public in order to legitimate demands before this new forum. In connection with this assembly of state became transformed into a modern parliament-a process that was, of course, drawn out over the entire century.” (Habermas, 1992:57)

According to Childs (2004), Habermas argues that the rise in Europe of the public press, cafes, salons, and other discussion societies established a new basis of political power that replaced the royal courts. In the ideal, this power was vested in the reasoned arguments of all citizens- the collective discussion.

“The [European] bourgeois public sphere may be conceived above all as the sphere of private people come together as a public; they soon claimed the public sphere regulated from above against the public authorities themselves, to engage them in a debate over the general rules governing...commodity exchange and social labor. The medium of this political confrontation was peculiar and without historical precedent: people’s public use of their reason.” (Childs, 2004:11-12)

As it is stated by Childs (2004), Habermas also debates the fall of the bourgeois culture-debating public sphere into the modern world of a culture-consuming public. Habermas argues that an enlarged scope of action by government and increased powers of private corporations invaded the bourgeois public sphere. Moreover he claimed that the ability of the public debate to determine or influence power waned

as the powers of bureaucracies and corporations waxed. According to him the transformation of squares and streets from public space to arterials and parking lot echoes this change in values. The resulting configuration [of modern cities] does not afford a spatially protected private sphere, nor does it create free space for public contacts and communication that could bring private people together to form a public (Habermas, 1989:158; cited in Childs, 2004:12).

The decline and impoverishment of the public realm has been a concern for a number of social critics. As it was stated by Childs (2004) from the point of those, we live in a time of a fundamentally degraded public realm. According to these social critics, designing and building public spaces like traditional squares may be examined skeptically as potentially naively nostalgic, part of the economics of tourism, or an attempt to manipulate the masses with the sign but not the power of the public realm (Childs, 2004: 12).

As it was also stated by Yeşilkaya (2003) Habermas analyses the emergence of bourgeois public sphere in European context. Moreover, he explained different types of public spheres that help us to conceive the term from a wide perspective. Habermas explains the public presentation of ruler's power with the type representative publicness. According to Yeşilkaya (2003), representative publicness can be observed in Ottoman Empire as well.

“In itself the status of manorial lord, on whatever level, was neutral in relation to the criteria of “public” and “private”; but its incumbent represented in publicly. He displayed himself, presented himself as an embodiment of some sort of “higher” power.”
(Habermas, 1992: 7)

For Habermas representative publicness is a display of power before Audience. According to him, it remained to the beginning of 19th century (Habermas, 1992: 12).

Hannah Arendt developed a comprehensive argument on the public and private realms in the “Human Condition”. According to her the term public:

“(It) means, first, that everything that appears in public can be seen and heard by everybody and has the widest possible publicity. For us, appearance-something that is being seen and heard by others as well as by ourselves-constitutes reality. (...) Second, the term “public” signifies the word itself, in so far as it is common to all of us and distinguished from our privately owned place in it.” (Arendt, 1958: 50-58; cited in Yeşilkaya, 2003: 7)

Public realm is an important component of urban life that refers not only to a variety of social relations but also to the space where intellectual discourse, social interaction and political struggle take place (Montgomery, 1997).

Sociologist Lyn H. Lofland, offered a sociological definition of the public realm that is independent of Habermas’s or others political and economic relationships. In her book *The Public Realm*, she contrasted the public realm with the private realm and the parochial realm of friends and neighbors (Lofland, 1998:9; cited in Childs, 2004:12-13). Lofland explained public realm as:

“... (It) made up of the public places or spaces...that tend to be inhabited...by persons who are strangers to one another and who ‘know’ one another only in terms of occupational or nonpersonal identity categories.” (Lofland, 1989: 19; cited in Montgomery, 1997: 86)

According to Lofland (1998) the public realm offers a rich environment for learning, provides needed respites and refreshments. Additionally, it operates as a center of communication, allows for the ‘practice’ of politics, is the stage for the enactment of social arrangements and social conflict, and assists in the creation of cosmopolitans (Lofland 1998:231-232; cited in Childs 2004:13).

The value of the public realm was explained by Lofland as: “The center is the place for news and gossip, for the creation of ideas, for marketing them and swiping them, for hatching deals, for starting parades... This human congress is the genius of the place, its reason for being, its great marginal edge. This is the engine, the city’s true export. What ever makes this congress easier, more spontaneous, more enjoyable is not at all a frill” (Childs, 2004:13). Summarizing people-watching, public

sociability, the freedom to try on roles, public solitude, experiencing juxtapositions and layerings of history, and seeing the built complexity of a city could be counted as the pleasures of the public realm (Childs 2004:13).

Jan Gehl (1987) argues in his book *Life between Buildings* that the public realm in urban space maintains three roles; as places to interact with others, as market places to transact in and as channels of movement.

According to Yeşilkaya (2003), even though the words of public sphere and public realm translated into Turkish as *kamu alanı*, the content of the term *kamu* is quite elusive. The Turkish phrase public area (*kamusal alan*) is rather problematic. Although, historical survey about the use of the term public (*kamu*) has not been done, attention to the different aspects of public life in Turkey is growing. The appearance of Islamic identity or appearance of women in public is being discussed but little has been said on the matter of urban public spaces in Turkey (Yeşilkaya, 2003: 9-10).

Since the characteristics and formation dynamics of public sphere can also be expressed in public spaces, the production of public space is both related with the determination of public and an outcome of this process. For that reason, Defilippis (1997) defined the public spaces as spaces that those constituting public sphere have access to (Defilippis, 1997; cited in Tunç, 2003: 33).

1.4.3.2 Public Space and Lefebvre

Lefebvre, who is one of the important theorists who contributed to urban literature from the perspective of Marxist theory, in his book *The Production of Space* claims that every society produces a space, its own space. For him, space should be considered as one of the elements of the forces and means of production process. Besides, it is also a product of these same relations and becomes an object of consumption (Gottdiener, 1988; cited in Tunç, 2003). The shift from one mode of production to another must entail the production of a new space (Lefebvre, 1991: 31-46).

“...each society, but it would be more accurate to say each mode of production, along with its specific relations of production; any such mode of production may subsume significant variant forms...”(Lefebvre, 1991: 44)

According to Lefebvre, any ideology cannot be permanent without intervening in social space and its production,

“... What we call ideology only achieves consistency by intervening in social space and in its production, and by thus taking on body therein. Ideology per se might well be said to consist primarily in a discourse upon social space...”(Lefebvre, 1991: 44).

As it was stated by Yeşilkaya (2003) Lefebvre intended to achieve a unitary theory of space by the prominent triad of physical, mental and social spaces. He aimed to unify the lived, conceived and perceived aspects of space. Each of these dimensions is related with each other. Besides, each of them corresponds to different meanings of space as the experienced space, the perceived space and the imagined space respectively (Tunç 2003: 12; Yeşilkaya, 2003: 36-46). Henri Lefebvre formulated a conceptual triad in “the Production of Space” as follow:

1.Spatial Practice, which embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristics of each social formation. Spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion. In terms of social space, and of each member of a given society’s relationship to that space, this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of competence and a specific level of performance.
2.Representations of Space, which are tied to the relations of production and to the ‘order’ which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to ‘frontal’ relations.
3.Representational Space, embodying complex symbolisms, sometimes coded, sometimes not, linked to the clandestine or underground side of social life, as also to art (which may come eventually to be defined less as a code of space than as a code of representational space)(Lefebvre, 1991: 33).

Lefebvre developed the definition of these concepts with the use of an implication: If space is a product, our knowledge of it must be expected to reproduce and expound the process of production. The object of interest must be expected to shift

form things in space to actual production of space (Lefebvre, 1991: 37). Accordingly, the three concepts can be defined as follows:

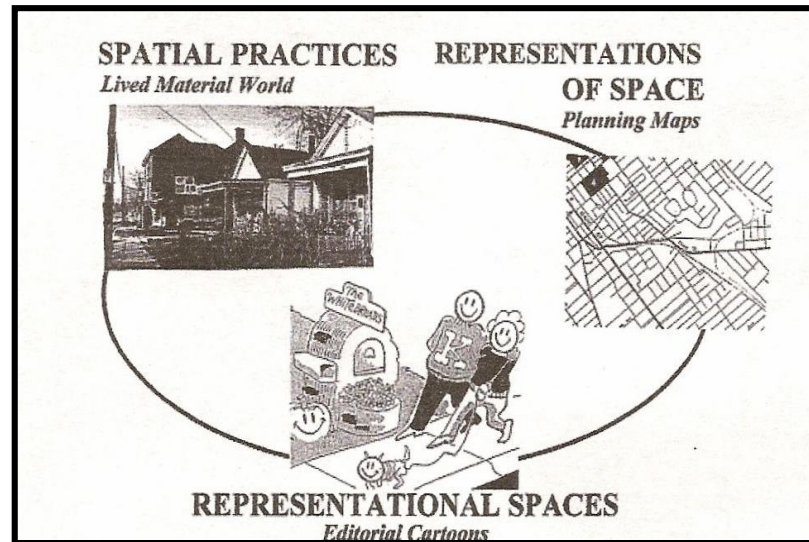


Figure 1. 1 Contextualizing Lefebvre in the U.S. city
(McCann, E.J., 1999).

1.4.3.2.1 Spatial Practice

The spatial practice of a society does not reflect that society's space. It produces it as gains control over it. From the analytic standpoint, the spatial practice of a society is revealed through the deciphering of its space. The spatial practice of capitalism contains a paradoxical association between daily reality and urban reality. As it was declared by Tunç (2003) spatial practices are about physical and material flows, transfers and interactions that occur in and across space for production and social reproduction (Lefebvre, 1991; Devellioğlu, 1995; Tunç, 2003). Lefebvre pointed out that:

“A spatial practice must have a certain cohesiveness, but this does not imply that it is coherent (in the sense of intellectually worked out or logically conceived.” (Lefebvre, 1991:38)

The everyday routines and experience secrete their own social spaces and continually mediate between the two forms of social space. These practices the everyday activities of life are worked within the bounds of conceived abstract spaces of planners and architects while simultaneously being shaped and shaping individuals' perceptions and uses of space (McCann, 1999: 172-173). Mc Cann described the spatial practices in his article *Race, Protest and Public Space: Contextualizing Lefebvre in the U.S. City* as following:

“...While planners may designate the downtown streets to be public, individuals' perceptions may induce them to use the streets in different ways, feeling out of place some parts of downtown or unsafe in others. The continual interplay of the two types of social space exists in a mutual constitutive relationship with the spatial practices of the users of space.” (McCann, 1999: 172-173)

1.4.3.2.2 Representations of Space

This is conceptualized space of scientists, planners, urbanists, bureaucrats, etc., and constructed through discourse. Representations of space are the dominant space in every society (or mode of production). They identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived. According to McCann (1999) this space always remains abstract since it is conceived rather than directly lived. Representations of space refer to signs, codes, knowledge and designs that shape how we conceptualize ordered space (Lefebvre, 1991; Devellioğlu, 1995; McCann, 1999; Tunç, 2003).

1.4.3.2.3 Representational Spaces

This is the lived space, which is directly lived and used by people. Representational space is experienced through the complex symbols and images of its inhabitants and users. It often draws physical objects found in space in order to symbolize lived experience and to produce meaning. This is social inventions such as symbolic spaces, particular built environments, museums etc. It is the space of its users, also of some artists, and a few writers and philosophers. This is the dominated- and hence passively experienced-space helping to create new meanings of possibilities

for spatial practices (Lefebvre, 1991; Devellioğlu, 1995; McCann, 1999; Tunç, 2003).

McCann (1999) describes Representational space in his article *Race, Protest and Public Space: Contextualizing Lefebvre in the U.S. City* as following:

“The works of artists, photographers, filmmakers and poets may be representational spaces that through their uses of symbolism, construct counter-discourses and thus open up the possibility to think differently about space.” (Mc Cann,1999: 172)

1.5 Conflict over Space

As it was mentioned by Harvey (1999), the physicians discuss that neither time nor space existed before the matter. Thus, space and time should be examined within the examination of material world and to achieve an objective conceptualization one should consider the material processes, while studying the meaning of a space. The material processes and practices produce the societal pattern and life. Moreover with reference to the material processes and practices, objective conceptualizations of time and space have been redefined repeatedly. Each mode of production and social pattern were produced both a specific spatial practice and the grasp of it (Harvey, 1999: 230-231).

Since spatial practice would be differentiated from the conceived scheme to some degree, it can not be argued to be directed by the design of planner or architect. Space and spatial practices are thought to be defined and naturalized through the daily routines and practices, however under the conceptualization of space there is a hidden mechanism, pattern of struggles, conflict and dilemmas. Consequently, city was defined as a social product (Harvey, 1999: 230.231).

According to Castells (1983), urban space is produced and transformed through the conflicts and the struggles. As a result, city has turned to be a place where struggles occur among social actors within their conflicting interests and values. Urban space also turns to be the subject of the conflicts and struggles. Therefore, urban space has

been produced by the societal actors, having distinct values and interests again and again. As a result space can be seen as the locus of relationships and the focus of social forces, and agents of the struggle around the urban space. In addition, each and every power struggle has to form strategies to control the space and so provide the survival and success of oneself (Poulantzas, 1978; cited in Şengül, 2001: 14).

Urban space, as a product, has three main dimensions that are *historical meaning*, *urban functions* and *spatial forms*. The transformation of meaning, function and form of the urban space is based on the institutionalization of socially dominant interests. With respect to their changing role in the organization of society and people's everyday life, cities are historical products both in their physical materiality and cultural meaning. In other words, the definition of urban meaning is not only a cultural entity; but also a social process within the conflicts, domination and counter domination.

According to Castells (1983), urban meaning and urban functions are two factors that determined the urban form. He proposed a relationship and hierarchy between historical meaning, urban functions and spatial forms rather than arguing that economy determines the urban forms. Castells argued that cities are shaped by three different but interrelated processes (Castells, 1983: 301-304):

1. *“Conflicts over the definition of urban meaning”*
2. *“Conflicts over the adequate performance of urban functions”*
 2. a. *may arise from ‘different interests and values’*
 2. b. *may arise from ‘different approaches about how to perform a shared goal of urban function’*
3. *“Conflicts over the adequate symbolic expression of urban meaning and (or) urban functions”*

1.5.1 Historical Meaning

Space is regarded as a result in different cognitive constructions because of human beings imaginative power. Nonetheless, this differentiation is deepened in different cultures and societies. Furthermore, this differentiation may lead to conflict and struggles. It can be exemplified with Harvey uses the contrast between the views of

native inhabitants and immigrants on the lands, which the natives were living and the other group, was going to live. According to Harvey (1999) the attempt to define the meaning of the space was on the focus of the conflict. This attempt aims to regulate the societal life and to define the phenomenon – the right on the land.

The meaning of space is developed through an interactive process experienced between space and the actors, which impacts both the space and the actors. The actors who use the space contribute to the process with their histories and experience. Repeated experience leads to the connections that construct the base of the meaning (Carr, et. al., 1992: 133). According to Wright (2000), repetition is only one of the dimensions of creating the meaning of a space. As it was mentioned by İlkay (2007) breaks or raptures of routine and their relations with space should also be the part of theorizing the creation of spatial meaning. On the other hand, through the transformation of spaces, functions and the context as time passes meanings also change.

“...To make a meaningful place requires a shared understanding among designers, managers and users.” (Carr, et. al., 1992: 234)

According to Castells all human processes have been determined by the relationships of production, experience, and power. Further the meaning of space can not be considered as a product of a particular social actor or a result of an undetermined conflict between actors. It is rather socially defined through particular modes of historical development and societal contexts, structures (Castells, 1983: 305-306).

1.5.2 Urban Function

The urban function of a space implies the character of the space which enables daily routines, different kinds of activities, and also implies the values and interests of social actors shaping the space. According to this definition urban function seems to be related with Lefebvre’s concept of spatial practice and perceived space. As it was

stated by İlkay (2007), Castells (1983) proposed two kinds of conflict over space indicating the function of the space. On the one hand, the function can be discussed as a result of different interests and values. In contrast, the conflict may arise even the same function was accepted for a space as a result of different approaches about how to perform a shared goal of urban function.

Public spaces such as streets, squares and parks, can shape social interaction and human exchange, are essential functional parts of urban space. As it was revealed by Carr, these dynamic spaces can provide channels for movement, nodes for communication' and common grounds for play and relaxation (Carr, et. al., 1992: 3). In the case of square, according to Moughtin (2003) the most important function of the square is the symbolic meaning attached to it. The activity in a square is essential both providing vitality and constructing visual attraction (Moughtin, 2003: 87-88).

1.5.3 Spatial Form

A public space is *perceived* through visualization of its boundaries. The architectural structures, their scale and volumes create a tension upon the users, viewers of the space. Their reaction to the space around them is also influenced. According to Zucker (1966), *the architectural structure, the floor, and the ceiling* (in the form of sky) constitute this effect. A square or a plaza is usually designed around buildings and it is framed by them (Moughtin, 2003: 87). According to Zucker (1966) squares are classified as the closed square (space self-contained), the dominated square (space directed), the nuclear square (space formed around a center), the grouped square (space units combined) and the amorphous square (space unlimited). Conversely, a square does not have to represent purely and solely the features of one type of squares (Zucker, 1966:8).

CHAPTER 2

TRANSFORMATION OF PUBLIC SPACE

In this chapter the historical developments and transformation of public spaces is presented. After public space is defined, firstly historical development of public spaces is examined. Secondly, transformation of public spaces in Anatolia is analyzed since it shows differences from the western examples. Transformation of public spaces in Anatolia are discussed separately since that shows some differences from the transformation of public spaces in European or American cities. This chapter is finished with the investigation of public spaces of Ankara before and after the Republican period. Because, the contemporary city center structure and public spaces of Ankara is an outcome of a continuing process.

2.1 Public Spaces

There are various definitions of the term “public space” in the literature. Different definitions of public space appear and diverse features are put forward depending upon how the term public is approached. On the other side, the close relation between defining public space and its “public” component is clear. Therefore most of the definitions of public space are closely related with the meaning of its public component and public spaces relation with the public realm, the domain of social life. In addition to the definition of public space, meaning, form and function of public spaces differ due to different socio-cultural structures of societies. It is possible to determine the public space by its spatial features and the activities. The form of the public spaces is an essential urban design issue. Moreover, through the

urban design processes, the meaning and the function of the space in the urban spatial pattern have been considered.

Public space can be defined as a place of interaction, social contact among different groups and individuals. People come together, interact and exchange goods, ideas at public space and social life has been continued on public spaces. Public spaces are created to advance social contact and to provide place for the public action in every city. Since cultural production and reproduction are developed through processes of socialization, the need for public places is still prevalent.

The streets, as a public space, are places where public life is experienced for a short time and they are used for passing by and looking at the shop windows. On the other hand, the square is a destination point where collective activity and participation are realized. This interaction can be supported by intimate ties or by the strongest tensions. The square reflects the political and social life of the community. It can be exemplified with the situation when the community was dominated by the ruling class. In this case the square had become the symbol of the government. Changes in the social order had been demonstrated in the design and use of the square. Also the square has the potentiality to motivate the social interaction and to improve the consciousness of the society, if the model of a democratic civic center can be formulated. In this model, the condition of socialization and communication is the structuring element in the community. Various facets of life like creation, production, administration, education...etc. are all components of this structuring element (Lalonde, 1987: 258-259; cited in Devellioğlu, 1995: 32).

According to Anderson (1981) a formal approach to open spaces has limitations, created by other conditions that he explained with these words: Form has a certain degree of autonomy. The relation of individuals and groups effects and sometimes changes the physical environment in various ways. So the physical characteristics of space must be handled with social activities. Within this relation, the square is not confined to its boundaries; it takes place within the adjacent streets. They have transformed depend on the changes in the street patterns that are important means in

conditioning the city's life. Therefore, street patterns and their meanings must be understood in order to study the square.

2.1.1 Streets

Although, the street is commonly defined as a paved and delimited surface outlined by buildings, according to Barlas (2006) this definition is misleading. He explains why this definition is misleading in three ways. The first one is one should not regard every paved surface as a street. Second one is this definition put emphasis only on the surface disregarding the edifices that formally and conceptually define it. And the last one is, they do not consider the functions the street historically carries (Barlas, 2006:69). Although the asphalt carpet which serves for the movement of cars is called a street, it has no connection with the original significance of the term.

On the other hand, Childs (2004) define the streets as urban paths that are within the fabric of a town and lined by building that face and engage the street and dedicated in part to vehicular use. In contrast, roadways may not be lined by enfronting buildings or make significant allowance for non-vehicular use. According to him streets tend to transform into roads, as the percentage of space dedicated primarily to vehicular use increases. This is not necessarily a function of the volume of traffic but of the care and space taken to support the pedestrian-based commons. According to Barlas, the Joseph Rykwert makes an useful definition as following:

The word street suggests that a surface is distinguished from its surroundings in some physical or at least notional way. It also suggests an area set apart for public use and can include spaces with simple, limited demarcations without necessary connections to other streets. It does not necessarily lead anywhere...., but may finish in a plaza or blind-alley. Road, on the other hand, suggests movement to destination and -incidentally- the transporting of people and commodities on foot, by pack animal or vehicle... starting-point and goal are therefore not necessary physical attributes of the street or road, but its notional attributes. These notional attributes impinge on physical structure; it is clearly essential for the street user that –at boundaries may offer the user sufficiently similar yet varied exit- points to identify his particular

aim with clarity (Rykwert, 1982, 105-106; cited in Barlas, 2006:69-70).

The street is not only a paved surface and it should be considered as a three dimensional urban component together with the artifices that delimit its surface. Moreover, it does not necessarily lead anywhere. The street is more of a delimited space rather than a continuous channel for transportation (Barlas, 2006:70).

2.2 Historical Development of Public Space

Cities of every age had created public spaces to advance social contact and to provide place for the public action. The need for this function of public places is still prevalent since the human being need an environment of which he can comprehend and control. The main aim in the shaping of his environment must be to provide appropriate places for his inner cultural growth (Lalonde, 1987: 261; cited in Devellioglu, 1995: 31).

In the western architectural and urban history literature, the major public spaces are thought to be originated from Ancient Greece and Roman cities (Carr et al., 1992: 52). Greek agora of the ancient times is regarded as the first examples of open public spaces that usually located in the center of the city and they functioned as both the political and economic centers. On the other hand, according to Sitte (1989), the public squares of cities have in many respects remained true type of old forum down to modern times (Yeşilkaya, 2003: 57-58). The history of public spaces continues with Roman forum which was the main place for public life. Forums enabled commercial and religious activities, political activities, sports facilities and informal meetings. Middle Ages market places and Renaissance's plazas were both used for economic and political aims like agoras and forums. During the Renaissance great and carefully designed plazas were observed that was different from public spaces of medieval towns which were naturally evolving. In the 16th century, wide avenues emerged as public spaces. Until 18th century the major public spaces were centrally located squares. At that time the effect of industrial revolution had great impact on

also urban public spaces. In the 19th, *parks*, *playgrounds* and *malls* emerged as important public spaces.

2.2.1 Cities without Public Spaces

It is agreed, characteristics of some Neolithic settlements in Western Asia-Jericho, Ain Ghazal, Çatal Höyük and Khirokitia are examples- qualify them as towns; and that was about two or three thousand years before Mesopotamia. There is a hiatus of at least fifteen hundred years between the demise of these proto-urban settlements and the rise of the true cities in mud plains the Tigris and Euphrates some time around 3500 BC. In the Nile Valley, urbanization came a little later, perhaps by 3000 BC. Then, a millennium or so after that, we have the cities of Indus Valley, Harappa and Mohenjo Daro, which materialize rather suddenly and are abandoned as suddenly several centuries later (Kostof, 1992:29-30).

Orthogonal planning has appeared everywhere, in South America, China, India, Egypt, Mesopotamia, wherever elementary forms of surveying were developed, and in the wake of any system of land tenure (Rykwert, 1988:72). Firstly in India, as in Egypt, Asia Minor, Hippodamic Greece, and later on in Rome and Central America civilizations, the appearance of the gridiron may be explained by mankind's generic urge for order and regularity in contrast to the chaotic growth of nature (Zucker, 1966:20).

According to Kostof (1992), the genuine urban grid makes its appearance in pre-Classical antiquity in at least two regions of the ancient world. Mohenjo Daro and Harappa in the Indus Valley which came to a mysterious end about 1500 BC, had a citadel on the western edge of town and blocks of roughly equal size. A carry-over of this planning tradition into the later phases of Indian history cannot be demonstrated. The other archeological region is Mesopotamian and Assyrian, cities like Babylon and Borsippa. It seems certain that a trend toward regular cities started from the 9th BC onward in Assyrian dominions, but at Babylon the grid goes back to the time of Hammurabi about 2000 BC even though the visible street pattern that

has been recovered dates back only to Nebuchadnezzar in the 6th century BC (Kostof, 1992: 103-104).

Yet none of these early uses of the grid which have left their mark can be called a coordinated system as public and residential buildings have not been worked out together, and blocks have no coherent logic except insofar as this is determined from streets and alleys is reached. So planning here actually consists only of laying out the main streets, and allowing for the formal arrangement of public complexes like temples and palaces (Kostof, 1992:104).

2.2.2 Greek Agora

Although some features of public market places can be seen in Mesopotamian cities of 2000 BC, the history of public spaces begins with Greek agora. According to Spreiregen, “a human basis for urban design” and “the skills to go with it” were first matured in ancient Greece (Spreiregen, 1986:2). Greek agora usually located in the center of the polis and it had both an economic and political importance in the Greek life since it functioned as both market place and gathering place of the assembly (Zucker, 1959; Mattson, 1999; cited in Tunç, 2003). Agora, the meaning of the word is “assembly”, was the gathering place of the citizens of the polis in terms of politics and democracy (Zucker, 1966:31). It also served as meeting place of citizens for daily communication and formal and informal assembly (Mumford, 1961; cited in Carr et al., 1992). However, although the economic role of the agora is expressed before, commercial role of was complementary to this principal function, that was political and social (Devellioğlu, 1995: 35).

The agora introduced a new element into the civilization of the world and it brought a sociological and architectural viewpoint based on “the potentialities of a gradually growing democracy” (Zucker, 1966:31). The agora was a democratic civic center, where a community’s collective political power was expressed and the laws were exposed to the public (Kostof, 1992:153). However, some sections of the Greek society were segregated from the public spaces, since the Greek society had a double

character consisting of civilized citizens and secondary citizens including immigrants, slaves, women and barbaric outsiders with very limited rights. Therefore, it must be mentioned that public spaces of the ancient Greek were places only for citizens and from which secondary citizens were excluded (Dijkstra, 2000). It must be said that although Acropolis, containing the temple, occurred as the nucleus of the Ancient city, Agora gained importance through the development of civilization, being a meeting and a secular place (Carr et al., 1992; Bilgihan, 2006; cited in İlkey, 2007).

2.2.3 Roman Forum

In the period of Roman Empire, forum was the main place for public life. Roman forum as the focus of Roman cities enabled the activities such as commercial and religious activities, political activities, sports facilities and informal meetings (Mumford, 1961; cited in Carr et al., 1992:53). According to Zucker (1966) the forum of Romans was serving for public and commercial purposes such as for a civilian (civic centres), fora venalia (markets), forum bovarium (market place for meat), forum piscatorium (market place for fish), forum olitorium (market place for vegetable). Therefore it can be said that the functions of Greek acropolis and agora were brought together in forum. However, like the Greek agora, forum also dominated by citizens and even merchants and craftsmen from other cities were excluded from the public spaces (Jackson, 1987; cited in Tunç 2003). According to Zucker, the last Roman centuries represents the architecturally crystallized form of a dictatorial concept of society. By the end of the 1st century BC the Roman Forum became as the aristocratic imperialist state with political control concentrated in the hands of one man. Moreover for the emperors the forum was “not for assembly or practical use, but as grandiose memorials to themselves.” According to Webb (1990) for the emperors the forum was not for assembly or practical use, but as grandiose memorials to themselves. Roman forum turned to a museum of history and art, no longer a stage for contemporary action as it was before.

2.2.4 The Medieval Market Square

In Europe, after the decline of Rome's power, new societies of different origins occurred. The early medieval town was of finite size to support its dependant population. Moreover, it was protected by the town walls. Webb (1990) defines the medieval town as power and wealth were concentrated behind the walls of castle and monastery. According to Zucker (1966) medieval man had considered as an individual more than a citizen. He continues as following:

“...Thus quite naturally the populace, not yet sharing in a general feeling for the community as such, did not see the need for public centers such as squares which would refer to the town as a whole beyond the limits of an individual parish. Cathedral and town hall sufficed as civic centers.” (Zucker, 1966: 97)

Besides, the beauty of the medieval town squares explained by Zucker as depends on the growth through centuries. According to him, each epoch adding its specific architectural elements so the beauty of medieval square was not due to conscious planning (Zucker, 1966:97).

Marketplace remarkably grew beginning from 11th century as one of the crucial public spaces of the medieval times. As a result of the increasing power and efficiency of the society, the need for a place increased. With its central location that located in the centre of the town, marketplace enabled the inhabitants of the town come together with the foreigners/visitors of the town in the inns, taverns (Jackson, 1987; Mumford, 1987; cited in Tunç, 2003). Besides, market squares, piazzas and civic squares also occurred adjacent to the town halls of some medieval European cities. According to Carr et al. (1992), piazzas were developed being unsuitable for commercial activities by the mid 15th century and they became expressions of civic dignity.

Middle Ages and Renaissance's plazas and public squares were used for both economic and political aims like agoras and forums. People come together for celebrations, watching plays and where state proceedings were carried out in these

places, which important buildings such as cathedral and the town hall (Sitte, 1987). Moreover, like agora and forum plazas, Middle Ages and Renaissance's plazas and public squares, representing the local social order were places where ethnic, religious and political identities were revealed (Jackson, 1987; cited in Tunç, 2003).

2.2.5 The Renaissance Square

At the end of the 15th century, the transition bring a new age, the Renaissance. Spreiregen (1986) explains the situation as following:

In this conflict design of cities was to become an instrument of political administration and many of the gains of medieval urban design was to be discarded, particularly the sense of scale and the intimate relation between house and street (Spreiregen, 1986: 11-12).

The humanist basis of the medieval urban design was to be lost. Moreover, the work of building towns was to be assumed by certain power group (Spreiregen, 1986: 12). The squares of the Renaissance were planned and designed carefully and formally, on the contrary of medieval towns' that were naturally evolving and organic. As it is stated by Carr et al. (1992) main squares began to be formed as a part of the unity through a symmetrical design by the late sixteenth century

2.2.6 The Street as a Public Space

In the medieval towns, marketplaces, cathedrals and the streets were public places, where upper and lower classes of the city mix together. On the contrary to narrow streets of a medieval town, which so hard to use by both the shopkeepers and residents the straight and wide avenues occurred in 16th century. A transformation to a more formal spatial order had been experienced after that time beginning from Italy, where the characteristic of the public places were changed, different classes get together. Due to the development of vehicle carriages, people from different classes began to be separated from each other. It became like the rich in the carriages and the poor on the sidewalks due to the development of vehicle carriages. It should be seen as a clue of the beginning spatial separation (Carr et al., 1992).

