EVOKING THE CITY'S PAST, RECOLLECTING THE CITIZEN'S MEMORY
IN A POST-CONFLICT URBAN SETTING: THE CASE OF SURİÇİ,
DİYARBAKIR

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

BY

BERÇEM KAYA

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

JANUARY 2021

Approval of the thesis:

**EVOKING THE CITY'S PAST, RECOLLECTING THE CITIZEN'S
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SURİÇİ, DİYARBAKIR**

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ABSTRACT

EVOKING THE CITY'S PAST, RECOLLECTING THE CITIZEN'S MEMORY IN A POST-CONFLICT URBAN SETTING: THE CASE OF SURİÇİ, DİYARBAKIR

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January 2021, 172 pages

In different historical period of times, cities are the subject of the dialectic between destruction and reconstruction. This destruction is threatening the socio-spatial, socio-political character of cities and daily life practices of the locals by destroying the physical setting of the place, which erase traces of the past. This process brings a memory loss in urban places, for the sake of converting the city into the place of dominant ideology or authority. For this reason, during reconstruction processes, it is crucial to put alternative methods that seek to improvise the most proper urban design policies. The city's unique social and spatial settings, architectural elements and monumental structures, which are considered as authentic values that constitute the urban identity and memory, connect the past and future of the city. In addition to this, the importance of testimonies and narratives is emphasized in memory studies as well in process of transferring memories to future generations. Within the scope of this study, it is aimed to reveal the place identity elements that constitute place memory with the narratives of the local people by comparison of pre conflict and

post conflict urban settings in case of Diyarbakır, Suriçi, where is currently subjects of massive destruction process due to conflicts occurred in 2015.

ÖZ

ŞEHRİN GEÇMİŞİNİ ANLAMAK, ÇATIŞMA SONRASI KENTSEL DOKUDA HAFIZAYI GERİ ÇAĞIRMAK: DİYARBAKIR, SURİÇİ ÖRNEĞİ

Kaya, Berçem
Yüksek Lisans, Kensel Tasarım, Şehir Bölge Planlama
Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Yücel Can Severcan

Ocak 2021, 172 sayfa

Kentlerin tarihin her döneminde yıkım ve yeniden inşa diyalektiği içerisinde gelişimini sürdürdüğü görülmektedir. Yerel olanın içkin sosyo-mekansal, sosyo-politik karakteri ile günlük yaşam pratiklerini tehdit eden bu yıkım, mekanın fiziksel dokusunda tahribatlar yaratarak, geçmişin izlerini yok etmekte, var olanı başkalaştırmakta, kentsel mekanı hakim ideolojinin veya otoritenin mekanına dönüştürmek adına kentsel hafızasızlaştırma süreçlerini beraberinde getirmektedir. Bu sebeple, yıkım sonrası kenti dolayısıyla belleği yeniden inşa edecek kentsel tasarım ilkelerinin ve siyasaların ortaya konması için alternatif metot arayışında olmak büyük önem kazanmaktadır.. Belleği oluşturan, kentin kendine has sosyal ve mekânsal dokusu ile mimari unsurları ve anıtsal ögeleri; kent kimliğini oluşturan, dolayısıyla, kentin geçmişini ve geleceğini birbirine bağlayan, özgün değerler olarak ele alınmaktadır. Bunun yanı sıra, hafıza çalışmalarında tanıklıkların ve anlatıların da mekansal hafızanın gelecek kuşaklara aktarılması için önemi vurgulanmaktadır. Bu çalışma kapsamında, 2015 yılında çıkan çatışmalardan sonra yeniden inşa edilen Diyarbakır, Suriçi örneği ele alınarak, yerel halkın anlatılarıyla, alanın hafızasını oluşturan mekansal kimlik unsurlarının neler olduğunu ve çatışmalardan sonra bu unsurların nasıl değiştiğini ortaya koymak amaçlanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Bellek, Mekansal Hafıza, Kentsel Kimlik, Çatışma, Yeniden İnşa

To our beloved Tigris and Euphrates…

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

METU""""""""""""""""""""""""""""""""Middle East Technical University

MUD""""""""""""""""""""""""""""""""Master of Urban Design

TEDU """""""""""""""""""""""""""""""TED University

UCTEA """""""""""""""""""""""""""""Unıon of Chambers of Turkısh Engıneers and Archıtects

ICOMOS""""""""""""""""""""""""""""International Council on Monuments and Sites

UNESCO   """"""""""""""""""""""""United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Throughout history, cities have always been the subject of ever-changing power relations; political, economic, and social conditions. They have been evolving upon the everlasting dichotomy between destruction and reconstruction (Çalışkan, 2018). The destruction of a city's pattern generally happens in two scales: depredation of the macro form and disruption of the microform. While the transformation on the macro form causes fluctuation in the microform of the urban fabric, it is not possible to assert the contrary. Massive destruction of the cities, especially led by war and conflict, inevitably brings about disruption both in the physical and social structure of the city. Since there is an affinitive relationship between physical structure and the social grounds of the city, any intervention to one of these characteristics necessarily brings about consequences for the other one. To clarify this point further, destruction in physical tissue may give rise to a feeling of loss and rupture of place dependence as a result of distortion on place identity for the inhabitants. In this context, this study aims to discuss one of the recently demolished fields in Diyarbakır, namely; the transformation of the Suriçi region's urban fabric after the destruction occurred in 2015 and its cultural, socio-economic effects depending on newly adopted planning approaches from an actor-based perspective. In Suriçi, as an ancestral place, everyday life, which shapes the experiences, flows in traces of its forgotten and remembered past. Thus, to put the relationship between place and people and to see the transformation of physical and social conditions, memory studies can be used as a tool for future implementations.

