

# THE IMAGINED COMMUNITY AS URBAN REALITY

## *The Making of Ankara*

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The relationship between modernity and the city is no doubt a complex one. Even though urban theory has been exploring this relationship thoroughly, this investigation has been limited by a Eurocentric conceptualization of modernity, thereby producing a skewed analysis that takes the Western urban experience as the norm. This limitation is augmented with the complexities and ambiguities arising from the diverse uses of the concept of modernity that can take many, sometimes contradictory meanings. For example, a textbook definition takes modernity as a “distinct and unique form of social life” characterized by a cluster of institutions such as the nation-state, capitalist economic order, industrialism, or secular, materialist, rationalist, or individualist cultural values.<sup>1</sup> Whereas for William Connolly, modernity is “an epoch in which a set of contending understandings of the self, responsibility, knowledge, rationality, nature, freedom, and legitimacy have established sufficient presence to shuffle other possible perspectives out of active consideration.”<sup>2</sup> Yet another understanding is introduced by Marshall Berman, who draws attention to the difference between modernism as autonomous artistic and intellectual imperatives and modernization as “a complex of material structures and processes—political, economic, social—which, supposedly, once it has got under way, runs on its own momentum with little or no input from human minds and souls.”<sup>3</sup>

As these accounts suggest, modernity can have such a wide range of definition so as to include a lifestyle, an epoch, a process, a structure, an intellectual movement, a culture, an economic activity, a value system, or a cluster of institutions. No matter how sophisticated these accounts may be, they cannot avoid the pitfalls of classical modernization theory that generalizes modernity as a uniform experience across time, space, or

culture. Understanding modernity as an epoch induces a sense of temporal uniformity as if it has a consistent manifestation within a given time frame; as an exclusively Western experience imposes a sense of spatial homogeneity throughout the West; and as a lifestyle asserts a sense of an essential cultural experience. These totalizing definitions diminish the analytical use of the concept and make it difficult to examine its specific manifestations in different, particularly non-Western, contexts.

An alternative way of thinking about modernity, which avoids such Eurocentric and totalizing accounts, is to work with locally produced definitions and explore the ways it is evoked in a particular context. In Turkey, the concepts of modernity, modernness, modernization, and modernism have been at the center of political discourse since the early nineteenth century and have come to constitute the basis of the founding ideology when the new Turkish state was established in 1923. As the Turkish case illustrates, regardless of how it is defined, the idea of modernity can have an immense transformative and constitutive power in the ongoing formation of a social-political order, the constitution of the public sphere, and the shaping and transformation of urban life. In such a case, it is much more meaningful to study the specific meanings modernity takes locally and how such meanings take form in different modernization projects, rather than working with an overarching concept that locates modernity in particular institutions, cultural trends, or intellectual movements that are specific to select European experiences and thereby overlook locally specific manifestations. The significance of the historical creation of this local or vernacular modernity is no less and is in fact particularly rich in the case of a country like Turkey, where its founding ideology is so engaged with the ideal of European modernism.

This chapter examines how the making of urban space and the construction of a city lie at the center of the implementation of the modernization project in Turkey. Emerging as an idea that shaped the founding ideology of the new Turkish state, the specific conceptualization of modernity endorsed in the early years of the Republic dictated a new nation-building project which was implemented through the creation of a new capital city. In other words, the idea of modernity shaped the image of the new nation, which in turn was given material form in the construction of the capital, Ankara. This chapter also examines the making of the city of Ankara, which came into being and took on the material form that it did as a result of the central concern of constituting and institutionalizing a modernization project and establishing the state as the agent of modernity that inscribes the nation into space.

This study diverts from literature on urban theory in important respects. First and foremost, rather than taking the city as the locus of analysis, it focuses on the link between the building of a city and the building of a state. More specifically, it looks at how the city and its

spaces were vitally instrumental in the building of a new nation-state. The making of Ankara cannot be adequately understood without a due account of the state-building efforts of the founding elite and the ideology that made the state possible. In other words, this study inevitably takes an interdisciplinary perspective that stands at the intersection between urban theory, political science, and sociology and seeks to show how the building of a state is realized through the building of a city. It looks at what it actually means to found a founding ideology by showing how the constitutive principles of this ideology take material form and are realized through the city.

Second, rather than employing an abstract and decontextualized definition of modernity, this study works with locally produced meanings ascribed to the concept and examines how these ideas play a constitutive function toward the formulation and implementation of nationalist projects. Finally, this study takes the city not just as a backdrop wherein modernism and nationalism are instituted, but as itself the means and the product of the material articulation of the modernization project, such that the building of the nation and modernity are realized through the construction of the city.

As such, this chapter is not so much about the making of the city of Ankara itself, but more so about the ways in which modernism as a founding official ideology came to constitute the social reality of its citizens through the making of a city.<sup>4</sup> Hence this study primarily addresses how an ideology becomes so embedded in daily life that it becomes the urban reality that dictates the ways in which a city (as well as a nation) is perceived and experienced.

## A NEW CENTER FOR THE NEW NATION

Ankara was built out of a small insignificant town after being declared the capital of Turkey in 1923 and became in a couple of decades the second largest city after Istanbul.<sup>5</sup> Referring to the building of Ankara, writer and journalist Falih Rıfki Atay, who was a close acquaintance of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the honorary chairman of the Ankara Master Planning Commission, said “The Ottomans built monuments, the Turks are the builders of cities.”<sup>6</sup> What is significant in Atay’s words is the contrast drawn between the Ottomans and the Turks, as if they are two different societies, and the subtle derision of the 600-year-old empire to the benefit of the fresh new Turkish state. Such denigration of Ottoman times was an important part of official discourse at the time, serving as an effective ideological tool with which the founders established the foundations of their modernization project and a new sense of nationhood.

Ankara's geographical location away from the Ottoman state centered in Istanbul made the city a perfect candidate for representing the newness and modernness of the new state. The image of a new modern state was achieved exactly by the creation of a sense of a disjunctive break from the Ottoman times. The Ottoman was projected as traditional, Islamic, backward, incapable of effective governance, and unable to represent or defend the nation. Atatürk himself denounced the Ottoman dynasty for having "usurped the sovereignty of the Turkish nation by force, and carried on this corruption for six centuries."<sup>7</sup> This inferior image of the Ottoman allowed the new state to constitute itself as modern, secular, superior, and vested with the power and authority to capably represent and defend its nation living in Anatolia. Centering the new state in Ankara away from the Sultan's palace allowed for the spatial articulation of this distance toward the Ottoman system and all that it represented. The fact that Ankara was going to be built on more or less barren land that bears no significant marks of Islam and the Ottoman times made the city function like a blank screen upon which the image of a new modern nation could be projected. Consequently, what emerged in a matter of not more than a decade was a new city wherein every corner, street, and avenue and every building, statue, or monument embodied this official vision of the nation.

The creation of a new capital city is not only about the articulation of a new national identity, but also more importantly about the creation of the state itself. The state constructs itself by opening up new spaces, closing others, inscribing them with the marks and symbols of the nation and state power, and organizing urban space around foundational norms and principles. These are self-constitutive acts; the state constitutes itself as an agent of modernity vested with the power and authority to control space, dictate the meaning of urbanity, shape the evolution of the public sphere, and suppress contending ideologies. By constructing a city, the state becomes the agent of the nation, the author that inscribes the nation into space, hence creating the nation-state. Giving shape to urban space by monitoring the architectural styles, erection of statues and monuments, and placement of squares, parks, shopping centers, and public buildings allows the state to establish its power and authority in controlling and dictating the norms that guide daily public life. The arrangement and monitoring of public spaces serve the function of transforming ordinary city dwellers that, just by partaking in daily routine activity, are transformed into citizens. This is how, by creating the city of Ankara, the new Turkish state constructed itself as secular, national, and modern.

The making of Ankara also served to create a sense of national and territorial unity. It allowed for the homogenization of urban space and national land by functioning as a paradigm of the national city that will be replicated, as well as distributed through images after which various other towns and cities across the country will be modeled.