In medieval cities, a great part of the business life was taking place in the narrow, open streets of the city. Street was not just the work place, but the place of buying and selling, meeting and negotiating. Moreover, it was the place where religious and civic ceremonies were held. The streets were usually edged on each side with an arcade that provided better shelters from severe weather conditions. One of the important features of medieval streets was their dominant function as communication lines for pedestrians (Jackson, 1987a; Mumford, 1987; cited in Tunç, 2002: 38).

According to Lofland (1973) another important spatial feature of medieval town was the fact that it characterized by mixed public use and overt heterogeneity of population. People from all classes, occupations and age existed in public spaces of the medieval city. They were non-specialized partly because of the mix use of space for both work and home. Consequently it can be said that although appearances were ordered, spaces of pre-industrial city were chaotic.

In 17th century the nature of the family life had changed as a result of the separation of home and workplace. That time may be seen when the public space gain its modern meaning with the separation of work and home places, which enabled poor to meet the concept of privacy. Although until this time privacy had be only possible for upper classes, privacy began to move among lower classes and it has come to be protected by constitutional law and public policy (Carr et al., 1992).

Industrial revolution had great impacts on the life in cities and cities' spaces because of the changing conditions of work, the increase in population and the separation of home and workplace. Cities were now offering more jobs and opportunities and they become inhabited by a large number of diverse social groups. As a result, public spaces such as urban parks, coffeehouses, cafes, theatres, opera houses, assembly rooms and court halls appeared meeting places of strangers. Moreover experiences in these public spaces were viewed as essential ways of civilizing. For example, although the pleasure grounds serving privileged groups in 17th century, parks of the second half of 19th century were open to all citizens. Moreover with the central

locations, parks were places working class and poor learned by viewing how to socialize in an increasingly dense and chaotic urban society. In short, whereas until the industrial revolution squares that were centrally located, were the major public spaces of European and American cities, the parks emerged, in the mid nineteenth century, which was public provision of sizeable green spaces (Carr et al., 1992:60). In this way, it can be said that urban amenities became open to a wider public that were once serving to privileged groups (Carr et al., 1992; Cybriwsky, 1999; cited in Tunç, 2003).

2.2.7 The Emergence of Parks, Playgrounds and Malls

In growing public spaces and especially on the streets the close contacts of classes were perceived as a 'disorder'. Therefore, in the increasingly growing industrial towns, the ideal of social integration goes hand in hand with the desire for the segregation of different classes from each other (Wilson, 1991; cited in Tunç, 2003). As a result strange others began to be perceived as much more threatening. Under these conditions, during the 19th century family life having a higher moral value than the public realm since the private sphere of family began to be seen as a way that one can be away from the increasing disorders and ambiguity of public settings (Lofland, 1977; Sennett, 1987; cited in Tunç 2003).

Besides, classes became more segregated and regulation of the mass society increased, the chaotic and immoral public domain meant also different things to women and men in the modern industrial city of the 19th century. New consumption spaces emerged as a result of limiting the bourgeoisie women from coffee houses, opera houses, parks. These spaces that were important public spaces for meeting and exchanging information were being dominated by the men.

On the contrary to the growth of public spaces for leisure and public entertainment in 18th century, in the 19th century public spaces like the shopping arcade, shopping street, bazaar and department store were emerged, that were new consumption places serving also as important public spaces (Sennett, 1987; Wilson, 1991;

Rendell, 1998; cited in Tunç, 2003). Women began to reappear in these public spaces, who were driven from the public sphere during the early years of the Industrial Revolution. Most of these spaces were privately owned but they gave a feeling of semi-public environment as street for middle and upper classes, where mixing with lower classes was prevented (Tunç 2003; İlkay 2007). Although consumption based public spaces of the period showed the similar characteristics, opposed to the others department stores played essential roles in socialization and in the mixing of all classes. Since unlike the specialized small shops of the period entrance to department store' was free, without being obliged to make purchases (Tunç, 2003).

Restaurants, cafes, theatres, cinemas, zoological gardens were other important public spaces of the late 19th century and the early 20th century. Although they were not public since being privately owned, they were served for the public and giving opportunity to experience different excitement, pleasure, entertainment, recreation, dining and consuming.

Consequently, as it is expressed by Cybriwsky (1999) three important points is seen in the tendencies seen in the transformation of public places. They are privatisation of public spaces, increasing surveillance of public spaces and the control of access to them, and lastly the increasing use of design themes leading to a break of connections with local history and geography (Cybrwsky, 1999; cited in Tunç, 2003: 42).

2.3 Transformation of Public Spaces in Anatolia

With the fall of the Roman Empire, amongst other changes, the urban ideal of antiquity vanishes. The decline of city life is one of the major reasons for the darkness of the so-called *Dark Ages*. According to Tankut (2007), the Turks establish a nomadic state dominating Central Asia in feudal order as early as the 6th century. The Turkish principalities are well on their way to becoming sedentary and to producing cities until the Arabic conquest strikes Central Asia. Moreover, city

that means *kent* in Turkish appears from 7th century onwards in the names of Turkish cities such as Yanhikent etc.

Antiquity represents a square and street civilization and cultural and social activities are strongly identified with urban outdoors. Greeks and Romans meet in the streets; discuss politics and civic affairs in the town square. Moreover they seek entertainment in the theater, circus or Hippodrome. The street layout in the Turkish cities is not based on any principle. They are disoriented crooked narrow with changing widths. They are not centrally oriented, converging at the bazaar or in the fortified inner city as in Antiquity. However, as it is stated by Tankut (2007) the street is more than a means of access in the Turkish cities. It is rather an exterior interior space and the cul-de-sacs of the neighborhood clusters became to the expression of this special interpretation of the street. The dead-end streets, the common denominator of the Turkish cities, act as the hall in a house. Unlike the antique Anatolia heritage, the attitudes of the Seljuks do not include public initiative, common spirit. Since, cities provide a permanent background for religious practice and teaching in Muslim civilization.

2.3.1 Public Spaces in the Byzantine Cities

The Byzantine era has a transitional character. Since, during the first period of the Empire, the full expression of the Greco-Roman heritage can be seen clearly. At that time the Emperor urges outdoor meetings and manifestations, he is very keen on establishing contact with the populace. Coronations, ceremonies, triumphal entries, state funerals are such suitable moments of contact. On the other hand, the Byzantine church is also very eager to stage similar occasions. The Orthodox Church and the royal house promote the public spirit with their outdoor activities. It is exercised in exteriors and, adds color and drama to everyday life. However, the middle period of the empire, the rulers become afraid of personal contact since they no longer trust the large gatherings of populace. Therefore, the outdoor manifestations are discouraged and the forum and the Hippodrome lose their meaning. In other words, the town square began disappear and also the long wide

arteries, processional streets lose their significance. According to Acar (1975) and Tankut (2007), the Anatolian city already loses the defined character of its urban street network in the Byzantine period. Urban street network turned to blind alleys, crooked narrow connections and protruding organized exterior squares.

The Byzantium became an oriental state from the 6th century, since they denied the Greco-Roman heritage and turned more and more to the East. The Byzantine towns began to lose their strong center, the respective town square and the street system. As a result, the cul-de-sacs appeared in Anatolia so it can be said that the closed form of living with crowded urban occupancy is a reality already in the Byzantine times (Tankut, 2007; 122-123).

According to Acar (1975) the main differences in the development processes of the Middle Ages Europe and East Mediterranean cities can be seen in the dissolution processes of the West and East Roman Empire. Since there were some differences and as a result different organization forms in the process of the changing balance between labor force, technology and resource in these two regions (Acar, 1975:4).

2.3.2 Public Spaces in Traditional Islamic City

In the traditional Islamic city, a person identified himself primarily by his religion, and then by his neighborhood. He felt himself as a member of this neighborhood, not a citizen (Devellioğlu, 1995). The respect of custom, ownership, and the Muslim's right to visual privacy affected the development of city form. The courtyards of the mosques and other public buildings acted as entrances serving the masses to move in and out of the major buildings (Kostof, 1992: 63-127).

As it is mentioned by Devellioğlu (1995) the tissue is locked together in interdependent systems expressive of the social structure. Moreover, it is noticed in Islamic cities that the absence of public spaces in the city form. Therefore public life in these cities is experienced on spontaneous nodal points- including facilities like

baths, local prayer units, markets and cul-de-sac streets opening to them (Devellioğlu, 1995: 39).

In origin and substance, Islam is an urban religion and the spirit of the Koran is basically urban even antinomadic. According to Tankut (2007), the religious teaching of the civil law is only applicable to sedentary societies with mercantile activities. Moreover, the Friday prayers call for a permanent and urban congregation and a permanent meeting place. In Muslim civilization cities provide a permanent background for religious practice and teaching. However, although inspired by this holy idea the Muslim city has to start still as an army camp. According to the Islamic formula, the fortress mosque, the Ulucami, is not a Friday mosque. It belongs rather to the bazaar section, as in the example of Ankara (Tankut, 2007: 19-42).

No doubt, Islam gives stimulus to the Turkish urban world, introducing the formula of Muslim urbanism into Central Asia. It injects economic activities and promotes cultural life. Since all is God centered in Islam, a division of religious and secular compartments is not accepted. Religion is also used as a means to produce social welfare. Tankut (2007) described the Turkish Muslim cities as following:

“...The citadel with the royal palace and administrative buildings in a walled royal palace and administrative buildings in a walled enclosure, the “Shahristan” with the commercial center and housing and public structures, also surrounded again by walls. Then, the suburban development outside the city confinement, called the “Rabat”, which grows into a full-fledged city section and also acquires walls” (Tankut, 2007: 4).

Generally, like the pre-industrial city, the Muslim city also shows little specialization in land uses. It is very hard to figure out either a substantial separation of classes or land uses in Muslim cities, where the economic, social and religious life so interwoven (Tankut, 2007: 53). In addition to Muslim cities, architecture in these cities is also God-centered. Although they built for different purposes, mosques and palaces created environments aloof from the outer world, predisposing their visitors toward contemplation.

“Perhaps an inheritance from their pre-Muslim shamanism predisposed both the Seljuk and the Ottoman masterpieces, the great Imperial mosques, add a new element to Islamic architecture, the symbolic use of light, both natural and artificial, as a mystical synonym for God” (Hoag, 1963: 47-48).

2.3.3 Public Spaces in Seljuk Cities

When Seljuks conquered the Anatolia, Islam has already expanded. Therefore it can be said that, they were fighting primarily with the aim of settling down in a new country. Seljuks have adapted a new religion and a new county and this practical and definite religion aims to control the communal life. A new country is completely inhabited and has a long and distinguished urban past. This urban past is far more superior to what they can provide in terms of urban experience. In general, the Seljuk city grew organically without any preconceived planning attempts. These cities followed the Muslim formula of urbanism namely the Kale, Sharistan and Rabat; corresponding the inner city, the outer city, and the outmost city. However, none of in these three parts has a dominant modified square (Tankut, 2007: 28-29, 65, 123-124).

In Seljuk cities, at the foot of the Castle, exactly the same order can be seen as in the Acropolis-Agora complex of the Antique Greek city. The town center that occurs one of the major points of interest of the entire city, highlights the Shahrستان. Within the outer city a number of other public structures are existed, that form cultural sub centers. Other uses evolve and act as further focal points around public structures.

However, it can be said that the Seljuk town utterly lacks a through going circulation pattern, connecting important city parts of squares or structures. Such as city gates with the bazaar section or with the Friday mosque (Tankut, 2007: 43, 48-49).

Like the other Muslim cities, the Seljuk cities show little specialization in land uses and does not have a defined urban form. Moreover, there is no indication of its having followed preconceived planning ideas. According to Tankut the missing town square and the processional street is one of the problem of the Seljuk town. However

it can be explained depend on the Muslim religion, which requires no dramatic manifestations. Since nobody, no action is admitted to enter between the believer and God, no town square holds the city together nor do processional streets. Religion decides about every day's life in Seljuk city. There is no space for public spirit and so with this, along Near Eastern habit comes to an end, although Summerians, Egyptians; Greeks, Romans and Byzantines, all favored such spaces in the city (Tankut, 2007: 111-118).

As it was underlined before the Seljuk town lacks an architecturally defined town square. However, the Seljuk city offers a series of contact areas as stage social intercourse for various occasions since gathering area at city scale is missing (Tankut, 2007: 98). It can be said that the center complex composed with the fortress with the Sultans palace, the actual town center with the Friday mosque and the bazaar section (Tankut, 2007: 54). Although the Seljuk city exposes many focal points; such as the castle, the Friday mosque, the market area, a number of public structures or groupings of public structures, it lacks the strong center, even though there is one major bazaar section. The weakness of a center and too many focal points and in small Seljuk cities might have affected the indefiniteness of the city (Tankut, 2007: 30-33). Since binding element like the town square is missing, the town center can not represent an architectural entity to hold the urban structure together. The non-incorporated street system also affected this situation. In Seljuk cities, all openings are small and of irregular shape and an architecturally organized town square does not exist (Tankut, 2007: 49-50). In addition to all these reason, it must be remembered that the public interest is a relevant point of view in the medieval Anatolian town (Tankut, 2007: 56).

The medieval Anatolian community has a central area with all the other complementary elements such as hans, hamams, bedestans etc. that develops around the Friday mosque and the bazaar section. In contrast to the elaborate cathedral, with the respective plaza in front of the European medieval town, the Friday mosque is not the most impressive building in the most Seljuk cities. In addition to that, all public structures of the central area are built without generating an over all order,

neither being integrated within the geometry of the street layout. This situation is connected with the missing town square. Generally, the Seljuk city has a single bazaar area. The commercial uses at neighborhood level are not developed too much and they can not be sub-centers. In any case, it will not be incorrect to say that as defined in a classical way town center does not exist in the Seljuk town (Tankut, 2007: 58-62).

The Seljuk towns have uninviting exterior spaces, which are definitely not meant to attract attention. Moreover, it can be said that the exterior space of the Seljuk town is really a left over area between the volumes. This negligence can be explained with the Seljuk traditional character of the introvert social attitude. According to Tankut the Seljuks do not seem to have the habit of frequenting a plaza or spending the whole day in it since they live in an inner world. Seljuk citizens prefer to be indoors in the city that can be explained with their life style that is regulated by religious rituals; or they have had enough mass movements. As opposed to the antique citizens, undertaking all of important civic affairs in the Agora under the Stoas, the Seljuk citizen are originally men of great open air, fighting or migrating over (Tankut, 2007: 63). Tankut draw the picture as following:

“...Especially when we think that everybody identifies himself with one neighborhood, the open space on this scale, along with the blind alley becomes the respective civic center...” (Tankut, 2007: 64).

It can be said that the market and the neighborhood unit are two elements of the Seljuk city that act as the perfect arena for social life. Moreover, a mosque plaza does not exist either, as a gathering place in Seljuk cities. Therefore, the mosque is equipped with a spacious court in its own structure and this court, interior of the mosque, is the actual forum of the Muslim city. On the other hand in Seljuk cities the examples of Friday mosques can be seen with and without courtyard (Tankut, 2007: 63-64).

In most of the Seljuk cities, the inner city is built between wars and in an insecure political atmosphere for an elaborate major space formation. After the wars, the

organization of the Charitable Foundations⁴ builds grand public structures, very much socially minded, in front of the outer city gates. However, it can be said that the architecturally modified exterior space have not been favored by the Seljuks, even in the case of specific building complexes called the “Külliyeh”⁵. As a Seljuk innovation, the Külliye produces its most elaborate examples during the Ottoman era whereby exterior space acquires clarity, order and strength (Tankut, 2007: 65-71).

Daily rituals require daily visits to the small mosque combined with a foundation that could be surrounded by one or two shops, perhaps a workshop for a certain craft. Even though its shapelessness, the open area of the mescit is an area for social gatherings for the playing children and chatting women. On the other hand, fountain as an only source of water supply that is next to the mescit, competes with the mosque in terms of the center of gravity (Tankut, 2007: 97).

Like the other Muslim towns, the Seljuk city does favor small scale, controllable, measurable and identifiable concentration of social activities. The courtyards of the public structures and the streets of the bazaar areas have the capacity to hold the adult male population. However the purpose of coming together is different than the Greco Roman era, it is not manifest, demonstrate or discuss public matters. They are secondary contact areas that are providing opportunities for social gatherings at the scale of the urban cluster, as the neighborhood square, or the cul-de-sacs. Therefore it is possible to develop a hierarchy of contact areas.

“...First comes, the central space in the house, a meeting and distribution area for domestic affairs, then the dead-end, the small and irregular neighborhood opening, the narrow streets of the bazaar and the individual courtyards of the super structures, finally the interior of the Ulucami.” (Tankut, 2007: 98)

⁴ The Seljuks bring novelties into the Anatolian administration, such as the institution of the Charitable Foundations; a most important self functioning organization, with the aim of protecting and promoting the social life in cities.

⁵ The grouping of certain public structures with complementary social functions into an “ensebmlle” is called “Külliyeh”. By definition it is the composition of at least three structures, all important specimen of Seljuk Architecture.

The physical shapelessness of the Seljuk city can be seen as the reflection of the undefined nature of social functions and activities. However, the disorderly growth pattern and the so-called organic street layout are well-suited within the formless urban structure. Moreover, the underlined closed urban system and the introvert Seljuk way of life shows a perfect harmony. The market and the neighborhood unit are two elements of the Seljuk city that act as the perfect arena for social life.

According to Tankut the roots of Turkish urban pattern lie in the Seljuk city. However in many regards, the Seljuk city is a special case that neither qualifies as a typical pre-industrial town, nor a perfect example of the Muslim city (Tankut, 2007: 121-122). Impact of Islam, Byzantine heritage, rudimentary stage of town planning and the echo of the pre-islamic legacy can be counted as the factors that gives intermingle to the Seljuk city. As a result, it can be said that the urban exterior space tradition evolves from the antique order into the Renaissance discipline in Anatolian city. However in this process the picturesque medieval plaza stage is omitted (Tankut, 2007: 72).

2.3.4 Ottoman Cities and Public Spaces

While Turks were founding their cities in Anatolia, they did not take for granted the Hellenistic and Byzantine period urban fabrics. Since their life style allowing introvert living and disorganization in the natural sense, is perpetually repeated in the old urban fabrics. The same scheme is seen on the slopes as well as in the plains. In the mean time, the dead-end street concept comes up in various ways. As a settlement unit of the old Turkish cities, the neighborhoods were the basis of the social organization notions of the Ottomans. And they maintained the same organization principles until the early 20th century (Aru, 1996:329-330).

According to Çadırcı (1996), neighborhood is generally understood as an area that contains a mosque, large or small, that possesses one or more streets and whose boundaries are not strictly fixed, when the word is mentioned in relation to Anatolian town. Besides, it means a place comprised of houses, inhabitants of that

houses are in a state of social solidarity, where everybody knows everybody else. Moreover, every neighborhood was viewed as a single administrative unit in the administration of Anatolian towns in the Ottoman period. In this concept of neighborhood, the centrality of the neighborhood mosque has been effective. As it is stated by Çadırcı (1996) the imam and the neighborhood notables would take decisions relating to the neighborhood and be effective in the execution of these from the second half of the 16th century to the beginning of the 19th century. Therefore, it can be said that they would act in concert in the name of the neighborhood people.

On the other hand, within a determined social framework, each neighborhood provided an orderly life to its inhabitants. Moreover, each neighborhood had characteristics of its own and every neighborhood provided an orderly life to its inhabitants. The inhabitants were of different professions and social classes. The centre of neighborhood was identified by a mosque, shops, tea houses, a library, a madrasah, a soup-kitchen etc. Some of these structures were donated by a rich believer (Aru, 1996:330). As it is stated by Tankut (2007) tradition of the lack of a central market square goes back to the Byzantine city. According to Kirsten (1958), within the city walls in the Byzantine city, no provision for an open market square, out of security reasons it is pushed beyond the city walls. Moreover, a mosque plaza does not exist either, as a gathering place. Therefore, the mosque is equipped with a spacious court in its own structure and this court, interior of the mosque, is the actual forum of the Muslim city (Tankut, 2007: 63-64).

The Ottoman urban space organization represents an introverted type of space organization. The courtyard was a form of open-air and protected inner space and it was a basic element or building form in the architectural order of the Ottoman urban space organization. It was used in külliyes, houses, palaces, barracks, briefly in every kind of built environment (Yeşilkaya, 2003: 45-46). A külliye as squares of the Ottoman city, was always located according to the street pattern it's around. The gates of the courtyard mostly corresponded to the existing streets or the gates generated new streets connected to the courtyard. Therefore, streets continued

through the gates and crossed the courtyard and reached to the other of the city. Ataman (2000) claims that in Ottoman cities each neighborhood had a square that is the courtyard of külliyes (Ataman, 2000:50-55; cited in Yeşilkaya, 2003: 51-52).

In the Ottoman tradition, a külliye of vakıf was a private authority in the service of public interest.⁶ According to Madran, Vakıf was one of the main financial sources that meet the expenditures of the buildings activities in the Ottoman State. The continuity of Vakıf was sustained by the benefits it gained through its services. The incomes of Vakıfs can be categorized into three groups as lands, buildings and cash money. The activities of vakıfs were not only religious, but they also included marketing, meeting, etc. (Madran, 2004: 63-67).

The mosque as a central element of a composition is surrounded by an exterior courtyard. It is framed by the uniform lines of medrese buildings and others. In this enclosed courtyard the harim of a mosque found its architectural form. It can be described as a three dimensional volume delimited by buildings. Ottomans defined the harim as the area of a mosque with an exterior courtyard that usually surrounded by other buildings of külliyes, in architectural form.

The courtyard the harim of a mosque is a religiously sacred space. Moreover, it is a necessary void contributes to the monumentality of the mosque as a buffer zone that protects the mosque from outside influences. Although the courtyard of the mosque defined as buffer zone, it was not an isolated space in social terms. An exterior courtyard of a mosque is a central space for daily life of the city that is an important meeting point in a city. This should be case of Hacı Bayram Mosque, which was located in to the historical city center of Ankara, the exterior courtyard always crowded during the day. The courtyards of the mosques are the places dear not only to adults, but also for children, for street peddlers and beggars.

As it is stated by Ataman (2000) the courtyard creates a transition from the inner world to the outer world. Thus, one needs first to enter the courtyard then reaches to revak and finally to the rooms. In other words, even though buildings (madrasah or

⁶ About the role of vakıf for public services and public space see Emre Madran, 2004, p.63-67.

houses) were located on the street, they were not directly accessible from streets. Ataman describes the transition from public to the private through the courtyard. (Ataman 2000: 30; cited on Yeşilkaya, 2003: 51-52).

Ottoman külliyes mostly defined rectangular forms in outdoor spaces. In Ottoman complexes square is not a part of the city but the part of the body of the complex itself. Although in the western examples, the square is outlined by the surrounding private buildings of the city, in Ottoman cities, public spaces, a street or a square, does not define with row of houses. The reason why residences do not have a shaping role for the open areas can be explained with the respect for privacy and distinctive characteristics of the public and private realms (Yeşilkaya, 2003: 60-61).

In architectural terminology the words of square, *platz*, *piazza*, *plaza*, *place*, *parvis* have already different connotations from each other. In this point of view, it is difficult to translate *meydan* into English square as a name of a particular urban space. Therefore prior to our discussion of *meydan*, square as it is used in the western architectural and urban discourse was elucidated. As it is stated by Yeşilkaya (2003) parallel to the distinction between ecclesiastical and secular authority, Sitte (1965) categorized the squares in Italy: i.e. the cathedral square, the Signoria, and the market place:

“As a result, there developed as independent types the cathedral square (usually including baptistery, campanile, and bishop’s palace), the secular main square (the Signoria) and, besides these two, the Mercato. The Signoria functions as a forecourt for the princely residences and in addition, is surrounded with palaces of local grandees and embellished with historic memorials and monuments. Frequently one finds a loggia for the bodyguards or municipal guards developed architecturally in some fashion or other, and combined with it or set up separately, an elevated trace for promulgation of laws and for public announcements. We see the most handsome example of this in the Loggia dei lanzi in Florence. In the marketplace there stands, almost without exception, the town hall- an arrangement which can also be observed in all towns north of the Alps. A foundation with its basin, as grand as the means will allow, is also never missing here; it often still exists today as the “market foundation” although the gay activities of vending have

long since been shut up in the glass- and- iron bird cage of market hall.” (Sitte, 1889: 49)

In J.B. Jackson’s words an ideal public square is:

“As we might expect, the ideal public square in the political landscape has a strong architectural quality. It occupies the most prestigious location in the principal town and is surrounded by politically significant buildings: law court, archives, treasury, legislative hall, and often military headquarters and jail as well. The space itself is adorned with statues of local heroes and divinities, monuments to important historic events. All important ceremonies are enacted here. Typical of the political emphasis on boundaries, the area is well defined by markers and has its own laws and its own officers. Finally, it is here the agora of forum that history is made visible and where speech becomes a political instrument, eloquence a form of political action.” (Jackson, 1984:120; cited in Yeşilkaya, 2003: 61-62)

As a result of these definitions of square in western term, it can be said that the definition of *meydan* and its connotations are different from that of the square. Although, as a name of a place *meydan* has the meaning of open space, public space, square, the term *meydan* is not always used in the sense of an organized planned urban space, as in the case of the western term of square (Yeşilkaya, 2003: 63). As it is stated by Yeşilkaya, *meydan* assumes several connotations in addition to its spatial meaning.

“In Turkish, the word of meydan means occasion, opportunity (meydan bırakmak), to suggest, bring up (meydana atmak), to make public, to expose (meydana çıkarmak), to appear or to emerge (meydana çıkmak), to be accomplished (meydana gelmek), to achieve (meydana getirmek), to create (meydana koymak) and so on.” (Pars, 1982: 1931; cited in Yeşilkaya, 2003: 62)

Although each *meydan*, as a name of a place, is not necessarily a public space, since it also includes the meaning of area or ground, *meydan* suggests publicity in the etymology of the word. Yeşilkaya (2003) gives an example to explain this situation about Ok Meydanı (Archery Ground) in İstanbul. According to her, although Ok was named with the word of *meydan*, it was a controlled exercise ground, where

people were not allowed to enter except for some special occasions (Yeşilkaya, 2003: 62). Another example about Basra that is a very early Islamic city where the square (*meydan*) was separating two different tribes, a place for horses and a graveyard. According to Yeşilkaya in this example, instead of grouping, square was for separating- an empty space of horses and graveyards. As it is stated by Ergin (1995), Hz. Ömer ordered to plan the new city wide streets and a square with a mosque in the middle of it, like squares in western sense (Ergin, 1995: 201; cited in Yeşilkaya, 2003: 63).

The meaning of the word of *meydan* is discussed by Yerasimos who compares it to the words of *piazza* and *campo*. As it is stated by him, the words of *piazza* and *campo* also differentiate two different functions of squares in Italian language. Although, *Piazza* is a closed area defined by highly decorated surrounding buildings of the affluent groups of the city and an area of meeting of people; *campo* is an open area or an empty space. Hence, *piazza* can be defined as a dialogue space between the power and the people. According to him, *meydan* does not correspond to a *piazza* but a *campo* since the surrounding of a *campo* has not a detailed facade, as the expression of wealth, but a wall. According to Yerasimos, At *Meydanı* in İstanbul is a *campo*, which is next to the castle of the authority (Yeşilkaya, 2003: 63).

Although some comments about the Islamic open area interpret them as a civic plaza similar to those of Europe (Webb, 1990: 24), generally in Western point of view rectangular open areas within the complex of a mosque or madrasah are not compatible with European squares. They were regarded as having never a spatial configuration (Zucker, 1996: 93). However, according to Webb, the Isfahan *Meydanı* is regarded as an example of civic space. Moreover, it is thought to be very similar to western examples as it was created entirely for the order of a ruler like 17th centuries Rome self-glorification (Webb, 1990: 25).

As a result, since open spaces in Ottoman cities were generally not designed and organized according to a plan, they were not mostly accepted as a part of designed

urban entity as in European cities. Mostly they were designed and organized according to supplied free area. As an example of Ottoman cities, Kuban defines the characteristics of meydan in the pre-industrial İstanbul as following:

“Meydan always remained any open area broader than a street, but except for the outer courtyard of Fatih, not an organized urban space” (Kuban, 1996: 368).

In Ottoman era the shaded outdoor extension of the coffee house that is equipped with foundation and other auxiliary uses, is integrated with the mosque plaza. However, there is not any information whether coffee shops existed in the major center or not in the Seljuk cities. This situation gives information about outdoor amenities and outdoor leisure habits in the town center of the Ottoman and Seljuk cities (Tankut, 2007: 63).

Consequently, it can be said that due to the dominancy of the self-sufficient neighborhood scale, no precise places were developed at the city center scale. As a result daily social life in Ottoman cities was taking place in front of the neighborhood fountain, in the herbalist’s shop (aktar), in the small mosque or the Quaran schools and within the dead-end streets of the neighborhood. Although the Western cities of the same centuries have squares or public parks for social interaction and communication, Ottoman cities did not have.

2.3.5 Public Spaces of Turkish Republic in the case of Ankara

2.3.5.1 Public Spaces of Ankara before 1920s

Although the literature on the public spaces of Ankara before the Republican era is quite limited, it is clear that places within that the social life took place before the Republican era were commercial and business places like *bedesten*, *han*, *pazar* and *çarşı*. Moreover, mosques and Turkish baths served as public spaces that were the places where people gathered. On the other hand, as it is stated by Uludağ (1998) before the Republican era vineyards and orchards were used in Ankara. The Millet

Parkı in front of the first parliament building in Ulus was the only park in the town. However until the establishment of the Republic, Ankara did not have public places where women and men exist together (Uludağ, 1998). It is known that, the balance between public and private was in favor of the private realm in the Ottoman period and Islamic rule had great effect on this situation. As it is mentioned before, the Muslim population of Ottoman cities identified themselves firstly with being a Muslim, then with being a member of the Ottoman Empire and lastly with their neighborhoods. Therefore, no precise places were developed at the city center scale for social interaction and communication like squares or public parks. Thus, Ottoman cities were prevented to gain a physical form and the development of an urban society. Although, this development lacking the aims of bringing the urban inhabitants together, providing communication channels and ensuring socialization, squares were introduced in some Ottoman cities beginning from 18th century (Tankut, 1993).