1.1 What Happened in Diyarbakır Suriçi?

After the end of 2015 in July, curfews were declared by the Diyarbakır Governorship on August 14, 2015, in response to a declaration of self-government in Sur. The conflict continued till March 10, 2016. Six neighborhoods of districtlost their physical and social tissues after conflicts (UCTEA, 2017). Conflicts in Suriçi have caused damage to the urban pattern of the district. However, during the six-month blockade process that continues after the conflict, without determining the current situation and damage over Suriçi, registered and unregistered structures were demolished by diggers. Only construction equipment had been allowed access to the demolished sites. The newly developed street pattern is not suitable for the Conservation Development Plan, and so traditional urban texture (Diyarbakır City Walls and Hevsel Gardens Cultural Landscape Site Management Directorate, 2016). Existing streets were expanded and the original urban fabric of the city was destroyed on the security pretext. With the demolition and excavation works as well as the conflicts; It has been observed that the original texture of the streets in Suriçi, the buildings with registered civil architectural elements, and the monumental structures and whole authentic pattern of the city have been damaged on a gradually increasing scale (UCTEA, 2019). Apart from this, it is stated that many Traditional Diyarbakır Houses were destroyed due to conflict.

1.2 Problem Definition

Once the traces of the past are destroyed as a result of massive destruction on the macro form; the meanings of places in memories of the inhabitants are also transformed and changed eventually (Kelly & Musso, 2011). In that vein, it is possible to consider memories as the essential carriers of people's values to the presents (Assmann, 2008). Since the place that produces the memory has been removed from its social codes, specific to this context, the post-conflict reconstruction of the cities can be considered as a process of re-writing memory.

Besides its dictionary meaning, the concept of memory is not only a practice of remembering, but should be purified the connotation, and be considered within a framework of the dialectical relationship it constitutes with the act of forgetting (Connerton, 1989, Assmann, 2008)

From this point forth, memory is currently one of the most discussed terms in academic studies as a part of the oral history method (Olick et. all, 2011, Hamilton, 2008). Psychologists, sociologists, philosophers, historians, even architects, and urban designers have used this theme regarding their professional perspectives. This study aims to focus on the topic of the memory in terms of its relation to the place and experience of narrators. Some relevant studies put a nested relationship of memory and place in forward, which expands multidisciplinary characteristics of memory studies (Halbwachs, 1952; Rossi, 1982; Boyer, 1996; Barthel, 1996; Hayden, 1997).

However, in contemporary cities, the urban experience turns in a process of amnesia. The standardization (Gospodini, 2004) and speed of modernization accelerates urban experience (Benjamin, 2018) and limits individuals' experiences of space and causes not to produce memory (Boyer, 1996). Philosophers, like Georg Simmel, Louis Wirth, and even Emile Durkheim, Karl Marx and Max Weber, have argued that the sense of community has disappeared in more urban areas. They argued that the acceleration of urbanization and the increasing numbers of people, who settled in large cities, lead to the loss of community sense and break the commitment to space. When anonymization and alienation begin in general, there would be a decline in the quality of urban life (Mazumdar, 2007).

At local and international scale, in highly mobilized and globalized society, the main motivation behind new implementations in historical sites tends to satisfy financial benefits. Such economic concerns encourage the commodification of urban landscape (Gospodini, 2004). To put forward, in some cases city dwellers do not have a chance to settle newly constructed areas. Under the aim of 'revitalization of urban sites', transforming places have been sterilized and decontaminated from their

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social values. In doing so, in settlements that is reconstructed by using traditional urban or architectural elements, resemble as an imitation of the past. It represents a décor rather than living environment (Sudan, 2012). However, it brings about amnesia, because the site is missing its identity and cultural assets.

Similarly, as a result of globalized urban environment, cities begin to grow in vertical and horizontal directions in a very competitive manner. Demolition and reconstruction processes have brought about the dissolution on the social fabric due to economic and political concerns over place. Recently, deconstruction over urban places have reached to another scale; city has become the frontal agent of wars and conflicts. In Cities Under Siege: The New Military Urbanism, Stephen Graham (2011, cited in Özar, 2017, p.7) argues that cities are a direct subject of battlefield.

> "…the most destructive aspect of new militarism, which transforms the city into a "battlefield" through endless strategies and tactics, is that it takes aim at urban everyday life. The "city dweller" is turned into a target that is constantly followed, watched, documented, and monitored. But it does not end here, as the urban space itself is designed as a battlefield at the same time. The city is not an ordinary site in which the battle takes place; rather, it mediates the war and violence. The city goes beyond being simply the background for war, with its infrastructure and culture, and instead is transformed into a subject of war, through its destruction and reconstitution."

Suriçi district of the city of Diyarbakır is very typical example of this transformation.

1.3   Aim of the Study and Research Questions

The case study area is Suriçi district of Diyarbakır as it mentioned above. The site is historical core of city of Diyarbakır. The conflict occurred in 2015, leave massive damage on historic urban fabric. Huge part of the area does not exist anymore, and, currently, destructed part reconstructed in the new context. Physical environment and culture have undeniable impact on place construction, which feeds from lots of

tangible and intangible dimensions. In this sense, the human-place relationship is a crucial element for the identity of the place. At this point, the concept of memory emerges as an essential theme in the construction of the self, social and cultural identity (Kenny, 1999). Additionally, Jan Assmann, denotes that association of time and identity affects on formation of memories in individual, social and cultural level (2008). Furthermore, Halbwachs claims that each groups in society have their own mental images in their mind, these images adapts and represents themselves through certain material things (1920 cited in Rossi, 1982 p.130). For this reason many scholars like Casey (1987) and Hayden (1997) argues that memory is always place-oriented. At this point, to understand place memory relation, concepts of place and place identity and their relation to memory process discussed through idea of different scholars from many fields.

