

THE PHYSICAL EVOLUTION OF  
THE HISTORIC CITY OF ANKARA BETWEEN 1839 AND 1944:  
A MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

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THE HISTORIC CITY OF ANKARA BETWEEN 1839 AND 1944:  
A MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS**

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **THE PHYSICAL EVOLUTION OF THE HISTORIC CITY OF ANKARA BETWEEN 1839 AND 1944: A MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS**

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The historic core of Ankara, has been subject to a rapid change and deterioration increasingly after 1950s, losing most of its original qualities. This thesis analyzes the spatial evolution of the historic city from 1839 to 1940s with the objective to reconstitute the preexisting urban fabric and the transformation that took place before 1950s. The Early Republican period was critical in the transformation of the historic core as well as in the development of Ankara that was to be shaped as the ‘model city’ for other Turkish cities. The Old City, which constituted the center of the new capital is studied with a morphological approach in order to reconstitute the original form and structure of the physical environment and to clarify the changes in the subsequent periods in relation with the socio-economic and institutional structure. Mainly depending on the cartographic materials belonging to the research periods, the study focuses on the physical evolution of the historic city through comparison on the basis of three principal items: urban fabric, urban circulation network and land use pattern. Situating the historic core within the whole Ankara, the research puts special emphasis on the impact of fires and the effects of the planning activity

in the related period. The morphological analysis illustrated that the historic core of Ankara was subject to a substantial transformation during the Early Republican period as a result of the interventions brought by the reconstruction plans and piecemeal decisions.

Keywords: Urban history, urban morphology, Early Republican Ankara, planning decisions, urban continuity and transformation.

## ÖZ

### **ANKARA TARİHİ KENT MERKEZİ'NİN 1839 İLE 1944 ARASINDAKİ FİZİKSEL DÖNÜŞÜMÜ: MORFOLOJİK BİR ÇÖZÜMLEME**

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Bugünkü tarihi merkezi oluşturan Ankara Tarihi Kenti, 1950lerden sonra hızlı bir değişim ve bozulmaya uğrayarak pekçok özgün niteliğini kaybetmiştir. Bu tez, 1839dan 1940lara kadarki dönemde tarihi kentin mekânsal gelişimini inceleyerek, Ankara'nın imarında önemli bir aşama olan Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi'ndeki kentsel dönüşümü tanımlamayı amaçlar. Diğer Türk kentleri için bir 'model kent' olarak şekillendirilecek olan yeni başkentin merkezini oluşturan Tarihi Kent, eski makroformunun ve fiziksel çevre strüktürünün özgün niteliklerinin belirlenmesi ve birbirini takip eden dönemlerde meydana gelmiş olan değişimlerin aydınlatılması amacıyla morfolojik bir yaklaşımla incelenmekte, aynı zamanda sosyo-ekonomik ve kurumsal yapıyla da ilişkilendirilmektedir. Temel olarak araştırılacak dönemlere ait kartografik malzemelere dayandırılan çalışma, üç temel öge olarak belirlenen; kentsel doku, kentsel dolaşım ağı ve arazi kullanım düzeni üzerinden karşılaştırarak tarihi kentin fiziksel gelişimine odaklanır. Çalışmada, tarihi çekirdek büyümekte olan Ankara kentinin bütünü içinde konumlandırılırken; ilgili dönemdeki yangınların ve planlama hareketlerinin etkileri özellikle vurgulanmaktadır. Morfolojik çözümleme göstermektedir ki; Ankara Tarihi Merkezi, Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde, kısmen

yangınlarla ilişkili olan planlama kararları ve parça uygulama planları ile kapsamlı bir dönüşüme konu olmuştur.

Anahtar kelimeler: Kent tarihi, kentsel morfoloji, Erken Cumhuriyet Ankara'sı, planlama kararları, kentsel süreklilik ve dönüşüm.

**TO THE MEMORY OF MY FATHER CEMAL MIHÇIOĞLU  
AND TO MY WHOLE FAMILY**

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This must be the most pleasant stage of any thesis which is the clear sign of its completion. But, it is inevitable to be in complicated feelings when making a kind of inventory or calculation, recalling this long process.

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## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

The foundation of the Turkish Republic was a crucial turning point for Ankara which was proclaimed as her capital city. This is a period when a thorough cultural and social change, when the reflections of modern ways of life on urban space and architecture are considered. The small Anatolian town of Ankara was planned and constructed as a capital city, and as a model city for the other urban centers in the country. In Ankara, new development areas were created around a new administrative center outside the old town which was claimed to be protected by the first planning attempts. However, this aimed conservation of the old city could not be realized due to different reasons beginning from the early years of the Republic. Especially after 1950s, the Historic City Center of Ankara has been subject to a rapid change and deteriorated increasingly, keeping very few of its original qualities. To stop the ongoing decay, it is clear that the historic core needs to be conserved and rehabilitated without further destruction.

In this study, it is proposed to read and analyze the spatial properties through the morphological patterns in order to understand the structure of the Old City and its transformations in time. Morphological studies generally analyze the urban and architectural formations in a process of change and are based on cartographic and visual materials. In this sense; the physical transformation of Ankara City Center from the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century to 1944 is studied to reconstitute the original urban characteristics of the period within the context of continuity and change, parallel to planning activities and socio-cultural reasons.

## **1.1. Main Questions and Hypotheses**

It is important to reveal the physical evolution process of Ankara, which constituted a representative urban settlement model for the modern Turkish Republic. In that case, 'when', 'how' and 'why' did the physical components of the city emerge and change?

It is generally thought that the development plans of the Early Republican Era did not bring substantial changes the historic city in general. Then, other than the unexpected increase of population since the Early Republican period, what were the reasons that reshaped the old city in this period?

Was the 'aimed conservation' pointed out in the report of Jansen Development Plan and in the related literature valid and effective, and to what extent?

Depending on the cartographic materials and other historic documents, it is intended to analyze how the historic city of Ankara changed physically, and this, parallel to which socio-economical dynamics. 1839, the date of the earliest reliable cartographic material of Ankara is taken as the beginning of this present study; and 1944, is accepted as the end of the Early Republican period and the start of accelerated decay in the Historic City of Ankara.

Despite uncertain and insufficient information, the 'fire areas' had an important role in the development of the old city which has to be clarified and defined.

It is argued that, contrary to Jansen's will of 'putting the Old City under a glass shield', the Old City was in the process of intense transformation in the Early Republican period, more than it was known or predicted, by the development plans and then by the partial implementation plans which were highly effective in transforming the old city.

## **1.2. Objectives of the Study**

This dissertation aims to discuss the physical evolution of the Historic City of Ankara between 1839 and 1944, with a special emphasis on the Early Republican period, through the use of urban morphological analyses.

This approach is experimented on the specific case study of the Historic City of Ankara, with the following objectives;

- To reveal the physical formations and transformations of the study area, putting emphasis on the dialectical relationship between urban form, socio-economical factors and planning activities,
- To discuss morphological evolution through the analysis of the phases of transformation and the investigation of aspects of continuity and change,
- To clarify the effects of the institutional framework, valid regulations and especially the development plans on the evolution of the historic city of Ankara.
- To constitute a methodology to define and to reconstitute the original urban characteristics of Ankara in the related periods, which are partially or totally lost today.

## **1.3. Urban Morphology as a Method of Urban Analysis**

Urban morphology has been introduced and developed since 1950s in Europe as a method of urban and architectural analysis. Although, it is not new, it is not a widespread method used in urban analysis in Turkey. As a method of analysis used to find out basic principles of urban and architectural formations, it aims at describing the process of urban formation and change of a defined period of time within a hierarchical order (it will be explained further in Section 1.5). It is important to decipher various physical components of the urban whole related to each other in a system of formal interaction.

The research is intended to be based on the methods of urban morphology and aims to define its own appropriate method for this particular study. It is to read and

decipher the evolution of the physical structure of Ankara City in the Early Republican Era, superposing the previous map with the map of the following stage for each period, in order to compare to find out the changes of the urban fabric in each period, parallel to socio-economical changes. And then to relate these with the planning and building decisions and regulations defined by the institutional structure.

This study consists of five chapters. The first chapter introduces the problem, explains the objectives and the method of the thesis, defining the study area and the periods of the research. In addition to these, the theoretical and conceptual framework is described through basic concepts and definitions, including the inspiring previous studies.

In the second chapter, the previous period of time is considered to draw a clearer picture, bringing out the reasons of the physical evolution in the main period of the research. Parallel to the existing social, economical situation, urban morphological characteristics of consecutive periods are examined and continuities and changes between them are put forward and discussed.

In the third chapter, focusing on the main period of research in two sub-periods, the components of the discussion are parallel, but more detailed, both depending on the quality of the used documentary sources and the aimed emphasis of the present dissertation.

In the fourth chapter, each studied period is examined from the point of planning decisions of the development plans and valid institutional structure, so as to define their effects on the urban evolution.

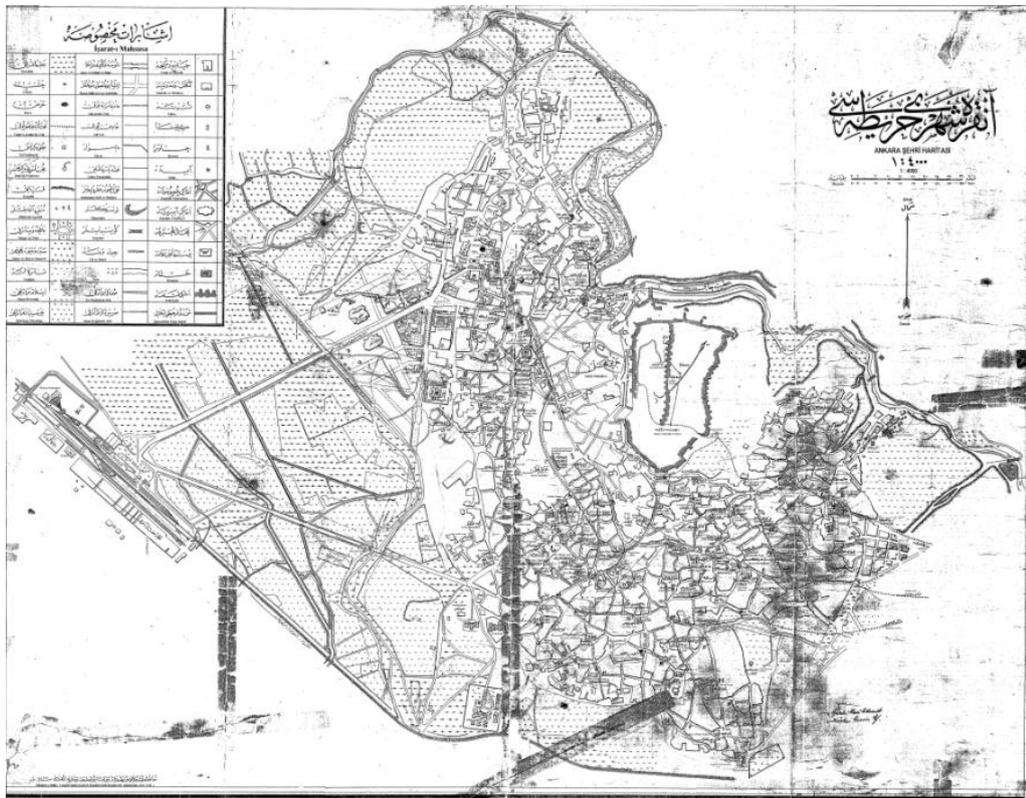
In the fifth and last chapter, the consequences of the morphological analysis made on the basis of the key items are discussed together with a critical overview of the conceptual approach within the framework of this study.

## 1.4. Definition of the Study Area

### 1.4.1. Study Area and Periods of Research

The study area of this dissertation comprises the Historic City of Ankara around the Citadel which is today's *Ulus* District, taking *Hatip* Stream as a boundary at the north; the railway, the Railway Station and *İncesu* Stream at the south and west; Bosnian (*Boşnak*) Quarter at the east. In other words, the study area comprises approximately the extent of both 1839 and 1924 maps.

Depending on the qualified historic cartographic materials convenient for this study, the periods of historic evolution of the Historic City of Ankara is determined accordingly. The main research focus of this dissertation is the period between 1924 and 1944 named as the 'Early Republican period'. But, to draw a more clear picture about this period; the previous period from 1839 to 1924 is also analyzed and evaluated for a comprehensive and elaborate comparison with the main period of research in a restitutive manner .



**Figure 1.1:** The study area comprises the area of the City of Ankara in 1924, as shown in 1924 *Şehremaneti* Map.

### **1.4.2. Method of the Morphological Analysis and Use of Documentary Sources**

Before explaining about the method of the morphological analysis, it is necessary to mention that the preliminary state of the included analyses in this dissertation was studied as a TUBITAK (The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey) Project through a Short-Term R&D Funding Programme (1002) within 12 months and concluded successfully. After this first phase, each analysis was controlled and revised many times, and intended to be brought to the most appropriate condition to be related and explained by the text of this dissertation.

#### **1.4.2.1. Visual Sources**

- ***Maps, Plans, Cadastral Plans, Aerial Photographs***

So as to compare the different stages of Historic City of Ankara morphologically, different maps which were produced with different techniques, are used. The first important operation was leveling the different qualities of 1839 Von Vincke Map (scale: 1/6250), 1924 *Şehremaneti* Maps (scale: 1/4000), Cadastral Plans of 1930s (dated from 1927 to 1936, scale: 1/500, 94 drawings assembled into one) and 1944 Ankara Map (scale: 1/8000) for this comparative study. First of all, each of the mentioned maps are superposed with Ankara map of 1997 (scale: 1/1000) individually, which is assumed to be the most reliable and latest map of Ankara. For the map of each period, the unchanged reference buildings and monuments -such as the Citadel, the Temple of Augustus, *Hans*, *Bedestens* and mosques- as well as some common avenues and streets at approximately homogeneously scattered points of the study area were superposed and the maps were 'warped', which means digitally pulled and altered accordingly. It is to eliminate major scale errors and distortions due to the old cartographic techniques of their time which would allow comparison at the highest rate. An important challenge of this method was redrawing different quality maps, bringing them to the same level, so as to reveal and compare their certain common components -such as the 'urban fabric character', the 'urban circulation network', the 'land use pattern', the 'ownership

pattern'- for each period, necessary to expose and analyze the physical continuities and changes in the process of evolution.

**About 1839 Map:**



**Figure 1.2:** 1839 Von Vincke Map of Ankara (*Başkent Ankara, Harita Genel Müdürlüğü, 1983, p.2*).

The map is redrawn after Von Vincke Map with 1/6250 scale, which carries the general qualities of its scale and its early period. This map, originally drawn by a Prussian officer Major Baron Von Vincke in 1839 for military purposes, is distorted to a high extent, has less precision and comparatively less detailed. It gives superficial information about the city; such as topographic qualities, major buildings and land uses, showing major avenues and districts instead of all streets

or urban blocks. The legend of the map could not be found and the map includes very little written information that is hardly legible.

The major public buildings and the city gates are specified graphically, when the related writings are completely illegible. On the other hand, the representations of the map carry the general features of the cartographic graphic language and interpreted accordingly. In addition, as the inner narrow streets were not depicted, each building block could not be shown individually, but as unified larger quarters defined by the major avenues or streets.



**Figure 1.3:** Historic City of Ankara in 1839 Von Vincke Map (*Başkent Ankara, Harita Genel Müdürlüğü, 1983, p.2*).

### ***About 1924 Map:***

Starting from the early years of new Turkish Republic, a new Ankara Plan was required to be used for the increasing small scale urban interventions and to be the base map of a development plan <sup>1</sup> soon to be realized by C.C. Lörcher.

*Şehremaneti* Map drawn in 1924 is a more detailed map with 1/4000 scale. It has originally three versions having different accents on; residential urban blocks, major public buildings, infrastructure and circulation channels. This map is relatively more precise when compared to 1839 Von Vincke Map, as more developed and accurate cartographic techniques were used, but still had some deformations, which came out after it was superposed with 1997 map. Quite detailed information is contained both visually and in writing on the original map and in its legend. The major public buildings are specified in more detail and the specific functions of the major buildings are indicated. In addition, the map includes detailed information even about components like mills, fountains and the types of agriculture (differentiated as vegetable or fruit gardening, or agricultural fields).

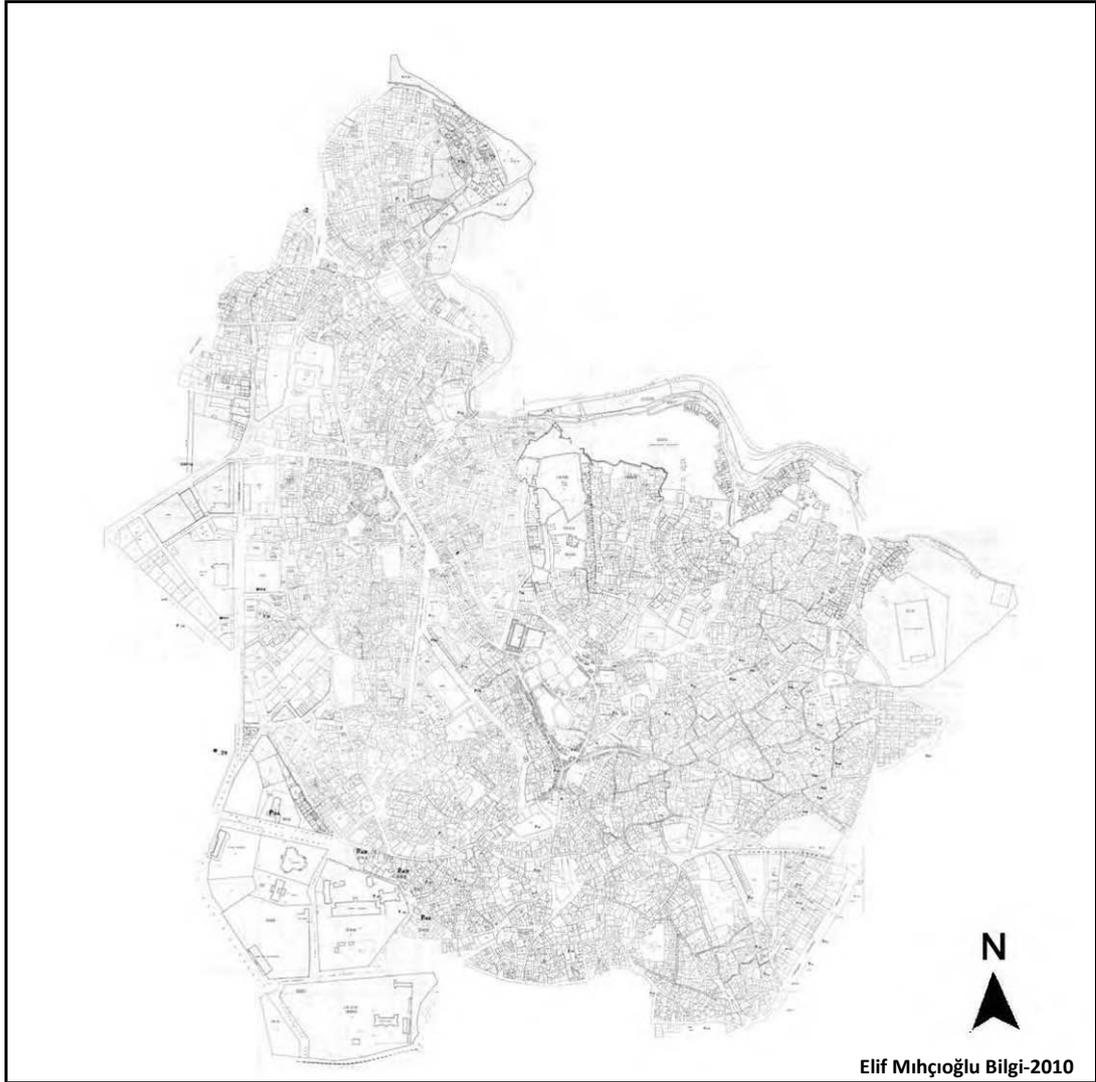
An important defect of this map is the lack of information about the Citadel Area. The Inner and Outer Citadel Areas were probably not included in this map consciously for an unknown reason. This deficiency was not also indicated in the legend or on the original map.

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<sup>1</sup> Cengizkan, 2004: 21.



### **About 1930s Map:**

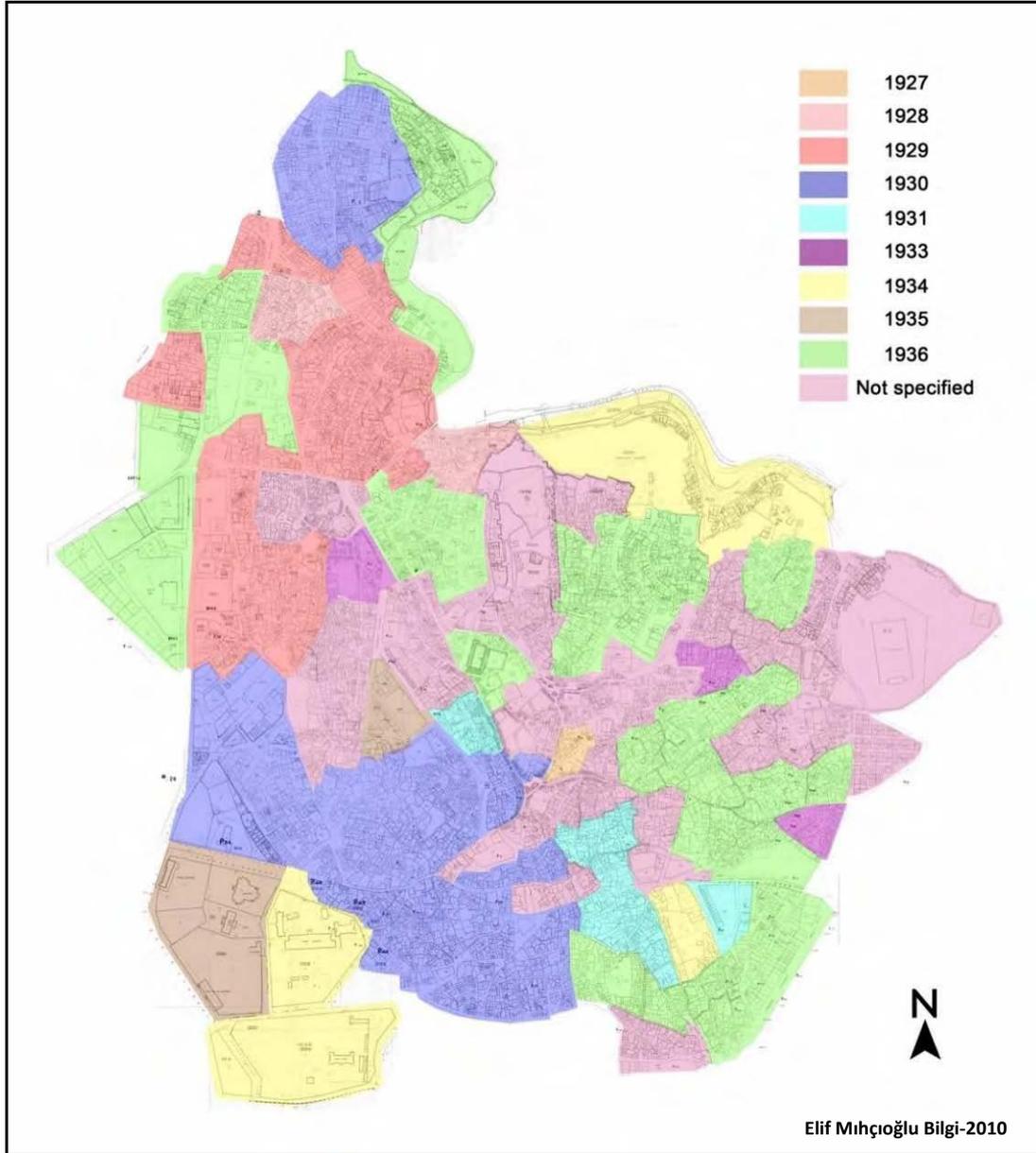


**Figure 1.5:** 94 Cadastral plans in 1/500 scale assembled together.

When Ankara maps were explored, it was seen that there was a serious deficiency in the period of late 1920s and 1930s, to illustrate the Early Republican period of Ankara. For this reason, the map of 1930s is redrawn after the cadastral plans with 1/500 scale by assembling 94 drawings into one. Scanned 94 cadastral plans were brought together easier than it was expected to be, as they were originally prepared to be assembled together for the neighboring areas.

The cadastral plans, which had been prepared in phases from 1927 to 1936, comprise the Historic City, as marked in the redrawn maps. The surrounding of the

city which is missing on the 1924 map, is redrawn after 1/15.000 scaled Ankara Plan dated 1937-38 as seen in Figure 1.7. Depending on its scale and its aim, it is necessary to point out the detailed quality of the information coming from the redrawn map of 1930s when compared to regular maps, as they are based on the cadastral plans and consequently the title deeds.



**Figure 1.6:** Implementation Years of 1927-1936 dated Cadastral Plans

Most of the cadastral plans include the title deed information on the drawings, and when the lacking information was completed from the title deed logs by the researcher. Hence, apart from the detailed building uses, it has become possible to

reach the ownership information for the part of the city redrawn after the cadastral plans of 1927-36. During this assembling process, the distortions were eliminated through superposing and warping (digital pulling and altering), taking 1997 map as the common truest base, as in other period maps. The detailed set of redrawn maps of 1930s Ankara is known to be realized for the first time.

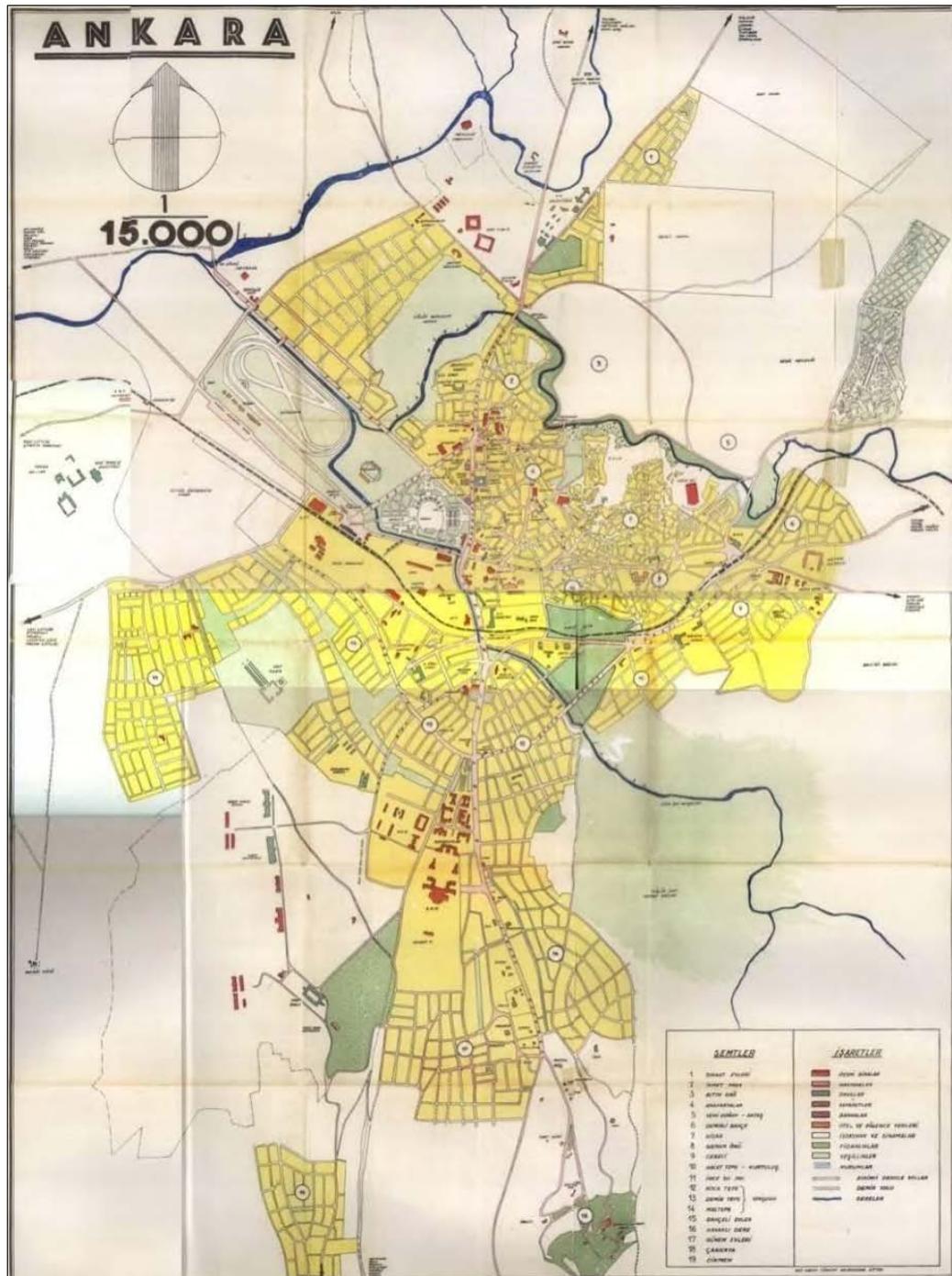


Figure 1.7: 1937-38 dated Ankara Map (Scale: 1/15,000)

When redrawing the 1930s map, the study area, which could not be comprised totally by the cadastral plans of 1930s and covering only the Historic City Center, was completed by using the 1937-38 Ankara map. It is necessary to clarify that the map of 1937-38 has the quality of a touristic map, being schematic and with less precision such as; exaggerated street widths and consequently smaller urban blocks than in reality. Furthermore, it includes unrealized areas from Jansen Plan partially within the historic city, which is speculative. However, these parts completed from the map of 1937-38 are the surrounding open areas and the areas outside the former City Walls of 1839, are indicated on the maps of 1930s redrawn from the cadastral plans within a very narrow and limited area. This surrounding area was controlled and checked from the aerial photographs dated early 1930s (Figure A.16 in Appendices) and 1942 (Figure A.18 in Appendices).

Another Ankara map used in this study is taken from the touristic guide book of Ankara in French dated 1933, prepared by Mamboury <sup>2</sup> (Figure 1.8). It is used as the background of redrawn maps of 1930s within this study, to show the surrounding new developments around the historic city. Though it is not mentioned, it must be drawn by the author Mamboury, with a scale of 1/30.000. Without any detail, it shows only the primary arteries (main boulevards and avenues), reference points (like Nation Square (*Millet or Ulus Meydanı*), Samanpazari, Citadel Gate, Gazi Bridge), as well as the locations of the monumental buildings in the city of 1933, with all the writings and legend in French.

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<sup>2</sup> Ernest Mamboury (1878-1953) was a Swiss scholar. In 1909, he became a professor of French language and literature at Galatasary High School in İstanbul during Ottoman Period. He lived in İstanbul for forty years until his death in 1953. He dedicated most of his literary works on the Byzantine structures, as well as other significant historic monuments in İstanbul and Ankara. He was buried at the Protestant cemetery in the Feriköy district on the Golden Horn (from wikipedia).He prepared the guide book titled 'Ankara, Guide Touristique' for the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

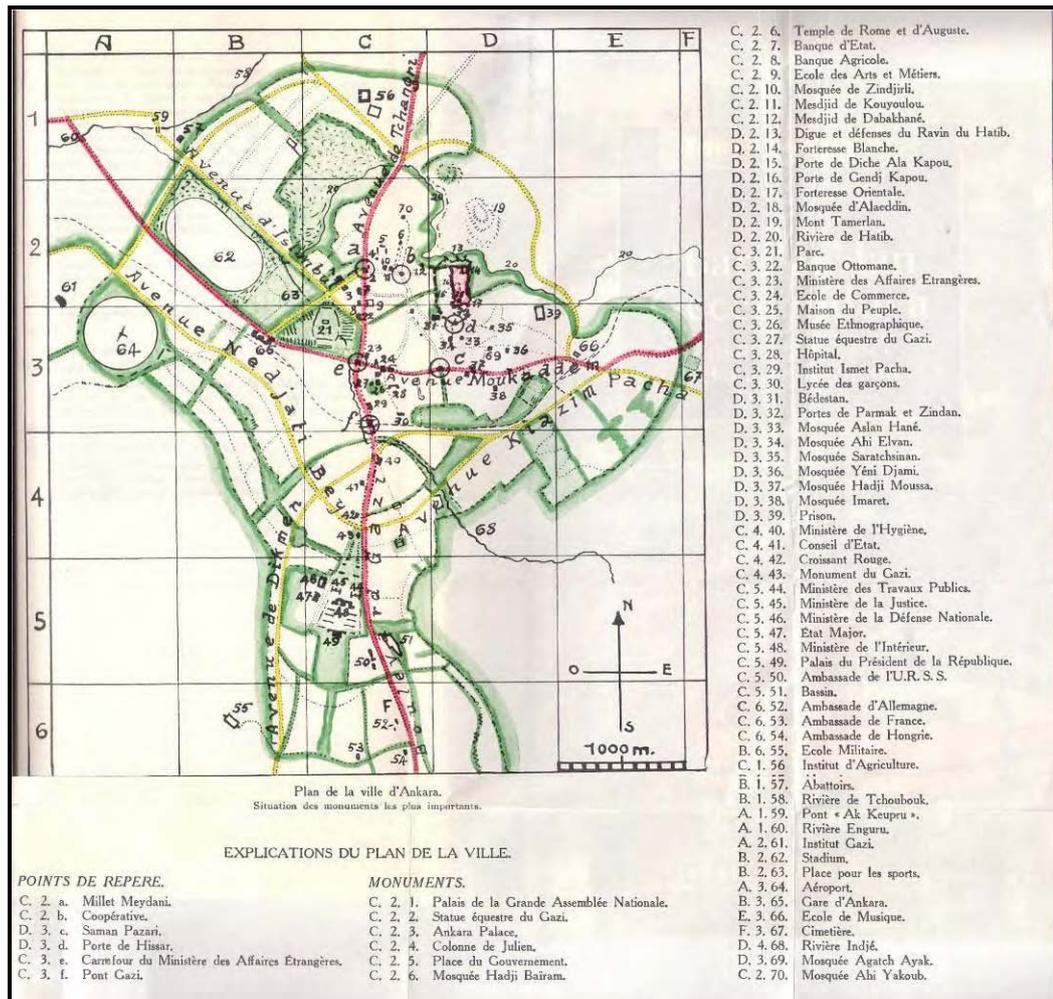


Figure 1.8: 1933 dated Ankara Map (Scale: 1/30.000) (Mamboury, 1933: 136a).

### About 1944 Map:

The map of 1944 is the latest and technically the most qualified map used in this study. It was produced through aero photogrammetric techniques in 1/5000 scale and drawn with 1/8000 scale by the General Directorate of Cartography. It shows the valid situation in detail and sensitively. However, the map has a figure-ground expression due to its scale and each building is not defined individually. In addition, the names of most of the streets, public buildings, as well as the open areas were mentioned in the original map, which were quite helpful for the detailed analyses. Moreover, the map included a city guide booklet with the same date, where extra information like streets, official buildings, hospitals, schools, historical monuments, museums, mosques, masjids, cemeteries (given in alphabetical order) and their specific locations were mentioned with reference to the map.

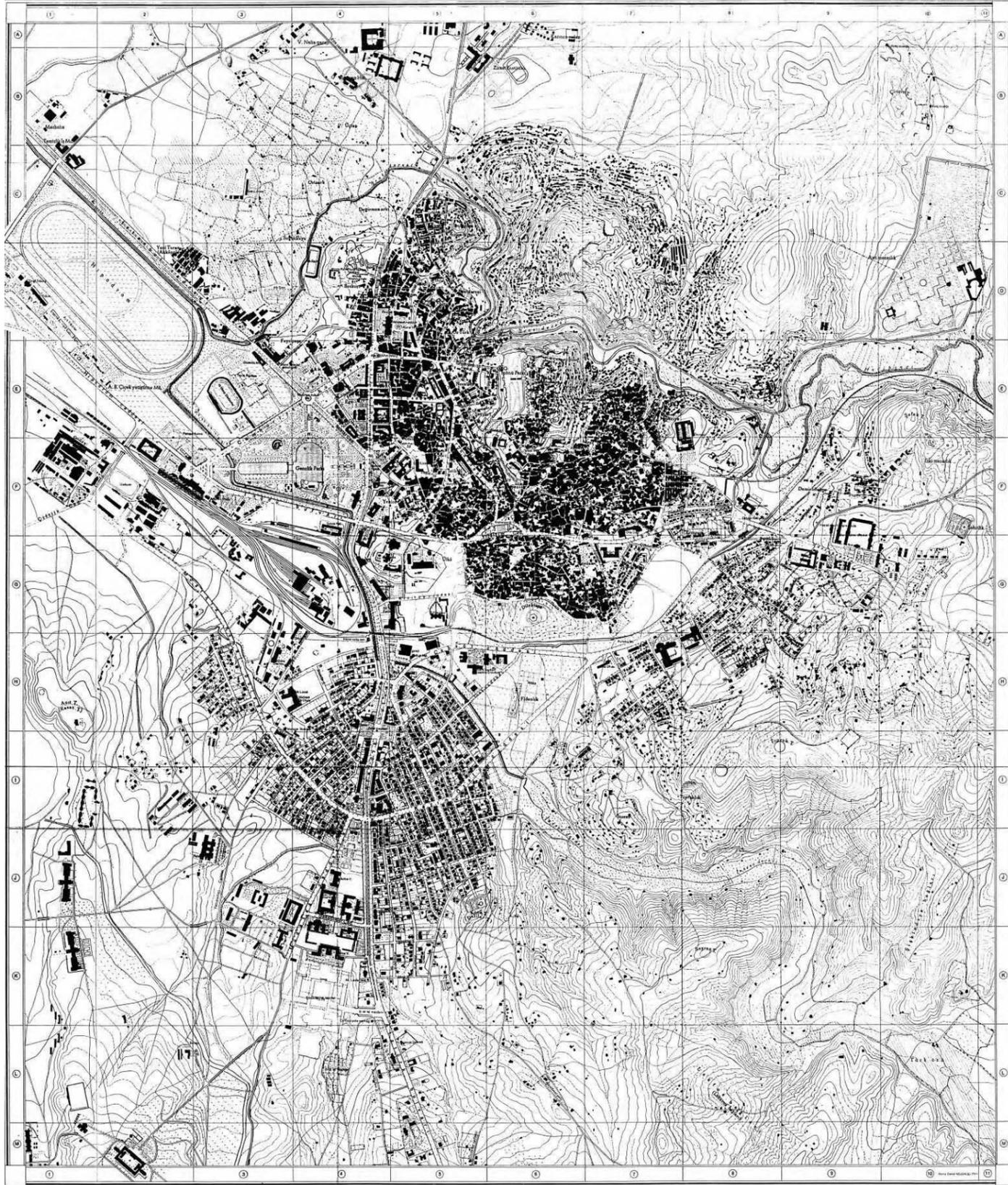


Figure 1.9: 1944 dated Ankara Map showing Old City and the New City (Scale: 1/8000) (VEKAM Archive)

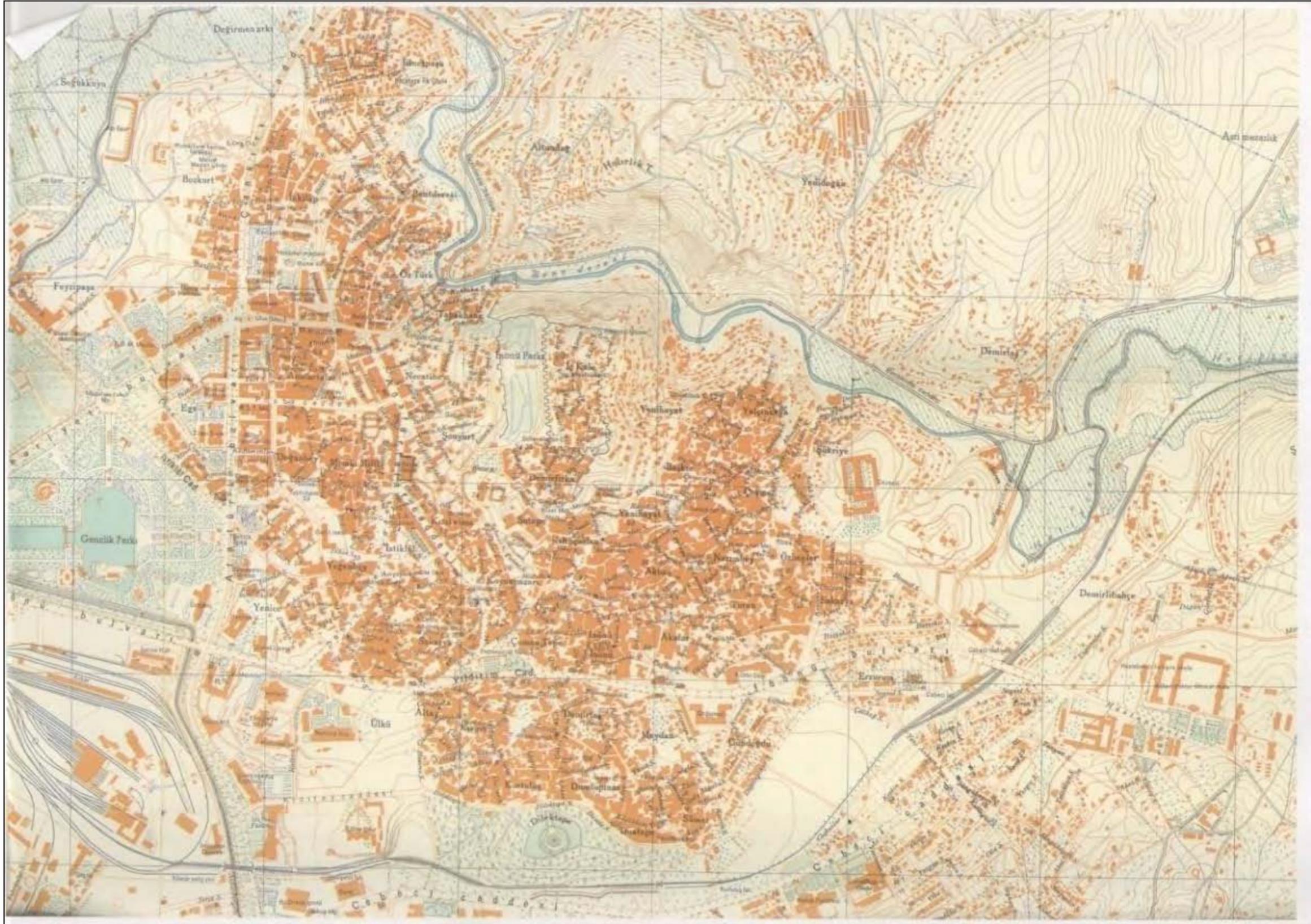


Figure 1.10: Historic City of Ankara in 1944 dated Ankara Map (Scale: 1/8000) (VEKAM Archive)

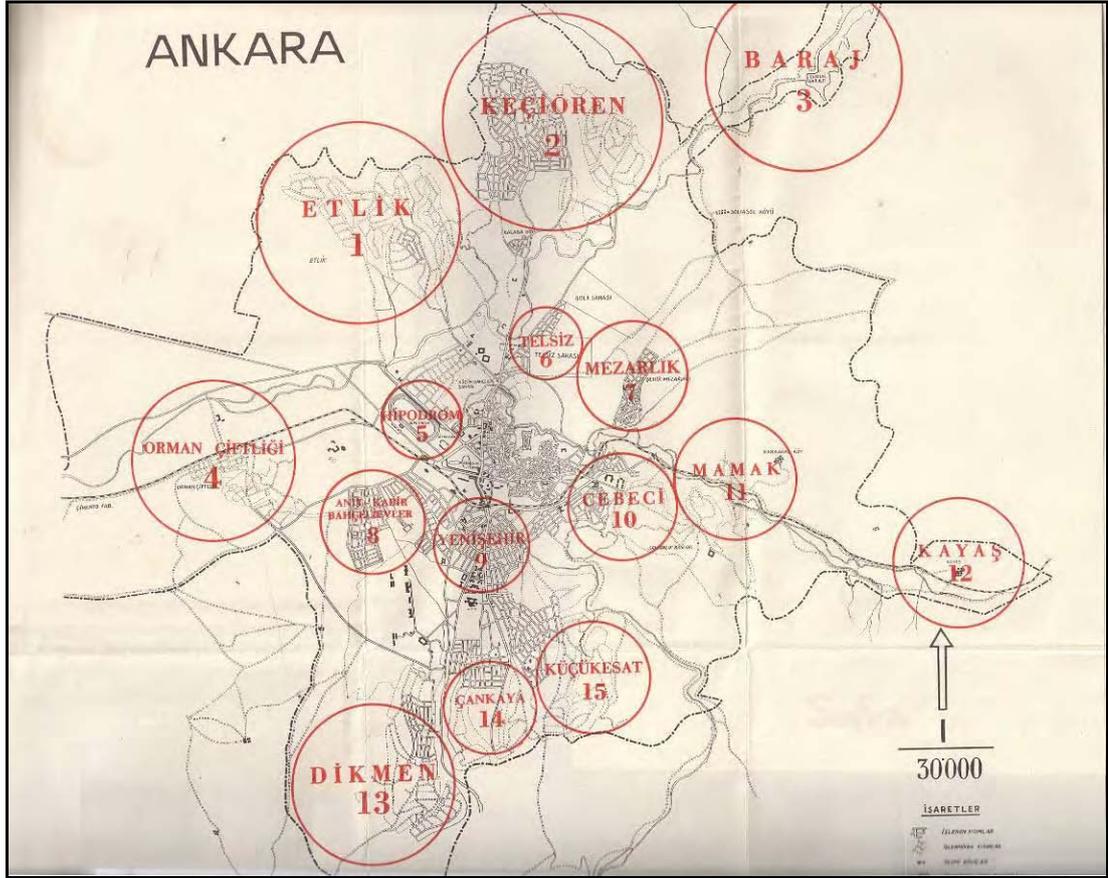


Figure 1.11: Ankara Map dated 1940s (Scale: 1/30.000) (Gülekli, 1949: appendices).

Above map used in this study is taken from the guide book of Ankara dated 1949. It was prepared both in Turkish and English and was written by the Archaeologist Nurettin Can Gülekli. The map is in scale 1/30.000 and the author is unknown. Apart from a more detailed Ankara Map showing the historic city and the new city, this map comprises the whole city of 1940s. It is used as the background of redrawn maps of 1944 within this study, to show the surrounding new developments around the historic city. It only shows the urban circulation network and the districts around the Old City.

- **Photographs and Postcards**

Photographs and postcards are valuable visual sources. It is thought that parallel to the morphological analysis on plans, the existence of photographs gives the necessary complementary information about the third dimension, or architectural aspects of the urban space. The photographs in this thesis are taken from a few different sources, but especially from two photograph books on Ankara compiled

and published after 1990's<sup>3</sup> by the Municipal institutions and the touristic guide book written by Ernest Mamboury dated 1933. In addition to these, many of the photographs included are collected from the archives of VEKAM (Vehbi Koç ve Ankara Arařtırmaları Merkezi), National Library in Ankara and from internet<sup>4</sup>.

#### **1.4.2.2. Written Sources**

- ***Title Deeds***

Starting from the first years of the Turkish Republic till today, title deeds include the information of; the name of the owner (such as; private, public, governmental, municipal or collective tenancy), building area (in sq.m.) and type of use (such as; residential, commercial, religious, governmental, educational, accommodation, healthcare, storage, cultural, bank, monument, fountain, Turkish bath, vacant, recreational, cemetery, agricultural etc.). As well as that the changes that occurred in time are being recorded in the title deeds such as the change of the owner, change in the building lot or type of use.

- ***Documents in Governmental Archives***

The official governmental letters before early 1923; especially about the big fire in 1917 and the incidents that may have influenced the city were searched and found in the Ottoman Archives.

The ones after 1923, especially about the development plans, partial plans and the city in general were searched and found in the Republican Archives.

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<sup>3</sup> The photograph books are:

- Börtücene, D. (1993), *Bir Zamanlar Ankara*, Belko Ltd. řti.
- Sađdıç, O. (ed.) (1994), *Ankara Posta Kartları ve Belge Fotoęrafları Arřivi Kataloęu*, Belko Ltd. řti.

<sup>4</sup> Especially from [www.wowTURKEY.com](http://www.wowTURKEY.com), last visited in June 2010

- **Others**

There are more than 30 foreign travelers who came to Ankara published their memoirs (see Table B.1 in Appendices)<sup>5</sup> during the period that this dissertation focused on.

Before the foundation of the Turkish Republic and after the Ottoman-Russian War, a population census was held in Anatolia in 1830, including Ankara, to count the male population. This also included the details like the religious affiliation and the occupations of the male population<sup>6</sup>.

*Salnames*, which are also administrative documents like *Tahrir Defterleri* (the governmental registers recording the taxpayers in a correct and systematic way), include and bring together the yearly events about the subject city in the Ottoman period. For the city of Ankara, 15 *salname*'s were published between 1873 and 1907<sup>7</sup>.

345 out of 1013 logbooks kept in Ankara Ethnographic Museum are related with Ankara and 123 out of 345 belong to the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> Tunçer, 2001: 97 and Madran, 2001:170-171.

<sup>6</sup> Tunçer, 2001:3-4.

<sup>7</sup> Tunçer, 2001: 7.

<sup>8</sup> Tunçer, 2001: 5.

## **1.5. Theoretical and Conceptual Framework**

In this chapter, the aim is, first, to define and explain the concepts of urban morphology and architectural typology, which have always been in close relation. The historiography; the principles, theories, and methodologies of important schools are explained in this context.

### **1.5.1. Basic Concepts and Definitions**

Urban morphology, by extension typo-morphology, can be defined as the study of urban form through morphological and typological analysis of physical and spatial characteristics of urban structure, and its evolution shaped by various socio-economical factors. It tries to understand how and why the urban space is created and transformed over time to find out its character and the forces on it.

[Architectural or urban] Form is very lamely informative of intention. We “read” form correctly only to the extent that we are familiar with the precise cultural conditions that generated it. The more we know about cultures, about the structure of the society in various periods of the history in different parts of the world, the better we are able to read their built environment<sup>9</sup>.

As Kostof underlines, trying to understand and explain solely the urban form without underlying socio-economical and cultural reasons, it would be too superficial and meaningless.

Since the initiators of urban morphology and architectural typology, such as M.R.G. Conzen, Saverio Muratori, Gianfranco Caniggia, Aldo Rossi and Carlo Aymonino started the idea of analyzing the evolution of the built environment, researchers from different disciplines all around the world seem to agree that the settlement can be “read” and analyzed through its physical form.

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<sup>9</sup> Kostof, 1991: 10.

### 1.5.2. Urban Morphology

In American Heritage Dictionary, the term “morphology” is explained as “the study of the form and structure of an organism or one of its parts”. On the other hand, urban designers like Gebauer and Samuels define urban morphology as “...a method of analysis which is basic to finding out principles or rules of urban design”. Gebauer and Samuels also note that the term can be understood as the study of the physical and spatial characteristics of the whole urban structure<sup>10</sup>. This definition can be evaluated as the scholars of the fairly new urban design field, use quite a common terminology and concepts with urban morphologists.

Choay and Merlin, having invited twelve professionals from three countries and different disciplines to respond to a questionnaire on urban morphology, complain about this. Everyone seemed to be discussing something different and there was very little common ground or methodological base, quite apart from language problems. This, however, is one of the strengths of morphology. It is open to approach by various disciplines with their own methods and any attempt to restrict or strait-jacket the discourse could stifle it.<sup>11</sup>

As explained in the above paragraph and will be further clarified in the following sections, there exist quite many different approaches in the field. However, Moudon points out that, researchers agree basically that morphological analysis is based on three main principles, which are present in all kinds of morphological studies as; ‘form’, ‘resolution’( which she means ‘scale’) and ‘time’<sup>12</sup>.

As urban morphology is the study of urban form, “form” that stands for the urban configuration constitutes the basis for this method. When studying the built environment, starting from the elementary cell of the urban tissue and its relationship with the street is studied as a beginning to describe the urban structure.

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<sup>10</sup> Gebauer and Samuels, 1983; Larkham P.J., 1998: 172.

<sup>11</sup> Samuels, 1990: 433-434; Hwang, 1994: 92.

<sup>12</sup> Moudon, 2000: 7.

At different scales, the interrelations and interactions of urban components such as building, open space, building lot, street, block, district and the city are studied and interpreted.

Evolution of the urban whole over time lies at the center of urban morphology. Therefore, the concept of time, in other words “period of history” is very important, as the urban form can be deciphered through its historical transformation. Urban morphology aims to explore the process of formation and transformation at a certain period and the existing situation of the urban whole as well as of its fabric. Apart from the distinct physical transformations of various components of the city at different scales, the urban morphology reflects on the social, economic and cultural changes at a certain period consequently.

#### • *Different Approaches in the Field of Urban Morphology*

There are basically three different approaches in urban morphology. The earliest one is the British morphogenesis approach developed by geographers, the second is the Italian typo-morphological approach and the third is the French typo-morphological approach developed by architects. These different approaches came under one roof during the International Seminar in Urban Form (ISUF) in 1994 for a better progress in the field.

*British Morphogenetic Approach* or *Conzenian School* is based on the British geographer’s method of analysis of the “townscape” which is the “three dimensional form of the urban space” developed principally by M.R.G. Conzen (1907-2000). This approach mainly aims to describe and explain the physical form of the urban settlement and raise a theory of urban development.

Koster, who is the author of the Ph.D dissertation ‘Urban Morphology: A Taste of a Form-oriented Approach to the History of Urban Development’, states that the most crucial moment of Conzen’s analysis is his beginning with the earliest reliable map of the study area with the aim of reaching to the origins of the urban entity<sup>13</sup>.

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<sup>13</sup> Koster, 2001: 2.

Conzen's initial studies on towns of Northeast England (1949), then on "Whitby" (1958) are the first examples of morphogenesis studies where he proceeded by classifying characteristics of the form and period, studying the area plot-by-plot. His studies involved the "townscape" accent and the dimension of conservation from the beginning. And, his following famous study on "Alnwick" (1960) is accepted as a milestone for urban morphology, as a further extensive and refined step<sup>14</sup>.

For the Conzen school, the urban fabric is composed of three main elements; "*town plan*" (which consists of the street system, land parcels and the buildings at ground level), "*land use*" which shows the various uses of both ground floor and space; as well as "*building fabric*", which constitutes the third dimension of the physical structure on the land ownership pattern. In a following paper of M.R.G. Conzen, "*town plan*" and "*building form*" are emphasized as the most "persistent" components of townscape, particularly forming the "morphological frame" that control the future development to a certain extent<sup>15</sup>.

On the other hand, Kostof criticizes this approach as putting all the emphasis on the landscape and for being "too restrictive" and consequently for not being "artistic" enough, due to its "strict formalism". Furthermore, he mentions that;

What is missing from the Conzen School, according to them, is a sense of economic forces, having to do with land values, the building industry and the like, which affect the physical growth and shape of the city.<sup>16</sup>

This "analytical" and "descriptive" research tradition is mostly based on relatively unfamiliar "typology" studies, prefers to give references to realized or published case studies. It deals primarily with the theory of the physical transformation of the cities, but not with design solutions as the latter<sup>17</sup>.

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<sup>14</sup> Larkham, 1998: 163.

<sup>15</sup> Larkham, 1996: 28, from Conzen, M.R.G., 1975.

<sup>16</sup> Kostof, 1991: 26. <sup>16</sup> UMRG web page: [www.umrg.com.uk](http://www.umrg.com.uk).

<sup>17</sup> UMRG web page: [www.umrg.com.uk](http://www.umrg.com.uk).

A sub-group following British Morphogenesis approach named as 'The Urban Morphology Research Group (UMRG) was founded in 1974 in the School of Geography, Earth and Environmental Sciences at the University of Birmingham and it is the major center in the United Kingdom for the study of the geographical aspects of urban form. The members of UMRG pursue researches that continue to develop studies of urban morphology based on Conzenian tradition. The group seeks to advance knowledge on urban areas through the study of their history, the instruments and ideas involved in their creation and transformation. The Group plays a major role in coordinating international research, in conjunction with the International Seminar on Urban Form (ISUF). The researchers like Jeremy W.R Whitehand, Peter J. Larkham, Ivor Samuels and Karl Kropf are the most well-known members who keep writing books and articles following the Conzenian approach<sup>18</sup>.

The Italian architect and scholar Saverio Muratori (1910-1973) is the first theorist and initiator of the *Italian typo-morphology* or *Muratorian School*. He dealt with the methods of research for the processes of transformation of Italian cities, which he called "operational histories" and studied Venice and Rome in particular. He realized researches on the typology of dwellings which is the basic type of any urban fabric and their locations in those cities. Koster states that "With cartography as the most important instrument, he did this in two ways; by means of cultural-historical maps on which the typical character of a period is filled in, and by means of a structural-historical reconstruction of the individual house"<sup>19</sup>. His assistant and follower Gianfranco Caniggia (1933-1987) continued and refined the Muratorian tradition, which is called "procedural typology" due to its focus on the evolution of building types, as the foundation of the urban form. His constant interest in building as a way of interpreting architecture and his particular contribution lies in the analysis of the changes that take place in the "ideal type"<sup>20</sup>. Moudon claims that the diffusion of Muratorian ideas followed the general rise in the popularity of Italian

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<sup>18</sup> UMRG web page: [www.umrg.com.uk](http://www.umrg.com.uk).

<sup>19</sup> Koster, 2001: 2.

<sup>20</sup> Koster, 2001: 2.

architecture throughout the world, especially after the English translation of Aldo Rossi's works in 1980s<sup>21</sup>. Unlike the approach of British geographers towards urban morphology, the approach of Italian school is more based on architecture and design issues. They particularly tackle with the urban problems arising from architectural production.

In his book 'Architecture of the City', Rossi explains his approach to the concept of city as the architecture, which he further explains the city as 'not only the visible image of the city', but also 'the sum of its different architectures', 'architecture as construction' and 'the construction of the city over time'<sup>22</sup>. While Rossi was focusing on typology, Aymonino was studying on the example of social housing and analyzed built examples from Frankfurt, Berlin and elsewhere typologically thoroughly<sup>23</sup>. IPRAUS, an architectural research center in Paris, took the Italian research notions developed by Carlo Aymonino and Aldo Rossi as the basis of typomorphological research, and then this blended with French typo-morphological notions. The main point of this method is the re-evaluation of the concept of "architectonic" typology. The study on the industrial town of Le Creusot illustrates that the historical stratification has to be analyzed step by step in the context of socio-economic values<sup>24</sup>.

Parallel to IPRAUS, a second school began the studies on urban typo-morphology in the late 1960's in Paris, following the foundation of the School of Architecture in Versailles by the architects Philippe Panerai and Jean Castex together with the sociologist Jean-Charles Depaule and David Mangin. *Versailles School* of typomorphology made use of the critics of the sociologist Henri Lefebvre and architectural historians Françoise Boudon and André Chastel as well<sup>25</sup>. It is partly based on Italian ideas on typo-morphology, but has a more "theoretical-normative" approach. An important part of the method is "the reading of the spatial disposition

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<sup>21</sup> Moudon, 2000: 5.

<sup>22</sup> Rossi, 2002: 21.

<sup>23</sup> Broadbent, 2001: 172.

<sup>24</sup> Koster, 2001: 3.

<sup>25</sup> Moudon, 2000: 2.

as a direct result of earlier transformations”<sup>26</sup>. But, it also has a “prescriptive” purpose to develop a theory of urban design and to identify how the cities should be built by using written and graphic sources. Like Muratorian School, Versailles School appeared as a reaction against modern urbanism and its refusal or neglect of history. Differently, Versailles school maintained contacts throughout the Latin and Arab World’s parallel to political, socio-economic and cultural connections<sup>27</sup>. The central focus of their large-scale research on Paris, concerns the embedding of this common architecture in the urban tissue and the changes this brings about at plot level. The research takes place by means of statistical analysis for the processes such as the tightening of the urban issue, changes in the shape of the plots and evaluation of the architectural form belonging to the particular plot. All these processes are repeatedly placed in the context of the contemporary cultural circumstances<sup>28</sup>.

The above-mentioned schools which had almost no contact, although they used rather similar methods, were brought together by an international group of colleagues in 1994 with the establishment of the International Seminar on Urban Form (ISUF).

It seeks to advance research and practice in fields concerned with the built environment. Its members are drawn from several disciplines, including architecture, geography, history, sociology and town planning. It promotes conferences, publishes a journal “Urban Morphology” provides an international framework for communication between members<sup>29</sup>.

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<sup>26</sup> Koster, 2001: 3.

<sup>27</sup> Moudon, 2000: 4-5.

<sup>28</sup> Koster, 2001: 2.

<sup>29</sup> [www.urbanform.com](http://www.urbanform.com)

## 1.6. Studies on Urban Form

### ***Thesis Studies:***

Especially two of them affected this thesis at most from the point of their approaches and methods, which are necessary to be further introduced;

Cânâ Bilsel, in her Ph.D. dissertation entitled 'Cultures et Fonctionnalités: L'évolution de la Morphologie Urbaine de la Ville d'İzmir aux XIX<sup>e</sup> et début XX<sup>e</sup> Siècles' (Cultures and Functional Relations: The Morphological Evolution of the City of İzmir in XIX<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of XX<sup>th</sup> Centuries) (submitted to Université de Paris X-Nanterre Sciences et Administration in 1996), studies the structural transformations of urban space and particularly the relationships between the evolution of the spatial forms of *İzmir* in relation with the changes in socio-economic structure of the city in the mentioned period. The research is based on the superposed morphological analysis of urban forms redrawn from the related historical maps to put forward the evolution of the city of *İzmir* physically, in relation to social, economic and functional data of the research period. It is a remarkable example from the points of its approach, context and methods, as well as the general quality of the case study. Especially, the method of analysis for structural elements on urban space is used in this study<sup>30</sup>.

Elwin Koster, in his Ph.D. dissertation (submitted to Gröningen University in the Netherlands), he studied 'the history of urban development of the City of Gröningen with the methods and techniques of urban morphological research and the automated processing of the cartographic material that is of importance to this research'. The structure of the dissertation is described in three parts; 'the first part gives information about three important groups of European urban morphology, the second part covers the problems that emanate from making use of this source and discusses the reliability of the material used and the third part deals with a case study of a short period in the spatial development of the City of Groningen in which several of the methods described in the first part are deployed'. The author creates

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<sup>30</sup> Bilsel, 1996.

a digital atlas and a digital model using geographical information systems that enable the combination of spatial and non-spatial data within one system<sup>31</sup>. The study partly uses Conzenian methods and moreover superposes the created digital maps, which is thought to be clear and striking as a method of analysis.

***Books and the Articles on the Physical, Social and Economic History of Ankara:***

Apart from the visual documentation indispensable for this study, the author is grateful not only for previous theses, but also for the books and articles on the related theoretical approaches and on specifically Ankara about the similar period of time. Hence, it is necessary to state especially some of them, which were extremely helpful to explain the data produced and necessary to build this dissertation, which can be understood from their contribution as references in the text.

Sevgi Aktüre, in her paper entitled 'The daily life of Ankara from 1830 to 1930'<sup>32</sup>, searches the transformation of the spatial structure of Ankara in relation with the daily life practices changing due to internal or external dynamics. The author basically compares the maps of this period that are 1839 Von Vincke map and some other maps implemented after 1920's, with the additional support of other kinds of documents (like related governmental documents, old photographs, memoirs and literary works) to specify the direction, speed, content and quality of the transformation. The basic approach to the research is explained as conducting the analysis according to the daily life in each period and taking the life practices of each period as the input<sup>33</sup>. The study of Sevgi Aktüre draws a detailed social and economic picture of the period with respect to the urban space from 1830 to 1930 through the juxtaposition of the data. Whereas, this dissertation tries to draw a picture of the physical transformation of the urban space with respect to social and economic changes from 1839 to 1944 through superposition of the data in general.

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<sup>31</sup> Koster 2001: 351.

<sup>32</sup> Aktüre, S. (2001), "1830'dan 1930'a Ankara'da Günlük Yaşam", *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, Y. Yavuz (ed.), ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, Ankara, pp.35-74.

<sup>33</sup> Aktüre 2001: 35-36.

It is for sure it is an invaluable source for the social and economic causes and outcomes of the physical changes of this present study.

Gönül Tankut, in her book entitled 'The Development of a Capital: Ankara (1929-1939)'<sup>34</sup> 'not only studies the development of Ankara's urban environment, but all the aspects of how the capital is brought to life' (in her own words). She analyzes this process under the influence of three groups of 'the public administration of the Republic of Turkey', 'the foreign technicians' and 'the people of Ankara', which plays 'roles of orientation', 'controlling and implementation respectively. The goal of this research is explained to determine the nature of these influences, to develop criteria for measuring these influences, to introduce changes in them through time and to expose the success of this process of building a capital city. This study is a distinguished source searching and explaining the interventions due to Jansen Plan within the context of existing institutional structure and valid regulations between 1929 and 1939.

Ali Cengizkan, in his book published in 2004 entitled 'Ankara's First Plan: 1924-25 Lörcher Plan'<sup>35</sup> exposes the Lörcher Plan with all sides. Depending on the original visual and written documents, he reveals the effects and contributions of this plan on the urban development's of Ankara in the Early Republican period coming today in detail, comparing the plan with 1924 *Şehremaneti* Map and Jansen Plan, clarifying its reputation as 'the first plan of Ankara'. Apart from the original documents introduced for the first time, the detailed urban development profile was illuminating and beneficial constituting the related chapters of this present dissertation.

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<sup>34</sup> Tankut, G. (1993), *Bir Başkent'in İmarı*, Anahtar Kitaplar Yayınevi, İstanbul.

<sup>35</sup> Cengizkan, A. (2004), *Ankara'nın İlk Planı: 1924-25 Lörcher Planı, Kentsel Mekan Özellikleri, 1932 Jansen Planı'na ve Bugüne Katkıları Etki ve Kalıntıları*, Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı ve Arkadaş Yayıncılık Ltd., Ankara.



the Citadel is placed on a hill at the east end of *Engürü* Plain and the Historic City is settled on the bowl-shaped topography on the southern and western slopes of that hill, are surrounded by *Karyağdı* Hills at the north; *Meşe* Mountain and *Çankaya-Dikmen* ridges at the south; *Hüseyin Gazi* Mountains and rear mountainous-hilly area at the east<sup>37</sup>. At the center of the land where Ankara is located, is protected against the winds coming from the seas by the high mountain ranges on the north and south, but is closed to the rains brought by this way, becoming a steppe area. Due to its geographic location, Ankara and its vicinity has topographic, morphological, climatic and floral assortments such as; hills, ridges, valleys, rocky highlands, a great variety of slopes and a rich landscape with different climatic conditions and flora at different corners of the city. Famous 'Angora goat' was the outcome of this ecosystem<sup>38</sup>.

## 2.2. Historical Background

Ankara was one of the earliest settlements of Anatolia yet, the first founders of the settlement and its time are unknown<sup>39</sup>. On the other hand, Buluç verifies that the tumuli found within the boundaries of today's Ankara province prove that the area was inhabited by many medium or small sized tribes in 3000 BC<sup>40</sup>. The citadel, which is the oldest part of the city, was possibly used as a military garrison by the Hittites when they constituted the political unity<sup>41</sup>. After the termination of Great Hittite Empire in the 12<sup>th</sup> century BC, Frigians appeared around Ankara in 8<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Günay, B., 2005: 65-66.

<sup>38</sup> Aydın et.al., 2005: 21.

<sup>39</sup> Erzen, 1946: 27; Aktüre, 2000: 5.

Depending on a detailed study considering all the related available sources and assumptions, Erzen explains that there is no clear evidence for a certain time or a certain personality or nation founding Ankara. The archaeological findings prove that Ankara was inhabited since the Old Stone Age Period. It is said that the settlement was inhabited since Paleolithic Period extended in stages and took a similar name before Hittite Period (Erzen, 1946: 27).

<sup>40</sup> Buluç, 1994:21.

<sup>41</sup> Kınal, 1962: 43; Aktüre, 2000: 5.

century BC<sup>42</sup>. During Roman Period, Ankara was settled on the plain at the north-west of today's Citadel area, around the Temple of Augustus (see Figure A.5 in Appendices) and the Roman Bath (see Figures A.1, A.2, A.3 and A.4 in Appendices) within the area contained in the curve of Hatip Stream. It was the center of Galatia province from 2<sup>nd</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> centuries and the city was an open city, then surrounded by the citadel walls against Persian attacks for a short period. Around mid 7<sup>th</sup> century, the city moved to the hill to the Inner Citadel area for defense against the attacks of Arab forces<sup>43</sup>. During the Byzantine period, Ankara was an important settlement at the intersection of main trade routes linking from west to east and south-east and the city was transformed from a military garrison to a commercial city<sup>44</sup>. Turks captured the city in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, but because of the change of trade routes, the city remained on a secondary route till the end of 14<sup>th</sup> century and did not develop much. According to Faroqhi, Ankara in the 14<sup>th</sup> century was quite the same with the city of the previous Byzantine Period within the Inner Citadel walls. Starting from the end of 14<sup>th</sup> century, the city started developing outside the Citadel walls. Between 1500 and 1600, it is accepted as the most brilliant period for Mediterranean countries and for Ottoman as well. The number of payers was doubled due to population increase in Anatolia and Ankara was one of two highest rank cities in Anatolia together with Bursa in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. In 1580, the highest rank included 8 cities<sup>45</sup>. At the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, 81 quarters having a mosque at their centers<sup>46</sup>, thus quite a high population was living within the boundaries of old quarters that were near to the commercial center. With the development of *sof* production and commerce, most of the hans around *Atpazarı*, which will be the city center for centuries, were constructed during this period from 15<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>47</sup>.

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<sup>42</sup> Erzen, 1946: 296; Aktüre, 2000; 5.

<sup>43</sup> Foss, 1977: 60; Aktüre, 1992: 33.

<sup>44</sup> Aktüre; 1987: 111.

<sup>45</sup> Faroqhi, 1994: 16-17.

<sup>46</sup> Göğünç, 1967: 73-74; Aktüre, 1992: 33-34.

<sup>47</sup> Aktüre, 1992: 33-41.

In early 1600s, Ankara was exposed to *Celali* attacks which caused the demolition of the shopping district and the quarters located outside the Citadel<sup>48</sup>. In 1607-1608, the public got organized and constructed the City Walls for protection from these attacks<sup>49</sup>. These City Walls were an important element which constituted the borderline of the city from early 17<sup>th</sup> to late 19<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>50</sup>.

### 2.3. Ankara in 1839

#### 2.3.1. Social and Economic Structure of Ankara till 1830s

An important indicator for a city's social and economic level and power may be the number of taxpayers. As mentioned before, when Istanbul was excluded, Ankara, together with Bursa had the highest number of taxpayers over 3000, within Anatolian cities in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. Towards the end of the century, six other cities fulfilled this criterion as well<sup>51</sup>. In the second half of 16<sup>th</sup> century, the commercial importance of Ankara within Anatolian cities can be understood from the high number of commercial buildings (2 *bedestens*, 15 *hans*, 836 foundation shops, 298 out-of-complex shops)<sup>52</sup> -more than *Tire, Tokat and Konya*, in the same top category- and the highest number of shops belonging to foundations (*vakıf*) - more than *Tokat*, in the same top category<sup>53</sup>. In this period, Ankara had a population between 20.000 and 30.000, when Bursa was around 60.000 and *İstanbul* was between 300.000 and 700.000. Ankara was one of the major cities which acted as a source of revenue to the foundations in the other cities (like *İstanbul, Bursa, Konya* and *Sivrihisar*), in other words, it can be said that Ankara paid back this investment and transferred its income to the other cities for centuries.

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<sup>48</sup> Aktüre, 1987: 44.

<sup>49</sup> Naima, 1968: 542; Şahin Güçhan, 2001: 128.

<sup>50</sup> Eyice, 1972; 87-88; Şahin Güçhan, 2001: 128.

<sup>51</sup> Faroqhi, 1994: 16.

<sup>52</sup> Faroqhi, 1994: 378.

<sup>53</sup> Faroqhi, 1994: 41, 43.

40% of the foundation shops in Ankara belonged to the foundation of *Sadrizam* (Prime Minister) *Mahmut Pasha*<sup>54</sup>.

In 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, the main specialty of the city was again weaving of *sof*, as in 16<sup>th</sup> century. The process of *sof* production was composed of a series of steps; turning 'angora' into thread, weaving the thread into textile, washing and dyeing, as well as straightening and polishing the threaded textile. Ankara was the central marketplace, the place of authentication and tax payment of the surrounding towns and villages which are making this production<sup>55</sup>.

Due to *sof* export in 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, the number of European and Armenian tradesmen and trade agents, as well as the number of immigrants increased in the city<sup>56</sup>. Tournafort, famous French botanist and traveler, who came to Ankara in October 1701 and stayed for ten days, defines the city as one of the best cities in Anatolia, still carrying the traces of its glorious history. He mentions seven Armenian churches and a monastery named Ste. Marie outside of the city, as well as two Greek churches, being one in the Citadel and one in the City<sup>57</sup>. The citadel area was the most expensive and prestigious residential zone of the city depending on the prices specified in *Şer'iyye* registers<sup>58</sup>.

As it was mentioned before, the Citadel was constructed in 9<sup>th</sup> century BC (859 BC) by Byzantines against Arab attacks; Ankara became an open city outside the Citadel for centuries during the Ottoman Period till *Celali* attacks in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. The outer City Walls were constructed between 1604 and 1607, and the gravure of Ankara in 1701 drawn by Tournafort shows the City Walls clearly, like the map of Von Vincke in 1839. By the way, Kippeir in 1813 and Hamilton in 1835 wrote that the City Walls were partially in ruins<sup>59</sup>.

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<sup>54</sup> Faroqhi, 1994: 51-56.

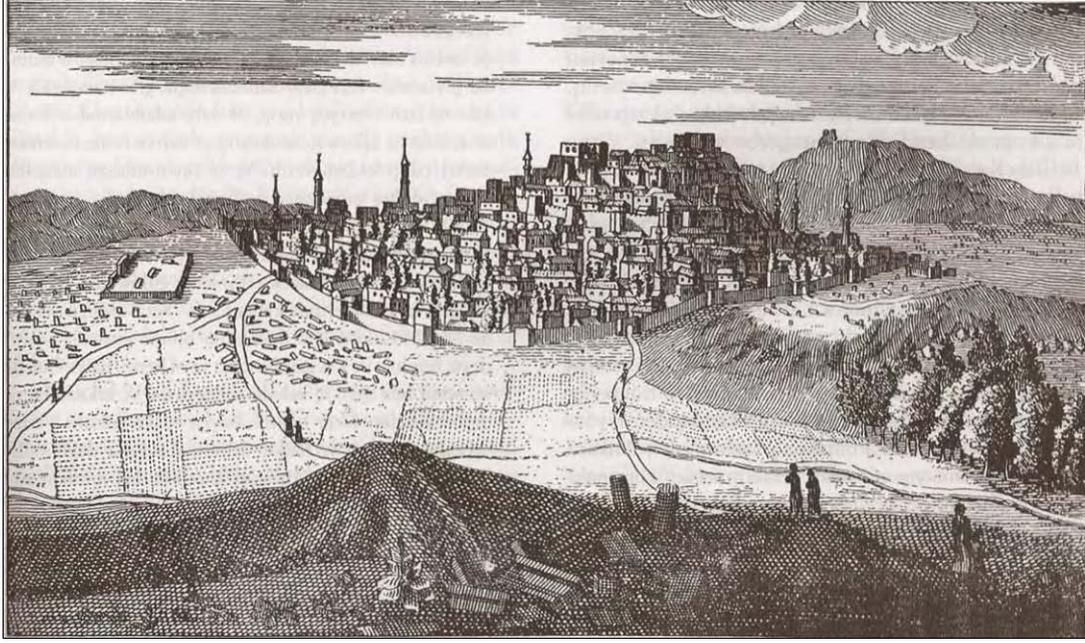
<sup>55</sup> Aktüre, 1994: 89.

<sup>56</sup> Aktüre, 1994: 91.

<sup>57</sup> Tournafort, 2005: 228-229.

<sup>58</sup> Faroqhi, 1987: 35; Aktüre, 1994: 100.

<sup>59</sup> Özdemir, 1986: 40-44.



**Figure 2.2:** Ankara gravure at the beginning of 18th century, drawn by P. De Tournefort (*Relation d'un Voyage du Levant*, Lyon: Freres Bruyset, 1727, cilt 3, p.311; Aydın et al., 2005: 173)

The main commercial areas were located at two points; first one around 'Yukarı Yüz' –the area comprising of *Atpazarı, Samanpazarı, Koyunpazarı* and environs-, and the other around 'Aşağı Yüz'- the area comprising of *Tahtakale, Karaoğlan Marketplace* and environs. These two were connected to each other with 'Uzun Çarşı' in 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Most of the *hans* existed since 16<sup>th</sup> century, when some new hans were also constructed with the developing commerce<sup>60</sup>.

According to the table below, the population in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century was around 23,000-25,000. When the extreme values in this table are neglected, population increased in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century (1701) and kept decreasing till late 18<sup>th</sup> century (1786) and early 19<sup>th</sup> century (1813-14), then again started increasing towards late 1830s. Thus, the population was quite unstable in this period. Armenians were the largest non-Muslim group in Ankara related with their active position in *sof* commerce. It is known that they had relatively an independent status in the society.

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<sup>60</sup> Tunçer, 2001: 36.

There were 59 Muslim, 17 non-Muslim and 15 mixed, totally 91 quarters in the city center of Ankara in the early 1830s<sup>61</sup>. From the beginning of 16<sup>th</sup> century till the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century, the number of quarters did not change much in general, but the number of Muslim inhabitants decreased, when the number of non-Muslim inhabitants increased<sup>62</sup>.

**Table 2.1:** The Population of Ankara in the 19<sup>th</sup> century According to Different Sources and Its Ethnic Distribution (Şahin Güçhan, 2001: 145)

PERIOD	SOURCE	TOTAL POPULATION	MUSLIM	ARMENIAN	GREEK	JEWISH
1607	ERGENÇ (1973)	23.000-25.000	-	-	-	-
1701	TOURNEFORT (Eyice, S., 1972)	45.000	40.000	4.000-5.000	600	-
1739-40	POCKOCKE (Eyice,S., 1972)	100.000	90.000	10.000	1500	40 families
1786	ÖZDEMİR (1986: 122)	22.000	-	-	-	-
18 <sup>th</sup> century	AKTÜRE (1981:122)	40.000	-	-	-	-
1813-14	KINNEIR (Aktüre, S., 1981: 123)	less than 20.000	-	-	-	-
1830	M. ÇADIRCI (1972:121-126)	25.000	-	-	-	-
1834-36	C. TEXIER (Eyice, S., 1972: 81)	28.000	-	-	-	-
1835	HAMILTON (Eyice, S., 1972: 81)	55.000*	9000 houses	1800 houses	300 houses	-
1835-37	CHESNEY (Aktüre, S., 1981:123)	15.200	10.000	5000	-	200
1836-37	POUJULAT (Aktüre,S., 1981:123)	24.200	20.000	3000	700	500

\*(These populations are calculated according to the assumption of each house having 5 members.)

Parallel to the population, the number of mosques built between 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries was four times the number of mosques built between 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. Likewise, the number of two-storey houses at the end of 17<sup>th</sup> century was increased five times when compared to their number at the beginning of the century<sup>63</sup>.

<sup>61</sup> Önsoy, 1992: 123.

<sup>62</sup> Aktüre, 1994: 96.

<sup>63</sup> Aktüre, 1994: 103.

Towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Ankara started losing its commercial importance and started to weaken economically, parallel to the decline of the Ottoman Empire. European tradesmen, living in Ankara and dealing with *sof* commerce, left the city<sup>64</sup> leaving their places to Armenians and Greeks<sup>65</sup>.

According to 1827 registers, there were a total of 1500 shops inside or outside 20 hans around *Hanlar* District. With the surrounding dense residential area, the commercial center can be assumed to be quite lively, which lasted till the big fire in 1881<sup>66</sup>.

Ankara of 1830 was not only an agricultural center like other Anatolian cities, but also a non-agricultural production and service center. According to 1830 census, there were 6.108 Muslim, 5.185 non-Muslim, 11.293 male inhabitants in total. With the assumption of equal amount of female existence in the city, the population is assumed to be 22.600<sup>67</sup>.

British traveler Hamilton, who came to Ankara between 1835 and 1837, stayed for a while and wrote about the two Citadel walls during his archaeological researches. The second or the outer one encircling a large area, known as '*Hisarönü*', was mostly inhabited by Armenians with a population of more than 4000-5000 people. All Citadel gates were locked during night time<sup>68</sup>.

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<sup>64</sup> Eyice, 1972: 73.

<sup>65</sup> Perrot, 1864, p. 318; Aktüre, 1981: 124.

<sup>66</sup> Aktüre, 2001: 46.

<sup>67</sup> Çadırcı, 1980: 118-120, 129-131; Aktüre, 2001: 44.

<sup>68</sup> Hamilton W.J. 1842: 423; Aktüre, 2001: 38.