2.3.5.2 Public Spaces of Ankara after 1920s

In the new Turkish Republic, efforts in the way to become a nation-state went hand in hand with a modernity project. According to Sargin (2002), modernity project tried to form a new socio-cultural life and which found its reflections in the development of the public spaces of Ankara. Therefore, in the early years of the Republic there was a considerable amount of interest for the development of public spaces in Ankara. The introduction of the Güven Anıtı and the park around it, which together formed Kızılay Square, in 1934 in Yenışehir was one of the most essential developments. Moreover, Gençlik Parkı, Hacettepe Parkı, Hippodrome and the stadium as places of recreation and sports were developed as proposed in Jansen's plan between 1932 and 1950 (Altaban, 1987; Altaban, 1998; Batuman, 2002). Concerning the public spaces of Ankara, the opening of Gençlik Parkı in 1943 can be regarded as the biggest development. Gençlik Parkı proposed in Jansen's plan through the request of administrators. As it is stated by Uludağ (1998), public spaces were needed to create a modern urban life and the modern Turkish citizen. Since, it brought different people together without any exclusion depending upon gender,

status and ethnic origin. Gençlik Parkı with its strategic location was developed with this aim in mind. Ankara had a public space which could be used by a wider population with quite different purposes by the introduction of Gençlik Parkı. The park was placed somewhere between the old and the new city centers and this locational preference of the park can be seen as an effort to integrate the old and the new city, to bring modern values to the traditional one (Uludağ, 1998).

The period between 1950 and 1980 witnessed the growth and expansion of Ankara. However, the development of public spaces did not seem to be in parallel with this growth. According to the research⁷ was conducted in 1970, only 5% of the ideal green space amount existed in Ankara. It is clear that the city lacked green spaces and cultural and entertainment facilities (Altaban, 1998). On the other hand, the city center of Kızılay developed as the second Central Business District (CBD) with diverse services and activities at that period. Although, Kızılay were mainly used by the new bourgeois, middle and high-income groups in the previous period (1923-1950), it had become accessible also for low income groups settling at the peripheries of the city beginning from the early years of 1950s. Kızılay began to serve as an essential public space where different social groups mix and interact (Batuman, 2002). However, the destruction of public spaces of Kızılay was apparent by the end of 1970s. In 1979, Kızılay Parkı was completely vanished together with the historical Kızılay building. After its destruction that began to be used as a car parking area. Moreover, a considerable part of Güven Parkı became to be used as the station for buses and dolmushes (Batuman, 2002). On the other hand, there were efforts for creating pedestrianized streets in Kızılay. In the context of the Project of Pedestrian Areas for Kızılay, Sakarya Street and environs was introduced as a pedestrianized area in 1978 (Tunç, 2003). As a result concerning the development and enhancement of public spaces the period between 1950 and 1980, it can be said that realized is quite inadequate for a growing metropolitan city. On the other hand, this is an essential reason for the developments taking place in the following period by public authorities.

⁷ Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Bureau conducted this research.

In the first years of 1980s, the development of pedestrianized areas in the city center of Kızılay continued. İzmir and Yüksel Streets were decided to be pedestrianized and the decision was implemented in the first half of 1980s (Tunç, 2003). According to Tunç, Yüksel Street Pedestrian Area is also the site of power and domination. Therefore, after the military coup in 1980, the political and social meaning and identity that Güven Parkı and Kızılay Square gained was tried to be suppressed. In this sense, these three projects were proposed for the reconstruction of Kızılay Square and Güven Parkı. First one was the Güven Parkı Renewal Project proposing rearrangements for the park and a shopping center but through the resistance of people and Non Governmental Organization's was hindered. According to Batuman, this project would lead to the destruction of the collective memory and modernist meanings encoded in the park (Batuman, 2002). The construction of the new Kızılay building was the second project. This one was implemented and, today there is a fourteen-storey, huge building which is not coherent with its environs in terms of scale. And with the last project, Kızılay Square was transformed into an underground shopping place at the intersection point of metro and Ankaray lines. This central underground station can be seen as the most controlled and secured place within the city center of Kızılay and it is of the examples of increased surveillance and control of public spaces (Batuman, 2002).

In 1996, the amount of active green space per urban inhabitant was 1.8 m² and that is highly below the proposed amount of 7 m² according to Reconstruction Law numbered 3194. Active green spaces are defined as places which serve entertainment and recreation purposes and kinder gardens, sports and play areas, neighborhood, district and urban parks in the plan report of unapproved 2025 Metropolitan Area Master Plan. It is clear that active green spaces are essential public spaces in order to fulfill social and recreational needs of urbanites (Tunç, 2003).

One of the reasons behind the increasing use of shopping centers as meeting places where many people are attracted must be the insufficiencies of public spaces of Ankara. It can be easily observed the activities that are held in those shopping

centers, use the attractiveness of leisure and entertainment activities to a great extent. On the other hand, those shopping centers have a transformative role in the use and meaning of public space. Since, many people come together in shopping centers and appear them as alternatives to existing public spaces. Besides, due to inadequate amounts, low environmental quality, decreasing security and the underestimation of pedestrian element, existing public spaces are losing their vitality and viability. Moreover, shopping centers are influential elements within social and spatial structures of urban areas and they have become powerful alternatives to existing public spaces (Tunç, 2003).

CHAPTER 3

GENERAL HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

Ankara has about 3000-years of history and during this time Hattic, Hittite, Phrygian, Lycian, Achaemenid Persian, Hellenistic Seleucid, Galatian, Roman, Byzantine, Arab, Seljuk, Ottoman and Turkish civilization occupied the city. The name of the city was known as Anküra, Ankira, Ancyr, Ancyra, Ankura, Ankriya, Angur, Enguru, Engürü, Engüriye, Angara, Angorah and finally in 17th century as Ankara. As the name of the city, the morphology of the city changed regarding the cultures of the society modified the morphology of the city in every period (Erzen, 1946: 15-28).

In this part of the study a historical development of social and spatial structure of Ankara before and after the establishment of Turkish Republic is presented. Development of the city after the establishment of Turkish Republic will be investigated with reference to planning activities. In this chapter Conservation Oriented Planning Studies will also be questioned. Lastly, historical artifacts of Ankara included the Temple of Augustus and the Hacı Bayram Mosque will be held.

3.1 General Historical Development of Social and Spatial Structure-From the Beginning Until The Establishment of The Turkish Republic

Ankara is one of the earliest cities of Anatolia dating back to 3000 BC. The city had always been an important settlement from its earliest times since the city at the outskirts of old volcanic hill, was both easy to defend, and strategically was easily watching for and controlling the main road passing by. The city was settled at the

side of the plain at the north. Although, the plain was smaller when compared with the others of which the Anatolian cities were settled aside, it was near to the intersection point of three branches of Ankara Çayı; Hatip Suyu, İncesu and Çubuk Suyu (Aktüre, 1981:110).

According to Erzen (1946), there was a settlement in the area of old Ankara that dates back to prehistoric times. It is argued that there are layers under the inner castle, which could prove the existence of a settlement that belongs to Hittite period (4000-1200 BC). Although today no complete structure remains in the city from the pre-Roman period, Herodotos writes that the famous Kings' Road was passing through Ankara in Phrygian period. Moreover, Roman sources mention that there as a pre-existing city on the site of Ankara that belonged to Phrygia. Remains of the settlements in the area around the castle and around the Temple of Augustus, which were found through archeological studies, prove the occupancy of Phrygian (Bakırer, 2001:174).

3.1.1 Historical Artifacts of the City of Ankara

There are building fragments in Ankara that belong to different civilizations that occupied the city starting from the pre-Roman periods. It is possible to suggest a list of urban artifacts by following historical studies about Ankara. Although, some of these architectural elements stand as structures and it is easy to observe them, there are some others like tumuli that are almost unrecognizable to public eye. Tumuli, building remains from Galatian and Roman periods, mosques, zaviyes and hans that were built in the Seljuks and Ottoman periods, and the monuments built after the establishment of the Republic can be counted as the most important ones among these architectural elements.⁸ As it is stated by Karababa (2002) Aldo Rossi has a suggestion to categorize historical buildings according to their active participation in the social life of a city also marks the important elements. The other category for

⁸ Theoretically, the relation of historical buildings with the continuation of the cultural identity is the criteria. Since, it signs the engagement of historical buildings with the city life. Buildings and monuments that still keep their original intended function are considered as a part of the collective memory of a city. In Ankara the buildings and monuments of the Republican period are the most visible examples of these.

historical buildings that participate in social life is related to religious practices. Mosques like all other religious buildings are meant to stay forever since permanency is in the nature of the religion. In Ankara, many historically important mosques and tombs still revered by the society. Especially Ahi mosques mark an important period of the history of the city and in addition to them the Hacıbayram mosque is distinguished as one of the most commemorated places in the city.

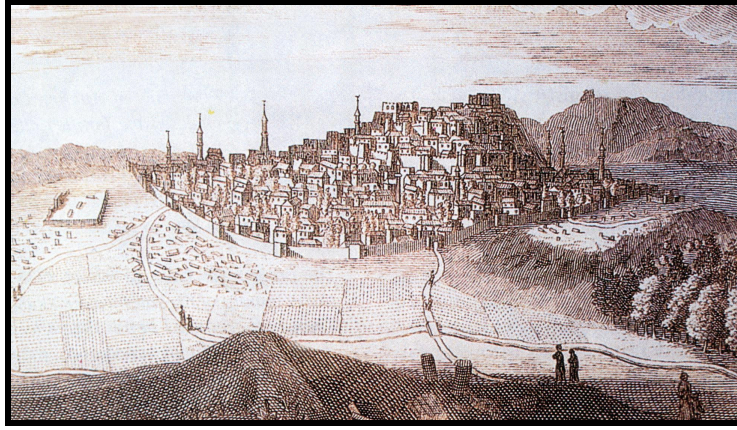


Figure 3. 1 The City of Ankara by Pitton de Tournefort in 1717
(Source: Baykan Günay).

However, neither the climatic conditions were appropriate nor water sources adequate for the agriculture in Ankara. There existed only gardens in small scale at river side apart from cereal agriculture. Therefore during Seljuks and then Ottoman Period, big foundations, great building groups, huge mosques and medreses could not be constructed without such an important income. According to Aktüre, when the Turkish Period religious buildings are studied today's so called mosques were the mescits of the second class of their period (Aktüre, 1981:111-112). According to Evliya Çelebi's notes there were seventy-six mosques in the city and Hacıbayram Mosque was the most revered ones in the 16th century. Besides the Hacıbayram Mosque there are many historically important mosques from the Seljuk and Ottoman periods in Ankara. Other than the Hacıbayram Mosque and Cenabi Ahmet Paşa Mosque that associated with important personalities, Ahi Mosques are also known

as significant historical artifacts. As it was stated by Madran (2001), Georges Perrot mentioned that the mosque of Ahi Şerafeddin (Arslanhane) Mosque, Ahi Mescidi, and Ahi Elvan Camii are other important mosques from Ahi period (Madran, 2001:161).

On the other hand, the place of unintentional historical monuments in the collective memory is debatable. Since they have lost their intended functions and valued. They are rather valued in relation with the history writing policies of the society. In the case of Ankara the relation of the society with the artifacts that belongs to the Phrygian period, tumuli or fragments found around the castle and temples, are nor as clear as the relation of the society with the monuments of the republic (Karababa 2002). However, although the castle has also lost its original function, still the most visible artifact in the city. As described by Jansen (1937) in his report, the symbolic meaning of the castle due to both its role in the transformation of the city and its aesthetic contribution to the skyline of the city as an important landmark. According to Jansen (1937:18):

“The castle remains as the crown of the city. The restoration and the maintenance of this national monument are going to support and enforce the spirit of Anatolia.”



Figure 3. 2 The City of Ankara by Flemish painter J.B. van Mour in 18th century
(Source: Baykan Günay).

Although the history of the castle is as old as the history of the city, the castle took its contemporary form during the continuous attacks first by the Sasanids then by Arabs in the mid-7th century. According to Karababa (2002) many projects of the Republican period confirm the symbolic representation of the castle such as Anıtkabir, Güven Anıtı etc. A similar attitude can be seen in the project for the Hacıbayram Square. The castle is framed with architectural elements to underline the visual contact with the castle and make it an element of vista from the terraces and the square.

The engagement of other historically important buildings is not as clear as the relation of the castle to the rest of the city. However, they are diligently protected and maintained by the state as a sign of the modernization ideals of the Republic. On the other hand, it must be aimed to increase the public engagement with these historical artifacts as a state policy that is seen as a very important sign of the enlightenment of the society.

3.1.2 The Hacıbayram Area in Ankara

Hacıbayram District has been the Acropolis of Ankara starting from 8th century BC. Since the sacred places of Christian and Muslim people were built on top of the area. In the 3rd century BC, when the Anatolian peninsula was conquered by Romans, this region called “Galatia” became a province and Ankara became the centre of this province. In this period, Augustus Temple that is the most important piece of the area was constructed in 2nd century BC (Akurgal, 1993:18, Gülekli, 1949: 80; cited in Çağlayan, 1999: 75). According to Aktüre, in this period, the city spread out of the citadel towards the foot of the hill, which was also the administrative center of the region. The newly settled quarters were surrounded by an outer city wall and many huge public buildings were constructed, which would mark the beginning of a prosperous period for the city. The temple of Augustus was built by Galats in the 2nd century BC in Ionic style (Aktüre, 1981:110, Ankara Kalesi Koruma Geliştirme İmar Planı Projesi, 1987: 8).

The center of the city, in the Roman period, formed a crescent on the northwest of the castle on the south of the curve of Hatip Çayı that surrounds The Temple of Augustus, the Roman Baths, Palaestra and the colonnaded road, the most important buildings of the city. The traces of the Roman city, the temple of Augustus, the Roman baths and the theater, are still clearly seen in the city today (Erzen, 1946: 54-60).

In the Byzantine Period, Ankara continued it was still an important settlement since it was at the intersection of main routes. Although the city started to lose its importance during the dissolution period of the Byzantine Empire, it has once again become a significant center after the conquest of Seljuks at 11th (Aktüre, 1981; Bakırcı, 1998). According to Akçura (1992), 14th century buildings like Ahi Tura Mosque and fountain, Şeyh İzzettin Mosque and Tomb, Balaban Mosque, Ahi Yakup Mosque proves the first settling date of the Hacıbayram District.

Ankara was one of the Ahi centers played an important role in the development of its commercial functions (Ankara Kalesi Koruma Geliştirme İmar Planı Projesi, 1987: 8). Before the Ottomans took the city in 1354, the city was captured by the Ilhanlıs and was governed by Ahi-leaders. The Ahi tradition had its roots in the Turkish cities of Central Asia like Buhara, Semerkant, Taskent, Belh and Merv from where craftsmen and local tradesmen immigrated to Anatolia at the beginning of the 13th century. Turks started to be organized socially and economically by these craftsmen and tradesmen who formed Ahi organizations, and settled in towns. The Ahi organization, its social and economic policies supported the settled life of the Turks in Anatolia, and left important traces in social and physical organization of Anatolian cities. Therefore, Ahilik was central within the process of establishment of Turkish cultural identity in many cities and towns in Anatolia. Ankara was one of the cities where the Ahi organization⁹ was well established (Aktüre, 2000:17).

⁹ Regarding the principles of the Ahi system, futuuvvet, is accepted as the regulatory basis. Futuuvvet was established for controlling the young population and encouraging them to get integrated in the social life in the Islamic society by Abbasi administration. Moreover, it is also stressed that a good Muslim should minimize his/her earthly desires in order to increase the love for God. The system was supported politically as a remedy to social problems that caused by unqualified young population at the very early periods of Islam. Since the Ahi organization shared the same resolution with the central government to create a stable and strong society, the Seljuks and Ottoman administration supported

After Seljuks, Ottomans have settled down in the city. In 1427-1428, before the death of Hacı Bayram Veli, Hacı Bayram Veli Mosque has been constructed, near the temple of the Augustus, when half of it collapsed. And the Hacıbayram District continued its importance as a cult space of Ankara. After the construction of the Mosque, the Tomb of Hacı Bayram-ı Veli was built in 1430 at the south side of the mosque. There is not any document about its architect but according to Aktüre (1981) after its construction, Mosque has been restored three times since 18th century. And then its importance as a cult space of Ankara has been continued.

In the early days of Turkish Republic, Herman Jansen prepared a design, a small triangle-shaped square, for Hacıbayram in 1928. Design of Hacıbayram was alike other mosque-square designs that were prepared by Jansen for Ankara. On the other hand, Hacıbayram Mosque, along with the August Temple presents a different level of importance among the other mosques. However, the design of Jansen was not successfully followed by later planning and implementation efforts. As a result, the square in front of Hacıbayram Veli Mosque was expanded in an undefined way and utilized as a car park (Şiranlı, 1999). As it is stated by Şiranlı (1999) the social and physical environs of the area started to become one of the slums of the city as a result of the poor planning activities on the historical layout, illegal developments, increasingly developing commercial activity and pressure of the environmental problems on the area, ownership problems, (i.e. parking problem). Today although the Hacıbayram Veli Mosque and its environs represent a social and physical confusion, the area is a religious, historical, cultural and touristic sub-center of Ankara. The area is still one of the most important cultural foci of the city with its visiting sites for religious worship, funeral and before pilgrimage, shortly the show-window of the city.

3.1.3 The Temple of Augustus & the Mosque of Hacıbayram

Even if they do not address any message to the contemporary society, the appreciation of historical artifacts is related with the emergence of modern history understanding. The role of the Roman artifacts can be related with the modernization ideals of the Republic in the collective memory of the contemporary Turkish

society. The historical value of a monument represents a significant moment in the linear development of the humanity and becomes critical through the perspective of modernism. Therefore, the Roman artifacts of Ankara are perceived as important monuments for the humanistic ideals of the Republic. Although Roman artifacts lost their original mission, they are valued for the historical information they carry (Karababa, 2002).

Although there were many temples that served to different people having cultural backgrounds in Ankara, only the Temple of Augustus remained to the present day. The persistency of the temple should be effective in the continuous use of it and its site for religious purposes (Buluç, 1994:26). The Temple of Augustus has a particular place as it witnessed the continuity of urban history of the city. On the other hand, the Temple of Augustus has a better chance to be observed by citizens since it stands attached to the Hacıbayram Mosque.

The hilltop where the Temple of Augustus is located was an acropolis in the ancient times (Akurgal, 1994:35). Moreover, the archeological remains, found in 1929 at the base of the Temple of Augustus, prove the existence of a Phrygian temple on the site (Buluç, 1994:27). The orientation of the Temple also supports the idea that there had been another temple on the site, which might have belonged to the Hellenistic period (Güven, 1994:35). Since the Temple of Augustus faces west that reminds older Anatolian traditions as opposed to the Roman and Ancient Greek temples that faced east. The existence of a previous temple at the location of the Temple of Augustus interpretable as the religious activities on the site had a continuous history that extends beyond the Roman period.

According to Erzen (1946), the site of the temple became a display ground for political transformation after Galatia became a Roman land. As a part of the Roman policy, the Temple of Augustus was constructed on the site of the Temple for Men and Kybele (Akurgal, 1994:38). Therefore, the Temple of Augustus can be seen as an example of the use of architecture to control and manipulate the society by the increasing authority of the political administration. Güven stresses that the Temple

was introduced to the society as a political reward for their loyalty to the Roman Empire. Moreover, the utilization of an existing temple to construct the new one in the name of Augustus aimed at providing the society with the feeling that Augustus was the successor of their religious life (Güven, 1994: 51-61; Güven, 1998:32-36).¹⁰ As it is mentioned by Güven, Busbecq was the first to recognize the inscription on the walls of the temple. In the mid-16th century Hans Dernschwam provided the earliest graphic and textual record of the temple and the inscription (Güven, 1994:53; Güven, 1998: 34). Most of the visitors of the city described the Temple of Augustus as surrounded by houses. However, until Perrot's visit to the city in 1864 the inscriptions were not fully known (Madran, 2001:169). Today the inscription on the temple of Augustus is being evaluated as direct evidence. Since, it illuminates the politics of construction of history during the Roman period. It was designed for the citizens of Ancyra to internalize, and to remember Augustus' reign. The text that is direct historical information was empowered through the spatial persistency of the temple (Güven, 1998:30).

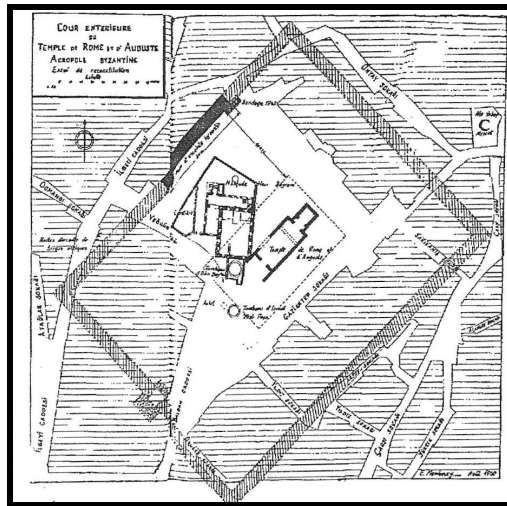


Figure 3. 4 The Temple of Augustus and Hacibayram Mosque
(Karababa, 2006).

¹⁰ According to Güven (1998), the conversion of an existing temple was an explicit message to the citizens of Ancyra. Since an existing temple was dedicated to Men and Kybele converted to new one dedicated to Augustus that associated Augustus' personality with the authority of their older Gods.

After the Christianization of the city, the temple lost its significance as a pagan temple. However, during the Byzantine and Ottoman periods the inscription must have continued to convey a historical meaning to the Greek- speaking citizens. After the Turks captured the city, the temple lost its intention, after the power of the Roman Empire lost its validity and the propagation of the continuity. After the Roman Empire, the Byzantine administration converted the Temple of Augustus to a church in 362. Between 362-364, urban modifications of the Byzantine administration prove the development of Christianity in the city. According to Aktüre, the dominating location of the temple should have influenced this decision of the Byzantine administration (Aktüre, 2000:22). In the Byzantine period, the conversion of pagan temples into churches was a strategic act to convert the citizens to Christianity. After Byzantines converted the Temple of Augustus to a church then Turks converted the temple to a mosque. Then the construction of the Hacibayram mosque attached to the structure of the temple. After the construction of the Hacibayram Mosque, the temple started to be used as a medrese (Buluç, 1994:26). The conversion of the religiously important buildings indicated the changing authorities in the city and similar motivations should have been effective, when the temple was converted to a church then converted to a mosque in the Seljuk period, and then the construction of the Hacibayram mosque attached to the structure of the temple.

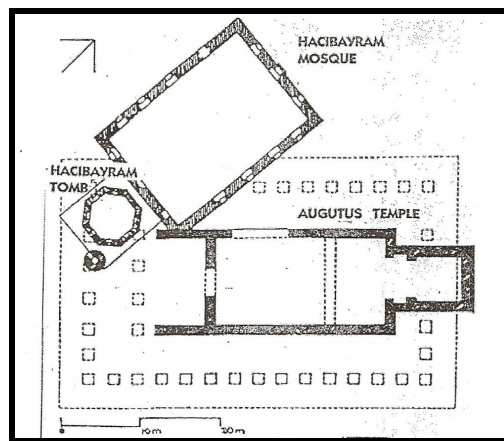


Figure 3. 5 The layout of the Temple of Augustus and Hacibayram Mosque (Karababa, 2006).

As it is stated by Bulu, according to Dernschwam’s notes, the building of the temple, which was used as a medrese and named as Ak madrasah had ten divisions in it for the occupation of dervishes. Therefore, the conversion of the temple to a church and later the conversion of the church into a mosque should have helped the persistency of the structure (Bulu, 1994:27).

Today the survival of the temple, even after the construction of the new mosque built next to it, is presented as something to be proud of for the Turkish society. Although such a temple having strong intentional message that in fact conflicts with the Turk’s existence in the city. It is argued that, although it is speculative, Turk’s did not destroyed the temple proves the tolerance of the Turkish society and Islam vis-à-vis other religions (Karababa, 2002:112).

3.1.3.1 The Temple of Augustus

In 25 BC following Caesar Augustus’ conquest of Galatia, a marble temple was built in Ancyra, the administrative capital of the province. The temple was consecrated to the Emperor and to the Goddess Rome: a Memorial of Augustus and of the Roman hegemony. The temple was adorned with coloured carved letters to glorify his res gestae after Augustus’ death (Botteri, Fangi 2002:84). The researches conducted on Augustus Temple show that the Temple was constructed for fertility goddess and her husband in Galatians Period and the Augustus inscription was attached to the Temple later (News, belleten, 1938: 463, İnan, 1944: 48; cited in ađlayan, 1999: 75). On the other hand, there is another opinion about construction of the temple, which is suggested that Augustus Temple be constructed in the area of Phrygian Temple of Men and Cybele (Bayburtluođlu, 1982: 145; cited in ađlayan, 1999: 75).

The temple of Augustus, mentioned as Monumentum Ancyranum in literature, has an important place in archeological literature of Ankara. Several excavations and soundings were conducted in the vicinity of the Temple. The first investigation was made between the years 1926 and 1928. As a result of works conducted in the

spaces in front of the Temple, it had experienced definite construction periods (Gülekli, 1949:164; cited in Çağlayan, 1999:75).

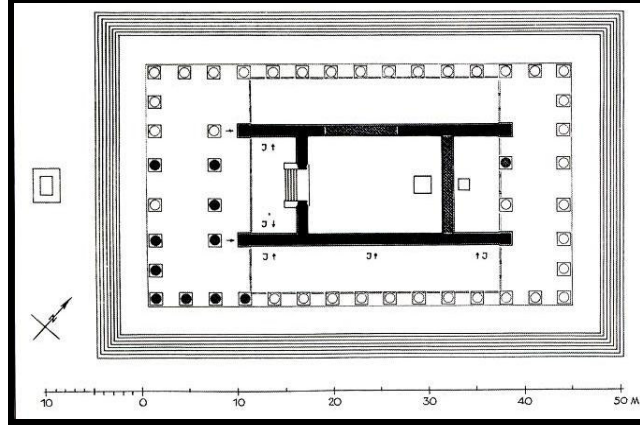


Figure 3. 6 The Temple of Augustus
(Güven, 1998).

The temple of Augustus, mentioned as Monumentum Ancyranum in literature, has an important place in archeological literature of Ankara. Several excavations and soundings were conducted in the vicinity of the Temple. The first investigation was made between the years 1926 and 1928. As a result of works conducted in the spaces in front of the Temple, it had experienced definite construction periods (Gülekli, 1949:164; cited in Çağlayan, 1999:75).

As it is mentioned by Botteri and Fangi (2002) the University of Trieste approved a program of research, named as Ancyra Project, on the temple of Augustus at Ankara in 1997, after the appeal made in the press by Professor Ekrem Akurgal for saving the memory of Augustus.¹¹ As a result of the research project present situation of the Augustus Temple as following:

¹¹ The programme, named as Ancyra Project started in the Department of Classics in the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Trieste. The University has granted three years' financing for the mission, which has been supplemented by a contribution from the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Botteri, Fangi, 2002:85).

“...the Augustan monument is dangerously enclosed in a cage of metal scaffolding, evidence of attempts at restoration going back about fifteen years, while few ruins of the original peristasis are placed lower than the present walkway. The site has been radically changed by the modern urban development. Heavy, concrete paving surrounds the mosque and part of the temple. A modern, busy road flanks the lateral wall of the temple. The building, which bears the exceptional Augustan document, must be saved, whatever the cost. The dramatic deterioration of the engraved marble is threatening this unique historical heritage, which is evidence of the transition from the Republican Age to Principate. These extraordinary inscriptions, cultural heritage of mankind, are undergoing irreversible deterioration caused by pollution, seismic disaster and climatic factors as well as man-made damage.” (Botteri, Fangi 2002:85)

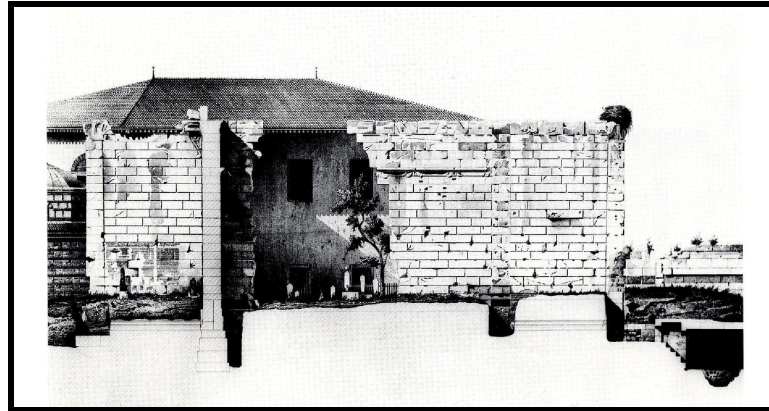


Figure 3. 7 The Temple of Augustus (longitudinal section)
(Güven, 1998).

3.1.3.2 The Hacıbayram Mosque

The Hacıbayram mosque was constructed attached to Temple of Augustus in 1427-1428. After the construction of the Mosque, the Tomb of Hacı Bayram-ı Veli was built in 1429-1430 at the south side of the mosque. The Hacıbayram mosque was restored three times since 18th century and continued the importance as a cult space of Ankara, after its construction in 15th century (Aktüre, 1981). Until 1925¹² the

¹² In 1925 the ordinance that was banned the activities of all zaviyes was issued (Cebecioğlu, 1991:52; cited in Karababa, 2002:122).

mosque continued to work as a religious educational center. Even after the regulation that was banned the activities of all zaviyes was issued, the mosque continued to be one of the highly valued religious centers in Anatolia (Cebecioğlu, 1991:52; cited in Karababa, 2002:122).

The mosque utilizes the hill that emphasizes its importance. It is located on a hilltop and so the mosque and the temple out as a landmark. Especially from the side facing the castle, the mosque located on the northwest of the castle, still dominates its environment. The Hacı Bayram Veli Camii is still one of the most important place of the Islamic worship in Turkey.

3.2 Development with Reference to Planning Activities on Ankara and Ulus after the Establishment of Turkish Republic

In the beginning of 20th century a new nation springs out of the falling Ottoman Empire (Günay, 1988: 20) and the fate of Ankara has changed unexpectedly. The city first became the administrative centre of the National Struggle against foreign invasion by The Open Declaration at 27.12.1919. Then by the acceptance of a law at 13.10.1923, two weeks before the Republic of Turkey was officially proclaimed, Ankara declared that the administrative centre of The Turkish Republic (U.T.K.M. Yarışma Şartnamesi, 1986:26; Yavuz, 1952; cited on Mihçioğlu, 1999). According to Tankut (1993) the history of the Republican period for Ankara should be started with the War of Independence. During the War of Independence, between 1919 and 1922, Ankara was headquarter of the army, the center of the National Assembly behind the battlefield, and an active part of the war providing Turkish army with armor and logistic support.