This study argues that each destruction process in pursuit of reconstruction is an attempt to reshape the citizen's memory. In this context, by operationalizing the memory as an actual carrier of place affiliation, the study focuses on the changing relationships between people and their environments in case of Diyarbakir Suriçi, where recently, has been subject of massive destruction process after conflict occurred in the district.

More specifically, the study asks the following questions:

1. What were/are the mnemonic spatial codes to which local ordinary people refer in establishing connections with their environments in Suriçi?

2. Which of these codes can still be observed in the existing urban fabric? Where can we observe these codes and in what forms (e.g., in newly developed parts of the district versus preserved areas, in-situ versus ex-situ conservation)? More specifically, whether, how and to what extent do the newly developed urban areas managed to integrate these codes into urban fabric?

3. To what extent do the newly developed urban areas promote place identity? Why and why not? How do the participants describe Surici in relation to their memories attributed to places in this district?

Memory is a concept that shaped through, past experiences. On the contrary to common sense, it is not something occurred and came to an end in specific time inertly. When it is approached much deeper, the concept refers to floating meaning in terms of its temporal aspects, which emerged from past, evoked in present, give on to look the future. In this respect, place, where the past and present experiences touch, is seen as meeting point in forming, reconstructing and reconsolidating memories. In other words, the main purpose of memory studies is to follow the traces of the past to understand the present conditions, and so; to conduct and shape the future. However, although memory studies are a highly emphasized subject in urban design and conservation disciplines, studies in this area are still limited. In this context, this thesis study aims to create a theoretical and methodological framework for the use of place identity and mnemonic codes as a tool for these disciplines.

1.4   Scope of the Thesis

Chapter I is organized an introductory section of the study that gives a brief information about case area, problem statement, research questions as well as the main aim and motivation behind making the study on memory and identity.

Chapter II structured as theoretical framework of the thesis. The first part of this section includes theories on concept of memory asking how the concept is born and evolved in time to create a basis for methodological framework. The second part of the theoretical survey, specifically aims to understand the concept of place and place identity and its relation to notion of memory. Lastly, the third part of this section focuses issues on conservation of historical places and conflicts in terms of studies carried out by UNESCO and ICOMOS.

Chapter III is the methodological framework of the thesis. The research is divided up into two parts as library research and site research. Qualitative research method is used to within the scope of this study. To answer the main inquiries of the study, the author benefits from various sources and tools, which are described in this chapter in detail. Additionally, the inquiries of the thesis are required a field research, thus; semi-structured interview is conducted with the local people of Diyarbakır as well.

Chapter IV is dealing with case study area, where is Suriçi district of the city of Diyarbakır in Turkey, which currently subject of reconstruction process because of conflict occurred in 2015. The analysis carried through this chapter includes information about pre-conflict and post-conflict condition of the city. Historical development of the district from past to today shows how it is change in time.

Chapter V is the results chapter of conducted semi-structured interview with local people of Diyarbakır. Collected data from interviewers are represented through maps in this chapter.

Lastly, Chapter VI is conclusion chapter of the study that includes discussion on outcomes of the thesis.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter aims to draw a general theoretical framework to show how contemporary professionals approach the concept of memory from distinct professions and to put forward the relationship between memory and built environment. It starts with discussing the concept of memory and its evaluation from antique periods to today. Then, it continues with discussion on notion of place and place components. To dig one step further, the chapter includes memory and its relation with conservation studies and issue of conflicts due to specialty of case study area. The chapter concludes with summary of the theoretical discussion and its contribution to methodological framework.

2.1   Concept of Memory

The term memory etymologically took its roots from Ancient Greek. Ancient Greek word *mnēmonikos* (mnemonics) means *"remembrance, memory of a person or thing, abs. or c. gen "*. (Liddell at all., 1946).As it is dedicated this simple assumption the idea of memory has been conceptualized from ancient times. Philosophers Platoon, Aristotle and Cicero are known very first thinkers that develops thoughts on the concept of memory and its relation to place (Bloch, 1925 Yates, 1969). Study of mentally constructed places and individual memory usually established through *art of memory*. The concept of *art of memory* has been discussed by Frances Yates in depth by elaborating on the mnemonic processes for recalling improved by the mentioned ancient time thinkers. She briefly expresses this process as *"this art seeks to memorize through a technique of impressing places and images on memory"* (1969, p.11). Yates also mentions that memory is architectural structures and architectural mnemonics oriented that enable to order the images of physical

surroundings in remembering. She (1969) also used the Greek term *loci* to refer places and claimed that place is *"easily grasped by the memory"* (p.22). From this point, *method of loci* has been subject of many philosophical studies to understand how to act of recalling process associated with place. As Yates mentions, place within its images and architectural features have mnemonic characteristic and seems essential part of memory processes from ancient times.

In the contemporary literature concept of memory is more fluctuating and ubiquitous term (Connerton, 2009). The concept has been studied in many fields including sociology, psychology, museology, conservation, restoration, urban design and architecture. It has been appeared as something crucial to individual self, and also developed through its social frames. Memory is not handled just an act of remembering. It constructs a dialectical relation to act of forgetting. As mentioned before, from individual level to collective level, the concept of memory is one of most discussed term in academic literature and has been one of the focal focus of many academic studies.

The concept of memory become a one of the main study areas in psychology with Freud, in philosophy with Bergson, and in literature with Proust (Connerton , 2009). Freud and Bergson are dealing with memory as an individual-level concept. According to Freud, remembering is an individual mental process, rather than a group phenomenon, and involves practices of forgetting and remembering. (Boyer, 1996) Bergson also treats memory as an individual phenomenon and defines memory briefly as the world of images. (Bergson, 2015). The memory studies conducted by Freud and Bergson focused on individual consciousness and duration without taking physical environment in consideration.