## 2.3.2. Urban Structure in 1839

### 2.3.2.1. Urban Fabric

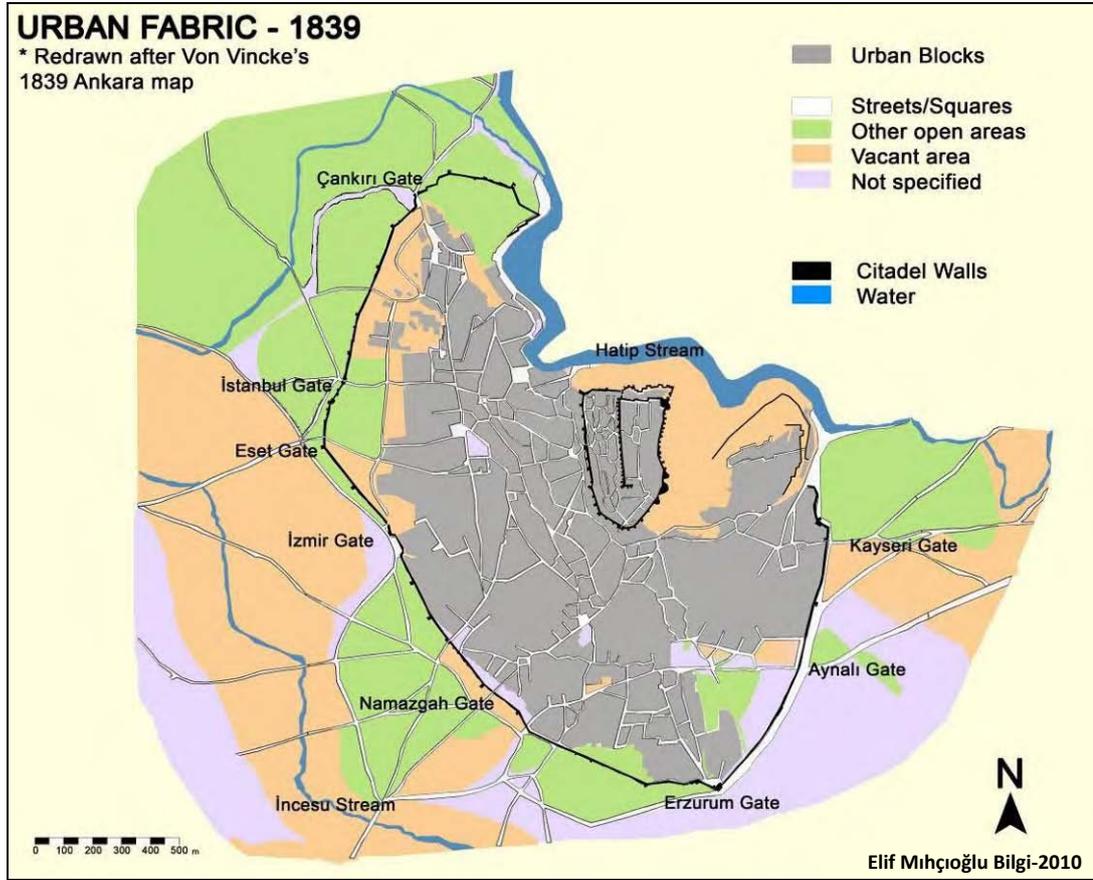


Figure 2.3: Urban Fabric in 1839<sup>69</sup>.

The original map of 1839 is the only document showing the complete City Walls, Inner and Outer Citadel Walls which disappeared in the following period.

Related with the technique of the original 1839 Von Vincke map used as the base map, not showing each of the urban blocks and narrow streets, but only the primary roads, only the urban blocks defined by these primary roads were shown.

<sup>69</sup> About this redrawn map, it is important to explain its legend for the analysis of Urban Fabric in 1839 which shall be valid for the next phases also, which is defined according to the general categorization of the 'built-up areas' and 'open spaces'. 'Built-up areas' are represented with 'urban blocks'; and the 'open spaces' are categorized mainly as; 'streets/squares', 'other open areas' and 'vacant areas'; as well as 'unknown use' and 'not specified'. In addition, 'other open areas' include functional open areas that are; cemeteries, agricultural and gardening lands, when 'vacant areas' comprise the non-functional areas such as swamp areas and the areas only with the topographic representation in the original map.

According to 1839 map, the City Walls define the borders of the city of Ankara clearly. It can be seen that all urban blocks were located within the City Walls rarefying and disappearing towards the western, north-western, south-eastern peripheries of the city and at the east side of the Citadel.

The information coming from the original map gives important clues about the Outer Citadel area that was destroyed by the big fire in 1916. The Outer Citadel area was full of urban blocks then. The urban fabric had similar amorphous urban blocks, but smaller in size, with winding streets and dead ends like the rest of the city.

There were unbuilt open areas at the inner parts of the city gates of *Çankırı, İstanbul, Eset, İzmir* and *Namazgah*, except *Erzurum* and *Kayseri* Gates. Outside the City Walls, the surrounding areas were used as the open utility areas of the city; the urban fabric had an organic character parallel to the existing circulation network. It included 'other open areas' (cemeteries, agricultural and gardening lands) around *Çankırı, İstanbul, Eset* Gates at the north, between *Namazgah* and *Erzurum* Gates and in front of *Kayseri* Gate at the east. Especially, the cemeteries were located just outside the city gates at a closer distance compared to agricultural and gardening areas. Apart from these, there were swamp areas which were completely vacant and unused; a large one at the west and a smaller one at the east side of the City Walls. The City Walls, which started to be constructed at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century against *Celali* attacks<sup>70</sup>, were made of composite materials and adobe that was quite non-resistant<sup>71</sup>.

On the other side, the water sources were important urban elements constituting the borders of the city. Especially, *Hatip* Stream defined the northern border of the city from north-east; *Incesu* Stream was at a distance to the city at the south and west.

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<sup>70</sup> Eyice, 1972: 73; Tunç, 2004: 91.

<sup>71</sup> Atauz, 2004: 92.

### 2.3.2.2. Urban Circulation Network

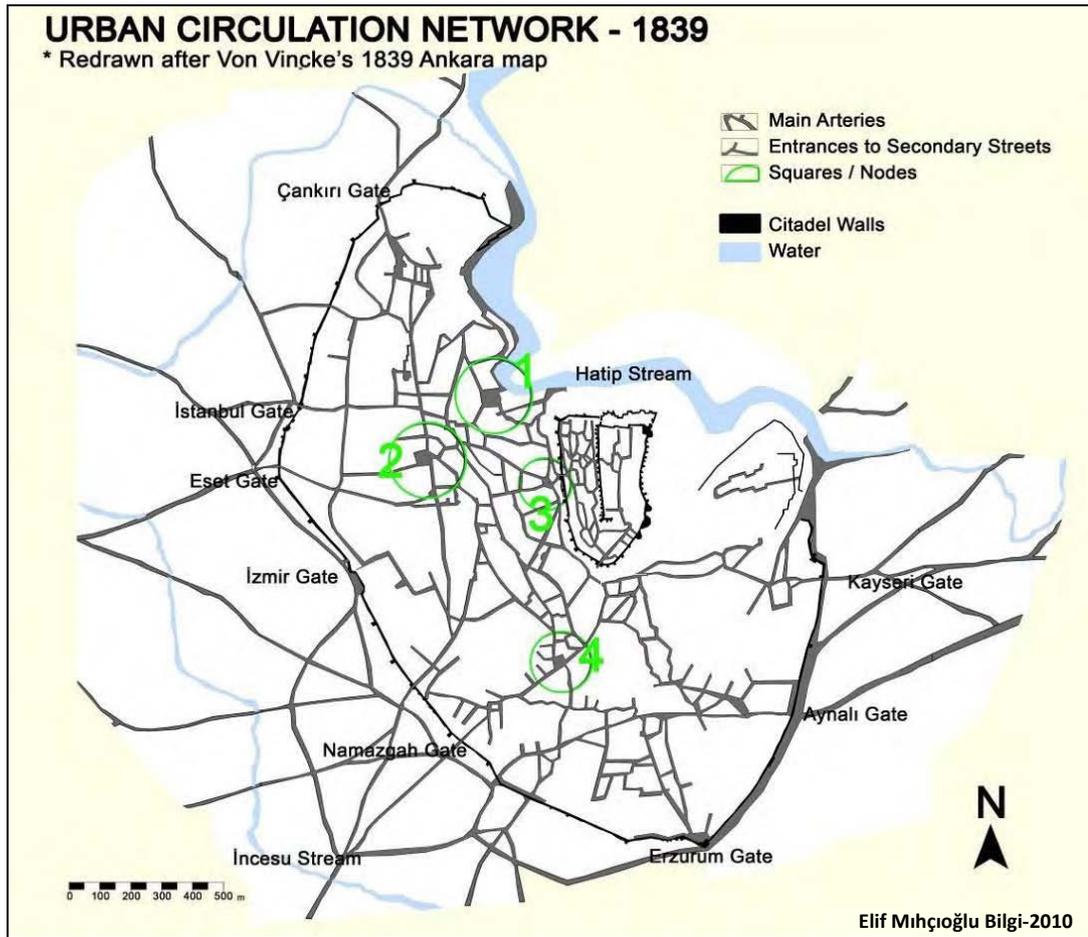


Figure 2.4: Urban Circulation Network in 1839<sup>72</sup>.

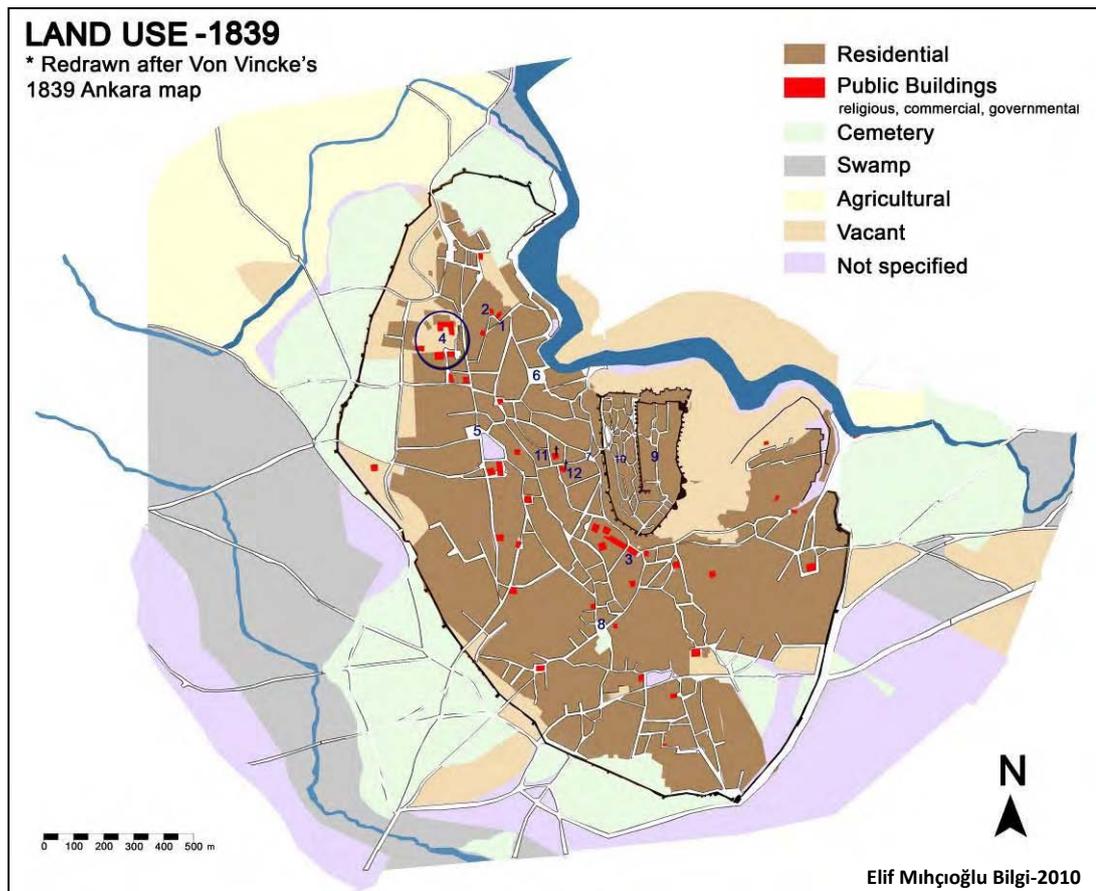
At Inner and Outer Citadel areas, the streets were mostly parallel to topographic lines parallel to the Inner and Outer Citadel walls. The dense urban circulation network at the central part around the Citadel becomes loose and sparse towards the City Walls, becoming even looser outside the City Walls. The principal streets were parallel to the topographic contour lines basically, though others were perpendicular or angular, sometimes passing through the city gates, otherwise being ceased with the City Walls.

*Tabakhane Square (1), Tahtakale Square (2), Hisarönü Square (3) and Samanpazarı Square (4)* can be read as the defined squares or nodes in this period.

<sup>72</sup> The primary roads and/or comparatively more important streets and only the entrances to narrow internal streets are shown in this redrawn map due to the insufficiency of the data coming from the original map of 1839.

It is understood that when compared with the 'Analysis of Urban Fabric', it is necessary to comment on 'Urban Circulation Network' through the technique of superposition of maps belonging to consecutive periods of research, as it is not possible to recognize the urban network in detail or even roughly, and comment on its evolution when there is excessive change between the stages.

### 2.3.2.3. Land Use Pattern



**Figure 2.5:** Land Use Pattern in the map of 1839.

Due to the insufficient level of information depending on the original map, the types of land use are quite few and simplified that could be categorized as residential, public (comprising religious, governmental and commercial uses), cemetery, swamp, agricultural, unknown use and not specified (Figure 2.5).

The inhabited residential areas are differentiated from agricultural lands, swamp areas and cemeteries.

Although the writings on the original map are illegible, a number of public buildings can still be identified. Apart from Augustus Temple (1 in Figure 2.5) and *Hacıbayram* Mosque (2 in Figure 2.5), public buildings around *Hanlar* District (3 in Figure 2.5) can be read with their relative locations.

The new governmental center (4) can be seen at the north-west of the city, next to *Hacıbayram* Area.

*Tahtakale* (5), *Tabakhane* (6), *Hisarönü* (7) and *Samanpazarı* (8) Squares can be read. The residential areas within Inner (9) and Outer (10) Citadel Areas can be seen clearly in Figure 2.5.

A rare information that is legible on the original map is the existence of two churches on the west side of the Citadel facing each other, the one at the north belonging to Greeks (11) and the other belonging to Armenians (12). Most of the cemeteries and the agricultural lands were located outside the City Walls.

For more detailed 'reading' and information, the superposition of this present map with the 1924 map will be utilized.

## **2.4. Ankara in 1924**

### **2.4.1. Historical Developments from 1830s to 1924**

In 19<sup>th</sup> century, Ankara became the administrative center and the 'gateway to the outer world'<sup>73</sup> of the large 'Ankara Province', comprising today's *Ankara*, *Kayseri*, *Yozgat*, *Çorum*, *Kırşehir* completely, as well as *Eskişehir*, *Çankırı* and *Konya* partially. According to '*Ankara Vilayeti Salnamesi*' of 1907, Ankara was the 'center of the sanjak', to which 9 districts ('*kaza*') and 9 sub-districts ('*nahiye*') were attached<sup>74</sup>. The arrival of the railway to the city in 1892 increased the importance of the city.

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<sup>73</sup> Ortaylı, 1994: 110.

<sup>74</sup> *Ankara Vilayeti Salnamesi*, 1995: 105-160.

In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the population of Ankara was approximately 30.000<sup>75</sup>. As can be seen in the Table 2.2, approximately half of the total population in Ankara was non-Muslim during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. As a trade center for centuries, a number of non-Muslim communities were living in Ankara<sup>76</sup>.

Ankara was the center of Western and Central Anatolia (together with Bursa) for *sof* production and trade since the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>77</sup>. It also made a living on cultivation of cereals. With the arrival of the railway at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the export volume increased at an important rate. Ortaylı argues that, in contrast to being a center of province, Ankara seemed to be an ordinary poor Central Anatolian city, but was in fact dissimilar, having a cosmopolitan population occupied with western trade<sup>78</sup>.

The food shortage in 1873-74 caused a huge damage on the city. Around 18.000 inhabitants died and thousands of them migrated to other places in and around Ankara. A lot of animals were wasted due to starvation and bad weather conditions<sup>79</sup>.

Around 1880s, the Muslim population, owning the majority of the lands around the city, mostly was dealing with agriculture and traditional craftsmanship (like *sof* production and leatherworking), when Armenians were mostly freelance professionals like lawyer, doctor, tradesman or technical craftsman<sup>80</sup>.

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<sup>75</sup> Şahin Güçhan, 2001: 146.

<sup>76</sup> Önsoy, 1994: 122.

<sup>77</sup> Faroqhi, 1994: 179.

<sup>78</sup> Ortaylı, 2000: 209-210.

<sup>79</sup> Önsoy, 1994: 125.

<sup>80</sup> Barnham, 1882: 626; Ortaylı, 2000: 210.

**Table 2.2:** The Population of Ankara in the 19<sup>th</sup> century according to Different Sources and Its Ethnic Distribution (Şahin Güçhan, 2001: 145; gathered information from (1) Tuncer O.C., 2002; (2) Eyice S., 1972: 174; (3)Çadırcı M., 2000 and (4)Galanti, 1950.

PERIOD	SOURCE	TOTAL POPULATION	MUSLIM	ARMENIAN	GREEK	JEWISH
1848	GALANTI (1950)	23.470	-	-	-	-
1859	MORDTMANN (Eyice,S., 1972)	60.000*	8220 houses	2900 houses	800 houses	80 houses
1863	GALANTI (1950)	28.000	-	-	-	-
1864	PERROT (Eyice, S., 1972:86)	44.000-45.000	25.000	15.000-16.000	3000	1000
1880	CUINET (AKTÜRE, S., 1981: 123)	27.825	17.992	7855	1565	413
1882	MAMBOURY (1933:86)	32.000	-	-	-	-
1882	HUMANN	32.000*	4000 houses	1850 houses	350 houses	50 houses
1890	NAUMANN (Eyice, S., 1972)	25.000-30.000	-	-	-	-
1893	ARSLANIAN (Eyice, S., 1972)	26.105	16.970	6389	2333	413
1900	ANKARA VS (Galanti, A., 1950)	32.051	-	-	-	-
1902	ANKARA VS (Aktüre, S., 1981. 123)	33.768	22769	7828	2329	822
1906**	TOPRAK	26.000	21.682	2431	491	227
1927**	Population Census	74.784	54.600	705	732	121

\*(These populations are calculated according to the assumption that each house has 5 members.)

\*\* (Data taken from Atauz, 2004, p. 199)

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Greek population mostly dealt with import and export businesses. On the other side, Ankara was a Greek Metropolitan (religious) Center in this period<sup>81</sup>. In Ottoman Period, Greek Orthodox society in the region used to talk and conduct their religious ceremonies in Turkish, as well as write in Turkish, but with Greek alphabet<sup>82</sup>. As mentioned by Galanti, Gennadios-the Metropolitan bishop of Heliopolis, made the inventory of the Greek bishops or archbishops in Ankara starting from 1450 till the year of population exchange in 1923 and also gave some information about the Greek society, such as the demolition of the archives of the episcopacy by the fire in 1916 (which supports the idea about the year of the big fire in Ankara, which will be further explained). There was a church

<sup>81</sup> Önsoy, 1994: 122.

<sup>82</sup> Galanti, 1950, 2005: 245.

named after Nicholas Agyos (in the place of *Park Palas* Hotel in 1950s), once located next to *PTT (Post Telephone Telegraph)* building along Ataturk Boulevard, burnt down in the period of Jannikos (in 1860s) and repaired in the period of Gerassimos (1877). There was also a church in the Citadel named St. Georges, which was known to exist in 1950s<sup>83</sup>.

A part of Jewish people which emigrated from Spain in 1492 and from Portugal a few years later arrived in Ankara and found a small local Jewish group, talking Turkish, who had one synagogue. As the population increased in time, two more synagogues were opened; one for Spanish and the other for Portuguese groups. After a century, Portuguese language disappeared due to the decrease of Portuguese Jewish population, and the group came together with the Spanish group and there were one local and one Spanish synagogue left in Ankara. In time, local Jewish group decreased, and Spanish group increased, so they had to learn Spanish. The Jewish Society in Ankara was a third degree group due to the number of population<sup>84</sup>. On the other hand, according to Vital Cuinet, French geographer and traveler, who visited Ankara in 1890, the religious buildings of non-muslim groups were; 4 Armenian Catholic churches, 2 Greek Orthodox churches, 2 Armenian Gregorian churches, 1 Protestant church and 1 Jewish synagogue, as well as 2 Armenian Catholic monasteries (one for women), 1 Armenian Gregorian monastery, 1 Greek Orthodox monastery<sup>85</sup>. Ortaylı claims that non-Muslim population of Ankara was comparatively richer, educated better when compared to other Anatolian cities and had equal administrative rights with Muslim inhabitants. There were a few foreign schools for Armenians and Greeks in the city<sup>86</sup>.

In this period, Ankara had intensive commercial relations with the cities of Bursa, Kayseri, Sinop, İzmit, İzmir and İstanbul<sup>87</sup>. Apart from these, carpet-rug weaving and wine production were famous and important for the city<sup>88</sup>.

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<sup>83</sup> Galanti, 1950, 2005: 243-244.

<sup>84</sup> Galanti, 1950, 2005: 252-254.

<sup>85</sup> Galanti, 1950, 2005: 254.

<sup>86</sup> Salname-i Vilayet-i Ankara: 118-169, 328-329; Ortaylı, 1994, p.110-112.

<sup>87</sup> Önsoy, 1994: 132.

A group of refugees, about 1000 houses and 5000 households in total, departed from the Balkans to İstanbul because of the Turkish-Russian War in 1877-78<sup>89</sup> were accommodated in new residential areas of 'Boşnak (Bosnian) Quarter' on the east side of the city and 'Arnavut (Albanian) Quarter' along today's İstanbul Avenue in Ankara starting from 1878<sup>90</sup>. Bosnian quarter was created according to the valid 'İskan-ı Muhaccirin Talimatnamesi', composed of 50 houses with 300 citizens. Other refugees were placed in other quarters like Çubuk, Etimesgut, Polatlı, Haymana and the villages<sup>91</sup>.

The food shortage between 1873 and 1875, big fires in 1881 and 1916 are important events accelerating the decline of the city in this period that caused a regression in the economy and loss of population<sup>92</sup>. During the fire of 1881, *Mahmut Pasha Bedesteni* collapsed completely and could not be repaired until the end of 1930s.

Depending on the geological structure of the settlement, Ankara had always water shortage. Due to the archaeological findings, it is known that Romans brought water from Elma Dağ (Mountain) with stone pipes. In 1890s, water was brought to Citadel (Figure 2.6 and 2.7).

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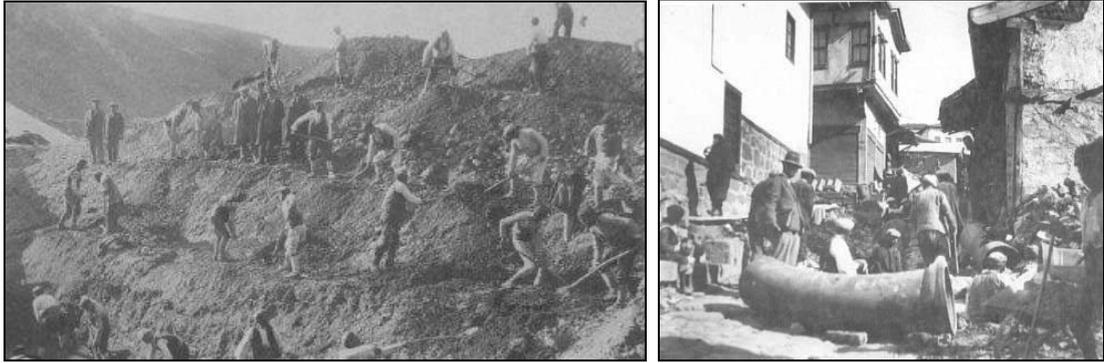
<sup>88</sup> Georgeon, 1999; 104.

<sup>89</sup> According to Muslim calender in 1293, Ortaylı, 1994: 113-114.

<sup>90</sup> Pamuk explains that the immigrations to Anatolia constituted one third of the total population growth in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. After the separation of Balkan Region, which provided the grain need of İstanbul for centuries through seaway, Ottoman administration turned his face towards the vacant, but arable lands in Anatolia, especially around Central Anatolia, like Ankara. The immigrants were encouraged to deal with agriculture by some tax privileges. The products were sent to İstanbul by the railway and the production capacity progressed a great deal after 1890s (Pamuk, 2007: 12-13).

<sup>91</sup> Denel, 2000: 136.

<sup>92</sup> Tunçer, 2001: 64.



**Figure 2.6:** (left) Water being brought into the city in 1890s (ww.wowturkey.com)

**Figure 2.7:** (right) Water being brought into the Citadel in 1890s (ww.wowturkey.com)

Parallel to Ortaylı, Georgeon also claims that Ankara was more cosmopolitan than most of the other Central Anatolian cities. Non-Muslims were in charge equally in the administrative boards of the city like the Muslim inhabitants, which was different than the other Anatolian cities<sup>93</sup>. In this period, the social structure of the city was composed of four groups. Firstly, temporary, but influential group of Ottoman governmental officials; secondly, permanent and wealthy landowners; then the crowded group of servants working unpaid (only for food, accommodation and tips in the houses of previous two groups) and lastly, tradesmen, craftsmen and professionals mostly composed of Turks and Catholic Armenians<sup>94</sup>. Perrot, French archaeologist and antique Greek scholar, tells about the beautiful non-Muslim houses with fountains and statues<sup>95</sup>. Refik Halid Karay, famous Turkish author who lived in Ankara in the early years of the new Republic, mentions about the rich Armenian houses of the Outer Citadel Area having pianos and precious carpets<sup>96</sup>. It is also known that there was a theatre in the city, 'Kocamanoğlu Theatre' in a beautiful building around *Balıkpazarı*<sup>97</sup>.

With the constitution of a governmental center on the northwest and the Railway Station on the south-west of the City, *Tahtakale* and *Karaoğlan* Marketplaces also

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<sup>93</sup> Georgeon, 1999: 108-109.

<sup>94</sup> Perrot, 1994: 272.

<sup>95</sup> Perrot, G., 1864: 336-339; Georgeon, 1999:111.

<sup>96</sup> Karay, R.H., 1994: 389.

<sup>97</sup> Bağlum, 1992: 35; Aktüre, 1998: 56 and Alpman H.K., 1977; Georgeon, 1999: 11-112.

gained a relative importance and developed with the increasing agricultural commerce and that of daily consumption products for the inhabitants<sup>98</sup>.

Depending on '*Ankara Vilayeti Salnamesi*' of 1900, Aktüre mentions about the development of viticulture with 10.000 vineyards around the city at a distance of 20-30 minutes and the existence of 10.000 *bağevi* in the vineyards used during summers, or the whole year<sup>99</sup>. In 1920s, Şenyapılı claims that there were 2000 *bağevi* in the same area.

After the fire of 1881, another fire in 1916 destroyed even a broader area. The traditional urban fabric at the western part of the Outer Citadel was swept away starting from *Tabakhane* area at the north to today's *Anafartalar* Avenue at the west, up today's *Denizciler* Avenue and *İstiklal* Quarter at the southwest, including the quarters where non-Muslim inhabitants were living around *Hisarönü*, *Çıkırkçılar Yokuşu* (Slope) and *Hacı Doğan* Quarters<sup>100</sup>. *Atpazarı* and its environs lost its importance, the *hans* and *bedestens* could not be repaired till the Republican Period.

In Ankara, during the First World War between 1914 and 1918, the production decreased, the prices increased and the high cost of living became the major problem for the people with low income<sup>101</sup>.

Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century till early 1920s, prior to the changes in the Early Republican period, the spatial character and the land use in and around the city was composed of three main parts. The first one or the core was the dense, organic housing fabric around the Citadel and its close vicinity. The second was the surrounding area of agricultural and gardening lands, cemeteries and swamp areas. The third one was composed of Vineyard Districts as the countryside, where there were *bağevleri* at a distance to the urban core, having a scattered order on the slopes of today's *Çankaya*, *Kavaklıdere*, *Dikmen* at the south and *Keçiören* and *Etlük*

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<sup>98</sup> Tunçer, 2001: 57.

<sup>99</sup> *Ankara Vilayeti Salnamesi*, 1900: 126; Aktüre, 1987:127.

<sup>100</sup> Aktüre, 1998: 55, 59.

<sup>101</sup> Aktüre, 2001: 56.

at the north<sup>102</sup>. Şenyapılı mentions that Vineyards were districts inhabited by families of different socio-economic levels. Dikmen, Keçiören and Etlik were inhabited by Christian Greeks, when Çankaya was inhabited by Muslim citizens<sup>103</sup>.

New Turkish Republic inherited Ankara from the Ottoman Empire, as a small Central Anatolian city with a population of approximately 35.000<sup>104</sup> and decided to make it the 'capital city', which however was clearly deficient to fulfill the requirements of a capital city. With this new mission, the city became the center of attraction for the intellectuals from *İstanbul* and for the whole Anatolia<sup>105</sup>.

Starting from 1920 till 1924, many governmental, *Evkaf* (Foundations) and bank buildings were constructed. *Latife* and *Gazi* Primary Schools and the Palace of Justice that faced the *Anafartalar* Avenue<sup>106</sup> were constructed in the zone destroyed by the 1916 fire. At this period, the *İstanbul* Road, *İstasyon* Avenue, *Taşhan-Citadel* Road (today's road from the Statue of *Atatürk* towards the Citadel) and *Anafartalar (Balıkpazarı)* Avenue were the frequently used axes in 1924<sup>107</sup>.

Ankara, once a 'closed city' of production and trade surrounded by the City Walls, became an 'open city' with the identity and functions of the new governmental center of the country within a century<sup>108</sup>.

---

<sup>102</sup> Vineyard settlements in Çankaya District were Dikmen, Küçük Ayrancı, Büyük Ayrancı, Büyük Esat, Frenközü, Kavaklıdere, Balgat, Öveç Yatağı, Çengi Kayası, Davulcu Tepesi, Samanlık, Balkeriz, Tuzluçayır; in Keçiören District were Çoraklık, Kızlarpınarı, Cevizlikır, Aktepe, Kubbeli, Hacıkadın, Toklu, Mecidiye, Danişment, Güllükaya, Deliktaş; and in Etlik District were Ayvalı, Kurtini, Eğlence and İncirlik (Şenyapılı, 2004: 25; from Erdoğan, 1965).

<sup>103</sup> Şenyapılı, 2004: 26.

<sup>104</sup> Aktüre, 1981: 123.

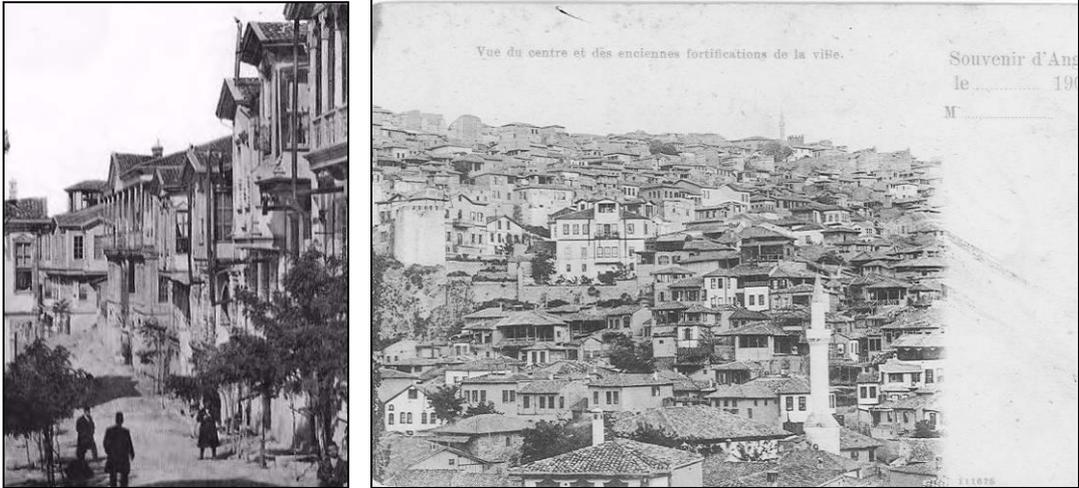
<sup>105</sup> Aktüre, 2001: 58.

<sup>106</sup> Cengizkan, 2004: 94.

<sup>107</sup> Cengizkan, 2004: 59.

<sup>108</sup> Aktüre 2001: 35.

### ***Doubts about the Time of the Big Fire:***



**Figure 2.8:** (left) View from a street at the Outer Citadel before the fire (Sağdıç, 1993: 85)

**Figure 2.9:** (right) Outer Citadel area before the fire (VEKAM Archive).

The year of the big fire is doubtful and, yet it has been indicated as 1917 mostly in secondary sources. So as to clarify this confusing situation, original documents are searched at the Ottoman Archives. A document about this fire found in the Ottoman archives is thought to confirm the year of the big fire as 1916. Like other governmental documents, there exist two dates on the document according to Muslim (*Hicri*) and Julian (*Rumi*) Calendars. But, there is an inconsistency between these two dates on this document, as follows;

First date: 20 *Zilkade (month)* 1334 in Muslim (*Hicri*) date is converted as Sep. 18<sup>th</sup>, 1916 in Gregorian (*Miladi*) date.

Second date: 5 *Kanun-i Sani (month)* 1332 in Julian (*Rumi*) date is converted as Jan. 18<sup>th</sup>, 1917 in Gregorian (*Miladi*) date.

It is found out that the two dates (Sep. 18<sup>th</sup>, 1916 and Jan. 18<sup>th</sup> 1917) on the same document are different from each other. In that case, the month of '*Kanun-i Sani*' might have been written by mistake instead of the month of '*Eylül*' in Julian calendar, which is also September 18<sup>th</sup>, 1916 in Gregorian Calendar.

In any way, talking about the fire as 'happened lately' (*'ahiren*' in Ottoman) in January 18<sup>th</sup>, 1917\_ if it is accepted as the real date of the document, then the fire should have been occurred within the previous year of 1916.



**Figure 2.10:** The official letter in Ottoman about the fire in 1916 found in the Ottoman Archives of Prime Ministry of Turkish Republic.

Bab-ı Ali  
Hariciye Nezaretine  
Umur-ı Siyasiye Müdüriyet-i Umumiyesi  
Adet  
87338-1144

Dahiliye Nezaret-i Celilesine

Devletli efendim hazretleri,  
Ankara'da ahiren vuku bulan harik sırasında haneleri muhterik olan Rusya tebasından yüz yirmi kadar ermeninin Bursa gibi diğer bir şehre nakli ve iskanları Amerika sefaretinden iltimas olunur.  
Bu babda sefarete itası iktiza eden cevabın işarına himmet buyurulmuş sebakında tezkere-i senaveri terkim kılındı efendim.  
Fi 20 Zilkade sene 334 ve Fi 5 Kamun-ı Sani sene 332  
Hariciye Nazır Vekili Namma  
İmza

**Figure 2.11:** Translation of the above letter.

2.4.2. Urban Structure from 1839 to 1924

2.4.2.1. Urban Fabric

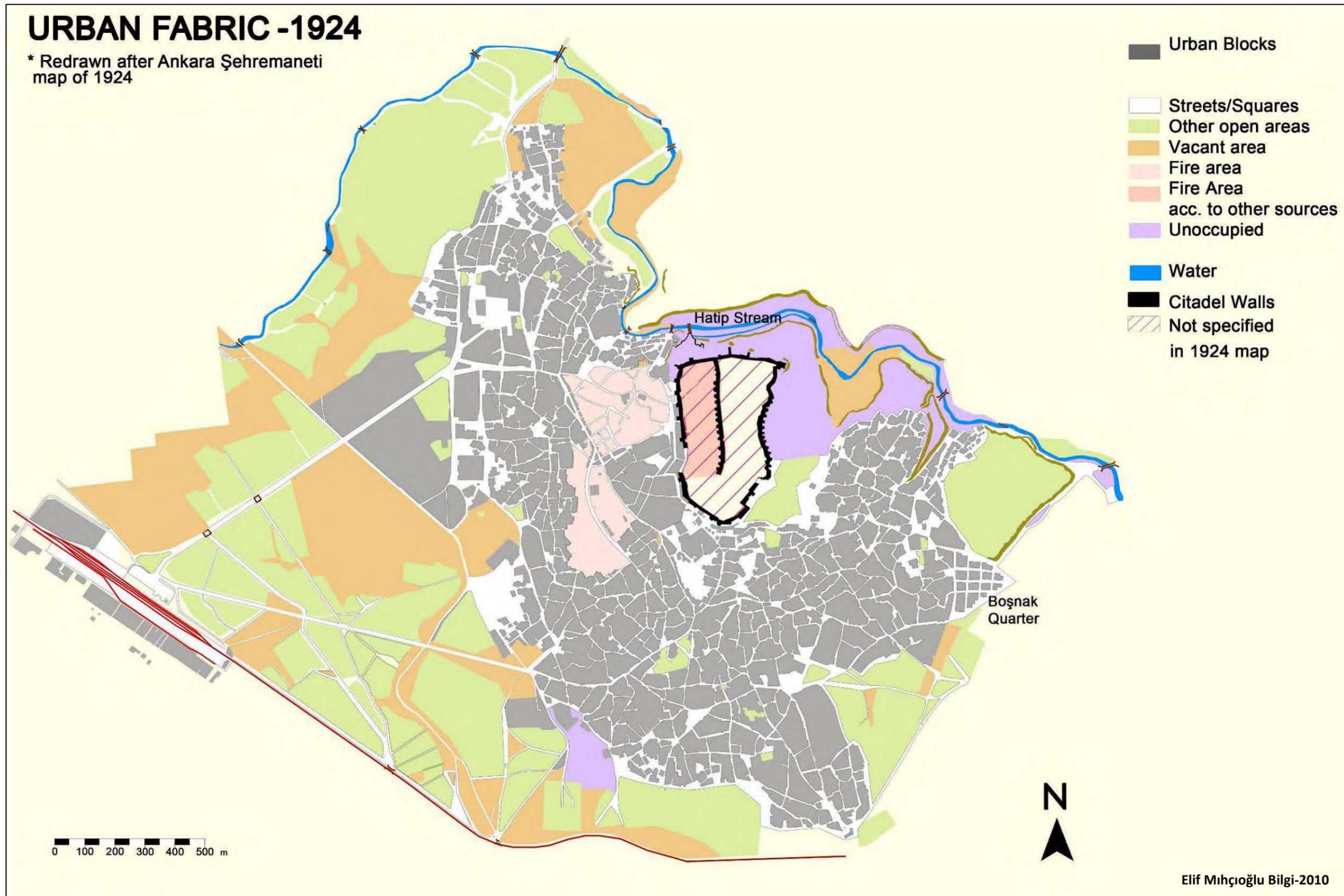
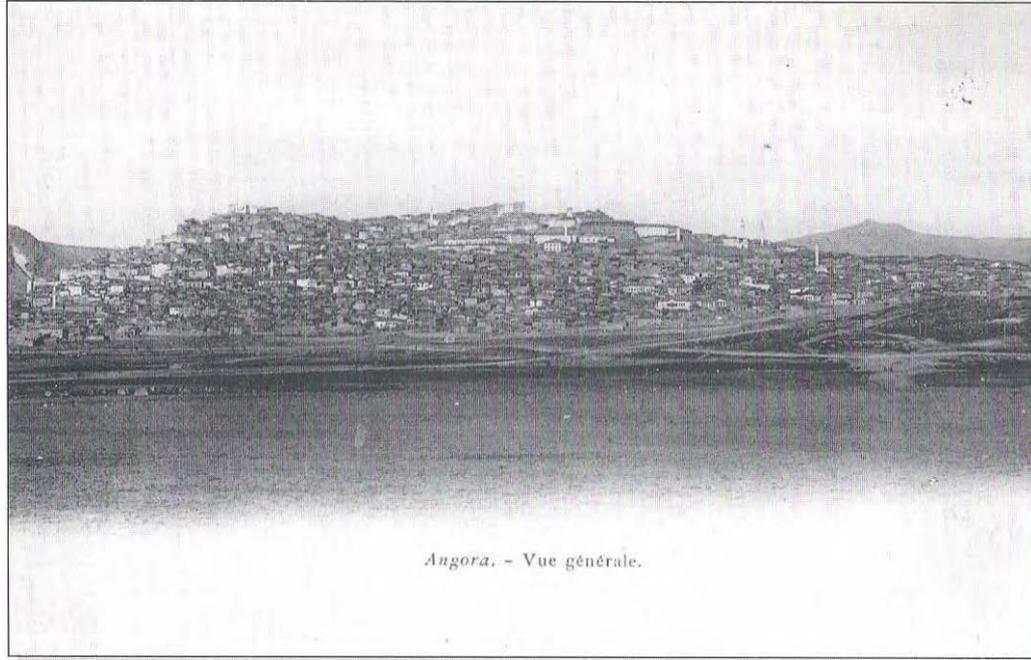


Figure 2.12: Urban Fabric in 1924.



**Figure 2.13:** General View of Ankara in early 1920s (Sağdıç, 1994: 25).

The historic city of Ankara of 1924 was surrounded by three major linear boundaries largely; 'Hatip Stream' from east to north-west, 'the new railway' from west to south-east and 'the road' linking former Kayseri, Aynalı and Erzurum Gates at the east and south-east border. Only a small part at the west border occurs unlimited.

When the urban fabric of 1924<sup>109</sup> is analyzed, the Citadel is surrounded first by the urban blocks on the east (excluding the steep neighboring area as in Figure 2.15),

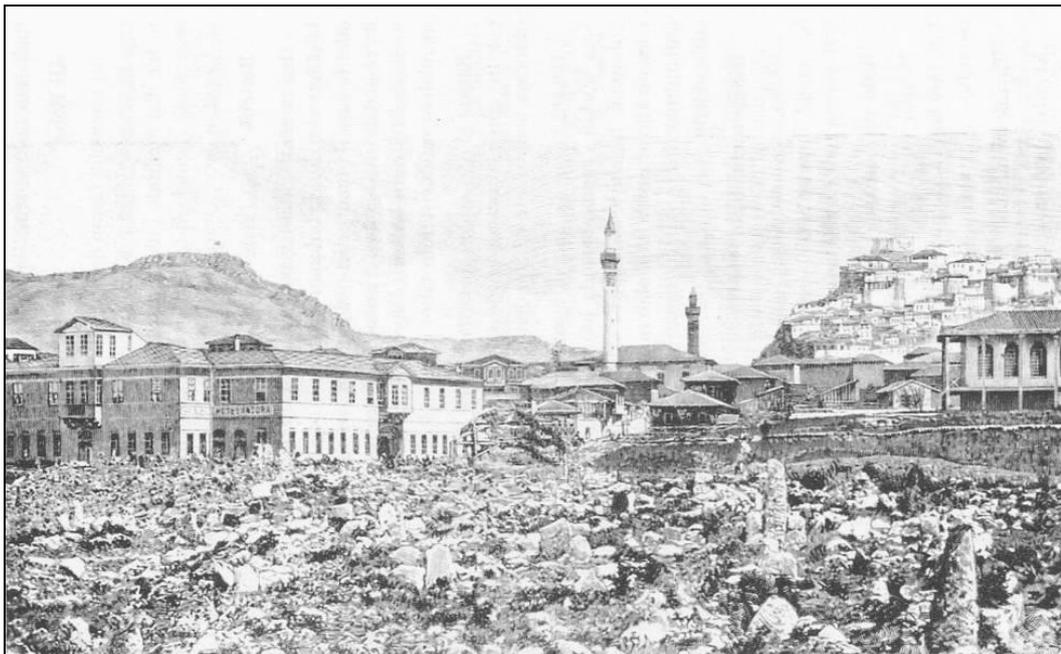
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<sup>109</sup> The legend of the map of 'Urban Fabric in 1924' is prepared parallel to the legend of 'Urban Fabric in 1839' map. 'Urban blocks' are the 'built-up areas' comprising; private spaces ('*Emakin-i Hususiye*'), governmental spaces ('*Emakin-i Emiriye*'), mosques/masjids ('*Cami ve mescid*'), schools and madrasah ('*mektep ve medrese*'), Turkish bath ('*hamam*'), and monument ('*abide*') in the original map. Streets/squares are the main open areas comprising; paved roads, bridges and embankments ('*Şose ve köprü ve imla*'), ordinary vehicular roads ('*Adi araba yolu*') and ordinary roads ('*Adi yol*'). 'Other open spaces' comprise; gardens and parks ('*Bahçe ve park*'), woods and recreational parks ('*Münferid Ağaçlık*' and '*Bahçe ve Park*'). Functional open areas like Muslim cemeteries ('*İslam Mezarlığı*'), Christian cemeteries ('*Hristiyan Mezarlığı*') and agricultural lands ('*Tarlalar*' and '*sebze ve meyve bahçesi*') are gathered under the name of 'other open areas'. Besides, 'vacant areas' comprise the unused swamp areas ('*bataklık*'), as well as the unhatched areas in the original map. 'Fire area' is the area named as '*Mahal-i Muhterika*' or '*Harik Mahallesi*' in the original map. It is seen that there is an important lack of information about the urban fabric within the Citadel Area, so mentioned as 'not specified'. Related with this, the 'fire area according to other sources' is also mentioned as the urban fabric around Hisarönü Area is known to be destroyed by the big fire in 1916 in many other sources, but not mentioned in the original version of *Şehremaneti* map.

south and west within the former boundary of the city walls; then by the ‘*vacant*’ and ‘*other open areas*’, just like in 1839.

Excluding the area destroyed by the fire, the urban blocks occupied the city center within the boundaries of the former City Walls becoming denser taking the places of cemeteries, as well as using the vacant areas at the periphery of the urban fabric (which can be seen more clearly in the superposed drawing in Figure 2.17). Apart from the urban fabric around the Citadel, the Railway Station constitutes a new attraction point at the south-west of the city, linked with a linear avenue to the city center.

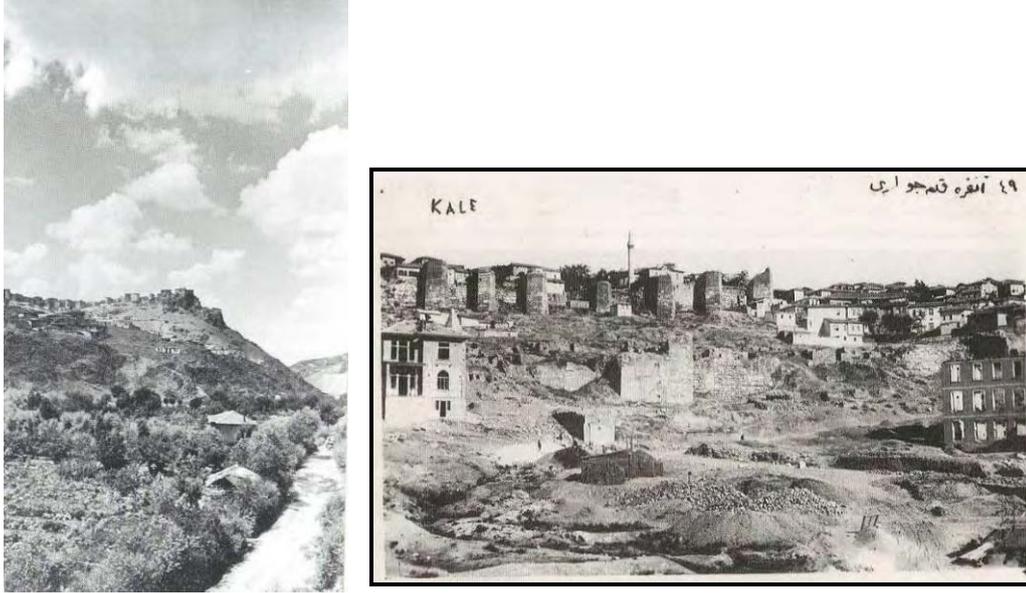
It is clearly seen that the increased number of bridges over *Hatip* Stream support the links of the city with the surrounding open areas, making these links relatively stronger, when compared to the past.



**Figure 2.14:** Ankara from Taşhan area in early 1900s (Salname-i Vilayet-i Ankara 1325 (1907)).

The form and borders of the fire area appears as doubtful. The fire area had two main parts, as if having two different starting points and the intersection area between these two parts on two sides of *Balıkpazarı* Avenue was too narrow in an area composed of similar type of timber skeleton traditional residential buildings homogeneously. However, there are very limited amount of primary sources about

the fire of 1916. *Boşnak* (Bosnian) Quarter, with a grid-iron urban fabric, occurs for the first time in this map as an addition to the city and is differentiated from the rest of the urban fabric.



**Figure 2.15:** (left) Hatip Stream and The Citadel (Sağdıç, 1994: 118)

**Figure 2.16:** (right) Outer Citadel area after the fire (Sağdıç. 1994: 132).

These are the urban characteristics or qualities that existed according to the map of 1924 redrawn by the author for the purposes of analysis. The characteristics or qualities that disappeared in 1924, when compared to 1839 will be discussed in the following part.

#### ***Change of Urban Fabric from 1839 to 1924:***

Major interventions in the city were realized starting from the Independence War years, accelerating with its proclamation as the capital city of the new Turkish Republic.

According to the analysis made by superposing the maps of 1839 and 1924, the urban fabric appears to have notably changed between 1839 and 1924, such as:

When we look at the urban fabric of Ankara in 1924 in general, the city covered mostly the area inside the former City Walls with the important addition of *İstasyon* (Railway Station) Quarter towards west, south-west and also Bosnian (*Boşnak* or *Sakarya*) Quarter towards east.

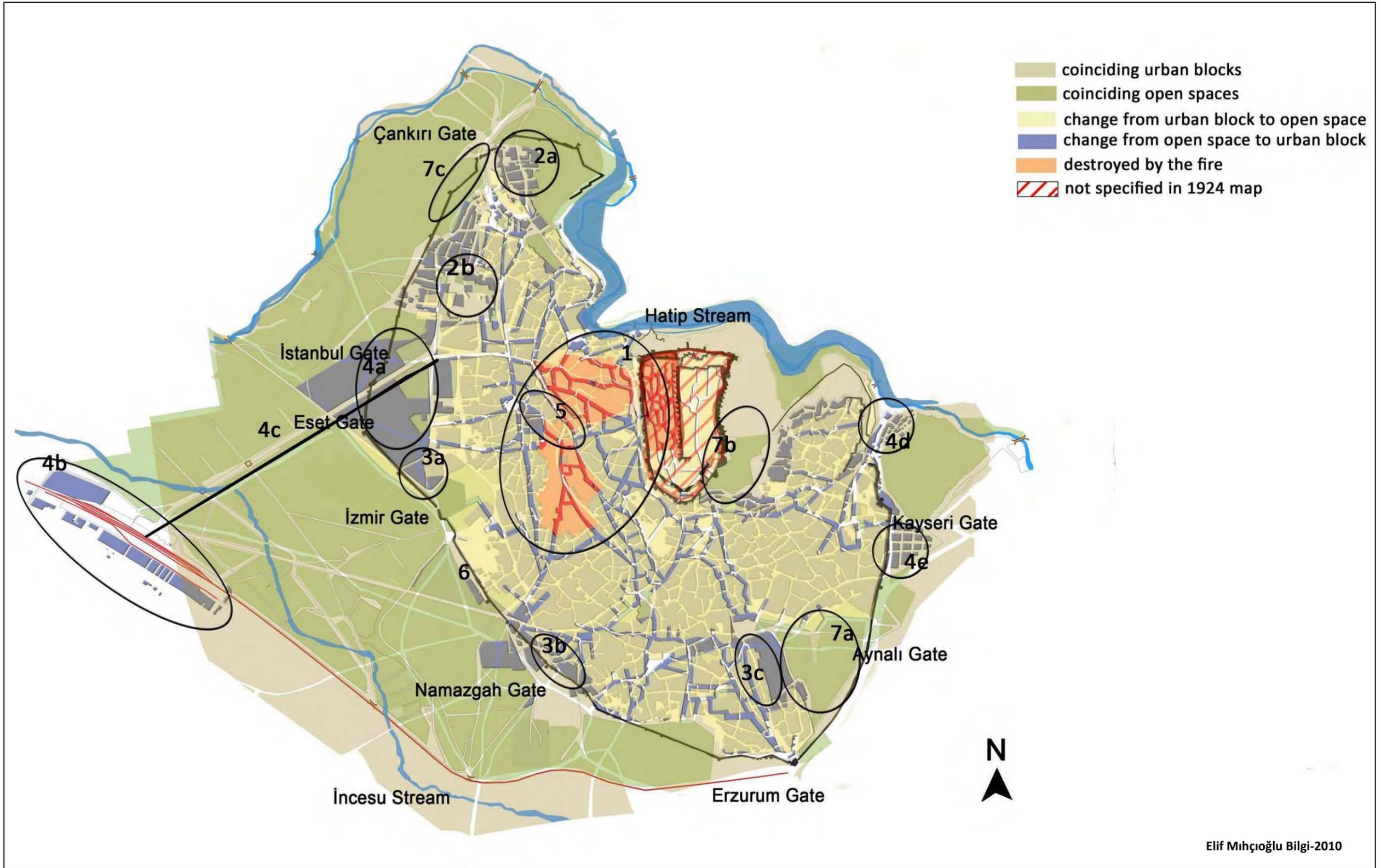


Figure 2.17: Change of urban fabric from 1839 to 1924.

The former urban fabric of 1839 can be clearly read within the boundaries of the fire area in 1924 map, including *Hisarönü* District, the area on both sides of former *Balıkpazarı (Anafartalar)* Avenue which include *Necatibey*, *Yeğenbey*, *Misak-ı Milli* and *Şengül Hamamı* Quarters, accentuates the important disappearance of urban fabric in this area. Apart from this area shown in the original map of 1924, the urban fabric –comprising of wealthy Armenian and Greek neighborhoods- destroyed by the same fire in between Inner and Outer Citadel Areas can be read clearly in this superposition. It can be explained that, as the citadel area was excluded in the original map of 1924, it was not mentioned as a part of the fire area. Consequently, this area is not known or mentioned as a part of the area destroyed by the big fire, also causing incorrect expressions in some source.<sup>110</sup>

In 1924, except the area destroyed by the fire, the urban fabric spread to the city center within the boundaries of City Walls and became denser, taking the places of cemeteries and using the vacant areas at the periphery of the Citadel Walls (3a, 3b and 3c in Fig. 2.17). *İsmet Pasha* Quarter around *Çankırı* Gate at the north (2a in Fig. 2.17) and the new governmental zone between *İstanbul* and *Eset* Gates at the west (2b in Fig. 2.17) started to be urbanized both at the former cemetery areas.

It is clear that at some certain areas, the urban blocks expanded over the City Walls:

- The urban blocks extended towards west with a new area comprising governmental activities, as well as the Nation Garden (*Millet Bahçesi*) (4a in Fig. 2.17).
- They grew towards south-west with *İstasyon* (Railway Station) District (4b in Figure 2.17) linked with *İstanbul* Avenue (4c in Figure 2.17) due to the locationing of the Railway Station.

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<sup>110</sup> 1924 dated Ankara map in both UTKM Çevre Düzenleme Yarışma Şatnamesi, 1986: 26a and Tunçer, 2001: 74.

- It also expanded towards east with *Boşnak* Quarter (4d in Figure 2.17) with the unique geometrical urban form as mentioned before.

- Finally, the growth towards north east (4e in Fig. 2.17) was realized by the small group of urban blocks at the north of the latter *Ulucanlar* Prison area.

The particular building block separating *Balıkpazarı* Avenue from *Çocuk Sarayı* Avenue -in other words; once dividing today's continuous *Anafartalar* Avenue into two- in 1839 was blasted partially by the fire and reshaped so as to connect these two avenues in 1924 (5 in Fig. 2.17).

When compared to 1839, the City Walls were not shown in the map of 1924, which probably show that the walls were mostly destroyed and vanished substantially (6 in Fig. 2.17).

The open areas remained as they were before on the inside of *Aynalı* Gate (7a in Fig. 2.17), on the east side of the Citadel (7b in Fig. 2.17), partially on the inside of *Çankırı* Gate (7c in Fig. 2.17) and on the outside of the City Walls except the ones determined above.

### 2.4.2.2. Urban Circulation Network

Urban Circulation Network in 1924:

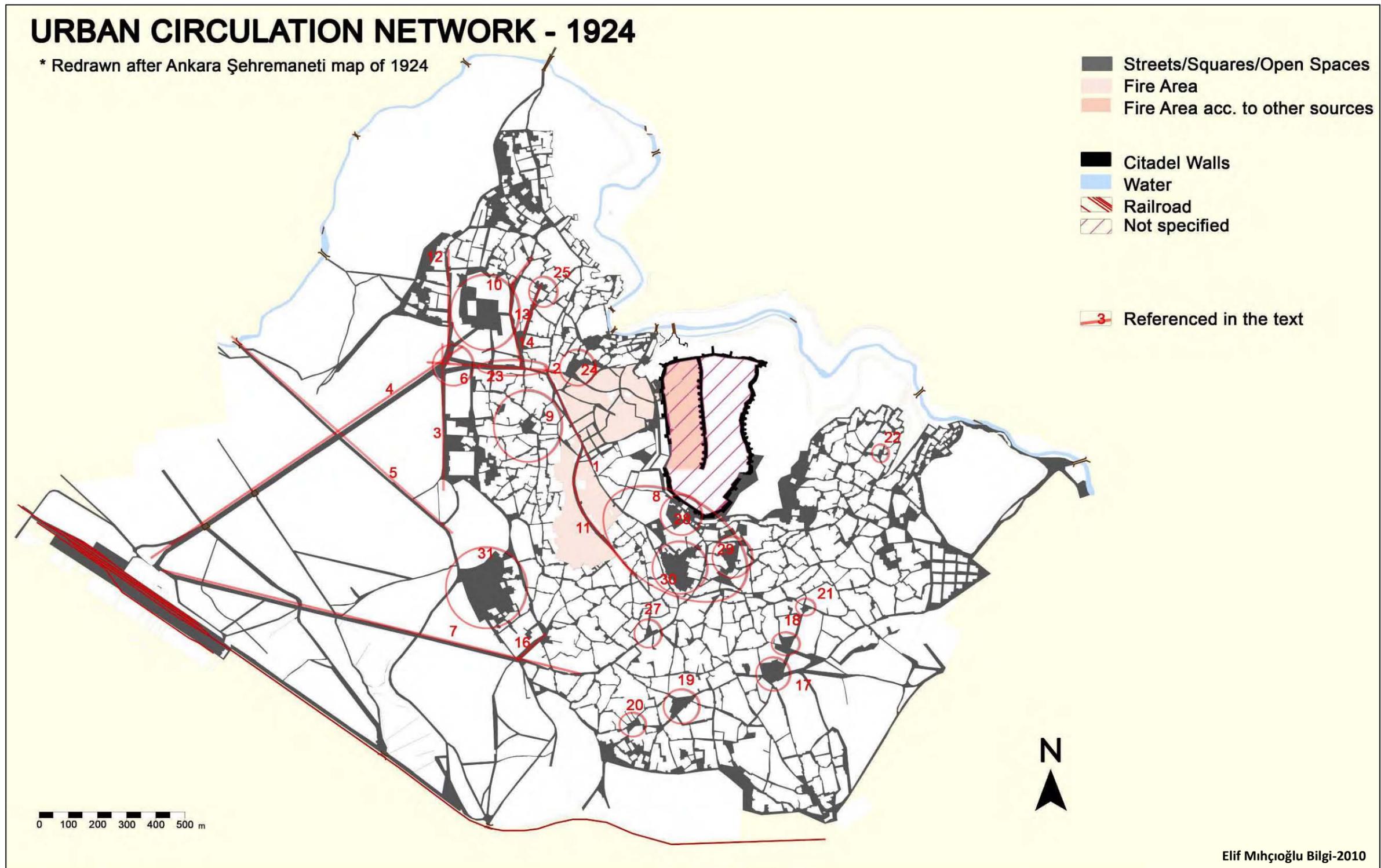


Figure 2.18: Urban Circulation Network in 1924.

Depending on Figure 2.18 showing Urban Circulation Network in 1924, it is necessary to point out some new urban features, such as some quite well-defined linear or angular main arteries like *Şehremaneti-Balıkpazarı* Avenues (1) (Figures 2.20, 2.21 and 2.22), former *Anafartalar* (2), *Bankalar* (3) (Figure 2.23), *İstanbul* (4) and *İstiklal* (5) Avenues, as well as former *Taşhan* Square (opened as part of the urban modernization of Ottoman Period, a situation that can be read in the 1924 map for the first time. The advent of the railway and consequently the location of the new Railway Station were both the outcomes of this modernization period, which were the main influences shaping *İstanbul* Avenue (4) (Figure 2.19) and *İstasyon* Avenue (7) and the development of the city towards west. On the other hand, this new mode of transportation caused the shift of the city center from *Hanlar* District (8) towards west to *Karaoğlan* Marketplace (9) and its environs. In the meantime, Government Square (*Hükümet or Vilayet Meydanı*) (10) created under the effect of Tanzimat reforms was the governmental center since late 1890s, with a major spacious square in the city of 1924

111 .



**Figure 2.19:** İstanbul Avenue in early 1920s (www.wowTURKEY.com, June 2010)

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<sup>111</sup> Hükümet Konağı was constructed in 1897

Related with the scale and accuracy of the original map of 1924, streets are drawn with a finer sensitivity. As a result, former *Anafartalar* (2), former *Balıkpazarı* (1) *Çocuk Sarayı* (11) Avenues, *Bankalar* (3) (Figure 2.23), *Çankırı* (12), *Hacıbayram* (13), *Hükümet* (14), *Hamamönü* (15) Avenues, *Medrese Street* (16) (Figure 2.26), as well as *İstanbul* (4) and *İstasyon* (7) Avenues can be read as the main arteries of the city. These streets are straight and depicted as larger, while narrow streets are mostly undulating, somehow wavering and sometimes dead-end, creating a homogeneous urban pattern.



**Figure 2.20:** (left) Balıkpazarı Avenue in early 1920s ([www.wowTURKEY.com](http://www.wowTURKEY.com), June 2010)

**Figure 2.21:** (right) Balıkpazarı Avenue in early 1920s (Sağdıç, 1994: 122).



**Figure 2.22:** (left) Balıkpazarı Avenue (Sağdıç, 1994: 122)

**Figure 2.23:** (right) Bankalar Avenue in early 1920s ([www.wowTURKEY.com](http://www.wowTURKEY.com), June 2010)



**Figure 2.24:** (left) Çıkırıçılar Avenue in 1920s (Börtüçene, 1993: 91)

**Figure 2.25:** (right) Relocation of Julianus Column at Hükümet Square in early 1920s (www.wowTURKEY.com, in June 2010).

The squares and nodes in 1924 appear as; *Taşhan* Square (6), *Hükümet* Square (mentioned as 'Polis Square' in the original map) (10), *Hamamönü* Square (17) and *Hamam Arkası* Square (18), *Kara Musalla* Square (19), *Elma Tağı (Dağı)* Square (20), *Hacı Molla* Square (21), the small square at the north (22) as mentioned in the original map, *Tahtakale* Square (23), *Debbağhane* (today's *Tabakhane*) Square (24), *Hacıbayram* Square (25), *Samanpazarı* Square (27), *Atpazarı* Square (28), *Arslanhane* Square (29) in front of *Arslanhane* Mosque.

Two large open spaces noticeable on the 1924 map are not accepted as squares or nodes:

- The area between *Saraçlar* Avenue and *Atpazarı* Avenue (30) was the important open bazaar area of *Koyun Pazarı (Sheep Bazaar)*, also a sheep fold area, just next to *Atpazarı (Horse Bazaar)* Square.
- The other large area (31) at the west between the Catholic Church, *Yenice* Quarter and Mosque is accepted as an undefined open space.

It will be possible to compare the urban circulation patterns of 1839 and 1924 and reveal the transformations in the next part.



**Figure 2.26:** (left) Road from Train Station towards the Old City (Sağdıç, 1994: 25)

**Figure 2.27:** (right) The area around Medrese Street (16 in Fig. 2.17) where former İtfaiye Square was located in mid-1920s.

Change of Urban Circulation Network from 1839 to 1924:

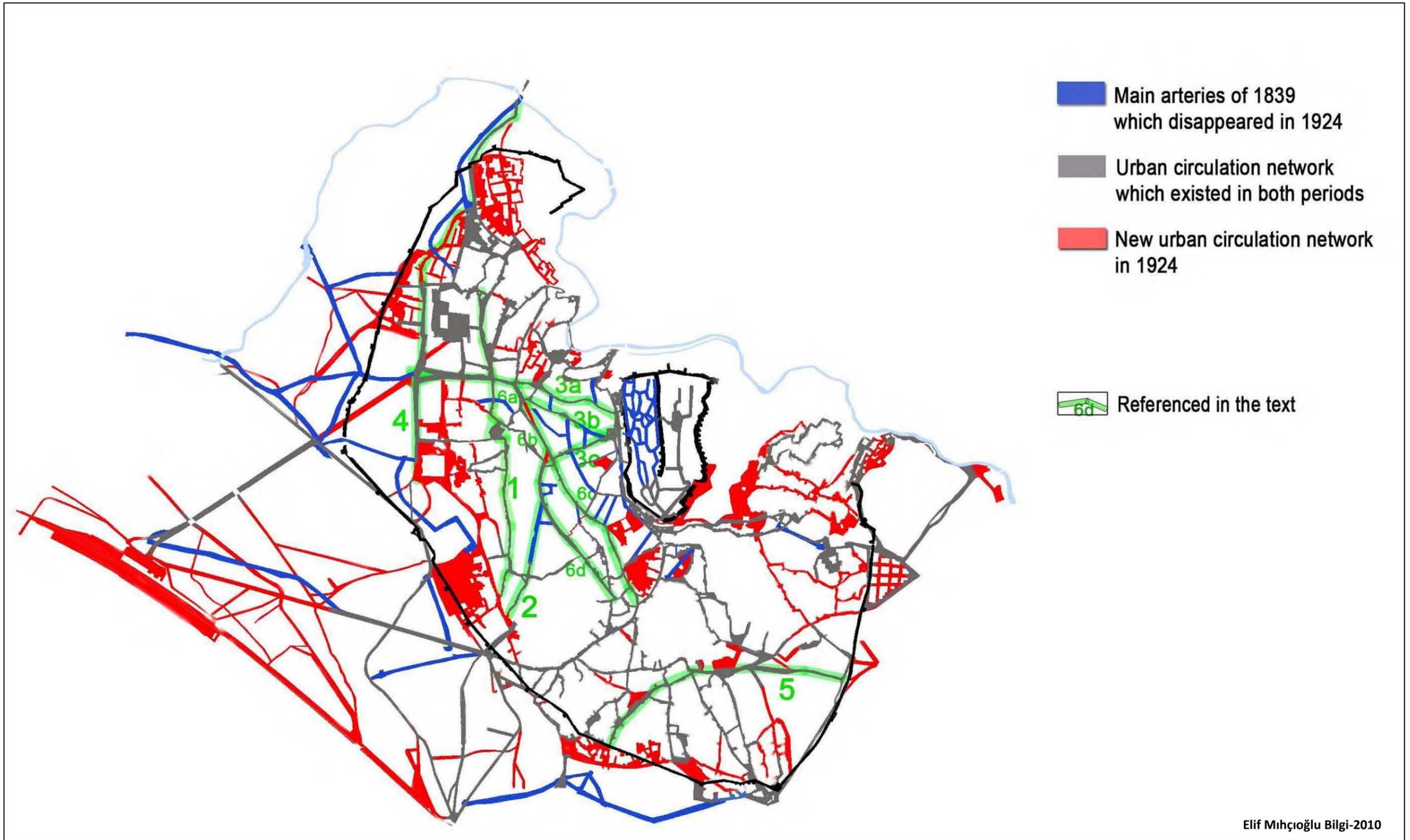
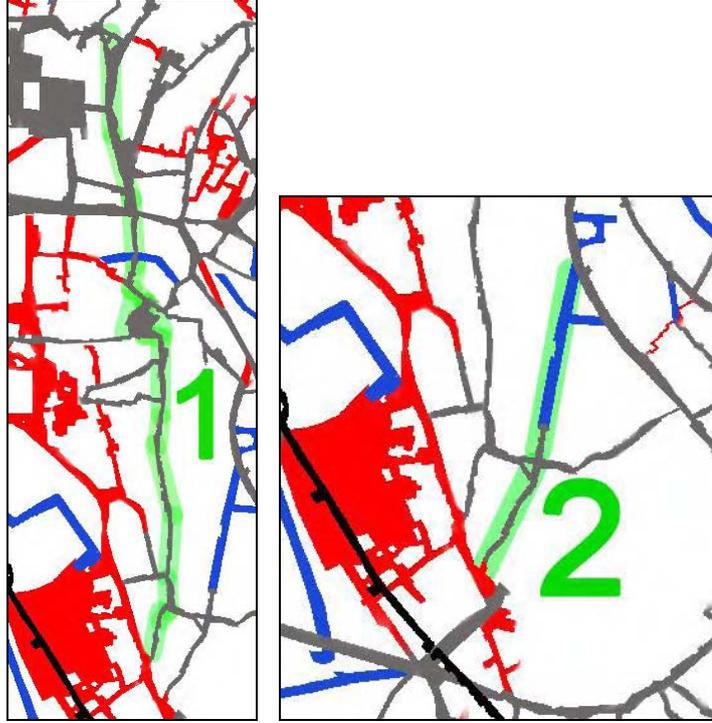


Figure 2.28: Change of Urban Circulation Network from 1839 to 1924.

Elif Mihçioğlu Bilgi-2010

### **Changes on the Main Arteries:**

Certain specific changes are noticed on the map of 1924 when compared with that of 1839.

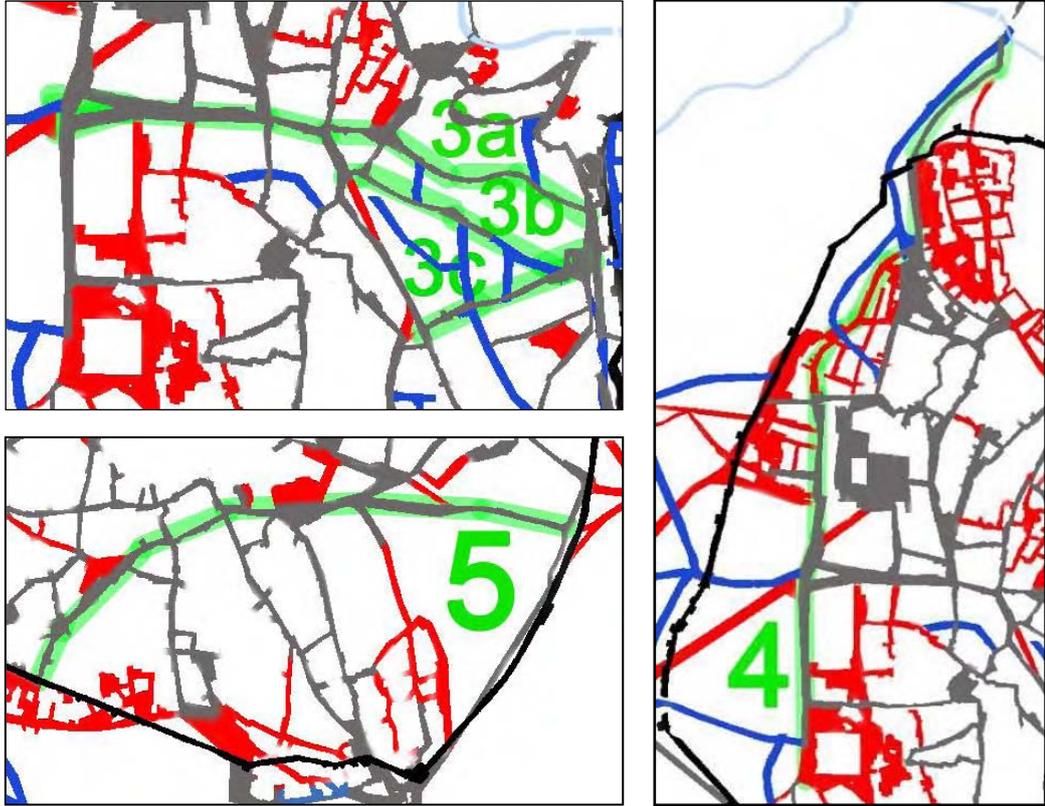


**Figure 2.29:** (left) Change of the axis on north-south direction composed of *Hükümet*, *Tahtakale* and *İbadullah* Avenues (1)

**Figure 2.30:** (right) Change of *Denizciler* Avenue (former *Bahriye* Avenue) (2).

Major axis on north-south direction is the one starting around *Çankırı* Gate and the cemetery area at the north, becoming *Hükümet* Avenue on the north side of former *İstanbul* and *Anafartalar* Avenues, continuing as *Tahtakale* Avenue arriving to *Tahtakale* Square (which is known as one of the major public open spaces in the city in that period), then *İbadullah* Avenue coming up to *Bahriye* Avenue at the south. This route, drawn as a wide avenue and quite a linear axis in the original map of 1839, was in fact narrower and was broken around *Tabakhane* Square (1 in Figure 2.29).

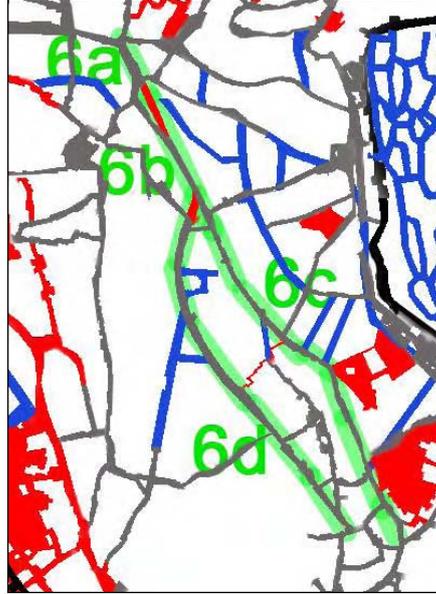
The first traces of today's *Denizciler* Avenue (former *Bahriye* Avenue) can be read in 1839. Whereas in 1924, the urban circulation network in this area, including the northern half of *Bahriye* Avenue does not exist or became undefined due to the loss of street definition related with the big fire in 1916 (2 in Figure 2.30).



**Figure 2.31:** (top left) Change of Urban Circulation Network around *Hisarönü* Quarter (3a, 3b, 3c), **Figure 2.32:** (right) Change of *Bankalar* and *Çankırı* Avenues (4) **Figure 2.33:** (bottom left) Change of the Urban Cicalation Pattern around *Hamamönü* Avenue (5).

It is difficult to follow the similarities from the point of urban circulation network around *Hisarönü* Quarter (today's *Necatibey* Quarter) coming to Hanlar District from 1839 to 1924, which may be related with the fire in 1916 to an extent. However, although the urban fabric was completely destroyed in 1924, the circulation pattern could be mostly read in this area. In both periods, there was a street going up towards the Citadel, tangent to this quarter on the northern side (3a in Figure 2.31). A second street cut the quarter parallel to the first one, reaching to *Hisarönü* Square (3b in Figure 2.31, this one became partially undefined because of the fire), and a third one started from the intersection point of *Balıkpazarı* and *Çıkırıçılar* Avenues, reached to *Hisarönü* Square likewise (3c in Figure 2.31). *Bankalar* Avenue which was more like an inner street on the north-south axis in 1839 turned into an avenue developing towards *Çankırı* Gate at the north, named as '*Çankırı* Avenue' and towards *İzmir* Gate at the south in 1924 (4 in Figure 2.32).

Other than *Tahtakale* Square, important public open spaces were *Tabakhane*, *Samanpazarı* Square, *Çankırı* Gate and *Hisarönü* Squares in 1839. Although 1839 Von Vincke Map is unreliable in terms of scale, the above mentioned squares existed also in 1924 with the addition of a number of other nodal points. In both periods, *Hamamönü* Avenue existed (5 in Figure 2.33).



**Figure 2.34:** Change of Şehremaneti (6a), Balıkpazarı (6b) and Çıkırıkçılar (6c) Avenues.

As seen in Figure 2.34, in 1839, *Şehremaneti* (6a) and *Balıkpazarı* (6b) Avenues which were quite flat, were followed by rather inclined *Çıkırıkçılar* Avenue (6c) creating a clear and strong linear axis in the plan. Whereas in 1924, *Şehremaneti* and *Balıkpazarı* Avenues were connected with *Çocuk Sarayı* Avenue (6d) with the partial demolition of a building block (6e) located on one side of it, which persisted in the coming periods till today. *Çocuk Sarayı* Avenue which was quite isolated in 1839, became one of the major avenues in the city and evolved stronger providing a more aligned and consequently practical artery character as a whole with its new connection with *Şehremaneti* and *Balıkpazarı* Avenues in 1924.

2.4.2.3. Land Use Pattern

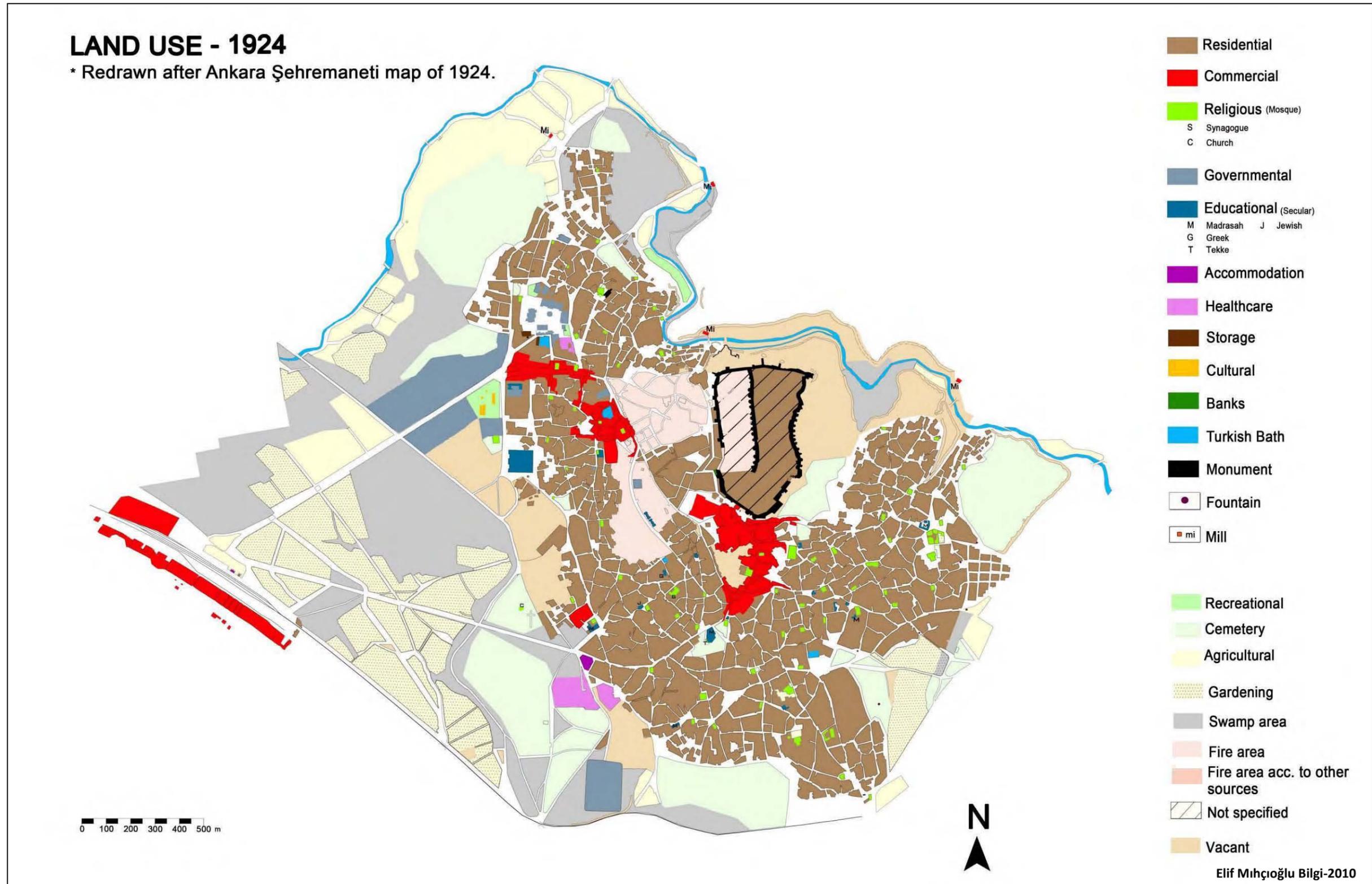


Figure 2.35: Land Use Pattern in 1924.

Detailed information specified in the original map of *Şehremaneti* gives the opportunity to reconstitute the land use pattern of the city for this period, except the Citadel area. There is no information about the Citadel area in *Şehremaneti* Map which is an important deficiency for the depiction of Ankara in this period. Parallel to this, Outer Citadel area is also not specified as a part of the 'fire area' in the original map which can be said to be highly misleading.

So as to analyze the 'Land Use' pattern in 1924; the legend as well as the detailed writings on the original map are evaluated and categorized as follows;

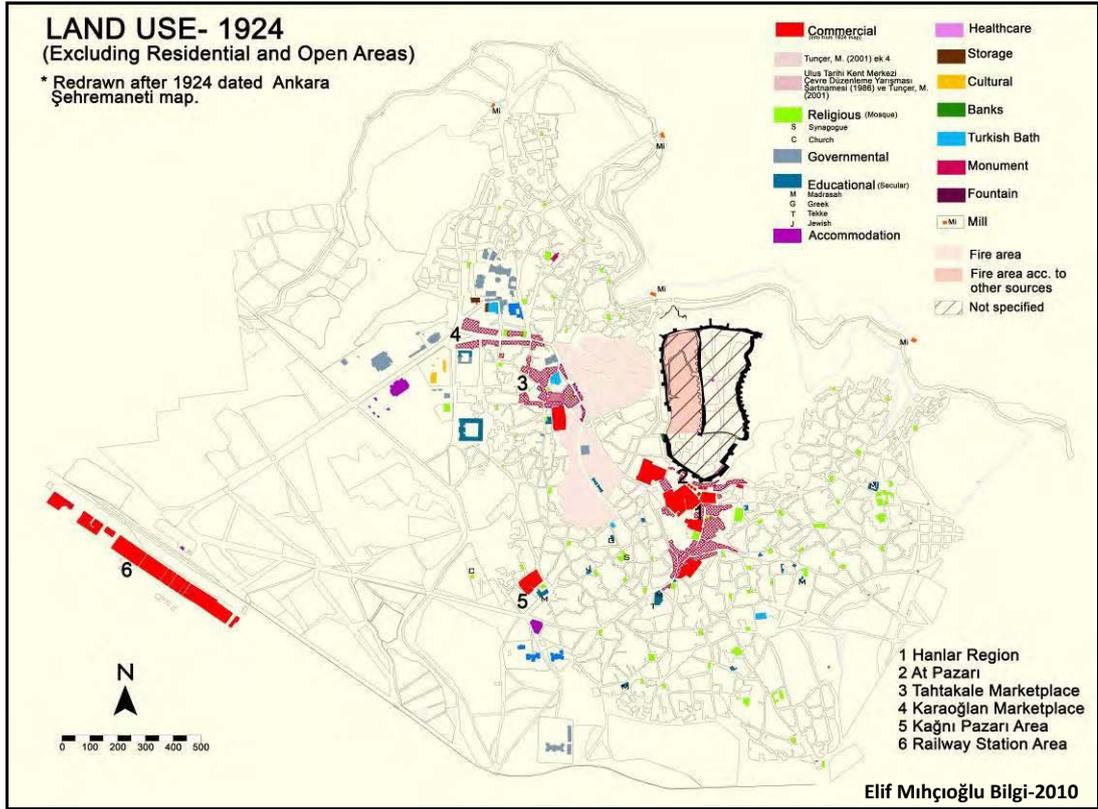
- '*Emakin-i Hususiye*'; as 'Residential'
- '*Cami ve mescid*', '*Türbe*'; as 'Religious'
- '*Emakin-i Emiriyye*'; as 'Governmental'
- '*Mektep ve medrese*'; as 'Educational' (with the differentiation of 'Secular', 'Madrasah'; 'Greek' and '*Tekke*'\_ according to the particular names of the buildings indicated on the map)
- '*Hamam*'; as 'Turkish Bath'
- '*Abide*'; as 'Monument'
- '*Çeşme*'; as 'Fountain'
- '*Bahçe - Park*'; as 'Recreational'
- '*İslam Mezarlığı*', '*Hıristiyan Mezarlığı*'; as 'Cemetery' (with different symbols)
- '*Tarlalar*'; as 'Agricultural'
- '*Sebze - Meyve Bahçesi*', '*Münferid Ağaçlık*'; as 'Gardening'
- '*Bataklık*'; as 'Swamp Area'
- '*Harik Mahallesi*'; as 'Fire area'
- 'Accommodation', 'Healthcare', 'Storage', 'Cultural', 'Banks'\_ determined according to the particular names of the buildings indicated on the map.
- 'Vacant'; for the areas without any hatch or symbol.