Ankara lies approximately 200 km. northwest of the geometric center of the newly determined boundaries of the country. This strategic location of the city provided for resistance movement to control and create a front, which is reasonable when the location of İstanbul is considered. The governmental center should not be easily reached by the enemy. Although Ankara was close to the main battlefield, the west of the city was naturally guarded (Günay, 1988: 20; Zürcher, 1993: 220). The other

reason for making Ankara the capital city was due to its being the centre of the Assembly of Representatives. Moreover, the proximity of Ankara to İstanbul, its being linked to the fronts and İstanbul by the railway and was appropriate to direct the general situation could be counted as the other reasons. The modern communication and transportation means, like telegraph and railway were available in Ankara (U.T.K.M. Yarışma Şartnamesi, 1986; Yavuz, 1952; cited on Mihçioğlu, 1999). After Ankara became the capital city of the Turkish Republic on 13 October 1923, population of the city rapidly increased. Its new administrative role added to production, commercial and service functions (Osmançavuşoğlu, 2006:30). Ankara has entered in the stage of planned growth and development since many planning decisions were constituted for the set up of this new capital.

3.2.1 The Relation between the Development Plans and the Historical Urban Site

In the 1932 Jansen Plan developed a preservation policy that designed the Citadel and its environs as a Protocol Area. Jansen aimed to preserve the most of the historical monuments of the city. However, the planning studies realized in the following decades were not as sensitive as the Jansen Plan towards historical sections of the city because of the increase of the population rapidly. Jansen prepared a 1\500 plan for the arrangement of the surroundings of the Hacibayram Mosque, which was renovated twice in the 18th century, and the Temple of Augustus. In 1940, the mosque was renovated by Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü. However, even though the Jansen Plan proposed a square, until 1950's in front of the Hacibayram Mosque and the Temple of Augustus was not cleared (Aktüre, 2000:23).

In order to hand down the social, economic and cultural values of Ankara to future generations and also to conserve those parts of the historical urban sites bearing special characteristics, no adequate legal, technical and financial measure has been taken after the studies of Jansen. As a result of no replacement or renewal has taken place particularly in those areas around Ulus, the historical urban environment of the

city turning into depression areas. For a long period of time no permission has given even though it has been necessary maintenance and improvement efforts of any kind in the old historical site, named as the Protocol Area. Thus these areas become the unhealthiest quarters of the city.

On the other hand according to Mihçiođlu (1996) each plan has brought a change in the ownership pattern. Moreover, the development plans of some older parts of Ankara have been prepared without consideration to such specific characteristics of the historical city such as dead-end streets, little squares and traditional Ankara houses. Besides, some building lot arrangements have been carried out in the environs of Hacıbayram Mosque. The implementation of development plans have been realized in the historical Jewish quarter (İstiklal Mahallesi), the south of Suluhan (Dođanbey and Yeđenbey Mahallesi), the historical commercial area of inns and saddlers, and along the streets of Ulucanlar, Anafartalar and Talatpađa. The area in front of the mosque was cleared with the Yücel-Uybadin Plan in 1957 but the area is visually blocked since the plan proposed a density that allows 6 storey apartment height in the environs.

Although it is not fit in with the traditional architectural structure of the historic sites, the plans related with the determination of the admissible number of stories have introduced legal building profile limits. Then alongside the main streets, four, six and even eight storied buildings have been erected. However, the plans have been put into practice to a great extent alongside these main arteries, these plans could not have been implemented in areas beyond these zones on account of steep natural slopes, the existence of fragmented property and the inability of the people and the public institutions to finance the realization of plan decisions (U.T.K.M. Yarışma Şartnamesi, 1986:10-11).

3.2.2 Conservation Oriented Planning Studies

Hacıbayram Area was considered as an important part of the historic fabric of the city in Jansen's Plan. Moreover the task was relatively easy for Jansen and it was

designed according to the pre-established principles suggested by Sitte. However, today the same area demands much more complicated considerations. Designers face bigger responsibilities since, they are more aware of the social consequences of urban transformations. An architectural study in the Hacıbayram area should understand the social expectations from the built environment that requires serious social inquiry. Moreover, there are very important historical monuments carrying the memories of the first years of the Republic. At this point Ulus gets even more critical importance. Moreover, historical urban artifacts like the Mosque of Hacıbayram and the Temple of Augustus are also located in this section of the city. Since they connect the city with its further past history, the traditional old fabric should be protected.

3.2.2.1 Planning Efforts in Ulus before the Project Competition on Ulus-Historical Center

The old city became a degradation area in Ankara while the new constructions for the capital were being made. Since the historic Ulus district was deprived of any plans and implementations, except that the Jansen's studies. As a result of the lack of maintenance and unhealthy transformation in the use of the residential fabric, the spatial characteristics changed in the area. Moreover, due to the emergence of negative social effects, the symbolic importance and prestige of the historical district loss.

Preservation measures aiming to register the historically significant architecture were issued first in 1964 by the 1\1000 scale plan of Gayri Menkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu (G.E.E.A.Y.K.). This organization, a governmental organization for the protection of historically important architectural heritage and monuments, became the main organization for the preservation and maintenance of historically important architecture in the city. After 1964, in 1972 and 1979 similar efforts were repeated on 1\1000 scale plans. As a result of these studies, special plans were defined as an urban archeological area that banned the demolition of area. Moreover, old residential buildings and monumental urban elements were

registered (U.T.K.M. Yarışma Şartnamesi, 1986: 71). However the deterioration and demolition of the historically important architecture in the city has continued in spite of the government intervention and its plans and organization. This can be seen related with the inefficiencies of those organizations in coping with high speculative demands on urban land and the discord between different governmental organs (Tunçer, 2001:77).

In 1980s in order to create a planning policy for the historical fabric of Ankara, Ankara Şehri İmar Müdürlüğü (ASİM) and The City of Ankara Planning Office cooperated with universities. With this way, planning studies related with the historically important buildings reached to a new phase starting from the 1980s. The Hacıbayram Mosque and its environment were defined as the preservation area with a highest priority by law. As a result preservation and renovation plans were started to be prepared in 1986 (U.T.K.M. Yarışma Şartnamesi, 1986: 71; Tunçer, 2001: 82). Similar to the Jansen' preservation attempt, there was other policy for the traditional fabric of the city in 1986-1987. It was prepared according to the discussions on conservation issues, started in the 1970s (U.T.K.M. Yarışma Şartnamesi, 1986:71).

Since 1983, the Urban Development Planning Department of the Reconstruction Directorate of Ankara City has been exerting efforts towards the preparation of conservation oriented plans. Besides, the Urban Conservation and Development Planning Bureau formed in the mentioned department to collect necessary data for the historical urban site planning through cooperation with all the related institutions in this field. Historical urban sites of Ankara were studied on the conservation plans of Citadel, Hacıbayram and its environs, Çıkrikçılar Yokuşu, Suluhan and its environs within this framework. Hacıbayram II. Conservation Project and the conditions the implementation of the plan has been determined through the cooperation of the students of the Urban Conservation Master Program offered by the Department of City and Regional Planning in METU and the Urban Reconstruction Directorate of Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara. These plans were approved and consulted by the Supreme Board for the Cultural and Natural Properties (Mihçioğlu, 1996:29). As it is stated by Mihçioğlu (1996), Urban

Reconstruction Directorate has carried a study that constituted the background for the competition of Conservation and Development Project of Ulus Historical Centre. On the other hand, since 1983 the preservation and protection plans have been prepared by the City of Ankara Planning Directorate (Ankara Şehri İmar Müdürlüğü-ASİM). As a result of the series of meetings under the administration, that organized among academicians and bureaucrats, projects areas selected and defined in the Old City as the castle of Ankara, Hacıbayram and its environment, Suluhan and its environment, and Çıkırıçılar Yokuşu. The relations among land use, and circulation were studied, and decisions of conservation were shown in these plans (U.T.K.M. Yarışma Şartnamesi, 1986:71-75). In 1985, plans were prepared for the preservation of the Hacıbayram Area. Moreover, it was decided to remove all the buildings that were added to the Hacıbayram Mosque.

3.2.2.2 Ulus Historical Centre Planning Competition Project

The planning studies and investments have focused on the formation and the development of the new Ankara in the development process of Ankara, prohibiting demolition of the historical site. On the other hand, Ulus-the historical centre, has been deprived of any plans and implementations. As a result of this process, especially some regions of old city have turned into “depression” areas. In those regions, the urban function, social groups and also the spatial characteristics have been changed. They have been losing their importance and prestige and getting poorer from social aspect, since low income group works have been replaced. From physical aspect, great deterioration in these areas has risen and unhealthy transformations have occurred since no permission for necessary mending or upgrading has been granted (U.T.K.M. Yarışma Şartnamesi, 1986).

As it is mentioned in Project Competition on Ulus Historical Centre, the studies of Jansen, in 1928, have not been adequate in handing down the social, economic and cultural values in Ankara to future generations in terms of legal, technical and financial concerns. Moreover, the attempts like planning encouragement, financial interventions for renewals and conservations have not been exactly accomplished.

However, in the second part of 20th century the historical city centers bearing architectural, cultural, social characteristics have carefully been conserved and regenerated with renewal, rehabilitation and reconstruction politics, in all over the world. Therefore, these historical areas have become the visually attractive focal points of the contemporary life also and projects developing in the world's historical city centers help to activate the attempts for problem definition in Ankara (U.T.K.M. Yarışma Şartnamesi, 1986).

The primary attempt regarding the problems in Ulus historical centre was in 1983. That was the decision of a planning competition in the historical centre, under the political authority of Motherland Party. As it is stated by Bademli, the financial resources of the municipalities increased in the political period of Motherland party. They became project-developing municipalities instead of status-quo municipality and so, the municipalities began to search for genuine projects that can be produced for Ankara. In this context, Ulus Historical Centre Planning Project was one of the projects developed in this time period (Ağaçlı, 1998; Bademli, 1999; cited in Şiranlı, 1999:53).

Firstly, the planners and architects of the municipality made analysis and researches in the area to define the pressing problems. Then, they drew up the border of the planning competition. The study area for the competition covered the old commercial center of Ankara, that the castle and its close environment on the southern and southeastern outskirts, the area of Hacıbayram mosque, and western and northwestern areas of this section. This part of the city was considered as the historical center of Ankara. And the subject of the competition was defined as: Finding a comprehensive solution for the problem of Historical Centre of Ankara, it is an attempt to hand down the social, economic and cultural values of Ankara to future generations and also to conserve those parts of the historical urban sites. The aim of the competition is specified as: the aim of the competition is to make raise the conservation and planning works of Ottoman-Turkish commercial centers, to find economic solutions for these conservation, rehabilitation and renewal problems in the case of Ankara (Şiranlı, 1999:21). Final aim of the competition was to obtain a

development plan based on preservation. Since by this way renewal and upgrading objectives could be achieved in the old commercial center of Ankara. As a result in 1986 Ankara Municipality Urban Planning and Reconstruction Directorate organized a competition under the name of Urban Design Competition on the Ulus-Historical Center.

It is stated in the booklet prepared by the competition committee that the evaluation of the historical urban environment, and the integration of old parts of the city with the contemporary urban life is one of the main problems of the urbanization of Ankara. Moreover, the historic center of the city faces an uncontrolled urbanization that destroys the historically significant fabric. The detailed planning and conservation studies for the preservation and development of the Ulus Historical City Center were not fully realized in the Republican era in spite of the decision in Jansen Plan are also stressed. The legal measures and considerations were not successful to provide the continuity of the historical urban fabric, which is central for the cultural, social, economical, traditional continuity, is also argued. The other objective of the competition was the historical center could be the most interesting and lively part of Ankara by integrating the historical city within the social life through restoration and renovation studies. On the other hand, an emphasis is put on Ottoman and Ahi period buildings within the competition area but the Roman period's significance in the history of the city is mentioned, architectural remains from this period are not cited (U.T.K.M. Yarışma Şartnamesi, 1986:9).

As a result of the competition, the first award prize was given to the planning team from METU, called METU Planning Group, with the decision of Ankara Municipal Standing Committee dated 27.11.1987 and issued 2196, lead by Raci Bademli. After the jury announced the results of the competition, in the process an international structure was applied. Project had proposed a new perspective in the commissioning practice in Turkey (U.T.K.M. Yarışma Şartnamesi, 1986; Institutional Archive File Issued 446 of Greater Municipality of Ankara, Ulus Historical Centre Planning Competition Jury, 1986; cited in Şiranlı, 1999:26-27, 48).

In the planning process, METU Planning Group originated from a main project group and two sub-project groups as Urban Conservation Sub-Project Group and Architectural Sub-project Group. METU Planning Group, firstly, dealt with the spatial characteristics of urban macroform and metropolitan area of Ankara in different scales. Moreover, planning group clarified the future role of Ulus in accordance with the researches and analysis made in the macro scale. According to decisions taken in the macro scale, Ulus historical centre planning competition area was divided into nineteen planning regions. Then detailed analysis and researches for the conservation and development plans were prepared for each region (Şiranlı, 1999).

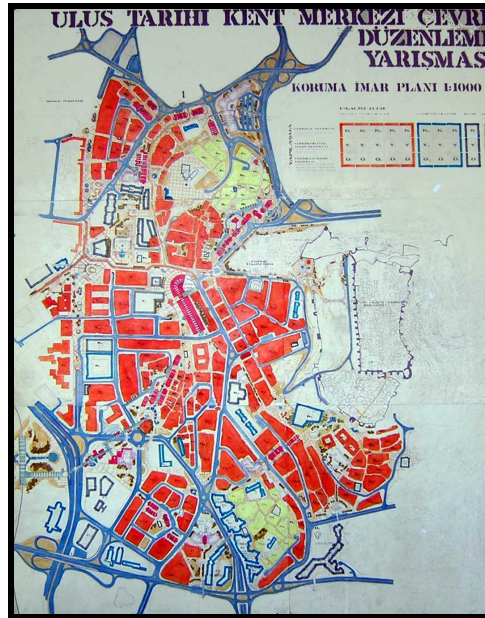


Figure 3. 8 The Ulus Historical Center Project-1986 (1/1000)

(Source: Baykan Günay).

METU Planning team conceptualized a system for the urban open spaces in and around the Ulus planning area. This system is included mainly two pedestrian systems and urban plazas defined by strong geometries are proposed by this project. The first pedestrian system begins from the station Building, continues with the Ulus, Government and Hacıbayram Squares and then reaches the Ankara Castle.

While the short edge of the Ulus Square, triangular shaped, opens out to the Ankara Castle, the long edge touches to the Government Square, rectangular shaped. From the Government Square, the pedestrian axe passes through the Hacібayram Square, square shaped. This pedestrian system joins with another pedestrian axis carrying antique values in the Hacібayram Square. The second pedestrian system also begins with the Station Building, continues with the Youth Park, and passes through Hergelen Square and then leaves Hergelen Square with four main pedestrian axes. The project suggests pedestrian axes from Hergele Square, combining the area with Suluhan, Ankara Castle through the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations and through Samanpazarı and to İbni Sina Hospital (Bademli, 1992; cited in Şiranlı, 1999:22; Karababa, 2002: 147-148).

Besides, Raci Bademli was concerned with creating urban plazas that would be appreciated as social gathering areas. He aimed to insert plazas as public spaces in the city center, and proposed abstract geometries for defining them since he believed in the lack of any conception of an urban plaza in the Turkish cities. HacібayramSquare, Hükümet Square and Ulus Square are proposed and they connected with pedestrian axes. According to Bademli, the Hacібayram Square has a central role, joining the Roman Bath, the Temple of Augustus and the Odeon. Moreover, its visual link with the castle, the proximity of the area to the Ulus Square and the relation with the Hükümet Square strengthen the symbolic and functional importance of the Hacібayram Square. Besides, these plazas are thought to be sort of display areas for historic buildings and monuments.

Bademli's intention can be explained as to create a modern environment for public to penetrate and appreciate the historical environment in the old center of Ankara. In the planning process of the Ulus project, open spaces were studied in terms of not only squares, pedestrian axes but also vista terraces, parks, parking areas and the transportation structure (Şiranlı, 1999; Karababa 2002).

METU Planning group produced three complementary plans called Ulus Historical Centre Conservation and Improvement Plan: Building Codes, Public Project Areas,

Urban Design in 1\1000 scale. According to the plan, the Hacібayram Square becomes the focus of the urban space systems which joins the Rome Bath, August Temple and Odeon. Moreover, it is articulated with Ulus and Government Square and Hacібayram Square is connected directly with the Government Square with a rectangular form and Jülyen Column and the components like stairs and inscription. On the other hand, it is indirectly related with Antique Turkish Bath, Odeon, pedestrian axes and vista-point terraces (Bademli, 1994; cited in Şiranlı, 1999:31).

METU Planning Group completed all kinds of analysis, researches, appraisals and planning studies between the years 1986-1987. Nevertheless nearly two years, no legal operations were conducted on these plans. Moreover, as it is stated by Bademli, in this two years time period, there was no owner of the project either in the political or bureaucratic level (Bademli, 1997; cited in Şiranlı, 1999:37). Up to this point, the studies under the name of Ulus Historical Centre Planning Competition Project were executed under the political authority of Motherland Party. Then, the initial political authority transferred its responsibilities to the Social Democratic Republican Party. The intention of Social Democratic Republican Party was becoming an institution which conceptualizes and implements great and extensive urban projects. Therefore, the continuity and completion of Ulus Historical Centre Project defined accordingly had a great significance in this respect (Şiranlı, 1999:38).

As it is mentioned by Şiranlı (1999), politicians have a substantial role in being the authority on saying final word, project defining, design, commissioning, planning, programming and finally implementation processes became part of the political system in Turkish experience. So, this mechanism brings the arguments in each process into the political arena. After the political authority was transferred to the Social Democratic Republican Party, Raci Bademli was appointed to the Head of Planning Department of Greater Municipality. Then Bademli made the possible preparations for the legalization of the project.¹³

¹³ In this way, the plans, Ulus Historical Centre Conservation Improvement Plan; Building Codes, Public Project Areas, Urban Design Plan were approved initially with the decision of Ankara Municipal Assembly, then with the following decision of Ankara High Conservation Board for

In the implementation process of the plan, public project areas had a priority between the other public project packages in having analysis and plans (Ulus Historical Centre Conservation and Improvement Plan, Plan Notes, 1989; cited in Şiranlı, 1999:40, 53). Ulus historical centre planning project is important since the competition reveals an important challenge concerning urban policies in the context of the relation of the Republican Turkish society with its past. As a result of the project formulation of preservation policies in Ankara's urbanization was expected.

Although, the definition process of Ulus historical centre planning project is said to be successful, Ulus Plan had some difficulties in the implementation process. The lack of consciousness in the community to the conservation plans presented obstacles in the implementation of the project. Moreover, the lack of tradition in the organization required by Ulus Historical Centre Conservation Plan also presented obstacles.

3.2.2.3 Planning Efforts in Ulus after the Project Competition on Ulus-Historical City Center

Almost after 50 years from the Jansen Plan, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality carried a competition under the name of Ulus-Historical City Center (1986). As a result of the competition a plan was prepared to preserve and rehabilitate the Ulus Historical Centre Planning Project was approved in 1990. However, the project process was interrupted as a political choice. Hacıbayram Project was one of the sub projects of the Ulus Historical Centre Planning Project and it was began to implement but not completed. Therefore the square has been surrounded by dolmuş stops and Square utilized as car-parking area as it was before. On the other side, although the implementation process of the Ulus Historical Centre Planning Project was interrupted, a new project process began as *demolish and re-built*. Moreover,

Cultural and Natural Properties dated 10.11.1989 and issued 954 and final decision of Ankara Municipal Assembly dated 15.01.1990 and issued 33, as a result, it became legal document. Later, a regional plan revision was prepared and then approved; firstly with the decision of Ankara Municipal Assembly dated 04.06.1990 and issued 236, and then with the final decision of Ankara Conservation Board for Natural and Cultural Properties dated 25.02.1992 and issued 2237. (Institutional Archive Files issued 824, 968 of Greater Municipality of Ankara). (Şiranlı, 1999:38-39).

the Ulus Historical Centre Planning Project has been cancelled with the decision of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Committee dated 14.02.2005 and issued 210. The reason of cancellation was shown as *public cost* of the project. Before the cancellation of the project, as it was declared a decision was taken in 16.12.2004 by the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Committee, to demolish the buildings around the *Atatürk Anıtı* as 100. Yıl Çarşısı, Ulus Şehir Çarşısı, Gençlik ve Spor Genel Müdürlüğü and Anafartalar Çarşısı. With the planned demolition a square will be designed that will be integrated with the Atatürk Anıtı. With the other decision Municipality planned to demolish the buildings on the Anafartalar street as Metropolitan Municipality Building, Ulus Hali and Modern Çarşı and instead of these buildings a shopping center will be designed with a wide car-parking area. Then, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Committee determined *Ulus, Kaleiçi, Ankara traditional urban fabric, Roma Hamamı and its environs* as renewal areas within the frame of the law 5366- named as “Yıpranmış Tarihi ve Kültürel Varlıkların Yenilenerek Korunması ve Yaşatılarak Kullanılması Hakkında”, which was dated 16.06.2005. On the other hand, these selected renewal areas has been already registered as conservation sites with the decision of G.E.E.A.Y.K.

After the determination of these renewal areas, Ankara Ulus Historical City Center Urban Regeneration Project was prepared by Ankara Metropolitan Municipality. However on this process, opinions of the METU Project team, who has conducted the project and its studies since 1986, about the Project were not taken.

After the Ankara Ulus Historical City Center Urban Regeneration Project was completed, an assembly, the subject of that was the project, was organized by Ankara Metropolitan Municipality in 31 August 2006. The main reason of the project announced as irregular urbanization that has affected the Ulus, where the foundation of Republic was and the irregular urbanization has not befitted to the history of the area.

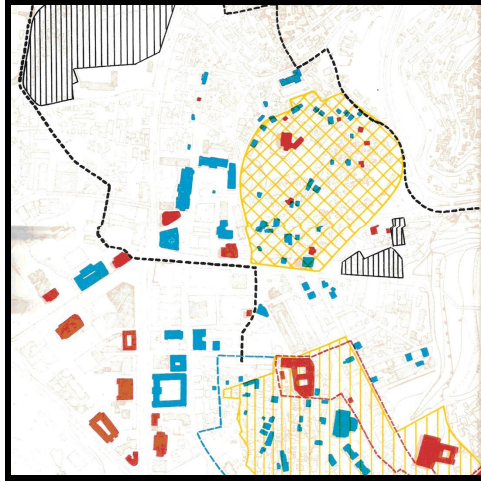


Figure 3. 9 Conservation Sites and Registered Buildings around the case area (1979)
(U.T.K.M Yarışma Şartnamesi, 1986).

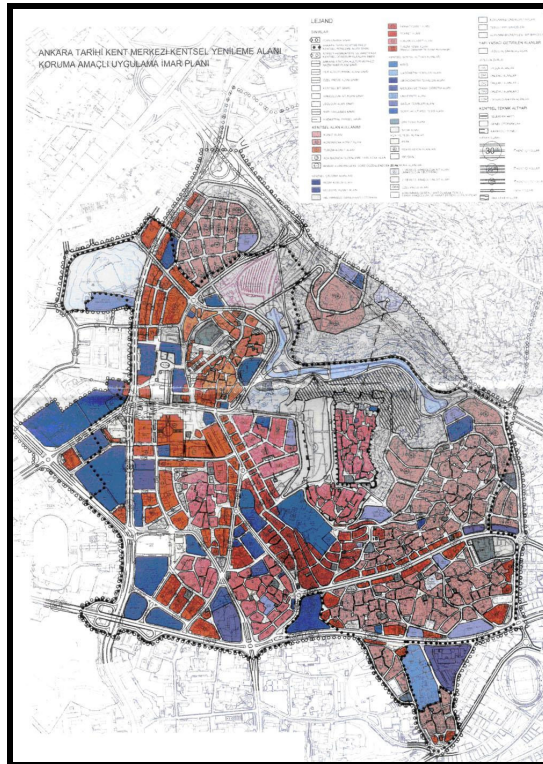


Figure 3. 10 The Ankara Ulus Historical City Center Urban Regeneration Project
(1/5000)(Source: Baykan Günay).

Ulus Square is the gravity center of the project and so the most important demolish and built activities planned to realize in the square. The Ulus square has been the symbol of republic where the Turkish republic was founded and so it was named as Ulus. The Atatürk Anıtı that is the symbol of the *Kurtuluş Mücadelesi*, was put in the middle of the area. In the first quarter of the 20th century, new Ankara constructed around Atatük Anıtı, sculpted by Heinrich KRİPPLER (1926). The building of Gençlik ve Spor Genel Müdürlüğü located behind the Atatürk Anıtı, that was designed by Gazanfer BEKEN, Orhan BOLAK, Orhan BOZKURT in 1954-1958 and selected with a competition. This building is created background for the Atatürk Anıtı and described the Ulus square.

On the other side, the building of Anafartalar Çarşısı is another building planned to demolish, that was designed by Ferzan Baydar, Affan Kırımlı, Tayfur Şahbaz and selected with a competition and constructed in 1967. The building of Anafartalar Çarşısı is defined the Anafartalar Street with its volume and created a significant vista towards to the Ankara Castle. With the demolition of this building, this vista will disappear and street will be undefined. As it is stated before with the planned demolishing the buildings, most of them designed with a project competitions will disappear. Moreover, this project will demolish the many of buildings that are the examples of 20th century modern Turkish architecture. Essentially, these buildings are integrated the capital of the Turkish Republic and on the other hand project area was a space that is still used by citizens in their daily lives.

Generally it can be said that, the buildings that will be demolished in the frame of the Ankara Ulus Historical City Center Urban Regeneration Project, have been the traces of passing to nation state, which is independent, democratic and secular Republic, from Ottoman Empire. These buildings have been constructed on Bankalar Street and on the axe from Atatürk Boulevard to Çankaya District.

Moreover, there is a plan decision Atatürk Boulevard and Anafartalar Street re-planned as tunnels in the frame of the project. However, this attempt will be

damaged the archeological remains of the Roman period in a large scale. Moreover, there is not any planning decision about archeological findings for future.

Hacıbayram Square and The Ankara Castle and the area in front of the *Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi* are defined as special project areas within the project. The additional mosque will be constructed to the Hacıbayram Mosque and the commercial usages will be added to the square that will be designed in traditional style as Ottoman Çarşı, Arasta etc. The construction of the teleferic line in the triangle of the park in front of the Ankara Castle, Hacıbayram Square and Hıdırlıktepe is also planned. Moreover, a railway system will be constructed between the Hacıbayram and the Ulus Square. The land use decision of the Castle is changed that will be open the way to the neighborhoods in and out of the Castle turn to commercial area. To do this the traditional urban pattern will be charged off and demolished. Almost all of the historical houses stock will be turned to commercial area. The house islands will be created to transform the squatter areas to green area in Hıdırlıktepe. Bentderesi and its environment will be rehabilitated and a park will be created in the area. The direction of the Bentderesi road will be changed and the Bent River will be regenerated on the way.

CHAPTER 4

CASE STUDY:

TRANSFORMATION OF HACIBAYRAM SQUARE

Hacıbayram Square is examined within this thesis on the assumption that the space is a social and a historical product. Since space has been shaped through the conflicting values and interests of actors, the meaning, function and form of the area have been transformed through the historical process. The main question is; *how a public space has been transformed*, in the case of Hacıbayram Square. The main assumption of the study is Hacıbayram Square is a social and historical product which has transformed through the changing social actors' and their conflicts with the changing context. Therefore, in this part of the study the transformation of the Hacıbayram Square will be examined with reference to the maps, plans, development plans and literature review over the meaning, form and function of the space within an historical perspective.

Each of the plan period of Ankara within differentiated economic, political, social, and spatial, contexts, explained in the third chapter. In this part of the thesis, the construction of the spatial meaning, through assignment of function and the spatial form of the Hacıbayram Square is going to be held, with the help of plans of Ankara beginning from Von Vicke Map (1839). By this way the plans and the spatial strategies on Hacıbayram Square will be examined.

4.1 Hacıbayram Square in the Von Vincke Map (1839)

Although Ottoman cities are different from the other Islamic cities in some respects, with cultural and economical reasons, they have some Islamic cities characteristics.

The main preferences of Ottoman cities continued until the beginning of 19th century and after that time firstly İstanbul, then the other Ottoman cities went under the Western influences (Cansever, 1994). According to Islam history studies; mosque, bazaar area and hamam are three main components of the Islamic city. Mosque is a main structure where religious courses were done and the social relations were developed. Bazaar areas and hanlar were situated very close to the Mosque. Esnaf Çarşıları were situated through the city door from the Mosque due to their importance and their relation with religious services. The most important physical and social preference of the Islamic city was the division of the city as neighborhoods. This division developed as a result of the living of different religious and ethnical groups in the community (Ergenç, 1984) and according to Aru (1996) the same organization principles was maintained until the early 20th century.

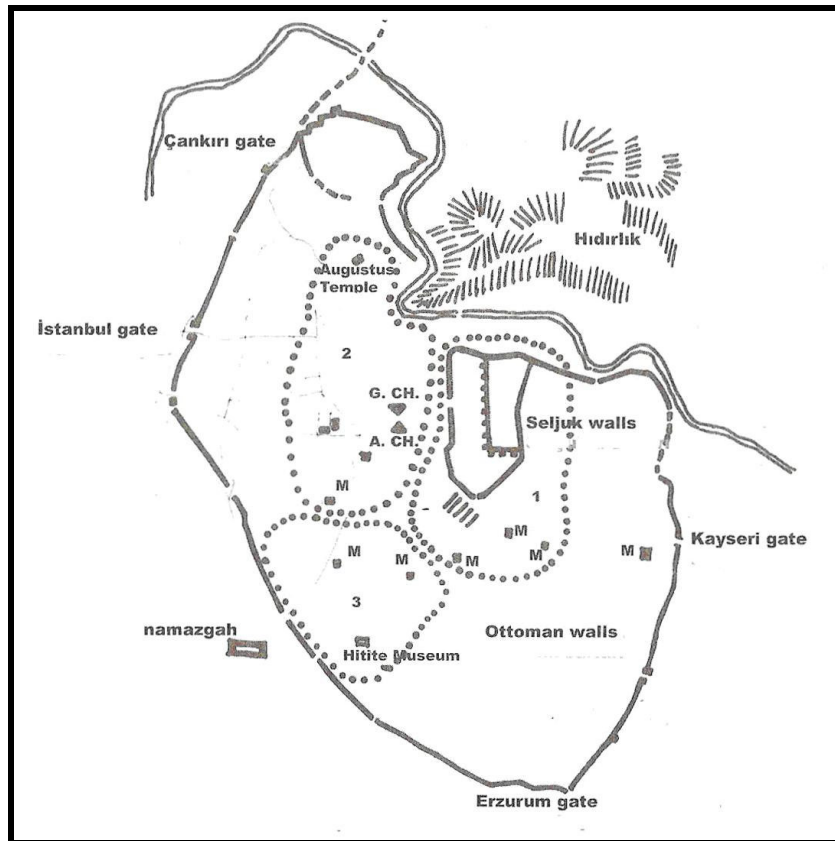


Figure 4. 1 Ankara neighborhoods religious division in the Seljuk period

(M: Mosque, G.CH. :Greek Church, A. CH. : Armenian Church, 1. Seljuk Neighborhood, 2. Greek and Armenian Neighborhood, 3. Jewish Neighborhood) (Tankut, 2007).