In this context, Maurice Halbwachs was the first to use concept of memory as a collective phenomenon. Halbwachs, who was Bergson's student, adopted the Emile Durkheim School of thoughts in his studies. He revised the theory of Bergson and makes it available for planning and architecture practitioners (Boyer, 1996). As a founder of social morphology what Halbwachs claim is memory is not something

personal. It has social frames and only meaningful with group. In his point of view, memory is acquired, preserved and recalled by social frameworks. In a similar manner, individuals also use these frames when they remember. In other words, our personal memories are recalled by society. Evoking of the past is very much related to our current social frameworks. Halbwachs (2016) in his the most important work of Social Frameworks of Memory emphasizes that acquired memories become a subject of image making process by recognizing and required testimonies and narratives. The author defines these social frames like society, shared experiences, knowledge, every-day life practices, space and many other spatial and sensory factors that constructed by a group that has already shown common characteristics. Likewise, he argues that what is stored in memory is recalled through these external factors (Halbwachs, 2016).

Herein, Bernhard Giesen presents collective memory, as is a way of discovering past to explain the present situation in a manner of temporal and spatial aspects (cited in Jahanbakhsh, Koumleh, Alambazn, 2015, p.22).

> "Collective memory provides both individual and society with a temporal map, unifying a nation or community through time as well as space. Collective memory specifies the temporal parameters of past and future, where we came from and where we are going, and also why we are here now. Within the narrative provided by this collective memory individual identities are shaped"

The concept of collective memory, introduced by Maurice Halbwachs in the 1920s, was discussed more comprehensively with cultural memory studies after World War II (WWII). The devastating impact of the Second World War caused many cities to be destroyed and rebuilt (please see Figure 1.). The Second World War also demonstrated that history is not just about victories and glories that were won. In this context, the culture of remembering and oral history studies has gained momentum since the 60's. Cultural memory and oral historiography aimed to include those

whose voices are not heard, against the historical reality displayed in a certain section in archives and museums (Tumblety, 2013).

dresden after WW II
Source: theguardian.com

tokyo after WW II
Source: nytimes.com

Figure 1 Cities of Dresden and Tokyo after World War II.

At this point, Assmann (2008) makes significant contribution to the study of memory by investigating the communicative and cultural dimensions of this concept. He is handling the concept in terms of individual, social and cultural content by focusing on its temporal aspects. According to him, unification of time and identity creates memories in three different levels (see Table 1):

level	time	identity	memory
inner (neuro-mental)	inner, subjective time	inner self	individual memory
social	social time	social self, person as carrier of social roles	communicative memory
cultural	historical, mythical, cultural time	cultural identity	cultural memory

Table 1 Self, Social and Cultural Dimension of Memory (Assmann, 2008, p. 109)

Assmann (2008) also draws the attention on material continuous interaction of *"remembering mind"* and *"a reminding object"*. Monuments, museums, archives and other mnemonic institutions are defined as external factors that enable memory processes. At this point, constant interaction between objects and human become essential to form the mind. Objects and symbols do not have memories but they

trigger our memories and help us to remember. Otherwise, "a change of frames brings about forgetting; the durability of memories depends on the durability of social bonds and frames" (Assmann, 2008, p.111). In other words, constant interaction between groups and objects function as memory carriers.

> "Every individual memory constitutes itself in communication with others. These "others", however, are not just any set of people, rather they are groups who conceive their unity and peculiarity through a common image of their past. ...Every individual belongs to numerous groups and therefore entertains numerous collective self-images and memories." (p.127)

Even tough, Assmann is not positioning the place and its relation to memory as a central point, his study gives a significant methodological frame for memory studies through dealing with its historic, symbolic, representational, documentary and archival aspects, as well as other external factors that shapes it.

The debates that started in historiography in the 1970s represented the beginning of a new era for memory studies. With WWII, suspicion about the past and historiography revealed that memory can be produced ideologically. Especially after WWI, the idea of a common memory and identity of nation-states has largely manifested itself in spatial representations. The idea of a common memory and identity of nation, which was tried to be created over the built environment, gave rise to a new ideologically produced language (Sargın, 2002).

At this point, Pierre Nora, in his seven-volume book *les lieux de mémoire*, questioned the effect of social structure's relationship with the past on the shaping of the city formation through French national history and introduced the concept of places of memory. Place of memories assigns to those places where "memory crystallizes and secretes itself"; the places where the extinct capital of collective memory concentrates and is revealed.

Contemporary understanding of memory studies has been seen as the counter-thesis of written history (Samuel, 1994). The concept of memory was developed in the field

of public history, autobiographical history and oral history (Olick, et. all, 2011, Hamilton et all, 2008). History and memory studies are means of understanding the past to connect future generations. Beside this, aforementioned studies have put forth that memory is not only an individual act but also a social, cultural and spatial phenomenon. Herein, as a social and physical term, 'place' emerges as a concept that produces and shapes memory. At this point Halbwachs mentions that (1920, cited in Rossi, 1982):

> "When a group is introduced into a part of space, it transforms it to its image, but at the same time, it yields and adapts itself to certain material things which resist it. It encloses itself in the framework that it has constructed. The image of the exterior environment and the stable relationships that it maintains with it pass into the realm of the idea that it has of itself." (p.130)