The urban area was compact and concentrated around the Citadel. The city was no more guarded by the City Walls, but was an open city. The functional open areas like agricultural, cemetery and gardening lands were on the west, south and east

side of this urban core, but were mainly on the west. *Hatip* Stream on the north side of the Citadel defined the northern border of the city of Ankara and did not allow any kind of urban use or development on this side. It is to note that and *Hıdırlık Tepe* (Hill) on the north of *Hatip* Stream was not shown on the map. On the other side, the fire area covered an important surface on the west side of the Citadel which constituted the geometrical center of the city in 1924.



**Figure 2.36:** Recreational areas along Hatip Stream (around Bentderesi) in early 1920s (Sağdıç, 1994: 114).



**Figure 2.37:** Land Use Pattern of Non-Residential Built-up Areas in 1924.

In Figure 2.37, non-residential land use pattern within the whole urban context of 1924 can be seen quite clearly. In 1924, the primary commercial areas were ‘*Hanlar District*’(1) (containing major hans and *Mahmut Pasha Bedesteni*), ‘*At Pazarı* and environs’(2) on the east side of the axis composed of *Anafartalar* Avenue and *Çıkırıkçılar* Avenue up to *Koyun Pazarı* area, which was named as ‘*Uzun Çarşı*’ in the earlier periods (Tunçer, 2001: 25, 32), and ‘*Tahtakale (Tahta’l-Kal’a) Quarter*’(3), ‘*Karaoğlan Marketplace*’(4), ‘*Kağrı*’ Bazaar(5) areas, as well as the commercial buildings around the Railway Station (6).

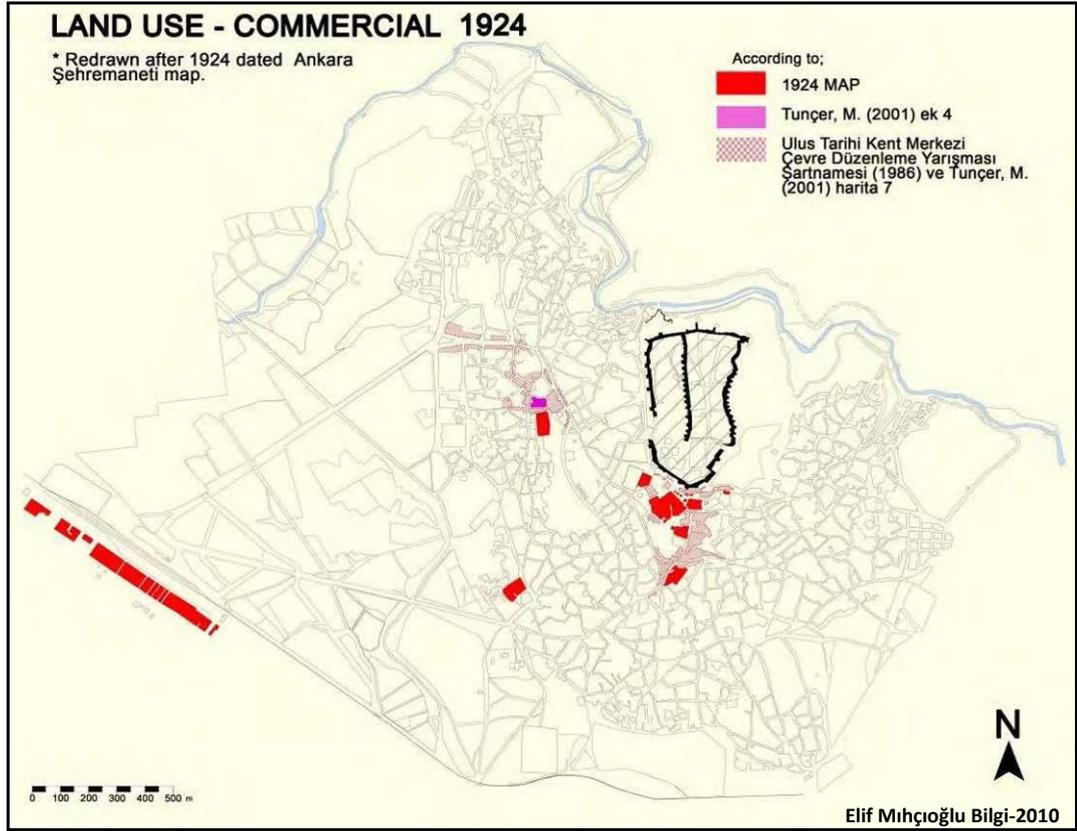


Figure 2.38: Commercial Buildings in 1924.

The commercial buildings and areas stated in the original map are shown in red color in the above redrawn map. It can be said that the original map of 1924 only indicated large commercial complexes or buildings like *hans* and *bedestens*, but did not show single or groups of smaller shops, out of complex, or any commercial axis. Because of this lack of information about commercial areas in 1924, some other commercial areas, taken from other sources, are shown on the same map of 1924 redrawn, as mentioned in the legend of the above analysis.

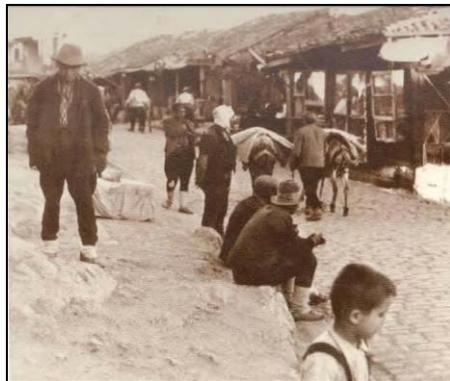


Figure 2.39: (left) View from Atpazarı at the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century (Sağdıç, 1994:87)

Figure 2.40: (right) Views from the traditional market place of Atpazarı at Hanlar Region at the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century (Sağdıç, 1994:87).



**Figure 2.41:** (left) Mahmut Pasha Bedesten and Kurşunlu Han in 1924 (www.wowTURKEY.com, June 2010).

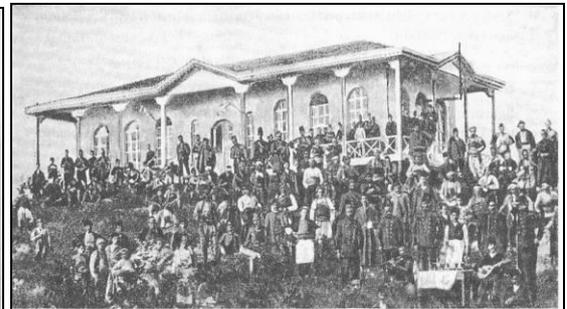
**Figure 2.42:** (right) Interior view from Mahmut Pasha Bedesten in 1924 (www.wowTURKEY.com, June 2010).

The indicated complexes or buildings are the major *hans* like; *Mahmut Pasha Bedesteni* (was empty and in ruins in 1924, because of the fire in 1881), *Kurşunlu Han*, *Çukur Han*, *Çengel Han*, *Zafran Han*, *Pirinç Han*, *Pilavoğlu Han*, *Bala Han* and *Ağazade Han* around *Hanlar (Hans) District*; *Suluhan* and *Tahtakale Han* at *Tahtakale Quarter* and *Kağrı Bazaar* at the south-west periphery of the urban area.



**Figure 2.43:** (left) Shops along Tahtakale Marketplace in early 1920s (Tunçer, 2001: 71)

**Figure 2.44:** (right) Karaoğlan Market Avenue in early 1920s (Börtüçene, 1993: 99).



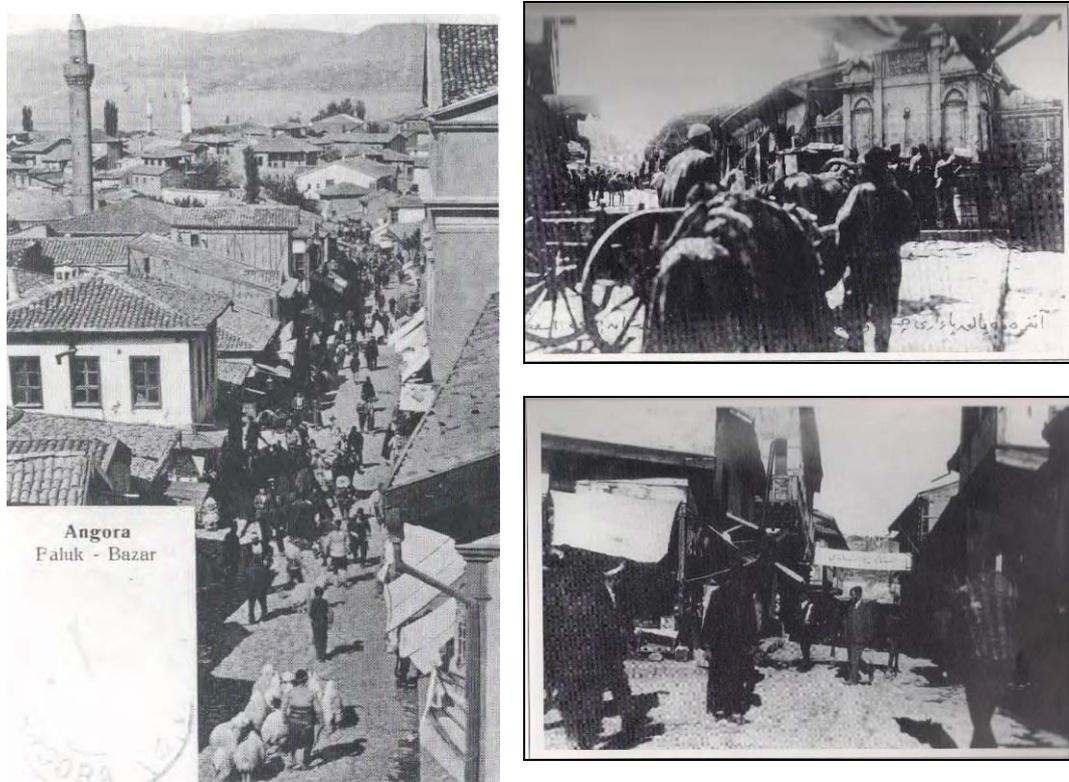
**Figure 2.45:** (left) Railway Station and Area in 1920s (Börtüçene, 1993: 24)

**Figure 2.46:** (right) Municipal Entertainment Place (*Belediye Gazinosu*) in the vicinity of Railway Station in the early 1900s (Ankara Vilayeti Salnamesi 1325 (1907), 1995: 102).

Tahtakale Marketplace which was known to be an important commercial center in 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries was still an important commercial node in 1924.<sup>112</sup>

(Figure 2.43). Karaođlan Marketplace started to develop in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and further grew after the establishment of Turkish Republic<sup>113</sup> (Figure 2.44). Apart from these, the stores around the Railway Station compose a new commercial center at the south-west corner of the city (Figures 2.45 and 2.46).

A new commercial center development in the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century was described by Aktüre around Balıkpazarı Avenue towards Karaođlan Marketplace coming to Taşhan following the arrival of railway in 1892.



**Figure 2.47:** (left) Balıkpazarı Avenue at the beginning of the 20th century

**Figure 2.48:** (top right) Balıkpazarı Avenue in 1921-22,

**Figure 2.49:** (bottom right) Balıkpazarı (Fish Market) in 1924-25.

<sup>112</sup> Tunçer, 2001: 46.

<sup>113</sup> Aktüre, 1978: 127.

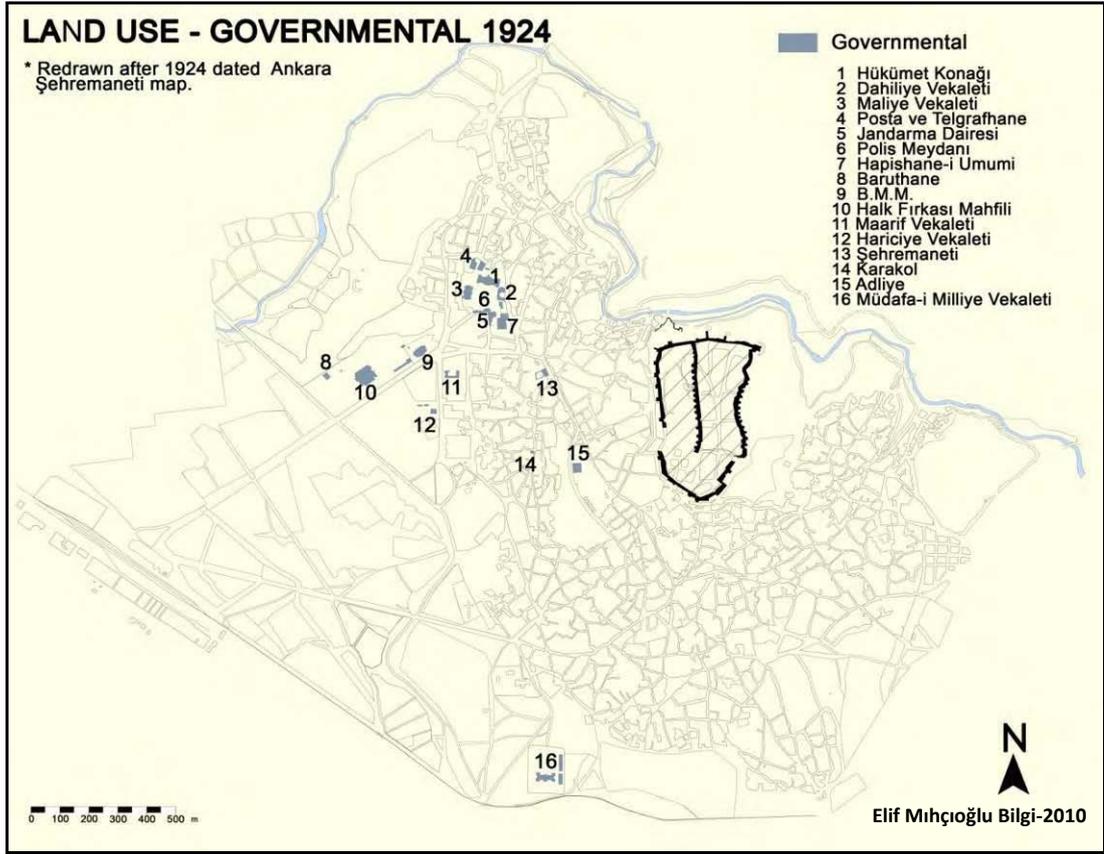
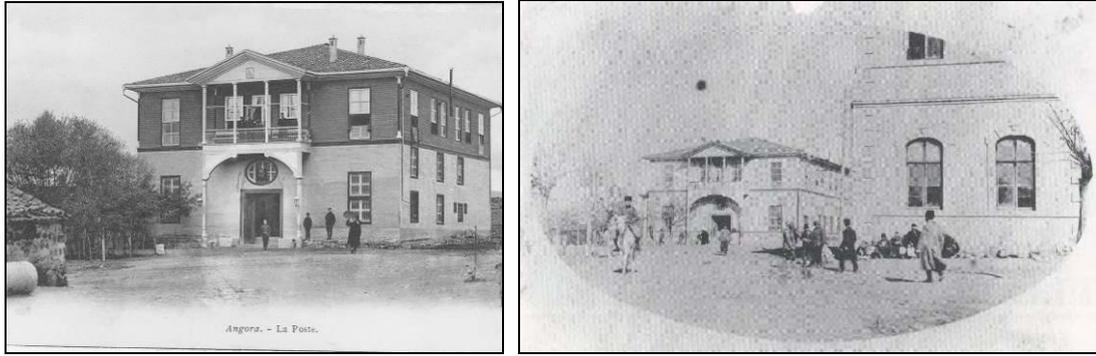


Figure 2.50: Governmental Buildings in 1924.

Governmental buildings were located around a few focal areas. The older governmental center was located around former Police Square (*'Polis Meydanı'*) which was today's Government Square (*'Hükümet Meydanı'*) and major governmental buildings of earlier period. The buildings used as; *Hükümet Konağı* (Government House) (1), *Maliye Vekaleti* (Ministry of Finance)(3), *Dahiliye Vekaleti* (Ministry of Interior)(2), *Posta ve Telgrafhane* (Post Office) (4) in 1924 were built around this square. Later governmental buildings were located on three separate linear axes in close range that were; *Büyük Millet Meclisi* (Grand National Assembly) (9), *Halk Fırkası Mahfeli* (People's Political Party) building (10) along *İstanbul Avenue*; *Maarif Vekaleti* (Ministry of Education) (11), *Hariciye Vekaleti* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) (12) buildings on *Bankalar Avenue*; *Şehremaneti* (Municipality) Building (13) on *Şehremaneti Avenue* and *Adliye Building* (Court

House) (15) on *Çocuk Sarayı* Avenue. On the other hand, *Müdafa-i Milliye Vekaleti* (Ministry of Defense) (16) building was located at the very south of the city in 1924.



**Figure 2.51:** (left) Telegraph Office in late 1890s (*Ankara Vilayeti Salnamesi* (1318), 1900: 60)

**Figure 2.52:** (right) Telegraph Office and *Hükümet Konağı* (Government House) (partially) in early 1920s (Sağdıç, 1993: 83).



**Figure 2.53:** (left) *Şehremaneti* (Municipality) in a two storey traditional building (the one with the stove pipes)

**Figure 2.54:** (right) *Hariciye Vekaleti* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) in the former place of *Ziraat* Bank in early 1900s (Sağdıç, 1994: 72).

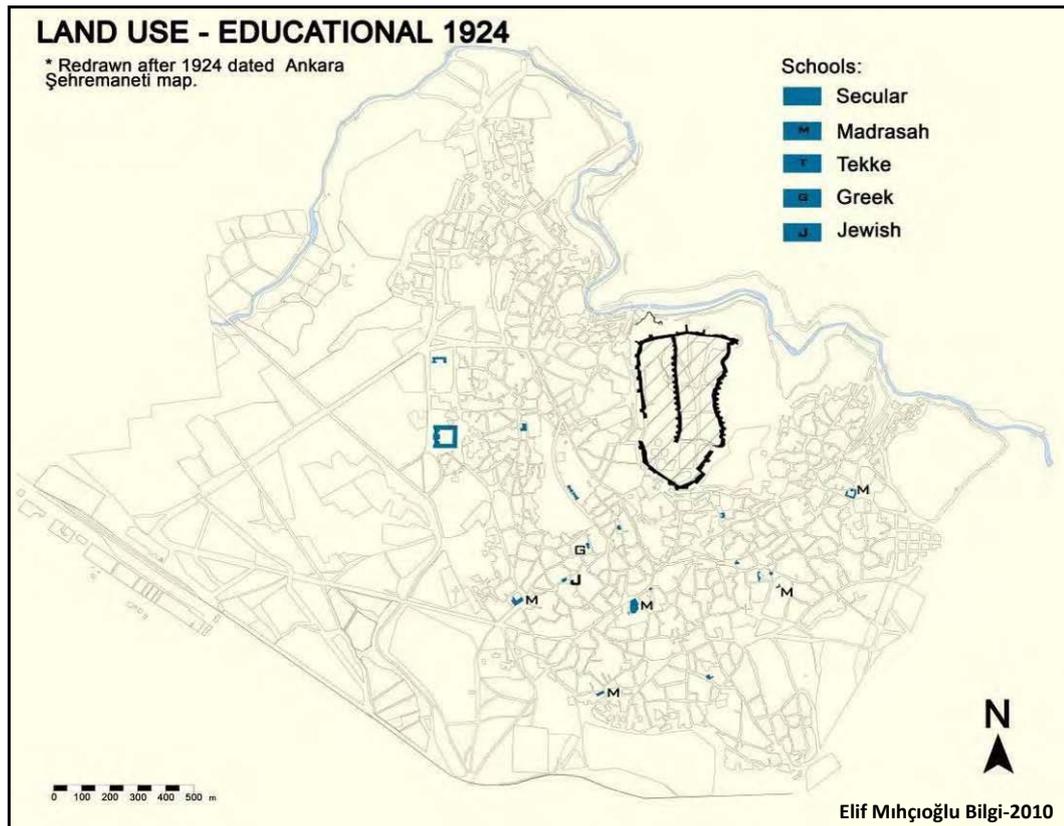


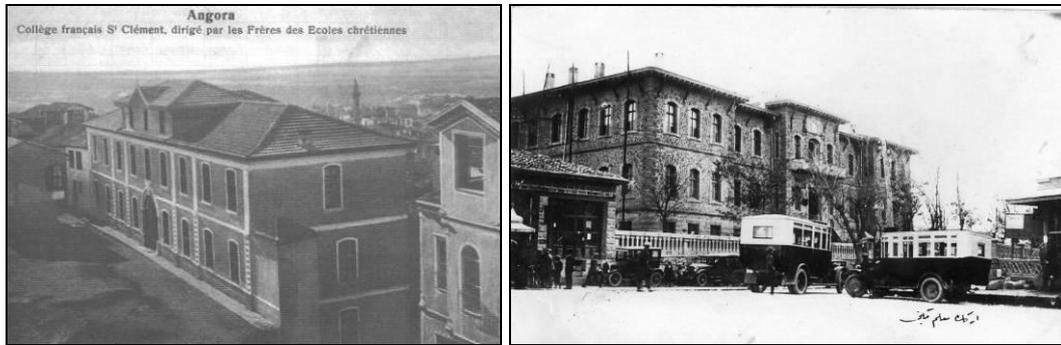
Figure 2.55: Educational Buildings in 1924.

In 1909 (Table 2.4), there were 4 primary schools, 65 *sıbyan mektebi*<sup>114</sup>, 8 minority schools, 1 secondary school, 1 high school, 2 vocational schools, 27 madrasah's and 11 tekke's as shown. When we look at the numbers of 1927 (Table 2.4), the profile of schools was completely different with 83 primary schools, no *sıbyan mektebi*, 1 minority school, 3 secondary schools, 2 high schools and 2 vocational schools. 1924 Ankara map shows a period of transition in between.

According to 1924 map, the educational buildings in 1924 are grouped in five. The new secular schools founded with the establishment of new Turkish Republic for all citizens, whether Muslim and non-muslim, constituted the majority. *Madrasahs* and *tekkes*, the schools giving religious education, were to be abolished due to *Tevhid-i Tedrisat* Law legislated on March 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1924. There was a Greek school in 1924. The educational buildings were scattered within the urban fabric at the west and south of the Citadel.

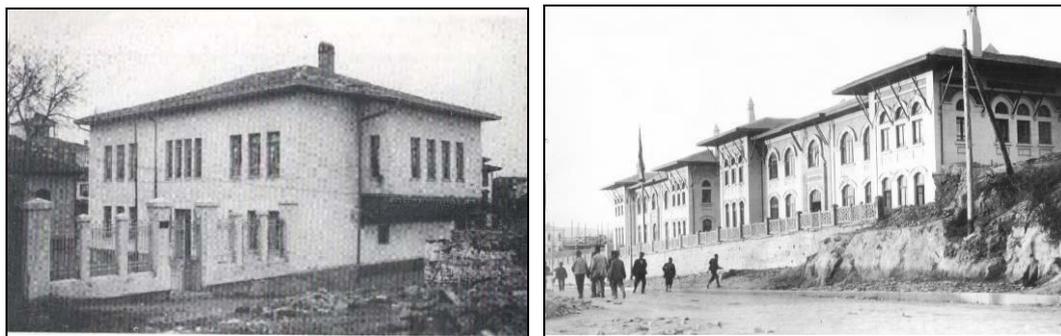
<sup>114</sup> *Sıbyan mektebi* was the type of school in Ottoman Period for children smaller than the age of puberty, primary school (Hasol, 1988: 464).

In 1924 map, it is seen that there was also a Jewish school on the same street with the Synagogue. Beki Bahar mentions that about a boys school for Jewish in Ankara in 1889 comprising five classes. Then, another Jewish school for girls having three classes was founded nearby. In 1924, these two schools were integrated and brought together in the above mentioned building of boys school, after Ministry of National Education enacted the mixed-sex education. Before the foundation of Turkish Republic, the old students of this school recall that they used to sing the French national anthem in the mornings. The school which survived until recently, comprised a group of buildings around a courtyard<sup>115</sup>.



**Figure 2.56:** (left) St.Clément French College managed by Christian Brothers' School (Ayдын et.al, 2005: 213) probably around Citadel

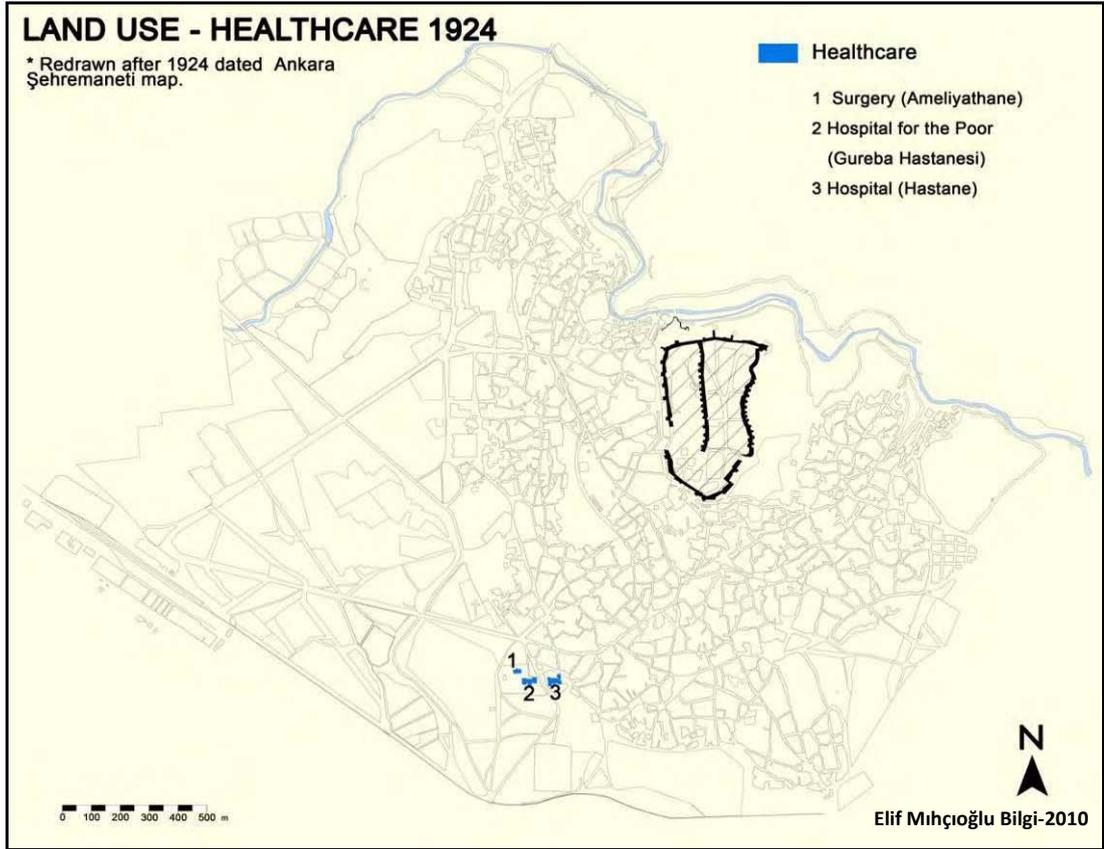
**Figure 2.57** (right) The building used by both Teacher's Training School (*Dar-ül Muallimin*) and by the Ministry of Education at the beginning of Bankalar Avenue (VEKAM Archive).



**Figure 2.58:** (left) Former building of Ankara Girls' High School (*Kız Lisesi*) around Hamamönü in 1920s (Sağdıç, 1994: 140)

**Figure 2.59:** (right) Latife and Gazi Mustafa Kemal (or Atatürk) Primary Schools in 1920s (Börtüçene, 1993: 97).

<sup>115</sup> Behar, 2003: 54-63.



**Figure 2.60:** Healthcare Buildings in 1924.

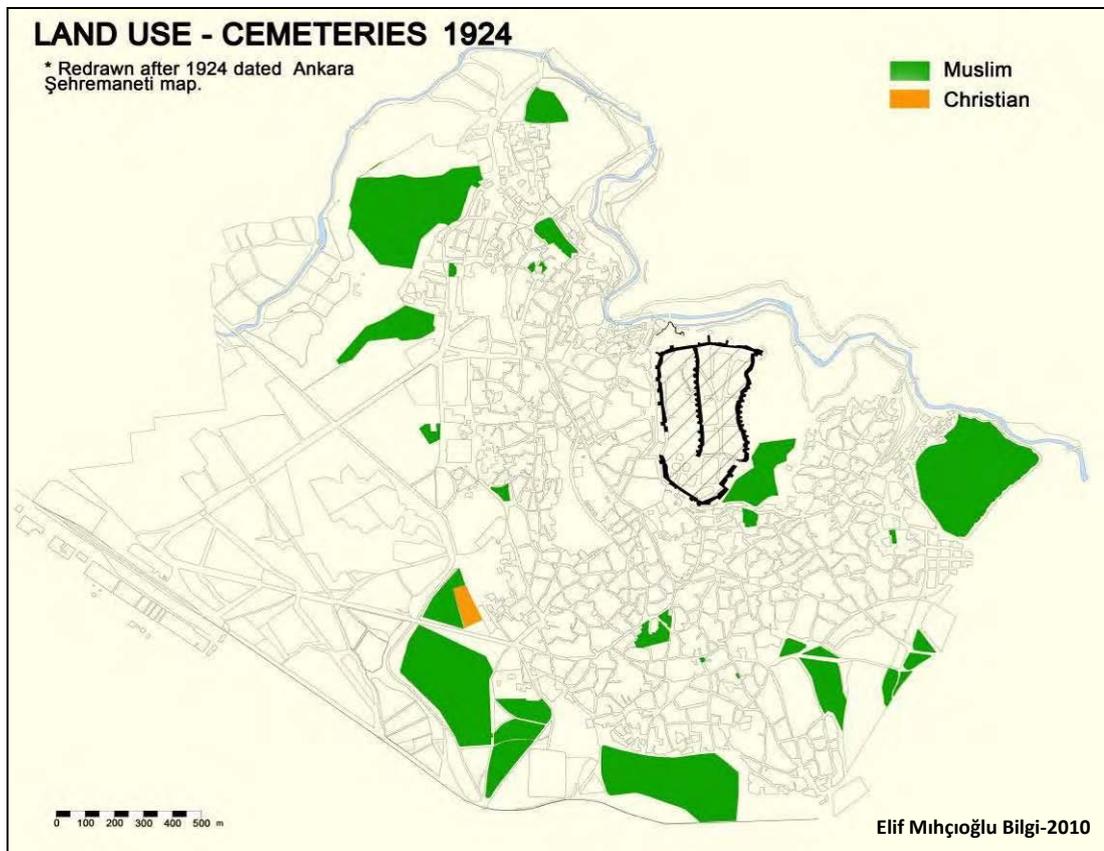
Starvation and related epidemics which caused many casualties and a severe economic failure between 1873 and 1875<sup>116</sup> may be the reason of the lack of healthcare facilities in this period. In 1924, there were still only a few healthcare buildings in the city, as can be seen in the figure above. There was only a group of three medical buildings (a hospital, a surgery building and 'Gureba Hospital'<sup>117</sup>, which constituted the first core of *Numune* Hospital around Altay Quarter on the south part of the city. Locating hospitals at the periphery of city, at a distance to the residential area, was a pattern typical to the period of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which occurred parallel to the emergence of the idea of the notion of 'public health' ideas against common epidemics.

<sup>116</sup> Tunçer, 2001: 64.

<sup>117</sup> Hospital for the poor



**Figure 2.61:** A hospital building (probably one of Numune Hospital Buildings around Namazgah Region) in 1920s (Sağdıç, 1994: 257).



**Figure 2.62:** Cemeteries in 1924.

It can be seen that the locations of the cemeteries were either within the urban fabric or on its periphery. The cemeteries inside the urban fabric were smaller, whereas the ones outside the urban fabric were generally larger in size.

It is important to point out that although the population of Ankara was composed of Muslim, Christian and Jewish people for centuries, only Muslim and Catholic cemeteries were specified, but Jewish cemeteries were not mentioned in the legend of the original map of 1924. This raises doubts about the Jewish cemeteries and may be giving hints about their status in the society. It may be related with the high integration of Jewish group to the whole of the society. Parallel to their living together in the same quarters, Muslim and Jewish populations were thought to be using the same cemeteries. When we look at 1830 population census, the quarters were classified as 'Muslim', 'Non-Muslim' and 'Mixed'. 'Non-Muslim'<sup>118</sup> population included only Christians, excluding Jewish. Whereas 'Mixed' quarters included all religious groups including Jewish. Meanwhile, it is known that some quarters named 'Muslim', like *Hacendi* and *Öksüzce* were known to include Jewish population<sup>119</sup>.

On the other hand, Beki Bahar<sup>120</sup> refers to a Jewish cemetery, located 'in between Broadcasting House (*'Radyoevi'*) and Turkish Aeronautical Association (*'Türk Hava Kurumu'*) buildings, recalling also E. Mamboury's words as 'reaching out to *İsmet Pasha* College for Girls (*İsmet Pasha Kız Enstitüsü*) and environs' describing nearly the same location, but a larger area. This describes the cemetery area on the south of the Catholic Church in the above figure, shown as a Muslim cemetery in the original map and there were probably sub-areas within the same cemetery.

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<sup>118</sup> It is important to note that generally 'non-muslim' is a term used for the Christian and Jewish.

<sup>119</sup> Atauz A. 2004: 126-128.

<sup>120</sup> Bahar, 2003: 67.

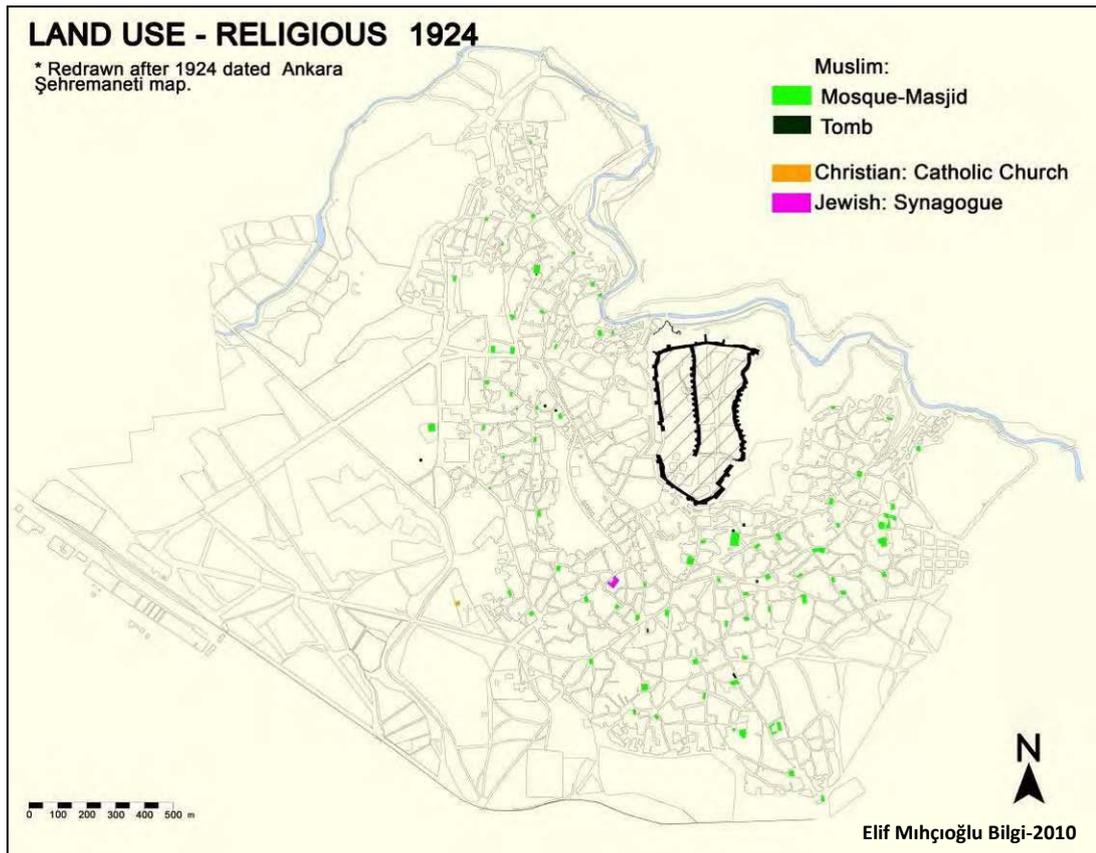


**Figure 2.63:** Cemeteries on the north-western side of the city (VEKAM Archive).

With the increasing population, new cemetery areas became necessary. New cemetery areas were determined with the decision taken in November 5<sup>th</sup>, 1923 by Ankara Board of Directors. According to this, the land next to the previous cemetery area above Babaharmanı next to Sarıkışla, the area next to the previous cemetery of Cebeci Military Hospital and the cemetery area at Hıdırlık Hill above the stream were decided as the new cemeteries for the Muslims.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Muslihiddin Safvet, 1925: 76-77; Aydın, et al., 2005: 257.



**Figure 2.64:** Religious Buildings in 1924.

As a society with dominant Muslim majority in 1924, there were many mosques and masjids within the urban fabric. They were dispersed homogeneously within the urban fabric of the city. As mentioned in common, mosque or masjid was the center of a Muslim quarter. This quarter with a mosque or masjid at the center, as the nucleus, is like a cell or a unit of habitation. Muslim settlement grows, as the cells or units come together, creating the urban tissue. Besides, there also existed quite a number of tombs in the urban fabric, either next to the mosque (or masjid) or standing alone.

Apart from these, there was only one Catholic Church and one synagogue in 1924, according to the original map.



Figure 2.65: Hacıbayram Mosque and environs (VEKAM Archive)

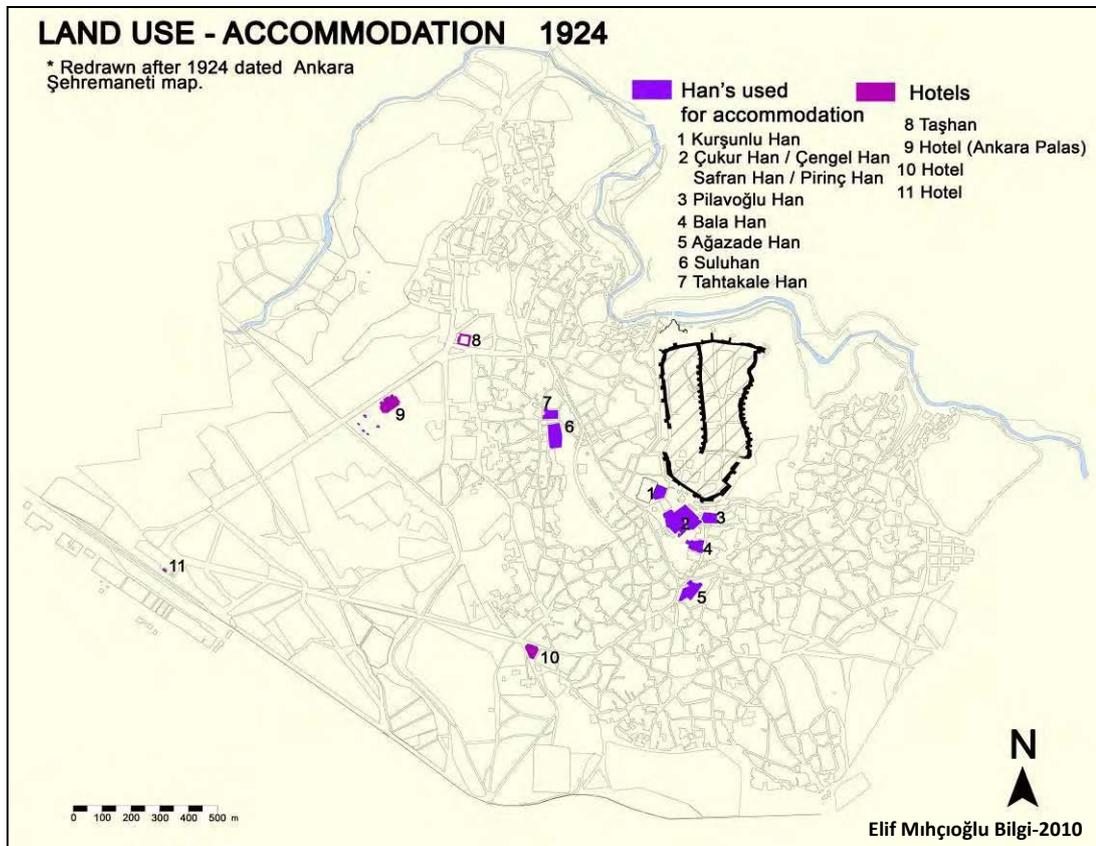


Figure 2.66: Accommodation Facilities in 1924.

In Ottoman Period, hans within the cities were primarily used for commercial purposes with or without accommodation facilities.<sup>122</sup>

<sup>122</sup> Tunçer, 2001: 9-10.

Parallel to this, hans were the major traditional accommodation spaces with limited comfort in Ankara of 1924. These hans used for accommodative purposes in addition to commercial content were *Kurşunlu Han (1)*, *Çukur Han*, *Çengel Han*, *Safran (or Zafran) Han*, *Pirinç Han (2)*, *Pilavoğlu Han (3)*, *Bala Han (4)* and *Ağazade Han (5)*, *Suluhan (6)*, and *Tahtakale Han (7)*.

In addition, there were only a few hotels for accommodation in the city in 1924. These were *Taşhan*<sup>123</sup> (8), *Ankara Palas*<sup>124</sup> (9), a hotel next to the Catholic Church (10) and another at the Railway Station (11).

Together with the decision of Ankara as the capital city, the lack of accommodation facilities has been mentioned by many authors. In the early years of Turkish Republic, this became one of the most important problems of the city to be dealt with.



**Figure 2.67:** (left) Taşhan in 1890s (wowturkey.com)

**Figure 2.68:** (right) Ankara Palas in late 1920s (Sağdıç, 1993: 41).

<sup>123</sup> Taşhan was originally a late period *han*, but converted into the first modern hotel in the city after the arrival of railway in Ankara.

<sup>124</sup> Ankara Palas (or Ankara Vakıf Otel), designed by Vedat Tek and by Kemalettin Bey (1924-27) was constructed as a luxurious guest house to lodge the foreign guests and high level bureaucrats (Bozdoğan, 2008: 51).

### ***Change of Land Use Pattern from 1839 to 1924:***

An important difference of 1924 from 1839 is the large fire area on two sides of former *Balıkpazarı* Avenue. The fire destroyed a large residential area including the church belonging to the Greek society, the mosque at the corner of former *Balıkpazarı* and *Anafartalar* Avenues and another mosque around *Yeğenbey* Quarter<sup>125</sup>. On the other hand, there was another important public building just at the footprints of the Court House ('*Adliye*') building<sup>126</sup> that can be seen in 1839 map. In 1924 map, the Court House must have been added after the preparation of *Şehremaneti* map in 1924, like the neighboring two schools, as a clear scale difference of these buildings can be perceived on the map.

There is a lack of information about commercial areas in both stages. As only the monumental commercial buildings were determined in the source maps; such as *Suluhan*, *Mahmut Pasha Bedesteni* and some other major *hans* around *Hanlar* (*Han's*) District, this gap is tried to be eliminated by using information from other sources for the redrawn map of 1924 as mentioned before.

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<sup>125</sup> which cannot be followed in 1930s

<sup>126</sup> constructed in 1925-26.

# LAND USE-1839

\* Redrawn after Von Vincke's 1839 Ankara map

- Residential
- Public Buildings  
religious, commercial, governmental
- Cemetery
- Swamp
- Agricultural
- Vacant

0 100 200 300 400 500 m

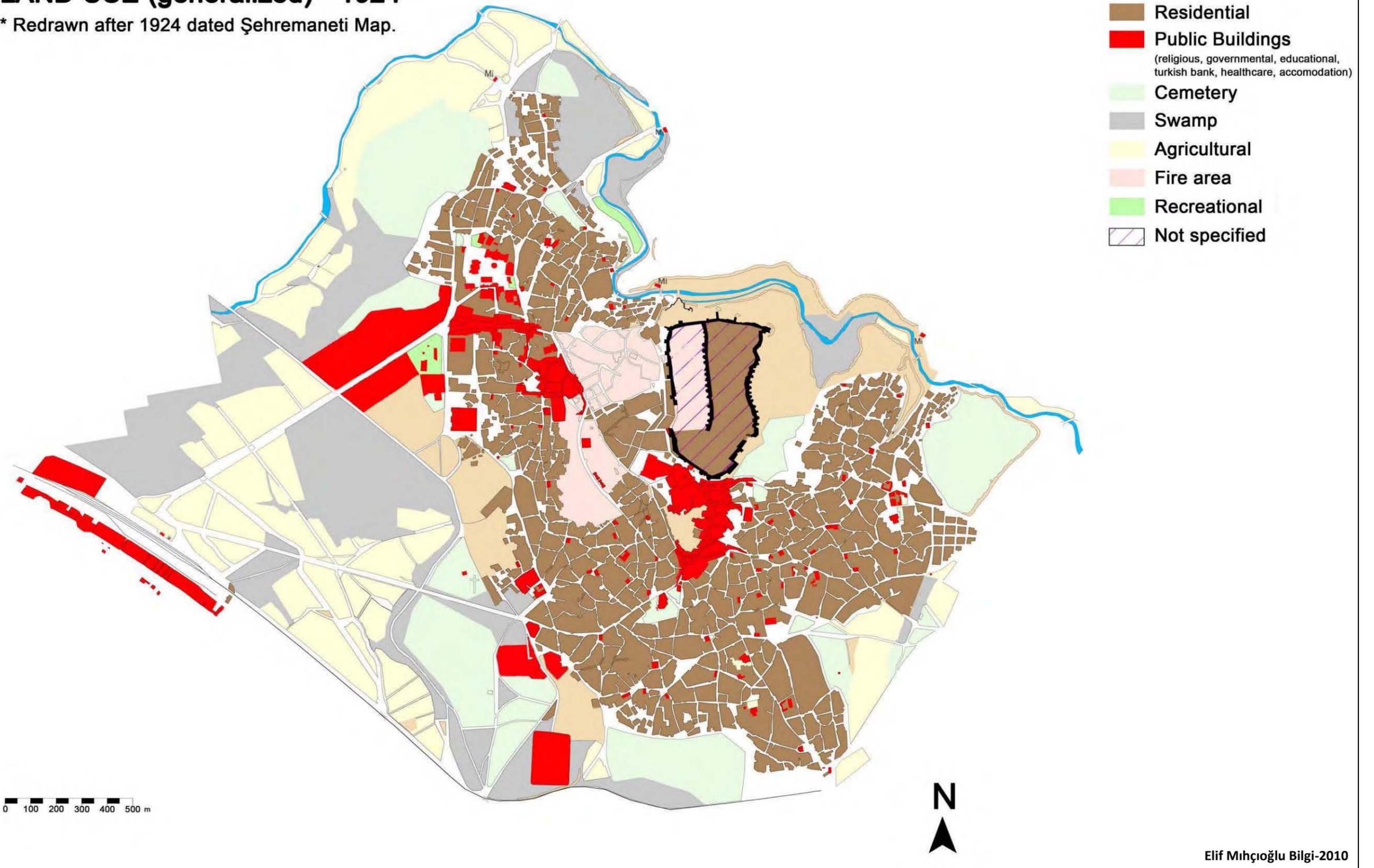


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Figure 2.69: Land Use Pattern in 1839.

## LAND USE (generalized) - 1924

\* Redrawn after 1924 dated Şehremaneti Map.



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Figure 2.70: Land Use Pattern in 1924.

It can be said that this additional information for the commercial districts in 1924 is deficient in general. From many written sources<sup>127</sup> , it is known that the major commercial areas were around *Hanlar District, Tahtakale Quarter, Balıkpazarı Avenue*, as well as the commercial area developing on former *Anafartalar Avenue* following the advent of railway in 1892 and also depending on the former and new governmental areas at close range.

Apart from the points mentioned above, about the evolution of land use from 1839 to 1924;

- A major difference is the loss of the large residential area on two sides of Anafartalar Avenue and Outer Citadel area by the fire in 1916. Within this residential area, it is clearly seen that a number of public buildings were also destroyed.
- It is clear that public buildings (comprising religious, commercial and governmental functions) increased in 1924 a great deal, compared to 1839, depending on the increasing responsibilities and population of the new capital city.
- The commercial areas remained around *Hanlar, Tabakhane* Quarters and developed around *Balıkpazarı* and former *Anafartalar* Avenues, and newly developed around Railway Station.
- The residential areas expanded towards north around *İsmet Pasha* Quarter and towards east with *Boşnak* Quarter. Some of the cemeteries on the west side were transformed into the new governmental core of the city and a recreational area partially (*'Millet Bahçesi'*).
- The swamp area between the city center and the Railway Station was partially transformed into agricultural fields.
- The sloped vacant areas on the east side of the Citadel remained mostly the same, except a cemetery area on the north of *Hanlar* District.

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<sup>127</sup> Tunçer, 2001 and Aktüre, 2001: 35-74.

- Depending on this superposed comparison, it is clear that the Armenian and Greek churches were not at a location directly connecting to *Çıkırkçılar* Avenue as mentioned at some sources <sup>128</sup>(also known as '*Uzun Çarşı*'), but were on both sides of the street at which today's *Işıklar* Avenue was located. Greek Church at the north was destroyed by the fire in 1916, and Armenian Church at the south was assumed to be demolished as a part of the extended interventions for the rehabilitation of the fire area.

- Parallel to the change of land use pattern from 1839 to 1924, quantitative change of land use from 1895 to 1927 are as follows;

**Table 2.3:** Number of buildings in Ankara between 1909-1927 (Aktüre, 2001; 60-61; gathered from (1) Ali Cevad, 1895; Memaliki Osmaniye'nin Tarih ve Coğrafya Lugatı, p.39; (2) Ankara Vilayeti Salnamesi, H.1320 (1902), p.136; (3) and (4) Mamboury, E. (1933), Ankara, Guide Touristique, p.87.)

	1895	1902	1909	1927
House	5458	6518	6518	9993
Public Building	4	4	16	156
Embassy and Representative Office	-	-	-	7
Bank	-	-	1	5
Shop	2173	2188	2207	2079
Bakery	21	21	21	45
Commercial building	-	-	-	17
Workshop	-	1	18	102
Tile Production Workshop	-	-	-	41
Stone Quarry	-	-	-	106
Mines	-	-	-	1
Oil Production Workshops	8	8	-	-
Mill	11	12	13	3
Storages and Stores	50	260	260	622
Hotel	-	-	2	10
Han	32	33	33	22
Bath	4	5	5	6
Primary School	-	4	4	83
<i>Sıbyan Mektebi</i>	65	65	65	-
Minority school	8	8	8	1
Secondary school	-	1	1	3
High School	1	1	1	2
Vocational school	1	1	2	2
Madrasah	27	27	27	-
Mosque and masjid	44	44	44	78
Tekke	11	11	11	-
Church	12	12	12	-
Museum	-	-	-	3

<sup>128</sup> Tunçer, 2001: 46.

Depending on Table 2.4, the distinct quantitative change of different functions in Ankara, especially after the foundation of the new Turkish Republic can be followed. It is seen that residential buildings (houses) increased about 50% after the foundation of the new Republic. In contrast to the gradual increase of commercial (shops) uses; public, accommodation (hotels), educational buildings, banks, construction related facilities (workshops, workshops, stone quarries, mines), storages and stores, and religious buildings for Muslim, increased much more and evidently related with the increasing population. After becoming the capital city, embassies and representative offices occurred as a new group of land use in Ankara. By the way, it is seen that, in contrast to the increase of modern hotels, number of traditional *hans* (comprising both accommodation and commercial activities) decreased and commercial buildings increased.

## CHAPTER 3

### EVOLUTION OF ANKARA CITY CENTER IN THE EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIOD (1924-1944)

#### 3.1. Ankara from 1924 to 1930s

##### 3.1.1. Socio-economic Structure of the City

When Ankara was proclaimed as the capital city as a ‘political preference’<sup>129</sup>, the population of Ankara was doubled in a few years and became 74.784; of which 54.600 were Muslim, 705 was Armenian, 732 were Jewish and 121 were Greek, according to the official population census in 1927<sup>130</sup>. According to 1927 census, Ankara became one of the six cities with a population over 40.000; others were *Istanbul*: 673.000, *İzmir*: 153.000, *Adana*: 72.000, *Bursa*: 61.000 and *Konya*: 41.000<sup>131</sup>. For the success of new urban development of Ankara, one of the first steps was the establishment of Ankara Şehremaneti on 16.02.1924 for a duration of six years, instead of the existing municipality<sup>132</sup>.

**Table 3.1:** Rate of Major Sectors in Gross National Product (%) (Özkol, 1969; Yerasimos, 2005: 139)

	1927 (%)	1938 (%)
Agriculture	67	48
Industry	10	16
Services	23	36

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<sup>129</sup> Tankut, 1992: 109.

<sup>130</sup> Atauz, 2004: 199.

<sup>131</sup> Tütengil, 1980: 57; Sarıoğlu, 2001: 78.

<sup>132</sup> Tankut, 1993: 50.

**Table 3.2:** Rate of Sectors in Gross National Product (%)  
(League of Nations Publications, 1958; Yerasimos, 2005: 139)

SECTORS	1938
Agriculture	56
Mining Industry	1
Manufacturing Industry	8
Construction	5
Services	30

Above three tables summarize the economic profile of the country between late 1920s and late 1930s. When the population grew 2,2%, gross national product grew 5,2%. On the other hand, the growth of agricultural production was 4,4%, when manufacturing industry growth was 5,2% and total industry production excluding construction industry was 5,7%. 1930's was a growth period for Turkish economy. Depending on the data of Turkish Statistical Institute, income per capita between 1923 and 1929 increased 8,4% per year, when it increased 3,5% between 1929 and 1939<sup>133</sup>.

Between 1929 and 1932, the problem of lack of housing was at the peak point<sup>134</sup> together with the severe economical conditions due to Great Depression in 1929.

According to Aktüre, the inhabitants of Ankara could be classified in three social groups in this period as; 'high', 'middle' and 'low' income groups. The 'high income group', composed of governmental executives who mostly came from outside of Ankara, was living at the very south of the city, around the residence of the President of the Turkish Republic. The 'middle income group' was composed of another three different sections. First one was the 'national bourgeois class' whose effects were increasing in Ankara. Their workplaces were mostly around former *Balık Pazarı* Avenue (today's *Anafartalar* Avenue) and living mostly in the *bağ evleri* around *Keçiören* (for example, the families like Koç, Toygar, Kınacı, Kütükçü, Attar, Hanif).

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<sup>133</sup> Bulutay, Tezel, Yıldırım, 1974; Pamuk, 1999: 33.

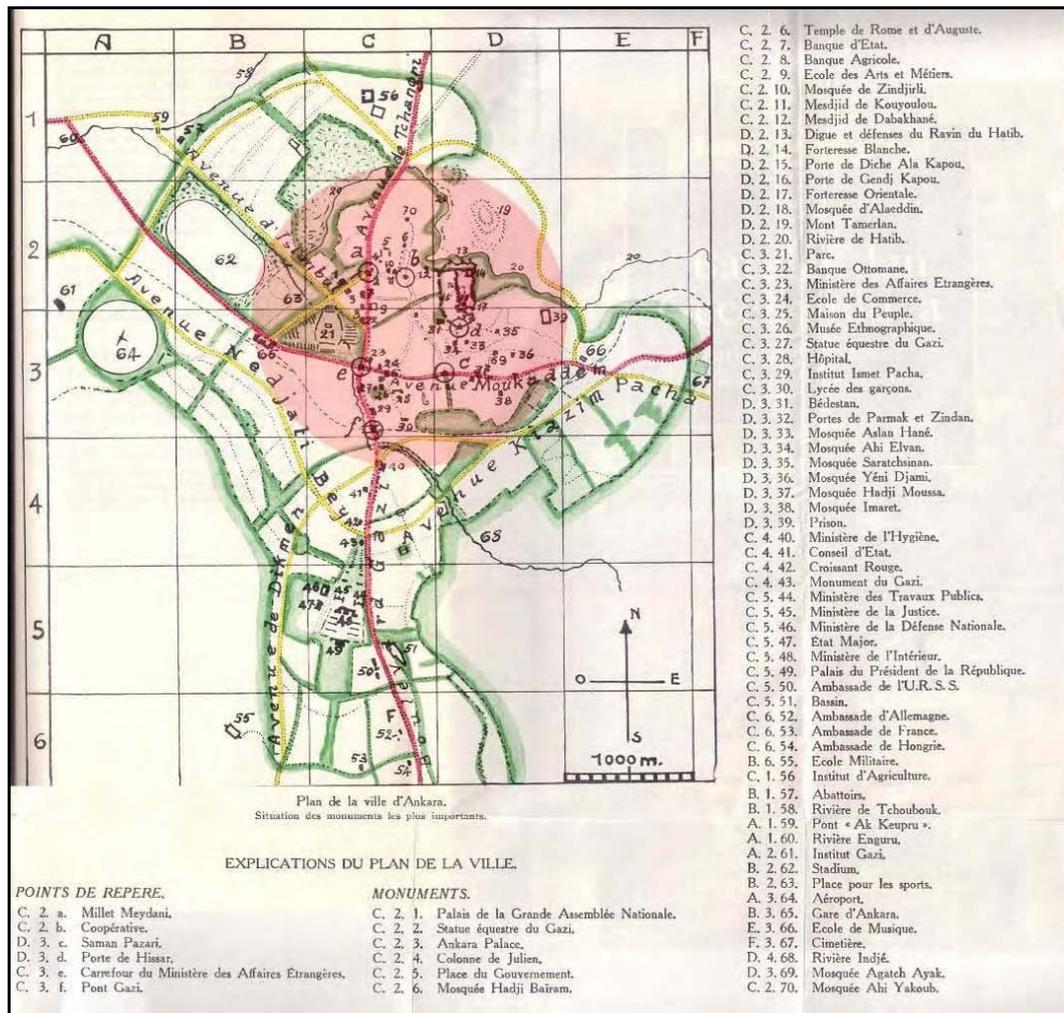
<sup>134</sup> Tankut, 2001: 10.

The newly created contractors, making small-scale businesses, were also a part of this first group. Second one was composed of governmental officials like soldiers and bureaucrats. Most of them, who were from *İstanbul* or educated in *İstanbul*, were the strong followers of the new Turkish Republic and living in their rental houses, at schools or barracks, as they did not have the money to buy their own houses. The third section of the middle income group was composed of the local tradesmen and artisans of Ankara, who had their shops or workplaces in the old city center. Lastly, the 'low income group' was composed of unqualified workers, were living in the construction sites or in the cheap rental rooms of *Hans* around *Samanpazari*. They were staying in groups either in the constructions they were working, or in cheap rooms of *hans* around *Samanpazari*.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> Aktüre 2001, p.59-62.

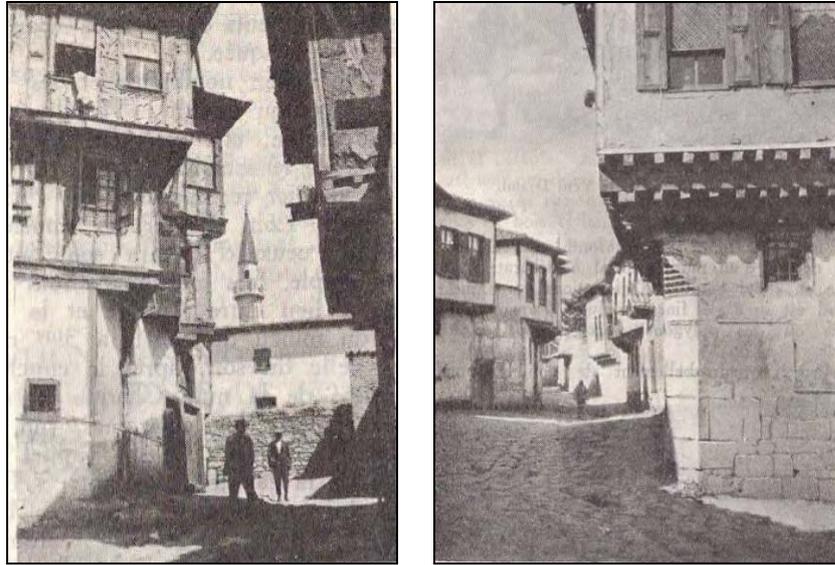
### 3.1.2. Urban Structure of Ankara from 1924 to 1930s



**Figure 3.1:** Historic City of Ankara within whole city of Ankara in early 1930s (also showing reference buildings and monuments) (Mamboury, 1933: 136-137).

As can be seen in the above figure dated 1933 drawn by Mamboury, the historic city occupied nearly one third of the whole city (as marked with red circle) in 1930s. Ankara grew in all directions, but mostly towards south, creating a new city called 'Yenişehir' in this direction. The growth of the new city was less effective towards north-east, because of *Hatip* Stream that still constituted a threshold. By this plan, it is clear that the historic city was the center of the city in 1930s still keeping the major governmental functions (Grand National Assembly Building, Government Office and Ministry of Foreign Affairs) and the major ones, as well as all of the cultural facilities, banks, schools, commercial centers and religious buildings. In 1930s, many of the ministry buildings (The Ministry of Health, Ministry of Labor,

Ministry of Justice, Ministry of National Defence and Ministry of Internal Affairs) and all four embassy buildings were located in the New City.



**Figure 3.2:** (left) Traditional houses from Mukaddem Quarter in early 1930s (Mamboury, 1933: 202)  
**Figure 3.3:** (right) Traditional houses from Hacı Doğan Quarter in early 1930s (Mamboury, 1933: 203).

In the city of Ankara with a population 74.000 according to 1927 census, there were three types of housing. The first type was the traditional residential housing, forming the organic urban fabric around the Old City around the Citadel. With the announcement of new Turkish Republic, new additions were made to increase the population capacity of the area, as much as possible. The second type was comprised of four or five storeyed buildings, the first apartment buildings in Ankara newly permeating to the traditional urban fabric and carried the characteristics of 'National Architectural Style'. The third one consisted of the single, detached houses with garden, again carrying the characteristics of 'National Architectural Style' being developed within the New City at the south of the Old City.<sup>136</sup>

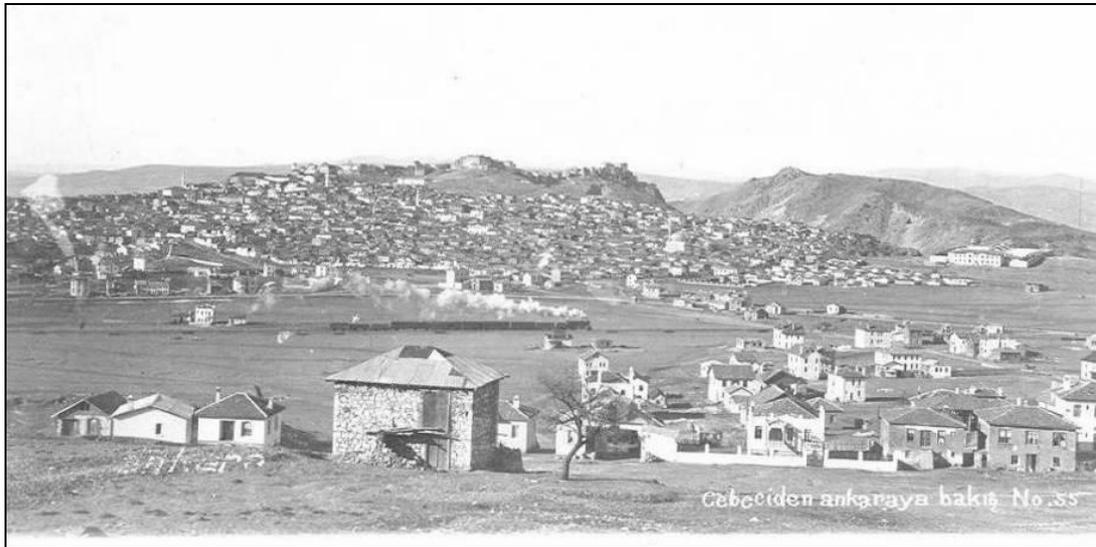
It is necessary to mention about Tahtakale Fire dated 1927. Erdoğan defines the fire as started at PTT (Post Telephone and Telegraph) building and extended up to

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<sup>136</sup> Tankut, 1993: 53.

Municipality building, destroying all shops, stores, hans, Turkish baths (Hasan Paşa and Tahtakale Baths) and historic Haseki Mosque and masjids along Posta Avenue. The fire, having a tendency to spread towards Samanpazarı, was taken under control by the direct interest and concern of Mustafa Kemal.<sup>137</sup>

Depending on the data of this study, it can be seen that shops around *Tahtakale* Matketplace, *Tahtakale* Bath, *Haseki* Mosque (previously located in the place of Vegetable Marketplace) were swept away by this fire.



**Figure 3.4:** View from Cebeci towards Ankara in 1930s (VEKAM Archive)

The solution of ‘apartment buildings’ was the most convenient building typology to accommodate the exponentially increasing population of the city. Also, the increasing demands for land caused speculative and extreme profit rates forcing the system and the application of development plans in this period, until the government took the necessary precautions. Consequently, one of the most dynamically developing industrial sectors was the construction branch<sup>138</sup>.

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<sup>137</sup> Erdoğan, 1965: 147.

<sup>138</sup> Aktüre, 2001: 59-60.

**Table 3.3:** Functional distribution of buildings in the districts of Ankara in 1935<sup>139</sup>  
(Başvekalet İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü, İstatistik Yıllığı, 1935-36: c. 8; Şenyapılı, 2004: 279).

	Housing	%	Workplaces	%	Governmental	%	Total	%
<b>Old City</b>	12.558	72	3.484	80	568	49	16.610	73
<b>Yenişehir (New City)</b>	1.030	6	214	5	109	9	1.353	6
<b>Cebeci</b>	980	6	103	2	57	5	1.140	5
<b>Bağlar (Vineyards)</b>	2.804	16	572	13	429	37	3.805	16
<b>Total</b>	<b>17.372</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>4.373</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1.163</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>22.908</b>	<b>100</b>

The information, studied by the State Statistical Institute in 1935, supports the idea of functional dominance of the Old City in the city of Ankara. The functional distribution of buildings in different districts of Ankara can be seen in Table 3.3. The Old City comprised the majority of the functions, such as; 72% of housing, 80% of workplaces and 49% of governmental functions when compared to the other districts of the whole city in 1935.

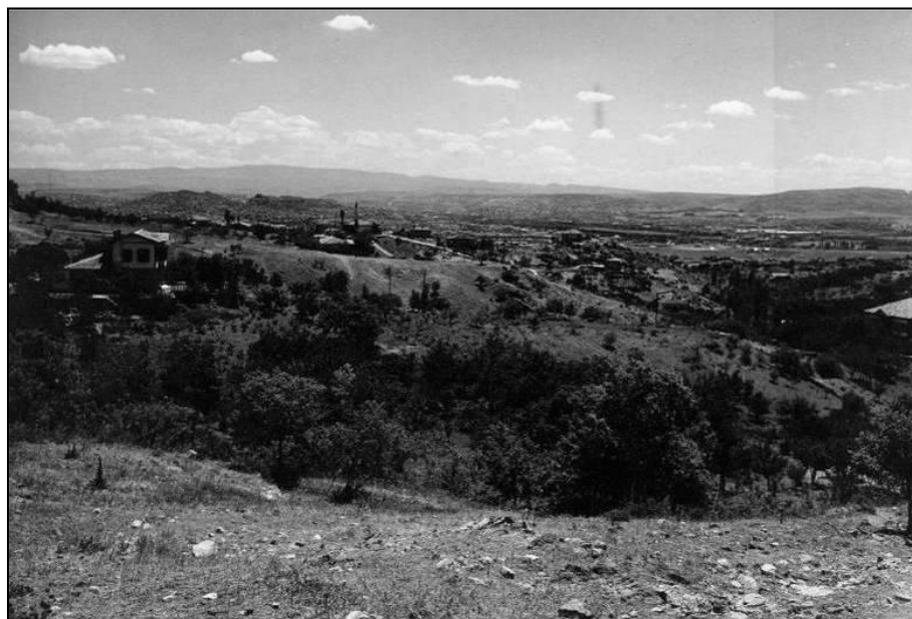
Vineyards, other housing areas scattered around Etlik and Keçiören, as well as Dikmen, Çankaya and Esat, were at a distance to the historic city. They contained 16% of housing, 13% of workplaces and 37% of governmental areas in 1935. In the process of rapid urbanization in this period, these data can be interpreted as the Vineyards, which used to be basically the seasonal housing area of Ankara, was transformed and used for the increasing governmental functions and permanent residential uses in the city. Newly developing districts of Cebeci and Yenişehir both comprised only 12% of housing, 7% of workplaces and 14% of the governmental activities yet.

<sup>139</sup> Some percentages in the table are adjusted by the author.



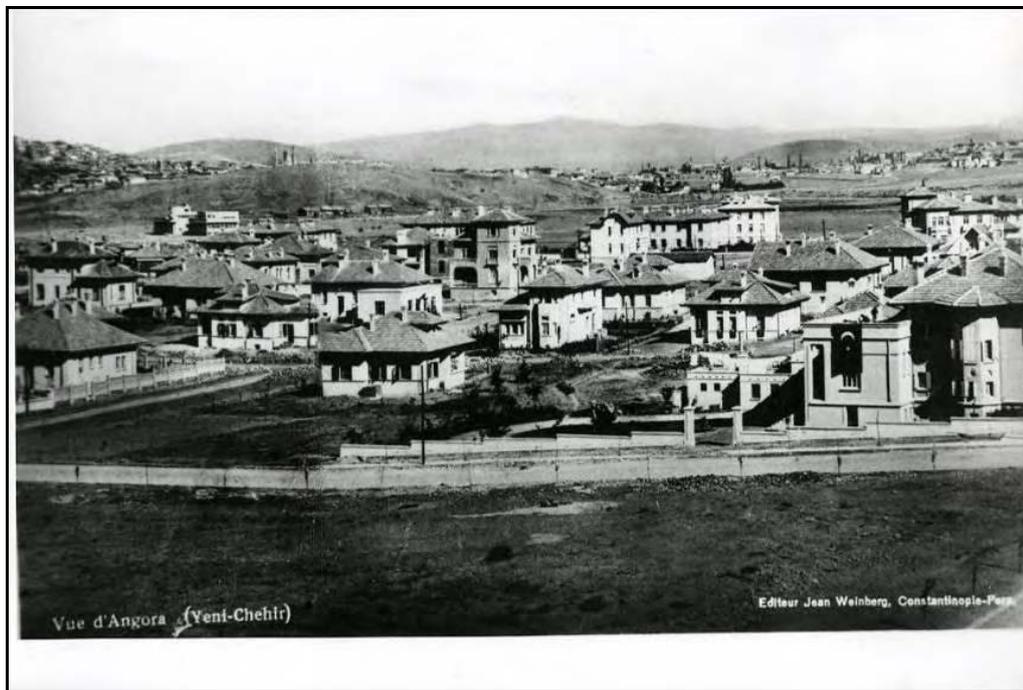
**Figure 3.5:** Old City in 1930s (VEKAM Archive).

The information in Table 3.3 is detailed in Table 3.4. When the housing types are considered, the rate of 72% of the total single houses was in the Old City (Table 3.2) and 17% was in the Vineyards (Bağlar) (Table 3.3), which can be assumed to be the old traditional houses; 5% was in Yenişehir (Table 3.3) and 6% was in Cebeci, which were modern single garden-houses.



**Figure 3.6:** View from a Vineyard settlement in 1930s (VEKAM Archive)

On the other hand, though apartment buildings -as the new type of housing- constituting only 1,6% of total residential stock being built in the Old City, 52% of the total number of apartment buildings in Ankara was located in the Old City, 44% was in Yenışehir and 3% was in Cebeci. 74% of total accommodation facilities of the city, including pansiones, hotels, accommodational *hans* and bachelor rooms, were located in the Old City, 17% was the Vineyards, 6% was in Yenışehir and 4% was in Cebeci. Besides, 88% of the total problematic new barrack type of housing was built in the Old City, 8% was in Vineyards and 2% each were in Yenışehir and Cebeci.



**Figure 3.7:** Yenışehir in 1930s (VEKAM Archive).

In his plan report, Jansen -supporting the single houses more, those recalling the traditional houses of Ankara- criticised the multi-storey apartment building type of housing, which started occurring in the early years of new Republic. On the other hand, Ankara having an apartment building stock till then, he proposed a compromise through a mixture of apartment buildings and single houses, depending on certain planning conditions, as he further defined in his plan report.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> Jansen, 1937: 12-13.

**Table 3.4:** Distribution of different types of buildings in different districts of Ankara in 1935 (Başvekalet İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü (State Statistical Institute), İstatistik Yıllığı, 1935-36, c. 8; Şenyapılı, 2004: 280).

		Old City	Yenişehir (New City)	Cebeci	Bağlar (Vineyards)	Total
HOUSING	Single house	11.402	838	943	2.696	<b>15.879</b>
	Apartment Bldg.	182	156	12	1	<b>351</b>
	Pansion	9	1	1	1	<b>12</b>
	Hotel	40	1	-	-	<b>41</b>
	Han	31	-	-	6	<b>37</b>
	Bachelor rooms	72	11	7	25	<b>115</b>
	Barrack	822	23	17	75	<b>937</b>
	<b>Total</b>	<b>12.558</b>	<b>1.030</b>	<b>980</b>	<b>2.804</b>	<b>17.372</b>
WORKPLACES	Shop	2.447	116	57	74	<b>2.694</b>
	Han	9	-	-	-	<b>9</b>
	Factory and mill	33	6	4	26	<b>69</b>
	Turkish Bath	8	-	-	-	<b>8</b>
	Bakehouse	41	-	3	5	<b>49</b>
	Garage	59	70	3	37	<b>169</b>
	Barn	338	2	27	319	<b>686</b>
	Storage	511	18	9	101	<b>639</b>
	Other	38	2	-	10	<b>50</b>
	<b>Total</b>	<b>3.484</b>	<b>214</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>572</b>	<b>4.373</b>
GOVERNMENTAL	School	42	7	12	10	<b>71</b>
	Barracks	-	-	-	1	<b>1</b>
	Adm. bldgs.	422	100	29	406	<b>957</b>
	Hospital	13	1	16	1	<b>31</b>
	Mosque, masjid	81	-	-	10	<b>91</b>
	Church	1	-	-	1	<b>2</b>
	Synagogue	2	-	-	-	<b>2</b>
	Cinema-Theater	7	1	-	-	<b>8</b>
	Other	139	8	28	23	<b>198</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>568</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>429</b>	<b>1.163</b>	
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>		<b>16.610</b>	<b>1.353</b>	<b>1.140</b>	<b>3.805</b>	<b>22.908</b>



**Figure 3.8:** (left) 1<sup>st</sup> Foundation Apartment Building (I. Vakıf Apartmanı) or Hotel Belvü Palas (1925-27) (Sağdıç, 1994: 81)

**Figure 3.9:** (right) Rental Apartment Building of Child Protection Institution (Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu, Kira Apartmanı) on Çocuk Sarayı Avenue (Aslanoğlu, 2001: 384).

The first apartment buildings were built by the government, which was 1<sup>st</sup> Foundation Apartment Building (Figure 3.8) by General Directorate of Foundations (Vakıflar Başmüdürlüğü) and Rental Apartment Building of Child Protection Institution (Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu Kira Apartmanı) (Figure 3.9) by Child Protection Institution (Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu). On the other hand, the first planned residential area with two and three storied houses was again a governmental investment and was built around Yenışehir. On the other hand, the apartment buildings, mostly constructed around Ulus, were the individual investments. In a market lacking construction material, their costs were high and speculative. Till 1954, ownership law by apartment was legislated and living in apartment building became prestigious.<sup>141</sup>

Depending on the statistical data about number of rooms in the houses and the sanitary conditions of the houses in different districts of Ankara, Şenyapılı mentions that the houses in the Old City and Vineyards had one and two rooms, when Cebeci houses had two and three, and Yenışehir houses had three and four rooms (Table B.2 in Appendices). On the other hand, 90-94% of the houses in Old City, Cebeci and Vineyards did not have tap water, but 89% of Yenışehir houses had tap water<sup>142</sup> (Table B.3 in Appendices).

<sup>141</sup> Nalbantoğlu, 2000: 254.

<sup>142</sup> Şenyapılı, 2007: 85-86.

Apart from the permanent and temporary housing dominance of the Old City in Ankara, the Old City was still the commercial center of the city having 91% of the total shops and 100% of the commercial *hans*. On the other hand, the Old City keeping 80% of Ankara's total workplaces, 70% of them was the shops and 15% was the storage spaces, 10% was barns and 5% was other working facilities.

The administrative buildings constituted 74% of the total governmental buildings. On the other hand, Old city with 44% and Vineyards with 42% shared these buildings almost equally. In 1935, the newly developing Yenisehir comprised 10% and Cebeci comprised 4% of the total administrative buildings.

### 3.1.2.1. About Urban Fabric

Depending on the analysis of urban fabric in 1930s in Figure 3.11, the urban blocks of the historic city were mostly composed of built-up areas, except the steep areas which were inappropriate for construction at the east side of the Citadel (although divided into large parcels with few streets) (1) and the vacant fire areas (2) again around the Citadel.

Apart from these areas, other large vacant areas, that were non-functional areas, like the fire area, unbuilt areas and swamp areas, were located along *Bentderesi* Stream on the north side of the historic city, which were the areas around *Yeni Hayat* Quarter (3), around *Ulucanlar* Quarter (4) and the east side of *İsmet Pasha* Quarter (5).

Besides these, the large open areas on the west side of *İsmet Pasha* Quarter at the north, comprising of the archaeological site of Roman Bath<sup>143</sup>, including the

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<sup>143</sup> After the construction of the Temple of Augustus and the Theatre during Augustus Period, the world's second largest Roman Bath Complex around a large physical education and wrestling courtyard ('Palaestra') with a Gymnasium was constructed during Caracalla period (212-217 AD) of the monumental Roman Era. It was used intensively during 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries, and left unused during 7<sup>th</sup> century of Herakleios period (610-641 AD). During Byzantine Period, the complex was restored and reused, but departed again in 9<sup>th</sup> century causing the change of the area into a graveyard (Aydın et al., 2005: 90-93) (See A.1,2,3 and 4). According to the sources of T.R. Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the archaeological remainings in this area were first noticed in 1931 during the urban development studies along Çankırı Avenue and the first excavations were realized between 1938 and 1943. The area, which is a tumulus, is comprised of Phrigian, Roman, Byzantine, Seljukian

gardening area (6), Youth Park (*Gençlik Parkı*) (7), planned as the well-known recreational area at the west side of the historic city can be read.

Apart from these areas, there were areas under construction with partial vacant areas around *Necatibey Quarter* (8), *İsmet Pasha Quarter* (9) and *İtfaiye Square* and its environs (10) were new areas in the historic city.



**Figure 3.10:** A part of the area destroyed by the fire on the western slopes of the Citadel in 1931 in the process of redevelopment (VEKAM Archive).

Other open spaces in the urban fabric were Nation Garden (*Millet Bahçesi*), *Tabakhane Square*, *Hamamönü Square*, *Vilayet Square* and *Koyun Pazarı Square*.

Morphologically, the urban areas that were dated to earlier periods had a clear organic character with smaller size urban blocks. On the other hand, new settlement areas like *Necatibey Quarter* (8), *İsmet Pasha Quarter* (9), *İtfaiye Square* and its environs (10), and *Gündoğdu Quarter* (11) were composed of small-size geometric form urban blocks either grid-iron, or triangular shaped, still small sized in harmony with the existing historic pattern. *Boşnak* (Bosnian) or *Sakarya Quarter* (12) with its grid-iron urban pattern was an earlier example different than the others, which is necessary to mention.