In the Seljuk period as it can be seen on figure 4.1, the neighborhood around the Augustus Temple is described as Greek and Armenian Neighborhood before the construction of Hacı Bayram Mosque. As it can be understood from figures during the Seljuk period the area around the Augustus temple used as a non-Muslim neighborhood as it was used before. On the other hand as it is seen on the figure 4.2 at the end of the 18th century when the Hacı Bayram Mosque have been built already, the neighborhood used by Muslim population. Moreover, it is known that the Augustus Temple that was used as a Church in the Byzantine period then firstly used as a mosque by Turks until the Hacı Bayram Mosque was built. According to Buluç (1994) after the construction of the Hacı Bayram Mosque, Augustus Temple turned to a madrasah which was called as Ak madrasah that was written by Dernschaum in 1555. Therefore it can be said that after the construction of Hacı Bayram Mosque Muslim population settled to the Hacıbayram neighborhood. This idea is supported with the Figure 4.2. On this figure, Hacıbayram neighborhood and its close environment are shown as Muslim neighborhoods.

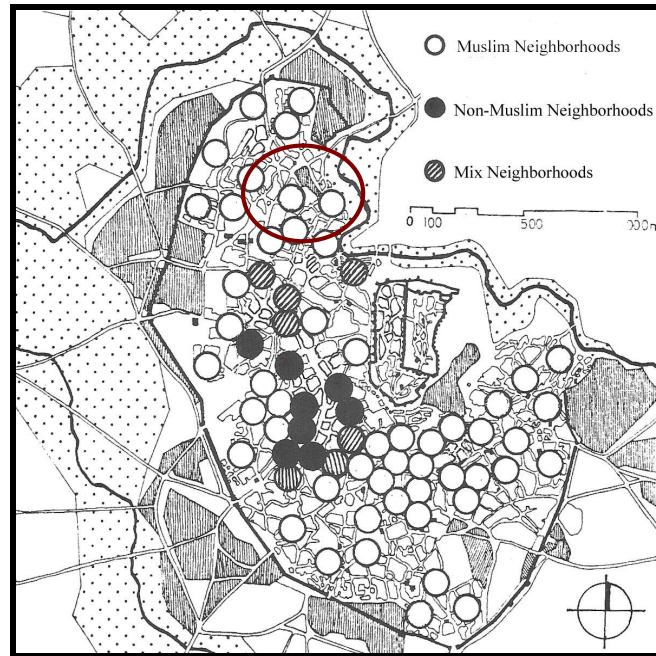


Figure 4. 2 The spatial distribution of muslim and non-muslim population in Ankara at the end of the 18th century (Aktüre, 1994).

The Ottoman cities have a free and organic fabric. Generally the Muslim cities do not have a defined urban form. Therefore, it can be said that one of the problem in the Muslim cities is the missing town square and the processional street.

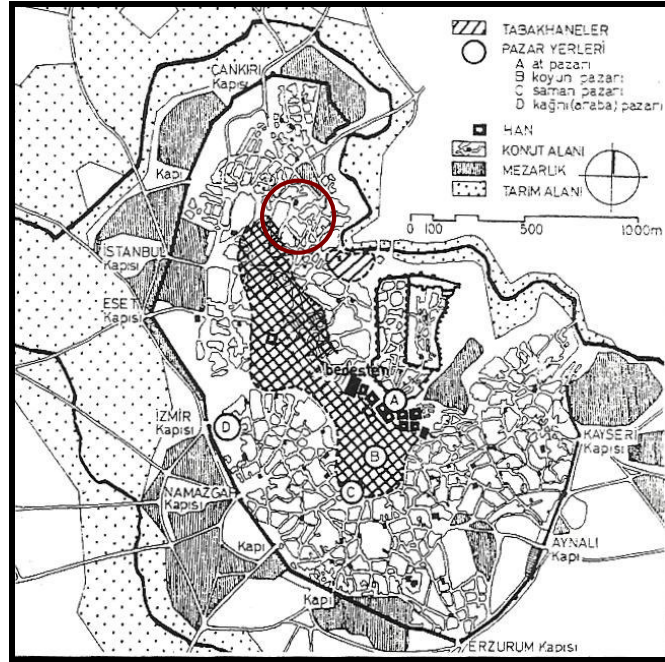


Figure 4. 3 City Center of Ankara in the 17th and 18th century (Aktüre, 1994).

According to Aru (1996) pattern of the old cities has evolved out of the needs of the inhabitants that the surfacing of the non-geometric forms arising from the internal fabric. Since Ottomans' life style allowing introvert living and disorganization in the natural sense, is perpetually repeated in the old urban fabrics. The dead-end street concept comes up in the various ways in the mean time. This characteristic of the Ottoman city can be seen in the map of Ankara that has drawn by Vincke in 1839.

When the occurrence of the public space and socialization processes are handled together in the case of Ottoman cities, the starting point must be neighborhood as a traditional unit. Every neighborhood was viewed as a single administrative unit in

the administration of cities in the Ottoman period. The neighborhoods were the basis of the social organization notions of the Ottomans, as a settlement unit of the old Turkish cities. As the smallest social unit in the city, they maintained the same organization principles until the early 20th century (Aru, 1996). It is generally understood to denote an area that contains a mosque, large or small, that possesses one or more streets. The centre of neighborhood was identified by a mosque, shops, tea houses, a library, a madrasah, a soup-kitchen etc. Besides, it means a place comprised of houses, inhabitants of that houses are in a state of social solidarity, where everybody knows everybody else (Çadırcı, 1996; Aydın, 2005). Moreover, according to Çadırcı (1996), until the beginning of the 19th century the imam and the neighborhood notables would take decisions relating to the neighborhood and be effective in the execution of these.

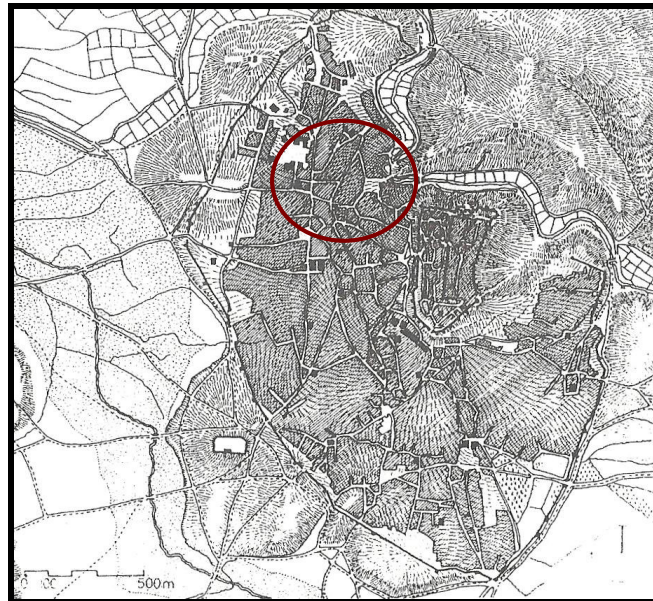


Figure 4. 4 Von Vincke' Ankara Map in 1839
(Aktüre, 2001).

The Muslim population of Ottoman cities identified themselves firstly as a Muslim, then as a member of the Ottoman Empire and lastly with their neighborhoods. Tankut (1993) explain the Ottoman cities without public spaces parallel to this

is clear that in the Ottoman period the balance between public and private was in favor of the private realm.

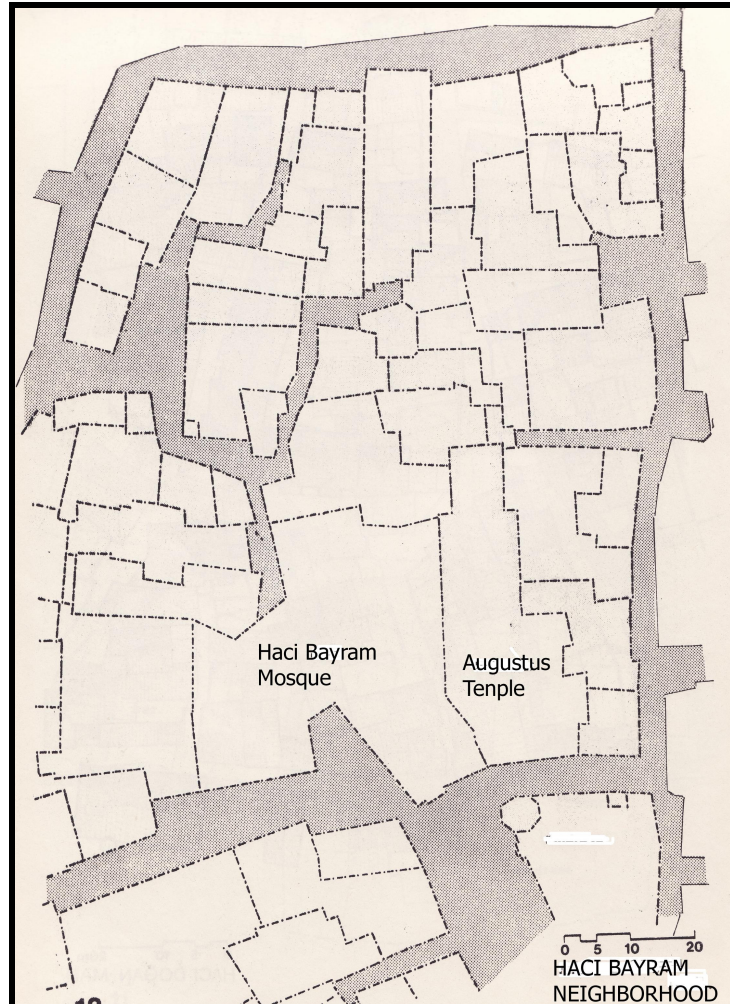


Figure 4. 6 Hacıbayram Neighborhood in the Ottoman period (Acar, 1975: figure 13).

Although, neighborhood created a private area for dwellers of it, the main preference of the Ottoman city is that there is no center and square due to the western definition. However, in the neighborhood that is the main unit of the Ottoman cities, mosque was the center and played a role as square. Therefore, although it is not a square in terms of Western definition, the area in front of the Hacı Bayram Mosque

will be named as Hacıbayram Square in this study since it was a public space of Ankara in Ottoman time. Hacı Bayram Mosque and its close environs was an area where dwellers of the neighborhood were communicated. Like the other mosque Hacı Bayram Mosque was the center of the Hacıbayram neighborhood when the city center was situated in front of the Ankara castle. On the Figure 4.7 the center of the 17th and 18th century of the city can be seen.

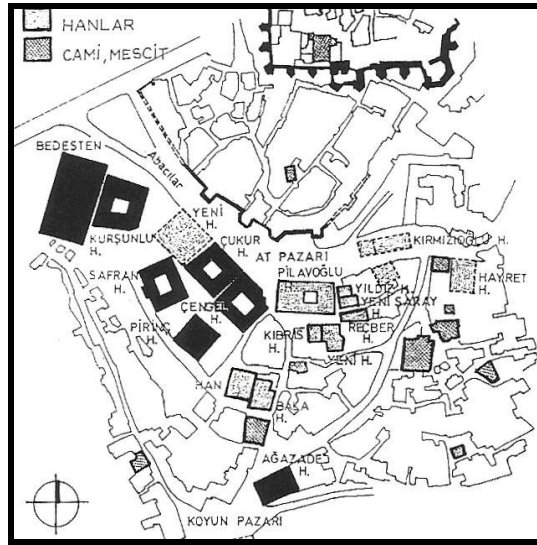


Figure 4. 7 The city center of Ankara in the 17th and 18th century (Aktüre, 1994).

Ankara was in an economic recession starting from the 19th century. However, the city was growing towards west since there were still developments in the 19th century. 1830's Ankara was a production and commercial city in the morphological respect. As it can be seen on Von Vincke map (1839) the wide agricultural area that was irrigated with Hatip Çayı on the north of the city. However, there were no settlement area on the top of the hills that were surrounded the city (Aktüre, 2001).

According to historical documents, maps and plans it can be said that there was a second center of Ankara at the end of the 19th century. This new center was an administrative one that was very close to Hacıbayram Square. According to Aktüre

(1978) this appeared in the second half of the 19th century. Therefore it can be said that until the second half of the 19th century the area in front of the Ankara Castle continued the role as a city center, where central functions as small shops of tradesmen such as grocer, tailor, guilt-maker, jeweller, usurer and wholesaler were located (Osmaý, 1998).

Ankara was a city, like other classical Ottoman cities, formed by neighborhoods, outer neighborhoods and city center, the components of that were administrative center, mosque, hans, bedestens and open bazaar area. In the 19th century, the city was situated on the slope area from Hisar to today's Gençlik Parkı and train station. At that time city was surrounded by the inner city wall, which was constructed in the Byzantine period and the outer city wall which was constructed at the beginning of 17th century. The area around the castle was named as upper district, and the area through the Anafartalar Street and Hacı Bayram mosque through Karacabey Külliyesi was named as lower district (Aydın, et al, 2005).

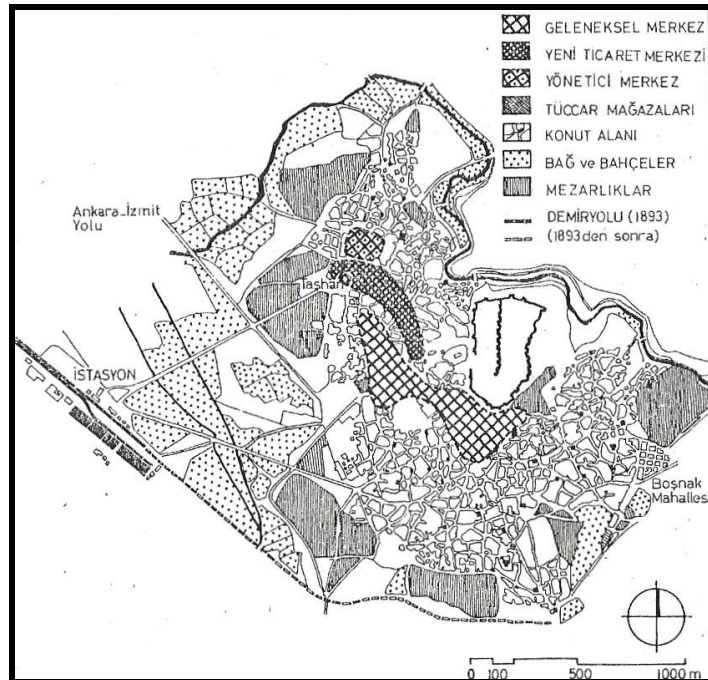


Figure 4. 8 The dual center structure of Ankara at the end of the 19th century (Aktüre, 1978).

In Ankara the streets and areas were spaces where people socialized in society. Citizens were in a close relation with green areas that is a characteristic of Ottoman city. Houses were with courtyard and garden, moreover the empty spaces between the houses in the city were used for open-air usages as cemeteries, parks and gardens. The idea of public garden and park was created and implemented by Tanzimat Paşaları (Aydın, et al, 2005).

Consequently according to documents, maps and plans, Hacı Bayram Mosque had not any differences from the other mosques in the 19th century Ankara. Like the others, Hacı Bayram Mosque was formed the center of the neighborhood. It is hard to claim that the Hacı Bayram Mosque and its courtyard were different from any other mosque in the city. As it is said before Augustus temple was used as a madrasah after the construction of Hacı Bayram Mosque. According to Buluç (1994) the inside of the Temple was divided into ten parts in order to design it as a madrasah. Hacı Bayram Mosque and Augustus Temple are situated in the north-east of the city. The situation of the area in the 19th century' Ankara was very close to city wall. However, it is clear that the social life in Hacıbayram neighborhood was taking place in front of the Hacı Bayram mosque and its courtyard and within the dead-end streets of the neighborhood. The courtyard of a mosque was a central space for daily life of the city that was an important meeting point in a neighborhood. The exterior courtyard of the mosques crowded during the day.



Figure 4. 9 The Hacı Bayram Mosque and the Augustus Temple.

It was hard to developed precise places at the city center scale, due to the dominance of the self-sufficient neighborhood scale at that time. Therefore, the mosque is equipped with a spacious court in its own structure and this court, interior of the mosque, is the actual forum of the city. Hacıbayram square was located due to the street pattern it's around. The gates of the courtyard corresponded to the existing streets or the gates generated new streets connected to the courtyard.¹⁴



Figure 4. 10 Hacı Bayram Mosque and its close environment in the Von Vincke' Ankara Map (Aktüre, 2001).

As it is seen on map of Vincke and figures, the Hacı Bayram Mosque was surrounded by houses. There were two way that go to the Hacıbayram Square, one was coming from the Castle and the other was coming from the today' Anafartalar street. Both of these ways were not linear and connected to the area directly. These two ways comes together in front of the Augustus Temple that was used as a madrasah at that time. There was no way to go to the west side of the Hacı Bayram

¹⁴ As it is stated by Yeşilkaya (2003), the courtyard as a basic element or building form in the architectural order of the Ottoman urban space organization, was used in every kind of built environment. The courtyard was a form of open-air and protected inner space. The mosque as a central element of a composition is surrounded by an exterior courtyard. It is framed by the uniform lines of madrasah buildings and others.

Mosque since there was houses that were attached the west wall of the Mosque. According to map of Vincke there is only one face of the mosque without any attached houses that was used as the entrance.

On the other hand two sides of the Augustus Temple were looking to the street. According the historical documents the neighborhood around the Hacıbayram Square was settled by Muslim population. It can be said that the Hacı Bayram Mosque was located at the center of the neighborhoods or in the middle of the one neighborhood which was divided by the way that is coming from the Anafartalar Street. At the end of this way Hacıbayram Square was located. This two part of neighborhoods surrounded Hacıbayram Square, one from North to west and the other from south to east.



Figure 4. 11 The Augustus Temple

According to travelers' notes, there were signs of recession in the prosperity of the city in the mid 19th century. The city between 1834-1836 is described by Texier as the streets and squares rather plain and building facades white, which altogether makes the city gloomy (Madran, 2001). Like Texier, Mordtmann described the area of today's Ulu in 1859. According to him the governmental center, which was located behind the Julianus Column, was not in good shape architecturally (Madran, 2001).



Figure 4. 12 The Augustus Temple (1830s)
(Güven, 1998).

As it is stated before, although Ankara was in an economic recession starting from the 19th century, there were still developments. In the period after 1830's the Ottomans was exposed to the Western influences, which brought economic, social and administrative changes for the Ottomans. That is one of the most important reasons of the changes in Ankara. Ottoman Empire, who was already facing difficulties in administrative, military and economic life, became an important target for industrialized countries textile production. This period also witnessed the formation of a new non-Muslim bourgeoisie in the city, who provided most of the trade connections with the West. Since textile was a very important industry for Ankara's economy this should have affected the daily life of the city due to changing economic dynamics. It can be said that the new physical organization of Ankara also began to take shape in this period. The most significant developments are the establishment of a new governmental center, the construction of the railway and the train station, which was located on the south-west of the settlement area, was the first focus area out of the city wall, and the development of today's Ulus as the commercial center. These were the first physical and social references for the Republican city.

Although before 1824 there was no specific building reserved for the administration of the city, as a result of the increasing needs of the bureaucracy the new administrative building, was constructed. Hükümet Konağı, which constructed on the railroad started as the new commercial reference point and the mansion of Hacı Abdi Paşa, located at the west of the Hacı Bayram Square, purchased for the new administrative center (Aktüre, 2001:39-53).

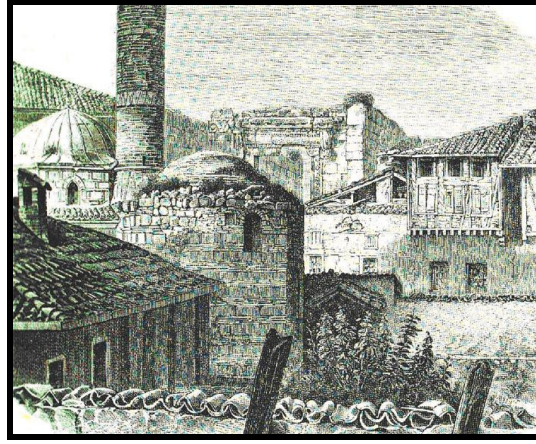


Figure 4. 13 The Hacı Bayram Mosque and its environment in 1864.

Ankara became a production and commercial city in the 1830s that was located in the city wall constructed in 17th century. In 1920s the city, gained an identity and functions as an administrative center of the country, developed on the South axis and turned to an open city. Like the spatial space, social life also changed. In the 19th century, the urban fabric extended towards the area where today's Ulus Square is located. Moreover, a market place started to form and new neighborhoods appeared around Karaoğlan-Balıkpazarı (U.T.K.M. Yarışma Şartnamesi, 1986: 9-14). In the second half of the 19th century Taşhan was constructed and the open area in front of the han was named as Taşhan Square, where the new avenues İstasyon Street and Talat Paşa street connecting the railway station to the old city (Güçhan, 2001:148). On the one hand, Taşhan Square became the symbolic center of the Republic; on the other, the train station was symbolically representing the commercial reference point

and Çankaya was the political reference node of the city. In other words the spatial impacts of developments occurred in 19th century were observed as the expansion of city center functions through and around Taşhan. Moreover, Taşhan meant the emergence of a new city center in the north-western part of the old center. As a result, Ankara was a linear city center lying between the front of the castle and today's Ulus by the end of the 19th century. Concerning the types of activities and functions that include, the two ends of this linear CBD structure were highly differentiated. On the one hand, the streets encircling the Bedestenler and the enclosed hanlar that are in front of the castle and open bazaar places like Atpazarı, Samanpazarı, Koyunpazarı formed the old center and served traditional functions at the regional level. The new center that developed around Taşhan and Karaoğlan Bazaar, the environs of today's Ulus, served mostly for the necessities of newly formed social groups of Rums and Armenians. In addition, the new center had also began to gain some administrative functions and became the center of the city serving to the new bourgeois dealing with commercial activities and the newly formed group of administrators and bureaucrats (Aktüre, 1981; Bademli 1987). There was relatively new commercial center in Ulus with the railway connection to İstanbul built in 1892 (Bademli 1987).

A linear city centre from the castle to the district of Ulus had been observed in Ankara, before it became the capital city of new established Turkish Republic. According to Osmay (1998) shops of tradesmen such as grocer, tailor, guilt-maker, jeweller, usurer and wholesaler were located on one side of this centre, which were served for both the inner city and the outer city. On the other hand great and monumental buildings of the new republic were settled on the other side of the centre (Osmay, 1998). After it had become the capital city of Turkey on 13 October 1923, the city began to grow rapidly that was once one of the small towns of Anatolia. The limited functions of commerce, administration, production and services began to grow rapidly in Ankara. Monumental buildings had been constructed to indicate the greatness of the new established republic. Administrative centers of the Central Bank, Etibank, Sümerbank were constructed at the new city centre of Ankara.

As it is stated by Karababa (2002), Atatürk in his Nutuk, mentions of the critical role of the Hacı Bayram Mosque for the opening of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. Atatürk stresses on the importance of religious guidance for the new Turkish governments' actions were political. He only aimed to provide the necessary popular support. According to him "halifelik" is a symbolic institution and does not have any meaning for either religious or political life in the new Republic. On the other hand Hacıbayram and religious act in relation with the National Assembly's opening is important to understand the significance of the religious motivations and the faith of the society before the Republican era (Karababa, 2002: 126). Atatürk states that:

"By choosing Friday for the opening of the Grand National Assembly, it is aimed to benefit from the sacredness of this day. Through the Friday prayer which is going to be performed by all the representatives of the assembly at the Holy Hacı Bayram Mosque, the light of the Kuran and the prayer will be gained and the power will be established." (Karababa 2002:126 cited on Atatürk, 1981:241)

Consequently, it must be said that at the end of the 19th century not only the new physical organization of Ankara, but also meaning, function, and form of the Hacıbayram Square began to take its shape. The establishment of a new governmental center, the construction of the railway and the train station and the development of today's Ulus as the commercial center can be counted as the most significant developments. As the first physical and social references for the Republican city, these developments have affected the transformation of the Hacıbayram Square in the beginning of the 20th century.

4.2 Transformation of the Hacıbayram Square with Reference to Planning Activities (after the establishment of the Republic)

After Ankara became the capital, it gained so much importance and dynamism that could not be compared to its earlier times. It was necessary to prepare and apply a development plan to transform this ruined city to a civilized capital. Therefore, the law of Ebniye Yasası (1882) was changed with the addition of special new laws,

main idea of that was: “Old Ankara will not be touched much and new city will be built not on, but near to the old city” (Mihçioğlu, 1999:18-20). It was clear that there would be created a new city between Old Ankara and Çankaya, putting apart the old fabric. It can be stated that this approach changed the direction of speculative pressures so consequently was a positive step for the conservation of traditional urban fabric.



Figure 4. 14 The old Ankara plan drawn by C. Lörcher in 1924
(Aktüre, 2001:65).

4.2.1 Hacıbayram Square in the Lörcher Plan (1924)

In the beginning of the Republican Period, studies on history and archeology, language and other cultural fields were supported in order to construct intellectual basis for the Turkish nationalism. Especially the studies on history gained critical importance to resolve the conflicting relations of the Republic with the recent history by defining the roots of Turkish nationalism through pre-Islamic history. Archeological studies in Anatolia interests to ancient history was also considered

part of being modernized based on humanistic ideals. Moreover it aimed to prove the continuity between the contemporary Turkish Society (Zürcher, 1999: 274-280). Therefore, it can be said that in this period the importance of the historical artifacts, like Augustus Temple and Hacı Bayram Mosque, and the preservation consciousness increased.

Before it was chosen as the capital of the new Republic, Ankara was experiencing one of the worst periods of its whole history. When it became the capital of the Republic, the city was a small town in the middle of the plains of Anatolia with a population of 18.000-20.000. The population of the city rapidly increased and Ankara Şehremaneti was established in 1924 in order to cope with the rapidly increasing needs of the new capital. Besides, the new role of the Ankara as the capital city required planning studied to be started immediately. Since production, commercial and service functions were added to its new administrative role. It was the first step in the planned development of the city. The relation between the new development areas and old city was one of the main discussion topics of early planning committee (Tankut 1983).



Figure 4. 15 The Hacı Bayram Mosque and its environment.

The spatial development and the planning experience of Ankara was an important problem within the establishment of Turkish Republic. Institutional transformations and spatial regulations were made in order to solve this issue. In years 1923-1924, Lörcher prepared three plans with a report that was demanded to get an inventory of the city's spatial and social needs (Cengizkan, 2002). The earliest planning proposals were suggesting a modern development at the south of the railroad. Moreover, Lörcher proposed a law to be issued for the appropriation of the area between the existing historical part of the city and Çankaya (Karababa, 2002). Since it was too difficult to convert the old fabric to a new capital in a short time, it was preferred to build the new capital as the extension of the old city on the southern side between the old city and Çankaya.

The plan of Lörcher laid the foundation of a spatial pattern consisting of the central functions of both Ulus and Kızılay. Lörcher Plan proposed a dense and compact spatial pattern (Günay, 2005). As it is stated by Günay (2005) the Station Street, Talatpaşa Boulevard between the station and district Cebeci were formed by Lörcher Plan that proposed regeneration throughout the whole city. On the other hand, in the southern of the railway a new district was planned to be developed (Günay, 2005; Batuman, 2002 and 2000; Cengizkan, 2002; Osmay, 1998). With new structuring and planning, Ulus, as part of the old city center, began to develop as the city center of Ankara. Yenişehir was not intended to be the centre of the city. Rather protecting the central role of the old Citadel, Yenişehir (Kızılay) with Neighbourhood of Vekaletler, Havuzbaşı and Turkish Grand National Assembly was proposed to be the locus and symbol of the new life style of the established new republic and modern nation. Moreover, Lörcher proposed low-density and low-storied development with paths and adjacent green areas in his plan. Public spaces such as, Sıhhiye Square, Zafer Square, Ulus Square and Cumhuriyet Square were all conceived as a set of free and open spaces.¹⁵

¹⁵ According to Cengizkan (2002) concepts of square and open spaces were discussed and conceptualized in the congress of Manheim, in 1905. Since Lörcher used these spatial concepts, which were argued to be critical for the human health and well-being, in the spatial pattern, especially through public space organization in Ankara, Yenişehir can be regarded as a pioneer attempt.

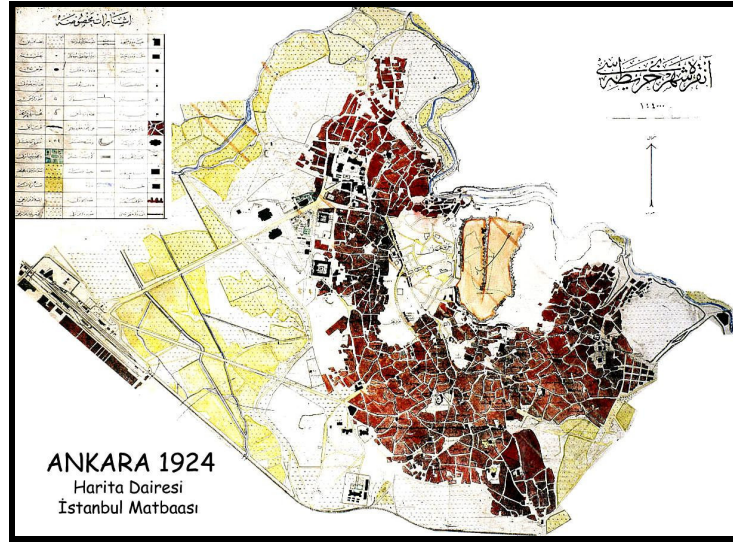


Figure 4. 16 Old Ankara in 1924
(Source: Baykan Günay).



Figure 4. 17 Hacıbayram Square and its close environment in the Lörcher Plan in 1924.