These studies, at the same time, pointed out that the changing social-political and economic structure also transformed society and inevitably the memory of the society as well. They state that this situation is reflected in the city and the architecture of the city. In other words, the way ideologies legitimate themselves inevitably effects the urban fabric and changes the spatial memory (Nora, 2006). Memories touch every single physical components of place. For this reason, changes in physical space inevitably transform the memory, and the breaks in time and space continuity, which affect forgetting and remembering practices (Assmann, 2008). Hence, memory is a part of daily life practices or social life and has influence upon spatial experiences. In the same vein, it is transformed to future generations through place and testimonies (narratives, stories, traditions etc.). In this context, conventional knowledge of memory, testimonies, narratives and stories fixed to the physical structure of the urban space sheds light on the history of the city. Although memory is shaped depending on past experiences, it is a future oriented concept. As it can be deduced from the above-mentioned studies, space gains an identity and meaning with memory (Tumblety, et.all 2013, Olick et. all, 2011). Memory in contemporary world is seen as a social phenomenon but these mentioned studies do not take the concept of place into the heart of the studies. Even so, it has provided an

important ground for the establishment of the relationship between the concept of memory and the city and its architecture for architects, planners and geographers, who are directly dealing with the space.

2.1.1　　Concept of Memory and Built Environment

What is memory? Is it an accurate classification for studying how the urban system works, and is this category accepted by contemporary society as beneficial in the depiction of architecture in the city? These questions are important enquires for the architecture and planners. Many scholars answer these questions in many ways. The concept of memory is seen as a way for defining a city. In architecture, conservation, restoration and urban planning literature, Aldo Rossi (1982), Dolores Hayden (1997), Diane Barthel (1996) and Christine Boyer (1996) have been the names that discuss the concept of memory directly with its spatial aspect.

In the book "Architecture of the City", Aldo Rossi (1982), mentions the common association of collective memory with architecture and all kinds of values that make up the city. According to Rossi the city itself is the collective memory of those who live in there. Every piece of the city contains the city itself and its memory. To show how memory is attached itself to the city, he reintroduced mnemonic technique *method of loci* as *locus*. According to him (1982), *"the city is the locus of the collective memory"*. Memory of city is associated with its images, architecture, landscape and certain artifacts or monuments.

> "...we consider locus the characteristic principle of urban artifacts; the concepts of locus, architecture, permanencies, and history together help us to understand the complexity of urban artifacts. The collective memory participates in the actual transformation of space in the works of the collective, a transformation that is always conditioned by whatever material realities oppose it. Understood in this sense, memory becomes the guiding thread of the entire complex urban structure and in this respect the

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architecture of urban artifacts is distinguished from art, inasmuch as the latter is an element that exists for itself alone, while the greatest monuments of architecture are of necessity linked intimately to the city. " (p. 130-131)

Rossi (1982) also claims that We need to bridge the past to the present to interfere in the city, by our intervention, will leave a door open for the future history. Series of events, in this sense, which become the history of the city has their reflection on forms and form of architecture is there to reflect events. What generate the locus of collective memory are the connections between form, occurrence and history.

Christine Boyer (1996) examines cities through history and memory by bringing together critical theory on geography, architecture, painting, critical history and many other fields. Specifically, she refers on works of French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, Italian architect Aldo Rossi and theoretician Walter Benjamin. According to her, history is open to any manipulation and also, it is representable and can be decomposed. On the other hand, memory is living with society and helps to fill the missing gap in history. Boyer's book *'The City of Collective Memory'* represents a series of visual and psychological/mental models on how urban landscape has been identified planned and depicted by *"paying considerable attention to the normally hidden and unspoken codes that regulate the order imposed on and derived from the city"* (1996). She demonstrates that there might be a dilemma or dialertical relation between material things, which means politic or economic circumstances that have influence on city formation, and social order of the city. However, the fact is that tangible structure of city formation is woven with social reality. Physical structure of the city can reflect the setting of this relationship in daily life practices. Hence, the city landscape within its physical and social settings become essential part in construction of frames of memory *"It is in these physical artifacts and traces that our city memories lie buried, for the past is carried forward to the present through these sites"* (Boyer, 1996 p.31). Both scholars Aldo Rossi (1982) and Christine Boyer (1996) refer on well known method of *art of memory* (Yates, 1969).

"The art of memory depended on developing a mental construction that formed a series of places or "topoi" in which a set of images were stored: images that make striking impressions on the mind. Using this device, an orator trying to remember a speech for example, located specific images as cues to parts of his speech in the rooms of imaginary place system. The formation of sequence of spaces, like the rooms of a house or the streets and places of a city, was essential, for the same set of places would be used repetitively as a memory prompt for different material" (Boyer,1996, p.133)

Memory, indeed, is a way to construct the sense of past. The art of memory signifies that urban landscape creates frames for memory processes. Therefore, urban environment has a significant effect in act of reminding. A specific spatial and temporal frame limits each memory of a particular group (Confino, 1997, p.1392). Memory is acquired and recalled through place, however; it is also a social phenomenon as well and transformed to future generations by narratives and stories. Herein Confino states:

"…the most obvious value of the engagement with memory has been to broaden our perspective of the past, to enrich the symphony, and at times the cacophony, of voices that made up the past by hearing different, marginal stories. Exploring memory, in this sense, means looking at human history" (Confino, 2004, p. 314).

At this point Barthel particularly focuses on historical sites and claims that *"historic sites anchor collective memories by providing tangible evidence of the past. People visit them to "get in touch with history" in a very real, literal sense "* (1996, p. 345). Instead of shared knowledge through history book, people's stories or other media representations, people want to see first-hand information for themselves. She makes valuable contribution on the field of conservation. She introduces three social processes that form the collective memory in historical sites namely: selection, contextualization and interpretation (1996, p. 345). As a result, people's experiences and memories of historical sites are shaped through these three strategies carried for

the sake of historic preservation. In the conclusion part of the study, the author touched on importance of preservation studies in constructing sense of community and social frame of memories and introduces tools for how to handle preservation studies.