Ankara was built upon the pillars of the founding ideology, consisting of a West-oriented modernism, secularism, and Turkish nationalism that distinguished itself from Ottomanism, Islamism, and other contending national ideologies at the time. The latter ideologies had emerged as viable alternatives before and during the founding years, which had come together at the first National Assembly in 1920 that had consisted of elements from a wide political spectrum, including Islamists, Ottomanists, Kurdish nationalists, and Bolsheviks. However, during the War of Independence that lasted until 1923, these rival ideologies were overpowered one after another to the benefit of the West-oriented secularist ideology of Mustafa Kemal, such that when the second National Assembly gathered in 1923, it was much more homogeneously congregated around the principles of secularism and a West-oriented nationalism under Mustafa Kemal's unchallenged authority. To this day, the plurality and heterogeneity of the first National Assembly is presented as a problem and an impediment to the realization of Mustafa Kemal's secularist and nationalist ideals by official national history.<sup>8</sup> It is in the midst of such contention that the principles upon which the new Turkish state was founded emerged. The cases examined here illustrate the ways in which the founding principles were instituted against their alternatives through the construction of the city, arrangement of its spaces, engineering of its appearance, and regulation of the flow of daily life.

However, the founding of the state does not mean that all contending ideologies are silenced and eliminated once and for all. On the contrary, the negotiation of Turkey's national identity around the issues of Islam, Kurdish nationalism, liberalism, or Westernism continued throughout the twentieth century and still constitutes the main point of contention and politics today. As with all nation-building projects, the building of the Turkish state and the consequent creation of Ankara took place amidst a field of contending ideologies and alternative national projects. The state's official version of secular-national modernity has never been the only project. Since the early years of the Republic, there have always been alternative projects and discourses of modernization that understand and exploit the term in different ways. Throughout the course of the twentieth century, several alternative discourses have been formulated and deployed not only by different political parties and movements, but also by forces of civil society such as the media, business associations, or religious groups that have interacted with and influenced one another in different degrees. The liberal/industrialist wave of the 1950s, the Marxist trends of the 1970s, and the Islamist discourses of the 1990s are some salient examples. Not all of these alternative views of modernity developed into full-fledged political programs, and while some have remained marginal, others have been so influential as to come to power, altering the official discourse on modernity in important

respects. It is possible to trace the spatial and architectural articulations of competing discourses of modernity in Turkey in the evolution of cities in general and of Ankara in particular throughout the twentieth century. However, since the scope of such a study would be much too broad to be effectively dealt with here, this chapter examines only the early years of the Republic when the formation of the new state was achieved through the making of the city of Ankara.

## THE TURKISH NATION: MODERN AND SECULAR

Modernity and secularism, constituting the core of the founding national ideology, were the main principles upon which the new nation-state and consequently the city of Ankara were built. These two concepts were so tightly connected and complemented each other that they came to be treated as one and the same thing. To this day, the word modern is widely used in Turkey to indicate a secular viewpoint. The following cases are all illustrative of the ways in which these principles concertedly dictated the emergence of a new city, a new sense of urbanity, and a new public sphere wherein a new nation and its citizens came into being.

The notion of modernity plays a central role in the constitution of the new Turkish nation-state. Modernity has been the single most important guiding force that has shaped the formation of societal and political institutions and the evolution of the public and private spheres since the early years of the Republic. As the basis of the founding ideology of the new state, modernity at the time was understood as the consumption of what was taken as a universal norm of civilization, but what was in fact French bourgeois culture. It was neither associated with Europe, nor specifically France that it actually modeled, but rather seen as a universal standard and style. On this note, Atatürk said,

There are a variety of countries, but there is only one civilization. In order for a nation to advance, it is necessary that it joins this civilization. If our bodies are in the East, our mentality is oriented toward the West. We want to modernize our country. All our efforts are directed toward the building of a modern, therefore Western state in Turkey. What nation is there that desires to become a part of civilization, but does not tend toward the West? (*Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri* [Atatürk's Speeches and Lectures], vol. III, 91)<sup>9</sup>

As suggested here, modernity and civilization were seen as one and the same thing, understood primarily as a way of life and a universal norm that all modernizing countries are expected to adopt. On a similar note, Atatürk referred to the new apparel and the top hat that was

introduced with the Hat Law of 1925, as part of the “international dress” style that the Turkish nation is expected to adopt to show how civilized it is.<sup>10</sup> Understood as a lifestyle, an orientation, this universal culture of modernity and civilization would find its best expression in the outward appearance of citizens.

This conceptualization of modernity as an image of the nation was mobilized in the early years of the Republic and institutionalized as part of the nation-building process in the making of the city of Ankara. This new lifestyle was to be displayed in various realms of daily life from clothing, gender identities, family type, entertainment, sports, and leisure activity to architecture, urban planning, and the arts. New public spaces emerging under the supervision of the state became the stage from which this new “civilized” lifestyle was displayed. Acknowledging that cities and city spaces were the primary sites for the expression and institutionalization of modernity, Atatürk said, “Every place that is a home and shelter for the Turk will be a model of health, cleanliness, beauty, and modern culture.”<sup>11</sup> With this particular goal in mind, Atatürk personally initiated various projects in Ankara including public parks and greens, the building of a new hotel and restaurant, and the establishment of a conservatory of music, an academy of performance arts, and the Halkevleri (“People’s Houses”—centers for culture, sports, and arts). Several new buildings and public spaces such as the new Ankara Palas hotel, where dance receptions, Western classical music concerts, and other extravagant celebrations were held, became key public sites where this new lifestyle was performed and displayed.

Since the founding elite saw modernity as the culture and practice of what they understood to be Western civilization and since Islam was absolutely external to the imagination of the West, modernity, by default, had to be secular. For this reason, secularism has been the most essential part of the founding ideology and the most vital mark of modernity in Turkey. This insistence on secularism as a foundational principle was probably more pronounced than other experiences with secularism in Europe because of the role and place of Islam in Ottoman society. Islam was not only the single most important guiding principle around which social, political, and cultural life under the Ottomans were organized,<sup>12</sup> but also was so tightly associated with Turkey in the eyes of Europeans that dissociating it from the new Turkish identity required doubly concentrated efforts. Since Islam played such a constitutive role in Ottoman society, secularism as the foundational principle that was to replace it had to serve a similar function and act as a guiding principle that would organize the public as well as the private spheres. As a result, secularism emerged not only as a principle governing formal political affairs of the state, but also as a norm that would reshape the public and private lives of citizens and a matter of national identity that was to be displayed for the European gaze.<sup>13</sup>

For this reason, secularism in Turkey has acquired distinctively unique characteristics. Rather than following the common pattern where all religious affairs are separated from formal political affairs, the institutionalization of secularism involved the bringing of all religious activity under the direct control and monopoly of the *secular* state. In 1924, a Directorate of Religious Affairs was formed to act as the ultimate authority on the knowledge and practice of Islam. The Directorate would operate directly under the Office of the Prime Minister, and its chair and board would be appointed by the president. Simultaneously with the establishment of the Directorate, all other practices and authorities of Islam were outlawed, including the Caliphate, which had been the institutional ruler of Islam all over the world since the sixteenth century. Autonomous religious lodges (*tekke* and *zaviye*) and sufi orders (*tarikât*) were banned. A secular civil code was adopted (from Switzerland) to replace the previous codes based on Islamic law (Shariat) outlawing all forms of polygamy, annulling religious marriages, and granting equal rights to men and women in matters of inheritance, marriage, and divorce. The religious court system and institutions of religious education were abolished. The “use of religion for political purposes” was banned under the new secular Penal Code; the Ottoman dynasty was expatriated; the article that defined the Turkish state as “Islamic” was removed from the Constitution; and the alphabet was changed, replacing Arabic letters with Roman ones.

While autonomous Islamic authorities were dissolved one after the other, the Directorate of Religious Affairs was authorized to oversee the knowledge and practice of Islam, which included the supervision of all mosques and the public sermons given there, the appointment of imams, and the production and dissemination of Islamic knowledge.