In *Ankara'nın İlk Planı: 1924-1925 Lörcher Planı*, Cengizkan (2002) summarizes the contributions and propositions of Lörcher Plan to the needs and problems of Ankara at four points. One of them is related with the spatial organization of public spaces. Paths, which had been designed to connect the regions, did not only function as connection lines, but also served the construction of semantic relations and urban metaphors between the focal points which are associated physically through the

design. These paths were conceived to provide the radial construction originated from the Castle, which also would construct the historical meaning of the space on the base of the history of Ankara. In the Lörcher Plan the Castle was re-named as the Beautiful Castle, located at the centre of the highest hill of Ankara, and it was considered as a spatial element reminding the historical construction of the city. For instance, beyond connecting the city to the outside, the railway was conceived to emphasize the axis on the Railway Station, the first Parliament Building, and the Castle. According to Cengizkan (2002) this design was similar to the Central European cities. The Station Street was planned to be the most essential and prestigious street of the city. The CBD would be located there; moreover the new Parliament, the new Vakif Hotel, Ankara Palas and the new Garden, Millet Garden were decided to be constructed on this street (Cengizkan, 2002).

As it can be seen on the Lörcher plan with the new street arrangement, the Station Street became the most essential street of the city and a direct connection from the Station Street to Hacıbayram Square was provided with the Hisarpark street that is known as Anafartalar Street today. Within the Lörcher Plan period the way that is going to the Hacıbayram Square, was flattened in order to strengthen the meaning of the temple and the mosque in the square.

In the Lörcher Plan the situation of the Augustus Temple and Hacı Bayram Mosque was handled as important issue. Lörcher show sensitivity to open the area around the temple and the mosque in order to increase the perceptibility of these very important historical artifacts of Ankara. According to Cengizkan (2002) Lörcher became the pioneer for following works as both for the Jansen and today's studies and efforts by his works on the Hacıbayram Square. In the Lörcher Plan the houses that were very close to the mosque and the temple were planned to be cleaned. By this way Hacıbayram square started to be a square in terms of a western definition.

Hacı Bayram Mosque is an important one when compared with other religious structures and mosques in Ankara. Since, it was built near to Augustus Temple. Therefore the researches, archeological studies and environmental design projects

have been continued consistently in the Hacıbayram District since 1850s. In 1861 George Perrot has done a research in order to read the inscriptions on the east wall of the temple. In 1926-1928 Kreneker and Schede, who are two German archaeologists, conducted the excavation studies around the temple (Tunçer, 2001).

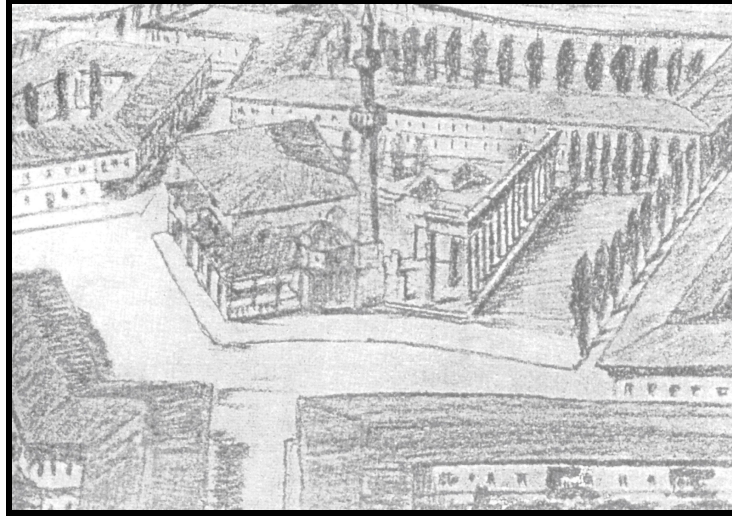


Figure 4. 18 The perspective of Hacıbayram Square drawn by C. Lörcher in 1924 (Cengizkan, 2004:69).

During and after these excavation studies, the Ankara Municipality expropriated the some of the houses around the area. In 1937 within the governance duration of Tandoğan, all houses were expropriated and the area around the Hacıbayram Square was cleaned. After 1939, the excavations are conducted by Hamit Zübeyr Koşay who was the manager of Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Müdürlüğü. During this excavation studies Phryg ceramics was founded 4-5 meters under of ground level Rome and Byzantine ceramics was founded on the upper level. Results of these excavations have shown that Hacıbayram hill and trails has been used as a settlement area during hundreds of years.

The expropriation in 1925 according to Lörcher Plan resulted in rapid development around Yenişehir. The railway appeared as a natural border between Yenişehir and

the old city. Constructing residential areas was the fundamental building activity in this period because the demand for housing had increased with migration. By 1927 Ankara had reached a population of 74 000. After the failure of the implementation of plans that were prepared in 1924 for the old Ankara and for Yenişehir in 1925, a competition was organized for Ankara city plan.

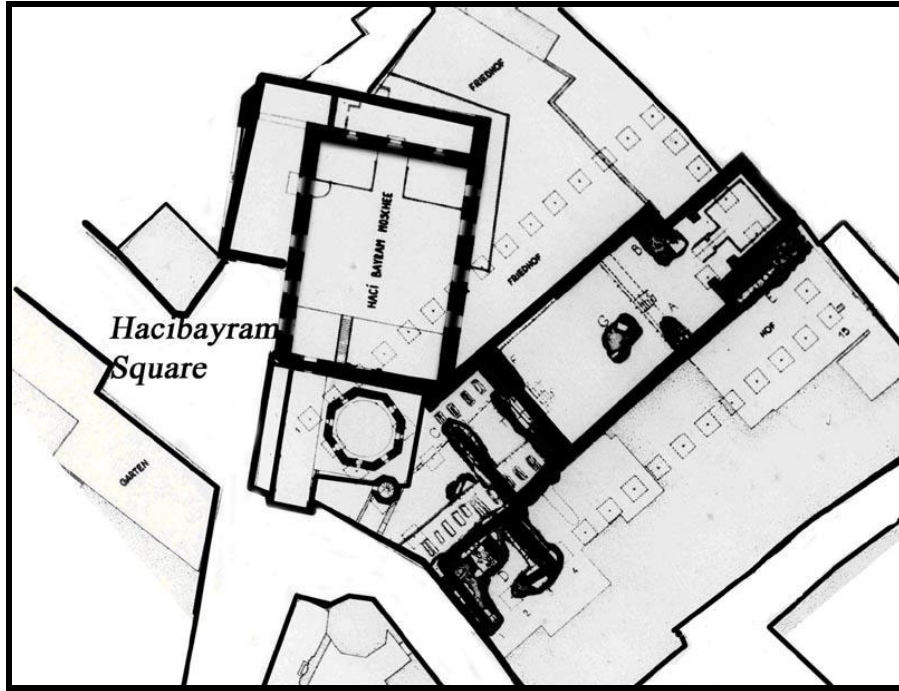
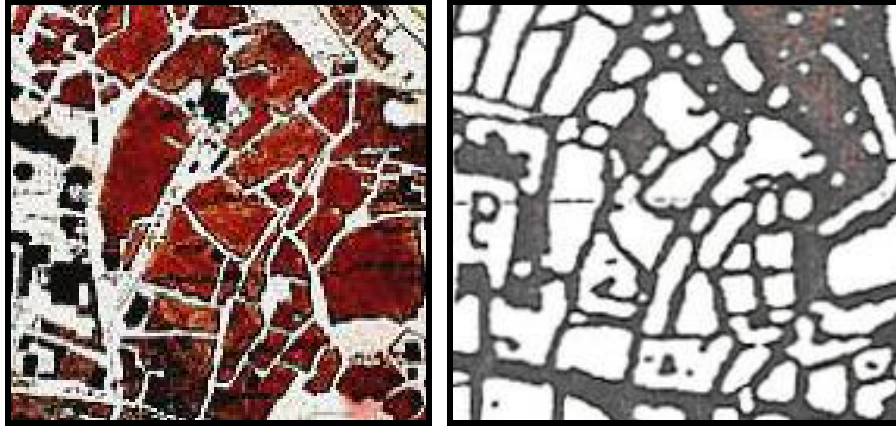


Figure 4. 19 Hacibayram Square in 1926

(figure is drawn on the basis of plan after the German excavations in 1926 (Güven, 1998).

The Lörcher Plan period is the time when the base of the development parcels concept was constructed instead of the cadastral parcels that was developed in Ottoman time. As a result as it can be seen in the figure 4.20 the organic urban pattern of the Ottoman Ankara planned to be erased. Lörcher proposed a compact form with his plan. Although it is not realized and stayed as a Western city model, in the Lörcher plan the train station and its close environs was planned as a center of the city. Moreover, Ulus center was planned to adapt to this new center and the other central functions that were expansive from the station center was planned to integrate.



(a)

(b)

Figure 4. 20 Hacıbayram Square and its close environment

(a) in the 1924 Ankara, (b) in the Lörcher Plan

4.2.2 Hacıbayram Square in the Jansen Plan (1932)

The Directory of Development in Ankara, as a new institution, was established in the year 1928 and equipped with powerful planning and implementing authority (Tekeli, 1998; Altaban, 1998). In addition to this institutional development, a plan for Ankara was prepared in 1928 by Herman Jansen¹⁶, the winner of the competition in which three international architect-planners participated (Tekeli, 1998; Altaban, 1998). Jansen Plan was the second planning experience of Ankara that came into operation in 1932. Jansen aimed to construct the new capital city as an example of a healthy unification of the historic old city and the modern life. He was well aware of the meaning and importance of the historical urban core for modern cities. But, the old city did not become the focus of the new capital as Jansen visualized when the new capital was being constructed. According to Tankut (1993), Jansen reflected Sitte's sensitivity for the historical and natural environment in Ankara's planning, as a follower of Sitte's principles that emphasized the importance of historical centers of modern cities.¹⁷

¹⁶ Jansen was a professor in the Technical University of Berlin, and his plan reflected the popular city planning principles in Europe (Tankut, 1993).

¹⁷ Sitte, who is an Austrian architect, influenced many architects, planners and art historians especially in Germany helped the rise of interest in the preservation of historical centers of cities at the end of the 19th century. Therefore, studies of Jansen can be better understood in relation with Camillo Sitte's ideals on city planning.

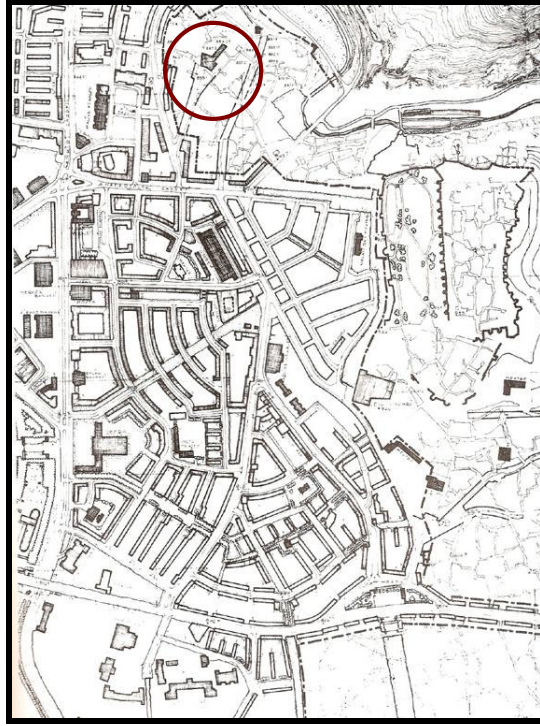


Figure 4. 21 Old City in the Jansen Plan in 1932
(U.T.K.M. Yarışma Şartnamesi, 1986).

The Jansen plan aimed to protect the traditional architecture of the old city parallel to “Eski Şehir Talimatnamesi”. It was an ordinance for the protection of the old city that had been issued by Ankara Şehremaneti (Tunçer, 2001:75). Jansen avoided any new construction within the historical section of the city to protect the traditional fabric of the city. Since, the plan has placed a special emphasis on the conservation of the Traditional Structure by designating the historical urban site as the “Protocol Area” (Ankara Kalesi Koruma Geliştirme İmar Planı Projesi, 1987: 9). He wished to have a sort of glass case that could protect the old fabric, separated from the contemporary developments. Jansen indicated in his competition report that Ankara Citadel was the focal point and the city would develop around the historic urban fabric. However, he had to change this at 1932 in his last phase of with more conservative approach. It was decided to develop the city towards west (Ankara İmar Planı, 1937; U.T.K.M. Yarışma Şartnamesi, 1986; Mihçioğlu, 1999). It can be said that the castle surrounded by the historical fabric stands like a crown on the

highest part of the city in Jansen's sketches. He believed that the castle is the most important national monument and maintaining it would honor the history of Anatolia (Jansen, 1937). Jansen (1937) proposed that the historical fabric surrounding this national monument should be preserved except for some portions at western parts of the castle. Besides, according to Jansen (1937) the historical section of the city was the center of the War of Independence. He was also aware of the engagement of the society with the historical fabric of the city was necessary. Since, it motivates people to work for the *national unity and youth* and to fuse the history of the city with daily life (Jansen, 1937:5). According to him historical fabric is the area where the memories of the formation years of the Republic were embodied.

The castle and its close environment were considered separately from the development areas and proclaimed as the Protocol Area in the Jansen Plan. A construction could only be done for the purpose of protecting the historical values within the old fabric of Ankara. Therefore any change concerning the street pattern was forbidden, and new residential or commercial constructions were not allowed in these areas (Jansen, 1937:41). According to him, renovation and reconstruction should be considered only at the western parts of the historical Ankara that were destroyed by the fires of 1917 and 1929. Besides, certain areas like Hacıbayram, İsmetpaşa, Hacıdoğan neighborhoods were considered as districts to be reconstructed. 1\500-scale plans prepared for these areas, since the new public buildings constructed nearby at the very early years of the Republic.

In Jansen's plan the district of Ulus with its periphery was evaluated to be the centre of the new capital city (Osman, 1998). Railway Station with its periphery was designed to be the centre. Different from Lörcher Plan, he designed a green area in the form of a dagger. This approach was going to isolate the station from the city. Ulus was planned to be related with this spatial scheme and Dışkapı was aimed to be developed to integrate the station with the rest of the city as a centre. Nevertheless, this scheme adopted from the western planning tradition could not be realized; within Jansen Plan, the station was going to be isolated from the city (Günay, 2005).

The new axis like; Talat Paşa Boulevard, Ulucanlar, Denizciler and Anafartalar street, also Atatürk Boulevard, the most important street of the city, were realized. Atatürk Boulevard north to the south direction (Ulus- Yenışehir-Çankaya) was accepted to be the major axis that holds the macroform of the city. Kızılay was prepared to turn to be the new CBD which was designed at the intersection of these boulevards with Atatürk Boulevard. As it is stated by Günay (2005) since the ministries was planned to be transferred to the southern part, functions of CBD would also transfer to Kızılay. It was designed to be an extension and a new district of the city, not planned to be a sub-centre. Neighbourhood of Vekaletler in Yenışehir was designed to be the administrative centre of the city (Tankut, 1993; Altaban, 1998).

It is clear that Hacıbayram District is affected from these developments. However, there occurred almost no interventions under the light of conscious conservation politics which also related with the lack of financial sources. Under these conditions, there occurred some developments out of Jansen Plan. As a result of the increasing immigration, people with low income settled in and around Ulus, which negatively affected the settlement tendency of upper income group to the north. The old city was surrounded increasing accommodation density, uncontrolled functional transformations of degenerate the traditional urban fabric at Ulus (Ankara Kalesi Koruma Geliştirme Projesi, 1987; Günay, 2005).



Figure 4. 22 A view of the Augustus Temple and the Hacı Bayram Mosque.

In Jansen's report, historically important buildings like the Temple of Augustus and the Hacı Bayram Mosque were to be preserved in the reconstruction studies that mentioned (Jansen, 1937:40). In the plan, Hacıbayram area was considered as an important part of the historic fabric. Herman Jansen prepared a design, a small triangle-shaped square, for Hacıbayram in 1928. Design of Hacıbayram was alike other mosque-square designs that were prepared by Jansen for Ankara. On the other hand, Hacı Bayram Mosque, along with the August Temple presents a different level of importance among the other mosques. However, the design of Jansen was not successfully followed by later planning and implementation efforts.

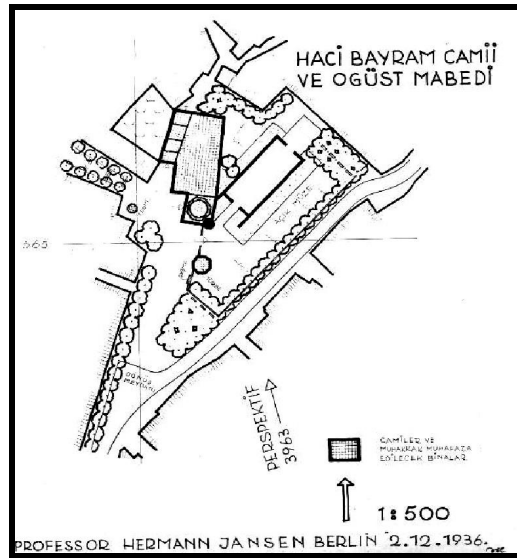


Figure 4. 23 Hacıbayram Square designed by Jansen in 1936
(Source: Baykan Günay).

According to Karababa (2002), Jansen intended to provide the spectator with a better view of the main buildings by locating the Hacı Bayram Mosque and the Temple of Augustus to the northern end of the square. Jansen used the advantage of the main traffic approach from the Hükümet Street at the south of the area through the corridor created by the buildings on the longer sides of the square (Karababa, 2002). Moreover, the open space fragmented and defined by a group of trees and a wall,

limiting the area of open museum. As a result this open space only takes two times more area than the area occupied by the temple and the mosque.

As it is understood on plans the houses that built attached to Hacı Bayram Mosque cleaned in the Jansen Plan period. Although on Vincke map, Hacı Bayram Mosque seen with the houses attached to it and only the one side of the mosque seen without any house attachments, on the Jansen plan, as it can be seen also on figure 4.23, only west side of the mosque attached a graveyard. Moreover, the Hacıbayram Square connected to the Hükümet Square with a short way on the west side of the mosque.

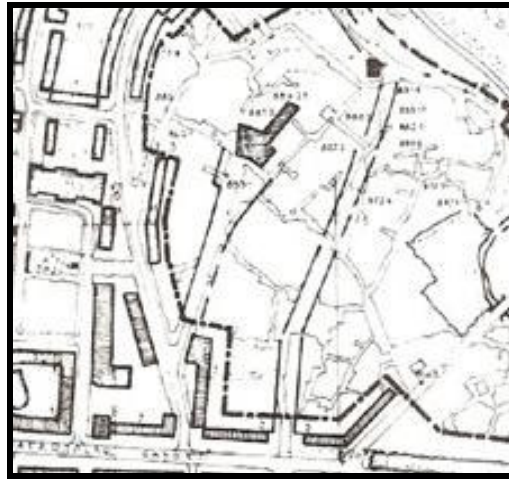


Figure 4. 24 Hacıbayram square and its close environment in the Jansen Plan.

The Temple of Augustus gained the attention of the Republican administration, through the archeological studies about the ancient history of Ankara. These studies started in 1925 and increased around 1940's and archeological studies on the Temple of Augustus revealed the inscriptions between 1926-1928. Then as a contribution to the celebrations for the 2000th birthday of the first Roman Emperor Augustus in 1937, the south face of the Augustus temple was cleared from attached houses (Buluç, 1994; Güven, 2001; Tunçer, 2001). However, the Hacı Bayram Mosque lost its central role within the urban configuration parallel to the decreasing role of religion in the political life. Moreover, the Mosque gradually lost most of its

importance as an urban center in the urban formation of the new capital. Consequently it can be said that the role of the Hacı Bayram Mosque in the social life of the city is decreased within the modernization project of the new Republic. However, it gained significance in relation to its place in the history of the city.

Hacıbayram Square was designed to be both the symbol of Greco-Roman past and the Islamic past of the city. Moreover the square became a symbol of the modern Turkish Republic that reflects the respect of the Turkish Republic to its past. However it is clear that the Hacıbayram Square was different from the other squares of the city. For example Kızılay Square was planned to be both the symbol of the new republic and the public space of the bourgeoisie. Through the Hacıbayram square, both the new publicity and public sphere would be created; and the spatial experience was going to be experienced. Although in the Ottoman period it was ordinary mosque courtyard, it gained special importance after the establishment of the Republic. Since the Hacı Bayram Mosque is situated near to Augustus Temple and the historical structure gained importance, and the mosque was very close to historical city center.

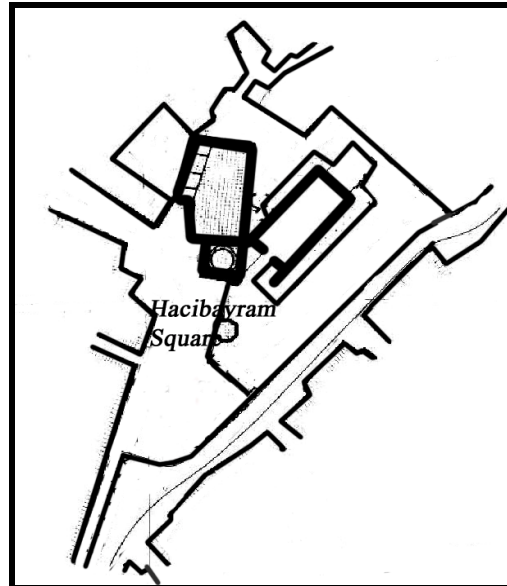


Figure 4. 25 Hacıbayram Square in the Jansen plan period
(figure is drawn on the basis of Jansen design for Hacıbayram Square).



Figure 4. 26 A view of the Hacibayram Square in 1930s.

However, like all other districts in the historical city center named as Protocol Area in the Jansen Plan, the high buildings began to be constructed along the street surrounding the Hacibayram district. As a result, traditional urban sites between the high-rise buildings along the streets have turned into depression areas.

4.2.3 Hacibayram Square in the Uybadin-Yücel Plan (1957)

The Lörcher Plan is proposed to lead the implementations experienced between the years 1925-1931. The Jansen Plan has been argued to shape the spatial transformation of Ankara during the period between the years 1930 and 1950 (Günay, 2005). In the 1950s, Ankara reached a population of 300,000 and this rapid increase in population numbers brought about uncontrollable physical developments, rendering the plan prepared by Jansen out of use. The city was surrounded by squatter housing without necessary infrastructure in the 1950s. An international competition was organized and the plan prepared by Nihat Yücel-Raşit Uybadin was elected as the winner and approved in 1957 (Tankut, 2002:4).

Although, the increase in the density of building texture in Yenışehir was stated, the transfer of the most CBD functions to Kızılay was not expected according to the plan report. As it is mentioned by the Uybadin-Yücel plan report, Ulus was decided as the main center of the city. On the other hand, because of migration from rural areas in

the 1950s, rapid urbanization and population increase in Ankara accelerated. Newcomers preferred to live and settle near Ulus and so settlements of lower income groups developed around Ulus. Therefore, upper income groups and public investments moved to Yenışehir. On the one hand, Ulus started to lose its commercial liveliness and value, on the other hand Kızılay became a district accommodating commerce and CBD functions. Ulus started to be a center basically serving to lower income group and the rural area surrounding it. As a result, a dual central structure one being traditional and the other modern appeared. Moreover, rapid increases in population densities and urbanization caused lower service standards. Therefore, green areas, social and urban service, and infrastructure became poor in quality in settled areas. Urban space quality was decreased that has not taken into account and the older garden city environment of the city. Opposed to Lörcher and Jansen Plans, which interested with the continuity of the green areas, squares etc. the Uybadin-Yücel plan did not interested with the spatial form of the city. The Uybadin-Yücel plan proposed a design based on the rectangular parcels and indirect streets.

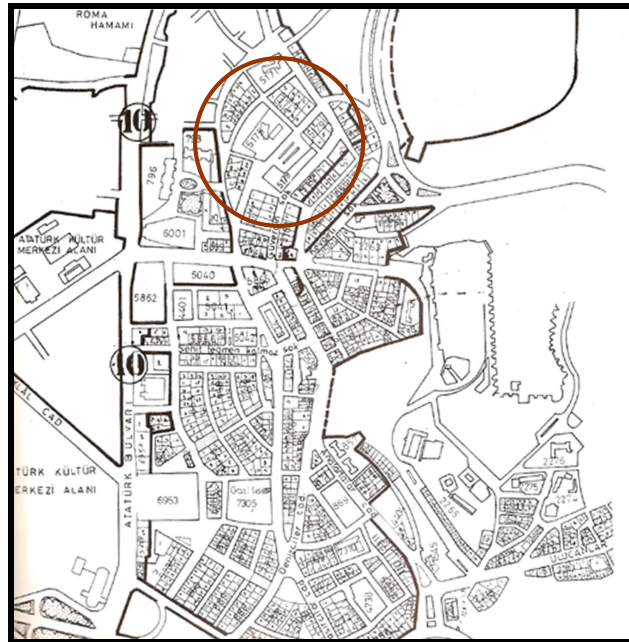


Figure 4. 27 Old city in Uybadin-Yücel Plan (1957)
(U.T.K.M. Yarışma Şartnamesi, 1986).

It was mentioned in the plan report that Protocol Area called by Jansen was not protected after Jansen. On the other hand, the Uybadin-Yücel plan preserved the gaining of the Jansen Plan. The existing urban form is assumed as an entity and conserved. However, in this plan periods some planning decisions contradicted with the historic urban fabric. For example, height limits alongside the Anafartalar Avenue that crosses the old city was increased. This is resulted the old tissue to be confined these new higher blocks. The traditional urban site has been squeezed between the high-rise buildings along the streets. Moreover, it has survived up to present having undergone a functional transformation, a decline in the environmental quality, natural deteriorations, and certain additions and divisions. Transition zones appeared and its trade functions including some parts of old city fabric, spread into periphery around the center. Low quality constructions without any aesthetics started to appear in large quantities and deteriorations appeared in the dwelling structures of transition zones. Historical city center has been degrading, architectural, cultural and social characteristics within the capital city. The residential area turned into depression area, unhealthy transformations came into being and social and physical characteristic of the area changed in a negative way in the old city centre.

In the Uybadin-Yücel Plan, the north-south axis linking Ulus and Çankaya was given priority. Moreover, besides the axis between the Ulus and Samanpazarı commercial centers, some new axes were proposed in the old fabric. In this plan period, instead of renovation and protection, demolition and new constructions were proposed for the historical districts. As it is stated by Tunçer (2001) some examples that destroyed the traditional architecture of the old city are the demolition of traditional buildings in order to open the Ulucanlar Street in 1955, and demolition of old neighborhoods in order to build the Hacettepe Hospital in 1960s. A large area behind the Municipality Building was cleared of traditional building fabric, and replaced by commercial buildings. Fortunately, the proposed new order of building blocks and building lots could not be applied in Hacıbayram District.

With the implementation of the Uybadin-Yücel Plan, the political and social structure of the Republic had already changed. The radical modernist approach,

which was always tried to be protected, was changed with the passage from the single party system to multi-party system. In this period the populist trends would orient the modernist approach that wanted to generate a national bourgeoisie. It is clear that in this planning period city was not an artifact anymore. In the development pattern of the city, natural societal forces were at work, that gave way to loss of the city's form while replacing it with a high density, monotonous and unhealthy fabric.

It is clear that the Uybadin-Yücel plan period witnessed the growth and expansion of Ankara with the great effect of rural-urban migration and suburbanization. On the other hand, the development of public spaces did not developed in parallel with this growth. The jury, who selected the Uybadin-Yücel Plan, gave some advices to the winner project such as developing of the trade center in the west of Ulus with a pedestrian plaza, hierarchy of plazas, allowing retailer development in Yenişehir. However, the plan did not bring any urban design proposal, which would affect the urban form of the city. In the implementation period of the plan two plaza arrangements realized, one is the Tandoğan plaza and the other is the Samanpazarı plaza.

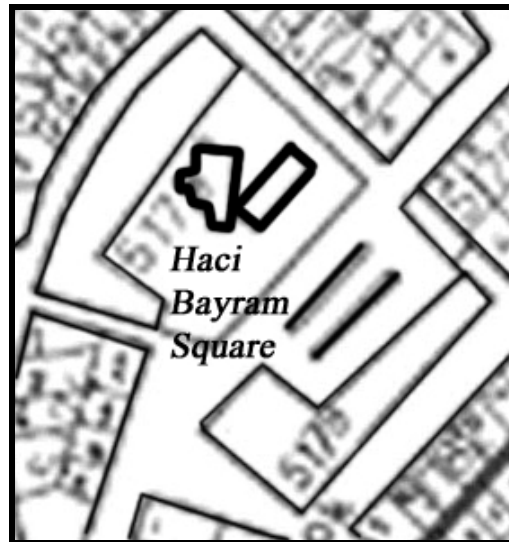


Figure 4. 28 Hacıbayram Square and its close environment in the Uybadin-Yücel Plan.
(figure is drawn on the basis of the Uybadin-Yücel Plan).

Except that the decision of planners to preserve the gaining of the Jansen Plan, there is no decision about the preservation or development of the Hacібayram Square. On the other hand the roads were widened by using the setback distance of front gardens that were arranged in the plan of Jansen. Nevertheless, this operation erased the street characters. Hacібayram Square was connected to Anafartalar and Bentderesi Streets with a 17 m. way in 1968 (Tunçer, 2001). Moreover, as it can be seen on the Uybadin-Yücel Plan car parking area was designed on the east of the Hacı Bayram Mosque and the Augustus Temple on the corner of the Bentderesi Street.

4.2.4 Hacібayram Square in the AMANPB Plan (1982)

Since the population projection for 1985 was already reached in 1962 another plan was prepared in 1975. However, through the experiences gained in previous planning studies, this time Turkish planning system is much better equipped. The Bureau for the Metropolitan Area Master Plan (AMANPB) was established in 1969, the function of which was to prepare plans with metropolitan context. After performing a detailed and extensive analysis since 1969, the plan of AMANPB was approved in 1982 and final document was called Ankara Master Plan 1990 (U.T.K.M. Yarışma Şartnamesi, 1986; Günay, 1988). According to Tankut (1993) the 1990, plan can be regarded as a plan prepared as a response to becoming a metropolis. While the Jansen Plan can be considered to be a modernization project, and Yücel-Uybadin Plan an effort to solve the problems of urbanization, the 1990 Plan can be regarded as a plan prepared as a response to becoming a metropolis (Tankut, 1993). The office adopted a multi-actor, collaborative approach and consulted to universities and professional chambers through Board of Consultants. The Office tried to produce a structure plan that can be considered as an early version of the strategic plan. In the period between 1950-1980, the establishment of the Master Planning Offices in late 1960s (Nazım Plan Büroları) were an important development in planning that called as rapid urbanization period (Keskinok, 2002).