> "People have collective needs extending beyond individual rights. The collective memory needs to be anchored in visual monuments as well as in works of art and social narratives. Through the social processes of selection, contextualization, and interpretation, historic sites are socially re-constructed and re-presented. Preservationists thus help develop the sense of solidarity and reinforce collective memory by identifying and interpreting social markers." (p. 362)

As it can be deduced from Barthel (1996) works, historical sites, as a place of memory, tells about history of the city and its community. However, any intervention of conservation, restoration or reconstruction facilities over historical sites opens to manipulation due to selection and interpretation processes. In a similar manner, perceived and interpreted reality is subjective. Therefore, the professionals should carry the management processes meticulously when forming social frames of memory.

Hayden (1997), on the other hand, discusses the relationship between memory and space, together with the concepts of attachment and belonging to the place and spatial elements as well in a comprehensive manner. She argues that narratives and stories are the factors that shape social memory, but states that urban landscape is another determinant that helps to trigger social memory. In her point of view, memory is inherently place oriented or at least supported (Casey, 1987, Hayden, 1997). Place memory embodies the ability of a person to connect with both natural and built environments intertwined with the cultural landscape. Compared to Barthel, Hayden's point of view on historical sites and memory offers a wider framework. Significant power of historic places is defined as it helps the citizens to explore their public histories:

"…places trigger memories for insiders, who have shared a common past and at the same time place often can represent shared pasts to outsiders who might be interested in knowing about them in the present." (Hayden, 1997, p.46)

Many cultures from ancient periods to today have attempted to express public memory through testimony of monuments or sculptures. Hayden, at this juncture, asserts that ordinary buildings structures like residences; schools or shared urban places, which are already ignored, can also evoke the memories in society like a sculpture or a monument (1997). She also mentions that shared experiences over places, reputation of behavioral patterns for an activity in urban landscape give a person or a body its social characteristics, which are inevitably modified by attitude of gender, race and class. At this point, from street names to street layouts or everyday walking, like home to work walking, constructs a frame for mind, which is created by mostly visual codes on the route. She also denotes that urban landscape is a means for bringing public history to community: *because the urban landscape stimulates visual memory, it is an important but underutilized resource for public history"* (1997, p.47) The public history studies attempt to bring the history to public through a variety of ways from exhibition in museums to documentary films. Memory places are natural ally of community based public history studies since the concept of memory proposes a way of understanding and exploring community's past, which is unwritten in history books (Hayden, 1997). Hence, a way to promote the urban community or public history should necessarily benefit from place memory as well as social memory.

In sum, all the social and group aspects of memory studies reinforce the idea of the concept in a way of place-supported or place-oriented schema. What makes it essential to study on this kind of cultural phenomena is that it provides a framework based on highly specific social variables for analyzing and designing processes of environment (Rappaport, 2001). Urban landscape, in contemporary architectural and urban planning studies, is accepted through its mnemonic characteristic and so, offers enormous visual codes to recall memories by its architecture, street layouts, building sequences, natural elements etc.. Providing the markers of territorial

borders, traditional physical manifestations, key symbols, and a built heritage where "collective memory can be nurtured" is the essential role of a built environment (Andrew, 2010, p. 63). However, analyzing how local memories have been shaped and affected by place is not easy due to complexities and dynamism of urban texture. Interdisciplinary features are demonstrated by memory studies and it is difficult to find a single approach to test their bilateral relationship because of multidisciplinary feature of memory studies and ever-changing dynamism in the urban sphere.

2.1.2   The Notion of Place and Its Relation to Concept of Memory

Many studies on human's mind show the nested or grifted relationship between place and memory (Rossi, 1982, Barthel, 1996, Hayden 1997, Boyer, 1996). Place with its tangible visual codes and intangible values offer immense stimulants, which directly influence on memory processes. For this reason, it is crucial to understand the notion of place to draw a methodological frame for this thesis. It is not that much explicit to distinguish the term space and place in any language. Most of time they are used interchangeable in the same sense in saying. Nevertheless, many academic studies emphasized that these two terms are actually different.

Distinction between these two concepts is demonstrated in broad sense in the literature. Place and space have become one of the major study themes since 1970s. These two concepts have been the study topics of various fields including sociology, environmental psychology and geography. Especially, in the field of human and cultural geography differentiation of these concepts have been pointed out by many thinkers. Scholars like Tuan (1977), Relph (1976) and Sack (1997) give the great contribution on understating of the concept of place by a premise on that it is something emerged from the space. In other words, place means "a certain piece of space". Therefore, it becomes inescapable to examine the concept of space to define notion of place in more accurate way. According to Tuan, space, as a concept, refers to more abstract term, which has not had any significant meaning (1977). In his essential work called Space and Place, Tuan (1977) claims that the term space is

usually defined by its innate spatial characteristics; such as volume, size, distance etc. Beside its physical aspects, Tuan (1977) differentiates these two concepts by an argument on people's experiences of space, which has significant impact on its meaning construction. Individual's or social groups' experiences give the space a meaning; thus, a space turns into a place.