In contrast to the above mentioned urban blocks, the urban blocks at the south and west side of the historic city center (13), having large geometric forms, appear

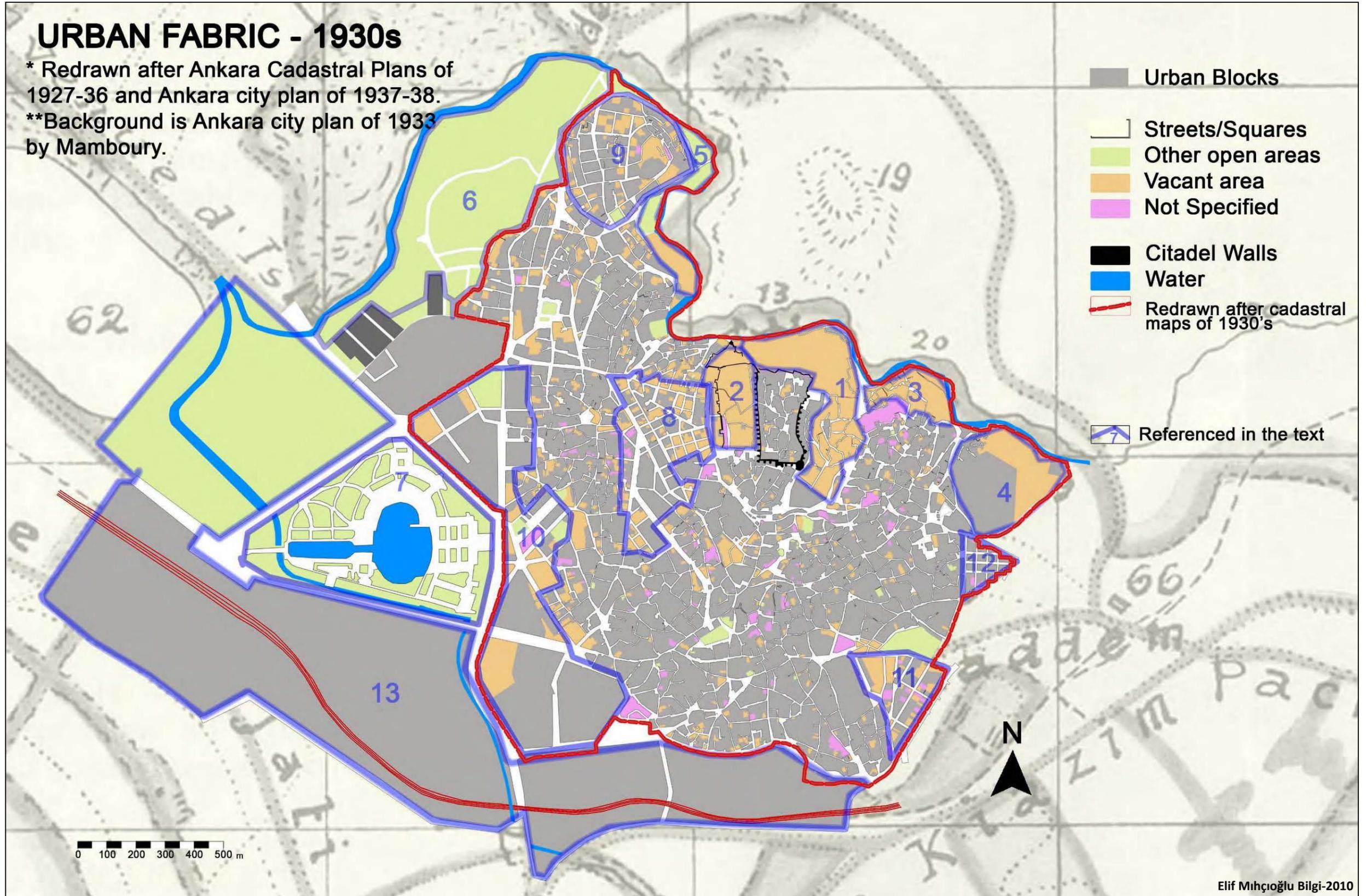
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and Ottoman period buildings. Today, there are only a few remainings of monumental architecture left in Ankara from the Roman Period.

completely different than the others. These urban blocks planned and developed on the former cemetery, swamp and gardening lands surrounding the historic city, carry completely different morphological features, resembling to the New City.

# URBAN FABRIC - 1930s

\* Redrawn after Ankara Cadastral Plans of 1927-36 and Ankara city plan of 1937-38.  
 \*\*Background is Ankara city plan of 1933 by Mamboury.



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Figure 3.11: Urban Fabric Character in 1930s.

As mentioned for the whole city of Ankara in section 3.1.2, there were two types of houses in the Old City in this period. One of them was the two or three storeyed traditional houses, mostly with mudbrick or stone masonry at ground floors and timber structure at upper floors. The other type was the new multi-storey apartment blocks. On the other hand, many new public buildings were built within the Old City.



**Figure 3.12:** New Buildings built after early 1930s on Balıkpazarı Avenue (National Library Archive)

As a part of the urban fabric qualities, the architectural characteristics of these new buildings in the period between 1924 and 1930s can be examined in two periods; the period before early 1930s and the period between 1930 and 1940. In the first period of economic shortages for the new Republic, the buildings -which were not mostly designed by architects, but shaped under the initiative of the owner, master builder and the construction workers-, still reflected the current influence of 'First National Architectural Style'. This style, starting from late 19<sup>th</sup> century till early 1930s and pioneered by the famous Architect Kemalettin and Architect Vedat,

carried the major characteristics of the symbolic decorative use of historical elements especially on the façades of the new multi-storey buildings.<sup>144</sup>

This style, nourished by the ideology of Turkism, focused on reviving old forms of Ottoman architecture. The masonry or reinforced concrete skeletal buildings were built with stone at the ground or basement floors and with brick at the upper floors. They had a symmetrical shaping of masses, embellished façades with Seljukid and Ottoman architectural and decorative elements, especially of religious buildings. The false domes were the results of this formalistic understanding<sup>145</sup>. Apart from the richly decorated façade qualities, the plans were not refined or developed enough. There was one flat at each floor in a building. The service spaces were gathered around the air shaft and same size rooms were opened to a corridor. The distinction of a bedroom from a living room was mostly not made. First National Architectural Style was given up in early 1930s, as it required too much time and money, as well as the changes of the mentality<sup>146</sup> (Figure 3.8).



**Figure 3.13:** Ankara Palas (1924-28) built by Architect Kemalettin, an example of a governmental building with First National Architectural Style (VEKAM Archive).

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<sup>144</sup> Nalbantoğlu, 2000: 255.

<sup>145</sup> Aslanoğlu, 2001: 8.

<sup>146</sup> Nalbantoğlu, 2000: 255.

In the following period after early 1930s, there were two different trends realized by two different groups of architects; foreign (mostly of German origin) and Turkish. Foreign architects adopted either the international, functional-rational, or the formalistic and monumental neo-classical style in their works. They both practiced and taught architecture at the universities. On the other hand, Turkish architects, also being affected by the above-mentioned styles, tried to find a 'local, yet modern' original style. The 'International Functional-Rational Approach' practiced by the Turkish architects gave successful examples of 'cubic architecture'. The style was mostly purist, cubist, with emphasis on purification, refusing any decoration. There was the organic relationship of form and function, asymmetric arrangement of cubic masses, flat roof, large glass surfaces, ribbon, corner and round windows, grey edelputz covered surfaces, continuous sills, etc., with reinforced concrete skeletal frame and a bold use of concrete.<sup>147</sup>

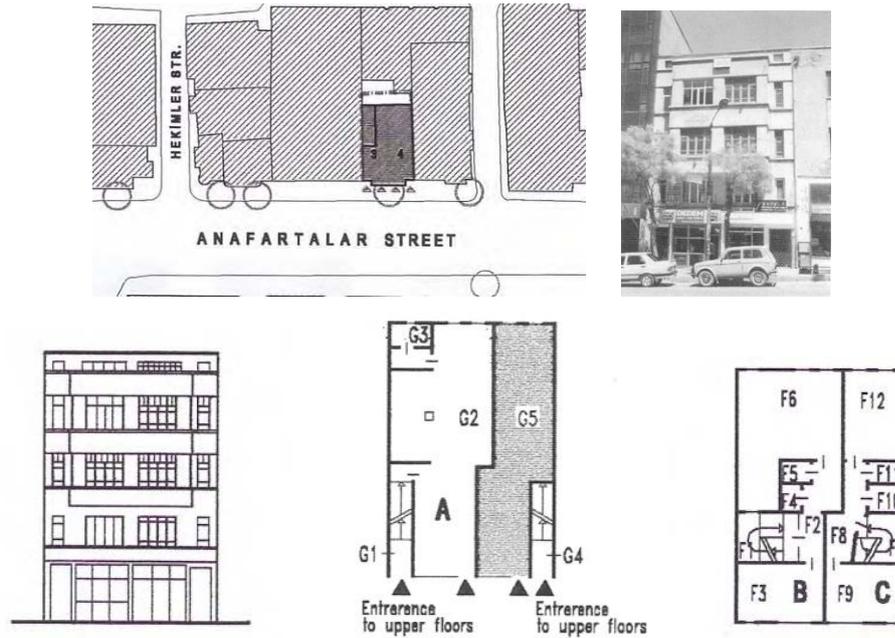
There was more than one flat at each floor having smaller sizes. Apart from this, plan types were not different for the service spaces, but the distinction of rooms was started to be handled for different uses in the apartment buildings<sup>148</sup> (Figure 3.15).



**Figure 3.14:** Sumerbank Building (1937-38) on the side of Ulus Square by Martin Elsaesser in International Style (Sağdıç, 1994: 59)

<sup>147</sup> Aslanoğlu, 2001: 9-10.

<sup>148</sup> Nalbantoğlu, 2000: 258.



**Figure 3.15:** An exemplary residential building from Balıkpazarı Avenue (today's Anafartalar Anevue) from 1930s (Kefu, 2001: 134).

Another approach imported to Turkey by foreign architects, was the 'Monumental Neo-classical Style' that emerged as a result of the national movements in the western countries. The style had architectural characteristics such as; symmetry, dominating scale, monumental entrances with stairs and high colonnades and the extensive use of stone, especially used in governmental administrative buildings. This style was used also by some Turkish architects in some public buildings.<sup>149</sup>

The construction industry was still deficient and under pressure due to the effects of World Economic Depression and rapidly increasing population, as well as the problems of the newly developing material industry<sup>150</sup>.

<sup>149</sup> Aslanoğlu, 2001: 9-10.

<sup>150</sup> Nalbantoğlu, 2000: 258



**Figure 3.16:** Central Bank (1931-33) on Bankalar Avenue by German Architect Clemens Holzmeister, as an example for Monumental Neo-Classical Style (wowturkey.com)

Starting from early 1930s, Second National Movement started to be shaped under the effect of raising nationalism in Turkey, parallel to Europe, and as a reaction to the domination of foreign architects till late 1920s. The movement which was in effect after 1932, there was a clear intent to bring a ‘modern and Turkish’ style, especially for the civil architecture. Architect Sedad Hakkı Eldem’s studies and promising attempts were based on traditional Turkish house. Despite positive efforts of research and documentation of Turkish Civil Architecture, the style gave more refined results, but still remained formalist and historicist.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Aslanođlu, 2001: 69-72.

### ***Change of Urban Fabric in the Historic City from 1924 to 1930s:***

In general, in this period, the urban area can be said to be in the process of growth beyond the earlier borders of the city. The change of urban fabric character from 1924 to 1930s is analyzed with respect to the transformation of urban blocks and open areas<sup>152</sup> in Figure 3.18.

Through this analysis, it is found out that;

- The former fire area was the most comprehensively changed part in the historic city. Both sides of *Balıkpazarı* Avenue and the periphery of *Doğanbey* Quarter, as well as both sides of the north part of *Bahriye* Avenue on the west side of the Citadel, all blasted by the fire in 1916, were planned and redeveloped (1).
- On the other hand, it can be clearly read from the analysis above that a considerable neighboring area (2) was also included in the development areas. Thus, not only the area destroyed by the fire, but its close environment was included in this plan, bringing a totally different urban fabric character, named as *Necatibey* Quarter.
- On the other hand, the fire area at *Hisarönü* on the west of the Citadel was rearranged as *Hisarönü* Park, as part of the 'Protocol Area' of Jansen Plan (3).
- The north corner of the historic city was newly developed and named as *İsmet Pasha* Quarter (4).
- The 'vacant' (fire area, unbuilt areas and swamp areas) or 'other open areas' (functional open areas that were used as cemetery, agricultural and gardening lands) around the historic city in 1924 were urbanized and transformed into urban blocks having geometric forms; using angular, radial or grid-iron forms, unlike the previous organic urban fabric. The 'vacant' and 'other open areas' transformed into urban blocks can be exemplified with *Ulucanlar* Prison (5), *Gündoğdu* Quarter (6), *Rüzgarlı* Street and its environs (9).

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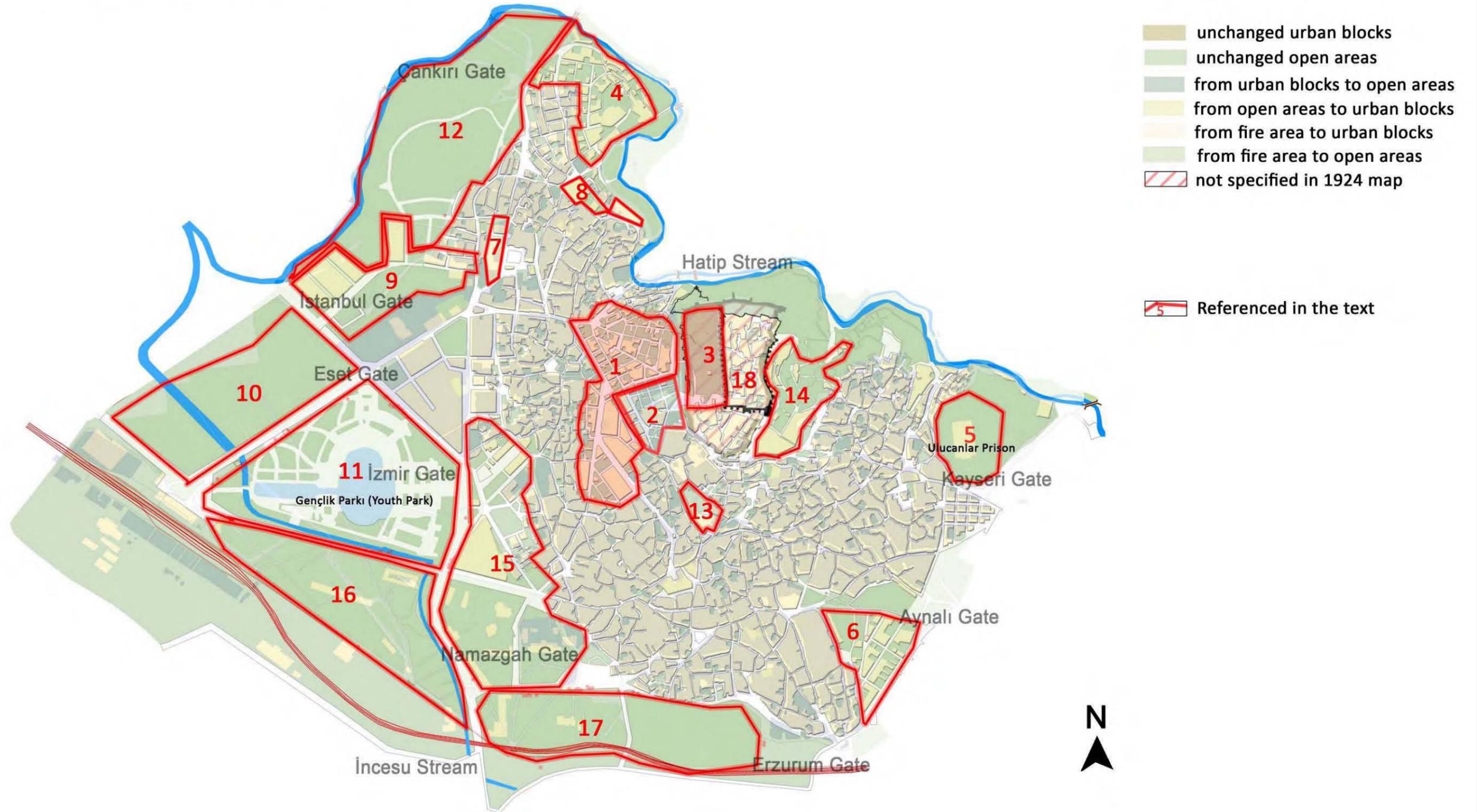
<sup>152</sup> It is necessary to explain that the 'open areas' exclude streets and squares, but include 'other open areas' (functional open areas that were used as cemetery areas, agricultural and gardening lands) and 'vacant' areas (fire area, unbuilt areas and swamp areas).

- The existing urban blocks became denser on the west side of Government Square (*Hükümet or Vilayet Meydanı*) (7) and at the south of *İsmet Pasha* Quarter (8).
- Three large open areas were transformed into planned recreational green areas; like Stadium Area (10) and Youth Park (*Gençlik Parkı*) (11) and *Küçük Bahçeler* Quarter (12).

The internal open space on *Çıkırıkçılar* Avenue was transformed into urban blocks partially (13).

- There also occurred a limited amount of new urban blocks at the eastern slope of the Citadel, though inappropriate for construction, leaning on the Citadel wall, but left vacant on the highly sloped, rocky area on the north side of the Citadel (14).
- *İtfaiye* Square was newly created with a radial form and *Sıhhiye* Quarter (the part included in the study area) completely changed to reshape the connection with the new city through *Bankalar* Avenue (later Atatürk Boulevard) (15).
- 'Other open areas' transformed into urban blocks were at the south-west of the historic city, which had a low density urban fabric character with scattered public buildings (16 and 17).
- The Citadel Area, that was not included or not specified in 1924 *Şehremaneti* Map, was shown in the cadastral maps with its original urban fabric (18).

### Change of Urban Fabric from 1924 to 1930s



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Figure 3.17: Change of Urban Fabric from 1924 to 1930s<sup>34</sup>.

### 3.1.2.2. Urban Circulation Network in 1930s

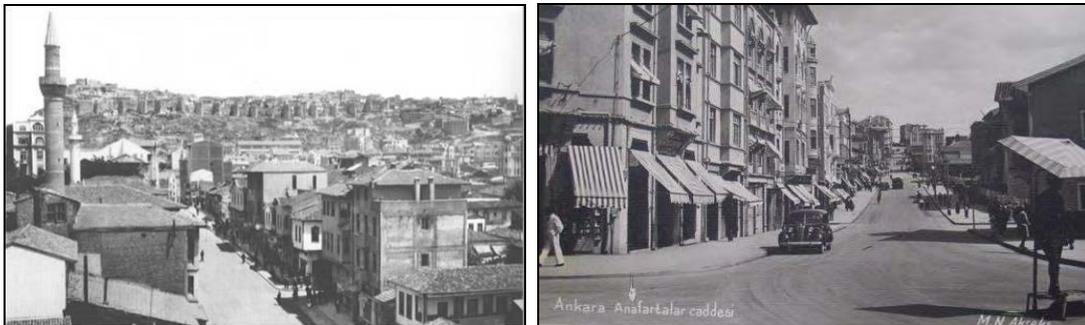
It can be observed that, in 1930s, the circulation arteries of the city extended in all directions, but mostly towards south to connect the historic core with *Sıhhiye*, *Yenişehir*, *Kızılay* and *Küçükcesat*, towards *Çankaya* Quarters (Figure 3.1).

Urban circulation pattern of Ankara according to 1930s map is shown in Figure 3.35. Former *Bankalar* Avenue (1a) was connected to the new city by *Cumhuriyet* Avenue (today's Atatürk Boulevard) (1b) with new interventions in this part of the historic city.



**Figure 3.18:** (left) View from Bankalar and Cumhuriyet Avenues towards New City,  
**Figure 3.19:** (right) The same avenue from the New City side (1a) (both from National Library Archive).

*Karaoğlan* Avenue (partially today's *Anafartalar* Avenue from *Ulus* Square towards the Citadel) (2), a major commercial axis in this period, was starting at *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* Square where the Atatürk Statue was located and directed towards the Citadel, but was forked first at *Balıkpazarı* Avenue (3a), then at *Tabakhane* Bridge Avenue (7).



**Figure 3.20:** (left) *Karaoğlan* Avenue (2a)  
**Figure 3.21:** (right) *Balıkpazarı* Avenue in 1930s (3a) (both from National Library Archive).

Today's Anafartalar Avenue, starting from the intersection with Karaođlan Avenue (2) to Samanpazarı Square (f), was composed of four different short avenues as of; Şehremenati (3a), Balıkpazarı (3b), Çocuk Sarayı Avenues (3c) and Kurşunlu Mosque Avenues (3d).



**Figure 3.22:** (left) Çocuk Sarayı Avenue (3c) (National Library Archive)

**Figure 3.23:** (right) Çıkırıçılar Avenue (3e) in 1930s (VEKAM Archive).

Parallel to the urban development in general, the urban circulation at the periphery of the Old City was changed or revized, becoming stronger, to connect with the New City around Bankalar, Cumhuriyet Avenues towards Çankaya Avenue (1b); İstasyon Avenue (1c) and around Train Station (1e).



**Figure 3.24:** (left) View from Çankaya Avenue towards Bankalar and Cumhuriyet Avenue and the Old City around Exhibition Hall (1b) (National Library Archive)

**Figure 3.25:** (right) The road in front of Train Station buildings (1e) (National Library Archive).



**Figure 3.26:**(left) İstasyon Avenue from Turkish Court of Accounts (Sayıştay) (National Library Archive)

**Figure 3.27:** (right)Ankara Palas towards Train Station and same avenue from the Train Station in early 1930s (1c) (Sağdıç, 1994: 27).



**Figure 3.28: (left)** Hacı Bayram Avenue (6a) in 1930s



**Figure 3.29:** (right) Çankırı Avenue (4) towards Hakimiyet-i Milliye (Ulus) Square in 1930s (Sağdıç, 1994: 85)

The squares included in this analysis are categorized as ‘primary squares’ and ‘secondary squares’ depending on their physical qualities, location and information coming from the written and visual sources. The primary squares were commonly used open spaces in the historic city, mostly larger in size. In addition to this, the names of these squares were specifically mentioned on the cadastral plans of 1930s. Whereas secondary squares were mostly smaller in size, simply mentioned as ‘square’ or ‘fountain square’ (*Çeşme Meydanı*) without any specific name again on the source plans. These squares were enlarged open common spaces, sometimes next to a mosque, mostly having a fountain or a recreational green area inside.



**Figure 3.30:** (left) Hakimiyet-i Milliye (Ulus) Square (b) in late 1920s (VEKAM Archive)  
**Figure 3.31:** (right) Government Square (*Hükümet or Vilayet Meydanı*) in 1930s (Sağdıç, 1994: 87).



**Figure 3.32:** (left) İtfaiye Square (d) in 1930s (Sağdıç, 1994:153)  
**Figure 3.33:** (right) Samanpazarı Square (f) in late 1920s (VEKAM Archive).

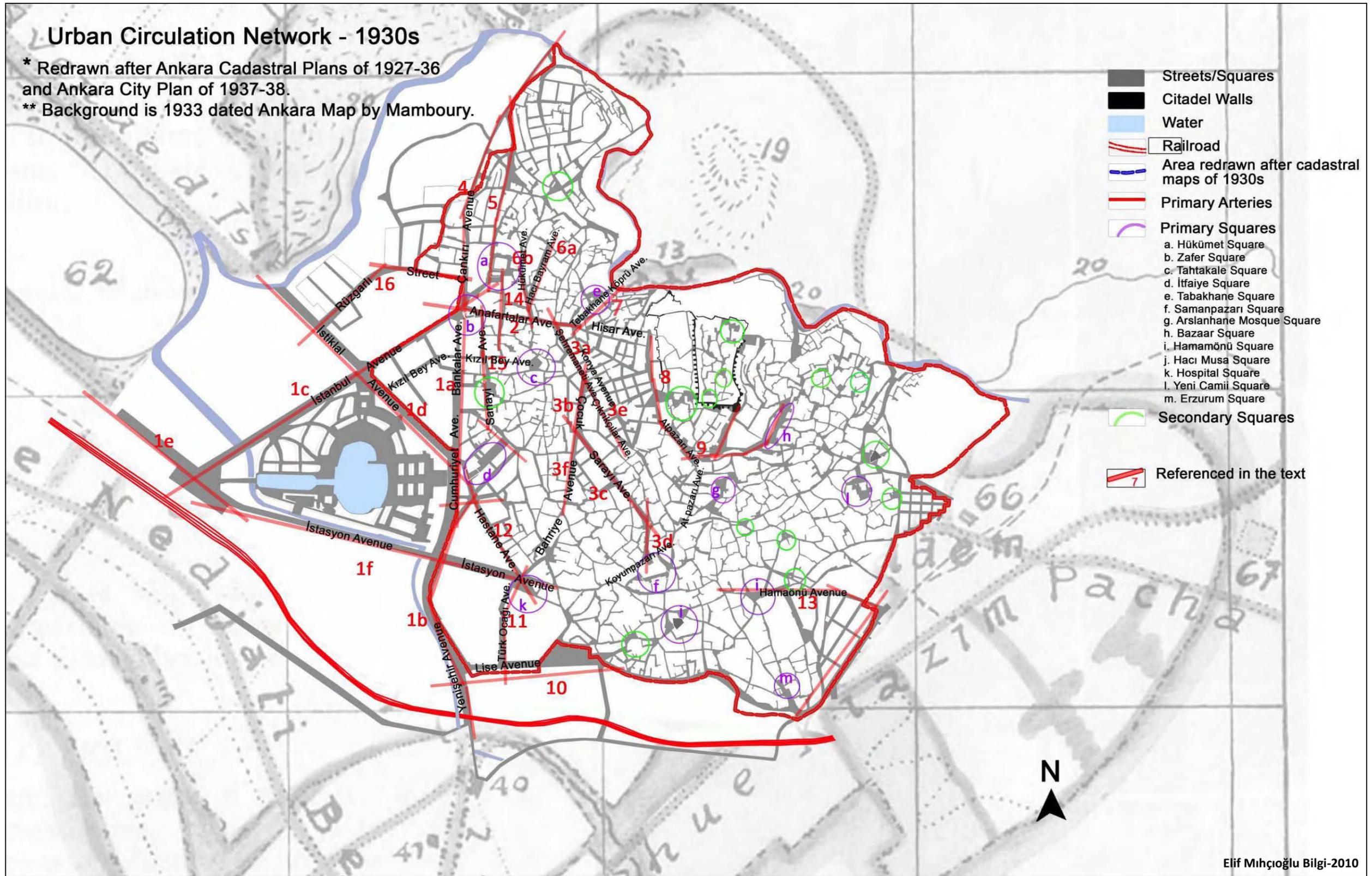


Figure 3.34: Urban Circulation Network in 1930s.

Continuities and Change of Urban Circulation Pattern in the Historic City from 1924 to 1930s:

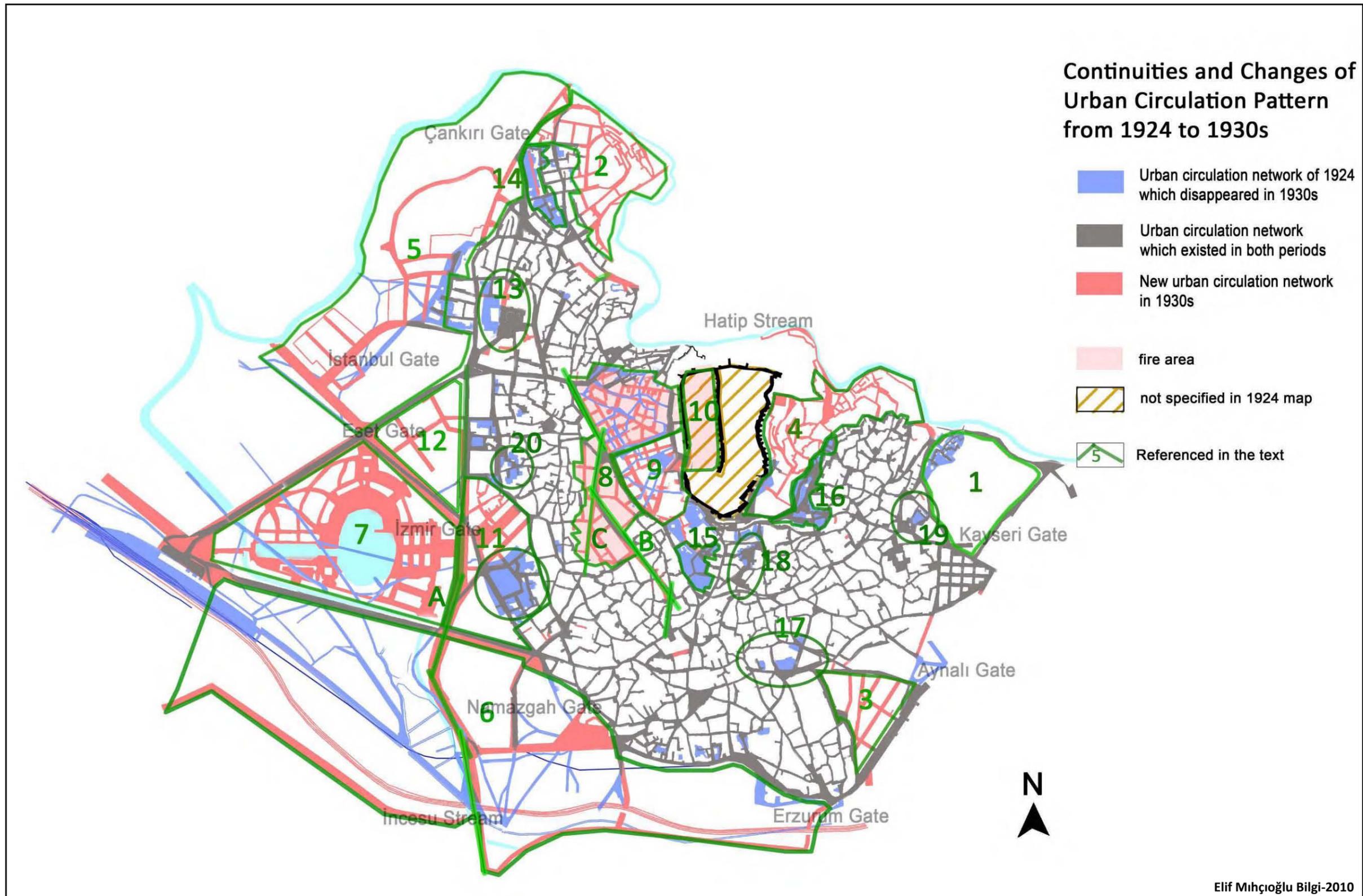
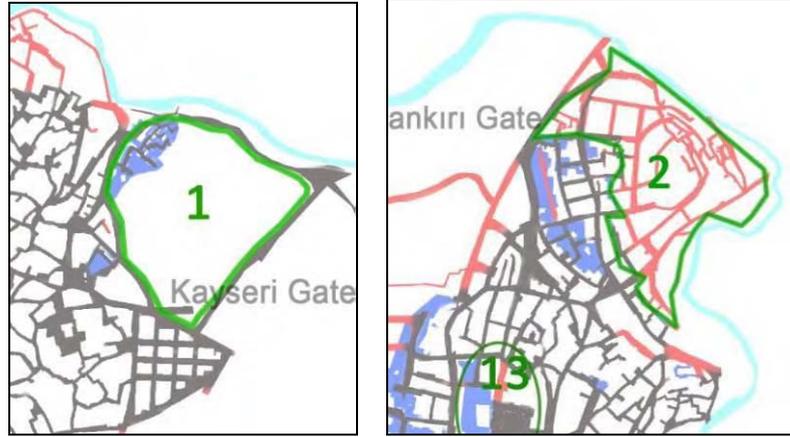


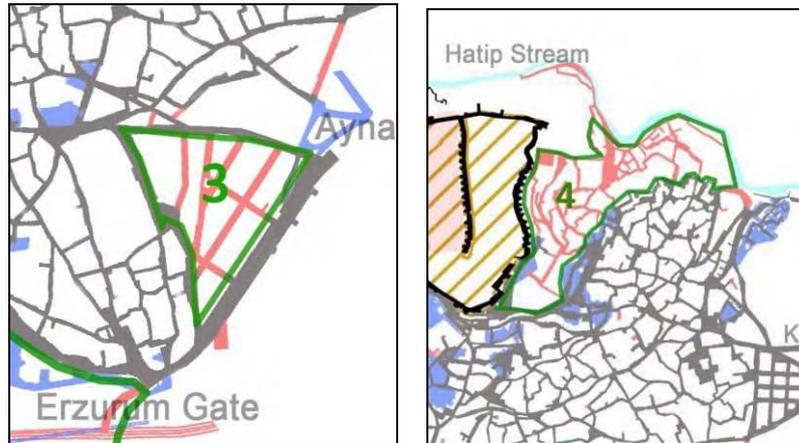
Figure 3.35: Change of Urban Circulation Network from 1924 to 1930s.

The historic city of Ankara was a whole in 1924, whereas it became only a part of the whole in 1930s due to an accelerating growth towards south. Yet, the historic city was kept as the administrative and commercial center, adapting itself to the new circumstances.



**Figure 3.36:** (left) Change of *Ulucanlar* Prison Area (1).

**Figure 3.37:** (right) Change of *İsmet Pasha* Quarter (2).



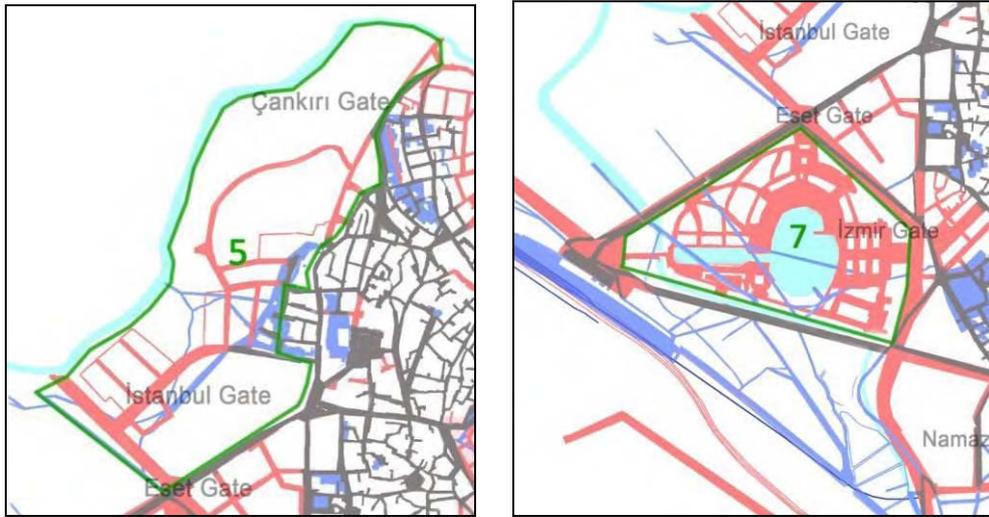
**Figure 3.38:** (left) Change of *Gündoğdu* Quarter (3).

**Figure 3.39:** (right) Change of *Gündoğdu* Quarter (4).

(According to Figure 3.36), one of the basic changes from 1924 to 1930s was the extension of the total circulation network of the city, due to the transformation of some agricultural lands, cemeteries, or swamp areas to newly urbanized areas; as in the areas of *Şükriye* Quarter, including *Ulucanlar* Prison Area (1), *İsmet Pasha* Quarter (2), *Gündoğdu* Quarter (3), around *Yeni Hayat* Quarter at the east of the Citadel (4), *Küçük Bahçeler* Area (5), *Numune* Hospital and its environs, *Hacettepe* Quarter, Railway Station and its environs (6) and Youth Park (*Gençlik Parkı*) (7).

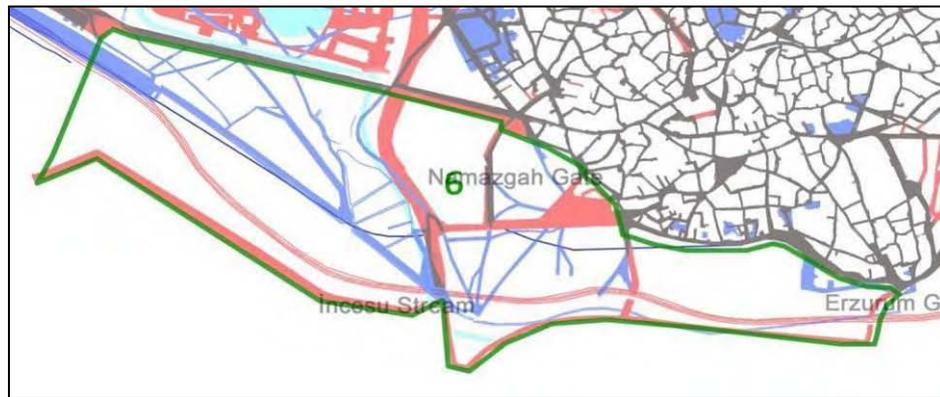
Youth Park (*Gençlik Parkı*) was an important development which transformed the surrounding circulation pattern and introduced a new concept of a large internal pedestrian circulation zone in Ankara.

On the north, the inner streets on two sides of *İstanbul Avenue*, like *Rüzgarlı Street*, were developed at an area where governmental buildings (like the Early National Assembly buildings, *Ankara Palas*, etc.) were located. This area also included the large green area of *Küçük Bahçeler Area*, which was also newly created in 1930s (5).



**Figure 3.40:** (left) Change of Küçük Bahçeler Area (5).

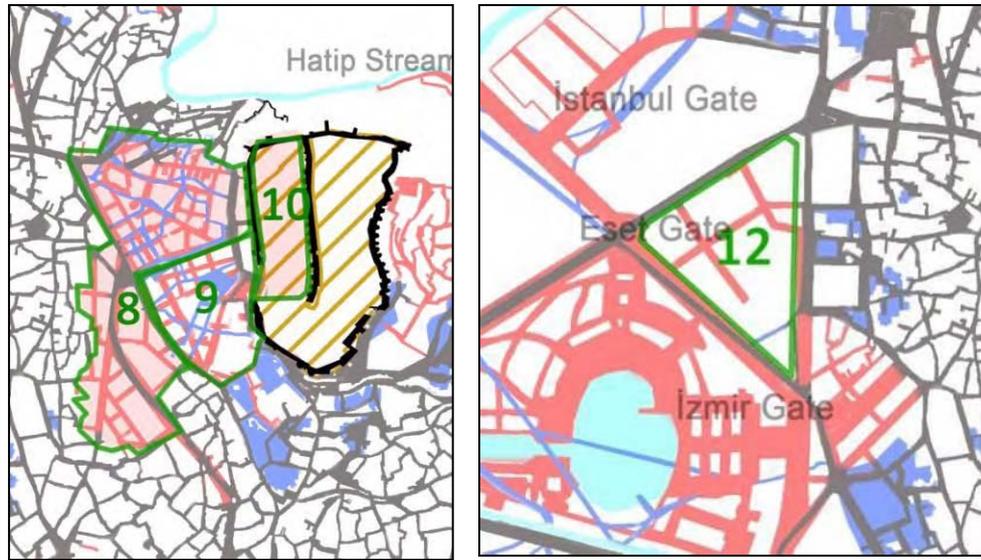
**Figure 3.41:** (right) Change of Youth Park (*Gençlik Parkı*) (7).



**Figure 3.42:** Change of Numune Hospital and its environs, Hacettepe Quarter, Railway Station and its environs (6).

From the very beginning of the Early Republican period, the city not only expanded in all directions towards east, west and especially south, but was also densified and transformed inside. The changes of urban circulation pattern between 1924 and

1930s are clearer when compared to the changes of the previous periods that is 1839 and 1924. These changes are as follows;



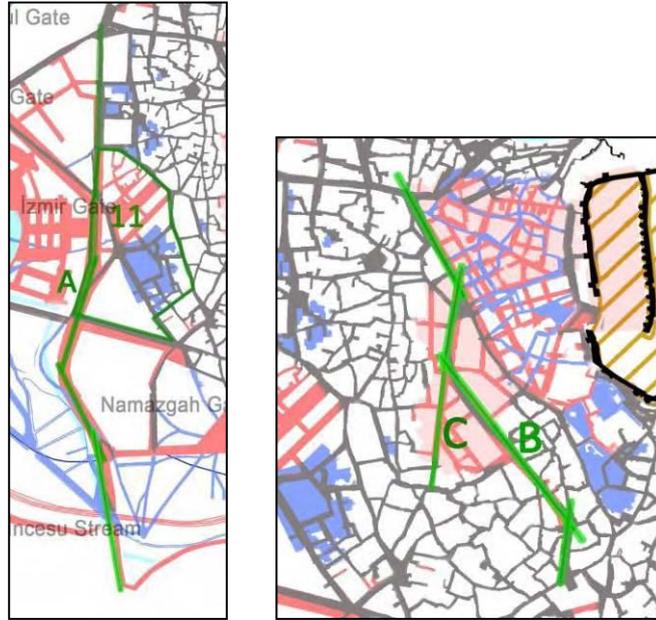
**Figure 3.43:** (left) Change of the fire area and environs (8, 9 and 10)

**Figure 3.44:** (right) Change of Ankara Palas and environs (12).

On the fire area which was completely destroyed as seen in 1924 map, a completely new area named '*Necatibey Quarter*' with a geometrical urban circulation pattern was developed in 1930s (8 in Figure 3.42). A rather not mentioned transformed area in the previous written sources occurs as *Şenyurt Quarter*, the neighboring area of *Necatibey Quarter* from south. When a clear, organic urban circulation pattern was legible in 1924 map, there occurred a geometric, partially grid-iron pattern similar to *Necatibey Quarter* in 1930s, although it was outside the fire area (9).

On the other hand, *Hisarönü* area, which was said to be destroyed with the fire of 1916 by the written sources, but not specified in the map of 1924, was left as an open area, and rearranged as a recreational park with a loose urban circulation network as a counter example to many densified urban blocks through increasing built up areas (10).

The large building block, where Ankara Palas was located, was divided into few pieces by the new internal streets (12).



**Figure 3.45:** (left) Change of Yenice Quarter (11) and Cumhuriyet Avenue (Axis A), **Figure 3.46:** (right) Change of Çocuk Sarayı Avenue (Axis B), Denizciler Avenue (Axis D).

Another clear transformation area was the area around *Yenice* Quarter between the Old İzmir Gate and Namazgah Gate. The necessity connecting the Old City with the New City, through linking *Bankalar* (or former *Darülmüallimin*) Avenue (with its name around *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* Square) with the newly created *Cumhuriyet* Avenue which was today's major artery of Atatürk Boulevard (A) and was an important component shaping *Yenice* Quarter. The area which used to be an open space located inside *İzmir* Gate in 1924 was transformed completely. The pre-existing vacant area on the north of *İtfaiye* Square was transformed into urban blocks and consequently a geometric (rectangular and triangular) urban circulation pattern appeared at the south of this central radial node (11).

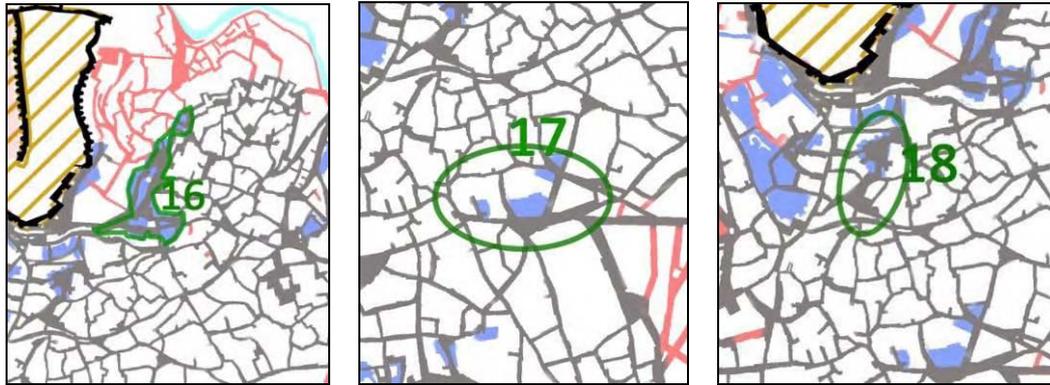
Former *Çocuk Sarayı* (today's *Anafartalar*) Avenue (B) was straightened -changing its slightly curved previous form- and was widened as the principal axis of the historical city center.

The northern part of *Bahriye* Avenue (C), which became undefined due to the big fire, was created again, as a continuation to the principal axis of former *Şehremaneti* Avenue *Çocuk Sarayı* Avenues.

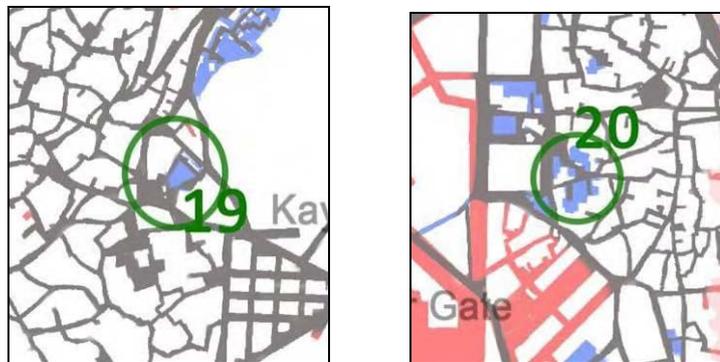


**Figure 3.47:** (left) Change of *Hükümet* Square (13).  
**Figure 3.48:** (middle) Change of *Köprübaşı* Quarter (14).  
**Figure 3.49:** (right) Change of *Koyun Pazarı* Quarter (15).

Parallel to the densification of the urban fabric, the urban circulation pattern was tightened consequently. As a result, some of the existing squares and open spaces became smaller in size from 1924 to 1930s as in *Yenice* Quarter (11), *Government Square (Hükümet or Vilayet Meydanı)* (13), *Yalçinkaya* Quarter (16), *Hamamönü* Square (17), the open space in front of *Aslanhane* Mosque (18), the square next to *Ulucanlar* Prison (19) and the square on *Sanayi* Avenue in *Doğanbey* Quarter (20).



**Figure 3.50:** (left) Change *Yalçinkaya* Quarter (16).  
**Figure 3.51:** (middle) Change of *Hamamönü* Square (17).  
**Figure 3.52:** (right) Change of *Aslanhane* Mosque (18).



**Figure 3.53:** (left) Change of *Aslanhane* Mosque Square (19).  
**Figure 3.54:** (right) Change of *Doğanbey* Quarter (20).

3.1.2.3. Land Use Pattern of the Historic City in 1930's

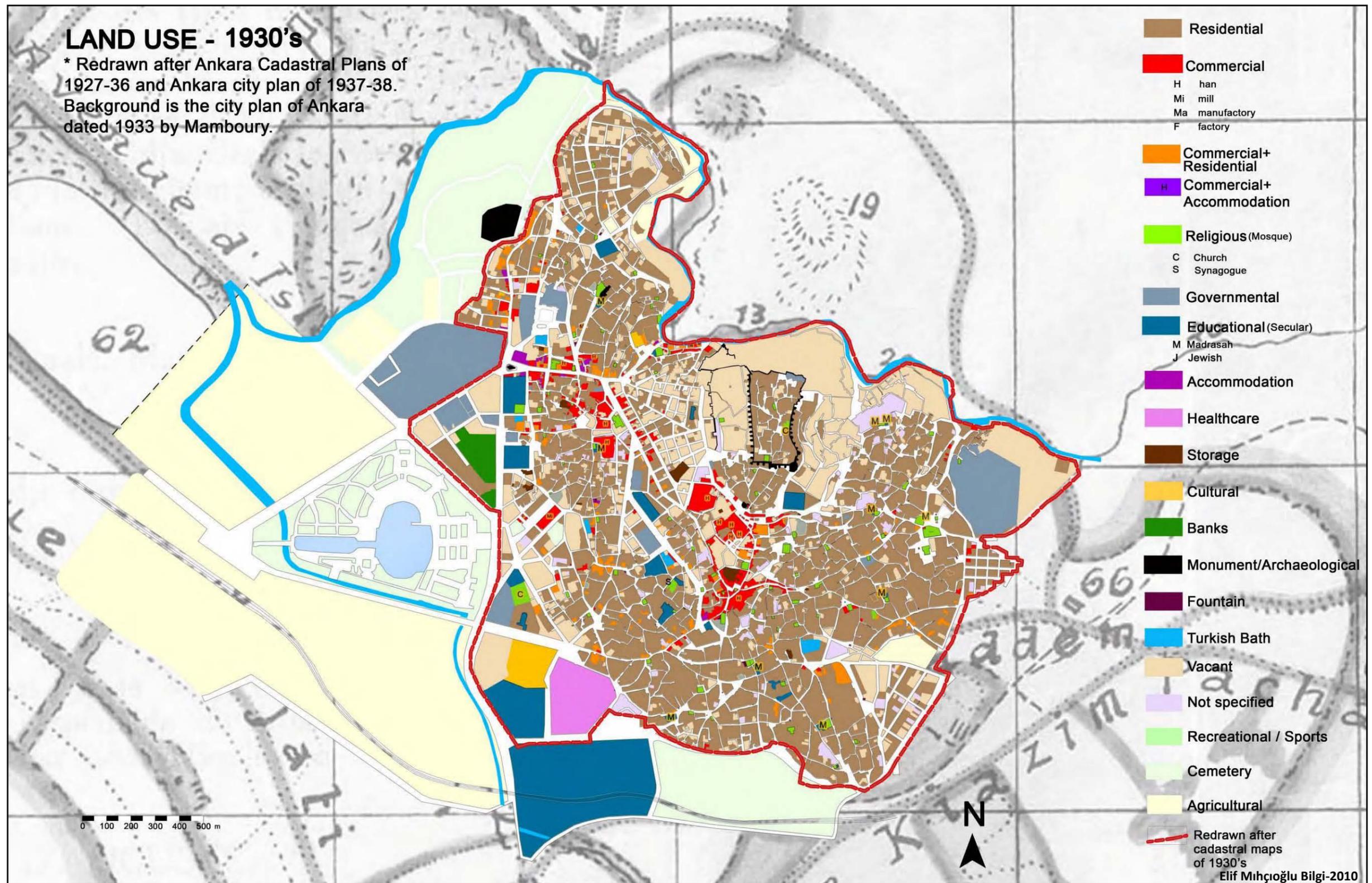


Figure 3.55: Land Use Pattern in 1930s.

This analysis of land use pattern depends on the detailed information coming from the cadastral plans and the title deeds for the area inside the limits marked in red dash line and the rest surrounding narrow area depends on the information from Ankara City Plan of 1937-38. As the map of 1937-38 is not a detailed one, the information is checked and clarified as much as possible from 1942 dated aerial photos (see Figure A.18 in Appendices) and from 1/8000 scaled 1944 Ankara map. The legend of this analysis of 1930s land use pattern is prepared in accordance with the land use pattern categories of 1924 for the purpose of comparison.

In 1930s, the major use in the Old City was the residential use, especially within former boundaries of the lost City Walls.

Depending on the detailed source of information, it became possible to classify commercial use in three different categories; which are 'commercial use solely', 'the combination of commercial and residential' and 'the combination of commercial and accommodation'. For the first group, in addition to the shops - constituting the major group of commerce- *hans*, mills, manufacturing spaces and factories are differentiated with letters in the legend. 'The combination of commercial and residential' represents shops on the ground floor and houses on the upper floors. On the other hand, 'the combination of commercial and accommodation' covers *hans* which has both shops and accommodation facility<sup>153</sup>. The data about the commercial use of 1930s are as follows;

- Primary commercial nodes were;
  - a. *Hanlar* District which used to be the commercial center since early periods,
  - b. *Tahtakale* District spread and included former *Anafartalar*, *Şehremaneti* and *Balık Pazarı* Avenues.
- Secondary commercial nodes were;
  - a. around *Tabakhane* and *İtfaiye* Squares,

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<sup>153</sup> Bakırer-Madran, 2000:112-119 and Tunçer, 2001: 39-53.

b. located along *Çankırı* Avenue and *İstanbul* Avenue,

c. also scattered around *Yeğenbey* and *İstiklal* Quarters.

Religious activities basically comprise mosques and masjids as the most common spaces, as well as *tekkes* and tombs. In addition to religious Muslim buildings, churches and a synagogue are also indicated in the map.

Government Square (*Hükümet or Vilayet Meydanı*), which used to be the governmental center, was united with the new governmental area along *İstanbul* Avenue. As well as Government Square and *İstanbul* Avenue, *Bankalar* Avenue, *Çocuk Sarayı* Avenue, Railway Station Area and *Ulucanlar* Prison Area were the other governmental buildings of the new Turkish Republic.

Educational activities basically include the secular schools, as the most common group. Besides, *madrassahs* are also showed and differentiated with specific lettering, as they still existed in the title deeds, though they were closed according to *Tevhid-i Tedrisat* Law in 1924. In addition to this, there was one Jewish School in *İstiklal* Quarter (Jewish Quarter) near to the Synagogue. In general, the educational facilities covered small areas and were scattered quite homogeneously in the historic city, except the two large ones at the south.

During these years, accommodation facilities were insufficient and were located either along *İstanbul* Avenue, or along *Çankırı* Avenue.

As components of the water addition system of the city, there were four Turkish baths in the study area. Storage spaces were generally small buildings scattered in the city, except the large ones that were water storage around *Hisarönü* Area and the large open area at *Koyun* Bazaar. Fountains were located on many streets at the earlier residential quarters, excluding the newer ones like *Necatibey* Quarter.

On the other hand, in this period, healthcare facilities were focused in one large complex of *Numune* Hospital at the south.

There were three cultural areas in the Old City which were; the theatre around *Tabakhane* Quarter, the dance lounge on *Çankırı* Avenue, as well as People's House (*Halkevi*) and Museum next to *Numune* Hospital.

Within the study area, banks were located on *Bankalar Avenue*, with the exception of Ottoman Bank at *Hisarönü*.

Augustus Temple next to *Hacıbayram Mosque*, clock tower at the entrance of Outer Citadel and the statue of *Atatürk* at *Hakimiyet-i Milliye (Ulus) Square* were the 'monuments' in this period. The archaeological area is included in this group and shown for the first time, as the remainings were realized in 1931 and excavations were held 1938 and 1943.

Contrary to these diversified uses parallel in the new capital city, vacant areas were quite widespread. There were vacant areas at the fire area around *Hisarönü* area, as well as at the east and north of the Citadel, where topographic conditions were not available for construction. On the other hand, many areas along *Hatip Stream*, at *Necatibey Quarter*, around *İtfaiye Square* and *İsmet Pasha Quarter* were in the process of development within the framework of new plans.

Youth Park (*Gençlik Parkı*), *Nation's Garden (Millet Bahçesi)*, *Hacettepe*, the park at *Government Square (Hükümet or Vilayet Meydanı)*, the garden near *Bentderesi* at *Tabakhane*, the park at *İtfaiye Square*, the park at *Samanpazarı Square* were the recreational green areas in the historic city.

Besides, the only cemeteries in the study area were the small gardens of the mosques where tombs of important religious characters were buried.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> The set of data in Table 3.5, which was commented on before, in part 3.1.1 Socio-economic Structure of the City, is an important inventory to comment on the social and economic profile of Ankara in 1935, enabling to understand the whole city together with the main zones comparatively. Unfortunately, it is not a complementary source or kind of a control list for 1930s land use pattern analysis of this particular study. The number of buildings with different functions are seen not to be in consistency with the analysis of 1930s land use pattern, which may be due to the fact that this statistical document shows the data of 1935, but the analysis of 1930s land use pattern includes the data of the period from 1927 to 1936, which was a period of rapid change.

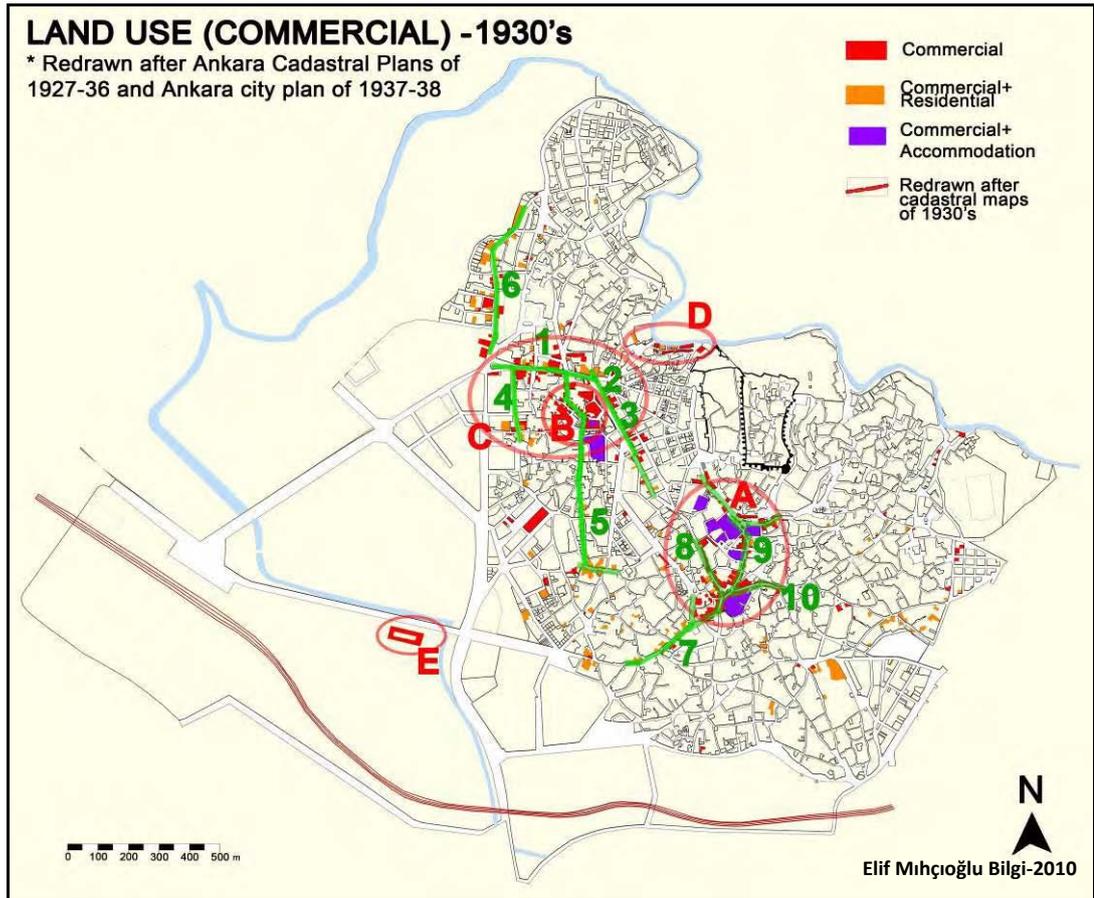
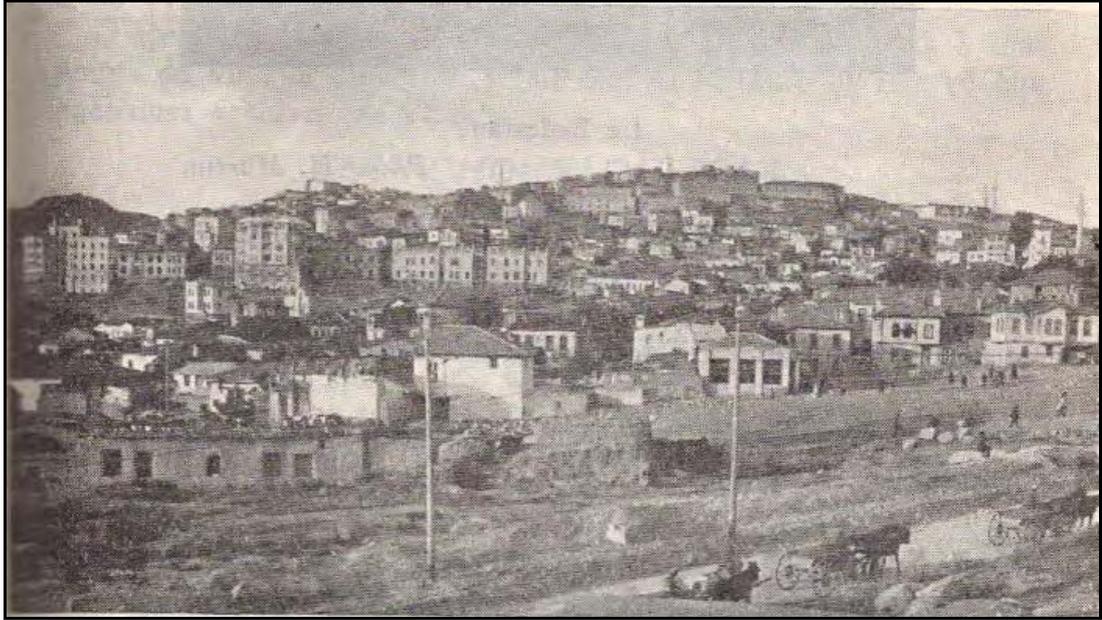


Figure 3.56: Commercial buildings in 1930s.

The analysis in Fig. shows the commercial spaces in detail depending on the information coming from the title deeds. Furthermore, it became possible to indicate the commercial activities together with residential use.

According to this analysis, it is possible to define commercial nodes and axes in the historic city of *Ankara*. Firstly, it is observed that *Hanlar* District (A) continued its importance as the dense traditional commercial center in the historic city, located around *At Pazarı*, *Koyun Pazarı* and *Saman Pazarı* Districts. Secondly, the commercial axis along former *Anafartalar* Avenue (1) which was united with *Tahtakale* Commercial District (B) became more dominant than the former, continuing along the axis composed of *Şehremaneti* (2) and *Balık Pazarı* (3) Avenues. This commercial area (C) included also *Sanayi* Avenue (4) and *İbadullah* Avenue (5). *İbadullah* Avenue, as a long commercial axis was finalized at *Acıca* Street.

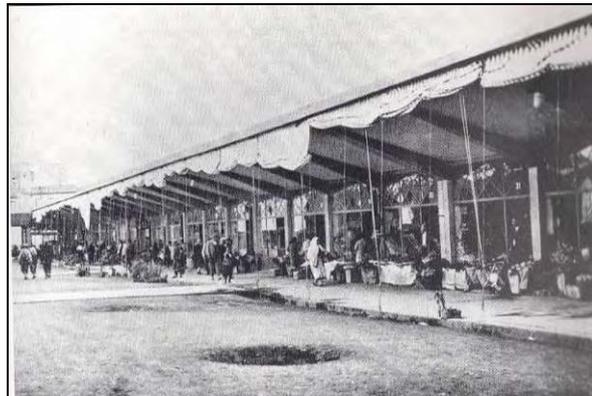


**Figure 3.57:** Hanlar District in the silhouette of the historic city (Mamboury, 1933: 193).

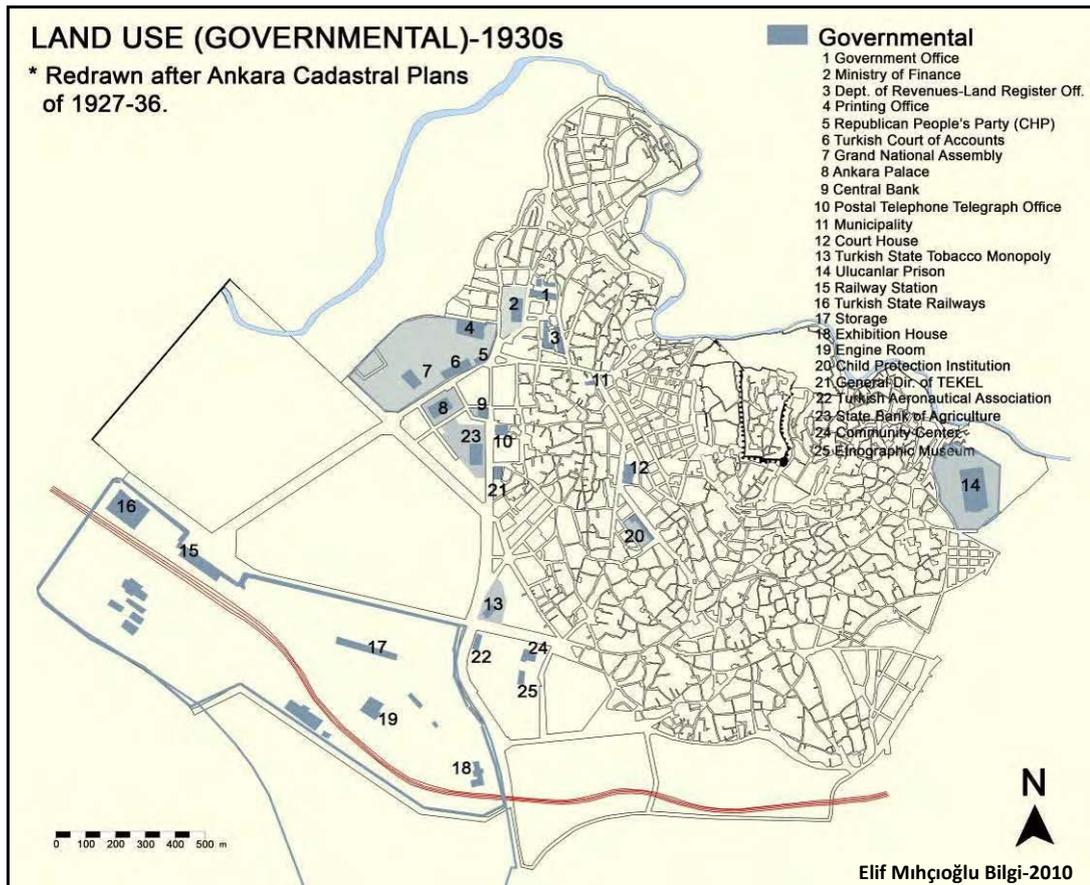
Following these two primary commercial areas around *Hanlar* and *Tahtakale* Districts, commercial axis along *Çankırı Avenue* (8) and the commercial areas around *Tabakhane Square* (D) and *Railway Station environs* (E) were the secondary commercial nodes within the historic city. Apart from these, other commercial axes were *İstasyon Avenue*, becoming *Koyun Pazarı Avenue* towards the Citadel (7), as well as *Saraçlar Avenue* (8), *At Pazarı Avenue* (9) and *Ulu Kapu Avenue* (10).



**Figure 3.58:** (left) Karaoğlan Avenue in 1930s (Sağdıç, 1993: 102)



**Figure 3.59:** (right) Vegetable Market in the vicinity of Railway Station



**Figure 3.60:** Governmental buildings in 1930s.

In this period, the governmental buildings, clearly increased in number compared to 1924, were mainly located on the west side, mostly out of the historic city center on the former swamp areas, parallel to the previous tendency of this development in 1924. On the other hand, some of them like Government Office (*Hükümet Konağı*) and Ministry of Finance, stayed next to the Government Square (*Hükümet or Vilayet Meydanı*) as it was since Ottoman Period, with a new accent focused along *İstanbul Avenue*, like Turkish *Grand National Assembly* buildings, Republican People's Party building -using the building of 1<sup>st</sup> Grand National Assembly building-, Turkish Court of Accounts building and Guest House (*Ankara Palas*). Apart from these, the Palace of Justice (*Adliye*) and Child Protection Institution (*Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu*) were located on former *Çocuk Sarayı Avenue* (today's *Anafartalar Avenue*), Turkish State Liquor and Tobacco Monopoly (*İnhisarlar or TEKEL*) near *İtfaiye Square* and *Ulucanlar Prison* were located at the east side of the historic city, neighboring *Bosnian Quarter*.



**Figure 3.61:** (left) Exhibition House( 1933-34) (www.wowTURKEY.com, June 2010)



**Figure 3.62:** (right) General Directorate of Turkish State Railways (Mamboury, 1933: 31).



**Figure 3.63:** (left) Palace of Justice in 1930s (Mamboury, 1933: 30)



**Figure 3.64:** (right) Turkish Court of Accounts in 1930s (VEKAM Archive).

The area surrounding the Railway Station occurs to be further developed with governmental functions like Turkish State Railways building, a related storage building and an engine room. The Exhibition House (which was changed to Opera House in 1948) was built in this area facing *Cumhuriyet* Avenue at *Sihhiye* in 1930s. The cultural state facilities like People's House and Ethnographic Museum are also included within governmental functions, as well as the State Bank of Agriculture.



**Figure 3.65:** (left) Child Protection Institution (Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu)



**Figure 3.66:** (right) People's House and Ethnographic Museum in 1930s (both from VEKAM Archive)

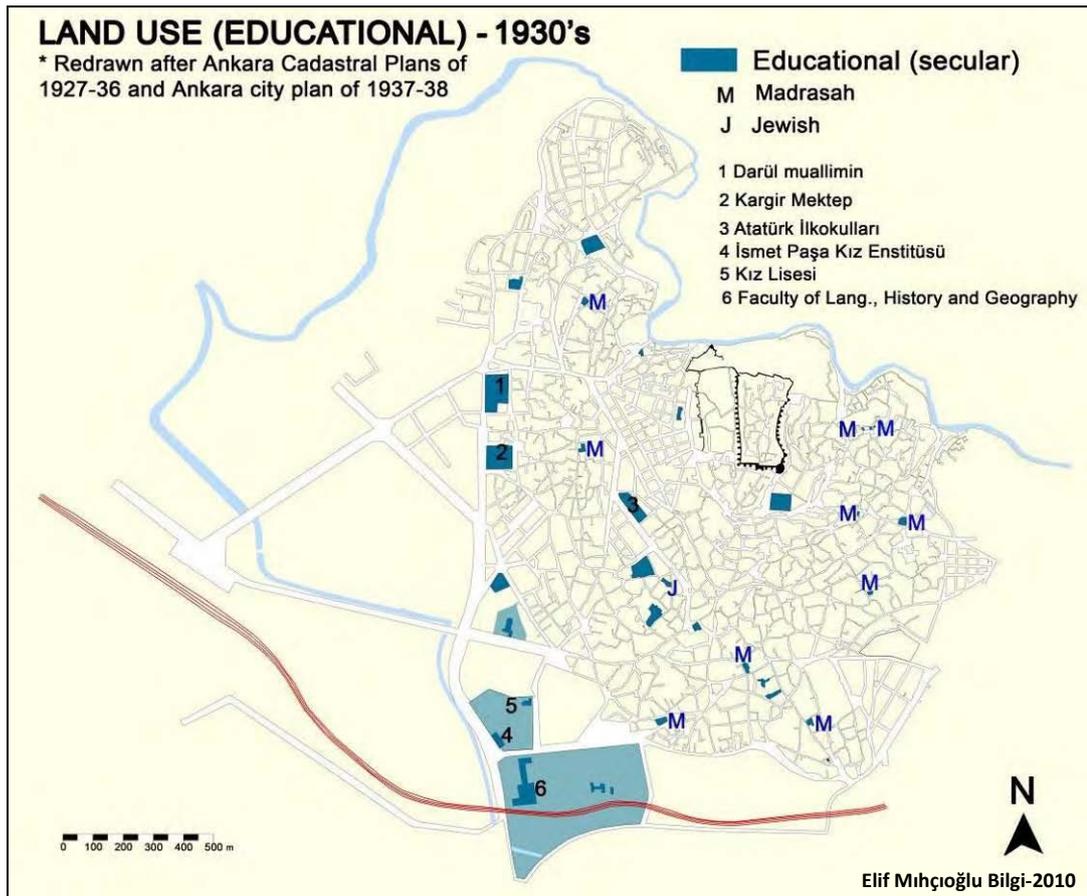
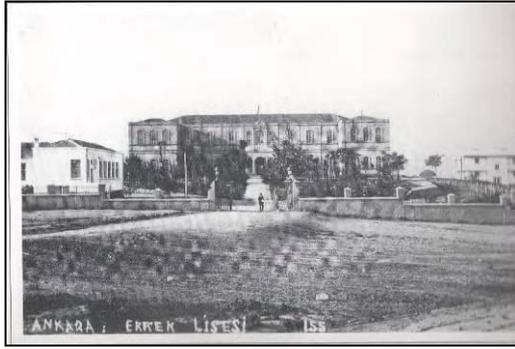


Figure 3.67: Education buildings in 1930s.

In this period, the educational buildings were composed of basically secular schools (19 in number), and *madrasah's* (10 in number), and a Jewish School. When compared with the educational use in the historic city in 1924, the number of schools was increased in 1930s. It is interesting to come across with *madrasahs* at this period. They were probably closed and evacuated, but not refunctioned, so mentioned still as 'madrasah' in the original map of 1924.

The schools within the historic city were small and evenly distributed within the residential quarters, whereas their areas got larger towards the boundary of the former City Walls, as in the cases of *Girls' High School (Kız Lisesi)*, *İsmet Pasha College for Girls (İsmet Pasha Kız Lisesi)*, Ankara University Faculty of Language, History and Geography (*A.Ü. Dil Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi*).



**Figure 3.68:** (left) Taş Mektep or Ankara Boys High School in 1930s (Sağdıç, 1994: 141)



**Figure 3.69:** (right) New building of Ankara Girls' High School (Kız Lisesi) in 1930s (Sağdıç, 1994: 141).



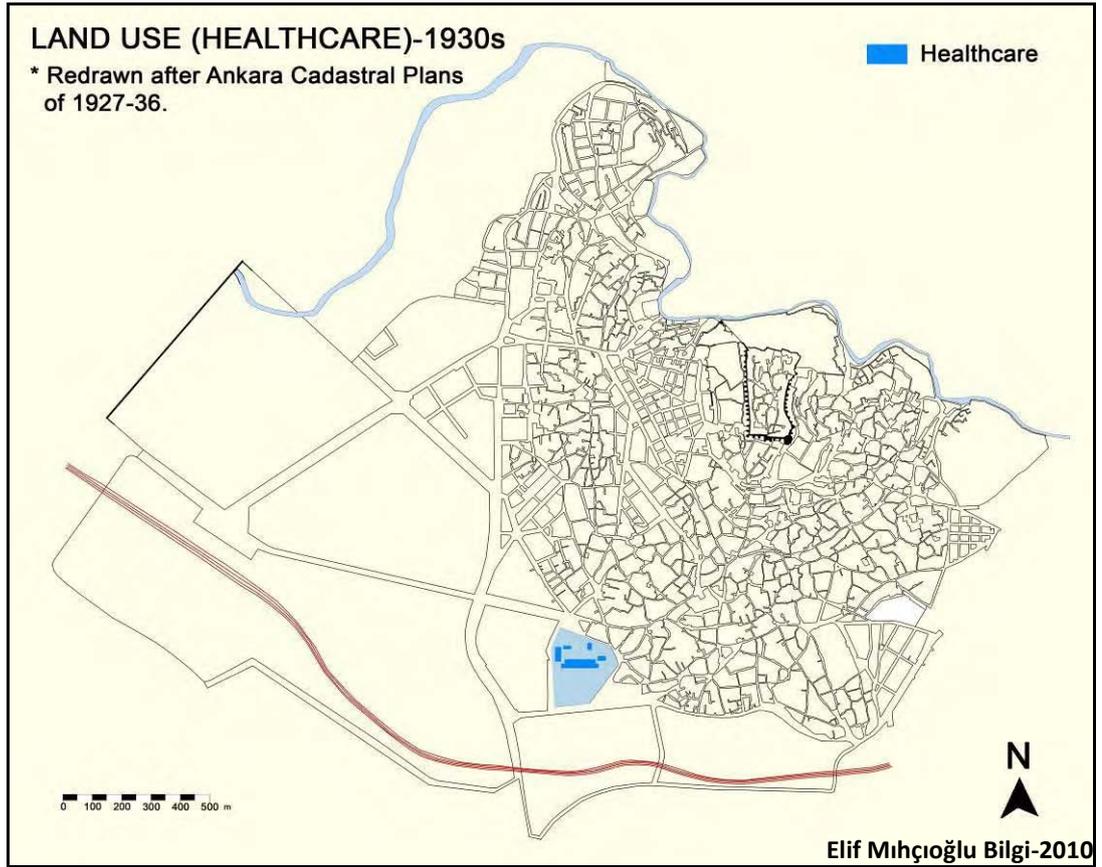
**Figure 3.70:** (left) Atatürk Musevi Primary School in early 1930s (Bahar, 2003: 56)



**Figure 3.71:** (right) İsmet Pasha College for Girls (Sağdıç, 1994: 161).



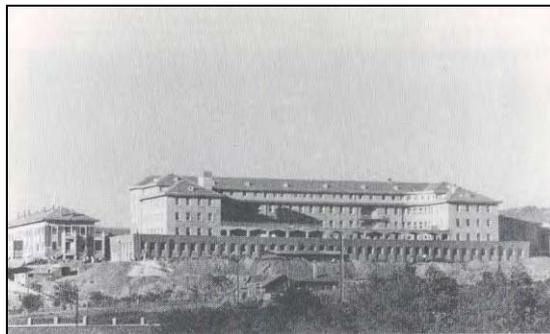
**Figure 3.72:** Faculty of Language, History and Geography constructed between 1937-39 (Sağdıç, 1994: 162)



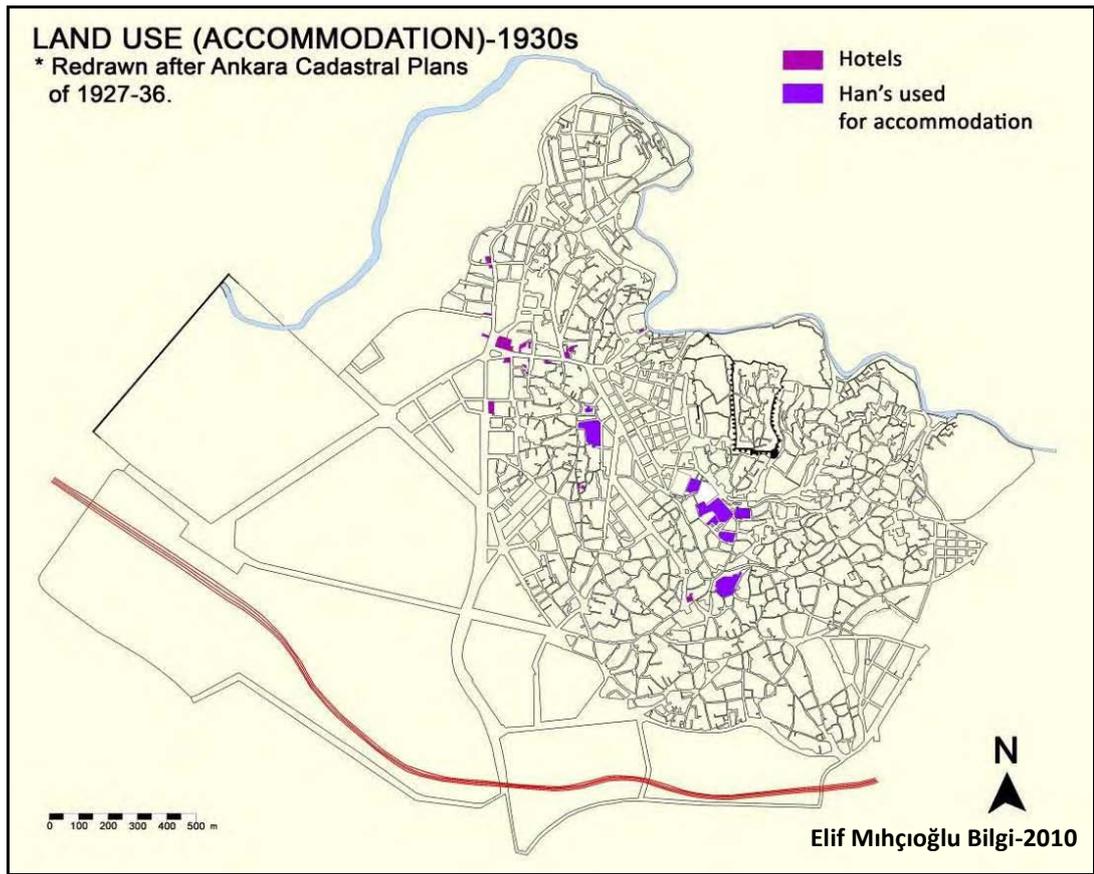
**Figure 3.73:** Healthcare facilities in 1930s.

When compared to three small buildings in 1924 constructed during late Ottoman Period, Numune Hospital occurred as the only healthcare facility in the Old City in 1930s. This area covers the core buildings of today's *Numune* Hospital.

When the whole city is analyzed from the point of healthcare facilities (see Figure 3.1), it is seen that there were no other healthcare facilities in the city. This brings the idea that in 1930s major health care facility of Ankara was located in the historic city.



**Figure 3.74:** Numune Hospital 1930s (Sağdıç, 1993: 142)



**Figure 3.75:** Accommodation Facilities in 1930s.

As mentioned before, city *hans* might be used both for commercial purposes and accommodation facilities. For this period of Ankara, the types of use within *hans* were not mentioned in the title deeds. As, it is important to clarify their participation in accommodative use in the city, the information coming from the secondary written sources have to be included<sup>155</sup>.

Accordingly, the upper floors of mentioned *hans* -*Suluhan, Kurşunlu Han, Tahtakale Han, Çukur Han, Çengel Han, Zafran Han, Piriñ Han, Pilavođlu Han, Bala Han, Ađazade Han*- were used for accommodation purposes and the ground floors for commercial use. As it can be seen from these sources, the accommodation facilities within the traditional commercial zones of *Hanlar* and *Tahtakale* Districts continued.

<sup>155</sup> Bakirer-Madran, 2000:112-119 and Tunçer, 2001: 39-53

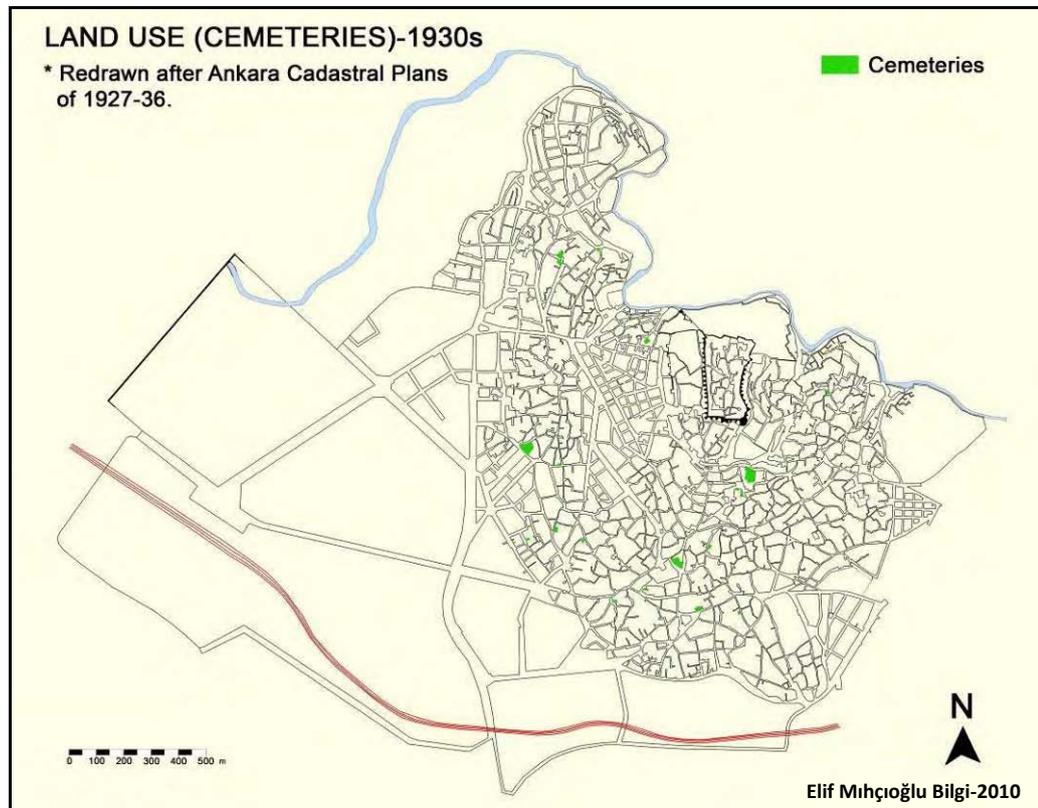
In 1930s, it can be seen that there were many hotels around Ulus District and they were concentrated around former *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* Square (today's *Ulus* Square) and along former *Anafartalar* Avenue, as well as *Çankırı* Avenue. There were hotels also at *Tabakhane* Square, *Samanpazarı* Square and *İbadullah* Avenue which used to be an important commercial axis in the historic city.