State control over Islam also involved the strict regulation of its public visibility and presence. The Hat Law of 1925 outlawed the wearing of religious garb and the turban *except for* the staff of the Directorate of Religious Affairs and the imams of mosques. The unauthorized wearing of religious garb was severely penalized, not so much because secular authorities were against Islam per se, but because such “imposters” were confused with government-appointed religious officials and thereby “undercut the authority of the authorized personnel.”<sup>14</sup> In other words, what the secular state was against was the visibility of Islam that was beyond its control.

One of the most controversial attempts to bring Islam under the control of the secular state was the changing of the call for prayers (*ezan*) from Arabic, the sacral language of Islam, to Turkish. In this case, “control” was attempted by the nationalization of a prevailing Islamic ritual. The first call for prayers in Turkish, translated into “pure Turkish” by the Turkish Language Association founded by Atatürk, was chanted in 1932



in the Ayasofya Mosque in Istanbul and then standardized throughout mosques around the country upon the orders of the Directorate of Religious Affairs.<sup>15</sup> Since the *ezan* is chanted five times per day from atop minarets scattered around cities, intended to be heard by everyone, it is a highly salient mark of the undeniable presence of Islam in the public sphere. By chanting the *ezan* in Turkish, the secular state not only brings under control Islam that has gained a unique presence in public through sound, but also submits it to nationalist discourse. This intervention, however, never became popular, could not be institutionalized, and was abolished by the populist Democrat Party regime in 1950.

As such, the institutionalization of secularism involved not exclusion, but a tightly controlled inclusion of Islam in the public sphere. While official Islam was given a limited and closely monitored place in the public sphere, autonomous Islamic practices were disallowed.

In sum, the new state was founded upon interventions that sought to institutionalize modernity-as-civilization and a unique understanding of secularism as a monopoly on Islam. This task involved the creation of a sense of a new, modern, and secular Turkish nation with a unique culture, history, and a lifestyle and instilling it in the collective imagination. This founding ideology was codified in the 1924 Constitution, but the declaration of the nation in writing was not sufficient. The founding principles that constituted the national subject as modern and secular had to be given material form so as to constitute the social reality of the citizens. No other means than the building of a city would serve this function better. In other words, the state started to build Ankara in order to give substance and reality to the nation that it conjured up.

## ANKARA: CENTERING THE NATION

The image of the new nation found shape through various means, ranging from the writing of a new national history to the making of new social and political institutions, starting with the constitution. One of the important mediums of the creation of this new sense of nationhood has been the use and rearrangement of cities and city spaces. The interventions of the founding elite in space so as to build a new nation and to establish the state are illustrated in the designation of Ankara as the capital of the new Republic and the relocation of city centers away from central mosques to secular spaces marked by administrative buildings and national monuments in towns and cities across the country. In particular, the declaration of Ankara as the new capital and Ulus (Nation) Square as its center, marked by the new parliament building and the Victory Monument, served to inscribe the new modern secular nation upon space and establish the new state as the agent of this inscription.

Aware of the importance of the building of the new capital, the new state diverted an important portion of its scarce resources to the building of Ankara. The first task was to build the city center, a central square from which the rest of the city would expand. It was only natural that the most important building that would designate the placement of this square was the parliament building. Just as a sense of national community was being forged around its representative center gathered in the parliament, so was a sense of national territory being built around the territorial center at the central square of the capital city. Marking the center of the nation, this square was initially given the name *Hakimiyet-i Milliye Meydanı* (National Sovereignty Square), which later became *Ulus Meydanı* (The Nation Square).

Ulus Square stood at the intersection of İstasyon Avenue and Atatürk Boulevard, marked at its center by the Victory Monument and circumvented by structures and buildings representing the key axes of the new republic. The second parliament building (1924), which housed the National Assembly until 1962, marked the political significance of the square as the center of a new nation-state. The plaza on the side of the parliament was used as the central public space for the state to meet and address its citizens. This plaza was used not only for official ceremonies and commemorative gatherings, but also for the public execution (hanging) of the Independence Tribunal convicts.<sup>16</sup> These were usually people who had resisted or fought against Atatürk, his reforms, or the new state forming in Ankara, convicted either for collaborating with the occupying forces during the war or for leading insurgencies—often based on Islam—in Anatolia. These public executions served to display the authority and power of the state in incriminating alternative political ideologies and projects, particularly Islamism and Ottomanism, using the public sphere it created as its medium.

Perhaps the most significant building on the square after the parliament was Ankara Palas (1927), the hotel commissioned by Atatürk himself to serve as the official guesthouse, which, together with *Karpiç Restaurant* close by, served bureaucrats, politicians, diplomats, high-ranking bureaucrats, and other new constituents of Ulus Square. As discussed in detail later, Ankara Palas and *Karpiç Restaurant* became the main public space of the new republic where the West-oriented secular modern lifestyle of the Republican elite was performed and displayed. Another prominent building was *Sümerbank* (state-owned textiles and apparel company), facing the square with its showcase of textiles all produced in Turkey by Turkish workers, inscribing the symbol of national industry, progress, and state productivity onto the square.<sup>17</sup> Across from *Sümerbank* was the *Türkiye İş Bankası* (Turkish Business Bank), Turkey's first private bank founded with state support in 1924 to finance industrial development.<sup>18</sup> These two buildings represented the attempt to

build a state-owned industrial base for a national economy and stood as testaments to the state-built foundations of Turkish capitalism.

The final landmark that faced the square from the bottom of Station Avenue was the central train station. At the end of World War I, Ankara station was the end of a minor route on the Baghdad-Basra line. Within ten years after the founding of the new state, which diverted significant resources to build “an iron web across the country,”<sup>19</sup> Ankara station had become the main hub at the convergence point of the national network of railways extending in all directions toward Turkey’s new borders.<sup>20</sup> This placement of the train station accentuated the national significance of Ulus Square, which was now located not only at the center of the capital, but also at the convergence point of national territory.

At the center of Ulus Square stood the tall Victory Monument, with the figure of Atatürk in military outfit, riding a horse on top of a pedestal overlooking the procession of the new buildings on Station Avenue, starting with the parliament and ending with the station building. The height and the strategic positioning of this monument placed the new Ankara under the gaze of the iconic figure of Atatürk, as if he is closely watching the growth of the new city under his feet and with it the trajectory of Turkish modernity. This instillation was one of the first iconized images of Atatürk that would proliferate throughout the country during the following decades, turning him into a near-deity who is overseeing the



**Figure 7.1.** The Victory Monument, marking the center of the new capital and overlooking the construction of modern Turkey. From Ozan Sagdic, *Bir Zamanlar Ankara* (Ankara, Turkey: Büyükşehir Belediyesi Yayınları, 1993), 59.

development of Turkish modernity and nationalism in the direction he ordained.<sup>21</sup>

## MODERNISM AS THE NATIONAL STYLE

Another important intervention through which a sense of a homogeneous nation was created involves the emergence of a “national architecture” that reflects national identity and dictates the common style to be used in the new buildings, structures, and monuments across the country.<sup>22</sup> Regardless of the styles and forms endorsed by such national architecture, which change over time with every shift in national identity, the idea to adopt a common style is significant in and of itself in that it serves to create a sense of homogeneity in the construction and appearance of cities, thereby serving to nationalize space.

Until about 1927, Ottoman influences were still prevalent in national identity, reflected in architecture as Ottoman revivalism.<sup>23</sup> However, by late 1920s, the founding ideology that defined national identity in opposition to Ottomanism and Islam was sufficiently codified and institutionalized that it became impossible to sustain Ottoman influences in anything national, including architecture. The new urban elite in Ankara endorsing the founding principles started a campaign against Ottoman and Islamic influences in all domains of public life, condemning them as signs of backwardness and barbarism. As such, Ottoman revivalism was rapidly abandoned to be replaced by modernism as the new norm in defining national architecture. In order to lead this new modernist movement, architects and planners from Europe, mostly German, were brought to Ankara and the studios of the architects leading the Ottoman revivalist movement were closed.<sup>24</sup> German architects such as Ernst Egli, Clemens Holzmeister, who built the third parliament building that is still used today, and Hermann Jansen, who developed the master plan for the city of Ankara, were given initiative to lead the way toward the modernist phase of national architecture.<sup>25</sup> Since Europe was seen as the bearer of the ideal and model of modernity, the Turkish state chose to give European architects and urban planners the task to build a new and modern city as the sign of the modernism in the building of the city.