> "In experience, the meaning of space often merges with that of place. "Space" is more abstract than "place." What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value." (p.6)

By experience, Tuan does not only mean visual experience, but also refers about experiencing the place with all our senses (Tuan, 1974). Tuan believes that each geographical formation has its own characteristics and spirit with human dimensions. Without people, it is just a location. Symbols and structure of places with people gives place its meaning (1977). People ability of sense of place creates a sense of personality and meaning. Habits and shared practices, in the same way, constitute the sense of place. Similarly, Relph's understanding of the concept of place is that it is a deep and complex form of human experience of the world (1976). Human interactions and experiences even in individual and social scale, endowed space with meaning and value, so that space become place (Tuan, 1977). Relph (1976) argues that place is not a single entity or property of human beings; instead places are property of human response and practices. In this sense, the task of the planners and architects can be defined as *"development of a system of meaningful places that give form and structure to our experience world"* (Norberg-Schultz, 1969, p.226). On the other hand, according to Sack "space is just a material entity, which comes into being to "make into" places (2001, cited in Easthope, 2004). Evaluation of place also described by geographer Carl Sauer as *"combination of natural and man-made elements that comprises, at any given time, the essential character of a place"* (cited in Hayden, 1997, p.17) Although, the common opinion on the concept of space and place is that these two concepts explicitly separated entities from each other, some thinkers like Casey claims that the differentiation is so distinct (2001) and it is not possible to compare these two entities with each other.

Tuan associates the meaning of place in a form of memory and knowledge (1977). Relph also argues that *"persistence of the character of places is apparently related to continuity both in our experience of change in the very nature of change that serves to reinforce of a sense of association and attachment to the place"* (1976, p.31). Lukermann (1964) on the other hand approached the place as a complex combination of nature and culture and offers six major components:

1. **The idea of location,** "especially location as it is relating to other things and places, is absolutely fundamental. Location can be described in terms of internal characteristics (site) and external connectivity to other locations (situation); thus, places have spatial extensions and an inside and outside."

2. **Place involves an integration of elements of nature and culture;** ''each place has its own order, its spatial ensemble, which distinguishes it from the next place '. This clearly implies that every place is a unique entity."

3. **Although every place is unique, they are interconnected by a system of spatial interactions and transfers;** "they are part of a framework of circulation."

4. **Places are localized; "**they are parts of larger areas and are focused on a system of localization."

5. **Places are emerging or becoming; "**with historical and cultural change, new elements are added, and old elements disappear. Thus, the place has a distinct historical component."

6. **Places have meaning;** "they are characterized by the beliefs of man. (p.169; cited in Relph, 1976, p. 3)"

The meaning of place or concept of place itself, therefore; is not coming from its location; it is the subject of integration of dynamic cultural process, experiences, physical settings, activities and form. The meaning of place is constantly rebuilt because of time-space continuity; politic, economic or historically significant breaking points, transformations and events have always occurred themselves over

a certain place. Each break in this continuity modified the place and society that interact with each other constantly and construct new meanings and identity. Although place has gained new meanings, the past somehow reconstructs itself through place since place bears the traces of each breaking and transformations in the same continuity. Each change has become the identity and memory of the place and these traces live on people's narratives and also in physical structure of place. Edward S. Casey's (1987) formulates memory and place as follow:

> "It is the stabilizing persistence of place as a container of experiences that contributes so powerfully to its intrinsic memorability. An alert and alive memory connects spontaneously with place. Ending in it features that favor and parallel its own activities. We might even any that memory is naturally place-oriented or at least place-supported." (p.186-187)

At that point in the scope of thesis, it is necessary to understand components of the place and place identity because place with its mnemonic characteristics is a concept that identity, social history, urban design and architecture intertwined as it is already explained in previous part of the theoretical frame.

2.1.2.1 Components of Place

Canter (1977), a psychologist offered a three-part model of place (see Figure 2). According to this model, place derivers from the involvement of actions, notions and physical character. In particular, Canter (1977) argues that one thing that deserves more attention is effect of physical attributes on psychological and behavioral patterns. He also suggested a user-oriented approach due to differentiation in conceptualization of places of individual (Canter 1977; Gustafson, 2000)
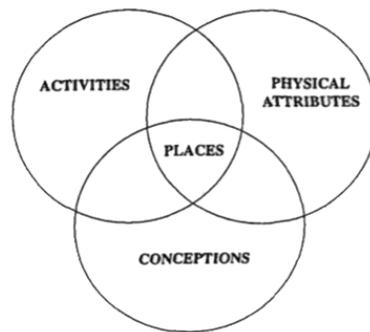
Figure 2 A visual metaphor the nature of places. (Canter, 1977; Montgomery, 1998)

Canter (1977) more recently introduced 'facet theory' to express the place. These four correlated facets are: functional differentiation, place objectives, scale of interaction and aspects of design (Canter 1997; Gustafson, 2000).

- **Functional differentiation: "**Activities"
- **Place objectives:** "Conceptions component of three-part model extended in terms of individual, social cultural aspects of place experiences"
- **Scale of interaction:** "Importance of environmental scale"
- **Aspects of design**: "Physical characteristics of place"

Based on Canter's studies, Montgomery (1998) defines essential elements of urban places as physical space, the sensory experience and activity. He asserts that Canter's perspective is concerned with both physical attributes of places and psychological processes of mind in terms of image-ability and constructing mental map. Even so, he considers Punter's (see Figure 3) model on components of sense of place more sufficient than Canter's (Montgomery, 1998) and proposed a new more comprehensive and integrated one (see Figure 3).
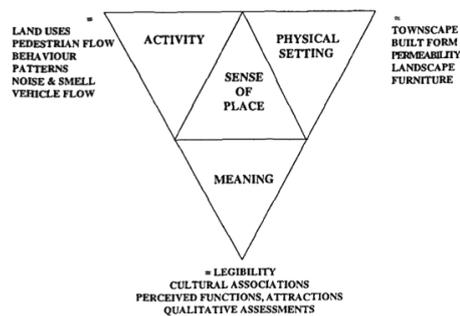
components of sense of place (punter, 1991)
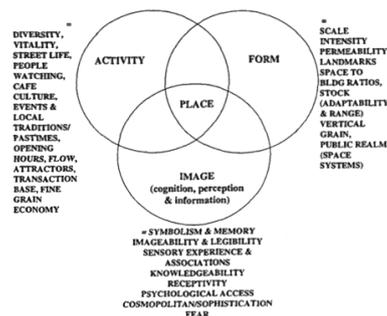
polict direction to foster an urban sense of place (montgomery, 1998)