**Figure 3.76:** (left) Lozan Palas (Sağdıç, 1993: 74)

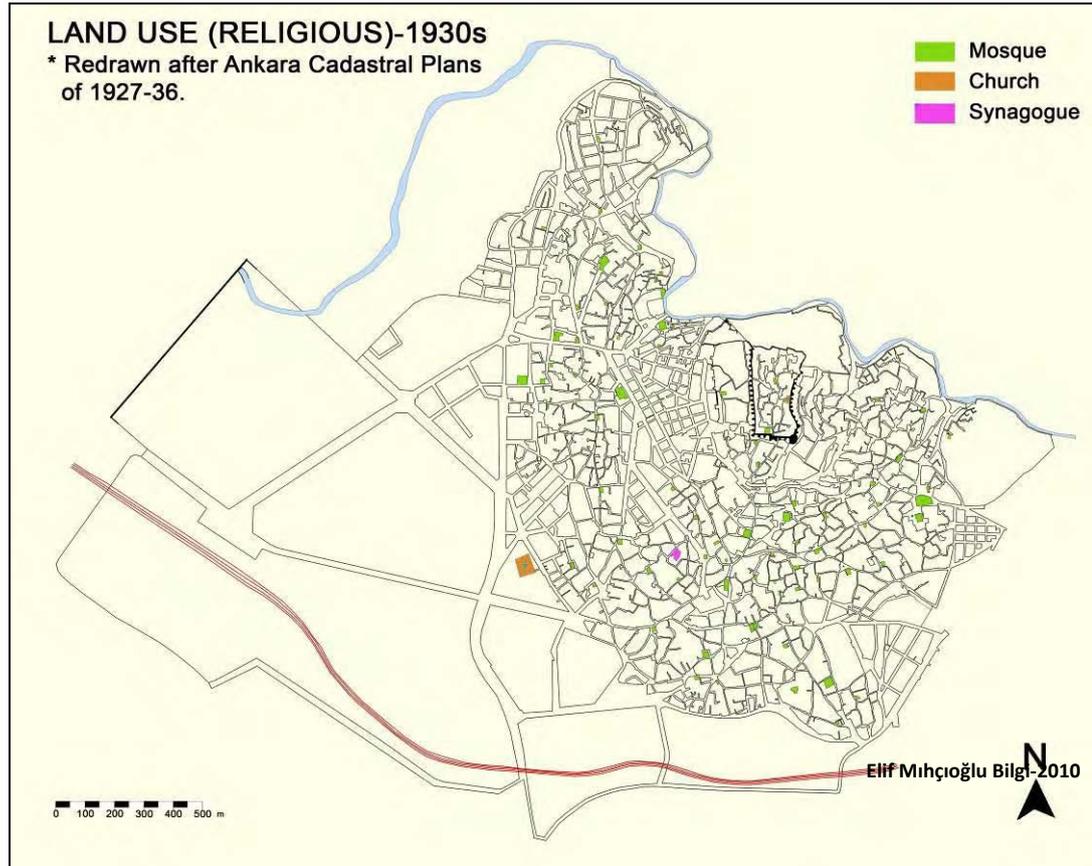


**Figure 3.77:** (right) İstanbul Palas (Sağdıç, 1993: 68) in 1930s.



**Figure 3.78:** Cemeteries in 1930s.

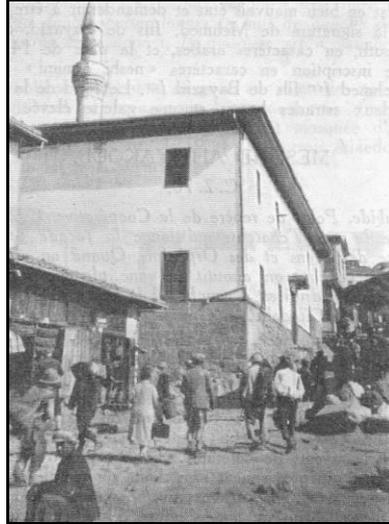
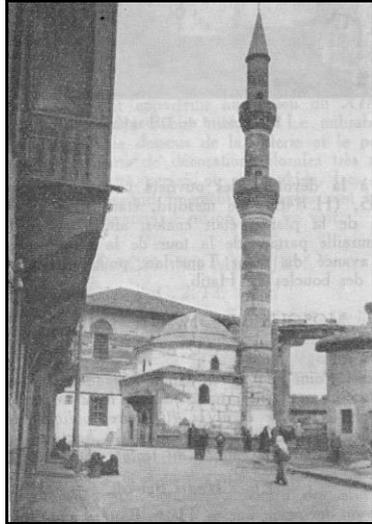
From Ottoman Ankara to Republican Ankara, the large cemeteries surrounding the city were lost, had an important role during the urban transformation of Ankara and were replaced with other functions like recreational, residential and governmental areas in 1930s. Only very small graveyards (about 20 in number) were left in the old city.



**Figure 3.79:** Religious buildings in 1930s.

In 1930s, religious buildings were basically composed of mosques and masjids (over 80 in number), two churches (of which, one of them in the Citadel) and one synagogue.

When religious buildings were compared with that of 1924, it is seen that most of them were kept, and only a few were lost. Major religious buildings in the historic city of Ankara in 1930s are as follows;



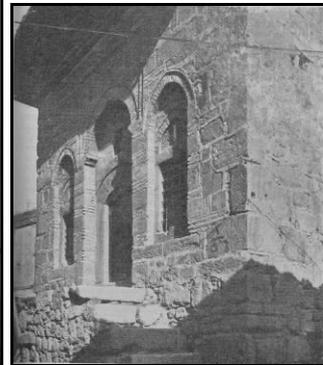
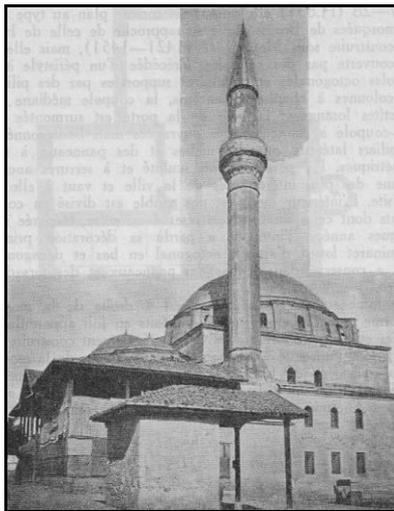
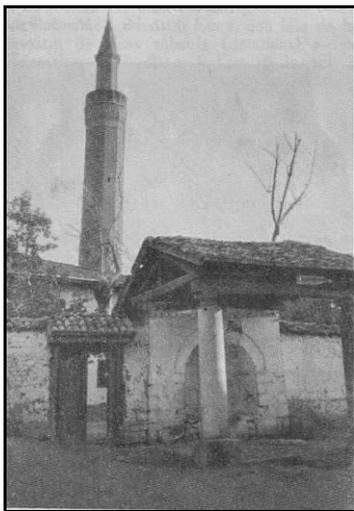
**Figure 3.80:** (left) Hacı Bayram Mosque (Mamboury, 1933: 222)

**Figure 3.81:** (right) Ahi Elvan Mosque in 1930s (Mamboury, 1933: 217).



**Figure 3.82:** (left) Aslanhane Mosque (Mamboury, 1933: 212)

**Figure 3.83:** (right) Alaeddin Mosque (Mamboury, 1933: 218).



**Figure 3.84:** (left) İmaret Mosque (Mamboury, 1933: 225)

**Figure 3.85:** (middle) Yeni Mosque (Mamboury, 1933: 228)

**Figure 3.86:** (right) Tabakhane Masjid (Mamboury, 1933: 221).

### ***Change of Land Use Pattern from 1924 to 1930s:***

- The major difference between two periods seems to be the construction of the fire area as a residential area through the development plans. This vacant fire area is developed as the urban core along former *Balıkpazarı* Avenue, at *Necatibey* and *Yeğenbey* Quarters. - *Hanlar* District stays as the major commercial area of the city center. *Tahtakale* Quarter seems to lose its commercial activities to a certain extent, whereas former *Anafartalar* and *Balıkpazarı* Avenues emerge as the new commercial axis. There are other commercial areas around *Tabakhane* Square, on *Çankırı* Avenue, on *İstanbul* Avenue and some other scattered at *Hacı Doğan* Quarter in 1930s, but it is not possible to compare with the previous period.

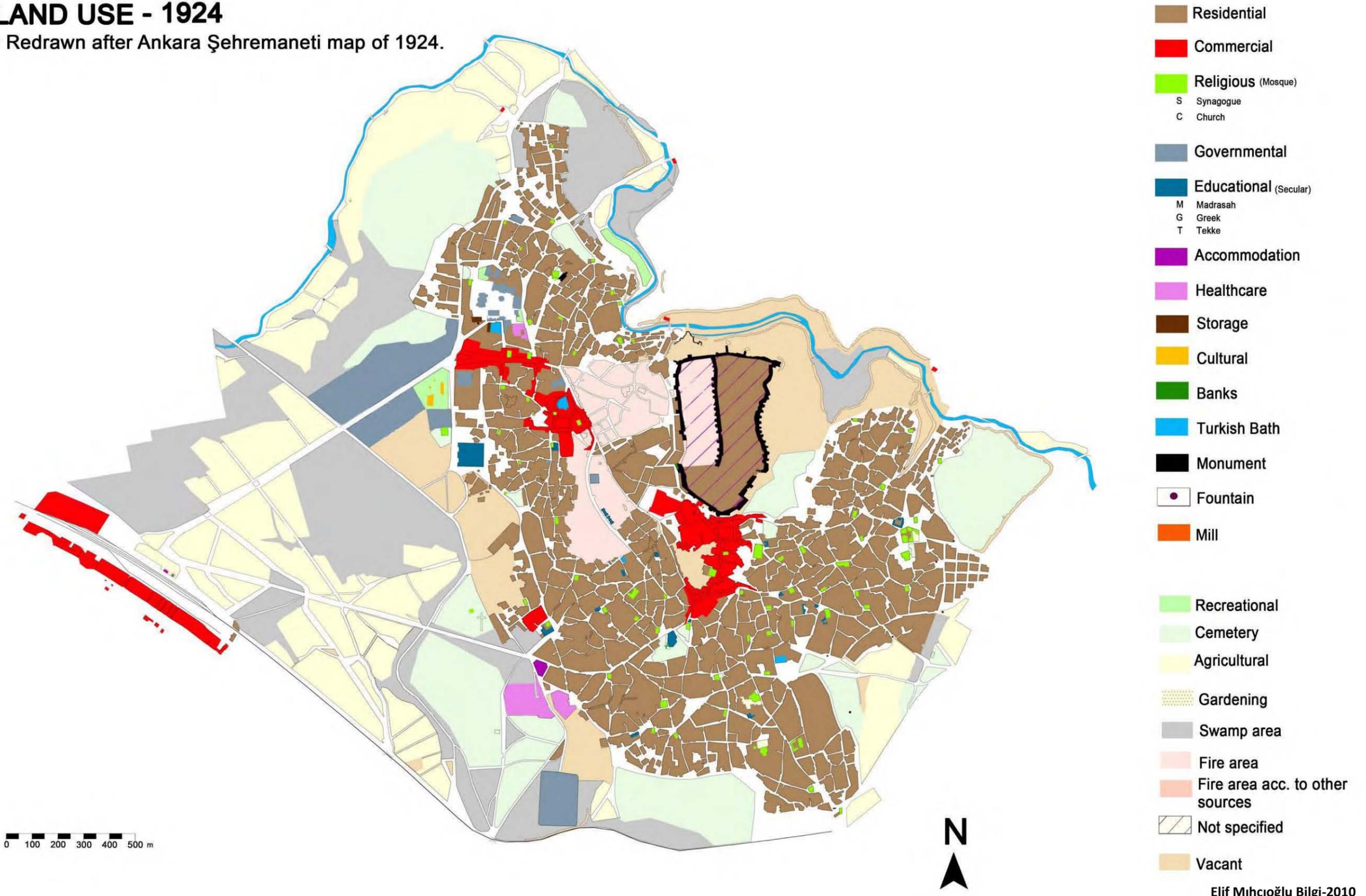
- The change of *Bankalar* and *İstanbul* Avenues continues since 1924 and they appear clearly as the protocol area of that time, with governmental and bank activities together with the new addition of recreational green area of Youth Park (*Gençlik Parkı*) through the development of swamp areas.

- The cemetery areas in 1924 were the major potential areas of urban regeneration in 1930s. The cemetery areas at the south in 1924 are transformed into cultural, educational and recreational green areas in 1930s, when keeping, but improving the healthcare activities in the same spot. The cemetery and agricultural area at the south-east in 1924 is transformed into residential area and the other cemetery area at the west in 1924 is transformed into governmental use. Again the cemetery and the agricultural areas at the north-west are transformed into recreational green areas.

In addition to this the swamp area at the north corner of the historic city center in 1924 is transformed into residential use and added to *İsmet Pasha* Quarter.

# LAND USE - 1924

\* Redrawn after Ankara Şehremaneti map of 1924.



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Figure 3.87 : Land use pattern in 1924.

# LAND USE - 1930's

\* Redrawn after Ankara Cadastral Plans of 1927-36 and Ankara city plan of 1937-38

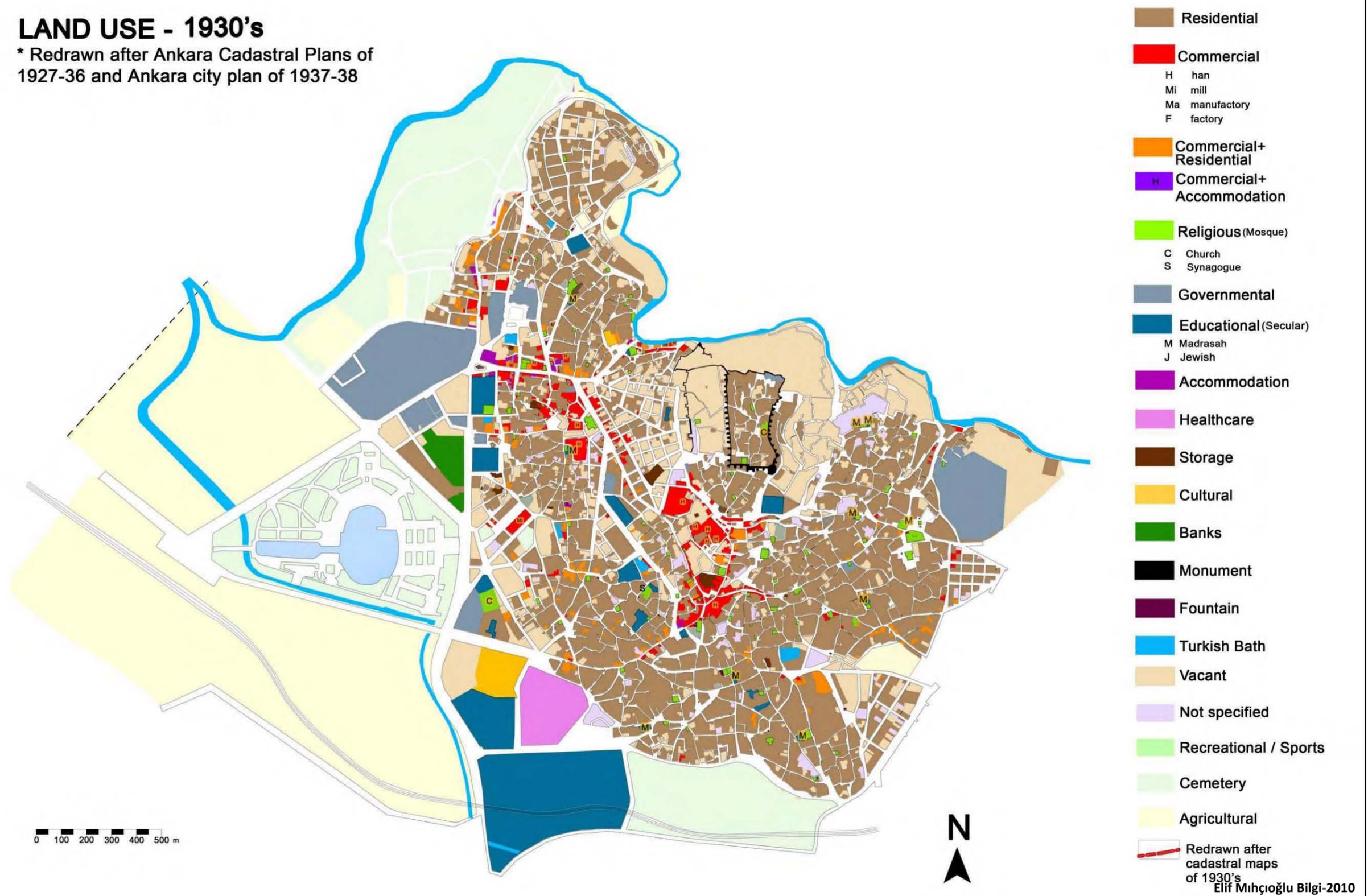


Figure 3.88: Land Use Pattern in 1930s.

3.1.2.4. Ownership Pattern

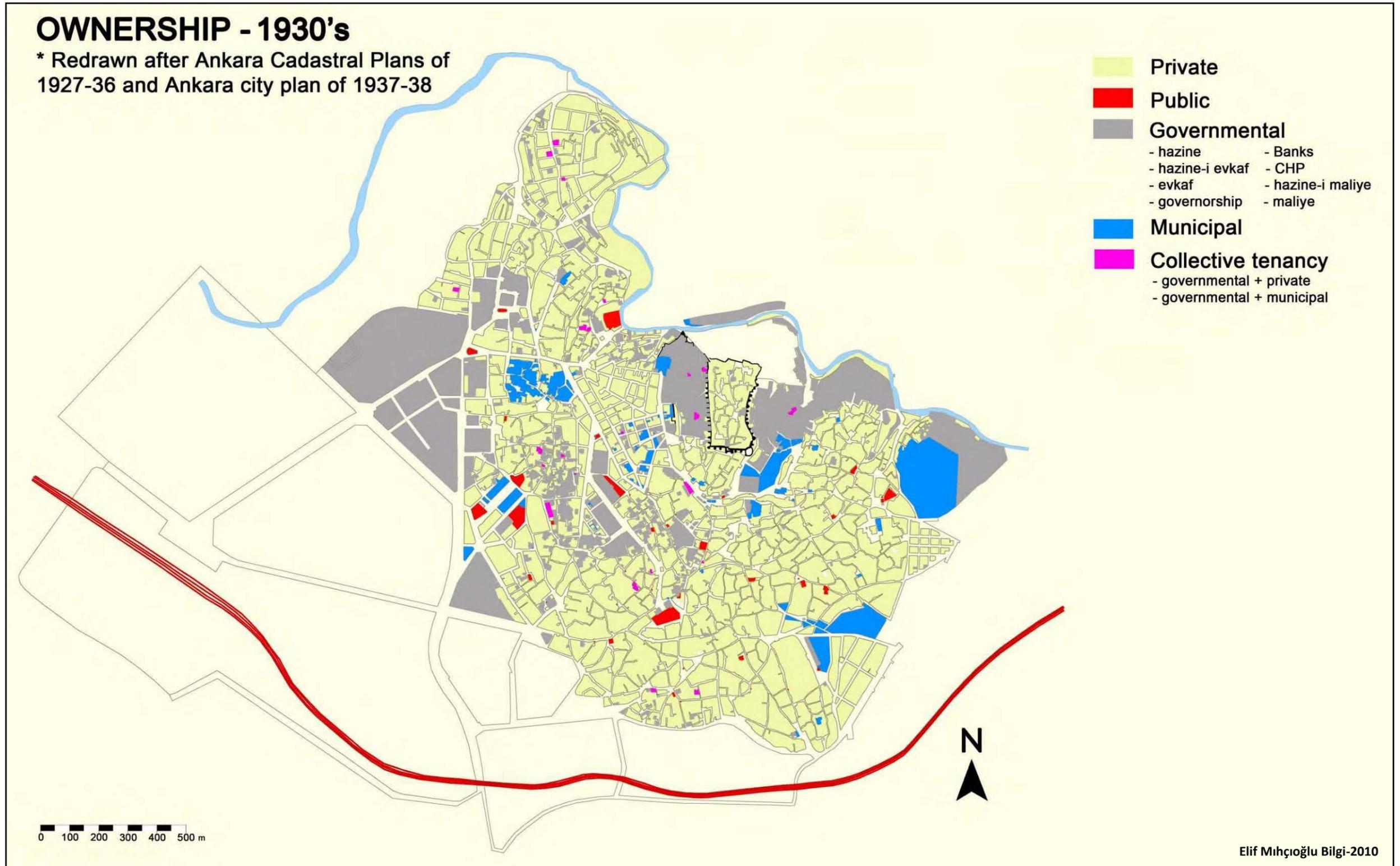


Figure 3.89: Ownership Pattern of Historic City of Ankara in 1930s.

As a difference from the previous periods, a detailed ownership pattern of the historic city center is obtained for 1930s through a study on cadastral plans and title deeds. According to this analysis and within the area of cadastral plans, most of the owners are private persons. Outer Citadel area, the large area on the east side of the Citadel by *Hatip* Stream, many building lots around *Yeğenbey*, *Şengül* Bath, along *Çocuk Sarayı* Avenue, many small building lots around *Hanlar* District on *Koyunpazarı* Avenue, two sides of *İstanbul* Avenue near to Memorial Statue of *Ulus*, two sides of *Bankalar* Avenue, the buildings around Government Square (*Hükümet* or *Vilayet* Meydanı) were reserved to governmental uses (that are *Hazine*, *Hazine-i Evkaf*, *Hazine-i Maliye*, *Maliye*, Governorship, *Evkaf*, *CHP*, Banks etc.). Municipality owns relatively less property, but at important spots like the area between *Tahtakale* Quarter and former *Anafartalar* Avenue including *Şehremaneti* Building on *Balıkpazarı* Avenue, building lots around *İtfaiye* square, *Ulucanlar* Prison area, Temple of Augustus and a few other around the city center.

## 3.2. Ankara from late 1930s to mid 1940s

### 3.2.1. Social and Economic Developments in Turkey and in Ankara

Following the death of Atatürk in 1938, the government of Celal Bayar fell and İsmet İnönü became the president. Turkish Republic, although kept itself out of World War II, was affected by the indirect influences of war; such as blockade, mobilization and military expenditures. Consequently, the previous weak economic progress was swept away. On the other hand, the interests of some countries in Turkey continued after the war, due to its geopolitical location.<sup>156</sup>

**Table 3.5:** The cost of life index (Yerasimos, 2005:148)

Years	Base index (100 for 1938)
1938	100
1939	100
1943	330,6
1945	404,6
1947	499,5

Although Turkey did not participate in the war, these years were marked by the economic hardships. Due to World War II, long term economic plans were put aside and government had to take extraordinary measures. As can be seen in the Table 3.6, the cost of life increased five times in this period. Consequently, the volume of currency in circulation increased approximately four times.

**Table 3.6:** Agricultural and Industrial Indexes of Turkey between 1940-1945 (Yerasimos, 2005:150)

Year	Agricultural Production index (1939:100)	Industrial Production Index (1939:100)
1940	90,5	108,2
1941	98	107,3
1942	86	97,2
1943	81,9	103,5
1944	70,4	116,2
1945	89,5	115,4

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<sup>156</sup> Yerasimos, 2005:142-146.

As can be followed in Table 3.5 and Table 3.6, the relative successful economic performance of Turkey in 1930s declined in this period. Because of the war, developing agricultural and industrial production rates regressed between 1939 and 1946 evidently.

Between 1939 and 1946, the population of Turkey grew 1,2%, gross national product decreased 2,0% and gross national product per capita decreased 3,2%, agricultural production decreased 1,4%, manufacturing industry decreased 3,0% and total industry production excluding construction decreased 2,6%.<sup>157</sup>

Depending on the data of State Statistical Institute<sup>158</sup>, when the population in the city center of Ankara was nearly 75.000 in 1927, it became 122.720 in 1935, 157.242 in 1940, 226.712 in 1945 and 289.197 in 1950. Consequently, when the population increased 1,9% in Turkey until 1950, it increased 3,85%, nearly twice of the rate of the population growth of Turkey, in the city center of Ankara.

On the other hand, due to the growing population approximately 5.000-6.000 each year, the housing problem turned out to be a crisis in the city of Ankara<sup>159</sup>. Private industry progressed continuously after 1945. Turkey started to become more liberalized following 1947 with the adoption of the multi-party system and the legislation of the related laws, though within a limited framework<sup>160</sup>.

The amount of income per capita that increased 22% between 1936 and 1943, decreased 5% in 1945 at the end of World War II and again increased 26% within three years till 1948. In the period between 1936 and 1948, the income per capita for the rural population was approximately 1/4 of the income per capita for the urban population in Turkey (Table 3.7).

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<sup>157</sup> Pamuk, 1999; 36

<sup>158</sup> Şenyapılı, 2004: 277

<sup>159</sup> Şenyapılı, 2004: 80

<sup>160</sup> Akin, 2007: 92

**Table 3.7:** Income per capita in Rural and Urban Turkey between 1936 and 1948  
(Z.Y. Herşlag; Ergil, 1978; Şenyapılı, 2004: 283)

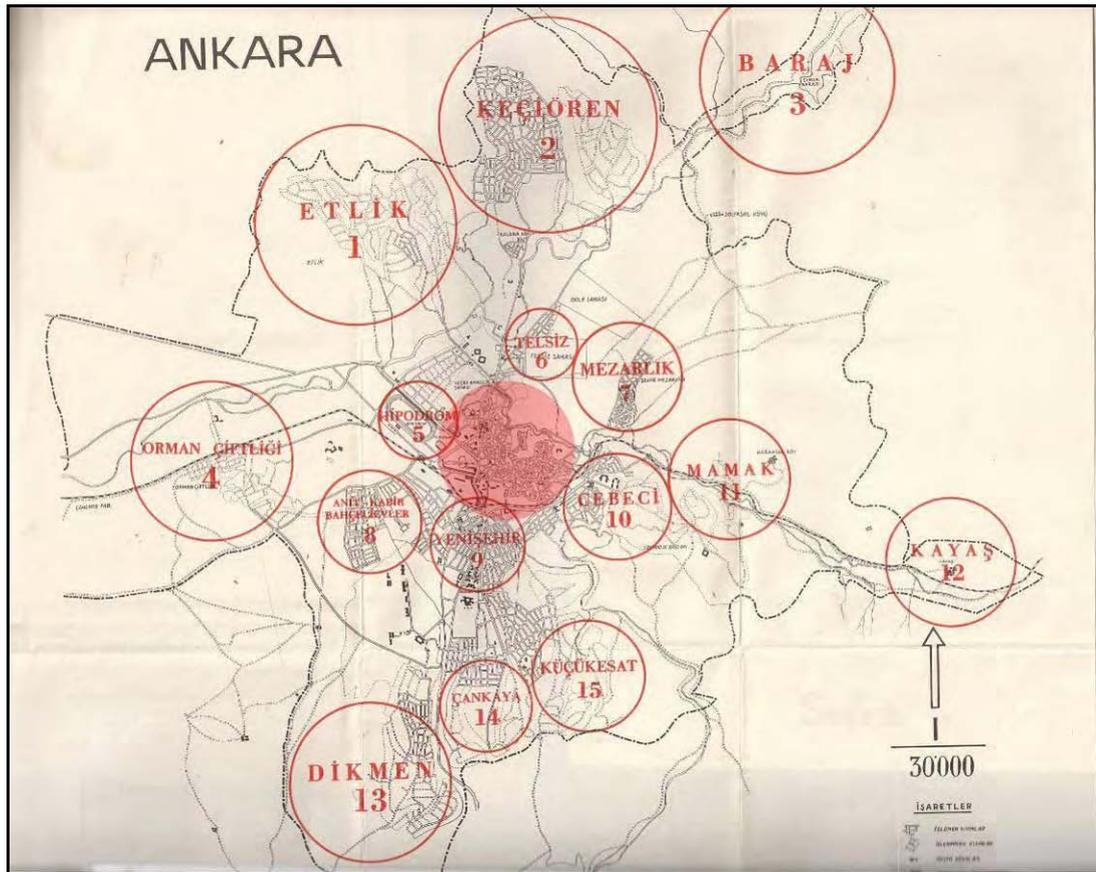
Year	Total Population (TL)	Rural Population (TL)	Urban Population (TL)
1936	265	149	645
1943	324	197	744
1945	307	179	731
1948	388	215	748

In this period of economic unstabilities, especially a group of merchants, unfairly taking advantage due to the scarcity of goods, and land speculators were taking the largest share from the economy. So as to provide a balance, the government imposed a controversial *Varlık Vergisi*, a wealth or capital tax especially affecting the non-Muslim population from 1942 to 1944. Following these economic difficulties, U.S. financial support (Marshall Aid) and U.S. influence were introduced to the country. This new process transformed the intraverted economic structure of Turkey, which used to aim a self sufficient industrialization under the control of the government, into an extraverted economy under the effect of private sector, based on external resources, targeting not industrialization, but agricultural mechanization. The effects of this new model became evident after 1950s, accelerating the migrations from rural to urban settlements. Accordingly, in the first stage 'barracks', then the 'shanties' were created all around the pre-existing city of Ankara.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> Şenyapılı, 2004: 116-117

### 3.2.2. Urban Structure from late 1930s to mid-1940s



**Figure 3.90:** Historic City of Ankara (circle with red infill) within whole Ankara in 1940s (Scale: 1/30.000) (Güleki, 1949: appendices).

In 1940s, the historic city occupied the marked area within the whole city. It can be seen that new Ankara extended in all directions, but especially towards south spreading strongly and towards north in scattered districts. Taking the Old City as the core and the starting point, the urban developments towards east and west were comparatively less and piecemeal, consequently can be assumed to be weaker when compared to the others.

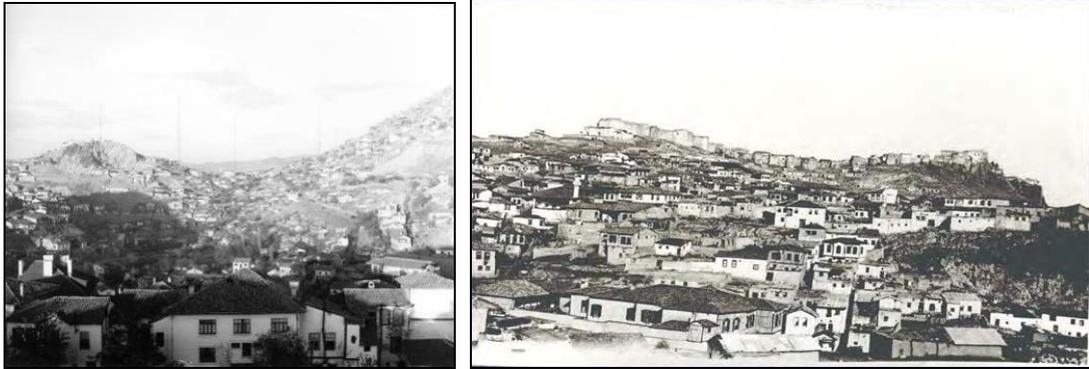
The Old City, composed of traditional houses from the Ottoman period, was subject to transformation since the Independence War. The urban structure was changing with the new buildings and the new development plans since the foundation of the new Republic.

Together with the apartment buildings, which were the symbols of prestige in Ankara in 1920s, the concept of 'single houses with garden', like the ones around

Yenişehir, became again the most popular, but could only be implemented in cooperative settlements in the peripheral areas of the city with cheaper costs between 1940 and 1950.<sup>162</sup>

On the other hand, the apartment buildings could only be realized in the Old City as it was the only area that could meet the high land costs, but only with increasing number of storeys, having smaller areas<sup>163</sup>. Besides, the major aim for constructing apartment buildings was to lease and these were called as '*kira evleri*' (rental apartments)<sup>164</sup>.

Despite the planned Old City and the New City, 'barracks' was a new fact which emerged outside the plan, which started occurring all around Ankara, as a result of the dense pressure of population growth. According to Şenyapılı, starting from 1933 with a few examples, barracks increased pervasively towards late 1930s, especially in vacant and uncontrolled fringes of the Old City, like Yeni Hayat and Akköprü Quarters<sup>165</sup>.



**Figure 3.91:** (left) Shanties around the Citadel

**Figure 3.92:** (right) Shanties around Kayabaşı and the Citadel (VEKAM Archive)

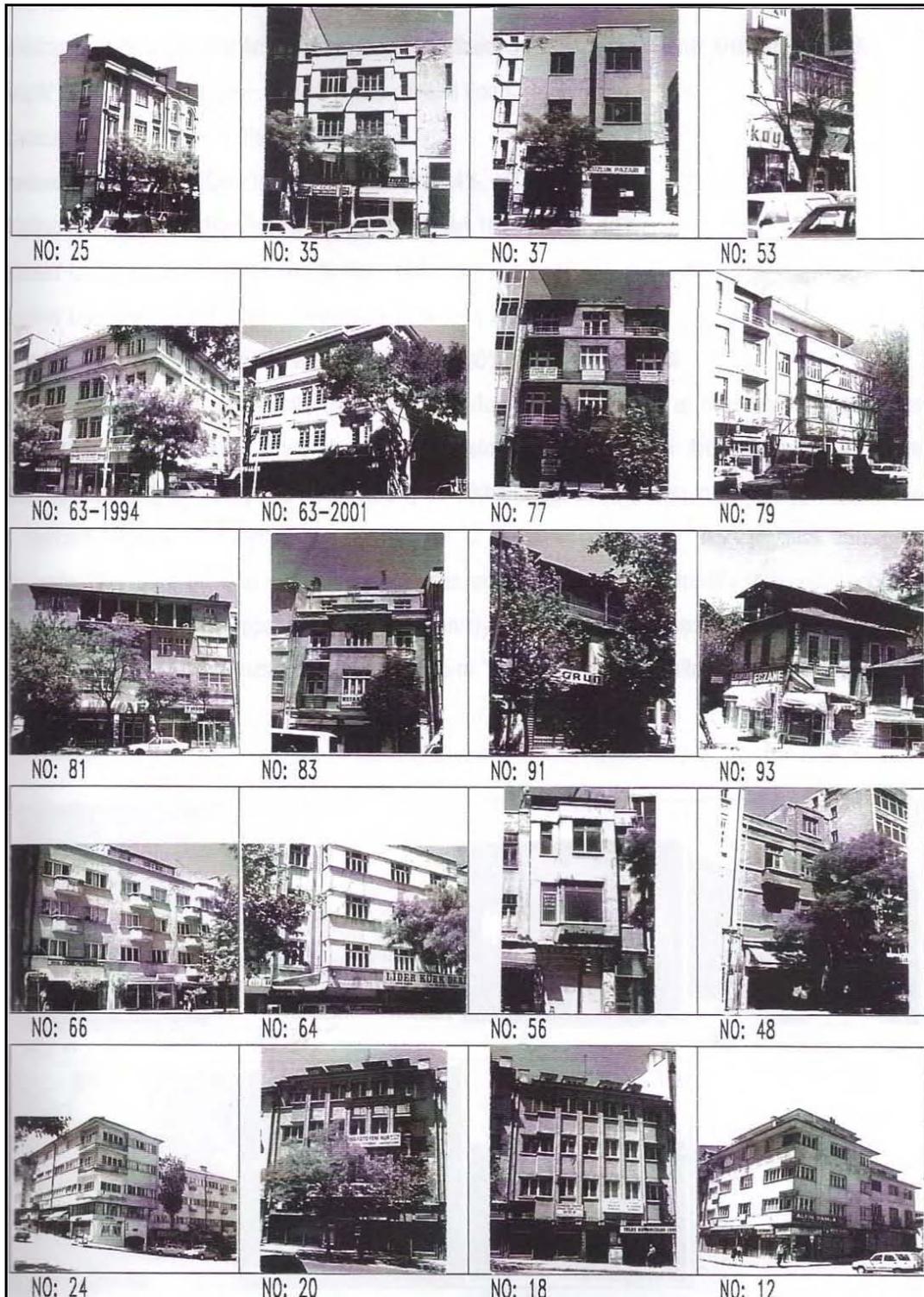
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<sup>162</sup> Nalbantoğlu, 2000: 260.

<sup>163</sup> Şenyapılı, 2004: 121.

<sup>164</sup> Nalbantoğlu, 2000: 261.

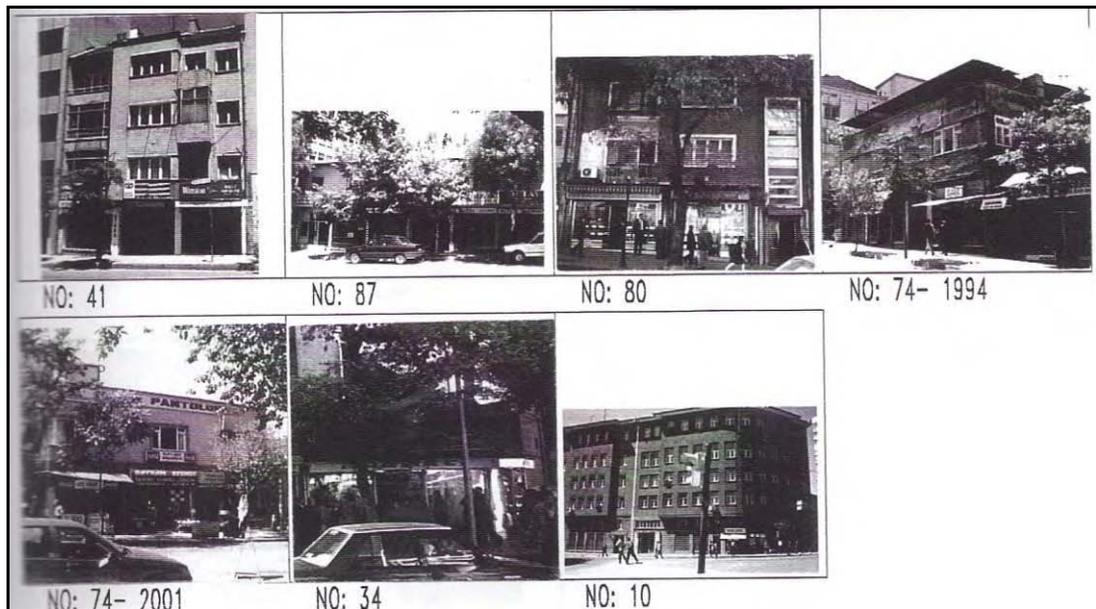
<sup>165</sup> Şenyapılı, 2004: 95.



**Figure 3.93:** Apartment buildings on today's Anafartalar Avenue (numbers are the addresses of the apartment buildings) from the period between 1933 and 1940 (Kefu, 2001: 97).

Under the effect of the Second National Architectural Style started to be shaped after early 1930s, 1940s were the years of highlighted research and trials on

adapting the Turkish vernacular to the new residential architecture till 1950. The discussions generally excluded social dimensions, organizational conditions, and economic measures through a comparative approach of past and present, so stayed mostly superficial or formal, skipping the 'essence'.<sup>166</sup>



**Figure 3.94:** Apartment buildings on today's Anafartalar Avenue (numbers are the addresses of the apartment buildings) from the period between 1941 and 1950 (Kefu, 2001: 97).

### 3.2.2.1. Urban Fabric

Being now only a limited part of a large capital city (when compared to 1930s) growing in all directions, the urban fabric of the Historic City became denser within the existing urban pattern, filling the former open areas of 1930s. In 1944, there were a few different types of urban pattern qualities from the point of building block characteristics, such as; the small, organic, intricate, lace-like old urban pattern around the Citadel and its environs; relatively larger, but still small size, geometric urban blocks within the Historic City (in addition to the pre-existing Bosnian Quarter) (1, 5, 7, 8, 9 and 10 and 17); large, geometrical urban blocks surrounding the Historic City (2, 3, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16,18 and 19) and large areas

<sup>166</sup> Nalbantoğlu, 2000: 261.

comprising shanties again surrounding the Old City (4 and 6) or the former agricultural lands which were the greenery stock of the City (15) in 1944.



**Figure 3.95:** Hacıbayram District from the Citadel in 1940s (Sağdıç, 1993: 108).

The Old City, the inner structure of which was transformed inside partially by the development plans, carried geometric pattern qualities around Necatibey Quarter (7), İsmet Pasha Quarter (1), on the areas along Bankalar Avenue around Ankara Palas (8) and the area comprising Ministry of Education, *PTT (Post Telephone and Telegraph)* building, including İtfaiye Square (9) and Ministry of Foreign Affairs and İller Bank around Yenice Quarter (10), at Namazgah Area around *Halkevi* (People's House) and environs, Ethnographic Museum, Turkish Aeronautical Association (*Türk Hava Kurumu*) and İsmet Pasha Girls School (11), Railway Station Area (3), Youth Park (12) and Stadium Area (13), including Rüzgarlı Avenue and environs (2) up to the Roman Bath Area and along İnönü Boulevard (17).



**Figure 3.96:** View of Ankara from the Citadel in 1904s (Sağdıç, 1993: 133).

At the south border of the study area, Dilektepe (Hacettepe) Area was also planned for public uses, partially as a large open area (Dilektepe Park) (14), and as the buildings and open spaces of important public uses such as; Numune Hospital and bus terminal, etc. (16).

It can be seen that the open spaces are comparatively smaller in size in the Old City, excluding İnönü Park at the Outer Citadel Area in place of the former fire area which had been rearranged as a park. Other than these, Youth Park (12), Stadium Area (13) Dilektepe (14) as recreational green areas and around Üçtaş, Ortaark and Soğukkuyu at the west side of Roman Bath (15) as agricultural and gardening lands, are the open spaces which continue towards north-west in a large area in 1944.

There are no vacant areas left in the Old City, except the ones on its periphery; next to Numune Hospital (18), the large area along the railway (19) next to Dilektepe Park around Hacettepe, a part of watercourse area along Hatip Stream (20) and an area on the west of Bosnian Quarter (21).



**Figure 3.97:** Historic City from Numune Hospital and environs in 1940s (Sağdıç, 1993: 140)

In 1944, contrary to the dense residential historic urban pattern having an organic character, the newly developed urban blocks surrounding the Historic City are larger in size with less building density, comprising larger public buildings with their surrounding open areas in general.

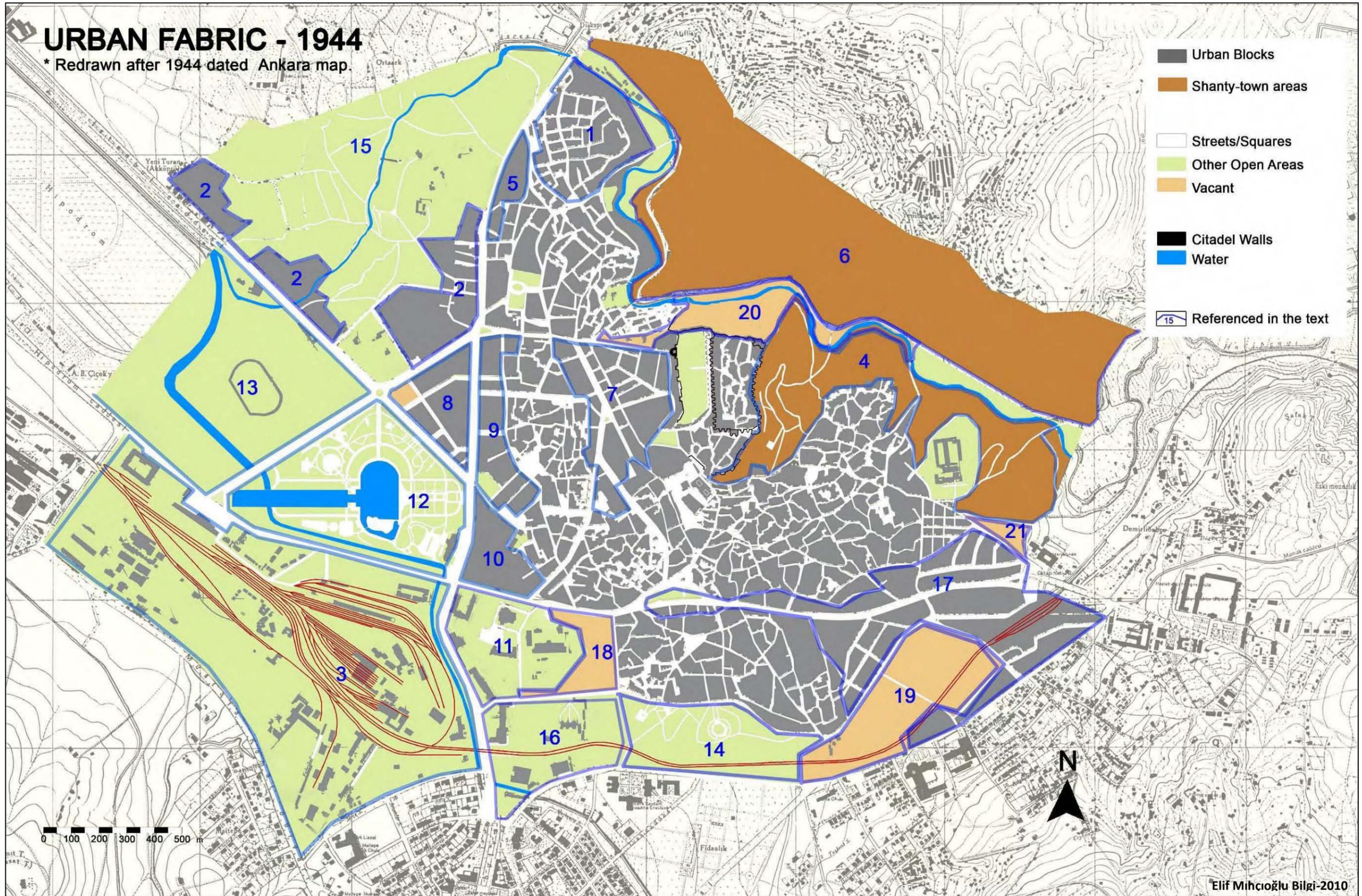


Figure 3.98: Urban Fabric of Historic City of Ankara in 1944.

### ***Change of Urban Fabric in the Historic City of Ankara from 1930s to 1944:***

Depending on the study about the change of urban fabric from 1930s to 1944 in Figure 3.91, one of the major transformations for the period of 1944 was İnönü Boulevard (today's Talat Pasha Boulevard) and its environs (1). Due to this intervention of opening a new avenue in the historic urban fabric, the urban fabric on both sides of this axis was changed and demolished partially. It is clear that the fabric did not carry the organic features of the old neighborhoods any more, but those of a geometrical planning around Maternal Hospital at Gündoğdu and Erzurum Quarters. Especially the south corner of *İstiklal* (Jewish) Quarter which was next to old Numune Hospital was demolished and left vacant in 1944. Related with the opening of this large avenue to connect Cebeci District to the Railway Station, the historic urban fabric qualities at the south started to dissolve around *İstiklal* Quarter, cutting the south part from the Old City.

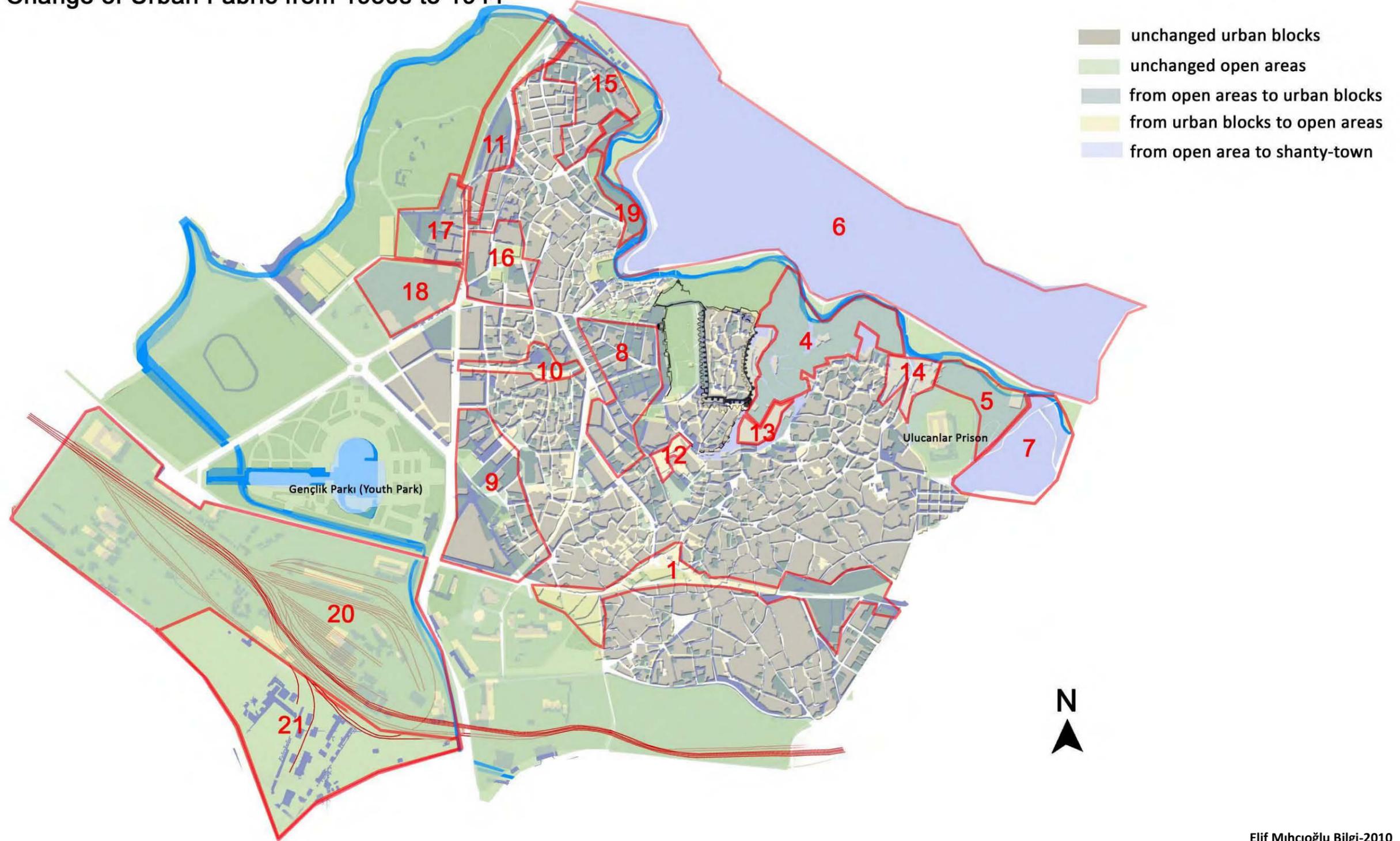
Hatip Stream was no longer the natural border at the north side of the city as a large area of shanties was formed on the other side of the stream. The residential demand was so strong and excessive that a few pre-existing barracks were turned into a shanty-town, covering large areas using mostly the inappropriate areas like the empty steep rocky edges around Yeni Hayat Quarter at the east side of the Citadel, as well as Yalçinkaya and Şükriye Quarters (4) along the watercourse of Hatip Stream at the north-east of the Historic City (5), as well as the whole neighboring north border of the study area around Hıdırlık Hill at Altındağ, Yenidoğan, Demirtaş (6) and Ulucanlar Quarters. Rural population, who immigrated to Ankara with very limited resources, was the inhabitants of these urban peripheral areas.<sup>167</sup>

These areas were composed of one or two storey unqualified houses, constructed in a short period of time without an infrastructure and lacking standard urban facilities of the time.

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<sup>167</sup> Şenyapılı, 2004: 127.

### Change of Urban Fabric from 1930s to 1944



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Figure 3.99: Change of Urban Fabric in the Historic City of Ankara from 1930s to 1944.

There occurred two interesting changes; one in Necatibey Quarter as changing the urban pattern through enlarging the urban blocks by unifying most of them (8); and the other occurred around İtfaiye Square and its environs (9), as a change of design where used to be a special radial junction, but changed into a larger building block of rather ordinary shape. The reasons for changing these two areas will be searched in the following chapter of planning activities.

Another change occurs around Doğanbey Quarter. Former Tahtakale Square was lost with the addition of a Primary School and the Market Building, changing the surrounding urban fabric partially (10).

Likewise, as a continuation of Atatürk Boulevard, the urban fabric on two sides of a part of Çankırı Avenue was changed to widen and clarify this curved axis connecting to Dışkapı and Keçiören (11).

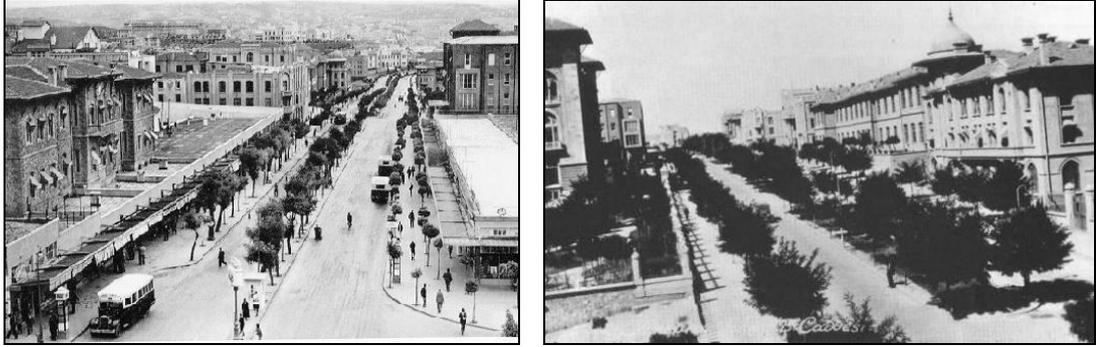
On the other hand, a small historic urban fabric was changed to open areas like the neighboring area of Anatolian Civilizations Museum (12) where used to be Safran Han, water storage area and some buildings. The other two urban fabrics used to exist in 1930s; one at At Pazarı (13) and the other at Şükriye Quarter (14) became part of shanty-town areas.

Other urban blocks like İsmet Pasha Quarter (15), Government (Hükümet or Vilayet) Square and environs (16), Bozkurt Quarter (17) and the governmental area of National Assembly Buildings (18) were densified with the addition of new buildings. Some former open areas like the one at the east side of İsmet Pasha Quarter (19) was filled and added to the urban fabric of this area.

The large building block around the Railway Station and environs (20) was enlarged through unifying with the neighboring building block (21). This large building block around the Railway Station kept its open area character, while being densified with the addition of many related public service buildings.

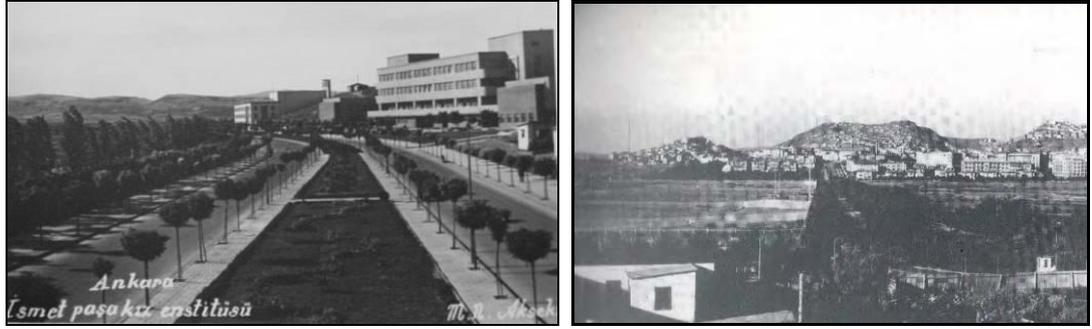


In 1944, parallel to the growth of the city, the urban circulation network grew in all directions. The historic city was at the center and crossroads of this growing city developing the necessary circulation arteries inside.



**Figure 3.101:** (left) Atatürk Boulevard (former Bankalar Avenue) (Sağdıç, 1994:67)

**Figure 3.102:** (right) View from Atatürk Boulevard (Sağdıç, 1994: 77).



**Figure 3.103:** (left) Atatürk Boulevard around Sıhhiye in 1940s (www.wowTURKEY.com, June 2010)

**Figure 3.104:** (right) Cumhuriyet Boulevard in 1940s (Sağdıç, 1993: 27).

Atatürk Boulevard (1), the major route for the whole Ankara and the historic city, lying on north-south axis, kept its importance as in 1930s (Figure 3.102-3.104). On the other hand, new İnönü Boulevard (2) occurred as the other main route on east-west axis. Apart from these, Cumhuriyet Boulevard (3) was another important boulevard connecting Railway Station to Ulus Square (Figure 3.105). Depending on the 'Hartalı Ankara Rehberi' dated 1949, a city guide book written by M. Demirkaya and printed by Ankara Driver School, out of four boulevards (the last one was Mustafa Kemal Boulevard (tangent to the study area of this thesis) connecting Kızılay to Çiftlik Avenue at Tophane), three of them were located totally or partially in the historic city in 1940s.<sup>168</sup>

<sup>168</sup> Demirkaya, 1949: 47

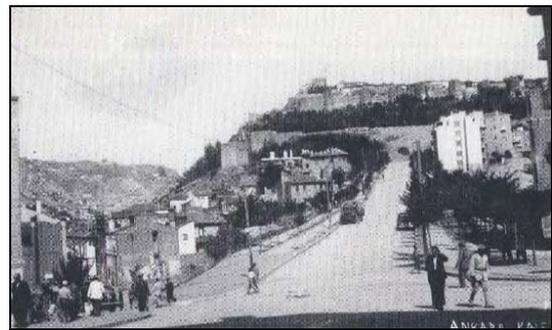


**Figure 3.105:** (left) Anafartalar Avenue in 1940s (Sađdıç, 1993: 100)

**Figure 3.106:** (right) Anafartalar Avenue (former Karaođlan Avenue) in 1940s (Sađdıç, 1993: 100).

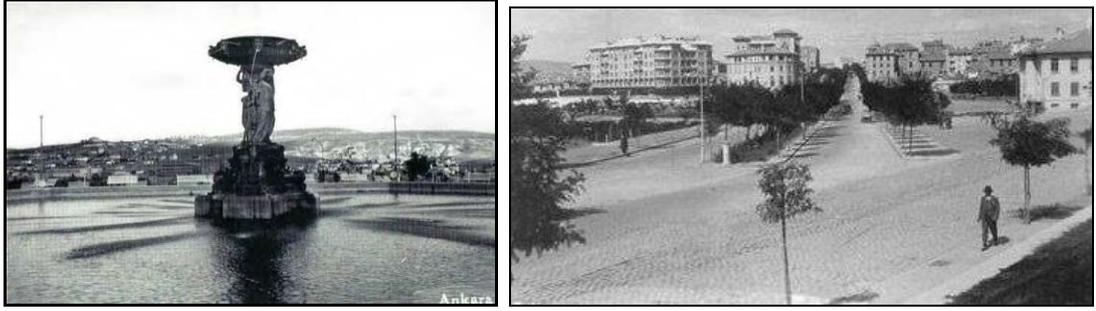
Anafartalar Avenue (4), which started at Ulus Square and ended at Samanpazarı Square, was still the major commercial axis of Ankara. After a new arrangement, former Karaođlan, Şehremaneti, Balıkpazarı and Çocuk Sarayı Avenues were united under one name of Anafartalar Avenue.

Other important avenues of historic city in 1944 were Çankırı Avnue (5), Denizciler (former Bahriye) Avenue (6), İstiklal Avenue (7), Hipodrom Avenue (8), Eyigün Avenue (9), Saraçlar Avenue (10) following Çıkrikçılar Slope, Yıldırım Avenue (11), which was the section of İnönü Boulevard around Samanpazarı Square, Posta Avenue (12), Cebeci Avenue (13), Işıklar Avenue (14) and Bentderesi Avenue (15). As a result of the important intervention of İnönü Boulevard (today's Talat Pasha Boulevard) in urban circulation network, Dilektepe (Hacettepe) Park (Figure 3.110) occurred around Hacettepe at the south side of this artery.



**Figure 3.107:** (left) New İnönü Boulevard (today's Talat Pasha Boulevard) around Hamamönü (Sađdıç, 1994:140)

**Figure 3.108:** (right) View from Eyigün (today's Hisarparkı) Avenue in 1940s (Sađdıç, 1994: 100).



**Figure 3.109:** (left) The pool in Dilektepe Park (around Hacettepe) at the south of the Old City (National Library Archive)



**Figure 3.110:** (right) Atatürk Boulevard from Sıhhiye towards Ulus in 1940s (Sağdıç, 1994:78).

Depending on the analysis of urban circulation network in 1944 in Figure 3.101 and verifying them from the city guide dated 1949<sup>169</sup>, primary squares in the historic city were Hükümet Square (a), along Cumhuriyet Boulevard; Ulus (former Hakimiyet-i Milliye or Millet) Square (b), Müdafa-i Hukuk Square (c) and 19 Mayıs Square (d), as well as Samanpazarı Square (e), Hisar Square (f), İtfaiye Square (g) and Hergelen Square (h).



**Figure 3.111:** (left) Ulus Square in 1940s (VEKAM Archive)



**Figure 3.112:** (right) Hergelen Square (Mamboury, 1933: 197)

Secondary squares or nodes appear as; Hacıbayram Square (i), intersection of Anafartalar Avenue and Çıkırıkçılar Slope (j), square in front of the new marketplace and Suluhan on Posta Avenue (k) and the triangular square on Salkım Street at the south side of Samanpazarı Square (l).

<sup>169</sup> Demirkaya, 1949: 56.

### ***Continuities and Changes of Urban Circulation Pattern in the Historic City from 1930s to 1944:***

As a result of the city's major development towards south, the most striking change in the urban circulation pattern from 1930s to 1944 occurs to be the opening of the new İnönü Boulevard (today's Talat Pasha Boulevard) on east-west axis. With this decision and intervention, Cebeci was connected to Railway Station Area, cutting through the historic quarters through Hamamönü and İstiklal Quarters. This important intervention caused major changes of urban circulation network and urban fabric pattern at the south part of the Historic City. The old square at Samanpazarı was enlarged a great deal and became the park known as Esenpark.

On the other hand, related with the intervention of İnönü Boulevard, a new area was annexed to Bosnian Quarter at its south, enlarging the triangular form into a larger one. The streets opened in this new area provided the connections with Cebeci Avenue at the south border of the map of 1940s, also crossing the railway at the south.

According to the study in Figure 3.114, the urban circulation network along the railway around Ulucanlar, Cebeci and Demirlibahçe appears as unfinished and disorganized in 1944 (1). When compared to the gradual development of major axis of Atatürk Boulevard since 19<sup>th</sup> century, the instant decision of new İnönü Boulevard (today's Talat Pasha Boulevard) was indifferent to the historic pattern and increased the decay of the historic urban fabric, cutting off and destructing its southernmost portion. Decision of building Hacettepe University Campus will cause the total demolition of this part of the Old City in the near future.

Parallel to the previously mentioned changes of urban fabric in the same period, these three striking changes reflected also to urban circulation pattern in 1944. First one occurred in Necatibey Quarter, which was composed of smaller urban blocks less than a decade ago, was reshaped with larger urban blocks, through consolidation (2). The other change of design occurred in İtfaiye Square and the radial shaped junction was replaced with an ordinary geometrical circulation pattern (3).

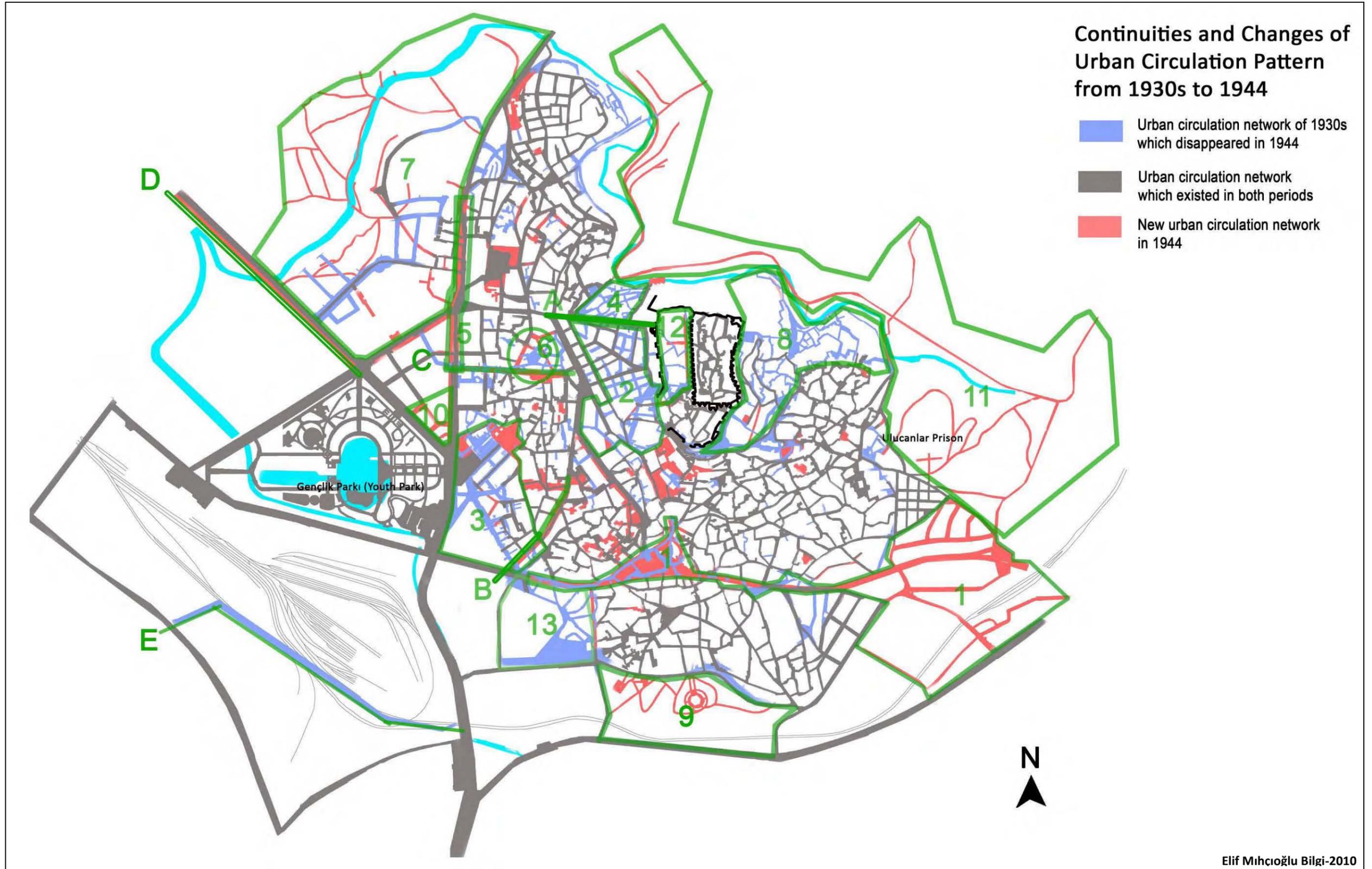


Figure 3.113: Change of Urban Circulation Network from 1930s to 1944.

Another change was the disappearance of the urban fabric around Altay-Ülkü Quarters, next to Numune Hospital (13). These three major changes, which affected the residential urban fabric extensively, were not related with the changes in the whole study area and the reasons will be searched in the planning decisions. In 1944, another distinct change was the clarified axis of Eyigün Avenue (today's Hisarparkı Avenue) climbing towards İnönü Park and the Citadel (Axis A).

Contrary to many other historical quarters in the historic city, the street definitions in Tabakhane Quarter which existed in 1930s, were lost in 1944. The buildings were like on one large building lot without a street pattern (4).

Apart from this, former İstasyon Avenue, taking today's name of Cumhuriyet Boulevard in 1944, and Bankalar Avenue (the part near Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square) were widened, to carry the capacity and the continuity of the main artery of Atatürk Boulevard in the Historic City and through the whole city. As a part of this strengthening, there was a slight, but apparent revision at Çankırı Avenue clarifying the form of the road connecting to Dışkapı (5).

Parallel to the changes in the historic core, Kızılıbey Avenue and Tahtakale Square Street, which were slightly undulating and connecting Bankalar Avenue to Balıkpazarı Avenue, were straightened and widened taking the name of Posta Avenue. This intervention was a part of the changes that took place in the historical commercial area of Tahtakale Square with the building of a Primary School and the today's Market Building next to it (6).

Apart from the area of the governmental center, where National Assembly Buildings and the Court of Accounts (*Sayıştay*) were located, the urban circulation pattern at the north-western corner of the historic city changed a great deal from 1930s to 1944. Thus, it is important to mention that the area was mostly composed of open areas. The west side of Çankırı Avenue where Bozkurt, Feyzi Pasha and Yeni Turan (Akköprü) Quarters were urbanized partially using the existing Çankırı and İstanbul Avenues for circulation, and Değirmenarkı, Soğukkuyu, Ortaarkı and Üçtaş Quarters were afforested areas. These inner areas of agricultural and gardening

areas had an organic layout formed loose circulation pattern different than the other parts of the historic city (7).

Some areas which had some traces of urban circulation network before around Yeni Hayat and Şükriye Quarters at the east of the Citadel in 1930s faded out and disappeared, as inappropriate areas of settlement due to their steep topography, but illegally inhabited still in 1940s (8).

The city's development towards north, breaking the natural threshold of Hatip Stream, was not through the new urban circulation network which would be the result of the development plan, but only through the additions of large shanty-town areas at the north-east of the Historic City without an urban circulation network (11).

It is possible to follow the occurrence of new circulation patterns in the areas which were developed in this period, like the park at Dilektepe (Hacettepe) (10) and the triangular building block of Ankara Palas after the Ottoman Bank and Ziraat Bank buildings were constructed (10). Likewise, Hisarönü area, (which was destroyed by the fire in 1916 and arranged as a recreational park with a loose urban circulation network in 1930s), was rearranged as İnönü Park having a linear circulation pattern (12).

Parallel to the growing city, the peripheral roads like İstanbul Avenue (Axis D) was widened connecting historic city center of Ulus to surrounding new quarters like Etlik and Atatürk Forest Farm (Atatürk Orman Çiftliği).

In addition, the large building block at the south-western corner of the historic city where the Railway Station and a few governmental railway service buildings were located in 1930s was further enlarged by uniting it with the neighboring building block and densified with the governmental buildings and establishments. Thus, the large road of Axis D was lost and the new peripheral road of Mustafa Kemal Boulevard was in use in 1944.

### 3.2.2.3. Land Use Pattern<sup>170</sup>

According to the following Land Use Pattern Analysis of Ankara in 1944, the historic city was saturated parallel to the rapidly growing city and population. The major commercial zones in the historic city were; along former Karaođlan Avenue, Balıkpazarı Avenue (today's complete Anafartalar Avenue) reaching to Samanpazarı Square, as well as ıkrikılar Avenue, Tabakhane Avenue, and Hanlar District as the traditional commercial center.

Although some of the ministries were started to be built around Bakanlıklar District since early 1930s, the governmental center was still located at Ulus, comprising of National Assembly Building, Turkish Court of Accounts (*Sayıřtay*) and Republican People's Party Headquarters, including *Ankara Palas* (State Guest House) on the other side of Cumhuriyet Boulevard (former İstanbul Avenue). The former governmental center around Hükümet Square, consisting of the Prime Ministry, Ministry of Finance, Ankara Governorship, Department of Revenues (*Defterdarlık*), Police Headquarters and Directorate of Title Deeds and Cadastres, was in use actively in the historic city in 1944. Because of the financial problems, the new Parliament Complex<sup>171</sup> at Bakanlıklar District was still under construction<sup>172</sup>. By the way, it is known that no public buildings (governmental, educational, cultural, healthcare etc.) were built in the large area of historic city after early 1940s for more than a decade<sup>173</sup>. Bankalar Avenue, as a part of the main artery of Atatürk Boulevard, was the most prestigious axis in the historic city, where many

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<sup>170</sup> The map of land use pattern was redrawn after 1944 Ankara Map. The map was drawn depending on the photogrammetric aerial photos, so it is accurate and detailed. It also included a brief city guide booklet where extra information was given with reference to the map. Despite the booklet, *Ankara Rehberi (The Guide of Ankara)* by N.C. Güleklı (1949), *Hartalı Ankara Rehberi* by M. Demirkaya (1949) and 1960 dated Ankara Map are used for the missing information and for the cross-check. Despite the good quality of the many sources, the non-residential uses are not believed to be definite and complete yet, especially when compared to 1930s map.

<sup>171</sup> The competition for the new Parliament complex was concluded in January 28<sup>th</sup>, 1938. The jury chose three winners out of fourteen projects and out of these three, Atatürk chose the project of Austrian architect Prof. Clemens Holzmeister to be applied. The foundation was layed in October 26<sup>th</sup>, 1939 and the construction was interrupted a few times during the World War II. Speeding up after 1957, the complex was completed and started to be used in 1961 (Aslanođlu, 2001: 117-118).

<sup>172</sup> <sup>1</sup> Altın, E. (ed.), 2003: 49.

<sup>173</sup> Altın, E. (ed.), 2003.

governmental buildings (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Directorate of Liquor (*TEKEL*), PTT (Post Telephone and Telegraph), Turkish Aeronautical Association, Ankara Broadcasting House etc.), the headquarters of many banks and most luxurious hotels were located. Apart from these areas, there were still governmental buildings in the historic city along Anafartalar Avenue like; Municipality, Child Protection Institution (*Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu*), MTA (Mine Research Exploration Institute) and Court House. Apart from the administrative governmental buildings, the large Railway Station and environs, comprising related educational and residential buildings mostly, as well as Ulucanlar Prison at the east corner of the Historic City were the other governmental areas.

The educational buildings were many in number around Ulus, comprising of 13 primary schools, 6 secondary schools, 3 high schools, 6 vocational schools and colleges. They were scattered in the urban fabric quite homogeneously. The ones in the historic core were smaller and the peripheral ones comprised larger areas.

The major healthcare establishments were State Railway Hospital near to Railway Station, Maternity Hospital around Hamamönü on the east and Numune Hospital (around Namazgah on the west, next to the People's House (*Halkevi*)) on İnönü Boulevard (today's Talat Pasha Boulevard). There were also smaller establishments like TB Dispensary, etc.

Towards the end of 1940s, there were nearly 50 hotels mostly located in the historic Ankara; of which 9 of them were luxury class, 8 of them were first class, 15 of them were second class and 14 of them were third class. 8 of them were located on Çankırı Avenue, 6 of them were on Sanatlar Street (former Sanayi Avenue), 5 of them were on Anafartalar Avenue, 3 of them were around İtfaiye Square, 3 of them were on Atatürk Boulevard and the others were scattered in the historic city. The luxurious hotels were located on Atatürk Boulevard and Çankırı Avenue. On the other hand, only one hotel (Gül Palas Hotel on Atatürk Boulevard around Sıhhiye) was located outside the historic city.<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> Demirkaya, 1949: 29-30.

In addition, Historic city of Ankara, which lacked accommodation facilities in the early years of the new Republic, had many of them in two decades.

The cultural buildings were composed of the People's House (*Halkevi*), out of 7 cinemas, 5 of them being around Ulus (excluding the open-air cinemas in summer), an Opera House and a theatre under Second Foundation Apartment Building (II. Vakıf Apartmanı).<sup>175</sup>

There were 5 Turkish baths in the whole city, all of them located in the historic urban fabric<sup>176</sup>.

There were 25 major restaurants in the whole city, of which 22 were located in the historic city, around Anafartalar Avenue, Atatürk Boulevard, Posta Avenue and Sanatlar Street. Apart from these, the three bars in the city were located on Çankırı Avenue<sup>177</sup>.

Through this analysis, it can be clearly said that the residential use in the pattern was mixed with many different non-residential uses.

Apart from this, the most striking difference in the land use pattern of the Historic City was the large area of shanty-town at the north. Apart from this, the steep eastern side of the Citadel was already completely covered by the squatter houses. While different, especially non-residential uses were densified, the recreational, planned open areas comprised quite large areas in the historic city, like; Youth Park (Gençlik Parkı, Hipodrom Area, Dilektepe Park, İnönü Park at Hisarönü and the front garden of the Ministry of Finance and Governmental Square (*Hükümet Meydanı*) and the Public Garden, "*Millet Bahçesi*". Dilekpark and Esenpark were two new parks created on the south-eastern periphery of the historic quarters. Esenpark was an urban park, including more functions than a normal park and was a public place to go both for entertainment and to have tea and watch the view of New City

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<sup>175</sup> Demirkaya, 1949: 31-32.

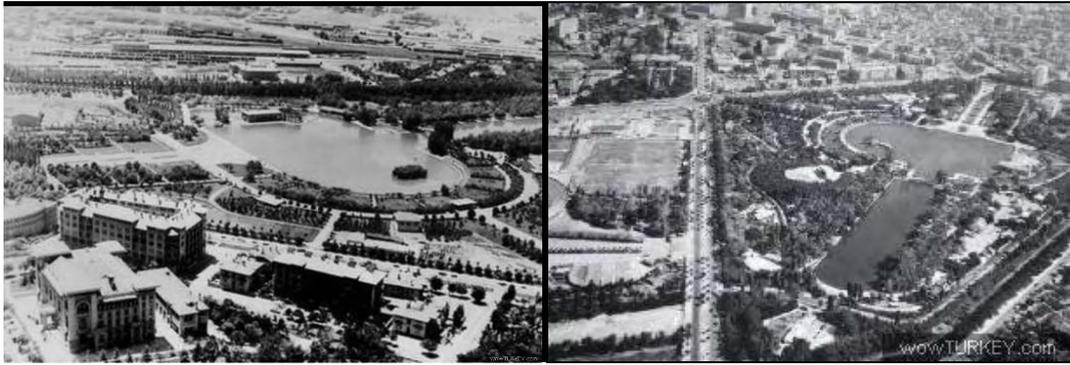
<sup>176</sup> Demirkaya, 1949: 32.

<sup>177</sup> Demirkaya, 1949: 30-31.

during the day. There were shops, concerts were given (especially traditional Turkish music) and recreation enriched the city life<sup>178</sup>.

In addition to recreational open areas, there were afforested areas at the northern and eastern peripheries of the Old City.

*Gençlik Parkı* (Youth Park), constructed between 1936 and 1943, was an important a recreational and entertainment area, as well as an important meeting point of Ankara in 1940s. It was used for all seasons especially for sports activities<sup>179</sup>.



**Figure 3.114:** (left) Aerial view from Youth Park and environs in 1940s (wowturkey.com)

**Figure 3.115:** (right) Aerial view from Youth Park and environs in 1940s (wowturkey.com)

In addition, there were no cemeteries anymore within the boundaries of the historic city as can be seen in the redrawn map of 1944. (According to the additional booklet of the map), the cemeteries in 1944 were Asri Cemetery at the north-east, Old Cemetery (*Eski Mezarlık*) and Martyrdom (*Şehitlik*) at the east side of the historic city around Demirlibahçe.

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<sup>178</sup> Özaloğlu, 2008: 27-28.

<sup>179</sup> Uludağ, 1998 :74.

# LAND USE - 1944

\* Redrawn after Ankara city plan of 1944.

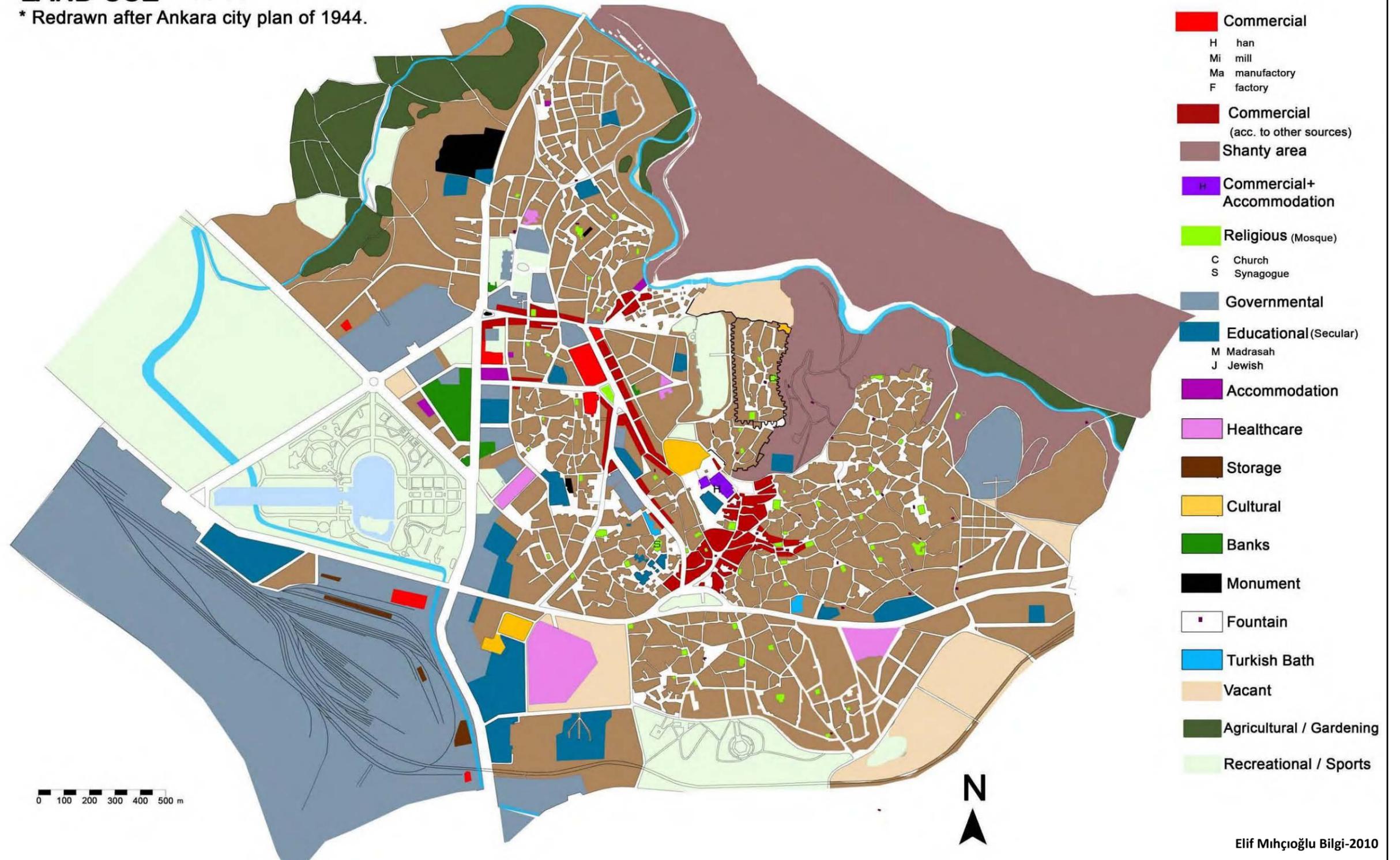


Figure 3.116: Land Use Pattern in the Historic City of Ankara in 1944.