As such, starting with the 1930s, modernism came to dictate the style of all public buildings and significant monuments such as Atatürk's Mausoleum Anıtkabir, as well as residential buildings that were being built in Yenışehir (New Town), planned as the new residential district for the Republican elite. An influential newspaper at the time, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* said, about this new style, that

The Ministry [of Health] building has indeed become the most modern building of Ankara. It resembles the latest and most

modern buildings of Europe. That the building is erected in Yenisehir has additional significance because in planning our Ankara, we had adopted the principle of constructing grand and monumental buildings in Yenisehir (July 4, 1927).<sup>26</sup>

Modernity was dictating the contours of urban life in Ankara through such officially sanctioned buildings and activity, as well as private projects in house design and interior decoration. In his semidocumentary novel *Ankara*, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu denounces Ottoman influences in residential architecture salient during the initial years of the Republic and notes that this

feeble and garish trend that prevailed due to the inexperience of the initial years was fortunately replaced by modern architecture. The towers attached to villas were torn down . . . and green glittering windowsills started to disappear. The facades of several buildings were changing, clearing up and becoming plainer just like the faces of these [modernizing] men who were shaving off their beards and moustaches.<sup>27</sup>

The modernist movement was not only shaping the public sphere, but also transforming domestic life. The Ottoman house with unspecialized spaces and furniture such as the divan and the tray tables rapidly left its place to specialized use of space in house design where rooms were differentiated according to their function and furnished with corresponding furniture.<sup>28</sup> Karaosmanoğlu depicts the enthusiasm of the new Republican elite in Ankara to redecorate their homes with the latest styles in modern furniture and decorations that they see in European magazines or learn from a “visiting engineer from Berlin.”<sup>29</sup> Again, the presence of the European expert is evoked as a sign of modernism.

The modernist movement in national architecture was also introduced into school curriculums, thereby transforming architecture as a profession into a vehicle for the dissemination of the modernist ideology of the state. The emerging movement of national architecture was organized around the *Mimar*, a new professional journal of Turkish architects launched in 1931. According to Bozdoğan, this movement called *yeni mimari* (new architecture) “effectively legitimized the architect as a ‘cultural leader’ or an ‘agent of civilization’ with a passionate sense of mission to dissociate the republic from an Ottoman and Islamic past.”<sup>30</sup>

In sum, by the 1930s, just as a new nation-state emerged out of the remnants of a capitulant empire, a new prospering capital city had materialized in place of an insignificant small town, emerging as the embodiment of national ideology. The signs of the nation inscribed all over the city, from its architecture and urban design to its squares and monuments, made Ankara the national model for all other cities of the country.

## THE NATIONAL MODEL CITY

While building Ankara was an absolute priority for the new state, several towns across Turkey also needed to be transformed into national cities to complete the nationalization of the country. Using Ankara as the model, this transformation primarily involved the designation of a new location for the city center in each of these towns, displacing the former center that was marked by the main mosque. Before the Republic, an Ottoman town would be typically clustered around a central mosque, marking the main public area surrounded by the marketplace, inns, and lodges. The new center was moved away from the mosque to a new location that would be marked by a monument of Atatürk and would be invariably named the Republic Square.<sup>31</sup> Hence, while under Ottoman rule, Islam had marked the town center around which a sense of religion-based community was established, the new state moved and relocated city centers by inscribing the mark of the nation at the new center around which a new sense of secular-national community would be established. Marked by the iconic figure of Atatürk, this new center would be surrounded by municipal and administrative buildings, police headquarters, and other offices representing the secular power of the state.

Just as in Ankara, train stations in cities that connected to the national railway system were also built close to the central Republic Square surrounded by government offices. As such, through the network of railways, main cities of the new country were now connected to each other from Republic Square to Republic Square, further enhancing the sense of national unity and connectedness. The designation of Ankara as the model city served to create a sense of homogeneity and nationhood through the standardization of architecture and urban design. Atay, the honorary chair of the Ankara Master Planning Commission, said, "For the Turkish will, which sought, found, and made Ankara, building the rest of Anatolia was going to be like shaping dough in the same mold. . . . Ankara inaugurated the idea of modern urbanism in Turkey . . . [which is] manifesting itself at different scales in various towns scattered around the country."<sup>32</sup>

The city that underwent the most significant transformation was no doubt the former capital Istanbul. The pronounced presence of the marks of Islam and the Ottoman in Istanbul made it impossible for them to be hidden or slighted in any way. Sultanahmet Square, which served as the imperial center for 500 years, was surrounded by the royal Topkapı palace, grand mosques standing tall as reigning monuments of Islam, and other landmarks testifying to the imperial authority of the Ottoman state.

Instead of removing such marks of the Ottoman and Islam, authorities of the Republic chose to relocate the center of the city to a neutral location and inscribe the symbols of the secular ideology of the new state

on a clean slate. This location was Taksim Square, a place that was sufficiently far from Sultanahmet that the grand mosques were not visible, yet still within the city limits. The only significant structure in Taksim that gave the square its name was the city's water distribution system, built in 1732. This building was the only structure in the area that was related to Ottoman rule and did not have any religious or imperial significance. Furthermore, Taksim was adjacent to Pera (Beyoğlu), the district where the majority of the non-Muslim population in Istanbul lived, the central churches and synagogues were located, and most of the European diplomatic missions and consulates were placed. As such, relocation of the city center in Taksim not only allowed for a sufficient distance from the Ottoman-Islamic center, but also a proximity to the culture of Europe.

Just as in most other cities of the Republic, Taksim became Taksim Republic Square and was designated the new center of Istanbul by the inscription of the mark of the nation, the Republic Monument, which was erected in 1928. The erection of the Republic Monument depicting Atatürk as the leader of the War of Independence and the founder of the Republic represented the displacement of the Ottoman center and stood as the spatial articulation of the political triumph of the new secular state over its predecessor, the Ottoman state.<sup>33</sup>

In the meantime, most of the monuments, palaces, and structures representing Ottoman power were turned into museums. Sultanahmet Square marking the imperial center was eventually museumified and presented for tourists as part of the old and distant past that no longer bears

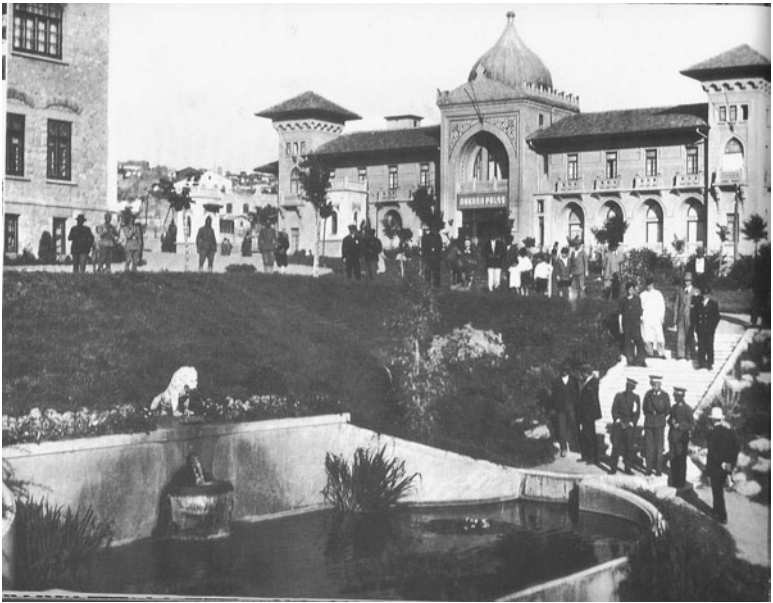


**Figure 7.2.** The Republic Monument at Taksim Republic Square in Istanbul, with Atatürk Cultural Center in the background. Photograph by Zeynep İnanç.

any political presence or national significance. Both the deposition of Istanbul from capital city status and the relocation of the city center in Taksim Square served to display the power of the new Turkish state to enclose and confine the Ottoman era and its culture into spatial and temporal remoteness.