It was thought that the centre of Ulus would be shifted towards the west of Çankırı Caddesi to renew it partially and to decrease the pressures with the Ankara Master

Plan 1990. Besides, Kızılay was thought to be growing city centre and it was proposed to shift this centre towards south (U.T.K.M. Yarışma Şartnamesi, 1986; Tunçer, 2001). Although Kızılay was mainly used by the new bourgeois, middle and high-income groups in the previous period, it became to serve as a public space in which different social groups mix and interact. On the other hand, as a result of the rapid increases in population densities and urbanization, green areas, social and urban service, and infrastructure became poor in quality in settled areas.



Figure 4. 29 Hacıbayram Conservation Project-1985
(U.T.K.M. Yarışma Şartnamesi, 1986).



Figure 4. 30 Hacıbayram Square in 1980s
(Source: Baykan Günay).

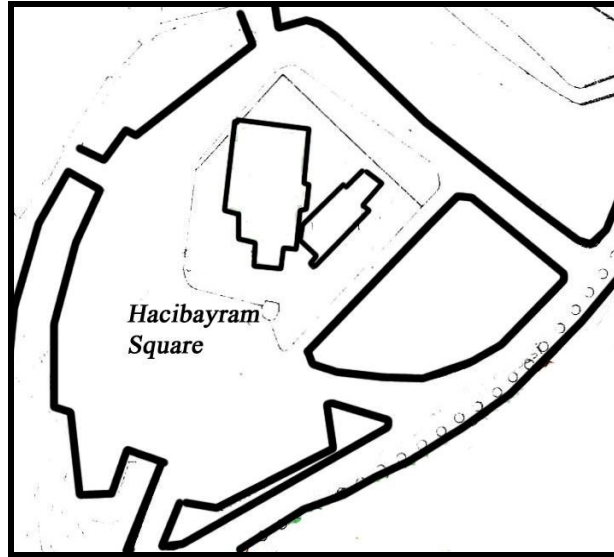


Figure 4. 31 Hacibayram Square and its close environment,
(figure is drawn on the basis of the Hacibayram Conservation Project-1985)

The Hacibayram area became an important urban task in the 1980's. As a part of Ulus-Historical Center Preservation and Renovation Project, the Hacibayram Conservation project was prepared. As the first phase of the urban transformation in the historical section of the city, the area was designed.

This project seeks an integration of the modern city with the historical center. It can be said that it reflects the challenges of the society in establishing its relationship with its past (Karababa, 2002). In 1985, plans were prepared for the preservation of the Hacibayram Area. And these studies were constituted the background for the competition of Conservation and Development Project of Ulus Historical Centre.

4.2.5 The Hacibayram Veli Mosque Environmental Renewal Project (1986)

As a result of the process until 1980's, some regions of old city have turned into depression areas. Although in the second part of 20th century the historical city centers bearing architectural, cultural, social characteristics have carefully been conserved and regenerated with renewal, rehabilitation and reconstruction politics all over the world, the urban function, social groups and also the spatial

characteristics have been changed in these regions in the capital of Turkey (U.T.K.M. Yarışma Şartnamesi, 1986).

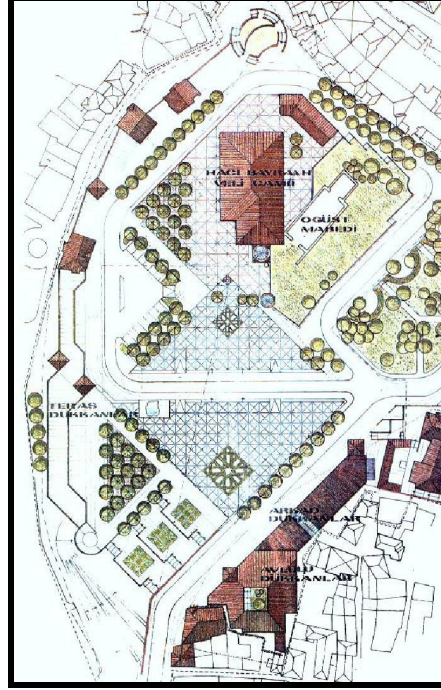


Figure 4. 32 Hacı Bayram Veli Mosque Environmental Design Project.



Figure 4. 33 Hacibayram Square before uncompleted implementation
(Source: Mehmet Tunçer).

As it is stated before the primary attempt regarding the problems in Ulus historical centre was in 1983. The planners and architects of the municipality had defined the pressing problems in the historical city center of Ankara, that the castle and its close environment on the southern and southeastern outskirts, the area of Hacı Bayram Mosque, and western and northwestern areas of this section. In 1986, Ankara Municipality Urban Planning and Reconstruction Directorate organized a competition under the name of Urban Design Competition on the Ulus-Historical Center. As a result of the competition, the first award prize was given to the planning team from METU, lead by Raci Bademli. METU Planning Group completed all kinds of analysis, researches, appraisals and planning studies between the years 1986-1987. Three framework plans at 1\1000 scale were produced and within this framework of three plans and twelve public project packages were defined by METU Planning Group. One of these public project packages which had priority between the other public project packages was Hacıbayram Veli Mosque Environmental Renewal Project. Moreover, among twelve project packages Hacıbayram Veli Mosque Environmental Renewal Project was chosen for the initial implementation, that explained by Bademli (1999) as a political choice. As a result, with the Ulus Historical Centre Planning Competition Hacıbayram Veli Mosque and its environs came into agenda. Hacı Bayram Mosque was considered within the framework of Buildings and Building Groups for Environmental Renewal in the competition protocol. Moreover, an arrangement of the square in front of Hacı Bayram Mosque and August Temple asked to the competitors in 1986, when the Hacıbayram square was utilized as a car park and dolmuş stop at that time (U.T.K.M. Yarışma Şartnamesi, 1986).

METU Planning team conceptualized a system for the urban open spaces in and around the Ulus planning area. This system is included mainly two pedestrian systems and urban plazas defined by strong geometries are proposed by this project. Since Bademli believed in the lack of any conception of an urban plaza in the Turkish cities, it was aimed to insert plazas and proposed abstract geometries for defining them. He was concerned with creating urban plazas that would be appreciated as social gathering areas. Therefore, Hacıbayram Square, Hükümet

Square and Ulus Square are proposed within the project and they connected with pedestrian axes.

The Hacıbayram Square has a central role, joining the Roman Bath, the Temple of Augustus and the Odeon within the project. It is articulated with Ulus and Hükümet Square and Hacıbayram Square is joint directly with the Hükümet Square with a rectangular form and Jülyen Column and the components like stairs and inscription. Moreover, the proximity of the Hacıbayram Square to the Ulus Square and the relation with the Hükümet Square strengthen the symbolic and functional importance of the Hacıbayram Square that has visual link with the castle. On the other hand, the Hacıbayram Square are thought to be sort of display areas for historic buildings and monuments, that is indirectly related with Antique Turkish Bath, Odeon, pedestrian axes and vista-point terraces. This attempt can be seen as to create a modern environment for public to penetrate and appreciate the historical environment in the old center of Ankara. Consequently, it is clear that Hacıbayram Veli Mosque Environmental Renewal Project was not a project developed independently on its own. Its logic and design was interconnected with its close surroundings and the city. However, although the implementation of the Project was awarded in 1990, the implementation process was interrupted and the remaining stages of the implementation could not be completed. Moreover, the square design in front of the Hacı Bayram Mosque was discouraged. After the interruption in the implementation process, the limitation elements of the square to prevent the vehicle traffic were abolished. By this way almost the whole area was opened to vehicles and parking. As a result the square turned back to its old function as a parking area.

The primary objective of the Hacıbayram Veli Mosque Environmental Renewal Project was not to preserve everything as it was. On the contrary, in order to make the historical city center again a center of the urban life, it was aimed to increase the attractivity of the area for new developments. New architecture and modern urban formations are seen as important apparatus for the project to attract urban life to the area. Although the Hacı Bayram Mosque's scale is relatively humble, it is a very

important symbol for Ankara's social life. It can be thought that the physical form of the mosque does not correspond to the social significance attached to it.

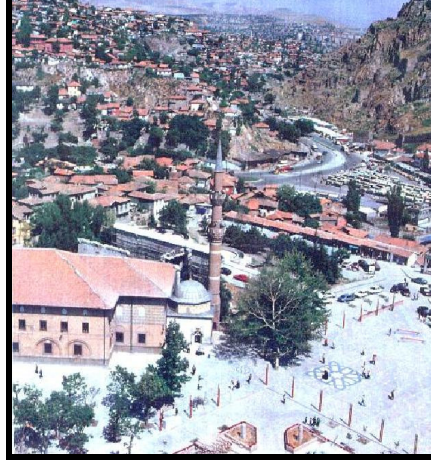


Figure 4. 34 Hacıbayram after uncompleted implementation process
(Source: Mehmet Tunçer).



Figure 4. 35 Hacı Bayram Mosque and its courtyard during Friday namaz in 2006.

Citizens have been visiting the Mosque and the Tomb of the Hacı Bayram Veli before their traditional ceremonies like the weddings and circumcision ceremonies. The mosque is also preferred for most funeral ceremonies. The square is crowded on sacred days especially Friday by the people who come to pray. Moreover, the municipality establishes an aşevi in front of the mosque for the poor to have dinner,

and every year during the Ramadan. Hundreds of people come to the area before their examination to pray for success, when there is an important exam such as for university or the governmental positions. People go to Hacibayram District also in order to find special books on Islam, and apparatus used in religious ceremonies. The area is an important commercial center in relation with religious practices. As a result, the mosque and its close environment have a strong social definition in the city. However, there are still certain people in the area secretly continuing their activities in the name of different religious sects.

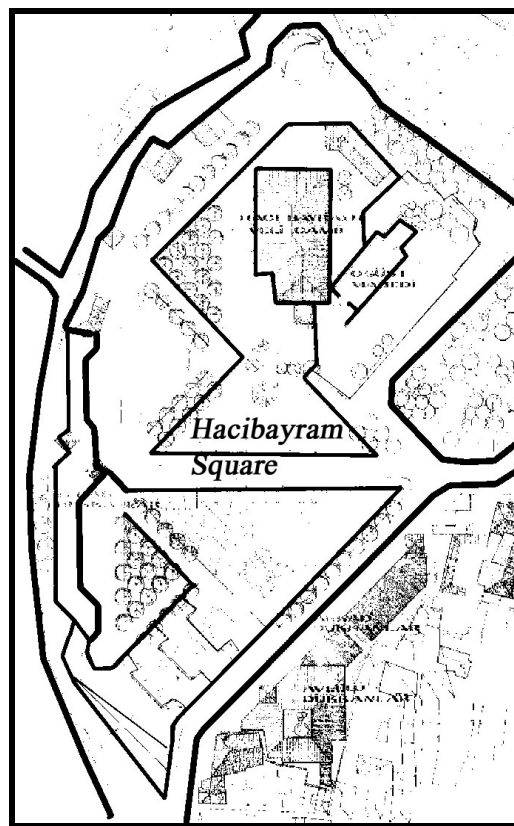


Figure 4. 36 Hacibayram Square

(figure is drawn on the basis of the Hacibayram Veli Mosque Environmental Renewal Project)

The mosque is still the representation of a social formation, which resisted the open, transparent and flexible character of the modern structures introduced by the project.

It is an important obstacle for the Hacıbayram project team since they wanted to introduce new functions and signification to the area and to the mosque. On the other hand, after the project's implementation, the continuity of the commercial activities can be seen as an important tactic to overcome the social resistance to the project.

Since, it is generally believed that there is not any conception of a public square in the Turkish society, as it is understood in the western world, the formation of the square was an important problem of the project. It was a new concept for both Hacıbayram or Ankara and the Turkish culture. Before the project, the mosque was standing nearly in the middle of an open area. However, attempts to define a new square in front of the mosque inevitably created a conflict with the surrounding historical fabric. Since, the peripheries of this defined square would interfere with the surrounding environment, design a monumental square is meant to partial destruction of the traditional fabric surrounding the area. As a result the square was constructed by creating an open area. As it would harm the archeological remains in the tumulus, the existing tumulus in the square prevented the elevation of the square to be set below a certain level.

As a result it can be said that, Raci Bademli as the head of the Project team, aimed at creating a contemporary definition for the traditional-historic urban fabric as a center of attraction. In order to do this, Bademli conceptualized the task as a re-formulation of the relation of the modern Turkish society with the historic environment parallel to western examples. And he emphasized the importance of well-defined geometry to create a strong definition for the historic site.

4.2.6 Ankara Ulus Historical City Center Urban Regeneration Project (2006)

As a result of the uncompleted implementation process although some parts were began to implement the Ulus Historical City Center Competition area has turned its old function. The square has been surrounded by dolmush stops and Square utilized as a car-parking area as it was before. Moreover, the Ulus Historical Centre Planning Project has been cancelled for *public cost* of the project. After this cancellation

decision, a new project process was started under the name of Ankara Ulus Historical City Center Urban Regeneration Project.

Although the implementation process has not been started until May 2008, the demolish studies began according to project aims. The project has also included many decisions on Hacıbayram Square. Therefore, although the result of the project can not be written, it is clear that there will be some changes in the area in terms of historical meaning, urban function and spatial form. In this part of the study, transformation of the Hacıbayram Square will be discussed according to Ankara Ulus Historical City Center Urban Regeneration Project decisions.



Figure 4. 37 Hacıbayram Square in 2006.



Figure 4. 38 Hacıbayram Square in June, 2008.



Figure 4. 39 Hacibayram Square and its close environments in the Ankara Ulus Historical City Center Urban Regeneration Project
(Source: Baykan Günay).



Figure 4. 40 A view of Augustus Temple and Hacı Bayram Mosque in June, 2008.

The Hacibayram Square is one of the defined special project areas within the project. However, the project area is not called as Hacibayram Square, it is called as Hacı Bayram Mosque and its square in the plan report. Hacı Bayram Mosque and its square defined as an area that has high symbolic importance in the historical city

center and settlement area. In the plan report existing situation of the Hacıbayram Square explained as following:

“...Hacı Bayram Mosque seen and its square is one of the areas with high symbolic importance in the historical city center and traditional settlement area. ... the disconnected situation of the area with its environment seen as an important problem that is the result of the Ulus Competition Project. With the implementation of project square has turned to a car-parking area that has no connection with its environments and it has destructive effects on the historical area. The dolmush stops and storage areas that have surrounded the area have been increasing the scale of the damage...”

According to project report the earliest project implemented to the Hacıbayram Square have been destructive effects on the historical area and these destructive effects will be removed with the new project by designing a space in harmony with historical pattern. The wholeness of the Hacı Bayram Mosque with the traditional settlement area is mentioned too many times in the plan report. In general the areas that have to be protected classified in the plan report and the case area of this study is defined in the plan report as: *“Augustus Temple and Hacı Bayram Mosque, and the historical settlement pattern on the outskirts of the Hacıbayram hill.”*

Although, the name of the Augustus Temple classified with the Hacı Bayram Mosque in the conservation list, the study on Augustus Temple is explained in the report separate from the Mosque and its environment. According to the report the Temple will be arranged to increase its accessibility and its integration with its environment. According to plan report Hacı Bayram Mosque was damaged as a result of the restoration studies.

“...Therefore restoration studies must be handled under the lights of the reliable historical documents and its close environment must be redesigned to integrate the mosque with its historical pattern. New buildings in the historical pattern that is defined the Mosque will be functioned as Sahaflar Çarşısı. With this way the area will be suitable for touristic and religious usages.”

With the project, it is aimed to increase the capacity of the mosque with an additional mosque that will not be longer than the existing mosque and will be designed as a separate building. The capacity of the Mosque will be increased and it will be protected. In addition to the new mosque building the commercial usages will be added to the square that will be designed in traditional style as Ottoman Çarşı, Arasta etc.

Within the Ankara Ulus Historical City Center Urban Regeneration Project, Hacıbayram district is classified as *residential and tourism area*. Moreover, with cultural and commercial functions it is aiming to make the area more attractive. The aim of this decision is explaining as regeneration of the historical pattern. Moreover, Hacıbayram District defined as a depression area and private initiative seen essential to regeneration of the area. Today the area used as a residential area is evaluated as an area with high touristic potential. Therefore in the Hacıbayram district transportation facilities will be varied and the car-parking capacity will be increased according to plan decision. Since the Hacı Bayram Mosque is examined with the square and the traditional settlement area around it, the mobile and pedestrian accessibility to the Hacı Bayram Mosque and the square are aimed to increase.

In addition, the construction of the teleferic line in the triangle of the park in front of the Ankara Castle, Hacıbayram Square and Hıdırlıktepe is planned. It is aimed to integrate Hacı Bayram Veli Mosque and Augustus Temple, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi, the Castle, and Hıdırlık Hill that is designed as recreation area, with teleferic line. That route will be named as “*Ulus Historical City Center Cultural Tourism Route*”. On the other hand, this line is not designed to provide a service for urban transportation it is designed to connect the focal points in the historical city center. Moreover, a railway system will be constructed between the Hacıbayram and the Ulus Square. Bentderesi and its environment will be rehabilitated and a park will be created in the area. The connection of the Hacıbayram Square with the Hükümet Square is also provided with the pedestrian roads.

Within the plan the main transporting axes defined as Atatürk Boulevard-Çankırı Street, Talatpaşa Boulevard and Bentderesi Street. On the other side Hacıbayram Street is defined as one of the main distributor axes. However, there is another decision that; the Hacıbayram Street will be pedestrianized with the Ulus Center. In the plan an area under the name of *hal*, *dolmuş stops* and *otopark area* was designed. Existing dolmuş stops around the area will be planned to transfer to this designed area. The dolmuş stops not only around the Hacıbayram Square but also around the Bentderesi and Anafartalar Street is gathered together and integrated with the new commercial focal.

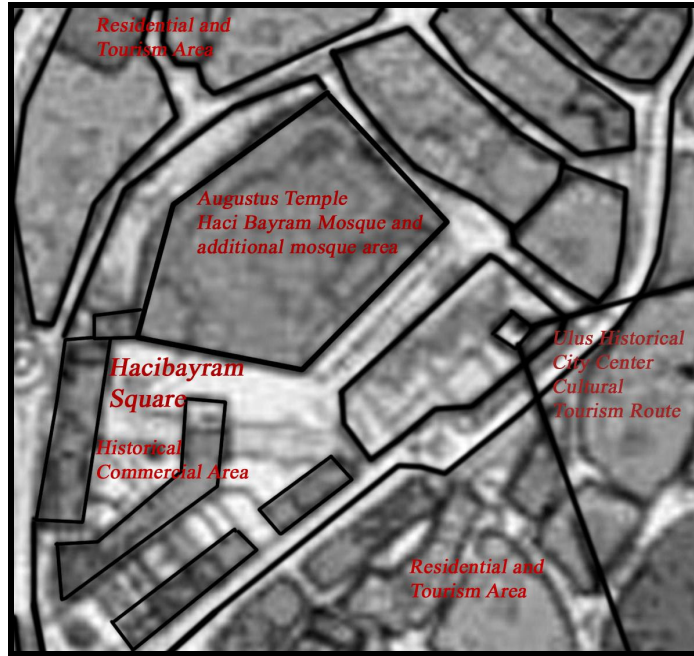


Figure 4. 41 Hacıbayram Square
(figure is drawn on the basis of
the Ankara Ulus Historical City Center Urban Regeneration Project)

The studies under the name of Ankara Ulus Historical City Center Urban Regeneration Project are executed under the political authority of Justice and Development Party. When its initial political authority, the Hacıbayram Veli

Mosque Environmental Renewal Project was interrupted because of the main concept of the project such as, the square design in front of the Hacı Bayram Veli Mosque was discouraged. Today with the project instead of the plaza with stairs that was designed by METU project team as an entrance of the Hacıbayram Square, historical commercial area is designed with the new project. Moreover the capacity of the Mosque will be increased by construction of additional mosque. Therefore area of the square will be diminished and turned to a Mosque courtyard so Islamic orientation. Moreover the attempt of the joining the Augustus Temple, Roman Bath and Odeon with a pedestrian axe turned to an attempt of joining the Hacıbayram Mosque, Ankara Castle and Hıdırlıktepe with a teleferic line. These attempts can be seen as the desire of Islamic identity to be seen at the historical city center of capital of Republic.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.1 Findings

In this thesis it was aimed to examine the transformation of the Hacıbayram Square, as a product, has three main dimensions that are *historical meaning*, *urban functions* and *spatial forms*. Both the theoretical framework, and the case study based on Ankara plans and the projects that were prepared for the Hacıbayram Square, and their attitude to Hacıbayram Square indicated that public space is not only the scene of the political struggle but also inevitably the subject of it.

It is clear that as it is discussed within this study, the political character of the area has changed beginning from the construction of the first temple in time. However, since this study develops base on the plans and maps, the transformation of the Hacıbayram Square was discussed in the process beginning from 1830s' when the first map of Ankara was drawn by Von Vincke. With the facilitating of this map and the other visual materials the condition of Ankara in 19th century and the meaning, function and the form of the Hacıbayram square in the urban system at that time are assumed. However the main issue of this thesis was the transformation of the Hacıbayram Area with the plans.

Through contradictions and struggles, the meaning, form and function of Hacıbayram Square is seen to be redefined several times (can be seen in table 1), indicating both the transformation of political struggle on the space and the transformation of the space oneself. Political struggle appear on the basis of defining

or redefining the three dimensions as the historical meaning, the urban function and the spatial form of public space.

Table 1. Transformation of Historical Meaning, Urban Function, and Spatial Form of Hacibayram Square.

<i>Plan</i>	<i>Historical Meaning</i>	<i>Urban Function</i>	<i>Spatial Form</i>
<i>Von Vincke Map(1839)</i>	<p>indicating the power of religious,</p> <p>reflection of the Islamic rules,</p> <p>the symbol of neighborhood,</p>	<p>the courtyard of the Mosque and madrasah,</p> <p>providing a permanent background for religious practice and teaching,</p> <p>urban open space for socialization,</p> <p>the center of the neighborhood,</p>	<p>the area is limited and defined by the houses surround the area,</p> <p>located at the intersection of two street,</p>
<i>transformations with reference to the planning activities</i>			
<i>the Lörcher Plan (1924)</i>	<p>historical studies gained critical importance,</p> <p>increasing interests in especially ancient history,</p> <p>resolve the conflicting relations of the Republic with the recent history,</p> <p>defining the roots of Turkish nationalism through pre-Islamic history,</p> <p>providing the creation of new public sphere,</p>	<p>started to be a square in terms of the western definition,</p> <p>providing an area for religious activities,</p> <p>urban open space for socialization,</p>	<p>providing a direct connection from the Station Street to the area by Anafartalar street,</p> <p>flattening the way that is going to the square,</p> <p>strengthening the meaning of the temple and the mosque in the square,</p> <p>cleaning the area around the temple and the mosque,</p> <p>increasing the perceptivity of mosque and temple,</p>

Table 1. Transformation of Historical Meaning, Urban Function, and Spatial Form of Hacıbayram Square (Cont'd).

<i>Plan</i>	<i>Historical Meaning</i>	<i>Urban Function</i>	<i>Spatial Form</i>
<i>the Jansen Plan (1932)</i>	<p>becoming the symbol of modernization project since modernization want to peace with past,</p> <p>becoming the symbol of unification of the historic old city and the modern life,</p> <p>designing both as the symbol of Greco-Roman and Islamic past of the city,</p> <p>the historical section of the city was the symbolic center of the War of Independence,</p>	<p>providing the engagement of the society with the historical fabric of the city,</p> <p>providing an area for religious activities,</p> <p>reflecting the respect of the Turkish Republic to its past,</p> <p>losing its central role within the urban configuration parallel to the decreasing role of religion in the political life,</p> <p>the Mosque lost its importance gradually as an urban center in the urban formation of the new capital,</p> <p>the role of the Mosque is decreased within the modernization project of the new Republic,</p> <p>gaining new significance in relation to its place in the history of the city,</p>	<p>designing as a small triangle-shaped square,</p> <p>public space fragmented and defined by a group of trees and wall,</p> <p>limiting the open area of open-air museum,</p> <p>open space takes two times more area than the area occupied by the temple and the mosque,</p> <p>cleaning the area around the temple and the mosque,</p> <p>increasing the perceptivity of mosque and temple,</p>

Table 1. Transformation of Historical Meaning, Urban Function, and Spatial Form of Hacıbayram Square (Cont'd).

<i>Plan</i>	<i>Historical Meaning</i>	<i>Urban Function</i>	<i>Spatial Form</i>
<i>the Uybadin-Yücel Plan (1957)</i>	<p>political arena of the societal opposition that led the space to occur as an issue of political struggle as well,</p> <p>reflecting the transformation from modernist approach to populist approach,</p> <p>losing its historical meaning,</p>	<p>providing an area for religious activities,</p> <p>providing car parking area,</p> <p>a social space for new comers,</p> <p>decreasing the role of the area in the social life of the city,</p>	<p>connecting to Anafartalar and Bentderesi Streets by 17 meters wide way,</p> <p>designing a new parking area around the square</p>
<i>the 1990 Ankara Plan (1982)</i>	<p>political arena of the societal opposition,</p> <p>becoming an important urban task,</p> <p>Hacıbayram Conservation Project- was prepared in 1985</p> <p>aiming to integrate the modern city and the historical center,</p> <p>reflecting the challenges of the society in establishing its relationship with its past,</p>	<p>providing an area for religious activities,</p> <p>providing car parking area,</p> <p>a social space for new comers,</p>	<p>constituting background for the competition of Conservation and Development Project of Ulus Historical Centre</p>

Table 1. Transformation of Historical Meaning, Urban Function, and Spatial Form of Hacibayram Square (Cont'd).

<i>Plan</i>	<i>Historical Meaning</i>	<i>Urban Function</i>	<i>Spatial Form</i>
<i>authority for producing a development plan has been given to Ankara Metropolitan Municipality in 1984</i>			
<i>the Hacibayram Veli Mosque Environmental Renewal Project (1986)</i>	<p>becoming a political arena,</p> <p>a modern environment for public to penetrate and appreciate the historical environment in the old center of Ankara,</p> <p>a new concept for both Hacibayram, Ankara, and the Turkish culture,</p>	<p>an important symbol for Ankara's social life,</p> <p>an important apparatus for the project to attract urban life to the area,</p> <p>an important commercial center in relation with religious practices,</p> <p>having a central role on the route joining the Roman Bath, the Temple of Augustus and the Odeon,</p> <p>having a central role to connect the pedestrian axes,</p> <p>creating urban plaza that would be appreciated as social gathering areas,</p>	<p>defined by strong geometry,</p> <p>proposed removing the car-park and dolmuş stops,</p> <p>designing a square in terms of the western definition,</p> <p>increasing the perceptibility of the Augustus Temple</p> <p>joint directly with the Government Square with a rectangular form,</p> <p>joint directly with the Jülyen Column and the components like stairs and inscription,</p>

Table 1. Transformation of Historical Meaning, Urban Function, and Spatial Form of Hacıbayram Square (Cont'd).

<i>Plan</i>	<i>Historical Meaning</i>	<i>Urban Function</i>	<i>Spatial Form</i>
<p><i>the Ankara Ulus Historical City Center Urban Regeneration Project (2006)</i></p>	<p>the studies on archeology lost its critical importance,</p> <p>cleaning the urban identity of Republican period,</p> <p>indicating the power of religious,</p> <p>creating an atmosphere like in the Ottoman cities,</p> <p>creating a symbol for the political authority in charge</p>	<p>gaining central role within the urban configuration parallel to the increasing role of religion in the political life,</p> <p>increasing the role of the Hacı Bayram Mosque in the social life of the city opposed to the modernization project,</p> <p>a mosque courtyard as social gathering area,</p> <p>providing a permanent background for religious practice and teaching,</p> <p>providing a commercial area named as historical commercial area,</p> <p>having a central role on the route joining the Ankara Castle, Hıdırlıktepe and Hacıbayram Mosque,</p>	<p>defined with buildings as in the Ottoman city,</p> <p>interpreting the cultural and physical atmosphere of the area,</p> <p>concealing the urban identity of the Republican period,</p> <p>renovating the Ottoman character of the area,</p> <p>increasing the perceptivity of the Hacı Bayram Mosque,</p> <p>suppressing the western characteristic of the square,</p>

5.2 Conclusion

The concept of social space as a social product was proposed by Lefebvre. He also stated that every mode of production produces its own space. Urban space is socially produced among spatial affairs and social actors within a dialectical process. Space and spatial practices are thought to be defined and naturalized through the daily

routines and practices, however under the conceptualization of space there is a hidden mechanism, pattern of struggles, conflict and dilemmas. Therefore, city is defined as a social product. As a result of these relations space is called as social space and defined as a social product. Urban space as a product has three main dimensions that are *historical meaning*, *urban functions* and *spatial forms*. Through contradictions and struggles the *meaning*, *function* and *form* of public space are redefined in time. They also indicate both the transformation of political struggle on space and the transformation of space itself. The transformation of *meaning*, *function* and *form* of the urban space is based on the institutionalization of socially dominant interests. With respect to their changing role in the organization of society and people's everyday life, cities are historical products both in their physical materiality and cultural meaning. In other words, the definition of urban meaning is not only a cultural entity; but also a social process within the conflicts, domination and counter domination.

Although the political character of the case area existed with the construction of first temple on the area, the features of this political character has been changed in time. The archeological remains prove the existence of a Phrygian temple on the Hacıbayram Area in 8th - 6th century BC. And orientation of the Augustus Temple supports the idea that there had been another temple on the site that might have belonged to the Hellenistic period. The existence of a previous temple at the location of the Temple of Augustus proves that the religious activities on the site had a continuous history that extends beyond the Roman period.

After Galatia became a Roman land, the Temple of Augustus was constructed on the site of the Temple for Men and Kybele and the site of the temple became a display ground for political transformation. The Temple of Augustus became an example of the use of architecture to control and manipulate the society by the increasing authority of the political administration. The Augustus temple, as a pagan temple, lost its significance after the Christianization of the city. The Byzantine administration converted the Temple of Augustus to a church in 362 and it can be seen as a strategic act to convert the citizens to Christianity. In addition, the temple

lost its intention especially after the Turks captured the city. Turks firstly converted the same building to a mosque and then the temple started to be used as a madrasah, after the construction of the Hacı Bayram Mosque. At this point it must be mentioned that the conversion of the religiously important buildings indicated the changing authorities in the city.

The year 1923 is a turning point for Ankara, when Ankara declared as the administrative centre of the Turkish Republic. This decision influenced not only the economic and political context but also for the social–spatial organization of the city. It affected also public spaces of Ankara and the political character of them. Ankara has entered in the stage of planned growth and development. It is understandable that with the first step in the planned development of Ankara a new period began also for the Hacıbayram Square, like all other public spaces in the city. In fact Hacıbayram Square was quite different from the other public spaces and mosque courtyards since in the area the Temple of Augustus stands attached to the Hacıbayram Mosque. Moreover, it is clear that not only Ankara but also Hacıbayram Square gain special importance with the establishment of the Turkish Republic.