***Change of Land Use Pattern from 1930s to 1944:***

Depending on the analysis of change of land use pattern from 1930s and 1944 (Figure 3.103 and Figure 3.104), the land uses in the historic city were densified, filling all the capacity in general sense. Apart from this, especially non-residential uses were increased especially governmental uses, hence, residential uses were decreased.

The large recreational open areas remained stable from 1930s to 1944, but shanties around the Citadel were clearly the outcome of rapid urbanization and excessive population growth. Especially the vacant areas were filled; in the historic city with residential buildings, and at the peripheral areas (including the edges inappropriate) were filled with squatters.

The slightly afforested, agricultura-gardening open areas at the north-western corner of the city, (which was kept in the area since 1839) regressed in comparison to 1930s and replaced with urban blocks for residential use basically in this short period of time.

# LAND USE - 1930's

\* Redrawn after Ankara Cadastral Plans of 1927-36 and Ankara city plan of 1937-38

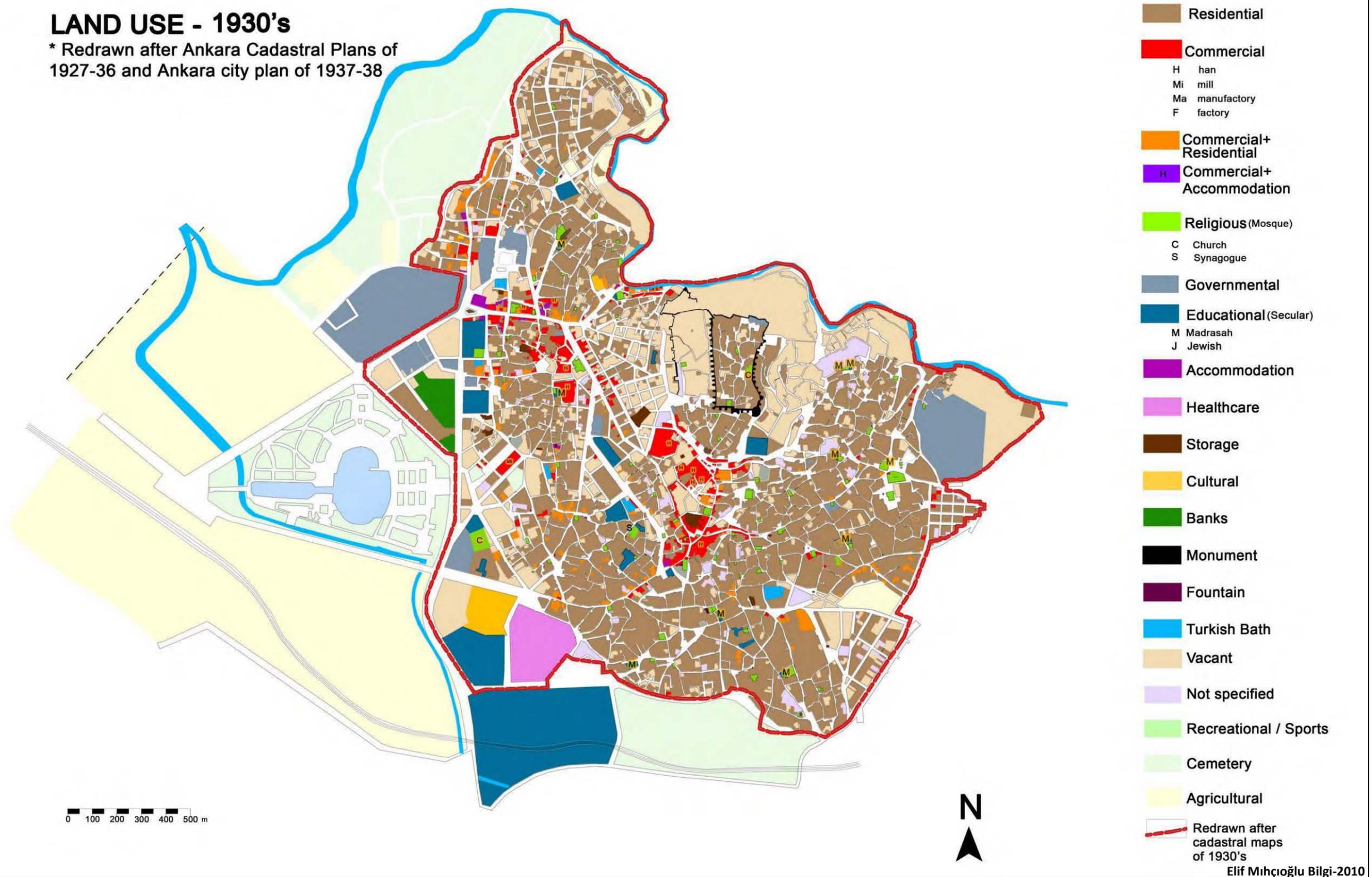
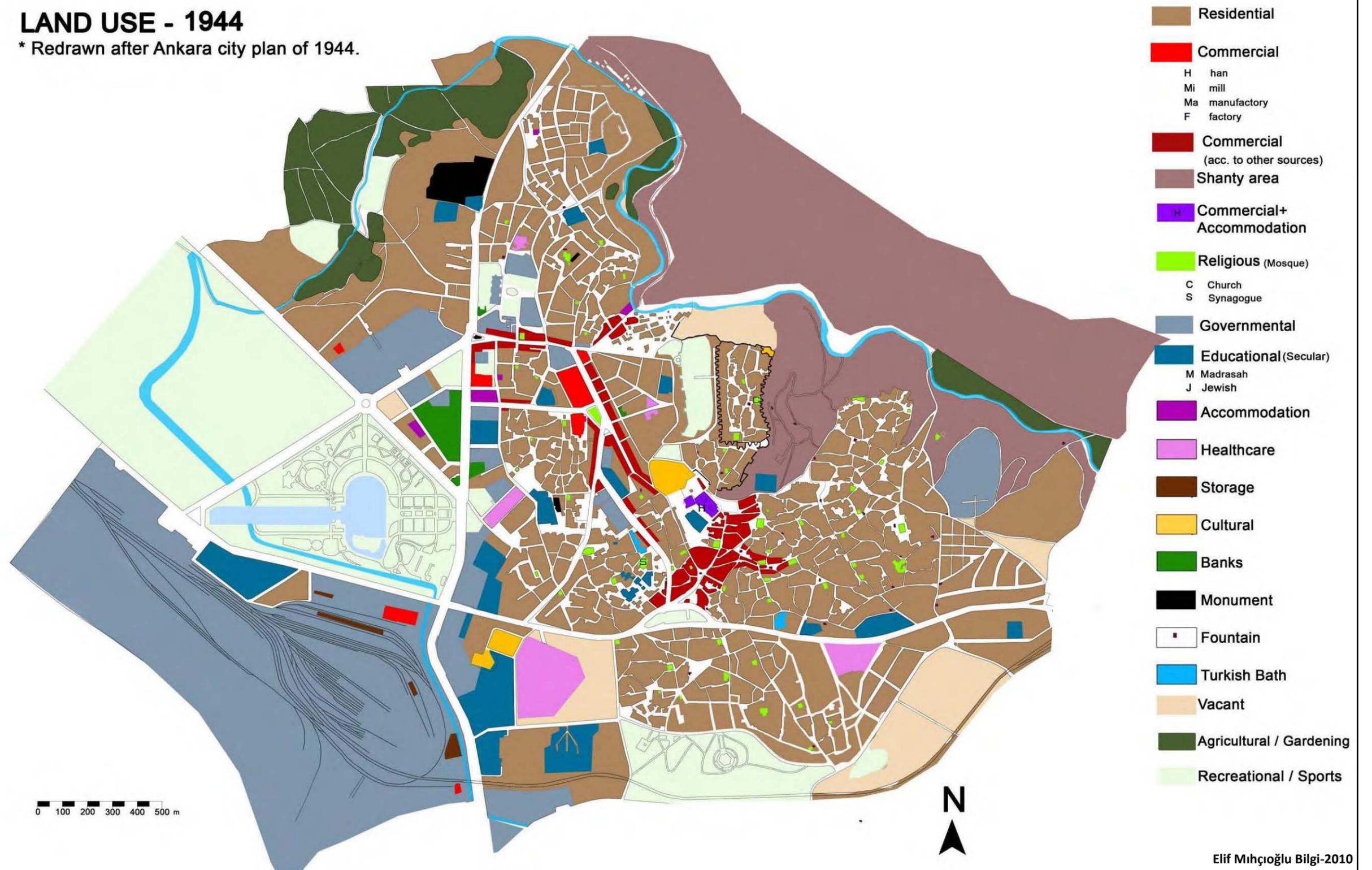


Figure 3.117: Land Use Pattern in the Historic City of Ankara in 1930s.

# LAND USE - 1944

\* Redrawn after Ankara city plan of 1944.



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Figure 3.118: Land Use Pattern in the Historic City of Ankara in 1944.

## CHAPTER 4

### EFFECTS OF PLANNING DECISIONS AND REGULATIONS TO THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE HISTORIC CITY OF ANKARA

After analyzing ‘when’ and ‘how’ the historic city of Ankara changed physically, parallel to which socio-economical dynamics from 1839 to 1944 as much as possible, the aim of this chapter is to clarify the reasons of these previously defined formations and transformations, with regard to institutional structure, valid regulations and development plans on the historic city of Ankara in this period.

#### 4.1. Institutional Structure and Valid Regulations in the Pre-Republican Period

##### 4.1.1. Institutional Structure and Regulations till 1830s

Large Ottoman territory was divided into states and sanjaks militarily-administratively on one side; divided into *kaza’s* (districts) legally-administratively on the other. Within this system, *bey’s* were assigned to manage the Centers, states and sanjaks; and *efendi’s* were assigned to manage *kaza’s*. Within this system, Ankara was the center of Pasha Sanjak of Anatolian Province (*Anadolu Eyaleti*) till 1462. Then, the center of province was moved to Kütahya, thus Ankara became an ordinary sanjak and kept its administrative situation during XVII<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> Taş, 2006: 28.

Depending on the study of Ergenç on Ankara of late 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>181</sup>, Faroqhi comments that urban quarters and religious groups had an unexpected initiative and power for developing cooperative organizations for the city. Moreover, the divisions between the different quarters and the religious groups in the city were not sharp or strict.<sup>182</sup>

On the other hand, 17<sup>th</sup> century can be accepted as a turning point from the point of organization of socio-economical and spatial relations in the Anatolian cities, primarily in Ankara. These Anatolian cities were organized basically by the help of the 'trade guilds' (*esnaf loncaları*) against external pressures like *Celali* attacks, migrations from rural to urban or any kind of circumstances threatening the security. The trade guilds not only controlled the quality and quantity of production, but also constituted a base to the most effective social and economic cooperation and organization between all facets of the society, participating in municipal services as well. With the due social solidarity, the inhabitants of the city built the surrounding City Walls in the early years of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The City Walls, not only protected the city, but also shaped and restricted it for centuries<sup>183</sup>.

As explained by Çadırcı, Ankara was affected highly by *Şehzade (Prince) Beyazıt Riot* in 1558 and the following *Celali* attacks, which caused intense social and economic crisis in Ankara. After a few *Celali* Attacks, the social and economic life in Ankara regressed, leaving almost nothing from the wealthy classical period of the city. Following the attacks by Abaza Mehmet Pasha in 1623, by Abaza Hasan Pasha in 1651 and by İbiş Pasha one year later, the city was in peace again during *Köprülülüler* Period. In 17<sup>th</sup> century, the administrators of Ankara, the city which was the center of Ankara Sanjak, under the heel of Anatolia State, were assigned by the governor of the state, and then the administration started to be given to senior government officials as a benefice. The officials, who mostly resided at the

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<sup>181</sup> Ergenç, Ö. (1973) *1580-1596 Yılları Arasında Ankara ve Konya Şehirlerinin Mukayeseli İncelemesi Yoluyla Osmanlı Şehirlerinin Kurumları ve Sosyo-ekonomik Yapısı Üzerine Bir Deneme*, yayımlanmamış doktora tezi, A.Ü. Dil ve Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi, Ankara.

<sup>182</sup> Faroqhi, 1994: 369.

<sup>183</sup> Aktüre, 1994: 87-88.

government center, transferred this task to the members of the leading wealthy families of the city. Following Ankara, this method became widespread in the other Anatolian cities. These administrators mostly exploited their positions socially and economically and were cruel to the community under the loose control of the government, till the period of Selim III (1761-1808). Selim III tried to improve the administrative system through the basic decisions of choosing trustworthy governmental executives all around the country, building a *Nizam-ı Cedid* Military Service and keeping subordinate garrisons in the smaller states for enhanced central management and security. Ankara was one of these garrison locations. During the period of Mahmut II<sup>nd</sup>, Ankara was still the center of sanjak till 1836<sup>184</sup>.

#### 4.1.2. Urban Reforms in Ankara between 1830 and 1924

Before *Tanzimat* Period, *Ankara* was a *sanjak* of *Bozok* Province. In 1836, Ankara was enhanced by becoming the center of state. Later, when the center of state was returned to *Bozok* (1848-1850, 1855-1859), Ankara was declared as the center of a separate province and following 1864 dated *nizamname*, it became the center of the province named after itself. The state, comprising an area of 83,000 sq.km. and a population of 900,000 people, was composed of four *sanjaks*; *Ankara*, *Yozgat*, *Kayseri* and *Kırşehir*. In 1894, the *sanjak* of *Çorum* was left to the subordination of the Province of *Ankara*. This new administrative status of the city can be said to have a clear effect to the retention of its decline process<sup>185</sup>.

In the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, two different regulations (*nizamname*) were valid that were; 1864 dated *Turuk and Ebniye Regulations applied after 1869*, and 1877 dated City Municipality Law (*Vilayet Belediye Kanunu*). Denel determines the clear changes in the physical environment due to these laws implemented primarily in İstanbul, then to the provinces including Ankara. With these new regulations, the traditional architectural and consequently the urban spatial characteristics were

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<sup>184</sup> Çadircı, 2000: 89-92.

<sup>185</sup> Georgeon, 1999: 108.

forced to be transformed by straightening and widening the roads, limiting the height of the buildings and their general architectural appearances<sup>186</sup>.

The reason for the urban modernization due to *Tanzimat* Reforms were not only for the 'hygiene' and 'aesthetics' of the city, but especially for the reinforcement of the central authority in the city as Yerasimos points out. It was an effort of establishing order in the urban settlement both physically, socially and organizationally<sup>187</sup>.

In this period, *Hanlar District* around *Atpazarı* and *Bedesten* was still the commercial center of the city, yet weakening with the decreasing *sof* production.

Following the arrival of the railway to the city in 1892, the importance of the city increased developing towards west, enabling the development of *Ulus* District with the construction of new buildings and new avenues.<sup>188</sup>

The role of *Abidin Pasha*, the famous governor of Ankara between 1884 and 1892, must be emphasized from the point of city's development and modernization. The supply of drinking water from *Elmadağ*, the establishment of a fire department, modernization of the postal services, renewal of the existing roads, construction of a *Gureba* Hospital for the poor, establishment of some schools -one '*rüşdiye*' (secondary school), one '*idadi*' (high school) and one '*Hamidiye Sanayi Mektebi*' (*Hamidiye* Vocational School of Industry)- and the construction of railway to Ankara, were all realized in the period of Governor *Abidin Pasha*. Henceforth, Ankara which was at a distance of two days to the capital city until that day, gained easy access to the outer world through railway. This new access opened a new epoch in the city's import and export of agricultural products and stockbreeding. Following the arrival of railway, the Ottoman Bank and reinsurance companies opened branch offices in Ankara. On the other hand, the traditional transportation

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<sup>186</sup> Denel, 2000: 133.

<sup>187</sup> Yerasimos, 1999: 3-6.

<sup>188</sup> Tunçer, 2001: 57.

by caravans could not compete with the trains on the western directions, but survived along the routes towards north, east and south<sup>189</sup>.

Apart from the minor post-*Tanzimat* period interventions mostly on the west and south-west of the city center (like *İstanbul* and *İstasyon* Avenues, *Hükümet* Square etc.), the major interventions between 1839 and 1924 were realized starting from the Independence War years and accelerated with the announcement of Ankara's becoming the new capital city. The aim of 1924 *Şehremaneti* (Municipality) Map was to be used as a base map of a development plan for Ankara. Carl Christophe Lörcher's plan was the first<sup>190</sup>.

The main arteries like *Balıkpazarı*, former *Anafartalar* and *Bankalar* Avenues, as well as *Taşhan (Ulus)* Square occur following the modernization period of Ottoman due to *Tanzimat* reforms as can be read in 1924 map.

Parallel to this, it is claimed that the first effects of '*Tanzimat*', which means 'putting in order, organizing, arranging and regulating' started to be seen in many Ottoman cities with a quasi-Hausmannian perspective starting from 1840's<sup>191</sup>.

## **4.2. Proclamation of Ankara as the Capital and Development of the City in the Early Republican period**

### **4.2.1. Planning Decisions and Regulations between 1924 and 1930s**

The choice of Ankara as the capital city was received with hesitation and resistance till 1927. Apart from the internal doubts, foreign countries objected Ankara from the point of their diplomatic representation. However, there were two major reasons determining the choice of Ankara as the capital city. First, it was necessary to find a new place, other than İstanbul, to build the new regime. Yet, Ankara was not chosen for only being the geographical center of the new Turkish Republic. Hence, secondly, Mustafa Kemal was sure that he would find the necessary social

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<sup>189</sup> Georgeon, 1999: 108-109.

<sup>190</sup> Cengizkan, 2004: 36.

<sup>191</sup> Dumont-Georgeon, 1999: viii.

support for this new formation in Ankara, depending on the immense cooperation of the city during the Independence War<sup>192</sup>. Forgetting about its being one of Anatolia's most important centers during history, Ankara of 1920's was despised with the discourse of 'undeveloped, dusty and muddy steppe town'<sup>193</sup>, which became a mythical stereotype since then.

Resisting against many objections for Ankara, the priorities of the new Turkish Republic was to develop Ankara fulfilling the requirements of a modern capital city, as 'to demonstrate the success of the new regime'<sup>194</sup> and to solve the urgent needs of housing for the newcomers to the city.

The legal conditions and administrative structure for the planning of Ankara between 1923 and 1950 is explained in detail by Kudret Emiroğlu and Süha Ünsal in their book titled '*Kentleşme, Yapı ve Konut: 1923-1950 Dönemi*' (*Urbanization, Building and Housing: The Period of 1923-1950*). In these primary years of Ankara, the municipality was founded, and '*Ankara Şehremaneti Law*' was prepared and accepted by the National Assembly in February 16<sup>th</sup>, 1924, having an understanding inherited from the Ottoman Empire<sup>195</sup>. According to this law, *Şehremaneti* would be directed by a Mayor (*Şehremini*), nominated by the Minister of Internal Affairs, and a Public Municipal Council (*Cemiyet-i Umumiye-i Belediye*) composed of 24 members. This council of Ankara had the same duties and powers with the council of İstanbul and was responsible for the application of the appropriate rules to the

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<sup>192</sup> Falih Rıfkı, 'Mustafa Kemal acaba neden Ankara'yı seçti? Meselenin böyle konusu doğru değildir. Mustafa Kemal sadece Ankara'da kalmaya karar vermiştir. Ankara ilk zamanları Milli Kurtuluş Savaşı'nın karargahı idi. Düşman onun yakınlarına kadar gelmiş, fakat kapısını zorlayamamıştı. Birçok bölgede BMM'ne karşı ayaklanmalar olmuşken, Ankara hareketi ve Mustafa Kemal'i sonuna kadar tereddütsüz tutmuştur. Tutuşunun sebebi kuvvet baskısına verilemez. Çünkü Ankara'da askeri kuvvet daima azdı. İrtica, fesat ve tahriklerin böyle kuvvetleri, çok da olsalar, ne çabuk erittikleri de başka merkezlerde görülmüştür.' diye yazar (Atay, 1998: 418).

<sup>193</sup> Emiroğlu, Ünsal, 2006: 32.

<sup>194</sup> Tankut, 1993; 49

<sup>195</sup> Şehremaneti Law was first legislated during Ottoman modernization period, especially 1877 dated Municipality Law and 1882 dated *Ebniye* (Buildings) Law, included articles about roads, fire areas and buildings (Akin, 2007; 157).

needs of Ankara, of the set of regulations called '*nizamet ve talimat ve mukavverat*' of İstanbul<sup>196</sup>.

*Şehremaneti* structure of Ankara was mostly similar to İstanbul, but with some basic differences<sup>197</sup>. After making some necessary changes for Ankara in April 22<sup>nd</sup> 1925, *Ebniye* Law was put into effect till 1933. In 1933, *Ebniye* Law was replaced with the 'Municipal Building and Roads Law' (*Belediye Yapı ve Yollar Kanunu*) in 1933. This law brought comprehensive liabilities to the Municipality for the new development of the fire areas which was a common problem in many Anatolian cities in this period. Following the legislation of 'Buildings and Roads Law of Municipality' (*Belediye Yapı ve Yollar Kanunu*), *Belediyeler Bankası* (Bank of Municipalities) was established in 1933. Its responsibilities were to provide financial support to the municipalities for the provision of the development plans<sup>198</sup>. In 1944, it took its well-known name as *İller Bankası* (*Provincial Bank*) and its responsibilities were extended including the technical guidance and support to prepare development plans promptly<sup>199</sup>. Despite new arrangements, preparation processes of development plans were still not fast enough. In June 14<sup>th</sup>, 1935, General Directorate of Construction (*Yapı İşleri Umum Müdürlüğü*) was established. Despite the new Municipal Buildings and Roads Law and the establishment of Municipal Development Committee, preparation of development plans did not accelerate. A relative acceleration for the development plans could be gained through the studies of *Nafia Vekaleti Şehircilik Fen Heyeti* (Ministry of Public Works,

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<sup>196</sup> Emiroğlu, Ünsal, 2006: 74

<sup>197</sup> The members of the Public Municipal Council in İstanbul, was elected from the citizens paying a minimum property tax of 200 kuruş, by the citizens paying a minimum property tax of 100 kuruş. In Ankara, this condition was cancelled, in a way protecting the new coming bureaucrats to the city against the wealthy local landholders. In İstanbul, the approval of the budgets, the staff and their salaries were under the control of the municipality, but the municipality of Ankara was under the control of the Minister of Internal Affairs, so under the direct control of the central government. İstanbul Municipality had the right to establish a municipal police organization (*zabıta teşkilatı*), and in 1912 although this duty was left to the police by the law, but could not be applied. On the other hand, the security task was directly left to the police by the law and was implemented as legislated (Emiroğlu, Ünsal, 2006: 74, from Tekeli, 1982: 5).

<sup>198</sup> Emiroğlu, Ünsal, 2006: 44-48.

<sup>199</sup> Tekeli, 1996: 29-30; Emiroğlu, Ünsal, 2006: 49.

Urban Planning Technical Committee). Municipal Buildings and Roads Law obliged and prescribed the preparation of development plans, depending on detailed researches and site surveys. Besides, it defined many subjects like the rates of land use, street widths etc. in more detail than to be expected from a law.<sup>200</sup>

The Directorate of Development of Ankara was established and started serving in 1928<sup>201</sup>. Ankara *Şehremaneti* was on duty during 6 years, then aborted by the Law of Municipalities (*Belediyeler Kanunu*) no. 1580, article no. 162 and became a municipality in 1930. For the municipality, there were two options defined by the law; either a mayor only undertaking the responsibilities of the municipal works, or a governor additionally undertaking the responsibilities of the mayor. Starting from 1930 till 1948 (until the law no.5168, dated 8.2.1948), Ankara Governors served as mayors also<sup>202</sup>.

In the constitution of 1924, article no.24 was announcing that ‘expropriation was not possible, unless the value price of the property was not paid’, on the other hand, in article no.583 the value price was defined as ‘the fifteen times its assessed value’ On the other hand, apart from the accelerated population growth in the city, the new comers had different life styles and habits, incompatible with the standards of the Old City. Apart from these articles, Emiroğlu and Ünsal describe the major reasons guiding the selection of the New City in a location other than the Old City.<sup>203</sup>

Following its foundation in 1924, the primary successes of *Şehremaneti* were ‘the reclamation of swamp areas’ and ‘the large expropriation’ it effectuated to provide land for the development of the New City.<sup>204</sup>

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<sup>200</sup> Emiroğlu, Ünsal, 2006: 52.

<sup>201</sup> Tankut, 2001: 10.

<sup>202</sup> Emiroğlu, Ünsal, 2006: 76.

<sup>203</sup> Emiroğlu, Ünsal, 2006: 79-80.

<sup>204</sup> Tekeli, 1980: 54; Tankut, 1993: 50.

With the increasing population in the city due to immigration, significant housing demand occurred in Ankara, when they were adequate in other cities, starting from the first years of the new Turkish Republic till 1940-45.<sup>205</sup>

This was an important goal and challenge of the development of Ankara.

Following the legal conditions and administrative structure for the planning of Ankara, it is necessary to explain the three important planning periods in the Early Republican period, which were the periods of 'Lörcher Plan', 'Jansen Plan' and 'Partial Implementation Plans'. The aim is to expose and discuss the tangible effects of these development interventions on the morphology of the historic city of Ankara through the method of this dissertation.

#### 4.2.2. Period of Lörcher Plan (1924-1929)



**Figure 4.1:** 1924-25 dated Lörcher Plan (1/10.000) for Old City and New City (Cengizkan, 2004: 245)

<sup>205</sup> Emiroğlu, Ünsal, 2006: 26-27.

The newly established Municipality (*Şehremaneti*) prepared a new map in 1924, known as *Şehremaneti* Map (Figure 1.4) to be the base map of the new planning studies for the capital city of the new Turkish Republic. In 1924 and 1925, the author of the first plan Carl Christoph Lörcher, submitted two plans; one for the Old City and the other for the New City (*Yenişehir*)<sup>206</sup>.

### ***What was Proposed by Lörcher Plan for the Historic City of Ankara?***<sup>207</sup>

Although he submitted two plans; one for the Old City, the other for the New City, the plan for the Old City does not seem to keep the historic urban fabric. The potential of relatively small and restricted fire area (in comparison with the whole) on two sides of Anafartalar Avenue from 1916 would be exaggerated to be the reason of his comprehensive proposals in the historic city in terms of today. On the other hand, apart from the partial environmental planning and conservation interests, the awareness on large scale urban planning and urban issues started developing after 1950s in the world, with reflections in Turkey. The concerns of urban conservation emerged after 1950s in parallel and started to be discussed by the scholars in Turkey<sup>208</sup>.

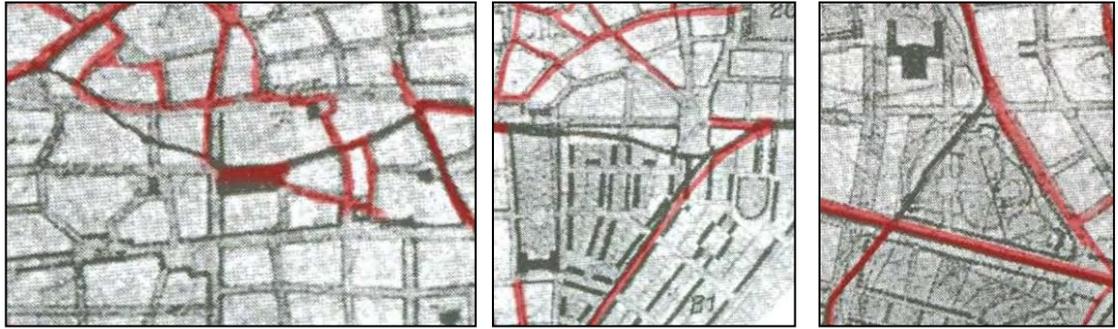
Apart from the main arteries (like Istanbul Avenue, former Anafartalar Avenue, the route of *Şehremaneti* Avenue continuing as Balıkpazarı Avenue, connecting to Çıkırıçılar Avenue, İstasyon Avenue continuing with Koyunpazarı Avenue, Sanayi Avenue and Bankalar Avenue), as well as some secondary streets, Lörcher Plan proposes a completely new urban fabric of a geometric pattern with grid-iron urban blocks and rarely triangular open areas, with radial avenues at certain areas. It is seen that Lörcher kept most of the main arteries that existed in 1924 in his plan, except a few arteries like the ones in Figures 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5.

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<sup>206</sup> Cengizkan, 2004: 39.

<sup>207</sup> Parallel to the general method of this dissertation, urban circulation pattern of 1924 is superposed with the Development Plan of Lörcher to read and clarify the continuities from 1924 (in Figure 4.16). In the superposed maps in this section, the red colour shows the retained urban elements of 1924 in Lörcher Plan.

<sup>208</sup> Dinçer, 1994: 117-137.

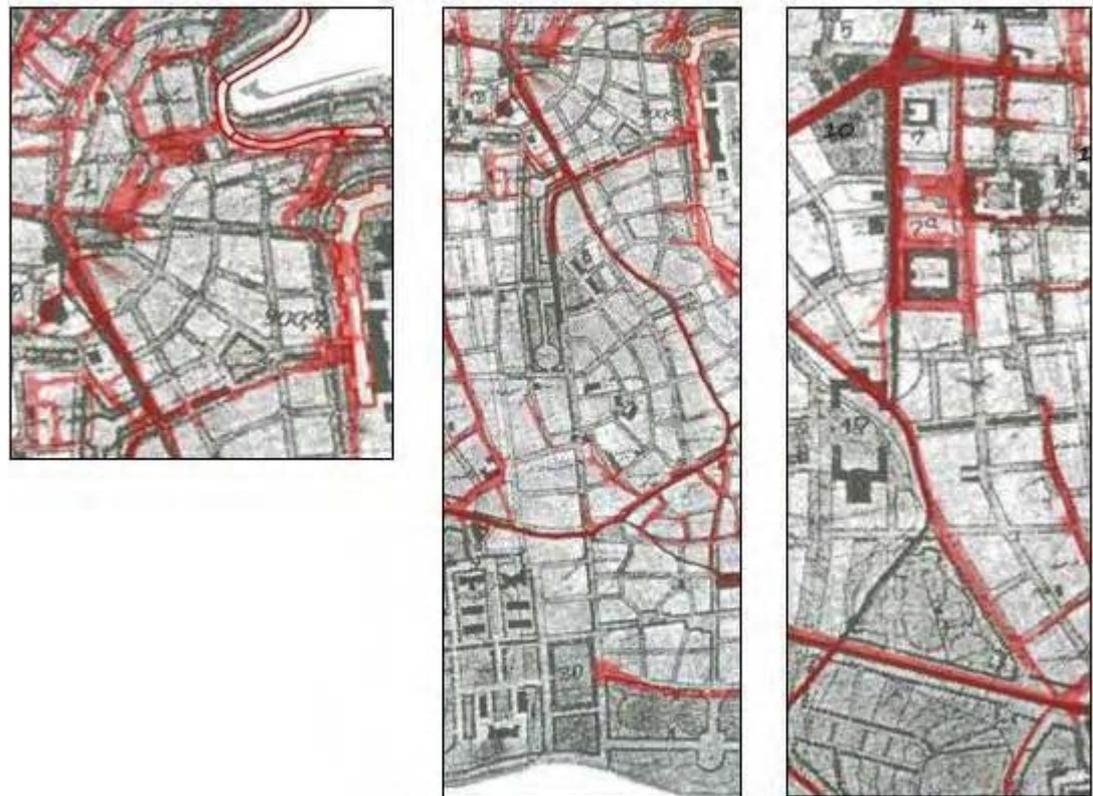


**Figure 4.2:** (left) Demirtaş Quarter

**Figure 4.3:** (middle) Gündoğdu Quarter

**Figure 4.4:** (right) Yenice Quarter.

He proposed an avenue climbing towards the Citadel, Eyigün Avenue (today's Hisar Avenue) for the first time (Figure 4.6).



**Figure 4.5:** (left) Eyigün Avenue (today's Hisar Avenue) in between Tabakhane and Necatibey Quarters, climbing towards the Citadel.

**Figure 4.6:** (middle) Şehremaneti-Çıkırkçılar Avenues.

**Figure 4.7:** (right) Bankalar Avenue

Parallel to his approach in general, as if trying to put the existing organic urban fabric in order by transforming it into a geometric pattern, the long axis, composed

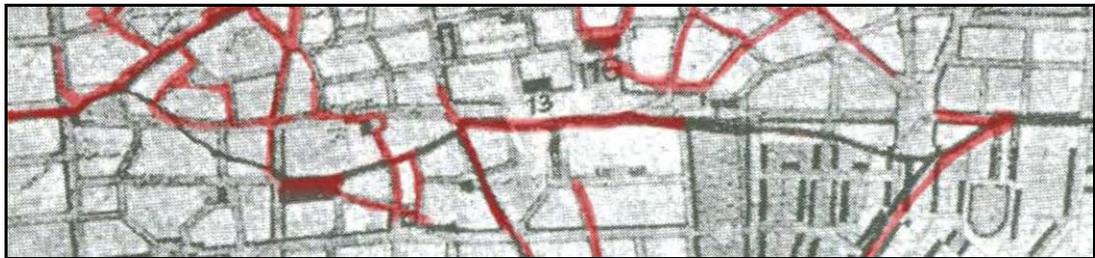
of former Şehremaneti and Balıkpazarı Avenues, followed by Çıkırıkçılar Avenue towards Koyunpazarı Avenue, was proposed as a major linear artery, instead of the former slightly undulating one. He kept the beginning part of former Çocuk Sarayı Avenue, continued it towards south to Yenişehir and proposed a major artery. It is necessary to clarify that this artery was not Bahriye Avenue (today's Denizciler Avenue) (Figure 4.7).

It can be seen that Atatürk Boulevard was not proposed by Lörcher yet, but Bankalar Avenue starting from Ulus Square was clarified by straightening around the new Theatre Square<sup>209</sup> (no.17), was broken slightly, followed by Hastane Avenue and then was cut by İstasyon Avenue. By the way, the Christian graveyard area at the south of Theatre Square was re-planned as a green open area (Figure 4.8).



**Figure 4.8:** Former Anafartalar Avenue (today's Hisarönü Avenue)

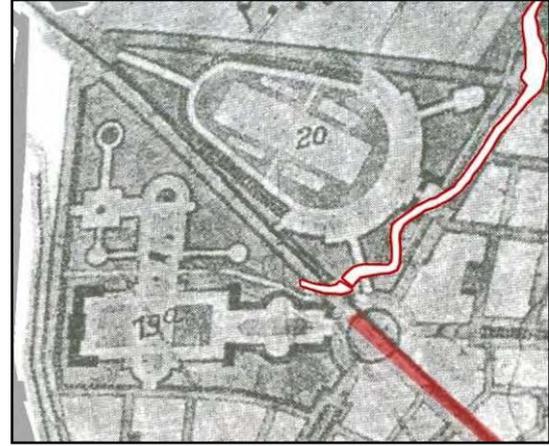
At the intersection point of former Karaoğlan Avenue with İstanbul Avenue, across *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* (or *Ulus*) Square, he proposed a park (the shaded area with no.10), including a People's House which will be known and became popular as *Millet Bahçesi* (Nation Garden) in these years (Figure 4.9).



**Figure 4.9:** Hamamönü Avenue (today's Talat Pasha Avenue)

<sup>209</sup> As also mentioned by Cengizkan, 2004: 65.

Lörcher proposed an avenue in the place of today's Talat Pasha Avenue, as another main artery, connecting İstasyon Avenue with Hamamönü Avenue for the first time, which did not exist in 1924, as can be seen in the above figure<sup>210</sup> (Fig. 4.10).



**Figure 4.10:** (left) Lörcher Plan for the fire area

**Figure 4.11:** (right) Recreational areas planned in the former swamp areas

Within his holistic approach, Lörcher also planned the area destroyed by the fire in the Outer Citadel area, as well as the area on two sides of today's Anafartalar Avenue, which comprised Necatibey Quarter and Şengül Bath Quarter. He proposed the National Assembly Building (shown with no. 18) in the Outer Citadel area (Figure 4.11).

Recreational areas consisting of parks, exhibition gardens and sports areas<sup>211</sup> were proposed on the west side of the historic city by the reclamation of the swamp areas (Figure 4.12).

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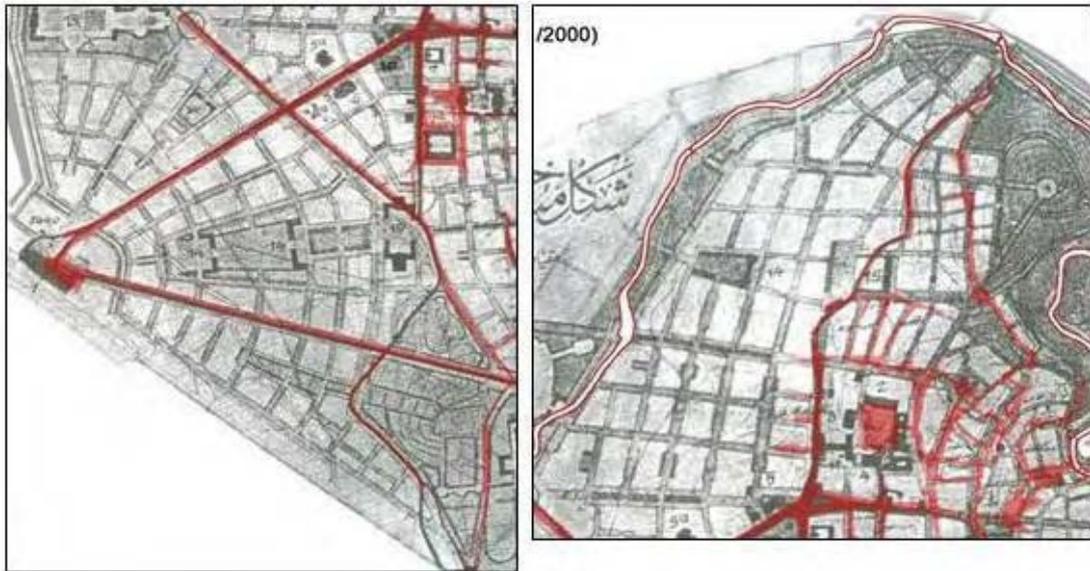
<sup>210</sup> As also mentioned by Cengizkan, 2004: 59.

<sup>211</sup> Cengizkan, 2004: 63.



**Figure 4.12:** Proposals for Hamamönü Area.

Lörcher also proposed the blocks of Hamamönü Vakıf Houses<sup>212</sup> and sports areas at the north of this residential area (Figure 4.13).



**Figure 4.13:** (left) Central Business District reaching towards Train Station (areas shown with no.14).

**Figure 4.14:** (right) West side of Çankırı Avenue

Lörcher proposed urban blocks on the west side of Çankırı Avenue at the north of the historic city and the central business districts<sup>213</sup> in front of the Train Station, in the place of today's Youth Park and Stadium (Figure 4.14).

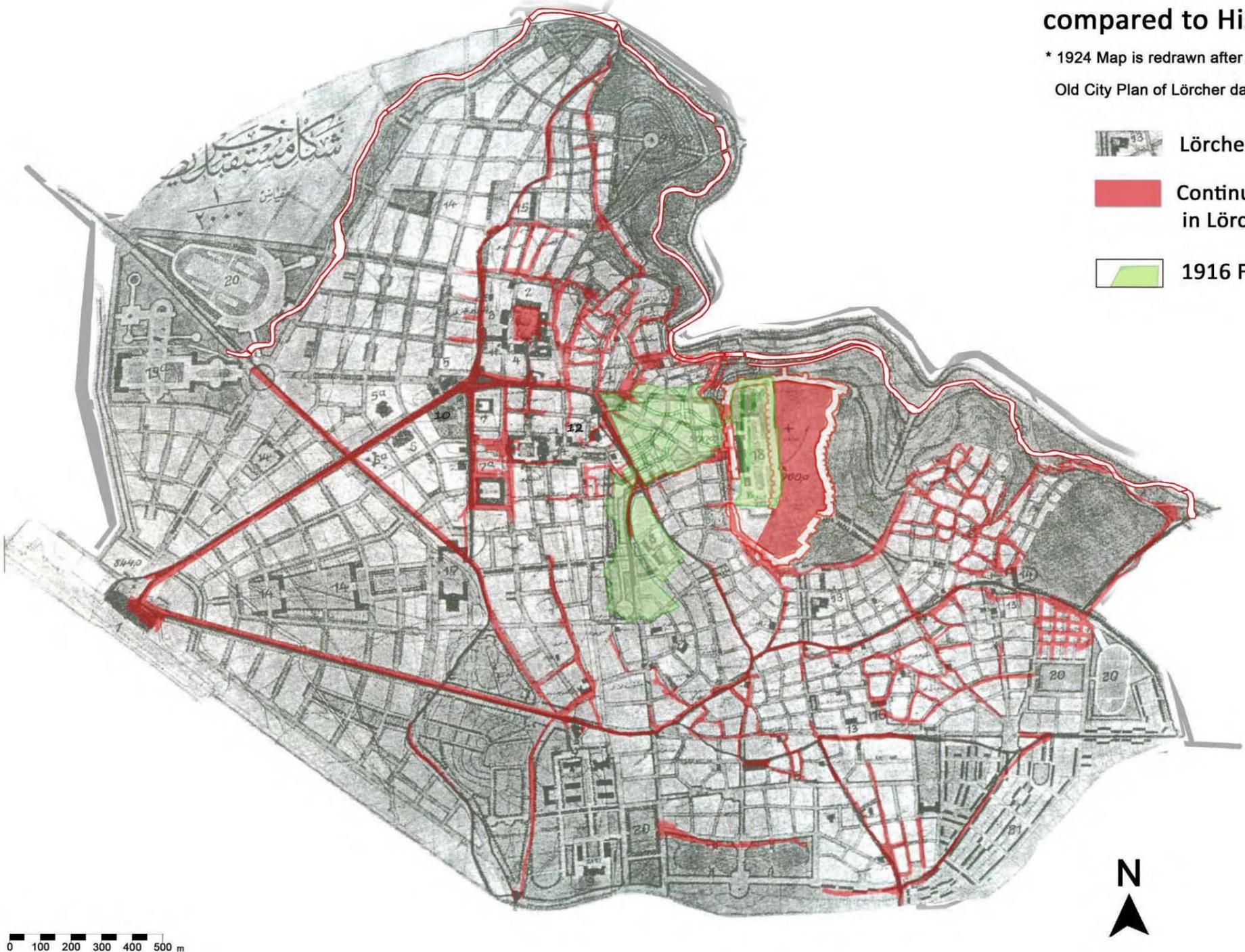
<sup>212</sup> Cengizkan, 2004:63.

<sup>213</sup> Cengizkan, 2004: 61.

Apart from these, Hacıbayram Quarter and Hacıbayram Mosque and Square were kept more or less the same. Besides, in addition to the Citadel, he gave special importance to the Train Station as the 'entrance to the city'. The two boulevards connecting the Train Station with the city; İstanbul Avenue towards north-east and İstasyon Avenue towards east, were widened to strengthen this effect of entrance (Figure 4.15).

# Continuities of Lörcher Plan Proposals compared to Historic City of Ankara in 1924

\* 1924 Map is redrawn after Ankara Şehremaneti map of 1924,  
Old City Plan of Lörcher dated 1924 (1/2000)

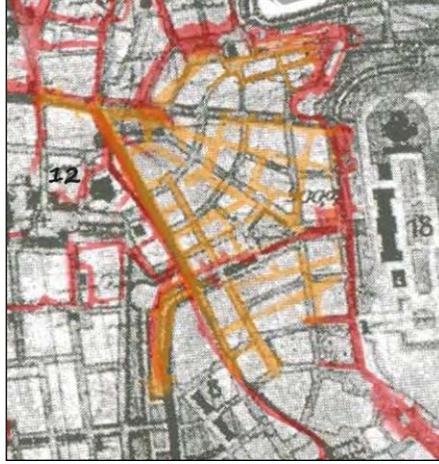


-  Lörcher Plan
-  Continued Urban Circulation of 1924 in Lörcher Plan
-  1916 Fire Area

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Figure 4.15: Lörcher Plan compared to 1924 Map

### ***What was Implemented According to Lörcher Plan in the Old City?***<sup>214</sup>



**Figure 4.16:** Necatibey Quarter and Hisarönü Avenue

As an important part of the fire area at the outskirts of the Citadel, *Necatibey* Quarter in 1930s has particularly similar characteristics with the proposal of Lörcher Plan for this area, with small geometric and grid-iron urban blocks. According to this section of this study, this is the most striking and major implementation of Lörcher Plan in this period. In contrast to the implementation at the vacant north side next to Eyigün Avenue (today's Hisar Avenue) destroyed by the fire, the existing traditional residential area at the south side of Işıklar Avenue (south half of Necatibey Quarter) has been found out to be destructed and replaced with the new apartments, although it was outside the fire area (see Figures 3.18 and 3.36).

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<sup>214</sup> Parallel to the general method of this dissertation, urban circulation pattern of 1930s is superposed with the Development Plan of Lörcher (in Figure 4.21) to read and clarify the continuities, changes and irrelevances; eventually the effects or Lörcher Plan on the historic city of Ankara in 1930s. It is necessary to remind that the redrawn map of 1930s is a period map comprising the period between 1927 and 1936. In that sense, as Lörcher Plan was in effect starting from 1924 till the announcement of the new planning competition in 1927<sup>214</sup>, 1930s map is a convenient to check its effects. In the superposed maps in this section, the red colour shows the retained urban elements of 1924 in Lörcher Plan -explained in the previous section-, the orange colour shows the implemented proposals of Lörcher Plan.

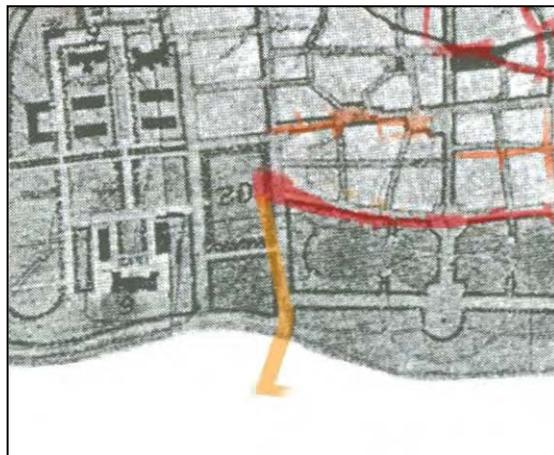
In 1930s, former *Meçhul Asker Street* (today's *Hisar Avenue*), the inclined artery going towards the Citadel -as a continuation of former *Karaoğlan (Anafartalar) Avenue* starting from *Ulus Square*- was not completed as a continuous avenue as in Lörcher Plan, but implemented to a great extent.

In addition, *Şehremaneti* and *Balıkpazarı* Avenues were enlarged and straightened as in Lörcher Plan.



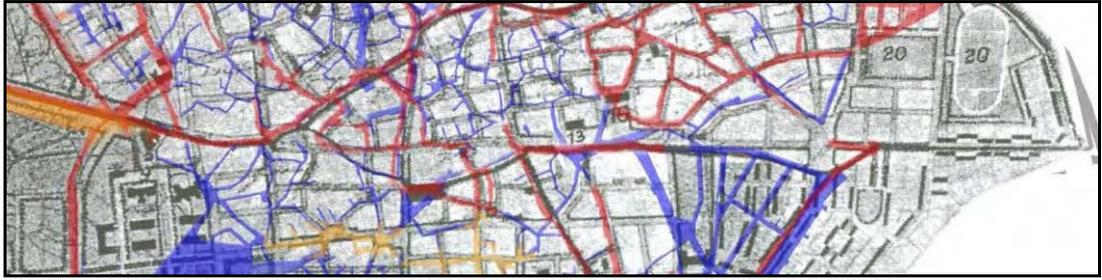
**Figure 4.17:** İstanbul, İstasyon and İstiklal Avenues around Train Station Area.

Apart from *İstanbul Avenue* (connecting to *Ulus Square*) which has been a major artery since the arrival of railway, *İstasyon Avenue* (connecting to *Hamamönü Avenue*), as well as *İstiklal Avenue* were transformed into strong arteries in this part of the Old City, as proposed in Lörcher Plan.



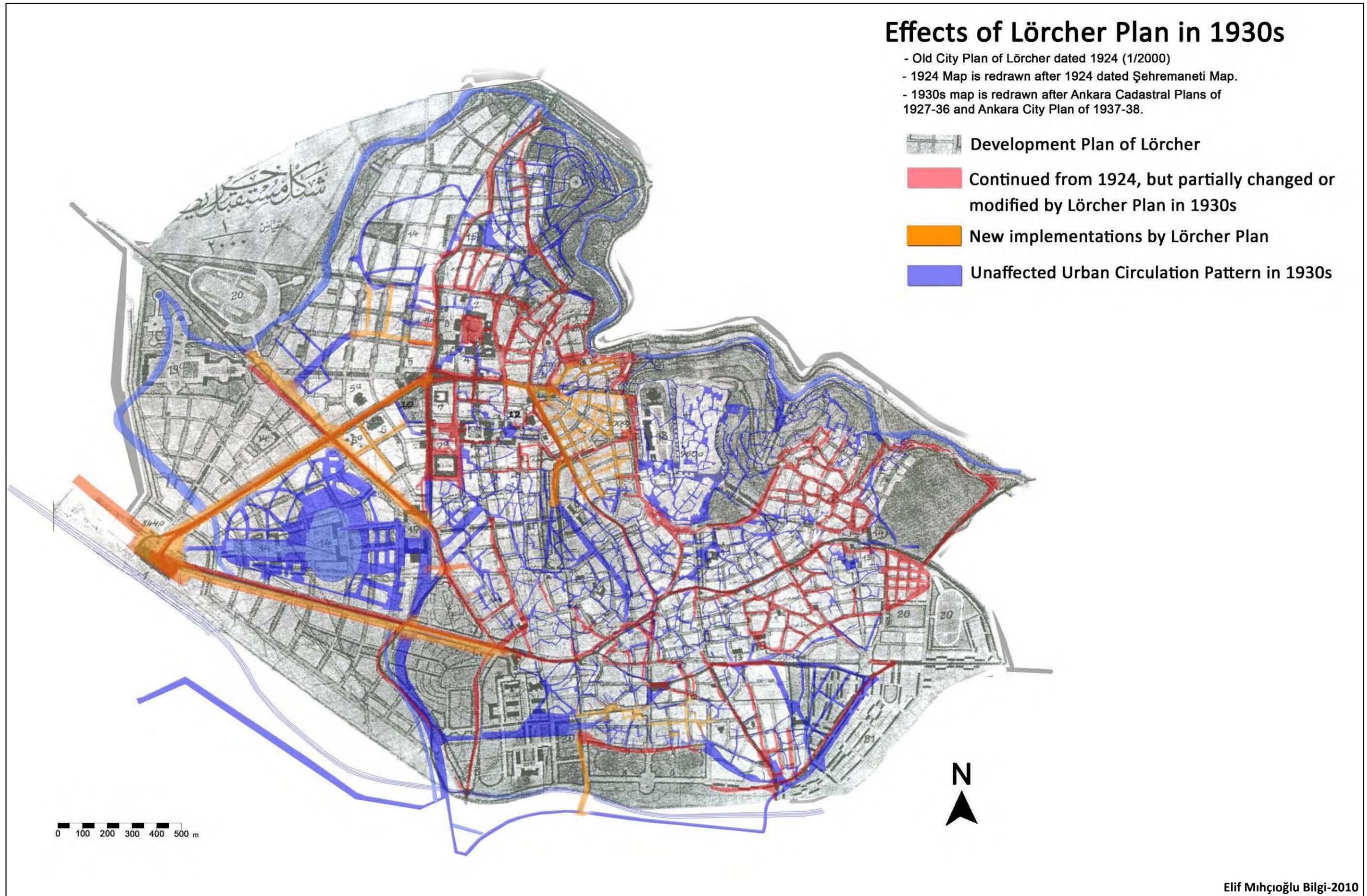
**Figure 4.18:** New road at Hacettepe Area

The artery, cutting Hacettepe Area into two, was another proposal of Lörcher Plan that was realized in 1930s.



**Figure 4.19:** İstasyon Avenue to be opened soon as İnönü Boulevard

Although the general straight footprint of the artery reaching from Cebeci to Railway Station in Lörcher Plan did not match the implemented İnönü Boulevard (today's Talat Pasha Boulevard), (as it was undulating at Bosnian Quarter and Samanpazarı Square), Lörcher Plan can be thought to convey the first idea or inspiration to Jansen.



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Figure 4.20: Effects of Lörcher Plan on the Historic City of Ankara in 1930s.

#### 4.2.3. Period of Jansen Plan (1929-1939)

According to Tankut, the five main characters who took a role at the development of Ankara between 1929 and 1939 were;

- the members of the Parliament -making policy, finding financial sources-,
- the members of the Directorate of Development of Ankara (*Ankara İmar Müdürlüğü*) -developing the plan, supervising the practice-,
- the responsables of Municipality -taking part at the implementation of the development plan , providing the infrastructure and the urban services-,
- the planner -developing the plan, communicating with the Directorate of Development of Ankara, tracking the implementation-,
- the occupants of this development plan or the inhabitants<sup>215</sup>

Apart from the organization of the New Planning Competition for Ankara particularly, Tekeli also underlines the importance of the establishment of the 'Municipality Development Commission' (*Belediyeler İmar Heyeti*) under the heel of Ministry of Internal Affairs, Urbanism Technical Commission (*Şehircilik Fen Heyeti*) under the heel of Ministry of Public Works for centralized stable and practical solutions to the planning needs of the cities in the whole country<sup>216</sup>.

In May 1927, the technical delegation from Ankara *Şehremaneti* firstly got in touch with famous German architect and planner Professor Ludwig Hoffmann in Berlin to prepare a development plan for Ankara. Offering excuse for his advanced age, he refused to take the responsibility of such a long-term project, but he recommended Professor Hermann Jansen and Professor Joseph Brix, two academics from Berlin Academy of Fine Arts. Immediately after, Léon Jausseley<sup>217</sup>, Chief Architect of France, was also contacted and invited to the competition for the development plan of Ankara. Following the sign of the contracts for their participation to the

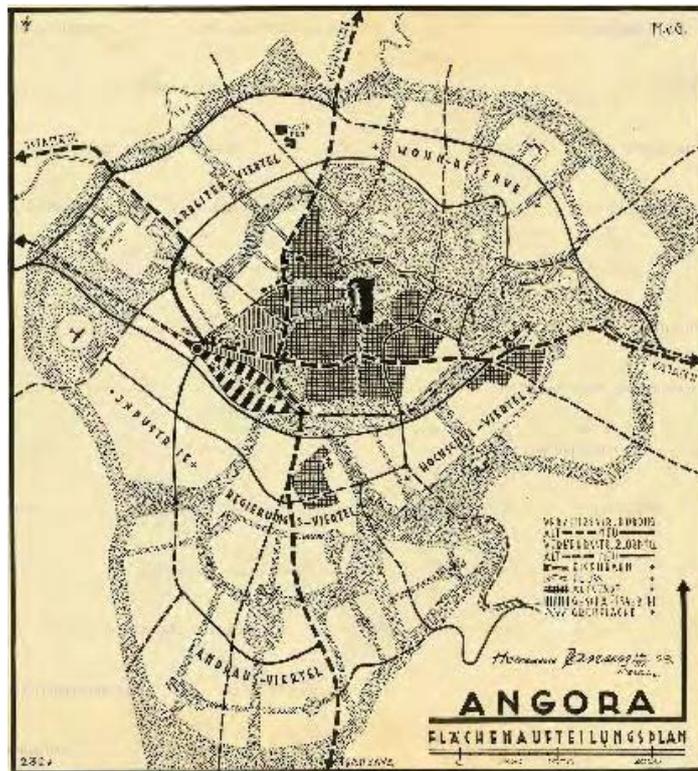
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<sup>215</sup> Tankut, 2001: 9.

<sup>216</sup> Tekeli, 2005: 10.

<sup>217</sup> Jausseley had prepared a development plan for Barcelona and also won the competition for Paris and prepared the metropolitan master plan for the Grand Paris in 1919.

competition, they came to Ankara in July 1927 for site survey and research. Considering the data and the guidelines given by *Şehremaneti*, they submitted their projects and reports at the end of 1928<sup>218</sup>. The contestants were asked not to consider the existing population of 150.000, but to plan for a predicted future population of 300.000. A three-phase jury system was applied for the project competition. In the first phase, a commission composed of three members evaluated the projects; at the last phase, a sub-commission was gathered. This sub-commission was composed of Engineer Parliamentarian-Aydın Representative Mithat Bey, other Engineer Parliamentarian- Bilecik Representative Asaf Bey and former İzmir Mayor Parliamentarian and Erzurum Representative Aziz Bey, Municipal Council member Engineer-Architect Cemal Bey and Engineer Ziya bey from private sector<sup>219</sup>. Out of three invited contestants, Hermann Jansen's project was chosen to be the winner.



**Figure 4.21:** Jansen's Preliminary Development Plan for Ankara dated 1928 (Tu Berlin Library Archive, inventory no: 22598)

<sup>218</sup> Emiroğlu, Ünsal, 2006: 86-87.

<sup>219</sup> Tankut 1993:75-76; Yavuz, 1952:37.

Hermann Jansen (1869-1945) was a German architect and urban planner who had studied architecture at Technical University of Aachen and continued his professional life in Berlin between 1898 and 1945. Jansen was a student of Camillo Sitte at Technical University of Aachen<sup>220</sup>, who had opposed Hausmann's boulevard designs, formal and monumental urban space approach. Sitte defended artistic planning through a picturesque approach to urban space design in the late nineteenth century, giving reference to Italian and other medieval cities, trying to formalize their organic, accidental and irregular spatial design criterias<sup>221</sup>. In addition to Camillo Sitte, Saban Ökesli also underlines the probable influences of Ebenezer Howard, the initiator of 'Garden City Movement', and Theodor Fritsch, the important figure of Garden City Movement in Germany on Hermann Jansen at that time<sup>222</sup>.

Main subjects proposed by Jansen in the report of Ankara Development Plan<sup>223</sup> were;

- *Old City:*

Conserving the historic city, as if under a 'glass shield' with special instructions, keeping it as the 'crown' of Ankara for its symbolic importance and aesthetic qualities, as well as separating it from the new city -when making the necessary connections<sup>224</sup> were indicated to be aimed.

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<sup>220</sup> Reuther, 1974: 341; Saban Ökesli, 2009:47-48.

<sup>221</sup> Broadbent, 1990: 117-120.

<sup>222</sup> Saban Ökesli, 2009:49-51.

<sup>223</sup> Jansen, 1937: 6-7.

In the plan report by Jansen, the above instructions were stated to be not valid for the Citadel and its close surrounding area. New buildings, comprehensive repairs and new additions exceeding 35% of the total parcel area, use of basement and attic floors were explained to be forbidden for the healthy survival of the area in the future. Keeping the existing narrow circulation network, not to interfere with the traditional urban fabric, but opening only two roads (starting from Samanpazarı Square, firstly towards east and secondly towards the Citadel), were proposed for facilitating the access of the fire brigades in case of fire<sup>225</sup>.

By 'Building Boundary Plan' (*Yapı Hudut Planı*), the instructions for the new buildings were decided to highly benefit from the parcels and to provide harmony between the old and the new in this area<sup>226</sup>. The residential areas were in two groups as;

- Compact Residential Areas: Plan decisions for the areas comprising of parcels smaller than 1000 sq.m. like *Yenişehir, Cebeci, West Quarters* (the housing area on the west of industrial area), *Cooperative Quarter*<sup>227</sup>.

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<sup>224</sup> "Yeni şehircilikte yeni şehir kısımlarının kurulmasını eski kısmın yayılışından tamamen ayırmak lazımdır. Hatta nazari olarak eski şehir üzerine haddi zatında bir cam levhası kapamalıdır. Bu suretle kolaylıkla bütün gidişat takip edilerek şehri fenalıklardan korumak kabil olur. Eski şehre mümkün olduğu kadar fazla el sürmemek gerektir. Yeni kısmın imarının tekemmül ve terakkisinden sonra eski kısma münasip bir şekilde dikkatle bağlamak kabil olur. Yeni ihtiyaçlara göre mesela seyrüseferin, hissi bakımların icabatına göre uydurulur. En mühim nokta eski kısmın karakterinin bozulmamasıdır. Bizim vazifemiz onun hususiyetini istikbal için saklamaktır. Bunda da, ufak tefek mevcut hataları nazarı itibare almayarak bir eski şehre ait nizamname tanzimile muvaffak olunur. Bu nizamnamde tasavvur edilen değişikliklerin hudut ve cinsleri kararlaştırılarak tesbit edilir. Eski şehrin muhafazası, eğer yeni şehir mevki verilışı itibari ile ayrılırsa, kendinden kabil olur. Bu suretle bu iki kısmın karışması tatbikat bakımından kat'iyyen hatıra gelmez. ...Diğer cihetten bütün eski şehrin cazibe ve güzelliği, hususiyeti kat kat yükselen canlılık gösteren eski evlerde, hakim olan taç, kalededir. Düz bir ovada aynı tesirle bir şehir manzarası vücade getirmek imkan dahilinde olamazdı. Bu yüzden şehrin ve yeni kısımların inşası tepeyi, alt yamaçları da doldurarak kabili kıyas olmayacak bir manzara verecektir. Eski ve yeni Ankara'nın birbirinden tamamen ayrılmış olması ile de buna kat'iyyen muvaffak olunamazdı. Sade tarihi noktai nazardan istikbal harbini merkezi olması dolayısile ve bu hususun çok kutsi kabul edilmesi yüzünden olan merbutiyet, eski şehirden ve onun hatıralarından birdenbire ayrılmak,... kimse tarafından arzu edilemezdi, edilmedi. Böylece Ankara kalenin altında yayılacak, ebediyete kadar mavi, daima parlıyan gök altında haşmet saçacaktır.Eski şehrin zamanla tazyik görmesinden kendimizi korumalıyız, kale ve etrafındaki mozaik gibi olan ahşap iskeletli dolma duvarlı türk evleri, daima hükümet merkezinin göz bebeği olarak kalmalıdır" (Jansen, 1937: 6-7).

<sup>225</sup> Jansen, 1937: 40-41.

<sup>226</sup> Jansen, 1937: 41.

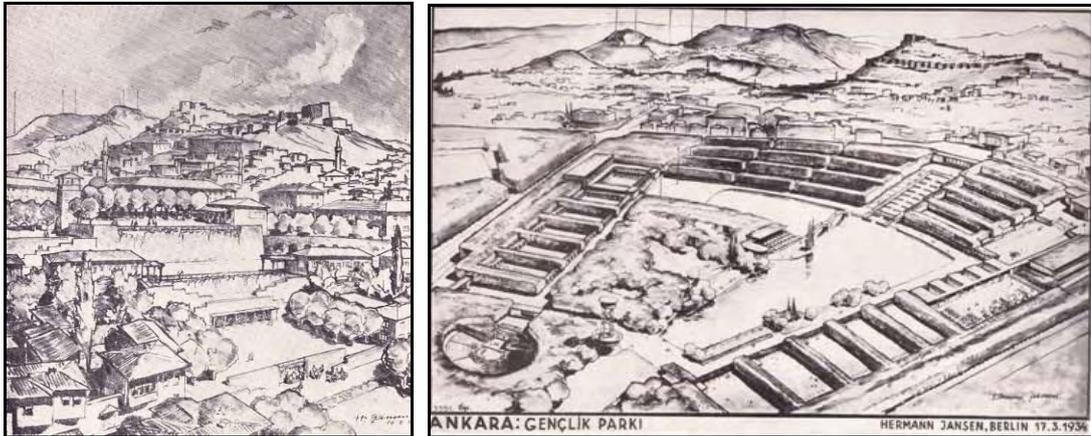
<sup>227</sup> Jansen, 1937: 42-44.

- Sparse Residential Areas: Plan decisions for the areas comprising of parcels larger than 1000 sq.m., like Çankaya and Kavaklıdere<sup>228</sup>.

- *Transportation:*

Organization of different types of transportation as 'airway', 'railway' and 'transport routes' for;

- Connection of nearby settlements with the city center.
- Strategic organization of airport and train station for time saving and economics.
- Principles of roads, according to traffic safety and economics. Definition of primary and secondary transportation routes<sup>229</sup>.



**Figure 4.22:** (left) Images from Samanpazarı Square

**Figure 4.23:** (right) Youth Park ('Gençlik Parkı') towards the Citadel by Jansen (Jansen, 1937: 32-33)

- *Open Areas:*

Planning of open areas -like parks, sidewalks, sports areas, small gardens, afforested areas, etc.- within the city for health and recreation of the inhabitants by making use of potential areas like water courses (İncesu, Bendderesi, Çubuk Stream), as well as hills and ridges; creating recreational new green strips, Youth Park, a hippodrome, a stadium, many other local sports facilities and sports areas all around the city<sup>230</sup>.

<sup>228</sup> Jansen, 1937: 44.

<sup>229</sup> Jansen, 1937: 7-10, 21-28.

<sup>230</sup> Jansen, 1937: 10-12, 29-34.

- *Land Use:*

Organization of different functions (governmental, educational, healthcare areas) within the city, their locations with respect to environmental conditions (topography, directions, circulation network, views)<sup>231</sup>.

- *Residential Areas:*

Planning principals of residential areas (single-family houses -as the ideal type- and multi-family apartment buildings -acceptable, as inevitable, because of land speculation), their orientation and parceling rules, according to directions of sun light, architectural use, city view, their composition with streets and green areas, different alternatives of single family houses and multi-family apartment buildings<sup>232</sup>.

- *Industrial Areas:*

The industrial areas are necessary to be excluded out of the city center as much as possible, making necessary transportation connections.

- *Possibilities of Expansion:*

According to Jansen Plan, Ankara was explained to be planned for a population up to 300.000<sup>233</sup>.

Tankut divides the period of Jansen Plan into two; the period of preliminary design calling as the 'preliminary implementation period' (*ön uygulama dönemi*) between 1929 and 1932, and the period of final project calling as the 'implementation period' between 1932 and 1939.

According to this, the first period comprised the project competition process, unapproved preliminary project implementations and consequent illegal practices.

Tankut states the major problems during the 'preliminary application period' as;

- *Deficiencies due to Law and Legislations:* There was no particular new zoning legislation and the old *Ebniye Law* was valid, which caused many problems.

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<sup>231</sup> Jansen, 1937: 36-39.

<sup>232</sup> Jansen, 1937: 42-44.

<sup>233</sup> Jansen, 1937: 20-21.

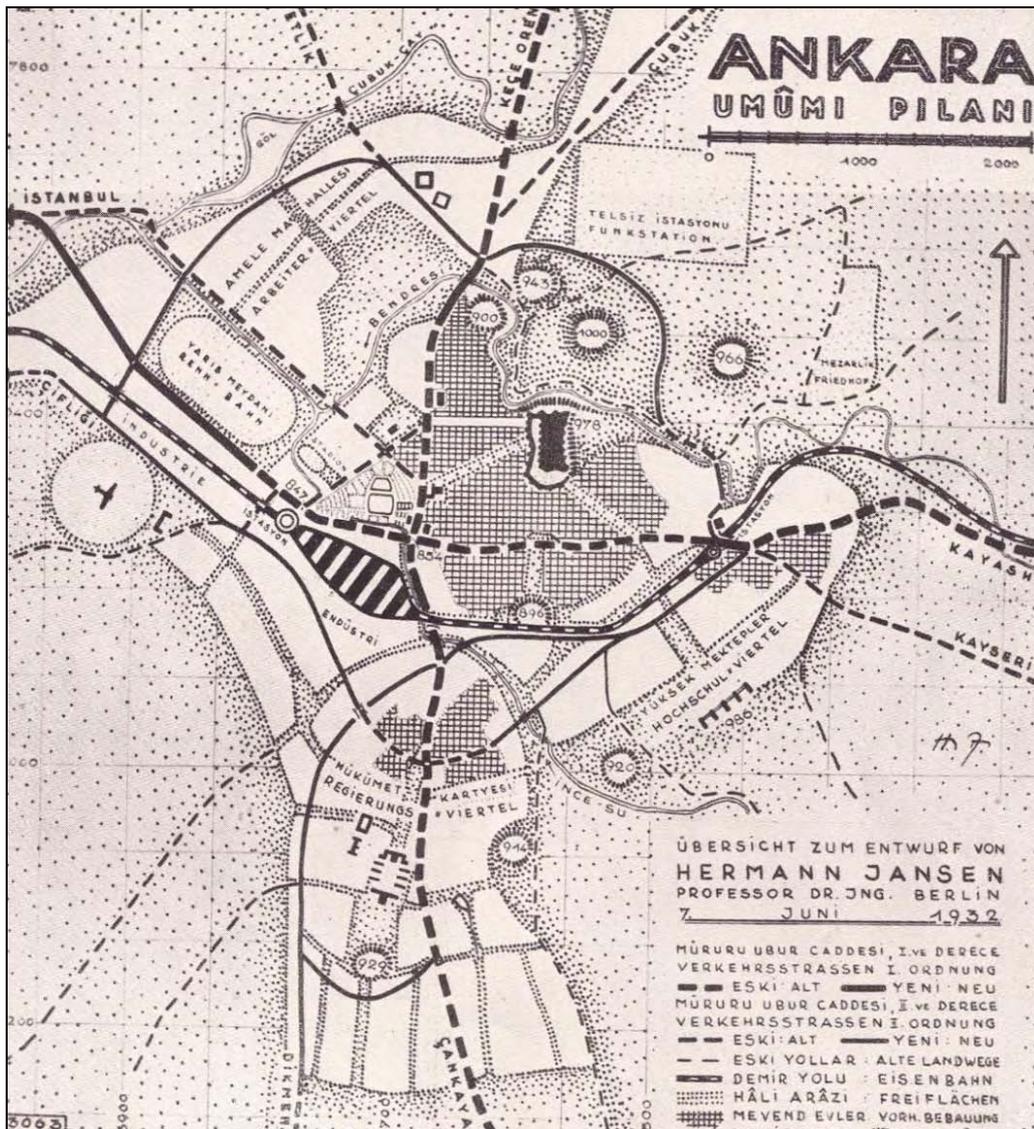
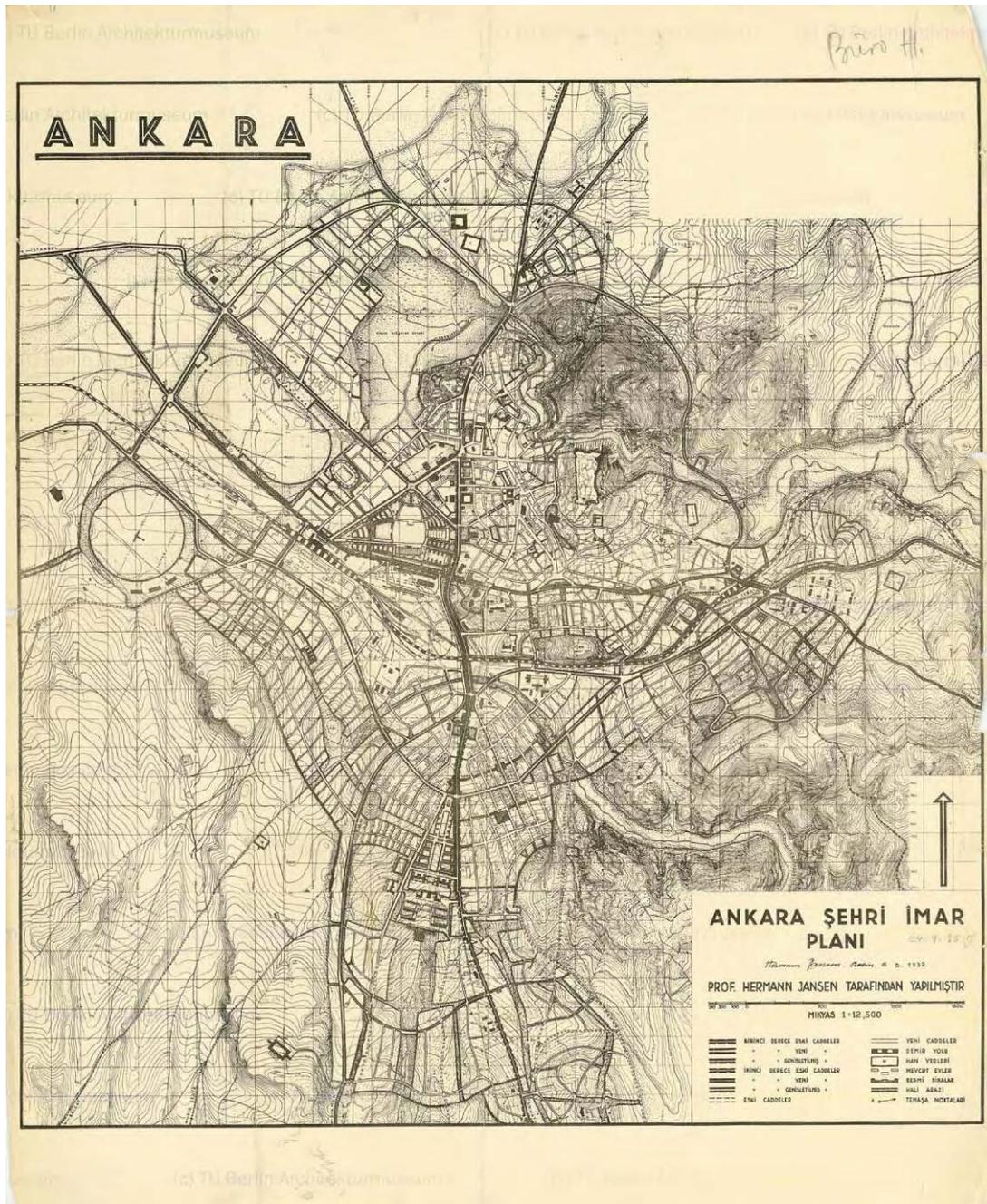


Figure 4.24: Jansen's Late Preliminary Development Plan for Ankara in 1932 (Jansen, 1937: 18-19)



**Figure 4.25:** Jansen's Early Implementation Plan for Ankara in 1932 (1/12.500) (Architekturmuseum of TU Berlin (AMTUB) Archive, inventory no: 22699)

- *Financial Inadequacies:* The well-known global financial crisis in 1929, hit Turkey in 1931-32, which decreased purchasing power to a great extent and affected severe difficulties during implementation.
- *Communication Problems:* Lack of communication, between Jansen and the Directorate of Development of Ankara, caused problems during implementation. Essentially, the Directorate of Development of Ankara was incompetent technically.

- *Technical Problems:* The cadastral plans could not be prepared from the beginning and could be completed in time, district by district, till 1939 -including the newer parts of the city. Also, the lack of base maps caused difficulties for the implementation.

In addition, the Municipality was not affirmative towards the Directorate of Development of Ankara.<sup>234</sup>

- *Pressure Groups, Conflict of Interest:* The inhabitants of Ankara became pressure groups and caused problems during this implementation process<sup>235</sup>.

Ankara growing with a rate of 6%, the land speculation became the primary obstacle against the implementation of the development plan<sup>236</sup>.

The 'implementation period' between 1932 and 1939 was the legal period with the finalized and approved development plan (dated 23.07.1932). For this period, Tankut states the major problems as;

- *Deficiencies due to Law and Legislations:* This period was directed according to New Building Law, a 'deficient' Building and Roads Law (1933) that will be in charge till 1956, an old Expropriation Law (1913) and ownership clauses of 1924 dated Turkish Constitution.
- *Technical Problems:* Mainly there were two technical problems. Firstly, the lack of data and deficiencies in documentation caused serious implementation problems, ending up with the waste of time and loss of money. And, secondly, the mistakes in the plan, due to the lack of data and deficiencies in documentation, became worse with the inconsistent attitudes of the main figures around the implementation<sup>237</sup>.

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<sup>234</sup> According to Tankut, there were some disagreements between the Planner and the Mayor. Despite the supports of Şükrü Kaya (Minister of Internal Affairs) and Falih Rifkî Atay (Member of the Parliament); Nevzat Tandoğan (Mayor-Governor) and Jansen were never in peace and harmony (Tankut, 2001: 11).

<sup>235</sup> Tankut, 2001: 10-12

<sup>236</sup> Tekeli, 2005: 11

<sup>237</sup> Tankut, 2001: 12-13.

In addition, continuing financial inadequacies due to financial crisis in 1929 which was felt after 1933, and the preliminary effects of World War II starting after 1937, communication problems between Jansen in Germany and the related governmental and municipal offices were the negative effects on the implementation process. As the implementations progressed, there occurred two other important problems as;

- Illegal constructions created squatter areas on the ridges of Altındağ due to rapid migration from rural areas to Ankara, which was against the rules of building above 900 m. so as not to disturb the silhouette of the Citadel.
- Concessions from the decisions of the development plan -such as divisions of parcels, reduction of green areas, increase of building heights and enlargement of floor area- reduced the power of Jansen Plan to a great extent.

In 1937, the Directorate of Development was given to the heel of the Municipality which created a monopoly of power under the authority of the Governor-Mayor<sup>238</sup>.

After Lörcher commenced a judiciary suit in 1930 for the violation of the copyright of his plan, Jansen made a set of changes in his plan in 1932 and differentiated it from the one submitted in 1928<sup>239</sup>. In 1928, the Citadel was the focal point and the core of the Master Plan, whereas it was kept on one side of the urban macroform proposing the development towards west in 1932. In contrast to his conservative approach in 1928, he proposed revisions at the west of the historic city and especially on the zones around *Hacıbayram*, *İsmet Pasha* and *Hacı Doğan* Quarters. Other than the social reactions, the unexpected increase of population and extending shanty towns necessitated many changes in the application of Jansen Plan.

In her study 'The Development of a Capital City, Ankara: (1929-1939)' Tankut questioned the success of Jansen Plan through checking the correspondence of some necessary behaviors of the three groups of influence, who took role during

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<sup>238</sup> Tankut, 2001: 13-14.

<sup>239</sup> Cengizkan, 2004: 110.

the development of Ankara<sup>240</sup>. The goal of her research was to determine the nature of these influences to develop criteria for measuring these influences and to study changes in them through time<sup>241</sup>. According to the results of Tankut's 'Mutual Correspondence Value Study' based on the criteria of; 'knowledge', 'willingness', 'economic strength' and 'flexibility', Jansen Plan was found out to reach to its goals at a percentage of 27%<sup>242</sup>.

One important goal of this dissertation is to evaluate how development plans affected and changed the historic city of Ankara in the Early Republican period morphologically. It is expected to be illuminating to discuss the consistency of general intentions and decisions of development plans, and the implementations realized through the comparison of different plans and related period maps.

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<sup>240</sup> Tankut, 1993: 202-204.

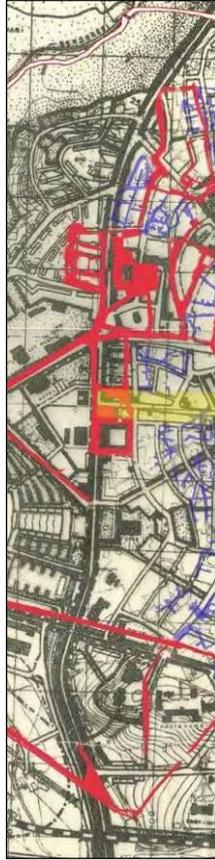
<sup>241</sup> Tankut, 1993:7.

<sup>242</sup> Tankut, 1993:246-261.

### ***What was Proposed by Jansen Plan for the Historic City?***<sup>243</sup>

As Jansen used 1924 dated Ankara Map as the base map like the other contestants, Jansen's Development Plan is compared with 1924 map to clarify the continuities and changes, as well as to differentiate the effects of Lörcher Plan on the historic city indirectly.