### ANKARA PALAS HOTEL: MODERNITY AS THE PERFORMANCE OF CIVILIZATION

Built upon Atatürk's orders, Ankara Palas opened near the parliament in 1927 to serve as an official guesthouse and to host local and foreign diplomats, high-ranking bureaucrats, and other important visitors. Its central heating and pressurized water systems, its "alafranga" (European style) toilets and bathtubs, and its powerful electric generator immediately made the hotel the most prominent symbol of modernity and civilization in Ankara, which was until then "accustomed to deem kerosene lamps."<sup>34</sup> The hotel was also famous for its restaurant, tearoom, and, particularly, the grand ballroom where dance receptions, banquets, and other official celebrations were held. Among these, the "Anniversary of the Republic Ball" celebrations were particularly popular where the new urban elite would have the chance to show off their knowledge and skills



**Figure 7.3.** Ankara Palas Hotel, where the West-oriented secular modern lifestyle of the Republican elite was performed and displayed. From Sagdic, *Bir Zamanlar Ankara*, 59.



in consuming French high culture, taken as the ultimate mark of civilization. The presence of diplomats and hence the European gaze made Ankara Palas the most pertinent place for the staging of the new civilized, modern lifestyle adopted by the Republican urban elite “who were eager to display their recently acquired taste in ballroom dancing, haute couture, and international cuisine.”<sup>35</sup>

Alongside Ankara Palas, Karpıç Restaurant was opened up to host official dinners and receptions, also upon Atatürk’s orders who personally asked for “Baba Karpıç,” an Armenian Russian émigré, to be brought from Istanbul to run an exclusive, “modern” restaurant.<sup>36</sup> Due to their proximity to the parliament building and the CHP headquarters, Ankara Palas and Karpıç Restaurant became the main gathering place for parliamentarians, bureaucrats, and journalists where affairs of the state would be deliberated and important meetings would take place.<sup>37</sup> As such, these places also served as a modern public sphere (in the Habermasian sense of a site of public deliberation) during the early Republican years.

Another important aspect of this “modern” lifestyle forming around Ulus Square was music. There was a live band playing at all times in Karpıç Restaurant, and regular Western classical music concerts were held at Ankara Palas. The garden extending between Karpıç Restaurant and Ankara Palas, called the Millet Bahçesi (Nation Garden), was used as a recreational area where bands would play music and people would dance.<sup>38</sup> Once again, Atatürk personally initiated several projects to promote Western classical music, taken as another sign of the universal culture of modernity and civilization. One of these projects was the building of the Conservatory of Music in 1927–1928, where Western classical music, opera, and ballet were taught and institutionalized as the universal norms in music and art. Likewise, the Turkish Hearth was built in 1927–1930, as a national center for culture and art, where cultural programs and art performances were developed under the close supervision of Atatürk “who wished to foster elements of European culture while concurrently developing specifically Turkish forms.”<sup>39</sup> For example, local performances of operas such as *Madame Butterfly* and *Tosca* were performed here sung in Turkish with all Turkish casts.

## PROFANING ISLAM: THE ETHNOGRAPHY MUSEUM

The intervention of the secular state in the sacred realm of Islam is perhaps best illustrated at the Ethnography Museum, opened in 1930 upon Atatürk’s orders to store Anatolian folk art and culture, consolidated as the basis of official nationalist policy.<sup>40</sup> The site for the museum was significant in that it was built on a prominent hill marking the threshold between the old and the new Ankara. The citadel behind its back and

overlooking the new cityscape, the Ethnography Museum stood as if to show the new direction for the country. The Ottoman and Islamic past was to be left behind, and the future lay in the new, secular, and modern.

The Ethnography Museum building was placed on a stone terrace with a bronze statue of Atatürk at its center. The iconic figure of Atatürk on his horse in military clothing stood as the eternal guardian of the museum and the “cultural values of Anatolia” that were on display inside. The main exhibit consisted of various objects, clothing, and household items from different parts of Anatolia mostly used in agricultural production, ornaments, wedding ceremonies, or other activities, as well as artifacts from Roman and Hittite excavations from around Ankara. What were also on display were objects and artifacts confiscated from the Sufi orders and dervish lodges that were closed down only a couple of years ago in 1925. A majority of these items were ordinary things such as articles of clothing, furniture, rugs, and kilims that were still in use in daily life.<sup>41</sup>

By placing on exhibit Hittite and Roman artifacts, the state is dictating what particular histories are to be selected as constitutive of national history, hence displaying its authority and control over history and time. Likewise, the collection of rural artifacts from different parts of Anatolia serves to manifest state power over its own territory. What are perhaps unrelated cultural practices scattered around the region are brought together under the dome of a national museum at the capital and exhibited as constitutive of national culture, again serving to create a sense of a single nation with a unique and monolithic culture living on unified territory. These archeological and cultural artifacts serve to display the power and capability of the state to collect and bring together, under a national frame, things that are otherwise temporally and spatially disconnected, unrelated, and not readily accessible.

What is rather unexpected to be on exhibit in an ethnography museum alongside such cultural and archeological artifacts are the common items collected from Sufi orders and lodges after they were banned and all their property confiscated in 1925. Unlike the other artifacts, these items are in fact most easily accessible and have no special value other than the significance of the places from where they were brought. But the exhibit of these ordinary items in a museum alongside the historically and culturally significant artifacts serves to give just this impression, that they are indeed items that were previously inaccessible by virtue of being under the authority of Islam. Their museumification serves to display the power of the new state to break into the sacred realm of Islam and render it profane and a thing of the past that is neatly placed on exhibit in a museum. Hence, what was really museumified here was what Şerif Mardin calls “heterodox Islam” that had served to organize daily life under the Ottoman rule.<sup>42</sup>

In sum, the Ethnography Museum is another instance by which the foundational principles, nationalism, secularism, and modernity are institutionalized. The collection of items on exhibit at the Ethnography Museum is a testament to the power and authority of the state to control time, space, and religion, thereby constituting itself as the agent of the nation, its history, its space, and its relation to God.

### ATATÜRK'S MONUMENT/MAUSOLEUM ANITKABİR

The Victory Monument at Ulus Square remained as the symbolic center of the nation well after the death of Atatürk in 1938, until his Mausoleum was opened in 1953.<sup>43</sup> Atatürk had already become the iconic figure representing the nation while he was alive, so his death in a way completed this metamorphosis that turned him into a total incarnation of the nation. His statues, busts, and pictures proliferated everywhere, placed in squares, parks, schoolyards, and public offices inscribed as the mark of the nation to express an allegiance to the founding principles laid by him. As such, the search for his burial site turned into a search for the most significant ground in Ankara. The parliamentary commission that was set up in 1939 to oversee the building of a mausoleum for Atatürk considered several locations before deciding on Çankaya, where the residential headquarters of the president is located. However, after a member of the commission suggested Rasattepe, which was on one of the few hills in the area that would allow for the monument to be visible from all around the city, and made a moving speech, the commission unanimously selected this location for the building of the mausoleum. The words that brought the commission around were,