The Turkish society became a modern nation integrating the remnants of the past civilizations after the Republic. The appreciation of old artifacts like the Augustus Temple is related with the emergence of modern history understanding and the role of the historical artifacts was related with the modernization ideals of the Republic. Additionally, the studies on history gained critical importance to resolve the conflicting relations of the Republic with the recent history by defining the roots of Turkish nationalism through pre-Islamic history. Therefore, it can be stated that not only Ankara but also Hacıbayram Square gain special importance with the establishment of the Turkish Republic. The importance of the Augustus Temple and Hacıbayram Mosque and the preservation consciousness were increased. The critical role of the Hacıbayram Mosque for the opening of the National Assembly was stated by Atatürk. Although Atatürk only aimed to provide the necessary popular support, it is important to understand the significance of the religious motivations and the faith of the society before the Republican era. It must be mentioned at this point that

Hacıbayram Square show different character from the other public spaces of Ankara that were designed with the Republic. For example, Kızılay Square as a symbolic public space of Turkish Republic, was constructed as a spatial project. It indicated both the power of the new established nation state and the public sphere which was aimed to be created.

With the Lörcher Plan, it is the first plan prepared for Ankara, Hacıbayram Square get in hand. One of the contributions and propositions of Lörcher Plan was the spatial organization of public spaces. Hacıbayram square started to gain an identity as a square in terms of the western definition with the Lörcher Plan. Lörcher became the pioneer with his study on the Hacıbayram Square to following studies. After Lörcher, Jansen Plan came into operation in 1932 as the second planning experience of Ankara. In the Jansen Plan the historical urban site is defined as the *Protocol Area* that included the Hacıbayram Square. A small triangle-shaped square was designed for Hacıbayram by Jansen. In contrast, the Hacıbayram Mosque is the only one Ahi Mosque for which special drawing was prepared. This first period of planning process, that included Lörcher Plan and Jansen Plan, aimed at creating a modern capital, which would be the concrete reflection of Atatürk's ideals to create an enlightened nation. Hacıbayram Square had been perceived to be a *spatial project* of the new established Republic by resolving the conflicting relations of the Republic with the recent history by defining the roots of Turkish nationalism through pre-Islamic history. It is conceived, defined and constructed by the architect-planners as the public space of the Republic with respect to the new developed design techniques and paradigms of public space adopted from the western world; the sequences of public spaces were provided by design elements in the first two plans of Ankara.

The second stage of the planning attempts for Ankara was shaped through the Uybadin-Yücel Plan, which was prepared due to the pressure of the pragmatic problems of unplanned growth. In 1957 the area in front of the mosque was cleared and the Hacıbayram Square was connected to Anafartalar and Bentderesi Streets. Moreover, a new parking area was planned on the corner of the Bentderesi Street. It

is clear that, the Uybadin-Yücel Plan did not concentrate on the spatial form in the shape of squares, urban green areas in a sequence different from Lörcher and Jansen Plans. When the attempt of the party in power is considered in the Uybadin-Yücel Plan period, it was seen that Democratic Party observed to approach the development and spatial transformation of Ankara different from the planning attempt in 1930's.

And the third stage of the planning attempts for Ankara, known as 1990 Ankara Plan period, was prepared as a metropolitan plan, function of which was to prepare plans with metropolitan context. While the Lörcher Plan and Jansen Plan is considered to be a modernization project and the Uybadin-Yücel Plan an effort to solve the problems of urbanization, the 1990 Plan can be regarded as a plan prepared as a response to becoming a metropolis.

In 1983, several legal arrangements were made as a reaction to the politicization of local governments in 1970's. After the restoration of democracy, the economic structure of the local governments was supported to provide them to continue the service provisions and investments of infrastructure. In the structure diversified as Metropolitan and District Municipalities, Motherland Party came to power when they also had taken the power of the central government. It means they enabled the entrepreneur practices to be widespread throughout the cities.

In 1986, a competition was organized named as *Urban Design Competition on the Ulus-Historical Center* by Ankara Municipality Urban Planning and Reconstruction Directorate. The study area for the competition covered also the Hacıbayram Square. As a result the first award prize was given to METU Planning Group. Within the project Hacıbayram Square has a central role, joining the Roman Bath, the Temple of Augustus and the Odeon and the relation with the Hükümet Square strengthen the symbolic and functional importance of the Hacıbayram Square.

Within the framework of the Ulus Historical Centre Planning Project, twelve public project packages were defined and Hacı Bayram Veli Mosque Environmental

Renewal Project had priority among the other public project packages as a political choice. However, the implementation process could not be started during the political authority of Motherland Party. In 1991-1994 period, Social Democratic Republican Party was in charge and they were willing to start implementation process of the project as soon as possible. The implementation process was started but then interrupted. Unfortunately, the remaining stages could not be completed. It can be explained by the political choice of the municipality in the political authority of Welfare Party. Because the main concept of the project such as, the square design in front of the Hacıbayram Veli Mosque was discouraged. Although, Bademli conceptualized the task as a re-formulation of the relation of the modern Turkish society with the historic environment parallel to western examples, as a result of the uncompleted implementation process the area turned to be a car-parking and dolmush stop as it was before the Ulus-Historical Centre Competition.

Added to the struggles after 1980s, political arguments and struggles have been experienced between the planners, the civil associations and the mayors of local governments. All plans Lörcher (1924), Jansen (1932), Uybadin-Yücel (1957), Ankara Plan (1990), Ulus Historical Centre Planning Project (1986) have transformed meaning, form and function of Hacıbayram Square (can be seen in table 1). Lastly, nowadays the implementation of Ankara Ulus Historical City Center Urban Regeneration Project (2006) that was prepared for the historical city center of Ankara by Ankara Metropolitan Municipality under the political authority of Justice and Development Party, was began to transform the Hacıbayram Square. The president of the Municipality is the same person during his presidency the implementation process of the Hacıbayram Veli Mosque Environmental Renewal Project was interrupted. Since, the main concept of the project such as, the square design in front of the Hacıbayram Veli Mosque was discouraged. Therefore the area turned to be a car-parking and dolmush stop as it was.

The meaning, function and form of Hacıbayram Square have transformed both within the institutionalization of socially dominant interests and also through the conflicts and struggles of these dominant interests with the grassroots alternative. It

is seen that the conflict over a space is based on the differentiation Lefebvre introduced to the literature. Concepts of spatial practices, representations of space, and representational space, indicating the distinction and contradiction between *perceived*, *conceived* and *lived* space, were seen also to be on the basis of the conflict of a space produced. Hacıbayram Square is both a social and historical product resulted from struggles of actors' conflicting interests and values. Therefore, as examined within this thesis the political context, social and spatial organization plays an essential role to define and transform the character of political and social contradiction.

The Augustus Temple having strong intentional message since it was not destroyed that proves the tolerance of the Turkish society and Islam vis-à-vis other religions. It is interesting to see how the relation between politics and history is being constructed in accordance with the present day motivations. In the 2nd century BC the conversion of the existing temple that was dedicated to Men and Kybele turned to another temple dedicated to Augustus that associated Augustus' personality with the authority of their older Gods, was an explicit message to the citizens of Ancyra. The utilization of an existing temple to construct the new one in the name of Augustus aimed at providing the society with the feeling that Augustus was the successor of their religious life. Although this claim will be speculative, nowadays in the case area of this study, like in the 2nd century BC. a new project has began to implement instead of the Ulus Historical Centre Planning Project. Moreover, this new project was named as the Ankara Ulus Historical City Center Urban Regeneration Project, has been developed by Municipality that was interrupted the implementation process and canceled the Ulus Historical Centre Planning Project as a political choice.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Acar, E. Ankara: Osmanlı Anadolu Kentinde Mülkiyet/Doku İlişkileri, Department of Architecture Masters Thesis, METU, Ankara, 1975.

Akçura, T. Ankara: Türkiye'nin Başkenti Hakkında Monografik Bir Araştırma, METU Faculty of Architecture Press, Ankara, 1971.

Akış, T. Gündelik Hayat ve Kentsel Mekan, Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri, Başkent Üzerine Mekân-Politik Tezler (ed. Sargın, G.A.), İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2002.

Aktüre, S. 19. Yüzyıl Sonunda Anadolu Kenti Mekansal Yapı Çözümlemesi, METU Faculty of Architecture Press, Ankara, 1978.

Aktüre, S. 16. Yüzyıl Öncesi Ankara'sı Üzerine Bilinenler, Tarih İçinde Ankara: Eylül 1981 Seminer Bildirileri, METU Faculty of Architecture Press, Ankara (ed.) Yavuz, A.T., 3-48, 1984.

Aktüre, S. 17. ve 18. Yüzyıllarda Ankara, Ankara Ankara Yapı Kredi Yayınları: İstanbul (ed. Batur, E.,) 87-107, 1994.

Aktüre, S., 1830'dan 1930'a Ankara'da Günlük Yaşam, Tarih İçinde Ankara II: 1998 Seminer bildirileri, Ankara (ed.) Yavuz, Y., 35-75, METU Faculty of Architecture Press , Ankara, 2001.

Akurgal, E. The Turks and Türkiye, TÜTAV, Ankara, 1991.

Akurgal, E. Anadolu Kültür Tarihi, TÜBİTAK, Ankara, 1998.

Akurgal, E. Augustus Tapınağı ve Yazıtlar Kraliçesi, Ankara Ankara Yapı Kredi Yayınları: İstanbul (ed.) Batur, E., 21-50, 1994.

Alemdar, K. Seyahatnamelerde Ankara, Tarih İçinde Ankara: Eylül 1981 Seminer bildirileri, Ankara (ed.) Yavuz, A.T., 97-105, METU Faculty of Architecture Press , Ankara, 1984.

Alemdar, K. Seyahatnamelerde Ankara, Ankara Ankara Yapı Kredi Yayınları: İstanbul (ed. Batur, E.,), 245-264, 1994.

Altaban, Ö. Kamu Yapıları Yer Seçim Süreçleri, Ankara 1985'ten 2015'e, EGO Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, Ankara, 1987.

Altaban, Ö. Cumhuriyetin Kent Planlama Politikaları ve Ankara Deneyimi, in 75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık (ed. Y. Sey & D. Özkan). Publication of Türk Tarih Vakfı, İstanbul, 1998.

Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi İmar Daire Başkanlığı, U.T.K.M. Yarışma Şartnamesi, 1986.

Ankara İmar Planı, Alaeddin Kıral Basimevi, İstanbul, 1937.

Arendt, H. The Human Condition, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and Londra, 1958.

Arendt H. İnsanlık Durumu, (translated by Bahadır Sina Şener), İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 1994.

Aru, K.A. Osmanlı Kentlerinin Genel Karakteristikleri Üzerine Görüşler, , Tarihten Günümüze Anadolu'da Konut ve Yerleşme (ed. Sey, Y.), İstanbul, p. 329-334, 1996.

Aru, K. Türk Kenti, YEM Yayın, İstanbul, 1998.

Bademli, R. Ülkenli, Z.K. Hacıbayram Çevre Düzenlemesi Projesi, Ankara Söyleşileri, Ankara, 57-62, 1994.

Bademli, R. (1990) 1990'dan 2000'li Yılların Ankara'sına Bir Bakış, Ankara Dergisi cilt:1 sayı:3, Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi, p. 35-45.

Bademli, R., Ankara'da Kent Planlama Deneyi ve Ulaşılan Sonuçlar, Ankara Ankara Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul (ed. Batur, E.), 161-169, 1994.

Bakırer, Ö., Ankara Kalesi Üzerindeki Belge ve Bilgiler, Tarih İçinde Ankara II: Aralık 1998 Seminer Bildirileri, (ed. Yavuz, Y.), 173-199, METU Faculty of Architecture Press , Ankara, 2001.

Barlas, A. M. Urban Streets & Urban Rituals, METU Faculty of Architecture Press, Ankara, 2006.

Batuman, B. Hegemonic Struggle within the Reproduction of Public Space: Domination and Appropriation in and of Kızılay Square, Department of Architecture Masters Thesis, METU, Ankara, 2000.

Batuman, B. Mekan, Kimlik ve Sosyal Çatışma: Cumhuriyet'in Kamusal Mekanı olarak Kızılay Meydanı in Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri, Başkent Üzerine Mekân-Politik Tezler (ed. Sargın, G. A.) İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2002.

Benhabib, S. Models of Public Space: Hannah Arendt, the tradition, and Jürgen Habermas, Habermas and the Public Sphere, (ed.) Calhoun, C. London, 73-98, 1992.

Benhabib, S. Kamu Alanı Modelleri, Kent ve Kültürü, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları 238-258, 1996.

Botteri, P. Fangi G., The Ancyra Project: The Temple Of Augustus And Rome In Ankara, The International Archives of the Photogrammetry, Remote Sensing and Spatial Information Sciences, Vol. XXXIV, Part 5/W12, 84-88, 2002.

Buluç, S. İlk Çağda Ankara, Ankara Ankara Yapı Kredi Yayınları: İstanbul (ed.) Batur, E. 21-32, 1994.

Cansever, T. Ev ve Şehir Üzerine Düşünceler, İnsan Yayınları: İstanbul, 1994.

Carr, P., et. al. Public Space, SAGE Publications, London, 1992.

Castells, M. The City and the Grassroots – A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements, Esward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd., London, 1983.

Castells, M. The Urban Question : A Marxist Approach, Cambridge, Mass. : MIT Pres, 1977.

Castells, M. Kent, Sınıf ve İktidar, Bilim ve Sanat Yayınları (çev. Asuman Erendil), Ankara, 1997.

Cengizkan, A. Momentum Ankara, Ankara Ankara Yapı Kredi Yayınları: İstanbul (ed.) Batur, E., 487-506, 1994.

Cengizkan, A. 'Kurgu, Tasarım ve Kullanım: Cumhuriyet Dönemi Kamusal Mekanları İçin Bir Çalışma Programı', Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri, Başkent Üzerine Mekân-Politik Tezler (düz. Sargın, G. A.) içinde, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2002.

Cengizkan, A. Ankara'nın İlk Planı 1924-1925 Lörcher Planı, Ankara, 2004.

Cengizkan, A. '1957 Yücel-Uybadin İmar Planı ve Ankara Şehir Mimarisi', Tansı Şenyapılı (der.), 'Cumhuriyet'in 'Ankara'sı içinde, Ankara : METU Faculty of Architecture Press, 2005.

Cerasi, M. M. 18. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Kenti, Cogito sayı:19, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, p.201-215, 1999.

Childs, M.C. Squares: A Public Place Design Guide for Urbanists, Albuquerque : University of New Mexico Press, 2004.

Çadircı, M. Yönetim Merkezi Olarak Ankara'nın Geçirdiği Evrim Tarih İçinde Ankara: Eylül 1981 Seminer bildirileri, Ankara (ed.) Yavuz, A.T., 89-105, METU Faculty of Architecture Press , Ankara, 1984.

Çadircı, M. Anadolu Kentlerinde Mahalle (Osmanlı Dönemi), Sey, Y. (ed.) (1996), Tarihten Günümüze Anadolu'da Konut ve Yerleşme, İstanbul, p. 257-263, 1996.

Denel, S. 19. Yüzyılda Ankara'nın Kentsel Formu ve Konut Dokusundaki Farklılaşmalar, Tarih İçinde Ankara: Eylül 1981 Seminer bildirileri, Ankara (ed.) Yavuz, A.T. 131-153, METU Faculty of Architecture Press , Ankara, 1984 .

Devellioğlu, Z. Understanding of Urban Public Space in terms of Social Relations, Unpublished Ms Thesis, ODTÜ, Ankara, 1995.

Dijkstra, L.W. Public Spaces: A Comparative Discussion of the Criteria for Public Space in Constructions of Urban Space (ed. Ray Hutchison), 1-22, Jai Press Inc., Connecticut, 2000.

Dines N., Cattell V., Gesler, W., Curtis S. Public spaces, social relations and well-being in east London, Bristol, UK : Published for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation by Policy Press, 2006.

Durukan A., Günsel, R. Başkentin Tarihi, Arkeolojisi ve Mimarisi, Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı Yayınları: Ankara, 2004.

Ellison, G. Ankara, Ankara Ankara Yapı Kredi Yayınları: İstanbul (ed.) Batur, E., 285-310, 1984.

Emiroğlu, K. Yüksel A., Türkoğlu, Ö, Çoşkun, E., Ankara Vilayeti Salname-i Resmisi, Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı Yayınları: Ankara, 1995.

Erdoğan, E. Tahrir Defterlerine Göre Ankara Şehri Yerleşmeleri, Gazi Üniversitesi Kırşehir Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi, Cilt 6, Sayı 1, 249-262, 2005.

Ergenç, Ö. 16. Yüzyıl Ankara'sı: Ekonomik, Sosyal yapı ve Kentsel Özellikleri Üzerine Bilinenler, Tarih İçinde Ankara: Eylül 1981 Seminer bildirileri, Ankara (ed.) Yavuz, A.T., 49-59, 1984.

Ergenç, Ö. Ankara Tarihine İlişkin Belgeler, Ankara Dergisi cilt:1 sayı:3, Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi, p. 13-16, 1992.

Ergenç, Ö. XVI. Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya, Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı Yayınları: Ankara, 1995.

Erzen, A. İlkçağda Ankara, Ankara, 1946.

Evyapan, G. A. Old Turkish gardens, Ankara : METU Faculty of Architecture Press, 1999.

Evyapan, G.A. Hacıbayram Meydanı Düzenlemesi, Arkitekt, 3:1991.

Faroqhi, S. Osmanlı Dünyasında Üretmek, Pazarlamak, Yaşamak, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2003.

Faroqhi, S. Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam: Ortaçağdan Yirminci Yüzyıla, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları: İstanbul, 1997.

Gehl, J. Life between Buildings: Using Public Space, New York Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1987.

Görmez, K. Bir Metropol Kent Ankara Sosyal Yapı-Kimlik-Yaşam, Fersa Matbaacılık-Ankara, 2004.

Güçhan, N. Ş. 16-19 yy. Nüfus Tahminlerine Göre Osmanlı Ankara'sında Mahallelerin Değişim Süreçlerinin Üzerine Bir Deneme, Tarih İçinde Ankara II: Aralık 1998 Seminer Bildirileri, (ed.) Yavuz, Y., METU Ankara, p. 123-154, 2001.

Günay, B. Our generation of planners the hopes, the fears, the facts: case study Ankara, SCUPAD SS 20th anniversary Congress, Salzburg, 1998.

Günay, B. Property Relations and Urban Space, Ankara : METU Faculty of Architecture Press, 1999.

Günay, B. Ankara Çekirdek Alanı'nın Oluşumu ve 1990 Nazım Planı Hakkında bir Değerlendirme, Tansı Şenyapılı (der.), 'Cumhuriyet'in 'Ankara'sı içinde, Ankara : METU Faculty of Architecture Press, 1999.

Güven. S. Res Gestae Divi Augusti Yazıtı ve Ankara'nın Roma Dünyasındaki Yeri, Ankara Ankara Yapı Kredi Yayınları: İstanbul (ed.) Batur, E., 51-61, 1994.

Güven. S. Displaying the Res Gestae of Augustus, JSAH 57:1, 1998.

Güven. S. Bir Roma Eyaletinin Evrim Sürecinde Galatia ve Ancyra, Tarih İçinde Ankara II: Aralık 1998 Seminer Bildirileri, (ed.) Yavuz, Y., METU Ankara, p.109-122, 2001.

Habermas, J. The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, Great Britain: Polity Press, 1992.

Habermas, J. Kamusalığın yapısal dönüşümü, translated by Tanıl Bora, Mithat Sancar, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2000.

Habermas, J., Lennox, S., Lennox, F. The Public Sphere: An encyclopedia Article, New German Critique, vol. 3, 1974, 49-55, 1964.

Harvey D. The Condition of Postmodernity, An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change, Basil Blackwell, Oxford & Cambridge, 1990.

Harvey, D. Postmodernliğin Durumu, Çev. Sungur Savran, Metis, İstanbul, 1999.
Hoag, J.D. Western Islamic architecture, G. Braziller: New York, 1963.

İlkay, Y. The Political Struggle On And At Public Space: The Case Of Kızılay Square, Department of Urban Policy Planning and Local Governments Masters Thesis, METU, Ankara, 2007.

Jones P. Roberts M., Morris L., Rediscovering mixed-use streets : the contribution of local high streets to sustainable communities, Bristol, UK : Published for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation by Policy Press, 2006.

Karababa, Ö. City and Collective Memory: Urban Projects in the Hacıbayram Area, Department of Architecture Masters Thesis, METU, Ankara, 2002.

Kayasü, S. Ankara İmar Planlarının Açık ve Yeşil Alan Yaklaşımları, Tansı Şenyapılı (der.), Cumhuriyet'in Ankara'sı içinde, Ankara : METU Faculty of Architecture Press, 2005.

Kelly, M. N. Ankara, Ankara Ankara Yapı Kredi Yayınları: İstanbul (ed.) Batur, E., 279-284, 1994.

Keskinok, Ç. State and the (Re)production of Urban Space, METU Faculty of Architecture Press, Ankara, 1997.

Kostof, S. The City Assembled: The Elements of Urban Form Through History, Boston: Little, Brown, 1992.

Kuban, D. İstanbul an Urban History, Byzantion, Constantinopolis, The Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey: İstanbul, 1996.

Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü and Altındağ Belediye Başkanlığı, Ankara Kalesi Koruma Geliştirme İmar Planı Projesi, Ankara, 1987.

Lefebvre, H. The Production of Space (translated by D. Nicholson-Smith) Oxford & Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1991.

Lewis, R. Osmanlı Türkiyesinde Gündelik Hayat, Doğu Kardeş Yayınları:, İstanbul, 1973.

Lofland, L. A World of Strangers, New York: Basic Books Inc, 1973.

Lofland, L. The Public Realm: Exploring the City's Quintessential Social Territory. Hawthorne, N.Y. : Aldine de Gruyter, 1998.

Madanipou, A. Design of Urban Space: an inquiry into a socio-spatial process, Chichester ; New York : Wiley, 1996.

Madran, E. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Klasik Çağlarında Onarım Alanının Örgütlenmesi 16.-18. Yüzyıllar, Ankara : METU Faculty of Architecture Press, 2004.

Madran, E. Gezi Yapıtlarında Ankara Kenti Ve Yapıları, Tarih İçinde Ankara II: Aralık 1998 Seminer Bildirileri, (ed.) Yavuz, Y. Ankara, 155-172, 2001.

McCann, E., J. Race, Protest and Public Space: Contextualizing Lefebvre in the U.S. City, Antipode 31:2, 1999, 163-184, 1999.

Mihçioğlu E. A Proposal For The Preservation Of A Damaged Traditional Urban Fabric At Hacibayram –Ankara: As A Sub-Study Of The Valid Development Plan, Department of Architecture Masters Thesis, METU, Ankara, 1996.

Moughtin, C. Urban Design, Street and Square, MPG Books, Elsevier, Oxford, Great Britain, 2003.

Mumford, L. Tarih Boyunca Kent, Ayrıntı Yayınları, İstanbul, 2007.

Ortaylı, İ. 19. Yüzyılda Ankara'sına Demiryolu'nun Gelişi Hinterlandının ve Hinterlanddaki Üretim Eylemlerinin Değişimi, Tarih İçinde Ankara: Eylül 1981 Seminer bildirileri, Ankara (ed.) Yavuz, A.T., 209-221, 1984.

Ortaylı, İ. 19. Yüzyılda Ankara, Ankara Ankara Yapı Kredi Yayınları: İstanbul (ed.) Batur, E., 109-119, 1994.

Osmançavuşoğlu, A. Urban Transformation Process: Ulus Historical City Center Planning Project, Department of City and Regional Planning Masters Thesis, Metu, Ankara., 2006

Osmay, S. 1923'ten Bugüne Kent Merkezlerinin Dönüşümü in Y. Sey & D. Özkan (eds.) 75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık. İstanbul: Publication of Türk Tarih Vakfı, 1998.

Önsoy, R. 19. Yüzyılda Ankara'nın Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi, Ankara Ankara Yapı Kredi Yayınları: İstanbul (ed.) Batur, E., 121-138, 1994.

Perrot, G. Ankara'da Üç Ay, Ankara Ankara Yapı Kredi Yayınları: İstanbul (ed.) Batur, E., 269-278, 1994.

Rapoport, A. Human Aspects of Urban Design: Toward a Man-Environment Approach to Urban Form and Design, Pergamon Press, 1977.

Rykwert, J. The Idea of a Town: the anthropology of urban form in Rome, Italy and the ancient world, Cambridge, Mass. : MIT Press, 1988.

Sargın, G. A. 'Kamu, Kent ve Politika', Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri, Başkent Üzerine Mekân-Politik Tezler (ed. Sargın, G. A.) içinde, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2002.

Sargın, G.A. Kamu, Kent ve Politika in G.A. Sargın (eds.) Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002.

Sargın, H. Antik Ankara, Ankara, 2004.

Sarioğlu, M. Ankara Bir Modernleşme Öyküsü (1919-1945), T.C.Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, Ankara, 2001.

Serin, U. Public Participation in the integrated conservation of Historic Urban environment, Unpublished Ms Thesis, ODTÜ, Ankara, 1995.

Sitte, C. City Planning According to Artistic Principles, New York, Random House, 1965.

Şengül, H.T. Radikal Kent Kuramları Üzerine Eleştirel Bir Değerlendirme: Alternatif Bir Yaklaşım Doğru, 1. Bölüm, Kentsel Çelişki ve Siyaset içinde, WALD Demokrasi Kitaplığı, İstanbul, 2001.

Şiranlı, İ.S. Urban Design As Process Design: An Evaluation Of Ulus Historical City Centre Planning&Urban Design Experiences, Department Of City And Regional Planning Masters Thesis, METU, Ankara, 1999.

Tankut, G. Bir Başkent'in İmarı. İstanbul: Anahtar Kitaplar, İstanbul, 1993.

Tankut, G. Jansen Planı: Uygulama Sorunları ve Cumhuriyet Bürokrasisinin Kent Planına Yaklaşımı in Tarih İçinde Ankara: Eylül 1981 Seminer Bildirileri, Ankara (ed.) Yavuz, A.T., 303-319, 1984.

Tankut, G. Ankara İmar Planı Uygulamasının 1929-1939 Arasındaki Dikkat Çeken Verileri, Tarih İçinde Ankara II: 1998 Seminer bildirileri, Ankara (ed.) Yavuz, Y., 9-15, 2001.

Tankut, G. The Seljuk City\ Selçuklu Kenti, METU Faculty of Architecture Press, Ankara, 2007.

TMMOB Mimarlar Odası, Ankara Şubesi, Bir baskentin oluşumu Ankara 1923-1950, Ankara, 1994.

Tekeli, İ. Ankara'nın Başkentlik Kararının Ülkesel Mekan Organizasyonu ve Toplumsal Yapıya Etkileri Bakımından Genel Bir Değerlendirilmesi in Tarih İçinde Ankara: Eylül 1981 Seminer Bildirileri, Ankara (ed.) Yavuz, A.T., 321-338, 1984.

Tekeli, İ. Ankara'da Tarih İçinde Sanayinin Gelişimi ve Mekansal Farklılaşması, Ankara Ankara Yapı Kredi Yayınları: İstanbul (ed.) Batur, E., 171-199, 1994.

Tekeli, İ. 'Türkiye'de Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kentsel Gelişme ve Kent Planlaması', Yıldız Sey 75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık, Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları : İstanbul, 1998.

Tuğlacı, P. Osmanlı Şehirleri, Milliyet Yayınları: İstanbul, 1985.

Tunç, G. Transformation of Public Space: The Case of Migros Akköprü Shopping Center, Department of Urban Policy Planning and Local Governments Masters Thesis, METU, Ankara, 2003.

Tunç, G. Transformation of Public Space: the case of Migros Akköprü Shopping Center, Unpublished Ms Thesis, ODTÜ, Ankara, 2003.

Tunçer, M., Cengizkan A. Tarihi Kent Merkezlerinde Kentsel Yenileme ve Yenileşme Ulus Tarihi Kent Merkezi Planlaması Kapsamında Hacıbayram Camii Çevre Düzenleme Projesi, İstanbul, 1996.

Tunçer, M. Kentsel Tasarımın Tarihsel Çevre Korunmasında Etkin Olarak Kullanımı, "Böl ve Yönet Modeli": Ankara, Konya, Antalya Tarihi Kent Merkezleri, İstanbul, 1998.

Tunçer, M. Ankara (Angora) Şehri Merkez Gelişimi (14.-20. YY), T.C.Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, Ankara, 2001.

Tunçer, M. Ankara'da Tarihsel Çevrenin Korunmasına Yönelik Politikalar, Tarih İçinde Ankara II: Aralık 1998 Seminer Bildirileri, (ed.) Yavuz, Y. Ankara, 75-107, 2001.

Tunçer, M. Kentlerimizi Çağdaş Altyapı Ve Görünüme Kavuşturmak Hedefinde Planlama, Kent Tasarımı Ve Plancının Rolü, Kentsel Dönüşüm Sempozyumu: Tmmob Şehir Plancıları Odası İstanbul Şubesi, 2003.

Uludağ, S.Z. The Social construction of meaning in landscape architecture: A Case study of Gençlik Parkı in Ankara, Unpublished Phd. Thesis, ODTÜ, Ankara, 1998.

Vardar, A. Meydansız Kentler, Planlama 90/3-4, s.30-34, 1990.

Watenpaugh, H.Z. The Image of an Ottoman City, Netherlands. Leiden; Boston : Brill, 2004.

Watson, S., Studdert D. Markets as sites for social interaction : spaces of diversity, Bristol, UK : Published for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation by Policy Press, 2006.

Webb, M. The city square: a historical evolution, New York : Whitney Library of Design, 1990.

Wright, T. New Urban Spaces and Cultural Representations: Social Imaginers, Social-Physical Space, and Homelessness, in Constructions of Urban Space (ed. Ray Hutchison), 23-57, Jai Press Inc., Connecticut, 2000.

Yalın, İ. Ulus Square as a Representational Form of Collective Memory, Unpublished Ms Thesis, ODTÜ, Ankara, 2001.

Yavuz, E. 19. Yüzyılda Ankara'sında Ekonomik Hayatın Örgütlenmesi ve Kent- İçi Sosyal Yapı, Tarih İçinde Ankara: Eylül 1981 Seminer bildirileri, Ankara (ed.) Yavuz, A.T. 195-208, 1984.

Yeşilkaya, N. G. Transformation of Public Space in the Nineteenth Century İstanbul: Beyazıt Meydanı, Unpublished Phd. Thesis, ODTÜ, Ankara, 2003.

Zucker, P. Town and Square from Agora to the Village Green, Columbia University Press, New York, 1996.

Zürcher, E. J. Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi, İletişim Y. İstanbul, 1993.