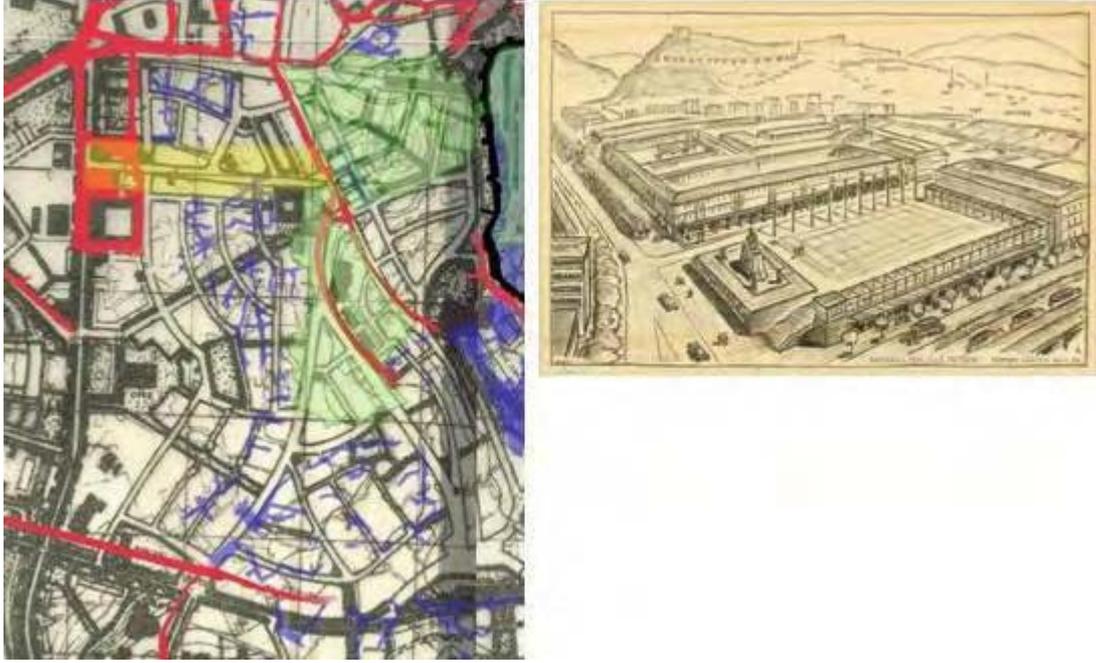
Jansen proposed Atatürk Boulevard as the major artery of the whole city center for the first time, modifying the existing avenues of Bankalar (or Dar-ül Muallimin), former Cumhuriyet, Çankırı Avenues, and connecting them on north-south axis. This axis was planned as the most important artery connecting the Old City to the New City with a holistic approach. On the other hand, Lörcher did not propose such a strong axis in his plan, reaching from north to south as can be seen in Figure 4.16.



**Figure 4.26:** Atatürk Boulevard Proposal of Jansen Plan.

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<sup>243</sup> Parallel to the general method of this dissertation, urban circulation pattern of 1924 is superposed with the second plan of Jansen dated 1932, to read and clarify the continuities from 1924 (in Figure 4.46). In the superposed maps in this section, the red colour shows the retained urban elements of 1924 in Jansen Plan.



**Figure 4.27:** (left) Proposals for Doğanbey and Necatibey Quarters.

**Figure 4.28:** (right) Perspective from Jansen's new Ulus Square dated 1939 (AMTUB Archive, inventory no: 22787).

Jansen imposed a geometrical urban pattern, excluding the Citadel and its the neighboring south side up to İnönü Boulevard, when keeping some main arteries, changing or modifying them partially or to an extent in general.

As it was completely vacant due to the fire in 1916, he proposed Necatibey Quarter (as Lörcher did before) on the west side of the Outer Citadel area. The rest of the fire area around the Court House was under fast development since the Independence War and some buildings (like the Court House, Latife and Gazi Primary Schools) were already constructed. Keeping those new buildings, he proposed the revision of Anafartalar Avenue, which was in the middle of the fire area, uniting Karaoğlan Avenue, Bankalar Avenue, Şehremaneti Avenue, Balıkpazarı Avenue and Çocuk Sarayı Avenue.

Related with Tahtakale Fire in 1927, it is known that the buildings on two sides of the former Kızılbey Avenue were destructed<sup>244</sup> (see page 86 in section 3.1.2). So, this axis also constituted a new potential area to be planned by Jansen.

<sup>244</sup> Erdoğan, 65: 147.

Apart from these fire destroyed areas, the pre-existing traditional narrow streets around Anafartalar, Doğanbey (former Hacı Doğan), Misak-ı Milli and Yeğenbey Quarters are hardly legible and insignificant within the proposed urban blocks and they seem completely inconsistent with each other.

Resembling the design of Lörcher for Necatibey Quarter in general, Jansen proposed larger building blocks.

Taking into consideration the presence of fire areas from 1916 and 1927 in relatively small and restricted areas (when compared to the whole historic city) in this district composed of Anafartalar-Doğanbey-Yenice Yeğenbey Quarters, Jansen's approach is thought to be striking. By proposing a completely different urban pattern, replacing the existing traditional residential area, Jansen did not aim to conserve this area, especially in terms of today (which was also valid for Lörcher Plan). His renewal proposals were far more comprehensive and broad than necessary. Excluding Suluhan, he, in a way, contradicted with his expressions mentioned in his Development Plan Report dated 1937<sup>245</sup>.

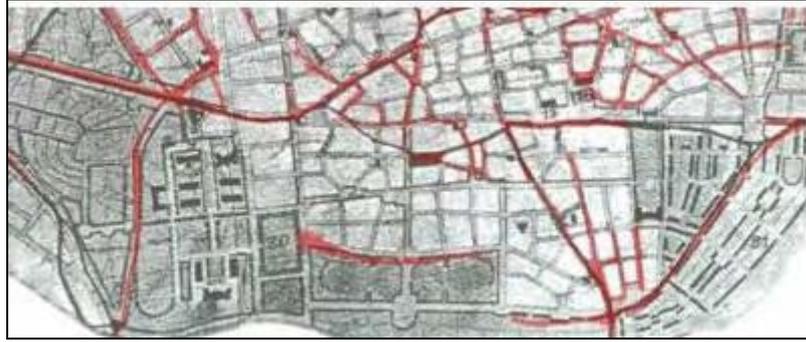
Despite his rather profound conservative statements, his second plan (the first one did not include enough detail) not reflecting his attitudes or the reasons behind, is thought to be a controversial subject.



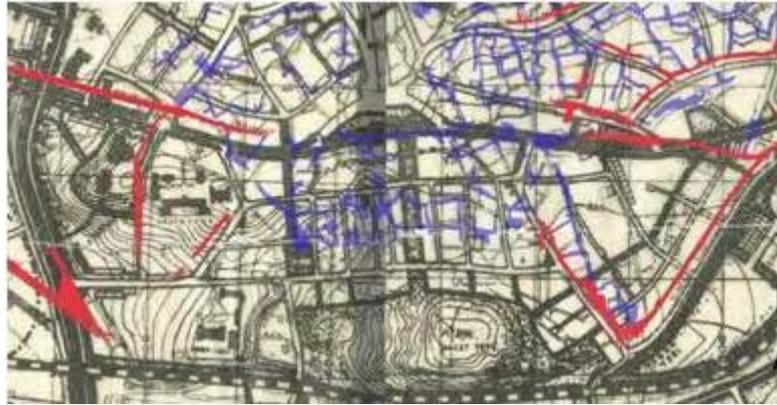
**Figure 4.29:** (left) Jansen Proposal for Samanpazari Square (AMTUB Archive, inventory no: 22809)

**Figure 4.30:** (right) Perspective from the junction of İstasyon and İstiklal Avenues towards the Citadel according to Jansen Plan (AMTUB Archive, inventory no: 22814).

<sup>245</sup> "...Eski şehrin zamanla tazyik görmesinden kendimizi korumalıyız, kale ve etrafındaki mozaik gibi olan ahşap iskeletli dolma duvarlı türk evleri, daima hükümet merkezinin göz bebeği olarak kalmalıdır." (Jansen, 1937: 7) (see footnote 381 for more).

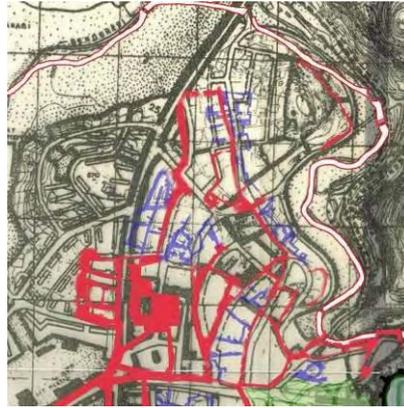


**Figure 4.31:** Jansen's slightly undulating boulevard proposal around Bosnian Quarter and Samanpazarı with Samanpazarı Square cutting through Duattepe Quarter (Hacettepe) and environs.



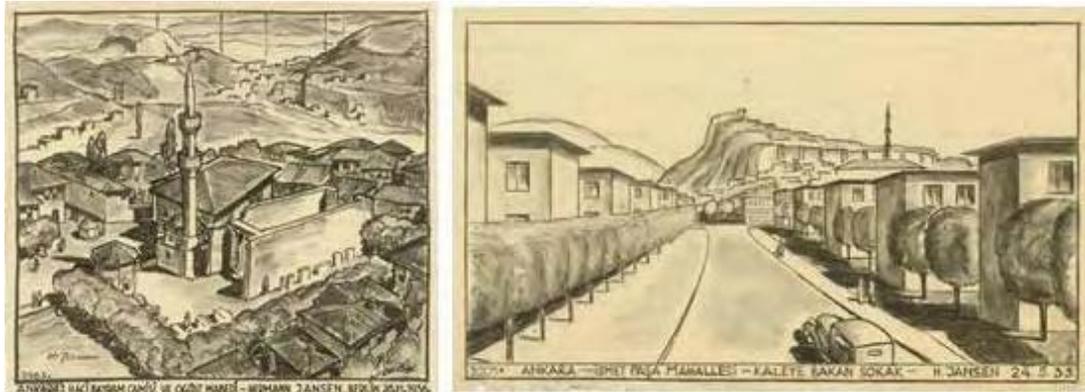
**Figure 4.32:** Lörcher's straight boulevard proposal around former İstasyon Avenue (İnönü Boulevard of 1930s, today's Talat Paşa Boulevard).

He proposed Yıldırım Avenue (named as Mukaddem Avenue in Jansen Plan), the part in between former İstasyon Avenue and Hamamönü Avenue, connecting them. For this important new artery of the city, he kept and changed Hamamönü Avenue and cut through the historic urban fabric at the south side of the Old City. Besides, he reorganized this area completely and proposed an open green area around Hacettepe (Dilekpark), by removing the old neighborhoods that existed in this area. It is clear that Jansen's Dilekpark proposal resembled to Lörcher's proposal in this area very much. In addition, he kept Tacettin Avenue, as well as the road in between People's House (*Halkevi*) and the Hospital (*Yüksek İhtisas Hastanesi*). Besides, Jansen proposed two large urban blocks where People's House and Numune Hospital were located for the first time.



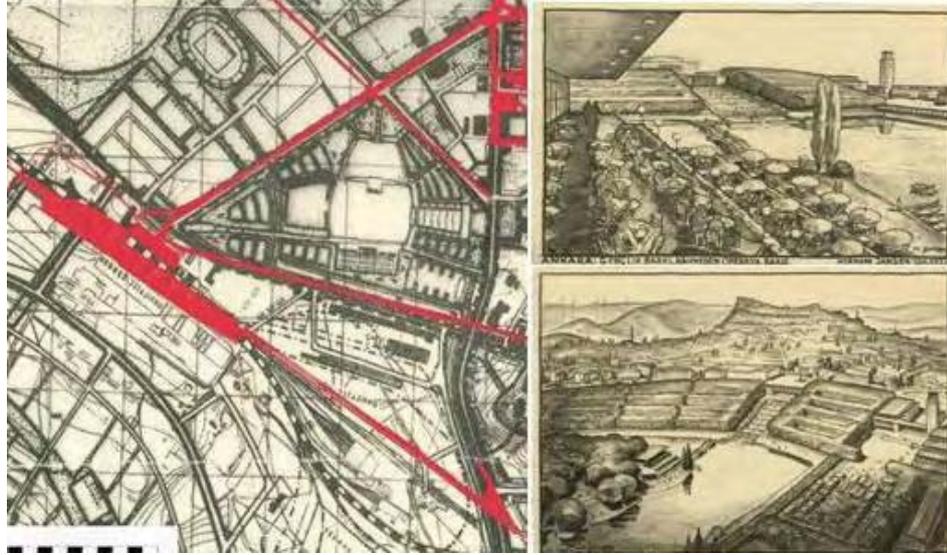
**Figure 4.33:** Government Square, Hacibayram Square and environs, İsmet Pasha Quarter.

Jansen proposed another major artery continuing as Çankırı Avenue, which was proposed by Lörcher previously. He kept the general outline of the existing historic urban fabric around Government Square and Hacibayram Square keeping the main streets in this area including Bentderesi, Altıntaş and Köprübaşı. In contrast to Anafartalar–Doğanbey District, he seems to conserve the main streets (streets in red in Figure 4.33) in this area. The narrow streets (in blue) are again hardly legible which is not clear.



**Figure 4.34:** (left) Jansen's proposal for Hacibayram Mosque and Temple of Augustus and environs dated 1936 (AMTUB Archive, inventory no: 22928).

**Figure 4.35:** (right) Jansen's proposal for the İsmet Pasha Quarter dated 1933 (AMTUB Archive, inventory no: 22813)

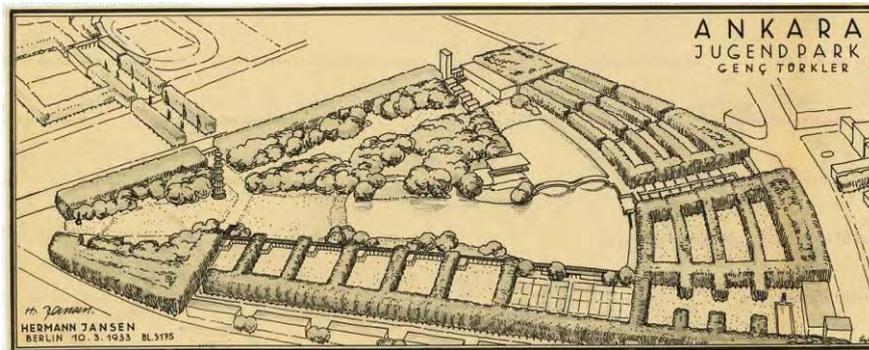


**Figure 4.36:** (left) Train Station and environs

**Figure 4.37:** (top right) View from Youth Park's Cafe towards the Opera Building (AMTUB Archive, inventory no: 22909),

**Figure 4.38:** (bottom right) View from Youth Park towards the Citadel (AMTUB Archive, inventory no: 22913).

On the former swamp area, Jansen proposed a large recreational park area across the Railway Station which was the primary gateway of Ankara to the outer world till 1950s. At a strategic location between the Old City and the New City, it was the first place to meet with the new modern capital of Turkish Republic for the foreigners or the newcomers. An agreement for the project of Youth Park between the Ministry of Public Works and Jansen was signed in February 1934<sup>246</sup>.



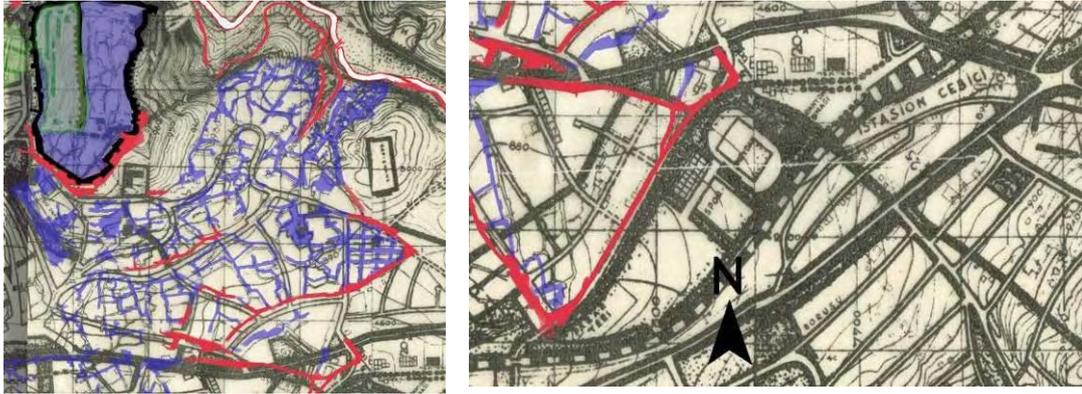
Jansen's proposal drawings for Youth Park dated 1933;

**Figure 4.39:** General view from Youth Park (AMTUB Archive, inventory no: 22904)

<sup>246</sup> Uludağ, 1998: 69. Uludağ gives further details. Jansen was invited to Ministry of Public Works in September 25<sup>th</sup>, 1933 and he accepted to prepare the Youth Park project in return for the office expenses only of 3750 TL. In April 1934, parallel to some changes in the agreement, his payment was decreased to 2500 TL ('Gençlik Parkı', Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi, June 1934, No.1). In July, his plan was approved by Atatürk and by the Council of Ministers. In 1935, he completed his project and submitted all the drawings to the Directorate of Development.

He proposed a large central lake with a surface area of 35.000 sq.m. The water was to be carried from Çubuk Dam through 400 mm pipes, brought to the entrance from the side of the Opera Square and carried to the central lake running through the artificial waterfalls (or cascades) which was technically difficult to realize (Figure 4.39). The last cascade was 4 m. high, having a promenade area passing under it. This place was a perfect view point for the visitors to sit and watch the lake and the landscape. The surrounding walking path and rest areas were attractive spaces for perceiving the Citadel and the Old City behind the beautiful landscape of the park<sup>247</sup>.

It is seen that he widened the existing main arteries of Cumhuriyet, İstasyon and İstiklal Avenues in the vicinity of Youth Park (Figure 4.36).



**Figure 4.40:** (left) Hanlar and Ulucanlar Districts

**Figure 4.41:** (right) Gündoğdu Quarter and environs

When compared to Doğanbey and the south part of the historic city, he kept the urban fabric around Hanlar and Ulucanlar Districts (including Atpazarı, Kılıçarslan, Nazimbey, Yalçinkaya, Başkır, Kayabaşı, Şükriye Quarters), changing the area less with the addition of undulating streets and larger urban blocks (Figure 4.40). Jansen proposed sports areas and a station at Cebeci around Gündoğdu Quarter (Figure 4.41).

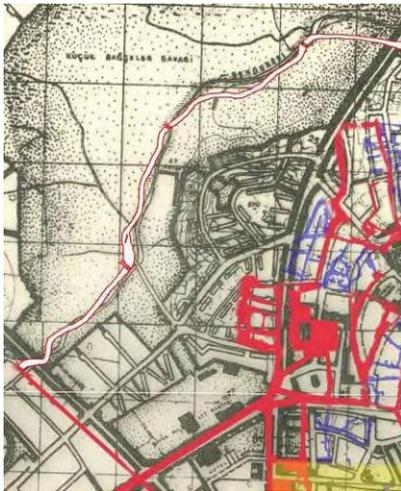
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<sup>247</sup> Uludağ, 1998: 69-70.



**Figure 4.42:** Bosnian (Sakarya) Quarter

He kept Bosnian Quarter (or Sakarya Quarter) slightly changing the urban circulation pattern and proposed to enlarge the triangular area with additional development (Figure 4.42).



**Figure 4.43:** (left) West side of Çankırı Avenue



**Figure 4.44:** (right) View from Jansen's Çankırı Avenue Proposal (AMTUB Archive, inv. no: 22769).

On the west side of Çankırı Avenue, he kept a few streets in a limited urban area including the National Assembly Buildings on the west side of Çankırı Avenue. This was the area where the remains of the Roman Bath was first noticed in 1931<sup>248</sup> during the opening of Çankırı Avenue (see footnote 257, for further information). Taking the previous agricultural/gardening lands into consideration in this area, Jansen proposed a large area of gardens and green area.

<sup>248</sup> According to the sources of T.R. Ministry of Culture and Tourism

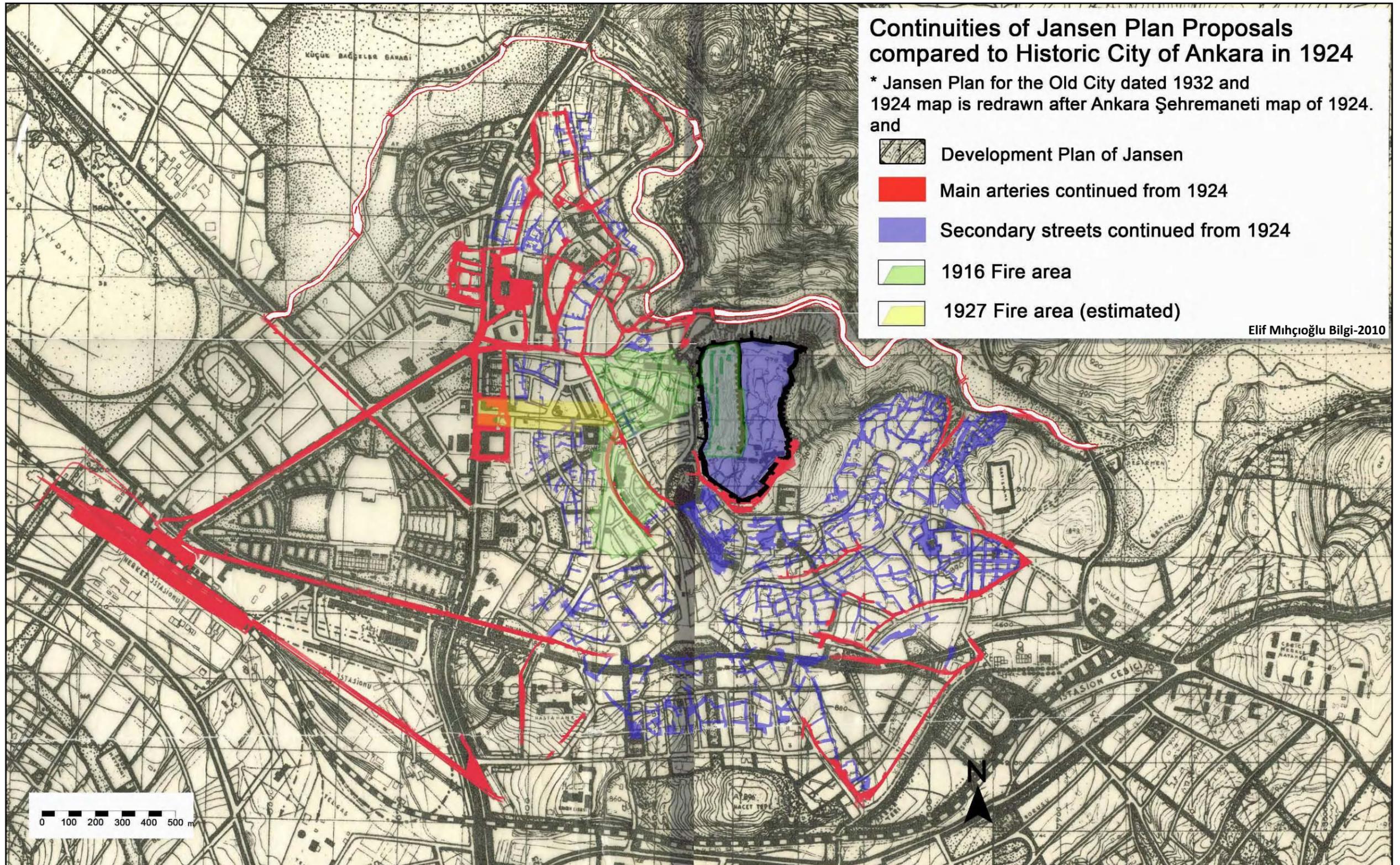
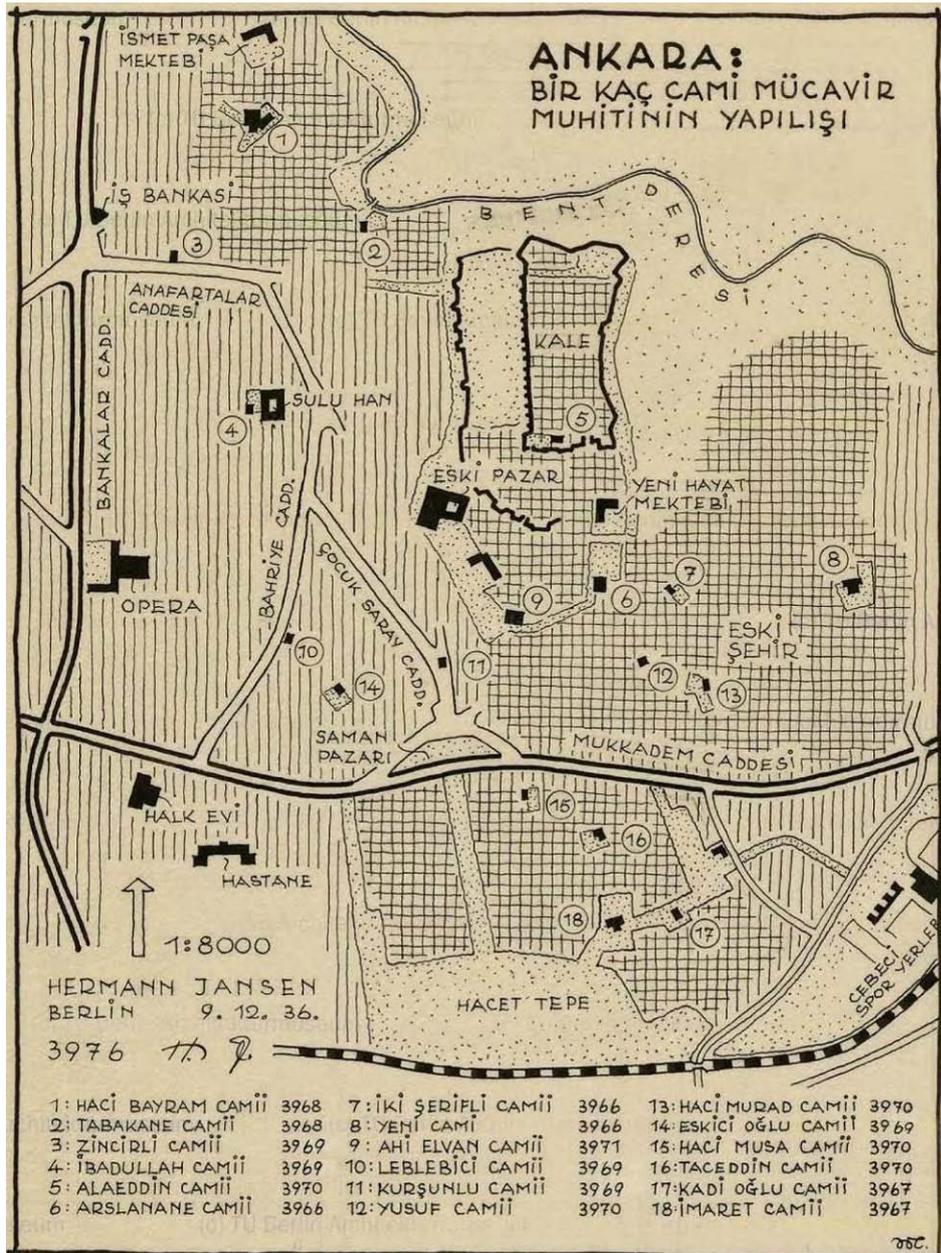


Figure 4.45: Continuities of Jansen Plan Proposals compared to Historic City of Ankara in 1924.

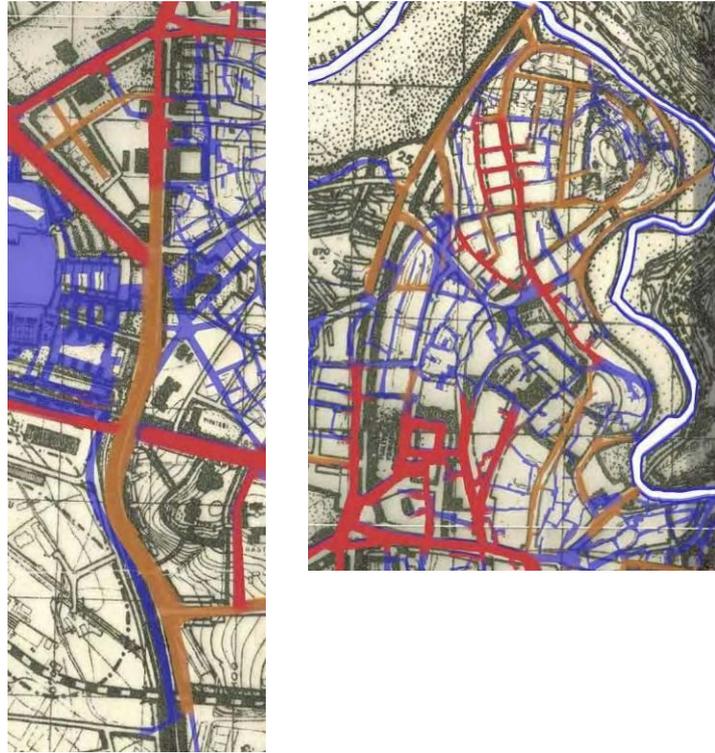
For Jansen's way of planning approach in the Old City of Ankara, the below sketch of him dated 1936 can be said to show his general planning approach. Apart from the emphasized monumental buildings to be conserved, the gridal hatched areas can be said to be kept or conserved, when the vertical lined areas were renewed and the dotted areas were the open or vacant areas. Parallel to this idea, he mentions 'Eski Şehir' as the southern area of the Citadel.



**Figure 4.46:** Jansen's Partial Plan Proposal dated 1936, indicating the existing mosques in the Old City (AMTUB Archive, inventory no: 22920).

As a student of Camillo Sitte, the initiator of 'Picturesque Planning', Jansen's plan carries the sensibilities of landscape and topography at a high level. Majorly focusing on and around the monuments; the Citadel and the other monumental public buildings, he designed aesthetic boulevards, avenues, streets and squares, as well as urban parks, which were important contributions to the historic city and the whole Ankara. Above all, it is clear that he was successful at his proposals of developing the urban circulation network in the historic city and its connection with the New City. It is also obvious that he was partly inspired by the previous Lörcher Plan. On the other hand, going parallel to general attitude of the time, the conservation side of his planning approach falls behind his discourse, or at least his expressions for this plan.

**What was Implemented According to Jansen Plan in the Old City in 1930s?**<sup>249</sup>



**Figure 4.47:** (left) Implementation of Atatürk Boulevard in 1930s, according to Jansen Plan.

**Figure 4.48:** (right) İsmetPasha Quarter and environs.

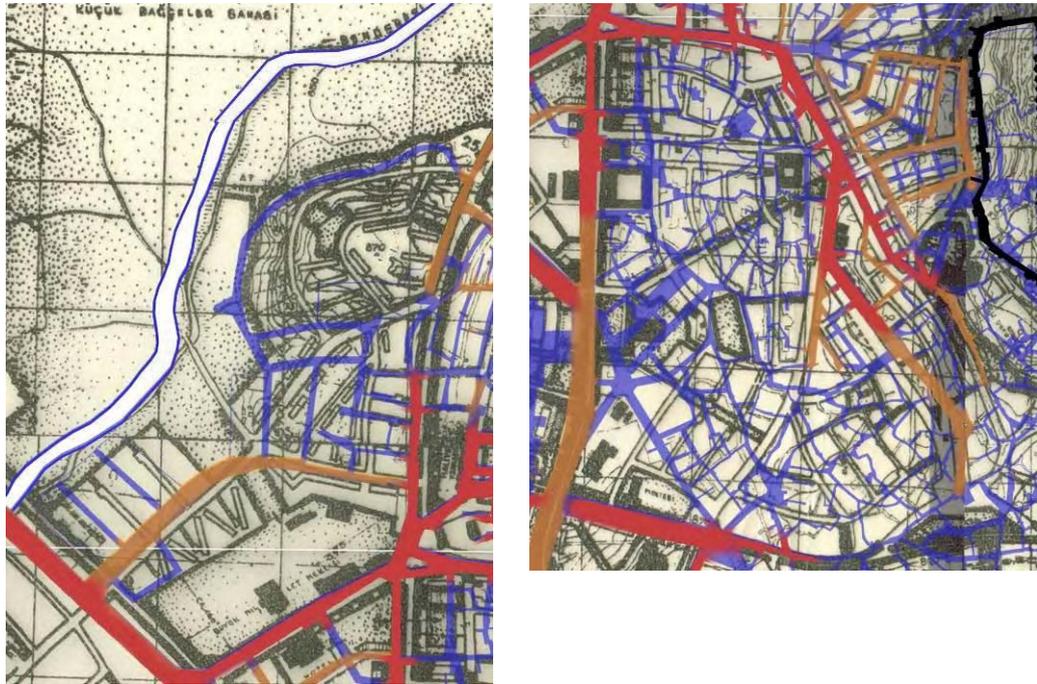
One of the most important proposals of Jansen Plan was Atatürk Boulevard, connecting Bankalar and Cumhuriyet Avenues towards the New City and it was already realized in 1930s.

A relatively small implementation of Jansen Plan in this area was opening Kızılbey Avenue (the continuation of Posta Avenue on the left side of Atatürk Boulevard) and the street perpendicular to it where Second Foundation Apartment Building (*II. Vakıf Apartmanı*) was constructed (Figure 4.47).

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<sup>249</sup> Parallel to the general method, urban circulation pattern of 1930s is superposed with the Development Plan of Jansen (in Figure 4.55) to read and clarify the continuities, changes and irrelevances; eventually the effects or Jansen Plan on the historic city of Ankara in 1930s. It is necessary to remind that the redrawn map of 1930s is a period map comprising the period between 1927 and 1936. In that sense, as Jansen Plan was in effect starting from 1929 till 1939, 1930s map is a convenient plan to check its effects. In the superposed maps in this section, the red colour shows the continued urban elements of 1924 (which may be partially changed or modified), the orange colour shows the newly implemented proposals and blue colour shows the unaffected urban circulation pattern in Jansen Plan.

As seen in Figure 4.48, Jansen proposed a new quarter, İsmet Pasha Quarter, at the north corner of the historic city, which was implemented in 1930s. The road on the west side of this quarter, which was at the continuation of Çankırı Avenue and Atatürk Boulevard towards north, was broken in between Bozkurt and İnkılap Quarters. It is seen that some of the streets were slightly changed and straightened (shown in red colour) around Government Square and towards İsmet Pasha Quarter, when only small areas around Köprübaşı and Tabakhane Quarters were not touched (see Figure A.8 in Appendices for the locations of the quarters).



**Figure 4.49:** (left) West side of Çankırı Avenue.

**Figure 4.50:** (right) Anafartalar, Doğanbey and Necatibey Quarters.

On the west side of Çankırı Avenue, Rüzgarlı Avenue was realized as proposed in Jansen Plan, constituting the borderline of the new governmental center. Bozkurt, Fevzi Pasha Quarters and the archaeological site of Roman Bath were not changed in 1930s at the north side of Rüzgarlı Avenue (Figure 4.49).

An interesting change can be followed at Necatibey Quarter. The urban pattern of this area in 1930s reflects both previous Lörcher Plan, and new Jansen Plan implementations (Figure 4.50). Following Lörcher's proposal in this area, Jansen revised his project slightly. The south side of Işıklar Avenue has been destroyed

and replaced with the new apartments with the same decision (see Figures 3.18 and 3.36). Despite the loss of the previously existing traditional residential urban fabric, the Old City gained an important urban area, composed of the qualified representatives of the first apartments in the Early Republican period.

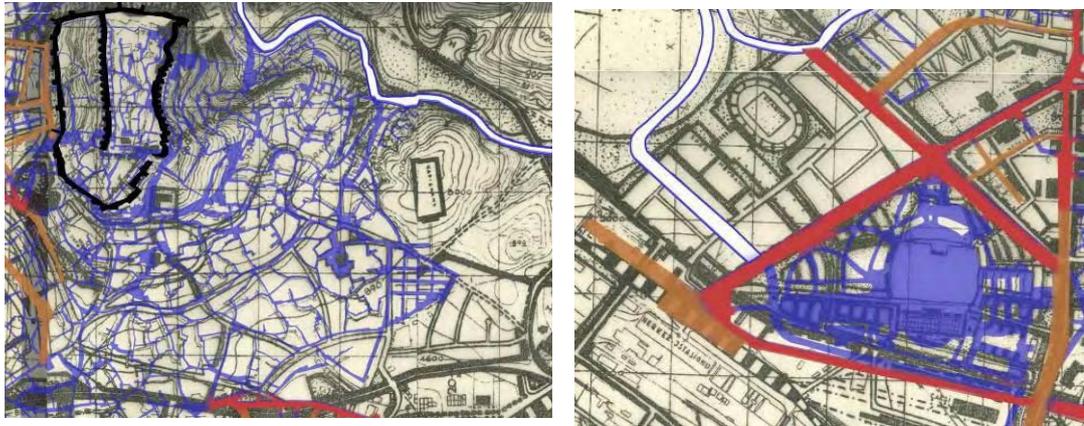
Besides, former Şehremaneti, Balıkpazarı and Çocuk Sarayı Avenues (today's Anafartalar Avenue), as well as Çıkrikçılar Avenue were widened and continued towards Samanpazarı District, according to Jansen Plan for the first time. Likewise, half of Denizciler Avenue was implemented in 1930s by Jansen Plan as a wider avenue on the previous traces of the street which used to exist in 1839, but destroyed by the big fire in 1916 (as shown by 2 in Figure 2.28). On the other hand, the historic urban fabric bordered by Cumhuriyet Avenue (a part of today's Atatürk Boulevard around TEKEL building), İstasyon and Balıkpazarı-Şehremaneti-Çocuk Sarayı Avenues were not affected by Jansen Plan in 1930s yet (Figure 4.50), but will be in 1940s.



**Figure 4.51:** South side of İstasyon and Hamamönü Avenues .

In 1930s, İnönü Boulevard (today's Talat Pasha Boulevard) proposed in Jansen Plan was not implemented yet and the historic urban fabric at the south had still integrity and continuity up to Hacettepe District, where a large park was realized in 1930s according to Jansen Plan, clearly being inspired by Lörcher. On the other hand, in 1940s, this integrity will be lost with the implementation of this boulevard. On the other hand, Gündoğdu Quarter with rectangular urban blocks was implemented as proposed in Jansen Plan. Besides, the two large urban blocks,

where People's House and Numune Hospital were located, were implemented in 1930s.



**Figure 4.52:** (left) The Citadel and its east and south neighboring quarters.

**Figure 4.53:** (right) Youth Park and its environs

In 1930s, the Citadel and the neighboring east and south quarters to the citadel were not touched and stayed unaffected from Jansen Plan (Figure 4.52).

It is seen that Youth Park was started to be constructed in mid 1930s in the same location as proposed in Jansen Plan, but with a different design. On the other hand, İstasyon Avenue was continued towards north-west according to Jansen Plan, taking the name of Hipodrom Avenue (Figure 4.53).

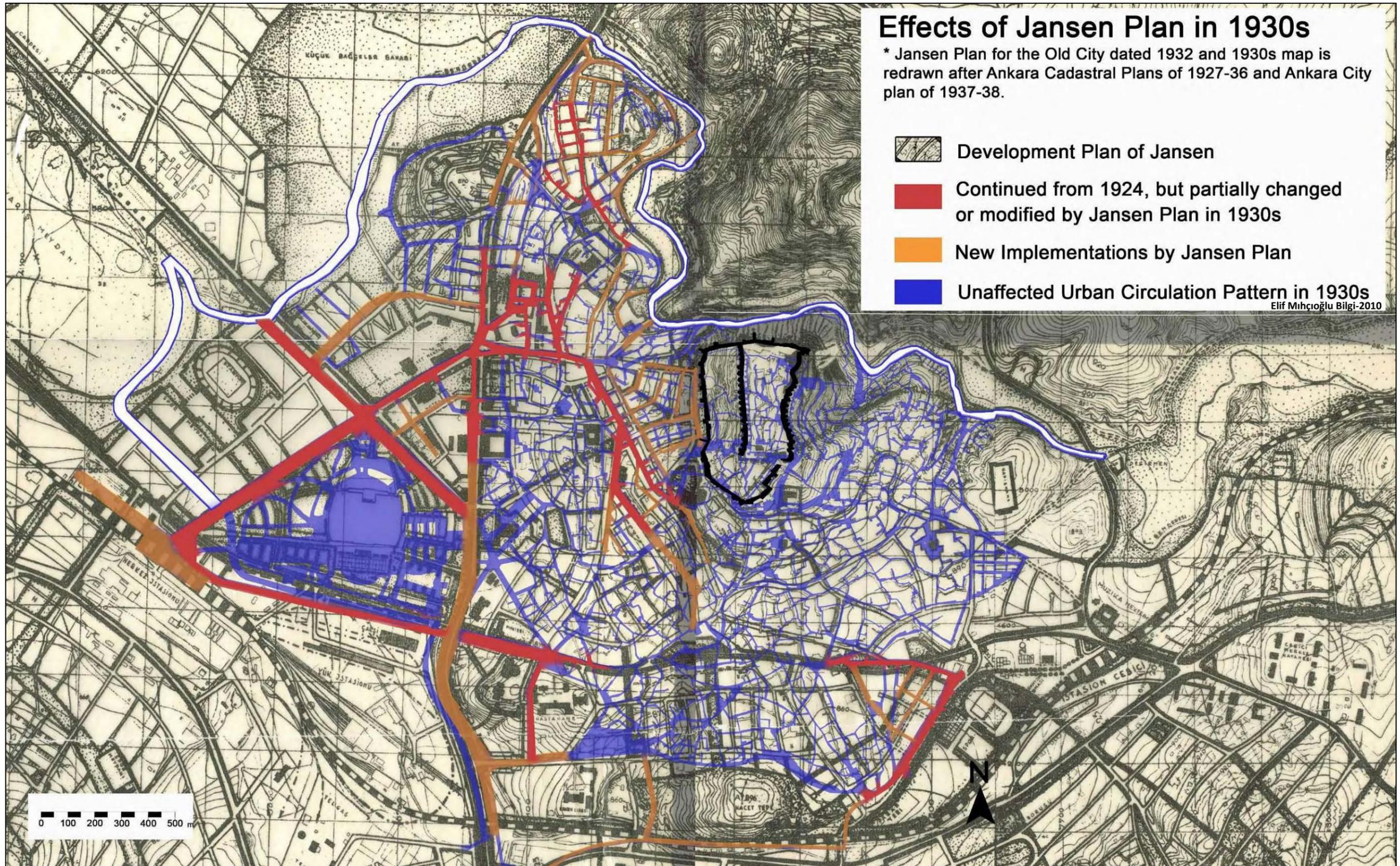


Figure 4.54: Effects of Jansen Plan on the Historic City of Ankara in 1930s.

### ***What was Implemented According to Jansen Plan till 1944?***



**Figure 4.55:** (left) İnönü Boulevard-Yıldırım Avenue

**Figure 4.56:** (right) Erzurum Quarter next to Bosnian Quarter.

An important urban change and implementation of Jansen Plan in 1944 was opening of İnönü Boulevard and Yıldırım Avenue (the part around Samanpazarı Square) (which is today's Talat Pasha Boulevard).

İstasyon Avenue on the west side was widened, slightly modified and connected with Hamamönü Avenue at the east, It used to exist in 1930s and was almost completely vanished after the implementation of Erzurum Quarter, next to Bosnian Quarter at the east end, according to Jansen Plan decisions.

Also, Samanpazarı Square was realized in the middle of this axis within the framework of Jansen Plan. At Samanpazarı Square, Esenpark was created (mentioned before in section 3.2.2.3), which became an important urban space in the collective memory of Ankara<sup>250</sup>.

After this implementation, the south part of the traditional residential urban fabric, left at the south side of the boulevard, was broken from the whole. As a result, only a small part of this area, around Meydan and Sümer Quarters, but known as 'Erzurum Quarter' today, with few buildings are left today, especially after the construction of Hacettepe University.

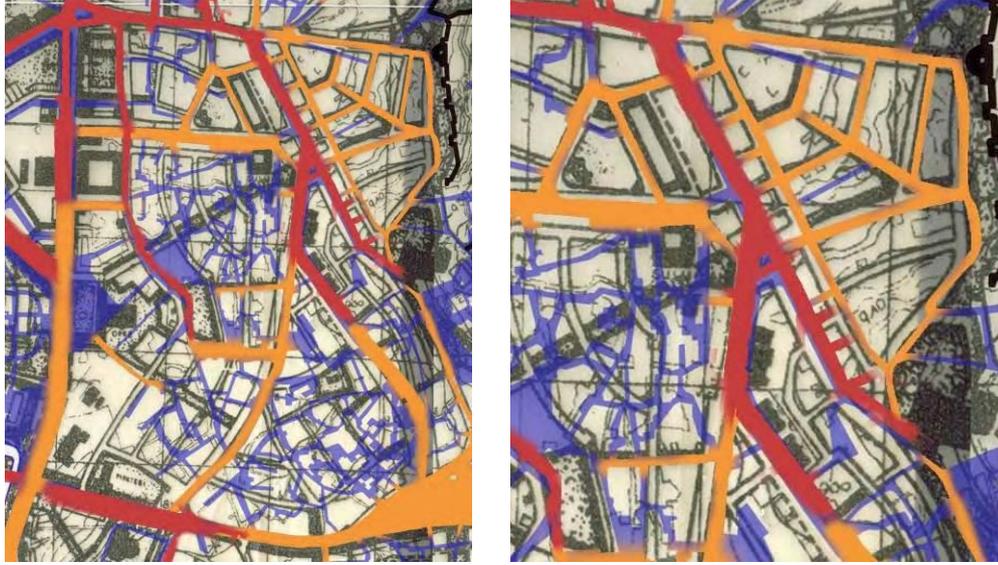
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<sup>250</sup> Özaloğlu, 2008: 27-28.



**Figure 4.57:** (left) South side of İnönü Boulevard-Yıldırım Avenue  
**Figure 4.58:** (right) Numune Hospital and environs

At the south of the axis composed of İnönü Boulevard and Yıldırım Avenue, the historic urban fabric around triangular Hacı Musa Square (composed of, Kırgız, Kurtuluş, Dumlupınar, Duatepe, Sümer, Demirtaş, Meydan, Gündoğdu and Hacı Musa -the left part after the implementation of Yıldırım Avenue-) was kept (Figure 4.57), when Altay-Ülkü Quarters, located next to Numune Hospital, were destroyed as mentioned in section '3.2.2 Continuities and Changes of Urban Circulation Pattern from 1930s to 1944' with area no. 13 (Figure 4.58).



**Figure 4.59:** (left) Necatibey Quarter and Anafartalar District.

**Figure 4.60:** (right) Necatibey District and the axis composed of Şehremaneti-Balıkpazarı-Çocuk Sarayı Avenues and Çıkırkçılar Avenue.

Anafartalar District was affected from Jansen Plan quite extensively. As shown in section '3.2.2 Continuities and Changes of Urban Circulation Pattern from 1930s to 1944' with area no. 2, the change of urban form in Necatibey Quarter through replacing smaller urban blocks with larger ones or uniting them, was clearly due to Jansen Plan. After the fire of Tahtakale in 1927, straight and widened Posta Avenue, instead of narrow and slightly undulating Kızılbey Avenue, replacement of Tahtakale Marketplace with new market area on a triangular building block, as well as the redevelopment or restitution of Bahriye Avenue (today's Denizciler Avenue) as in 1839 before the big fire in 1916, continuation of Anafartalar Avenue up to Samanpazarı Square and Saraçlar Avenue were all implemented according to Jansen Plan decisions (Figure 4.59). On the other hand, Eyigün Avenue (today's Hisar Avenue), which was a common proposal in both Lörcher and Jansen Plans, could not be finalized as a straight artery reaching to the Citadel in 1930s, but was completed in 1944. Apart from these, the increased accent and broadening of Anafartalar Avenues that can be seen in 1930s map was proposed in Jansen Plan (Figure 4.60).



**Figure 4.61:** (left) Atatürk Boulevard connection implemented according to Jansen Plan.

**Figure 4.62:** (right) Youth Park and environs

According to Jansen Plan, Atatürk Boulevard was developed as the major artery of Ankara in 1930s. In 1944, former Bankalar Avenue part of Atatürk Boulevard was widened (Figure 4.60).

The design of Youth Park neither in 1930s, nor in 1944 did not look like the proposal of Jansen Plan. The concept idea of this large recreational park in this particular location, through improving the swamp area, was first recommended in an article written by Feriha Nevzad in 1926<sup>251</sup>.

The preliminary project was planned by Jansen in 1933. But in 1936, it was decided to give the final project to French landscape architect and planner Theo Leveau working at the Ministry of Public Works. In the period of Great Depression, it was decided to keep the main concept similar, but change the designer to eliminate some difficult technical proposals and decrease the budget (from 500.000 TL to 300.000 TL). The large central lake was changed geometrically and its area was decreased a little, from 35.000 sq.m. to 32.000 sq.m.<sup>252</sup> The park started to be built

<sup>251</sup> According to an article published in 'Belediyeler Dergisi' (April 1936, no:6, p.74-75), the project of Youth Park, that was realized by Ministry of Public Works, included a central main pool for circulating boats with an island at the center and two bridges to the island. Besides, a rose garden, a café and 'gazino's, zoo for birds, an open air theatre, kinder garden, a maze, swimming pool, an alley of 2.200m. for the horse-riders (Aydın et al., 2005: 431).

<sup>252</sup> Uludağ, 1998: 71.

in the early months of 1936, completed and opened in May 19<sup>th</sup>, 1943. This area lost its importance and the attention of high income classes, after the city center shifted to Kızılay in late 1950s<sup>253</sup> (figure 4.61).

Apart from this fact, İstanbul Avenue (the continuation of İstasyon Avenue) and Hipodrom Avenue (the continuation of İnönü Boulevard) were developed according to Jansen Plan (Figure 4.62).



**Figure 4.63:**(left) İsmetpaşa Quarter and its environs.

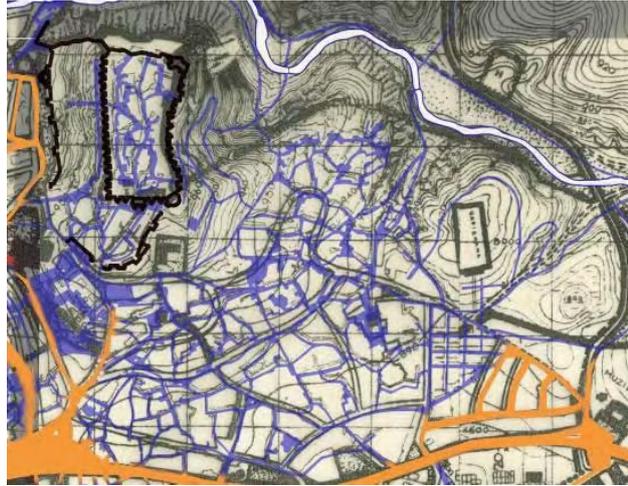
**Figure 4.64:** (right) Government Square and its environs

İsmet Pasha Quarter, which was proposed by Jansen for the first time, was partially implemented and modified in late 1930s and completed in 1944 according to Jansen Plan (Figure 4.63).

Government Square was changed and revised with minor changes, like the avenues and streets connecting Eyigün Avenue with Hacı Bayram Mosque and Temple of Augustus (Figure 4.64).

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<sup>253</sup> Aydın et al., 2005: 430-431.



**Figure 4.65:** South-eastern part of the Citadel.

The most untouched or unaffected area in the historic city of Ankara was Sutepe, Kılıçarslan, Akbaş, Oğuz, Başkır, Atpazarı, Nazimbey, Çeşme and Kayabaşı Quarters (see Figure A.8 in Appendices for the location of the quarters). Even the roads cutting the area into large urban blocks were not implemented. Despite Jansen Plan, the eastern side of the Citadel was filled with shanties regardless of the inappropriate steep edges around Yeni Hayat Quarter, as well as Yalçinkaya and Şükriye Quarters along Hatip Stream around at the north-east of the Historic City, the whole neighboring north border of the study area around Hıdırlık Hill at Altındağ, Yenidoğan, Demirtaş and Ulucanlar Quarters (Figure 4.65).

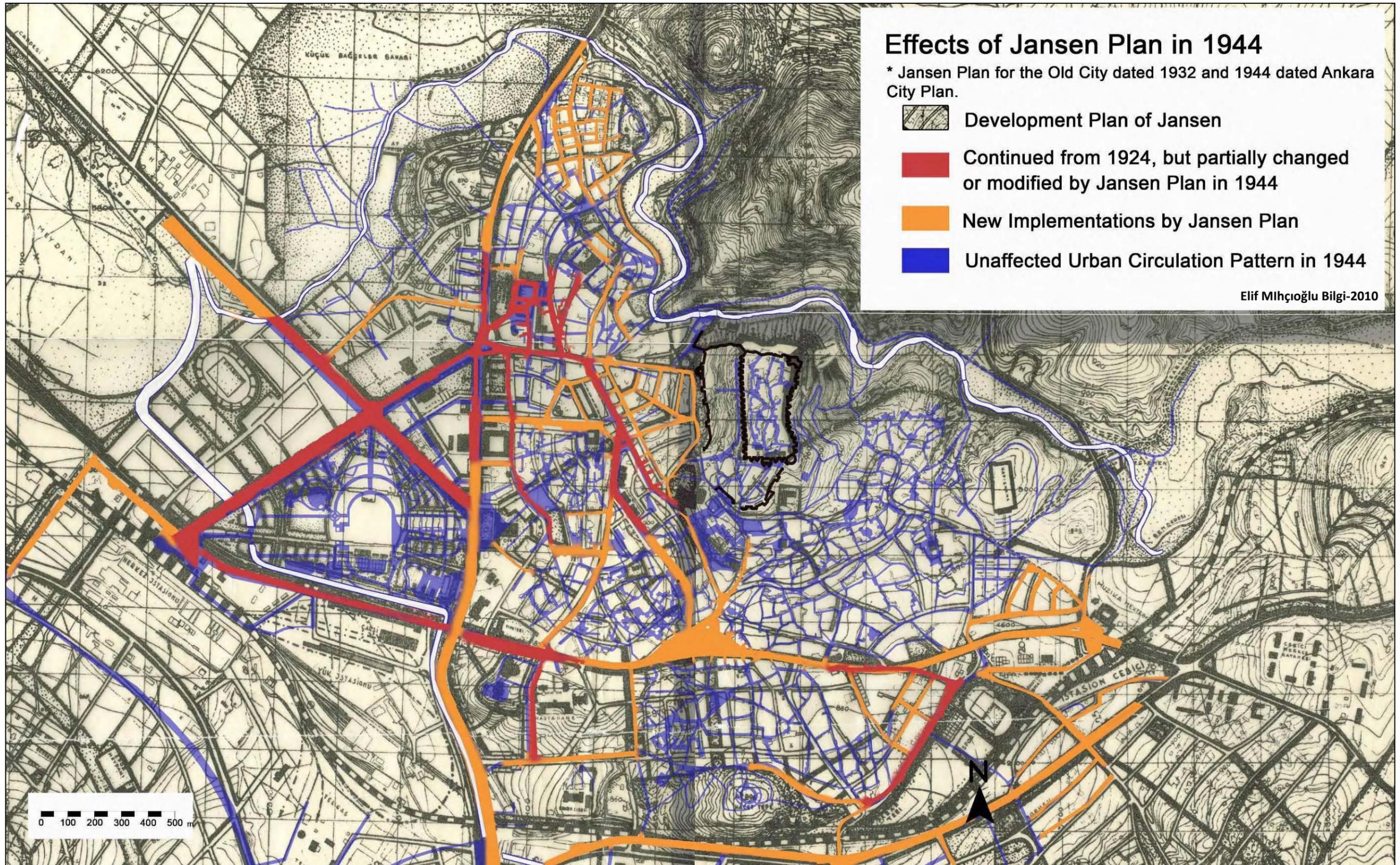


Figure 4.66: Effects of Jansen Plan on the Historic City of Ankara in 1944.

In the face of the rapid increase of population, much more and faster than expected (as mentioned in section 3.2.1), main principles of Jansen Plan remained inadequate and invalid. Related with this situation, Jansen was asked to propose a set of changes in 1936 to adapt to the new circumstances. Hence, the inevitable deviations from the plan were implemented either by the Municipality Development Commission (*Belediye İmar Heyeti*) or by other authorities. In 1938, the development plan boundary was announced to be the same with the municipality boundary, which increased the area of the lands open to speculation in Ankara. Finally, at the end of 1938, Hermann Jansen, as the author of a plan gradually losing its importance and functions, was ceased from his job for the reasons of his high costs and the necessity of his replacement by a qualified local technical team instead<sup>254</sup>.

#### **4.2.4. Period of Partial Implementation Plans**

Another important planning period, which is not mentioned or discussed in the previous related literature on Ankara, was the 'Period of Partial Implementation Plans'. Starting from the revisions of Jansen Plan, the partial implementation plans<sup>255</sup> occurs as an important tool, used to shape the city by the Directorate of Development of Ankara. The important aspect of these partial implementation plans was found out in the Republican Archives of Governmental Archives<sup>256</sup>. For the revisions in the period of Jansen Plan, then for the partial implementations in the period following Jansen Plan, the projects developed by the Directorate of Development of Ankara were controlled, discussed and became legal with the governmental decisions signed by the president and the council of ministers. Hence, first Atatürk till 1938, then İsmet İnönü after 1939 as the President, together with the Council of Ministers, had the direct initiative and power on the

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<sup>254</sup> Şenyapılı, 2004: 108-111.

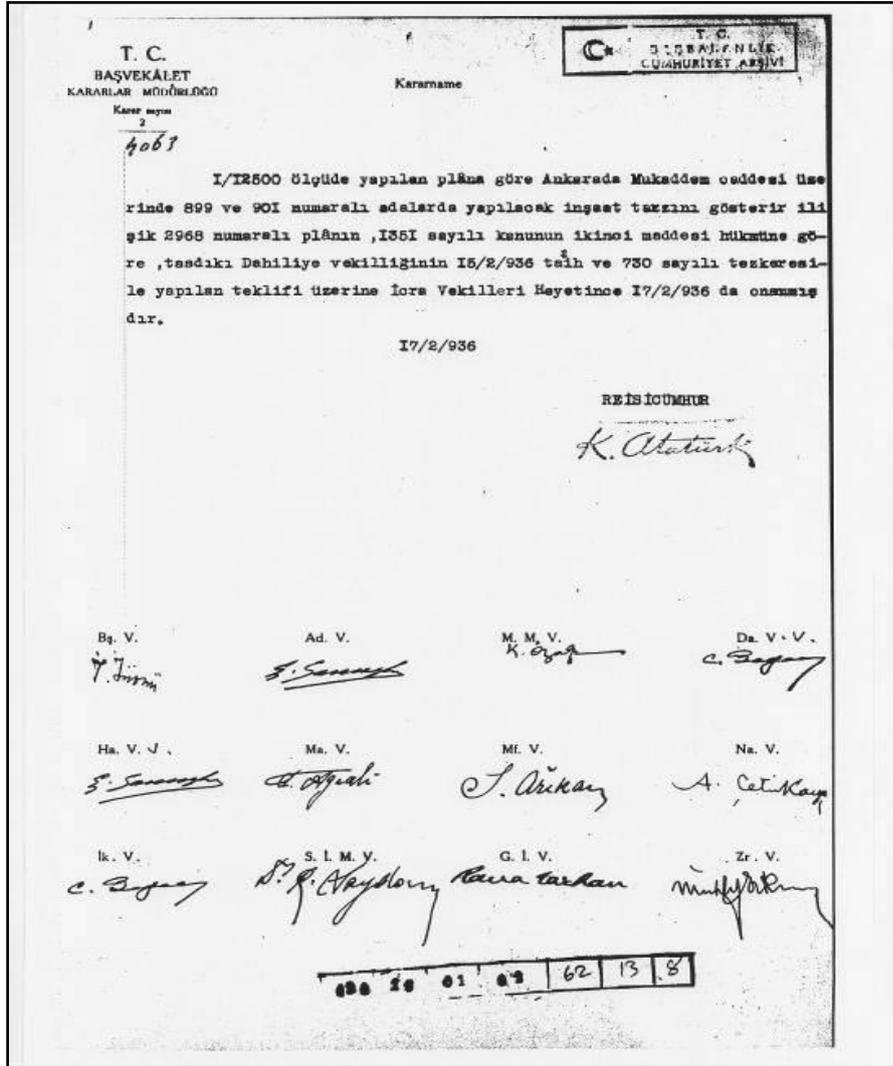
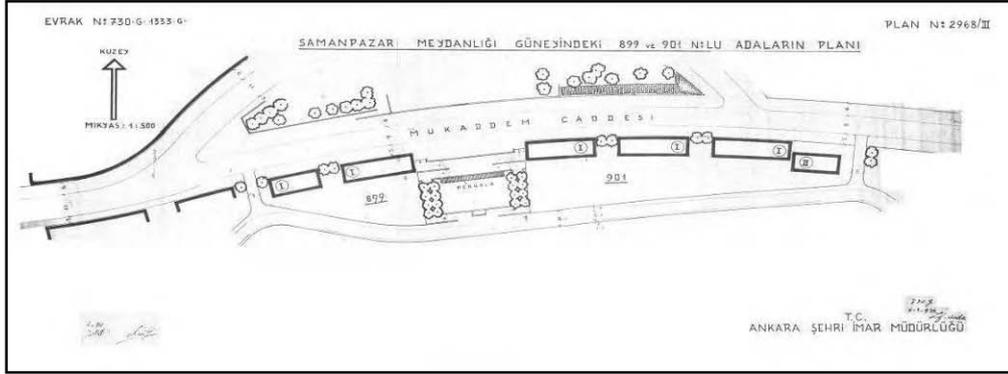
<sup>255</sup> During the documentary research in the archives of Altındağ Municipality, 73 pieces of partial implementation plans were reached, unfortunately they were not archived systematically and kept unofficially, so many of them can be expected to be lost to great extent.

<sup>256</sup> During the documentary research in the Republican Archives, 54 governmental decisions were found (dated up to 1950).

development of Ankara starting from the early years of the New Republic. The governmental documents approve or announce the content of the related partial implementation plans, mentioned as the attachment. It is assumed that apart from the general approval of the plans in the capital city, the partial implementation plans might be initiated starting from the time of communication problems with Jansen due to his absence, accelerating with the increasing competency of Directorate of Development of Ankara.

Out of 73 pieces of partial implementation plans and 54 governmental decisions which belonged to the Historic City of Ankara within the period of study, 11 of the governmental decisions were paired with the partial implementation plans as being referred and attached, as can be seen in the following.

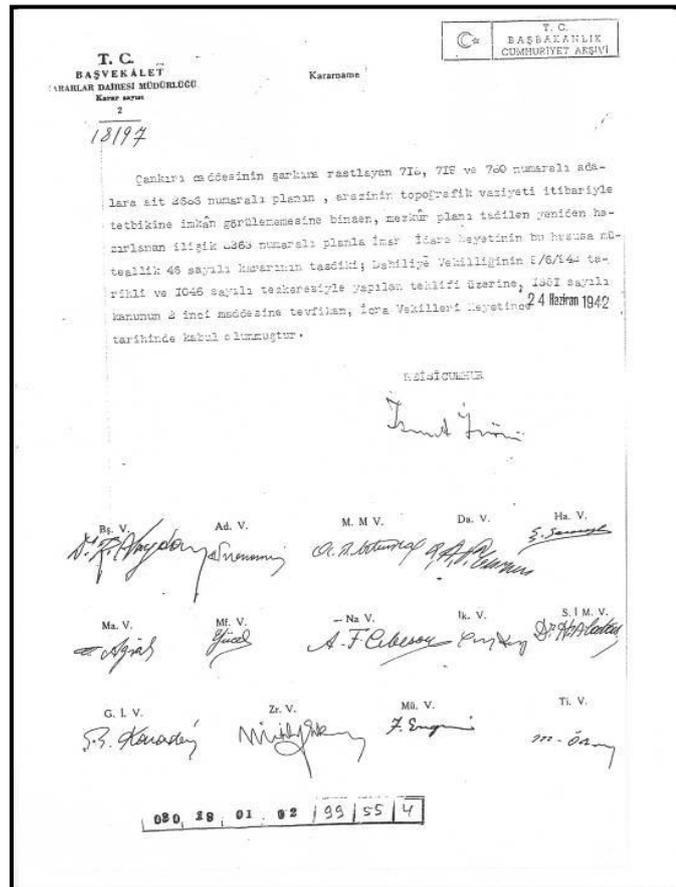
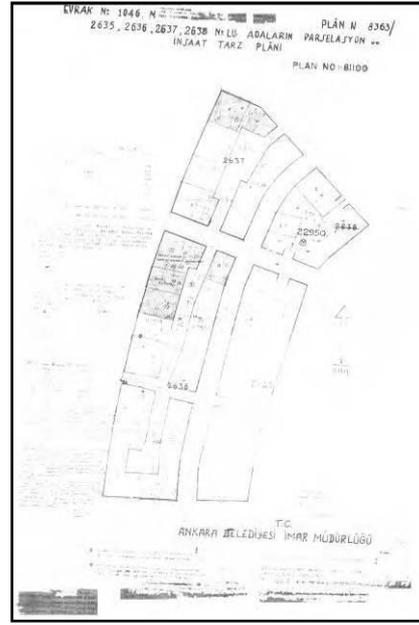
These 1/500 or 1/1000 scale projects comprised the drawings of mostly plans, sometimes sections and elevations as well. The partial implementation plans, which were quite detailed in their nature beyond the detail level of this study, were handled with top-level official interest and sensitivity, and the capital city was planned and shaped accordingly in late 1930s and especially during 1940s.



**Figure 4.67:** (top) Partial implementation plan for Yildirim Avenue (mentioned as Mukaddem Avenue in the plan)

**Figure 4.68:** (bottom) The ted governmental decision for this project dated 1936.

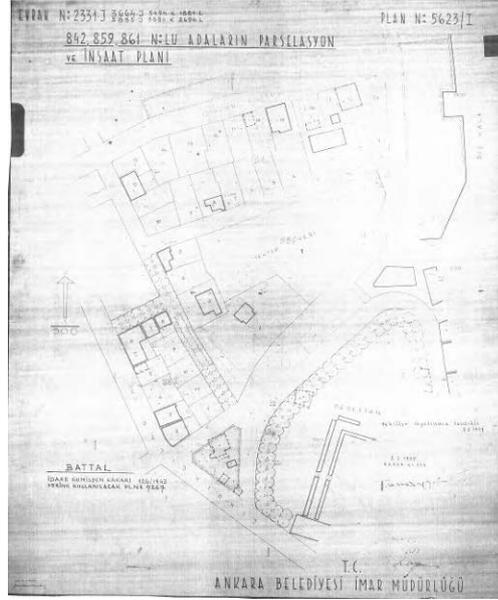
(This partial implementation plan is parallel to Jansen's sketch for Samanpazarı Square in Figure 4.30.)



**Figure 4.69:** (top left) The older version dated 1935

**Figure 4.70:** (top right) The newer version dated 1942 (with revisions up today) of partial implementation plans for the old fire area around Çıkırkçılar Avenue

**Figure 4.71:** (bottom) The Related Governmental Decision For This Project Dated 1942.



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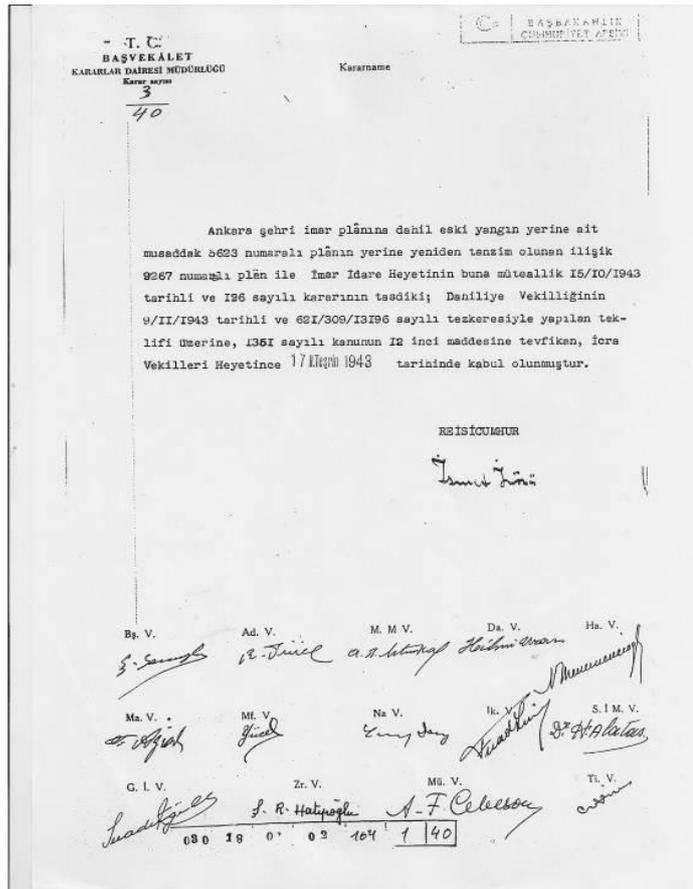
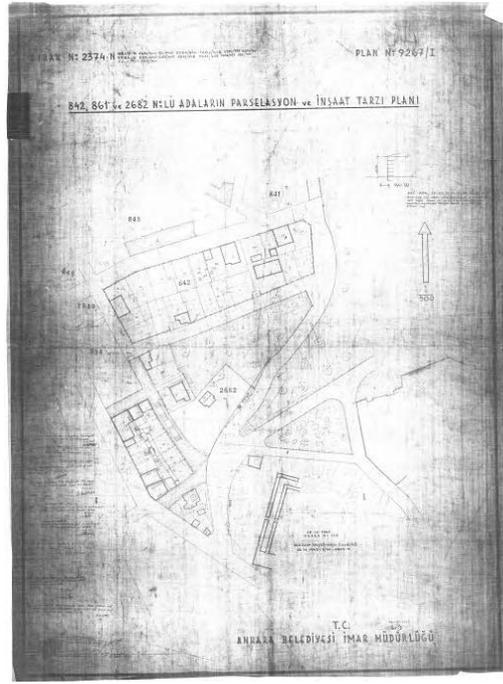
Ankara'da eski yangın yeri namıyla maruf mahâlde imarın 842, 859 ve 861 numaralı adalarında yapılacak inşaat tarzını ve müstakbel şeklini göstermek üzere hazırlanarak Dahiliye Vekillığının 27/6/1938 tarih ve 2331 sayılı tezkeresile gönderilen ilişik 5623 numaralı planla İmar İdare Heyetininin 234 sayılı kararı İcra Vekilleri Heyetince 7. TUNAZ 1938 tarihinde tetkik edilerek 1351 numaralı kanunun 12 inci maddesine tevfiқан tasdik olunmuştur.

REİSİCÜMHUR  
İsmail İnönü

Ba. V. N. F. Çaydaru	Ad. V. —	M. M. V. M. M. V.	Da. V. F. S. S.	Ha. V. S. S.
Ma. V. S. S.	Mf. V. Y. S.	Na. V. N. F. Çaydaru	İk. V. S. S.	S. I. M. V. S. S.
G. I. V. ve Ad. V. V. P. K. S.	Zc. V. M. S.	M. Ma. V. A. C.	Ti. V. S. S.	

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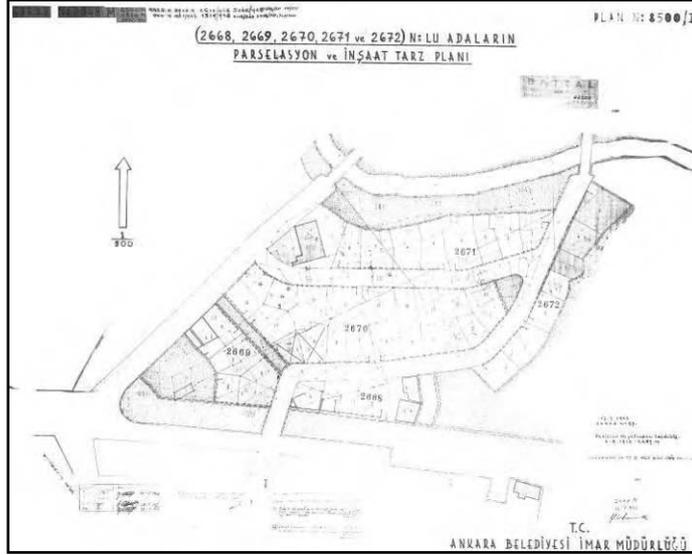
Figure 4.72: (top) Partial implementation plan for Necatibey Quarter partially  
Figure 4.73: (bottom) The related governmental decision for this project dated 1942.



**Figure 4.74:** (top) A revised partial implementation plan (of the previous one) for the old fire area around Necatibey Quarter (partially) around Bedesten and water depot,

**Figure 4.75:** (bottom) The related governmental decision for this project dated 1943.





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BAŞKENTİN İÇİŞLERİ BAKANLIĞI  
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I/12500 mikyaslı Ankara şehri İmar plânında, Anafartalar cad- desıyla İsmet Paşa Parkı arasındaki yolun metneline bir seydanlık tesisi maksediyle hazırlanıp Daniliye Vekilliginin 27/7/1942 tarihli ve 244E sayılı tezkeresiyle gönderilen iliglik 8500 numaralı plânla İmar İdare Heyetinin buna mütesallik 89 numaralı kararı İcra Vekilleri Heyetinece 4 Nisan 1947 tarihinde tetkik edilerek 1351 sayılı kanunun 2 inci maddesine tevfiken tasdiki kaoul olunmuştur.

REİSİCUMHUR  
*İsmet İnönü*

Bş. V. ve Ha. Vekil Vekili <i>S. Saadettin</i>	Ad. V. <i>Ş. Şimşek</i>	M. M. V. <i>G. H. H. H.</i>	Da. V. <i>A. A. A.</i>	Ha. V. <i>A. A. A.</i>
Ma. V. <i>A. A. A.</i>	Mi. V. <i>A. A. A.</i>	Na. V. <i>A. F. C.</i>	İk. V. <i>A. A. A.</i>	S. İ. M. V. <i>A. A. A.</i>
G. İ. V. <i>S. S.</i>	Zr. V. <i>S. R. H.</i>	Mü. V. <i>L. E.</i>	Ti. V. <i>A. A. A.</i>	

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Figure 4.78: (top) Partial implementation plan for Anafartalar Avenue-İsmet Pasha Park Area  
Figure 4.79: (bottom) The related governmental decision for this project dated 1947.

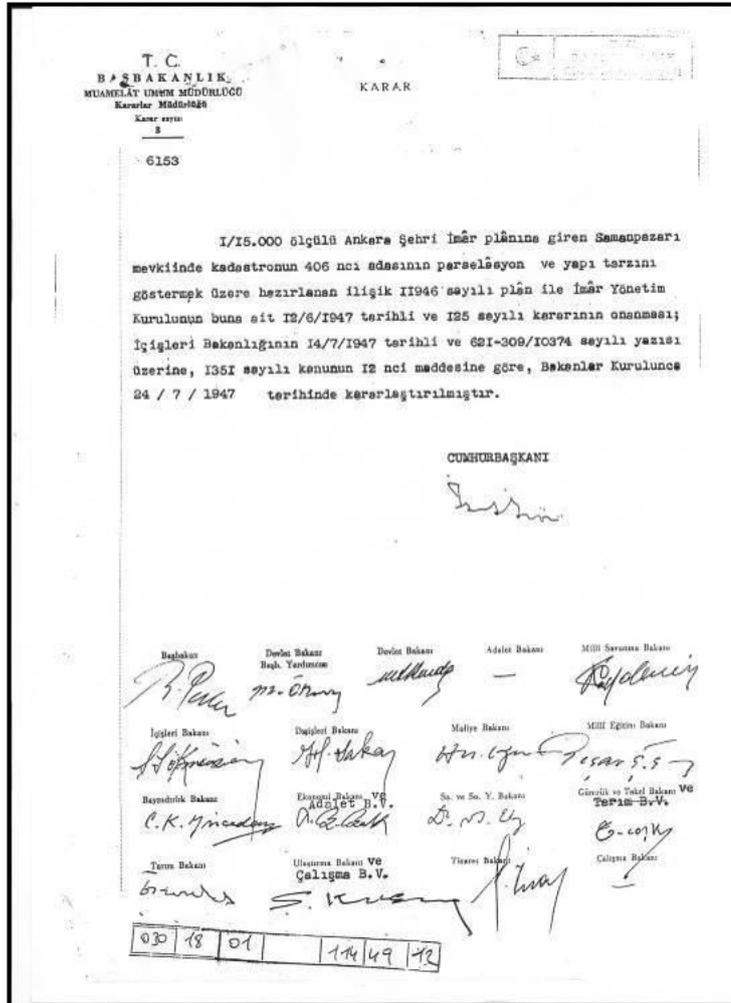
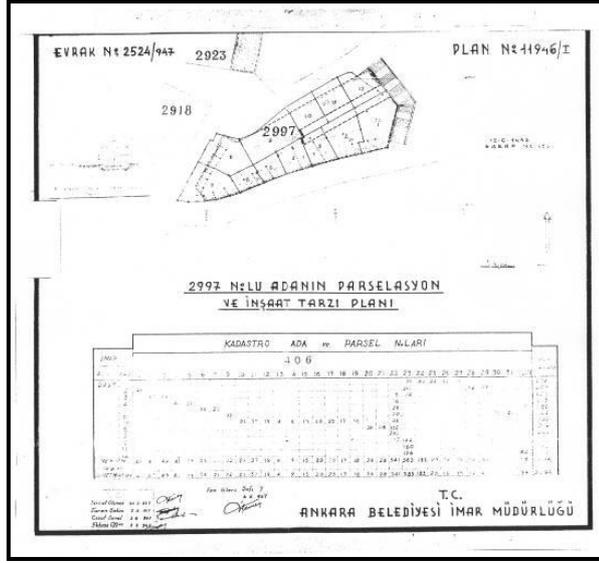


Figure 4.80: (top) Partial implementation plan for Samanpazarı and environs  
Figure 4.81: (bottom) The related governmental decision for this particular project dated 1947.

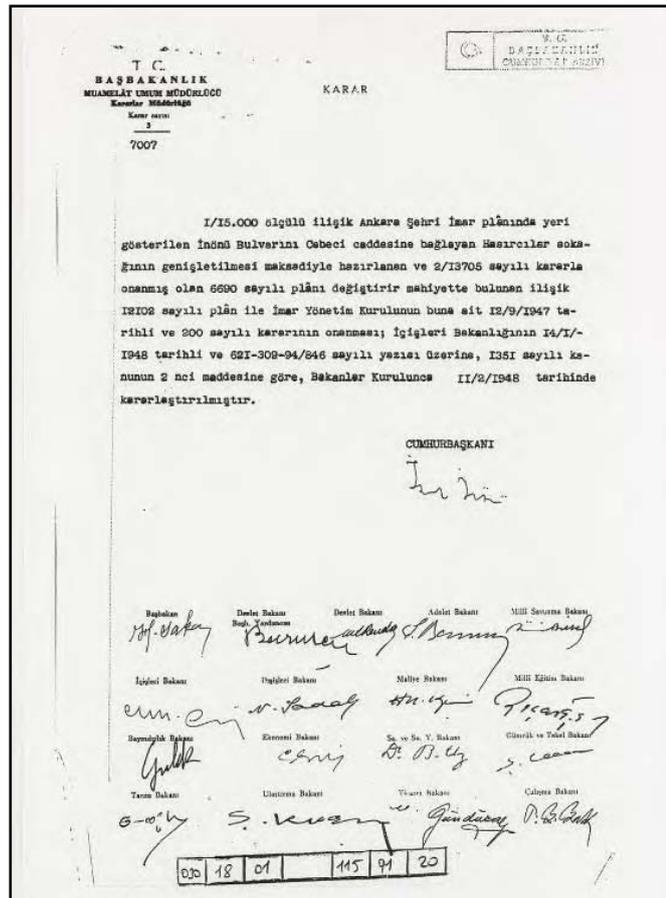
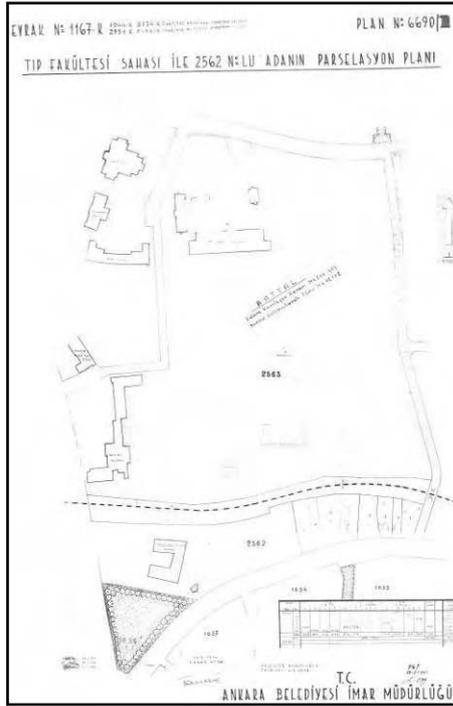


Figure 4.82: (top) Partial implementation plan for İnönü Boulevard and Cebeci Avenue around Hasircilar Avenue next to Hospital Area

Figure 4.83: (bottom) The related governmental decision for this project dated 1948.

These partial implementation plans at scale 1/500 or 1/1000 are seen to follow the principles and decisions of Jansen Plan and provide detailed projects partially, trying to clarify the situation at each scale, as building block, parcel and building. Under the light of these examples, each small area in the historic city must be expected to be studied in detail at partial implementation plan level, controlled and legalized at the highest governmental level. Some of them, like the one related Samanpazarı Square (Figure 4.67), show the detailed projects which could not be handled by the large scale development plan. On the other hand, it is seen that although the earlier version plans reflect Jansen Plan decisions, the newer versions differentiates from Jansen Plan through the size and form changes of building blocks, consequently causing a change of the street pattern, as in Figures 4.69 and 4.50, as well as Figures 4.72 and 4.74.

Above all, these partial implementation plans and the related governmental decisions, show the great sensibility and effort, the immense control and great importance given to the new capital city and its historic center.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

In this study, proposing to read and analyze the spatial properties through the morphological patterns, the physical transformation of Ankara City Center from the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century to 1944 was studied to reconstitute the original urban characteristics of the period within the context of continuity and change, parallel to planning activities and socio-cultural reasons. Main questions were;

- When revealing the physical evolution process of Ankara, 'when', 'how' and 'why' did certain physical components of the city emerge and change?
- What were the interventions brought by the development plans of the Early Republican Era on the historic city?
- Was the 'aimed conservation' pointed out in the report of Jansen Development Plan and in the related literature valid and effective?
- What was the role of 'fire areas' in the development of the Old City?

Within this context, the detailed outcomes of this study are as follows;

#### **5.1 About the Method Developed in This Study**

In the light of this study, urban morphology as the basic method of analysis and particularly the 'comparison with superposition technique' is believed to be convenient to find out or clarify the continuities and changes in detail, especially for complex urban settlements where large scale transformations occur in time. The method enables to read and decipher the aimed physical components of the

urban whole with minimum hesitation and mistake within the context of the used cartographic material.