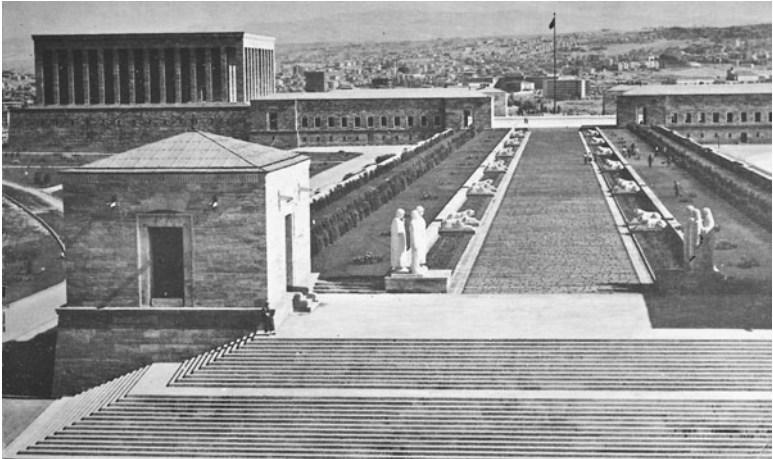
Rasattepe is like a star in the middle of a crescent reaching from Dikmen to Etlik [the southern and the northern corners of the city respectively]. The city of Ankara is the body of the crescent. If Anıtkabir is built here, it will be as if the city of Ankara has opened its arms wide to welcome Atatürk in its bosom. Hence, we will have Atatürk rest right in the middle of the star of the crescent on our flag.<sup>44</sup>

What used to be an empty piece of hill was now laden with such national significance, since it was designated to be Atatürk's burial site. The mausoleum was to become an inscription upon this hill, thereby marking the new center of the capital and the country, as well as the center of the national flag, which mapped the nation upon the city of Ankara, at the heart of which Atatürk's body would be resting.

Hence, Atatürk's Mausoleum complex, Anıtkabir, was to become the new symbolic center of the nation where all official ceremonies would be

held and visitors would find a sense of citizenship. Paying respect to Atatürk's tomb would be the ultimate sign of allegiance to the nation. The project competition for the building of the mausoleum sought to further institute the image of Atatürk as the embodiment of the nation. The competition brief stated that the mausoleum should commemorate Atatürk "in whose person the entire nation is symbolized."<sup>45</sup>

Among twenty-seven competing projects, the Onat-Arda proposal won because theirs was the only project that "reflected the antique roots of Anatolia" and was not confined to Ottoman-Islamic traditions.<sup>46</sup> The architectural plans for the Mausoleum were changed many times after the initial project was accepted, eventually yielding an eclectic architectural style that is interpreted as being universalist beyond the confines of time and any given style, which is itself taken as a mark of modernity. Yet several features of Anıtkabir make references to specific historical-cultural contexts, such as the Hittite lions lined up along the processional alley leading to the main courtyard, the classical Greco-Roman temple style used in the mausoleum proper, the designs and carvings on the walls that are from Anatolian rug designs, or the use of a sarcophagus to symbolize Atatürk's tomb that is erected as the altar for visitors and the idea of a "mausoleum" itself that make references to pre-Islamic Greek-Anatolian traditions. These references express a deliberate disassociation from Ottoman-Islamic traditions and instead associate the Turkish nation with classical "world" civilization. In explaining their "design philosophy," the architects note that Turkish history "resides not in the Middle Ages but in the common sources of the classical world" and is a Mediterranean



**Figure 7.4.** Atatürk's Mausoleum Anıtkabir standing as the site of national pilgrimage and initiation into citizenship. From Nurettin Can Güleklı, *Anıtkabir Rehberi* [Anıtkabir Guide] (Ankara, Turkey: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1993).

civilization that “starts with Sumerians and Hittites and merges with the life of many civilizations from Central Asia to the depths of Europe.”<sup>47</sup>

The vast courtyard extending in front of the Mausoleum proper, called the Hall of Honor, was built as a ceremonial area to hold 15,000 people, facing the flight of stairs leading up to the mausoleum, which is lined up by reliefs on both sides depicting the War of Independence. The open courtyard is surrounded by ten towers, each symbolizing and named after a significant aspect of the foundation of the Republic, such as freedom, victory, peace, liberty, or national oath. The walls of these towers and the entrance to the Mausoleum are lined with several reliefs representing the suffering of the Turkish nation before the founding of the Republic, the War of Independence, the heroism of the anonymous soldier, the sacrifice of the peasant woman, and the might of the Turkish republic as opposed to the inadequacy of the Ottoman rule. These reliefs together with several statements by Atatürk inscribed on the walls throughout Anıtkabir concertedly provide a narrative of official national history. Anıtkabir was erected as the ultimate national monument that narrates the Turkish nation into being.

### KOCATEPE MOSQUE: COMBINING ISLAM AND MODERNITY

While monumental structures of modernity and nationalism, such as the parliament, Ankara Palas, the Ethnography Museum, or the Turkish Hearth building were mushrooming in Ankara, the need for an official place of worship increasingly became evident. The project to build a mosque in Ankara started in 1944, very soon after Atatürk's death and the initiation of the Anıtkabir Mausoleum project. A committee was formed under the Directorate of Religious Affairs to oversee the project competition for the building of a mosque in Yenışehir, the district created as the model residential area to represent the modern lifestyle of the Republic. The idea was to build a mosque that would “adequately represent the Republic.”<sup>48</sup> However, representing the modern secular aspirations of the Republic in a mosque soon proved to be quite a difficult undertaking. Building such a “state mosque,” as it later came to be called, did not really contradict the official understanding of secularism and, in fact, was a direct outcome of its implementation. Indeed, by building such a mosque itself, the state would be keeping the central place of worship under its direct control. However, even though the necessity was recognized, the state was nevertheless reluctant in diverting already scarce funds to such a project, since it was not seen as a priority. Furthermore, the committee could not reach an agreement as to what constituted the acceptable architectural style for such a “modern” mosque. Hence none of the candidates in the first project competition were granted a prize.

As a result of controversy over its style, location, underlying ideological concerns, and related financial problems, the building of the mosque staggered for more than four decades and was finally opened in 1987. The current location of the Kocatepe Mosque was decided during the conservative Democrat Party government in 1956, which also initiated a new project competition and provided additional funds. Under the Democrat Party, the building of the mosque became a statement against the previous government's implementation of secularism.<sup>49</sup> Hence Kocatepe Mosque was built on a central hilltop right across from Atatürk's Mausoleum, where it is equally visible from all over the city, emerging as a salient rival symbol in representing the identity of Ankara and the nation, disrupting the centrality of the Mausoleum.



**Figure 7.5.** Kocatepe Mosque, informally noted as the “state mosque.”

The controversy over the architectural style of the mosque took even longer to resolve. None of the thirty-six projects in the second competition in 1957 were found worthy either, except for the Dalokay-Tekelioğlu project, which was only found “feasible.” However, after construction started in 1963, this project was also dropped for controversy over the endurance of the outer shell as well as the appropriateness of its modernist style. Finally, in the third competition held in 1967, the Tayla-Uluengin project won first prize with its classical Ottoman style. At the end of a long arduous process stretching over twenty-three years to find the right project, what ended up as the style to most adequately “represent the Republic” was the imitation of sixteenth-century Ottoman architecture that was preferred over the modernist style of the previous project. This is possibly one of the reasons why the project was never fully endorsed by the state and continually suffered a lack of finances. This controversy over the style of the mosque is an excellent illustration of the controversy over Turkish national identity: What is the status and place of Islam going to be in a country that aspires to be modern and Western? While architects such as Dalokay felt that it was possible to represent Islam through modernist styles in architecture, officials rejected this possibility and instead turned to traditionalist styles inspired from Ottoman architecture as the best possible way to represent Islam. The controversy over the appropriateness of Kocatepe Mosque in representing the Republic and the dispute over the role and status of Islam in Turkey which the Kocatepe Mosque symbolizes continues to this day.<sup>50</sup>

Kocatepe Mosque today is presented as a national place of worship that was built “combining sixteenth-century aesthetics with twentieth-century technology.”<sup>51</sup> While Ottoman architectural styles and internal design was employed to represent Islam, modernity was represented through the use of technology, such as the elevators in the minarets, the mosque’s conference room with high-tech lighting and speaker systems, or the central heating installed under the main prayer hall. The three-story megamarket and parking lot complex underneath the mosque arguably represent the ruling capitalist-consumerist ideology with a tint of Islam, marking the dominant understanding of modernity at the time.<sup>52</sup>

The Kocatepe Mosque is also prided for being the largest covered mosque in the Middle East and the largest domed temple in the world. With its capacity to hold 24,000 people for prayers at any one time, the mosque is certainly a grand place of worship intended for a massive community. Just as the effect of the Hall of Honor in Atatürk’s Mausoleum, the vastness of the space conjures up a mass subject, similarly invoking a sense of national belonging, albeit through a different kind of affiliation based on Islam. This subject is invoked as national and not as Islamic because the audience that is addressed in the brochures, announcements, and sermons in the mosque is the “Turkish nation” and not the larger

Islamic community (the *umma*). This address is illustrated in the brochure distributed at the opening ceremony in 1987, where it is noted that “the streaming [of the faithful from surrounding provinces and regions] to Kocatepe, the greatest place of worship of the Republican period . . . explains the yearning of the Turkish nation for growing and uniting.”<sup>53</sup> As suggested here, what makes Kocatepe a “state mosque” is not only that it was built using state funds and by a state agency, but also that it functions as a public space that serves to invoke a sense of national unity using Islam as a base for homogeneity.

In sum, the building of the Kocatepe Mosque by the state serves to institutionalize secularism by bringing the presence and practice of Islam (in this case, the regulation of the act of prayer as one of its essential rituals) under the direct and exclusive control of the secular state. This unprecedented understanding and implementation of secularism has been contested throughout the twentieth century by autonomous Islamist discourses, which have at times influenced policymakers and induced modifications in its implementation, such as during the Democrat Party period in the 1950s. The controversy over the location, architectural style, and the financing of Kocatepe Mosque is actually a direct result of this controversial status of Islam in the foundational ideology of the Republic.

## CONCLUSION

This chapter examines the ways in which a city is conjured up so as to give materiality to the prevailing notion of modernity and the related sense of nationhood. The building of Ankara as the capital city of the new Turkish nation-state illustrates the ways in which the construction of a modern nation-state and the establishment of modernity and secularism as its founding principles is achieved through the building of the city and the engineering of its spaces, the erection of monuments, the endorsement of national architectural styles and construction techniques, or the monitoring of the use of public places.

The official discourse of modernity has altered with important regime changes after the coming to power of contending political ideologies pursuing different modernization projects, which in turn has resulted in corresponding transformations of the city of Ankara and its spaces. One of the most profound changes has been the decline of the famous Ulus Square as the celebrated center of the city as well as the nation and the shifting of the city center to Kızılay around the 1950s, which still remains the center of the capital city. Interestingly, there are no significant public buildings that mark Kızılay Square, and there is no Republic Monument or another statue of Atatürk marking the center of the square either. The



name Kızılay (Red Crescent) was given to the square because the central building of the official Turkish Red Crescent stood in one of the corners of the square but was later taken down in the 1990s to be replaced by a shopping center. In other words, the only central square in Turkey that has substantially deviated from the national norm on urban design has been the one in the capital city where it lacks salient marks of official ideology. There is a monument in Kızılay, the Güven (Trust) Monument depicting Atatürk as a central figure, but it stands not in the center but in Güven Park, extending on one side of the square and is not even readily visible from the square.

Since Ulus Square was constructed as the material articulation of modernity as a founding principle, it is possible to interpret the decline of Ulus in favor of Kızılay, as a shift in the prevailing understanding of modernity as a norm constituting the Turkish polity. Indeed, this shift from Ulus to Kızılay is an excellent illustration of the ways in which the changes in the ideological composition of the dominant notion of modernity have found their material expression in transformations in the city and the arrangement of its spaces. During the early Republican years, the dominant understanding of modernity was one that identified it with a European-based (especially French) notion of civilization and high culture, which was reflected in the making of Ankara around Ulus Square; the first major ideological shift came in the 1950s with the advent of the multiparty system and the Democrat Party regime. The Democrat Party's political project, which has been referred to as a "technocratic ideology," was indeed an alternative discourse of modernity that took technological and economic development as the primary defining mark of modernization.<sup>54</sup> This new vision that saw the United States as the bearer of the true ideals of modernity, now defined around industrial development and capitalism, replaced the former official discourse. The shifting of Ankara's center from Ulus to Kızılay was a direct consequence of the new conceptualization of modernity introduced by the Democrat Party. This shift was initiated by the building of a new business complex (Ulus İş Hanı) in Ulus Square in 1955, thereby celebrating the idea of modernity as economic development and capitalism, which overshadowed all the other structures and monuments in the vicinity that represented modernity as a high culture and a way of life. The Victory Monument was also moved from the center of Ulus Square to the front plaza of this complex, thereby radically shifting the central emphasis of the square from the monument of the nation to this new business building. With the shift of the core ideals of modernity from high culture and civilization to capitalism and economic development, the significance of the Ulus area as the hub of social life where modernity as a lifestyle was displayed started to decline. Simultaneously, Kızılay was rapidly emerging as the main business district and becoming the center of city life. The moving of the

parliament to a location closer to Kızılay in 1961 and the erection of the first high-rise in Turkey, again as a business complex erected here, made Kızılay the new city center. This high-rise not only represented advanced technology in building construction, but also paid homage to capitalism with its busy offices housing private businesses. The resulting relocation of the city center from Ulus to Kızılay symbolized the recentering of the nation and the displacement of the central norm of modernity from civilization to technological development and capitalism as symbolized by business centers and high-rises.

The dominant understanding of modernity changed again in the 1980s after late Turgut Özal's Motherland Party came to power in 1983, introducing local elements and traditional styles into the conceptualization of modernity accompanied by the celebration of consumerism.<sup>55</sup> Suddenly the most important and popular structures in the country as well as in Ankara became shopping centers and malls, emerging as the new temples of modernism. It was at this time that the project to build a "modern" shopping center in place of the old Kızılay building that gave the square its name was initiated. It was also at this time that one of the most prominent buildings in Ankara, the Atakule Shopping and Business Complex, was constructed, which was built as a towering structure standing atop Çankaya hill overlooking the city. Atakule is not only visible from all parts of the city, but also is now the second figure alongside the Kocatepe Mosque that constitutes the city's emblem that is engraved all around the city.

Arguably, the prevailing understanding of modernity is undergoing yet another transformation at the turn of the century with the coming to power of the AK Party that broke off from the former Islamist Refah Party under the leadership of Istanbul's former mayor Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, marked by a search for ways to wed Islam and modernity. Each of these ideological shifts has been articulated in the use of and rearrangement of public spaces, erection of new monuments, building of new structures, relocation or sometimes even the removal of statues and monuments, or renaming of streets, avenues, and boulevards. In other words, each ideological shift in power brought a different sense of nationhood and modernity, similarly using the city and its spaces as the medium for their material manifestation.

Another important change in the ideological climate as reflected on the city and its spaces is the Islamist interventions of the 1990s, when Islamist city administrations came to power in both Istanbul and Ankara after the 1994 local elections.<sup>56</sup> One of the most controversial interventions was a project developed by the Istanbul city administration under the mayoralty of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan to build a colossal mosque in Taksim Republic Square that would overshadow the secular monuments and buildings circumventing the square. This project was severely

criticized by secularist circles and was finally rebuffed by the state. Another similar intervention has been the changing of Ankara's emblem by the Islamist city administration from the Hittite sun, representing the pre-Islamic Anatolian national roots, to the current emblem that depicts a mosque (arguably the Kocatepe Mosque) placed within a crescent, again making a reference to Islam. These interventions illustrate the ways in which the city and its spaces continue to be the main medium through which not only the dominant understandings of modernity and nationhood find their material expression, but also so do their contestations.

## NOTES

All Turkish to English translations are by the author unless otherwise noted.