The weaknesses of difficulties are finding necessary cartographic materials at the desired quality for the related periods of research, deficiencies and mistakes of the original documents necessary to be controlled from other sources, long process or span of time necessary to prepare the digital study and visual presentations and necessity to be eligible enough to use the related computer programs.

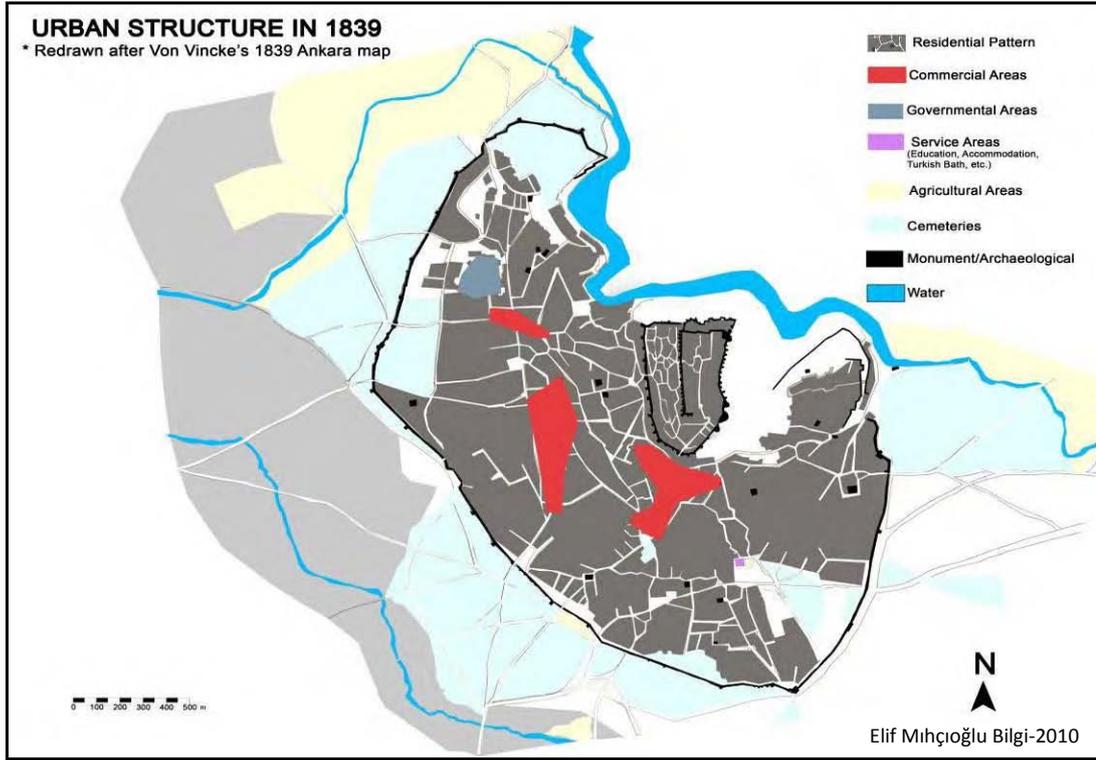
## **5.2. Physical Evolution of Ankara in the Pre-Republican Period:**

Before the substantial changes in the Early Republican period, the outcomes describing the historic city are as follows;

### ***In 1839:***

At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Ankara started losing its commercial importance and started to weaken economically, parallel to the decline of the Ottoman Empire. In 1839, the City Walls defined the borders of the city of Ankara clearly. The residential pattern was dispersed within the City Walls rarefying towards its inner periphery at the west, north-west, south-east of the city and at the east side of the Citadel. The Outer Citadel area or '*Hisarönü*', which was covered with urban blocks in 1839 and destroyed by the big fire in 1916, was inhabited mostly by the non-muslim inhabitants with a population of more than 4,000-5,000.

There were three commercial areas around *Hanlar* District, *Karaođlan* Avenue and *Dođanbey* Quarters; small, but comprising quite a large number of commercial buildings and single units in them (especially around *Hanlar* District) compared to a small Central Anatolian city. Ankara of 1830 was not only an agricultural center, but also a non-agricultural production and service center. According to the data of 1830 census, the population was assumed to be 22,600.



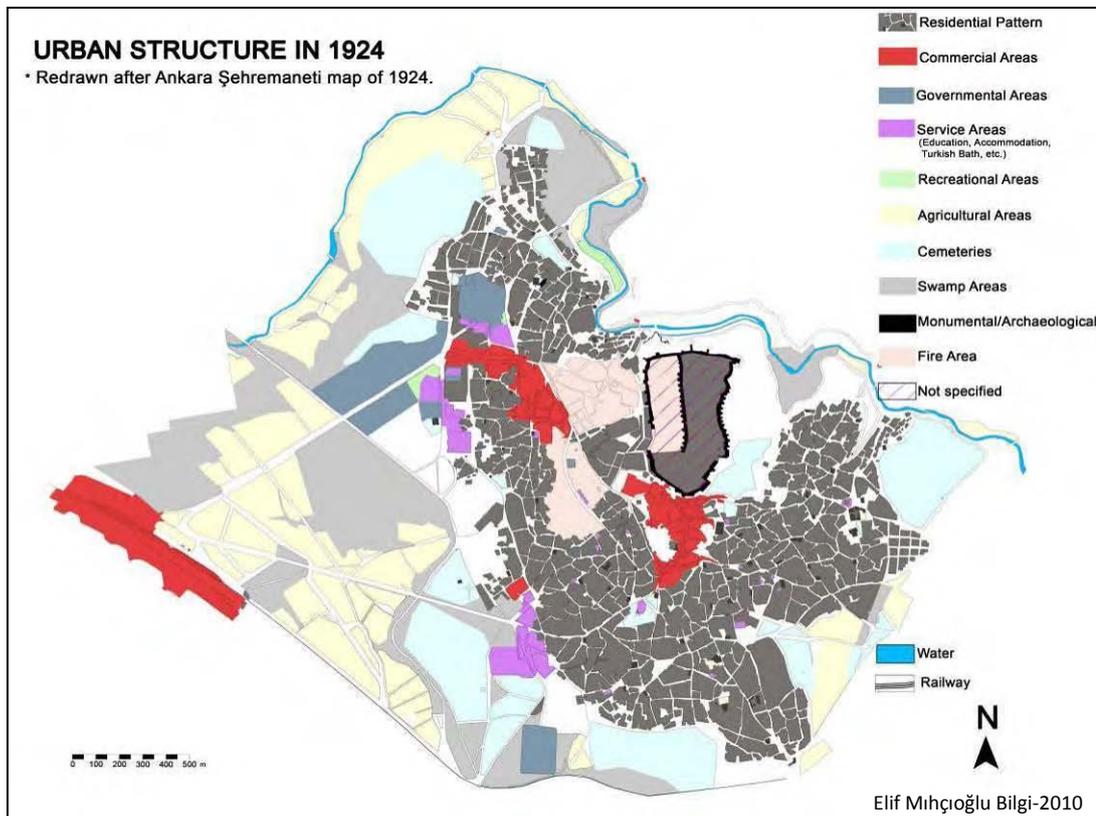
**Figure 5.1:** Urban Structure in 1839.

Despite the deficiencies of the source map, it can be said that the city gates were important shaping the urban circulation pattern inside and outside the City Walls, the whole network carried a homogeneous organic character, connecting the city gates and the Citadel to each other.

Contrary to the residential built area within the City Walls, the surrounding areas were used as the open utility areas of the city, outside the City Walls. Cemetery areas surrounded the City Walls, then came the agricultural lands and swamp areas. On the other hand, the water sources were important urban elements constituting the borders of the city in 1839. Especially, *Hatip* Stream defined the northern border of the city from north-east, when *İncesu* Stream was at a distance to the city at the south and west.

**In 1924:**

In 19<sup>th</sup> century, Ankara became the administrative center and the 'gateway to the outer world' of the large 'Ankara Province'. Then in 1907, Ankara was the 'center of the sanjak'. In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the population of Ankara was approximately 30,000. Approximately half of the total population in Ankara was non-Muslim during 19<sup>th</sup> century related with its being a trade center. The food shortage between 1873 and 1875, big fires in 1881 and 1916 were important events accelerating the decline of the city in this period that caused a regression in the economy and loss of population. The traditional urban fabric at the Outer Citadel Area and at its west, were swept away by these fires causing a large vacant area in the core of the city in 1924.



**Figure 5.2:** Urban Structure in 1924.

In 1924, the closed city of Ankara became an open city with the absence of the City Walls. Despite this new fact, the size of the city was quite the same compared to 1839 with some important changes. The urban structure of the historic city was

wounded by the fire in 1916, which caused losses in the residential area and left a large evacuated district at the center of the city. Apart from the arrival of railway station in 1892 creating a new transportation and commercial focus at the west of the city, new governmental and service areas, as well as some new residential areas -like *İsmet Pasha* and *Bosnian Quarters*- around the city, were added with the increasing population and consequent needs of the city, since the Independence War. Cemetery areas were kept, when some of the swamp areas were partially dried and replaced with the agricultural lands. The city keeping almost the same boundaries with a population of approximately 35,000, was proclaimed as the capital city of the Turkish Republic.

It is clear that a number of urban blocks expanded over the old border of the City Walls partially, as in the new governmental area new Railway Station District, *Bosnian Quarter* and *Ulucanlar Prison* area.

*Bankalar Avenue*, somehow the essence of *Atatürk Boulevard*, which was more like an inner street in 1839, turned into an avenue developing towards *Çankırı Gate* at the north, named as '*Çankırı Avenue*' and towards *İzmir Gate* at the south in 1924.

### **5.3. Physical Evolution of Ankara in the Early Republican period**

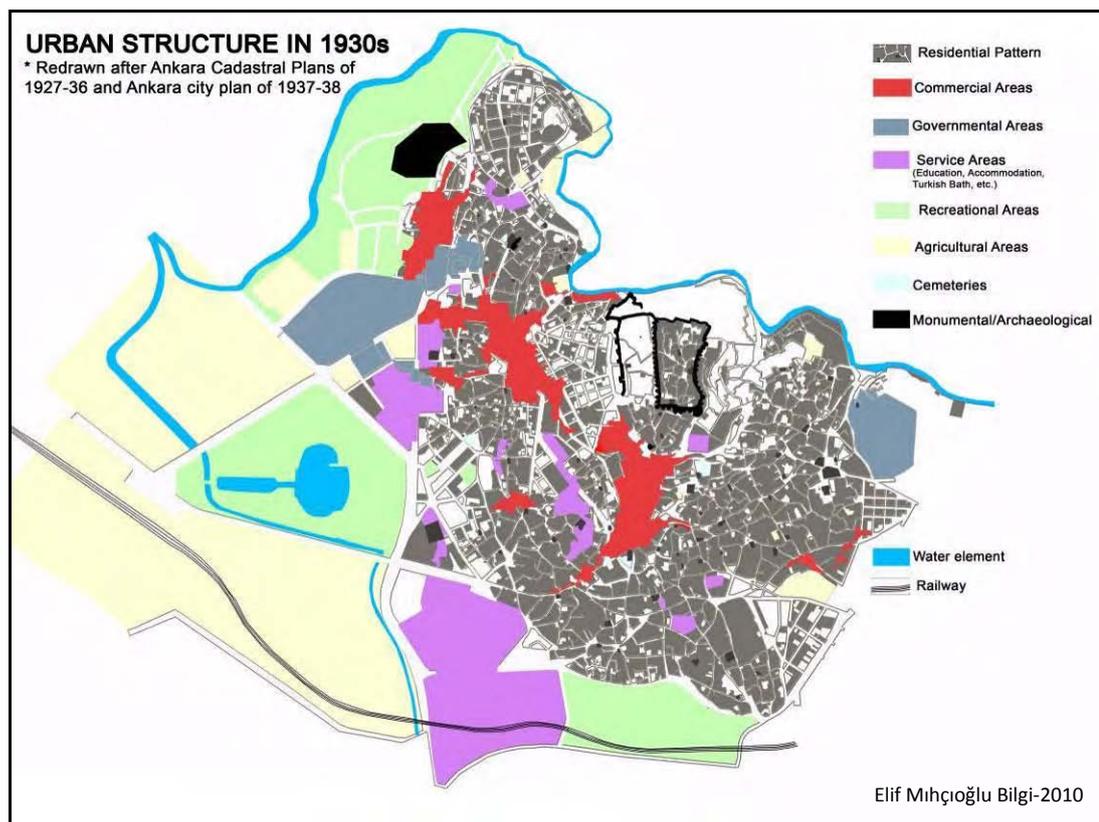
#### ***In 1930s:***

In 1930s, the city was in the process of growth beyond the earlier borders of the city. With the dynamism of becoming the capital city of the New Turkish Republic, Ankara grew in all directions, but mostly towards south, where a new city called '*Yenişehir*' was being created. In contrast to 1839 and 1924, the historic city of Ankara was not a whole anymore, but only a part of this larger whole. On the other hand, the historic city was kept as the administrative and commercial center, adapting itself to the new circumstances.

The previous cemetery areas were the major urban development areas in 1930s. The fire area, unbuilt areas, swamp areas, or functional open areas (other than cemeteries; agricultural and gardening lands) around the historic city in 1924 were

urbanized and transformed into urban blocks having geometric forms, contrasting with the previous organic urban fabric.

The urban fabric was densified and the urban circulation pattern was tightened. Besides, the former fire area was the most comprehensively changed part in the historic city. Not only the area destroyed by the fire, but the neighboring traditional residential area was included in the development plans; first by Lörcher, then followed by Jansen, bringing an urban fabric of apartment buildings, named as *Necatibey* Quarter. In these years, the apartment buildings became the most convenient building typology and most prestigious residential type to accommodate the exponentially increasing population of the city and the most prestigious residential type.



**Figure 5.3:** Urban Structure in 1930s.

Parallel to the increasing population and extents of the city, the historic city comprised more commercial use in number and in surface area through; both the

growing of the former commercial nodes larger, and the addition of new smaller commercial areas. The historic city as the administrative center, governmental areas, as well as the service areas -comprising more diversified functions compared to the past, were included largely in the historic urban structure. Parallel to the characteristics of the urban pattern, the service areas constituted smaller areas scattered in the historic center, and the newer ones covered larger areas at the vicinity.

Former *Çocuk Sarayı* (today's *Anafartalar*) Avenue was straightened and widened as the principal axis. The northern part of *Bahriye* Avenue, which became undefined due to the big fire in 1916, was restituted again as in 1839. *İtfaiye* Square was newly created with a radial form and *Sıhhiye* Quarter was annexed.

Another clear transformation area was due to the necessity of connecting the Old City with the New City, through linking former *Bankalar* Avenue with the newly created *Cumhuriyet* Avenue, which basically constituted Atatürk Boulevard.

Apart from the built-up areas, three large open areas were transformed into planned recreational green areas; like the Stadium Area, Youth Park and *Küçük Bahçeler* Quarter.

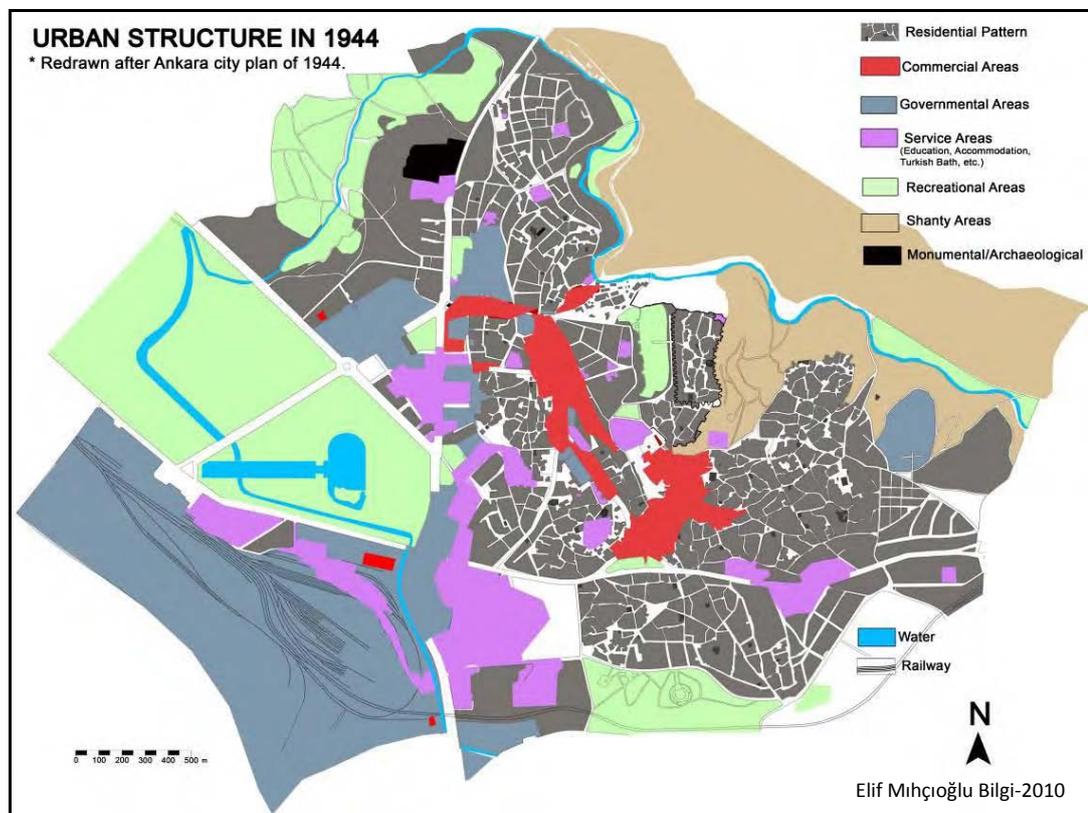
#### ***In 1944:***

In 1940s, as being only a small part of a large capital city, compared to 1930s when the city grew in all directions, the urban fabric of the Historic City became denser within the existing urban pattern, filling the open areas. Also, the historic city was completely built-up and even 'saturated' parallel to the rapidly growing population of the city.

Although there was a shift of governmental activities to *Bakanlıklar* District, the governmental center at *Ulus* was in use actively in 1944. *Bankalar* Avenue, as a part of the main artery of Atatürk Boulevard, was the most prestigious axis in the historic city where many governmental buildings, banks and luxurious hotels were located. The major commercial zones in the historic city were; along former

*Karaođlan Avenue, Balıkpazarı Avenue (constituting today's Anafartalar Avenue) reaching to Samanpazarı Square, as well as Çıkrikçılar Avenue, Tabakhane Avenue, and Hanlar District as the traditional commercial center. The major commercial zones in the historic city were; along former Karaođlan Avenue, Balıkpazarı Avenue reaching to Samanpazarı Square, as well as Çıkrikçılar Avenue, Tabakhane Avenue, and Hanlar District as the traditional commercial center as in Figure 5.4.*

Perpendicular to Atatürk Boulevard, the city's strong and distinct development towards south, new İnönü Boulevard (today's Talat Pasha Boulevard) was opened as the most striking change in the urban circulation pattern from 1930s to 1944. This important intervention caused major changes in the urban circulation network and urban fabric pattern at the south part of the Historic City. On the other hand, parallel to the growing city, the functions were further diversified and the residential use in the pattern was mixed with many different non-residential uses. Furthermore, there were almost no cemeteries left within the boundaries of the historic city within the context of the large scale planning decisions.



**Figure 5.4:** Urban Structure in 1944.

*Hatip* Stream was no longer the natural threshold at the north borderline of the city and was surpassed by the shanties. The residential demand was so strong and excessive that the few barracks turned into the shanty-towns, covering large areas using mostly the inappropriate areas like the empty steep rocky edges around the Citadel. Apart from this, the steep eastern side of the Citadel was completely covered with houses.

In 1944, there occurred a few striking changes in the urban fabric; one in *Necatibey* Quarter where the urban blocks were enlarged through consolidation of smaller blocks; and the other occurred around *İtfaiye* Square and its environs, as a change of design where used to be a special radial junction, but changed into a larger building block of rather ordinary shape. Another change was the disappearance of the urban fabric around *Altay-Ülkü* Quarters, next to *Numune* Hospital.

In 1944, distinct change in the urban circulation pattern was the clarified axis of *Eyigün* Avenue (today's *Hisarparkı* Avenue) climbing towards *İnönü* Park and the Citadel.

Likewise, as a continuation of Atatürk Boulevard, the urban fabric on two sides of a part of *Çankırı* Avenue was changed to widen and clarify this curved axis connecting to *Dışkapı* and *Keçiören*.

Other urban blocks like *İsmet* Pasha Quarter, Government (*Hükümet* or *Vilayet*) Square and environs, *Bozkurt* Quarter and the governmental area of National Assembly Buildings were densified with the addition of new buildings.

The old square at *Samanpazarı* was enlarged and became '*Esenpark*'. Parallel to the changes in the historic core, *Kızılbey* Avenue and *Tahtakale* Square Street, which were slightly undulating and connecting *Bankalar* Avenue to *Balıkpazarı* Avenue, were straightened and widened taking the name of *Posta* Avenue. This intervention also included the important change of historical commercial area of *Tahtakale* Square with a Primary School and today's Market Building next to it.

#### **5.4. About the Effects of Planning Activities in the Early Republican period**

##### ***Lörcher Plan:***

Although he prepared and submitted a separate plan for the Old City, Lörcher's plan for the Old City does not seem to conserve the historic urban fabric. Lörcher proposed a completely new urban fabric of a geometric pattern with grid-iron urban blocks and rarely triangular open areas, sometimes with radial avenues, except keeping most of the main arteries of 1924.

The most striking and major implementation of Lörcher Plan in the historic city in this period was *Necatibey* Quarter. In 1930s, the area was shaped with Lörcher Plan with small geometric and grid-iron urban blocks.

In 1930s, former *Meçhul Asker* Street (today's *Hisar* Avenue), the inclined artery going towards the Citadel -as a continuation of former *Karaođlan (Anafartalar)* Avenue starting from *Ulus* Square- was not completed as a continuous avenue as in Lörcher Plan, but implemented to a great extent.

Apart from *İstanbul* Avenue which has been a major artery since the arrival of the railway, *İstasyon* Avenue (part of former *İnönü* or today's *Talat* Pasha Boulevard from Railway Station to *Samanpazarı*), as well as *İstiklal* Avenue were transformed into strong arteries in this part of the Old City, as proposed in Lörcher Plan.

##### ***Jansen Plan***

Jansen proposed Atatürk Boulevard as the major north-south artery of the whole city center that connected the Old City to the New City for the first time, modifying the existing avenues of Bankalar, former Cumhuriyet, Çankırı Avenues, and connecting them on north-south axis and it was realized in 1930s.

Jansen imposed a new geometrical urban pattern, excluding the Citadel and its neighboring south side up to *İnönü* Boulevard, while keeping some main arteries, changing or modifying them partially in general.

As it was completely vacant due to the fire in 1916, he proposed *Necatibey* Quarter (as Lörcher did before) on the west side of the Outer Citadel area. Resembling the design of Lörcher for *Necatibey* Quarter in general, Jansen proposed larger building blocks. The south side of *Işıklar* Avenue has been demolished and replaced with the new apartment buildings with the same decision. Despite the loss of the previously existing traditional residential urban fabric, the Old City gained an important urban area, composed of the qualified representatives of the first apartments in the Early Republican period. In addition, keeping the new buildings, he proposed the revision of *Anafartalar* Avenue. Related with *Tahtakale* Fire on *Kızılbey* Avenue in 1927, it was a new potential area for Jansen which will be realized accordingly.

Jansen proposed a major artery continuing as *Çankırı* Avenue which will be realized in the early 1930s accordingly.

He proposed the hippodrome next to the train station. It is seen that Youth Park was started to be constructed in mid 1930s in the same location as proposed in Jansen Plan, but with a different design. On the other hand, *İstasyon* Avenue was continued towards north-west according to Jansen Plan.

It is seen that he widened the existing main arteries of *Cumhuriyet*, *İstasyon* and *İstiklal* Avenues.

He kept Bosnian Quarter (or *Sakarya* Quarter) slightly changing the urban circulation pattern and proposed to enlarge the triangular area with an additional area.

### ***The Question of Conservation of the Historic City in Jansen Plan***

According to Jansen Plan, the most untouched or unaffected area in the historic city of Ankara was at the south and south-eastern part of the Citadel. Even the roads cutting the area into large chunks were not implemented. In opposition to Jansen Plan, the eastern side of the Citadel was covered with shanties despite the inappropriate steep edges.

As a 'Picturesque Planner', Jansen's plan carried the sensibilities of landscape and topography majorly focusing on the monuments. He was successful at his proposals of developing the urban circulation network, its connection with the New City and the urban parks in the historic city. And, it is also obvious that he was partly inspired by the previous Lörcher Plan. On the other hand, going parallel to general attitude of the time, the conservation side of his planning approach falls behind his discourse, or at least his expressions for this plan. So, it is believed that, contrary to Jansen's statement of 'putting the Old City under a glass shield', he proposed substantial transformations for the Old City. Some of his proposals were implemented; causing heavier results and destructions more than it was known or predicted.

***Partial Implementation Plans:***

The projects developed by the Directorate of Development of Ankara were controlled, discussed and became legal with the governmental decisions signed by the President of the Republic and the Council of Ministers. Hence, first Atatürk till 1938, then İsmet İnönü after 1939 as the President, together with the Council of Ministers, had the direct initiative and power on the development of Ankara starting from the early years of the New Republic.

It is assumed that apart from the general approvals of the planning practices in the capital city, the partial implementation plans might be initiated starting from the time of communication problems with Jansen due to his absence, accelerating with the increasing competency of the Directorate of Development of Ankara.

Furthermore, the withdrawals from the development plans may be related with the partial implementation plans and decided at this level.

## 5.5. Critical Overview of the Thesis Conclusions

Today's historical core of the city of Ankara has been subject to certain urban structural transformations since 19<sup>th</sup> century, as in the example of Railway Station, causing the emergence of a new commercial center in its vicinity and the formation of a new governmental center closer to this new area.

However, the historic city has been exposed to transformation substantially during the Republican Period. In other words, the Early Republican period is a critical period for the urban structural transformation of the old city. There are several reasons for this;

- Despite the development of *Yenişehir* as a new settlement outside the historic city, Old Ankara continued to be the commercial and administrative center and transformed structurally, so as to respond the needs of a city with a huge population growth. The increase of surface area of the service functions within the city is a clear indication of this fact.
- It is found out that, as a requirement of a modern city; new boulevards, avenues and streets were opened and others were widened as parts of urban renewals around *Ulus*, which kept to be the central district of the new capital city.
- This transformation was affected by the two planners; the authors of the plans developed for Ankara in this period. They may be considered to respond the expectations of the Early Republican Governments. Besides this, the piecemeal decisions taken by the President and the Council of Ministers were also influential on the transformation of the historic city directly.
- Contrasting with the known discourse of Jansen about the conservation of the historic city, it can be clearly seen that his plan conserved a restricted historic area at the south and south-eastern part of the Citadel, while the west and south-west part of the old city was proposed to be renewed. Yet, his proposals for the historic city could not be realized entirely. The inner

parts of the preexisting quarters survived and the changes imposed by the plan.

- On the other hand, it can be interpreted that, when he was expected to plan the Old City as the center of the new capital city, he consciously chose to conserve this restricted area around *Hanlar* District at the south of the Citadel, when it was not quite possible to conserve the historic city as a whole under the valid circumstances.
- Besides others, the primary decision, which caused the destruction of the traditional urban fabric at the south of *İnönü* Boulevard (today's Talat Pasha Boulevard) through its replacement with a healthcare zone allocated to the university hospitals, originated from Jansen Plan. This area, used by the hospitals built outside the residential area in late Ottoman Period for the first time, is an interesting example for the continuity of some particular land uses and their strengths to change the city.
- The urban transformation realized by the development plans was carried out with the partial implementation plans in the following years.
- Against all these planning decisions, the traditional residential quarters (like *İstiklal*, *Doğanbey*, *Yeğenbey* Quarters), conserved behind these boulevards and avenues may be related with the ownership problems during the implementation, the social structure of the inhabitants and the development of *Kızılay* and environs \_as a second central district after 1950s.

The thesis elucidated the changes that occurred in the historic city of Ankara during the Early Republican period. Indeed, the historic core of the city was reshaped as the central district of the new capital city. While pointing to the transformations that the Old City was subjected to, this study is intended to be a basis for further studies on architecture of the Early Republican Ankara's urban core.

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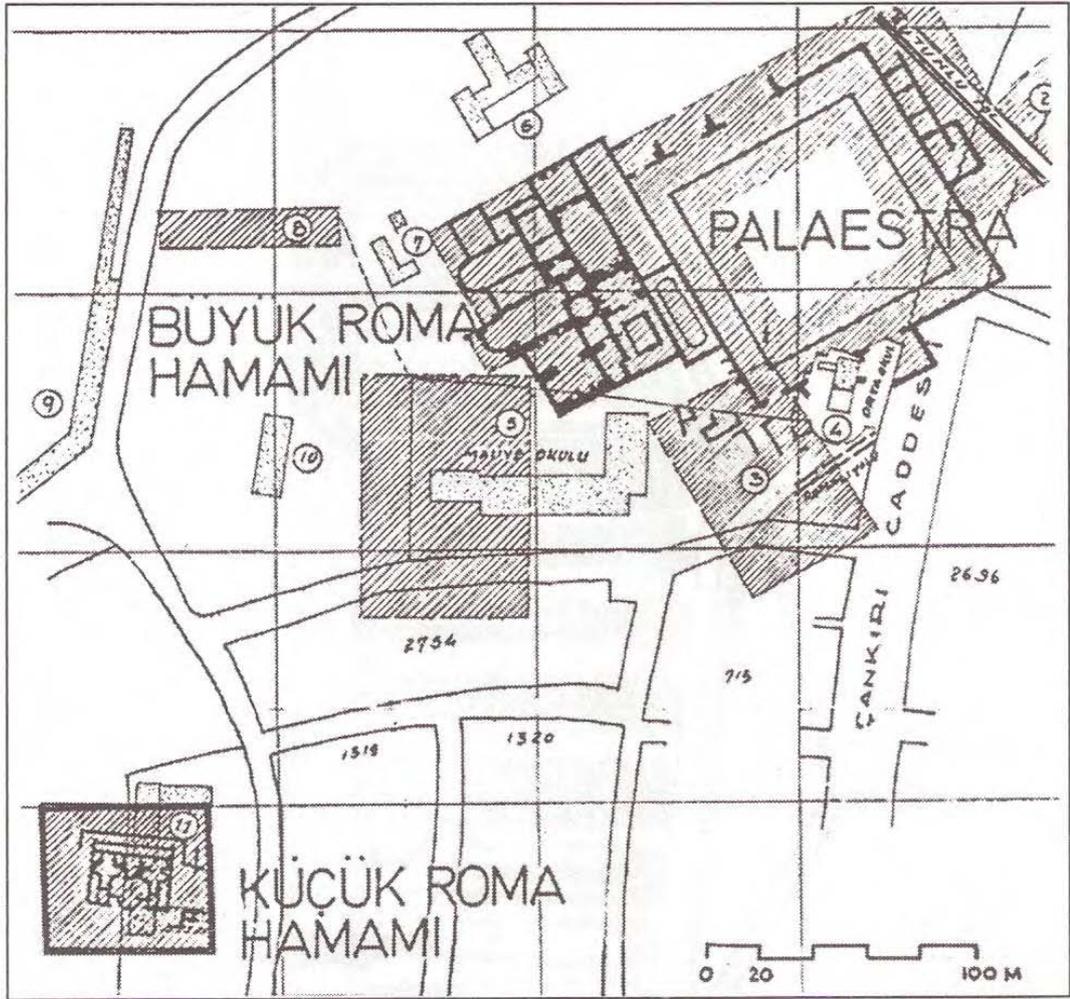
www.wowTURKEY.com (Website for Turkey photographs) (last visited on June 2010)

Yerasimos, S. (1999), "Tanzimat'ın Kent Reformları Üzerine", Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri, ed. P.Dumont, F. Georgeon, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, pp.1-18.

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## APPENDIX A

### FIGURES



**Figure A.1:** Roman Period buildings around Çankırıkapı excavation site and environs (Aktüre, 2000: 30; Akok, 1955: appendix<sup>257</sup>)

<sup>257</sup> Akok, M. (1955), 'Ankara Şehri İçinde Rastlanan İlkçağ Yerleşmesinden Bazı İzler ve Üç Araştırma Yeri', Belleten, cilt 19, sayı 75, ekler.

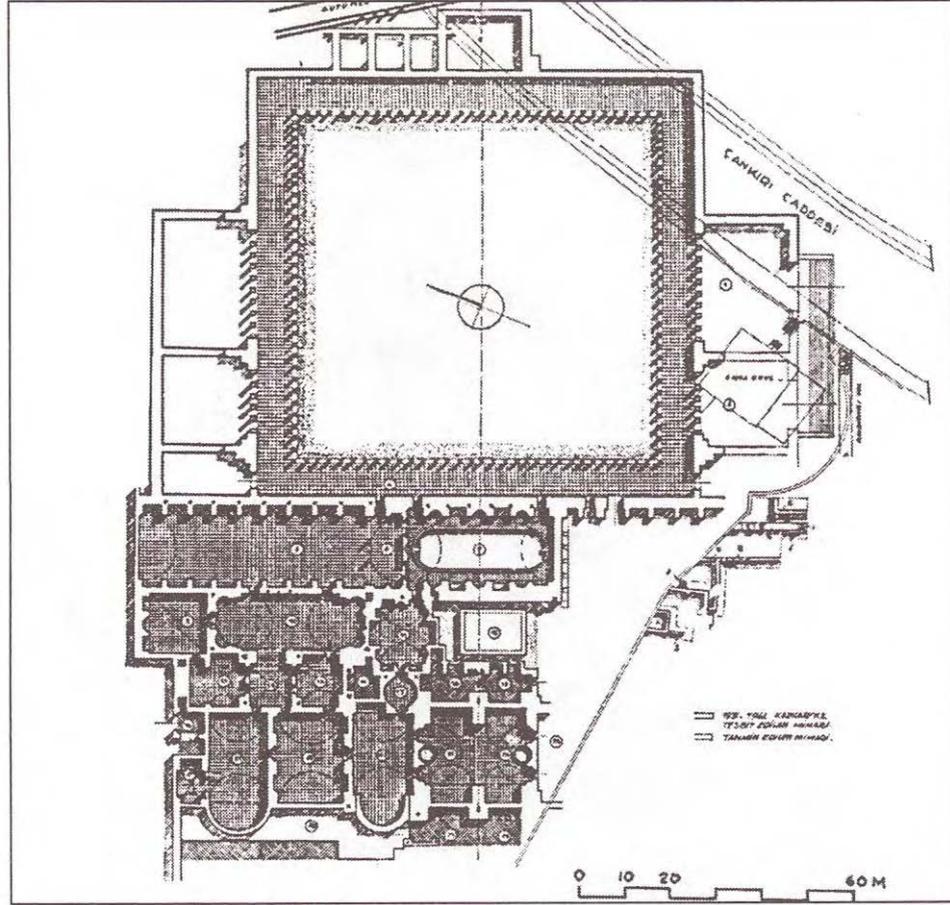
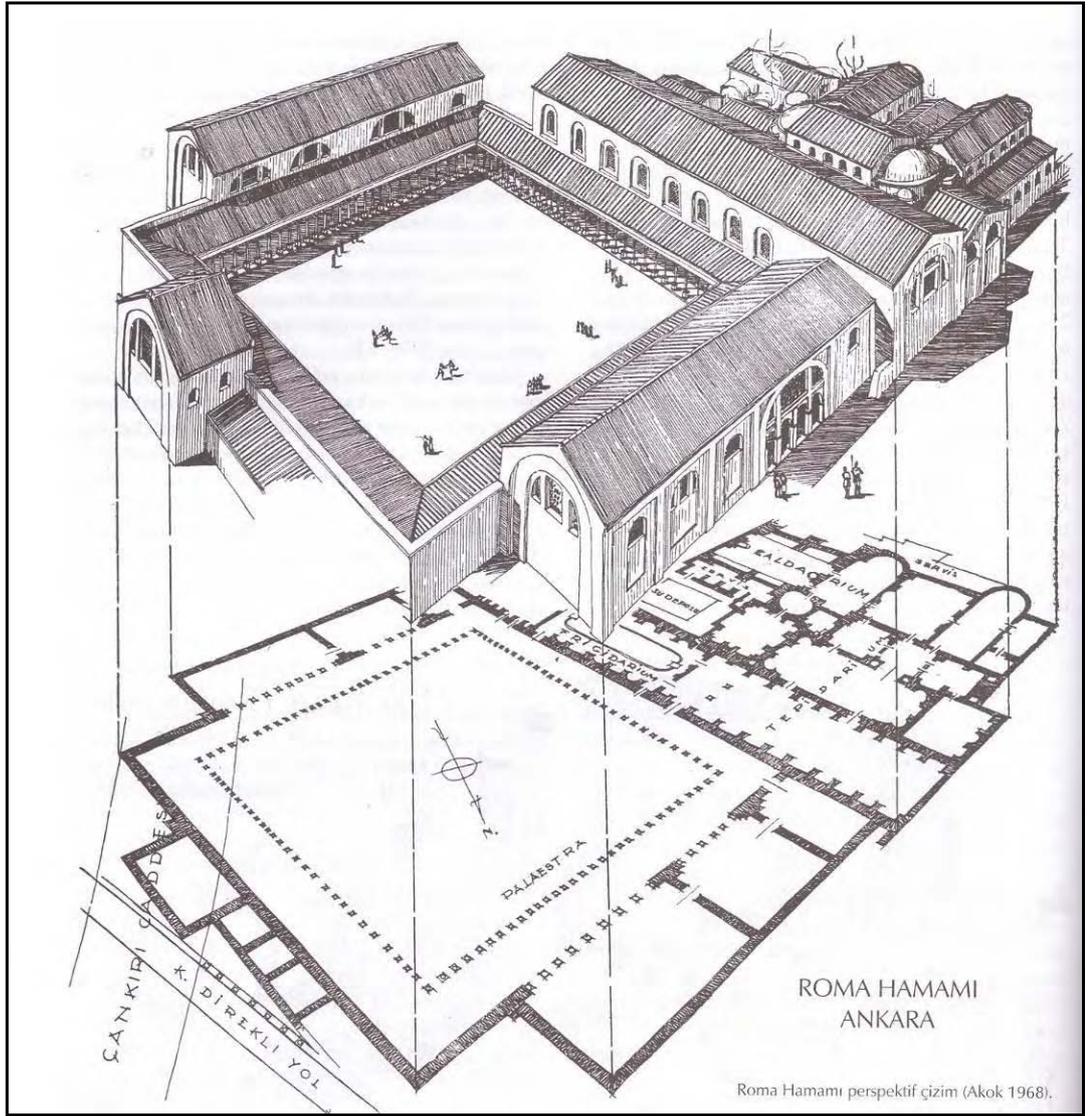
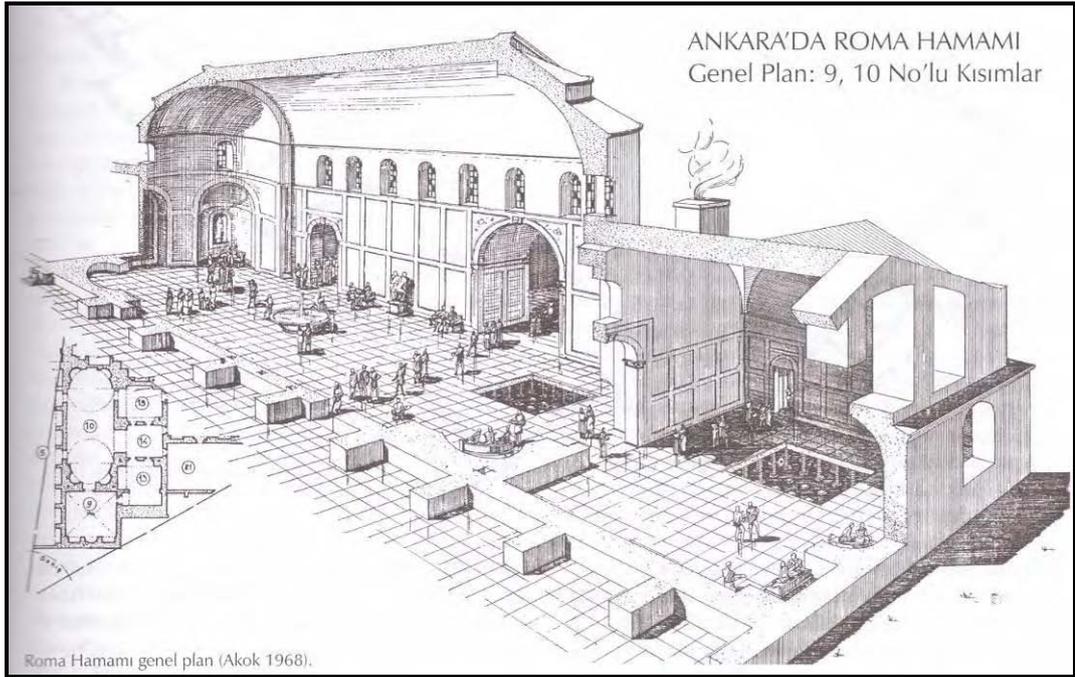


Figure A.2: The plan of Great Roman Bath and Palestra (Aktüre, 2000: 31; Akok; 1955: appendix<sup>258</sup>).

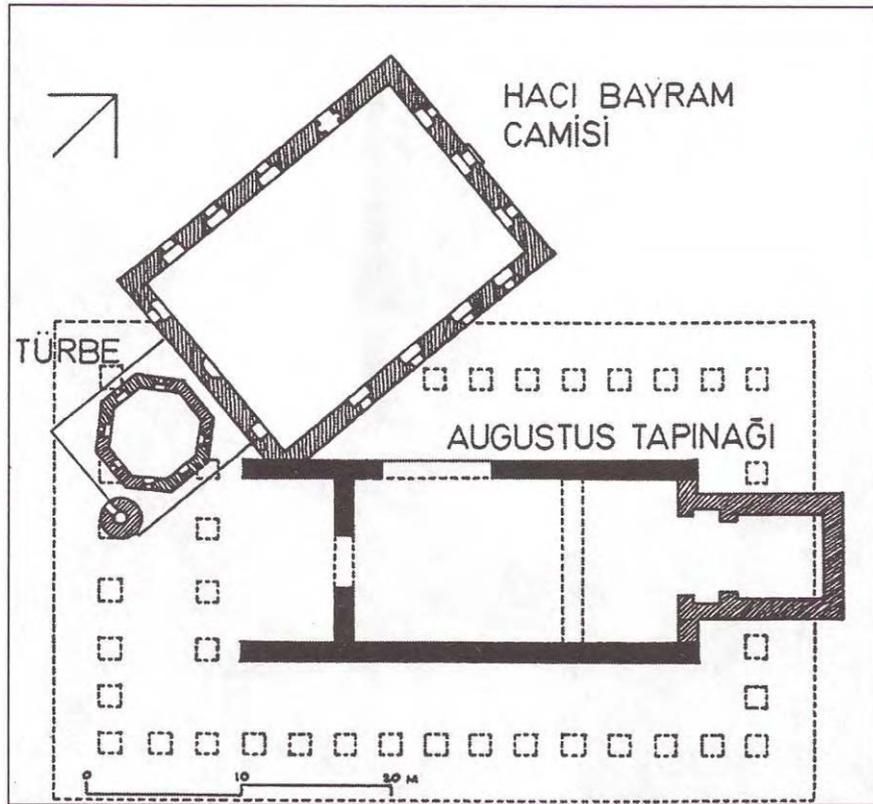
<sup>258</sup> Akok, M. (1955), 'Ankara Şehri İçinde Rastlanan İlkçağ Yerleşmesinden Bazı İzler ve Üç Araştırma Yeri', Belleten, cilt 19, sayı 75, ekler.



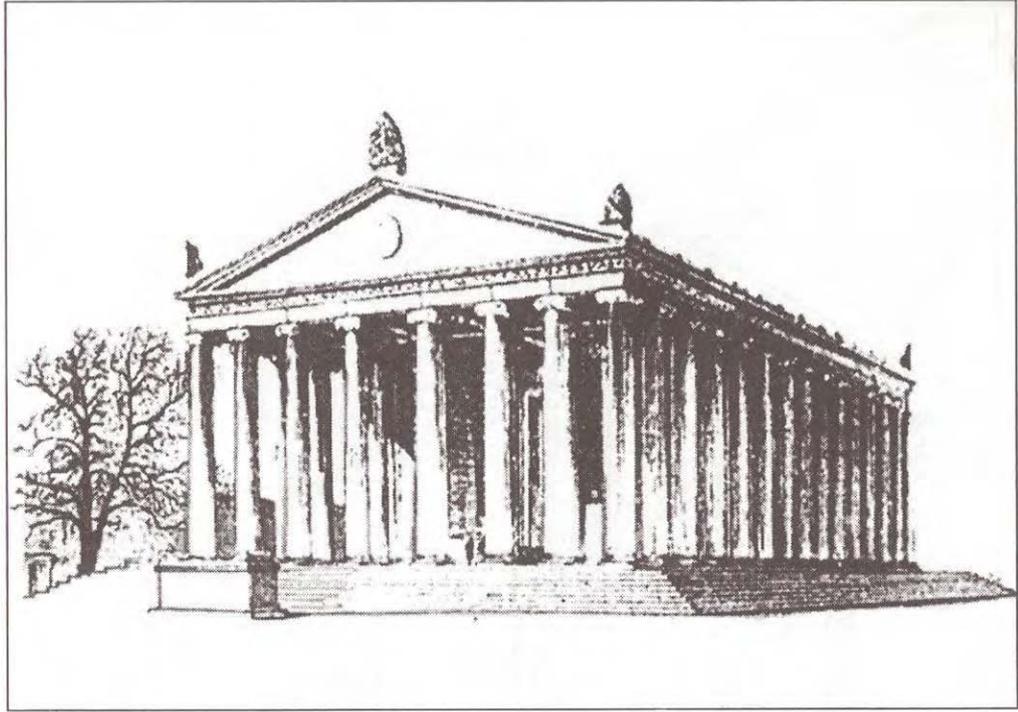
**Figure A.3:** The 3D view of the Great Roman Bath (Aydın, S., Emiroğlu K., Türkoğlu Ö., Özsoy, E.D., 2005: 92).



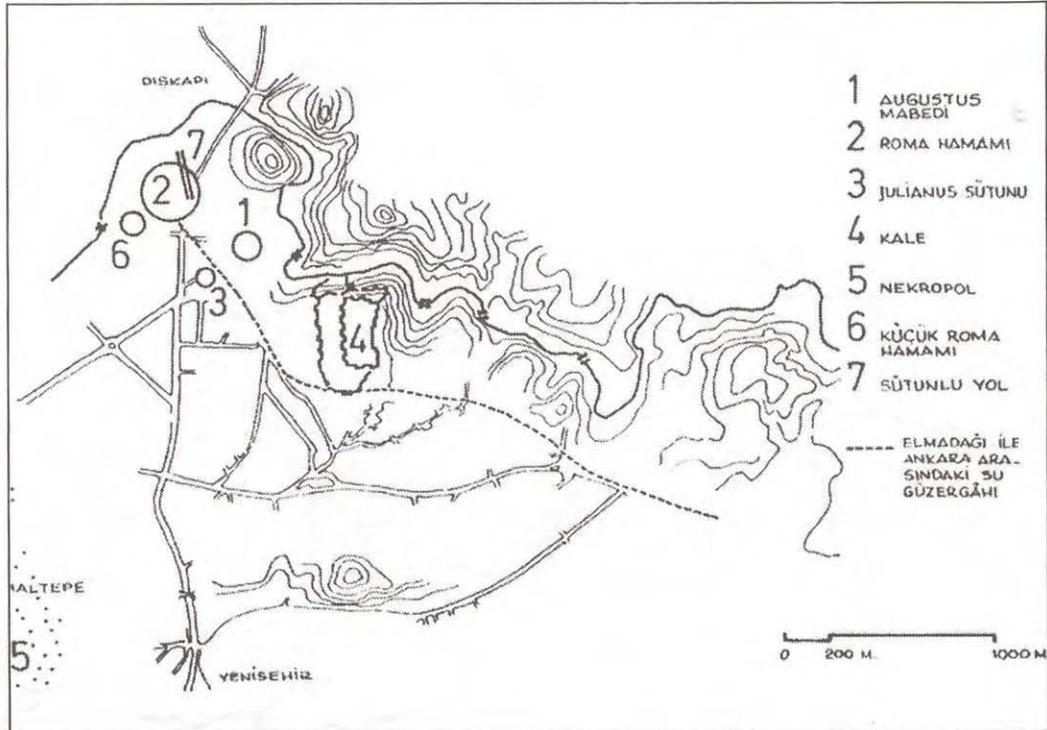
**Figure A.4:** The 3D section from the Great Roman Bath (Aydın, S., Emiroğlu K., Türkoğlu Ö., Özsoy, E.D., 2005: 91).



**Figure A.5:** The location of Hacı Bayram Mosque and Temple of Augustus (Aktüre, 2000: 41; METU Faculty of Architecture Archive, slide no. 14386).



**Figure A.6:** Reconstruction drawing of Temple of Augustus (by D. Krencher and O. Heck) (Aktüre, 2000: 29; Erzen, 1946 : drawing no. 43<sup>259</sup>).



**Figure A.7:** The buildings and the water system in the First Age of Ankara, redrawn by Aktüre, after N. Fıratlı's visual material (Aktüre, 2000; 28, Fıratlı, 1951: 354<sup>260</sup>).

<sup>259</sup> Erzen, A.(1946), *İlkçağda Ankara*, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara.

<sup>260</sup> Fıratlı, N. (1951), 'Ankara'nın İlk Çağlarındaki Su Tesisatı', *Belleteni* cilt 15, sayı 57, pp.349-350.

## NAMES OF THE QUARTERS IN THE HISTORIC CITY OF ANKARA

\* ACCORDING TO THE CADASTRAL PLANS OF ANKARA  
DATED 1927-1936 WHICH ARE STILL IN USE.



Elif Mihçioğlu Bilgi-2010

Figure A.8: Names of the Quarters in the Historic City of Ankara (according to the cadastral plans of Ankara dated 1927-1936 which are still in use).

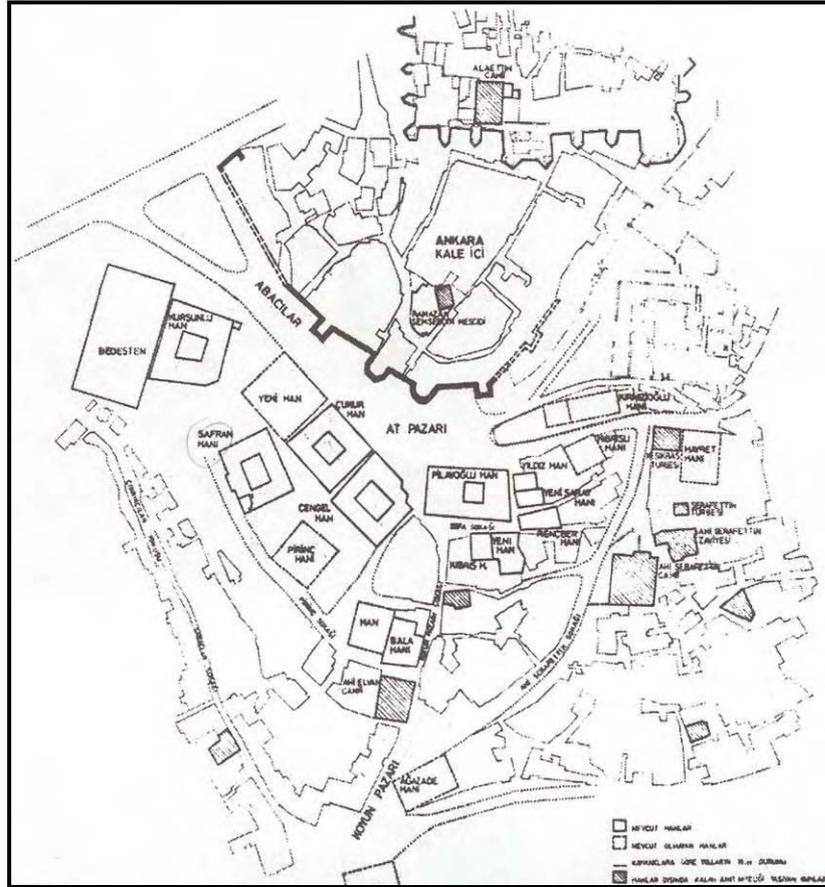


Figure A.9: The plan showing the location of *hans* in Hanlar District of Old City in Ankara (Bakırer-Madran, 2000: 119).

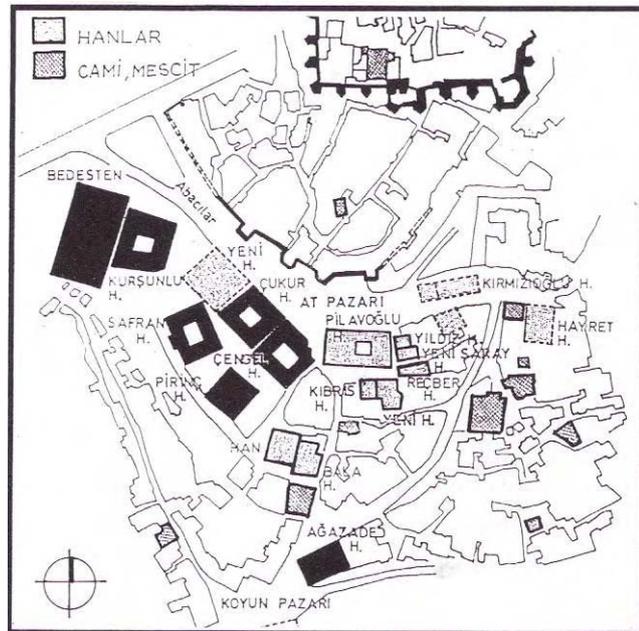


Figure A.10: Existing, and not existing but locations identified han's and bedesten's in use during 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (in black) around At Pazarı-Koyun Pazarı (Aktüre, 1994:103).

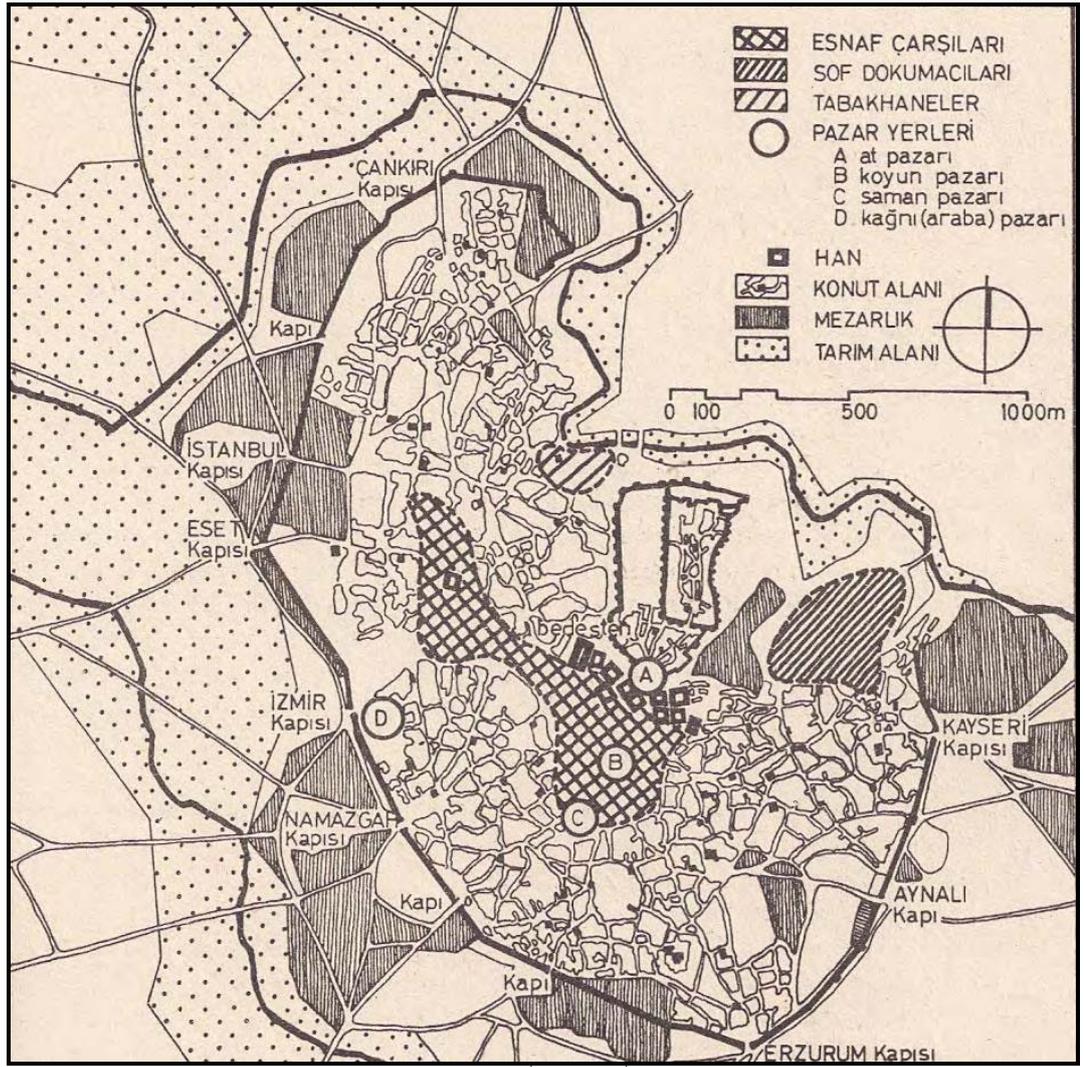
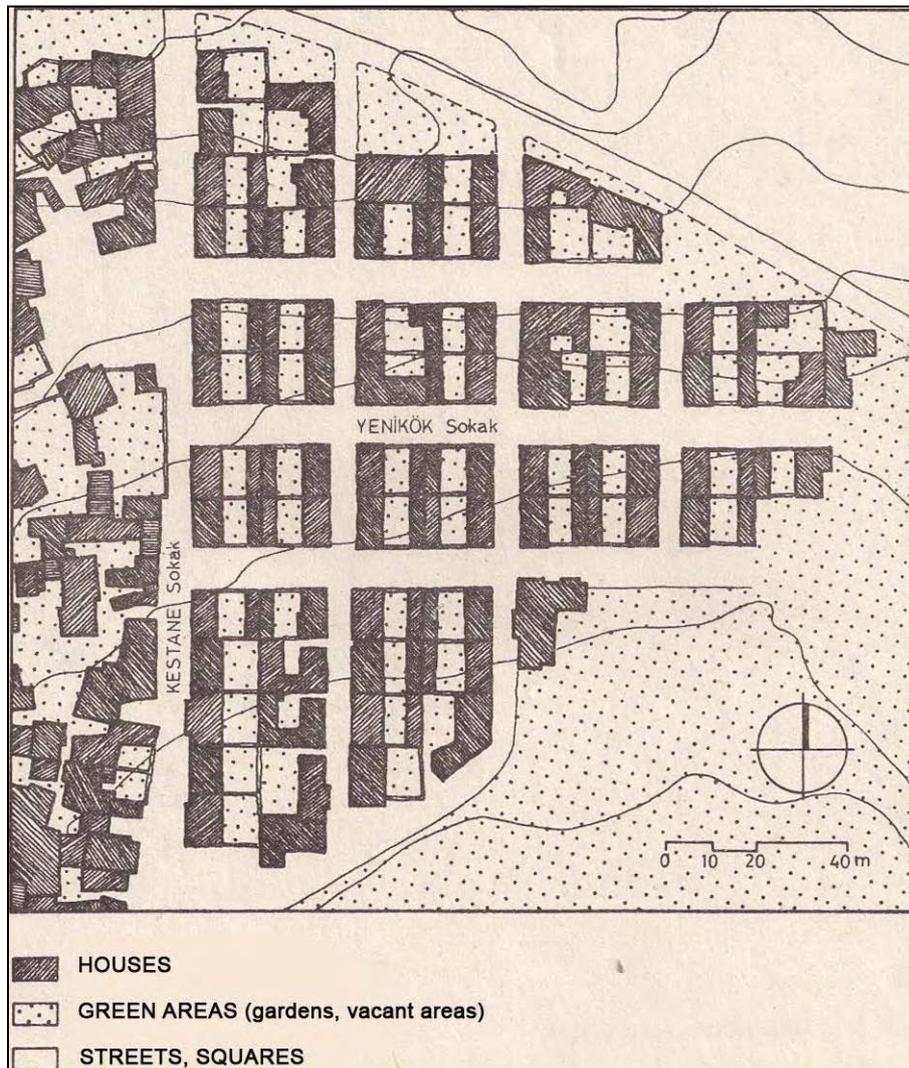


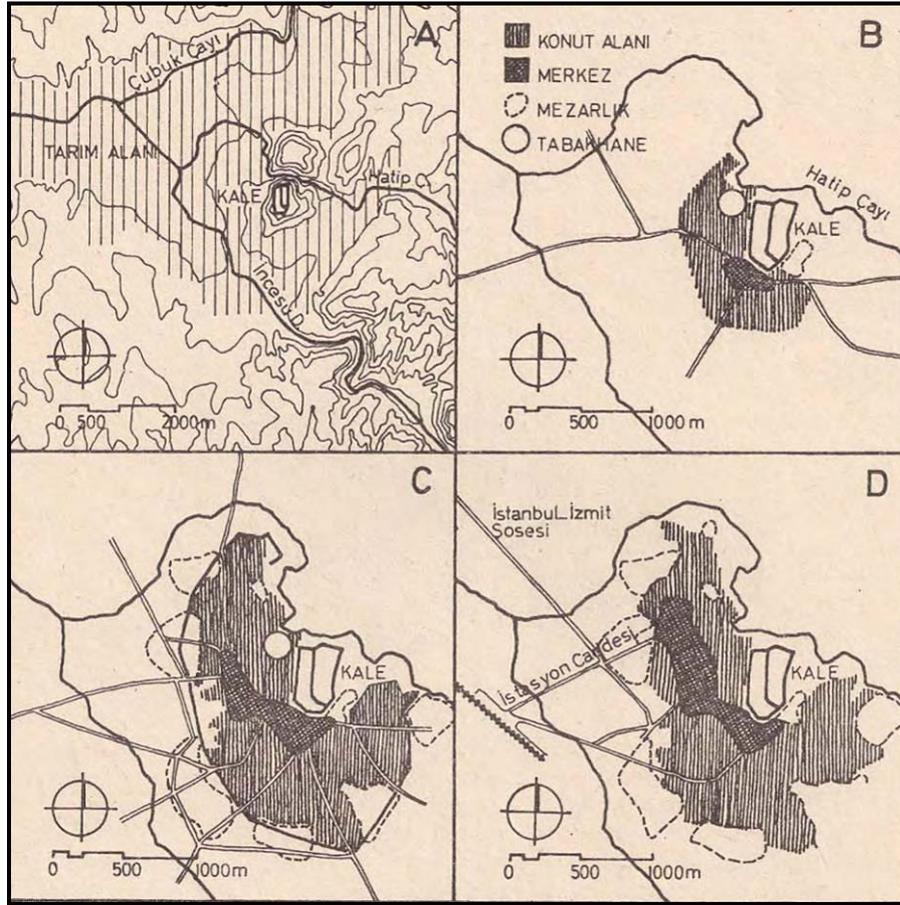
Figure A.11: Land use areas in Ankara during 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries (Aktüre, S., 1987: 119).



**Figure A.12:** The spatial distribution of muslim and non-muslim population within the quarters that can be determined in Ankara of late 18<sup>th</sup> century (Aktüre, S., 1994: 95).



**Figure A.13:** The urban fabric of *Boşnak* (Bosnian) Quarter (Aktüre, 1987: 134).



**Figure A.14:** The historical evolution of the city of Ankara (Aktüre, 1987: 142).

- A- The location of the city
- B- 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries
- C- 17<sup>th</sup> centuries
- D- Late 19<sup>th</sup> century

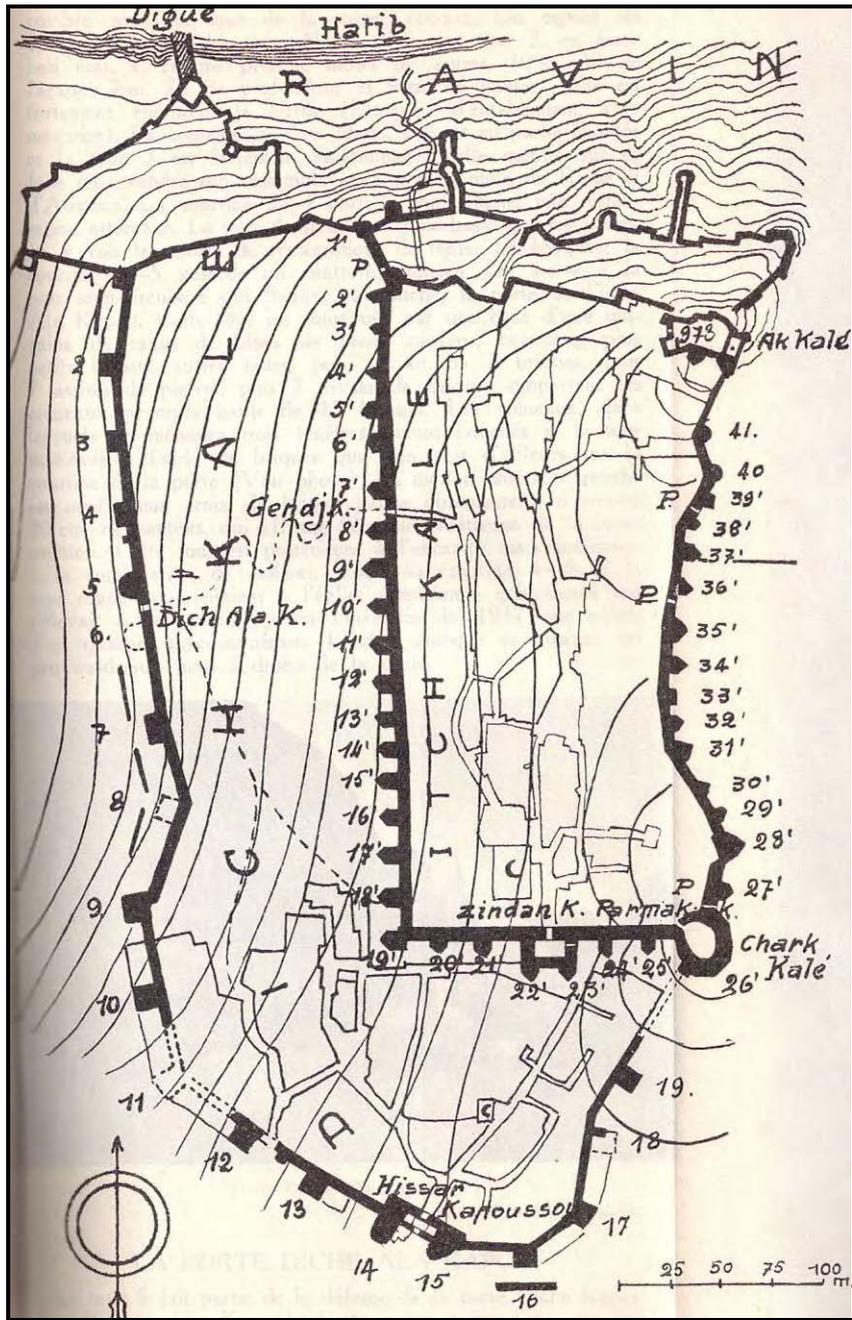
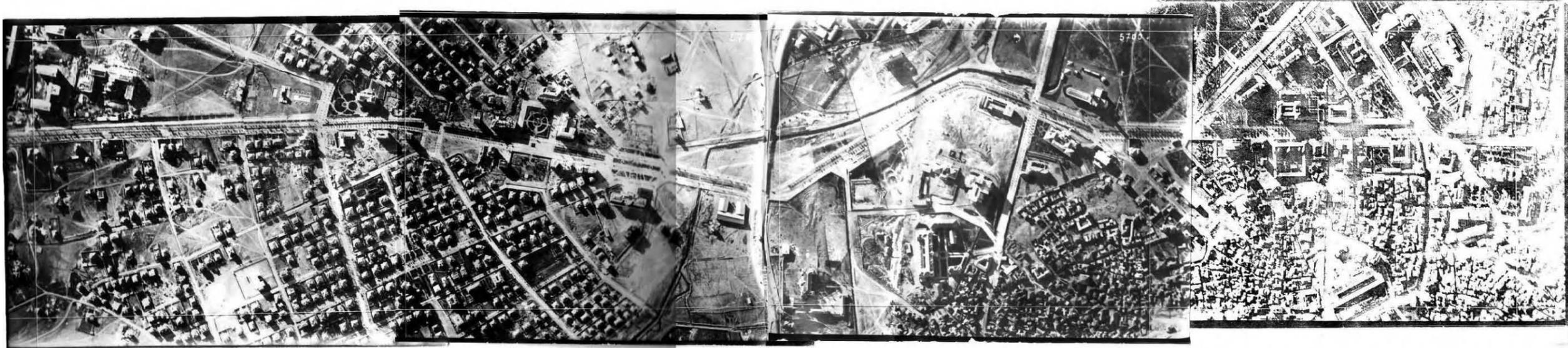


Figure A.15: Ankara Citadel (Mamboury, 1933: 156a).



Resim 108 ANKARA 1930~1934 \_ Bu hava fotoğrafı bugüne kadar Jansen Planı dışında başka bir planlama çalışmasında kullanılmamıştır, ilk defa yayınlanmaktadır. (Ankara Rivizik Şehir Belediyesi İmar Dairesi Başkanlığı arşivi)

Figure A.16: Aerial photograph of Ankara from early 1930s (T. Ateş Archive).



Figure A.17: 94 cadastral plans in 1/500 scale assembled together.



Figure A.18: 1942 dated Aerial photo of Ankara with 1/35.00 scale (General Command of Mapping-Turkey Archive)

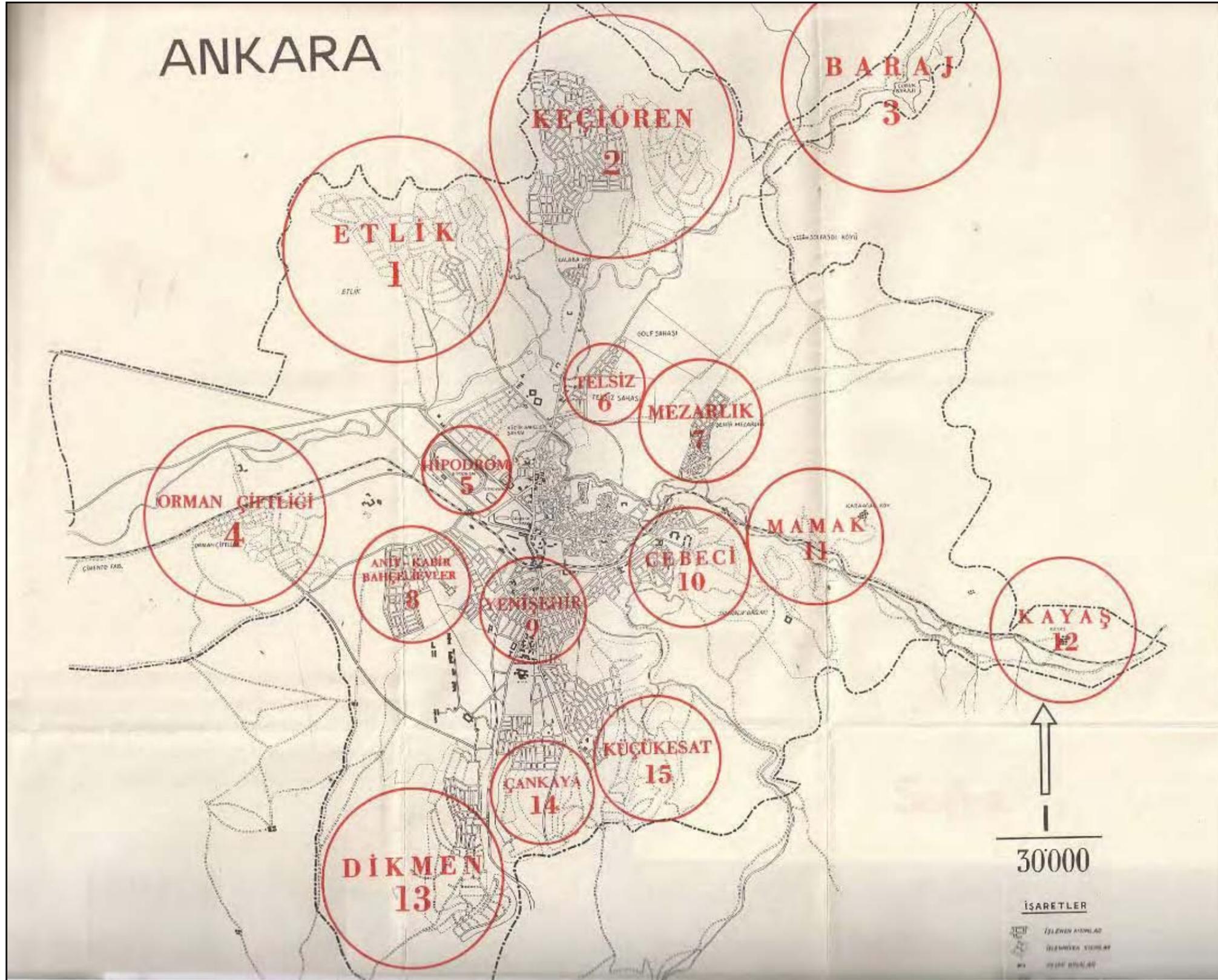


Figure A.19: Historic City of Ankara within whole Ankara in 1940s (Güleklı, 1949: appendices).

## APPENDIX B

### TABLES

**Table B.1:** Information about travellers who came to Ankara between 16<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (Tunçer, 2001: 97)

Name of Traveler	Nationality and Occupation	Date of visit
Augier Baron Ghislen de BUSBECQ	Ambassador	1555
Hans DERNSCHWAM	German traveller	March 29, 1555
SIMEON	Polish traveller	1618 or 1619
Evliya ÇELEBİ	Ottoman traveller	1640
Pitton de TOURNEFORT	French M.D. and Botanician	1701
Aubry de la MOTRAYE	French traveller	April 2, 1703
Paul LUCAS	French traveller	September 26, 1705
Richard POCKOCKE	British traveller	1739-1740
John Macdonald KINNEIR	British-East India Company Agent	September 19, 1813
P.M.R. Aucher-ELOY	French traveller	1834
Charles TEXIER	French architect-traveller	1834
W.J. HAMILTON	British traveller	1835
Baptistin POUJOLAT	French historian	1837
William Francis AINSWORTH	British Royal Geographical Representative	1839
Carl RITTER	German Scholar for Geography	1858
Princesse de BELGIOJOSO	French traveller	1852
A.D. MORDTMANN	German Orientalist	1859
Georges PERROT	French Archaeologist	1864
F. BURNABY	British Traveller	1877
Carl HUMANN	German Archaeologist	1882
Otto PUCHSTEIN	German Archaeologist	1882
E. NAUMANN	German Land Specialist	1890
Colmar von der GOLTZ	German Officer	May 31, 1889
Walther von DIEST	German Officer	May 23, 1896
D. ARSLANIAN		1893
Vital CUINET	French traveller-geographer-author	1890
Lord WACKWORTH		1897
K. KANNENBERG	German officer	1897

**Table B.2:** Number of rooms in the houses of Ankara in 1935 (Başvekalet İstatistik Müdürlüğü, İstatistik Yıllığı, Ankara, 1935-36, Cilt 8; Şenyapılı, 2004: 281)

Number of Rooms	Old City	Yenişehir (New City)	Cebeci	Bağlar (Vineyards)	Total
1	3.820	42	170	847	<b>4.880</b>
%	30	4	17	30	
2	4.062	64	234	839	<b>5.199</b>
%	32	6	24	30	
3	2.077	141	199	517	<b>2.934</b>
%	16	14	20	18	
4	1.238	125	135	314	<b>1.812</b>
%	10	12	14	11	
5	474	122	78	99	<b>773</b>
%	4	12	8	4	
6	300	142	89	72	<b>603</b>
%	2	14	9	3	
7	100	63	22	21	<b>206</b>
%	1	6	2	1	
8	84	92	27	27	<b>230</b>
%	0.0	9	3	1	
9	38	50	8	87	<b>104</b>
%	0.0	5	1	0.0	
10	237	180	14	19	<b>450</b>
%	2	17	1	1	
Unknown	127	9	4	41	<b>181</b>
%	1	1	0.0	1	
<b>Total</b>	<b>12.558</b>	<b>1.030</b>	<b>980</b>	<b>2.804</b>	<b>17.372</b>
%	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table B.3:** Comfort Conditions in the City of Ankara in 1935 (Başvekalet İstatistik Müdürlüğü, İstatistik Yıllığı, Ankara, 1935-36, Cilt 8; Şenyapılı, 2004: 282)

Comfort Conditions	Old City	Yenişehir (New City)	Cebeci	Bağlar (Vineyards)	Total
<b>Water</b>					
Available	1.13	915	77	153	<b>2.258</b>
%	9	89	8	5	<b>13</b>
Not available	11.418.	113	900	2.633	<b>15.064</b>
%	91	11	92	94	<b>87</b>
Unknown	27	2	3	18	<b>50</b>
%	0.0	0.0	0.0	1	<b>0.0</b>
<b>Electricity</b>					
Available	3.632	969	567	363	<b>5.531</b>
%	29	94	58	13	<b>32</b>
Not available	8.899	59	410	2.423	<b>11.791</b>
%	71	6	42	86	<b>68</b>
Unknown	27	2	3	18	<b>50</b>
%	0.0	0.0	0.0	1	<b>0.0</b>
<b>Gas</b>					
Available	211	829	51	37	<b>1.128</b>
%	2	80	5	1	<b>7</b>
Not available	12.320	199	926	2.749	<b>16.194</b>
%	98	19	95	98	<b>93</b>
Unknown	27	2	3	18	<b>50</b>
%	0.0	0.0	0.0	1	<b>0.0</b>

**Table B.4:** Distribution of population in the Province of Ankara according to occupation in 1945 (1945 Population Census, İstatistik Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara, 1960 (numbers and rates corrected from; Şenyapılı, 2004: 284).

	Male	Female	Total
Agriculture	118.394	39.785	<b>158.179</b>
%	31,4	12,3	<b>22,5</b>
Industry and manufacturing	30.209	1.644	<b>31.853</b>
%	8	0,5	<b>4,5</b>
Construction and Furniture	6.162	34	<b>6.196</b>
%	1,6	0,01	<b>0,9</b>
Commerce	14.127	1.260	<b>15.387</b>
%	3,7	0,4	<b>2,2</b>
Transportation and communication	8.273	499	<b>8.772</b>
%	2,2	0,15	<b>1,3</b>
Public services	56.360	5.060	<b>61.420</b>
%	15	1,6	<b>8,8</b>
Special services	999	1.757	<b>2.756</b>
%	0,3	0,5	<b>0,4</b>
Unknown	142.406	274.663	<b>417.069</b>
%	37,8	84,6	<b>59,4</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>376.930</b>	<b>324.702</b>	<b>701.632</b>
	<b>53,7</b>	<b>46,3</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table B.5:** Previous and current names of some avenues, streets and squares in the historic city of Ankara (depending on the source maps)

<b>1924</b>	<b>1930s</b>	<b>1944</b>	<b>TODAY</b>
Karaođlan Avenue	İstanbul-Anafartalar Avenues	Eyigün Avenue	Anafartalar Avenue
Meçhul Asker Street	Hisar Avenue	Eyigün Avenue	Hisar Avenue
Bankalar or Dar-ül Muallimin Avenue	Cumhuriyet Avenue	Atatürk Boulevard	Atatük Boulevard
Şehremaneti-Balıkpazarı-Çocuk Sarayı Avenue	Cumhuriyet Avenue	Anafartalar Avenue	Anafartalar Avenue
İstanbul Avenue	İstanbul Avenue	Cumhuriyet Avenue	Cumhuriyet Avenue
İstasyon Avenue	İstasyon Avenue	İnönü Boulevard	Talat Paşa Boulevard
Kızılbey Avenue	Kızılbey Avenue	Posta Avenue (around Dođanbey Quarter)	Posta Avenue (around Dođanbey Quarter)
Kızılbey Avenue-Ali Bey Street	Kızılbey Avenue-Ali Bey Street	İnebolu Street	İnebolu Street
Sanayi Avenue	Sanayi Avenue	Sanatlar Avenue	Sanayi Avenue
İstiklal Avenue (on Central Bank side)	İstiklal Avenue	İstiklal Avenue	İstiklal Avenue
İstiklal Avenue (around Dođanbey Quarter)	İstiklal Avenue	-	Hasırcılar Avenue
Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square	Millet Square	Ulus Square	Ulus Square

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**1997-99** City Reports (Research Booklets for the shopping center investments of TEPE, METRO AG, NAGEL Partnership)

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Measured drawings of Çukur Han in Ulus-Ankara.

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Uluca-Tümer, E., Mihçioğlu Bilgi, E., Cankat, A. (2009), 'Communities, Cities, Spaces' in the scope of 'Sustainability', '*Atelier Europeen*', *Presentation Workshop* at Grenoble School of Architecture, France, 20 - 25 January 2009 (with participation of IKU, YTU, Ecole d'Architecture de Grenoble).

Akın, N., Uluca-Tümer, E., M. Bilgi, E., Onur, S., Dengiz, N., Özyayın, G., Öncel, D., Cankat, A., Barkul, Ö., Vaxelaire, A. et. al. (2008), 'Communities, Cities, Spaces' in the scope of 'Sustainability', '*Atelier Europeen*', *International Workshop*, Beykoz Istanbul, 10 - 20 November (with participation of IKU, MSGSU, YTU, Ecole d'Architecture de Nancy, Ecole d'Architecture de Grenoble, Porto University-Faculty of Architecture, Thessaloniki Aristotle University - Faculty of Architecture).

Akın, N., Uluca-Tümer, E., M. Bilgi, E., Pinon, P., Kaya, G. (2008), '*Atelier Turquie*' *International Workshop*, Antioch, 12-20 April (with participation of IKU, MSGSU, Paris Belleville Universities)

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