1. Stuart Hall, David Held, and Tony McGrew, eds., *Modernity and Its Futures* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1992), 2.
2. William Connolly, *Political Theory and Modernity* (Basil: Blackwell, 1988), 4.
3. Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (New York: Penguin Books, 1988), 132.
4. I use modernism in this essay not as a specific architectural style or art form, but in the political sense, as in the ideology of modernity. The word "Modernlik" (modernism) is extensively used in Turkish, not as an art form, but as the ideology of modernity.
5. Ankara is estimated to have had a population of about 30,000 in 1920. Within two decades, this number had increased tenfold to a soaring 300,000. By the 1990s, it reached 3,000,000.
6. Falih Rıfki Atay, *The Atatürk I Knew*, trans. Geoffrey Lewis, (Istanbul: Yapi ve Kredi Bankasi, Binbirdirek Matbaacılık, 1981), 233–34, cited in Turkish Daily News, October 13, 1996, electronic edition: [http://www.turkishdailynews.com/old\\_editions/10\\_13\\_96/feature.htm](http://www.turkishdailynews.com/old_editions/10_13_96/feature.htm).
7. Cited in Tuğrul Akçura, *Ankara: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Başkenti Hakkında Monografik bir Araştırma*, (Ankara: ODTU Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, no. 16, 1971): 28.
8. Suna Kili, *Türk Devrim Tarihi*, 3rd ed. (Istanbul: Tekin Yayınevi, 1982), 66–69.
9. Cited in Mehmet Sarıoğlu, "Ankara" Bir Modernleşme Öyküsü (1919–1945) [Ankara: A Story of Modernization (1919–1945)] (Ankara: TC Kültür Bakanlığı Kültür Eserleri, 2001), 103.

10. For a detailed account of the Hat Law, see Alev Çınar, *Modernity, Islam, and Secularism in Turkey: Bodies, Places, and Time* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).
11. Cited in Mehmet Sarıoğlu, “Ankara,” 103.
12. Mardin establishes that because of the multiple functions of Islam in the Ottoman system as a legal frame for governance, a discourse of legitimization, a basis for social solidarity, and a system of social justice, the formation of a modern nation-state necessitated the formulation of an ideology that would replace Islam and fulfill these social and political functions. Mardin suggests that secularism as the founding ideology was developed to serve such multiple functions (Şerif Mardin, “Ideology and Religion in the Turkish Revolution,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 2 (1971): 197–211).
13. For a more detailed account of the role and place of secularism during the founding years of the Turkish Republic, see Çınar, *Modernity, Islam, and Secularism in Turkey*.
14. Cited in Zeynep Kezer, “The Making of a National Capital: Ideology and Socio-Spatial Practices in Early Republican Ankara” (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1999), 212.
15. The Turkish ezan did not become a law until 1941, which was then annulled in 1950, and Arabic was resumed (*Diyanet Aylık Dergi*, no. 9, [September 1991]: 502–04).
16. İnci Yalım, “Ulus Devletin Kamusal Alanda Meşruiyet Aracı: Toplumsal Belleğin Ulus Meydanı üzerinden Kurgulanma Çabası,” in *Başkent Üzerine Mekan-Politik Tezler: Ankara’nın Kamusal Yüzleri*, ed. Arif Güven Sargın, 157–214 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, 2002), 194; see also Kezer, *The Making of a National Capital*, 213–15.
17. Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 132–3.
18. Kezer, *The Making of a National Capital*, 134.
19. “We built an iron web across the motherland” is a line from the Tenth Anniversary March commemorating the tenth year of the foundation of the republic and referring to the network of railways built across the country.
20. Kezer, *The Making of a National Capital*, 121.
21. For a detailed account of the transformation of Atatürk into a cult hero figure and the proliferation of his statues, monuments, and busts, see Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, 282–6.

22. Yalım, "Ulus Devletin," 184.
23. Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, 16–55.
24. İlhan Tekeli, "The Social Context of the Development of Architecture in Turkey," in *Modern Turkish Architecture*, ed. Renata Holod and Ahmet Evin, 9–33 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), 16.
25. Here, modernism is used as an ideology in the hands of the modernizing state, rather than a style or a phase in architectural or art history.
26. Cited in Afife Batur, "To Be Modern: Search for a Republican Architecture," in *Modern Turkish Architecture*, ed. Renata Holod and Ahmet Evin, 68–93 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), 76.
27. Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*, 6th ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1997), 134.
28. Tekeli, "The Social Context," 17.
29. Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*, 134.
30. Sibel Bozdoğan, "The Predicament of Modernism in Turkish Architectural Culture," in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, ed. Sibel Bozdoğan and Resat Kasaba, 133–56 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 138.
31. Kezer, *The Making of a National Capital*, 141–42.
32. Cited in Kezer, *The Making of a National Capital*, 138.
33. For a detailed account of the transformations in Istanbul and Taksim Square in particular, see Çınar, *Modernity, Islam, and Secularism in Turkey*, 110–21.
34. Yıldırım Yavuz and Suha Özkan, "Finding a National Idiom: The First National Style," in *Modern Turkish Architecture*, ed. Renata Holod and Ahmet Evin, 51–67 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), 56.
35. Yavuz and Özkan, "Finding a National Idiom," 56.
36. Yalım, "Ulus Devletin," 189.
37. Mehmet Kemal, *Türkiye'nin Kalbi: Ankara* (İstanbul: Çağdaş Yayınları, 1983), 62–66.
38. Yalım, "Ulus Devletin," 195.
39. Yavuz and Özkan, "Finding a National Idiom," 64.

40. Ibid., 63.
41. Zeynep Kezer, "Familiar Things in Strange Places: The Museumification of the Religious for the Creation of a Modern National Landscape in Early Republican Turkey" (unpublished paper presented at the MESA Annual Conference, Providence, R.I., 1996).
42. Mardin differentiates between orthodox Islam as the official religion of the Ottoman state practiced under the authority of the ruling ulema and heterodox Islam consisting of the wide range of sufi orders scattered around the Empire which is deeply ingrained in daily life, not only regulating ordinary daily activity, but also serving as a system of meaning and a buffer between the imperial state and the common folk (Mardin, "Ideology and Religion").
43. The decision to build the Monument in Anıttepe (then Rasattepe) was taken in 1939, a year after Atatürk passed away. The construction started in 1944 and ended in 1953. On November 10, 1953, Atatürk's body was brought to and buried in a special chamber within the Mausoleum.
44. Nurettin Can Gülekli, *Anıtkabir Rehberi* [Anıtkabir Guide] (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayinlari, 1993), 14–15.
45. Cited in Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, 286.
46. Afife Batur, "*Anıtkabir*" *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 5 (Istanbul: İletişim Yayinlari, 1983), 1392.
47. Cited in Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, 289.
48. Sait Şan, "Camilerin Önemi, Toplum Hayatındaki Yeri Ve Kocatepe Camii'nin İbadete Açılışı" *Diyanet Aylık Dergi* (August 2001), accessible online at <http://www.diyanet.gov.tr/DIYANET/2001aylik/agustos/ayinkonusu.htm#>.
49. The previous government was lead by the Republican People's Party (CHP), which was founded by Atatürk and ruled Turkey in a single-party regime until 1950.
50. For a detailed account of the controversy over the role of Islam in Turkey, see Çınar, *Modernity, Islam, and Secularism in Turkey*.
51. Ibid.
52. This is the neoconservative Motherland Party period under Turgut Özal's leadership (1983–1993).
53. Cited in Michael Meeker, "Once There Was, Once There Wasn't: National Monuments and Interpersonal Exchange," in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, ed. Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat

Kasaba, trans. Michael Meeker, 157–91 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 181.

54. Nilüfer Göle, “Engineers: ‘Technocratic Democracy,’” in *Turkey and the West: Changing Political and Cultural Identities*, ed. Metin Heper et al., 199–218 (New York: I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 1993); Göle examines how in the 1950s the notion of modernity changed from civilizational/cultural terms to acquire a new meaning with the advent of the Democrat Party regime, which took modernization as industrial development and technological advancement.
55. For a brief account of this shift and its effects on architecture and the urban scene see, Bozdoğan, “The Predicament of Modernism.”
56. For a detailed account of these Islamist challenges and interventions, see Çınar, *Modernity, Islam, and Secularism in Turkey*.