Figure 3 Punter's and Montgomery's understanding of sense of place
(Montgomery, 1998)

General opinion on place is a metaphor, which serves a ground for direct interaction
of human experiences and its environment. The literature survey shows that the
components of place associated with meaning, identity, structure or physical settings
of place tangentially. It performs behavioral, cognitive and emotional dimensions.
Activities, function and physical settings of place reinforce certain behavioral pattern
and this place experience creates a meaning through this interaction. Our perception
of mind, on the other hand, is a part of a cognitive process and is quite related to
characteristics and components of place because people's mental pictures of places
are constructed through how place is perceived. In this context, image-making
process of mind depends upon quality of place. All visible and invisible components
hidden in places, like identity or structure of it, have impacts on human's mental
capacity to construct a general frame for recognition and recollection (Lynch, 1981).
That's why, perceived environment affects memory and recalling of experiences
(Lang, 1974).

2.1.2.2   Place Identity and Components of It

Assmann (2008) defines the concept of memory with its time and identity
dimensions. Herein, identity has both individual and group aspects. Therefore, it is

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one of the vital cultural concepts in terms of its social dimension, which presents a frame for recalling memories

Our cultural experiences closely related to "who we are?" or "how we identify ourselves?" and "where we come from?". These questions give us some clues about the characteristics of someone's identity. "Where are you from?", for example, indicates that very first step of identifying someone is mostly place-based. Places perform a key role in developing and supporting self and group identity of people (Ujang and Zakariya, 2015). "Persistent sameness and unity" of something refers identity of it, which enable that thing diversify from each other (Relph, 1976, p.45). Kevin Lynch (1960, p.6) expresses the identity of place as basically as that which provides its uniqueness or differentiation from other places and serves as a separable entity. The identity of place gives the places its tangible and intangible values and it is fundamental for personal well-being and constructing emotional bonds to place. At this point, Relph (1976) divided up components of place identity with regard to its apparent and non-apparent elements as follow: physical setting, activity, meaning and genius loci.

1. The physical setting

> All the natural and built elements are considered physical settings from street layouts, to housing typologies. Also Lynch (1960) defines these physical settings specifically as paths, edges, districts and landmarks. These components of the city require a visual interaction and create a mental image in mind, so remembering capacity of mind is highly associated with the physical attributes of settings.

2. The activities or functions

> Functions of place mean various activities fulfill the specific needs of a society that carried out in a specific location. The functions or activities of place have great contribution on both on place identity and its physical

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characters (Gill, 2004). As Gill mentions when people remember a place, that recalling is usually linked to why they are there in that place (2014).

3. The meanings and Symbols

Place become meaningful when it is used for specific purposes. Memory as mentioned above is one of the cultural and intangible factors that gives the place its meaning. Relph pointed out that "the meaning of places may be rooted in physical settings, an object and activities but they are not a property of them rather they are property of human intentions and experiences" (1976, p.47). Burra Charter (1999) makes discourse on meaning of place in terms of cultural significance. Meaning of place is intangible component of it and signifies what a place remarks, indicates, recalls or expresses ((e.g."I was born here" or "this is the highest building in the world" etc.). Place becomes meaningful when it points out a specific activity, or when it serves a particular intention like place of someone's home or places of work.

4. Genius loci

Roman term genius loci or sprit of place is commonly used in cultural landscape studies, which means a kind of adaptation in context of a particular landscape in terms of form and culture. Both terms refer character or identity of place (Relph, 1976, Norberg-Schulz, 1984). As mentioned in the Quebec Declaration (2008), sprit of place is composed of tangible and intangible elements, which means it can be built structure or natural objects as well as memories, narratives and rituals.

Every individual might have distinctive image about a certain place. In this vein, what Kevin Lynch argues:

"The direct enjoyment of vivid perception is further enlarged because sensible, identifiable places are convenient pegs on which to hang personal memories, feelings, and values" (1981, p.132)

In this sense, identity can be connected to an image or a mental map in someone's mind as a reminder of the characteristics of any specific place (Relph, 1976). Figure below shows the image construction process of mind from memories (see Figure 4).
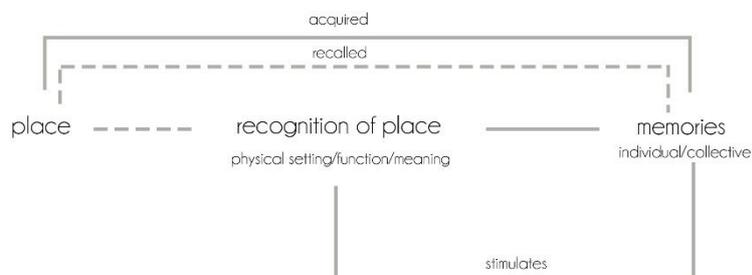
Figure 4 Image Construction Process of Mind

However, to capture or find a way to conceptualize place identity is still not easy task because of mixing of feelings, values memories, emotions and intentions depends on unique time-space experiences of individuals in a particular moment (Relph, 1976). There is also a temporal transition from the present to the remembered, which affects the perception and experience of place. The memory of a setting is tended to be divided into two categories as from childhood and adulthood. However, Proshansky et al. (1978) also points to the fluidity in the process of remembrance thus challenges the two separate moments as childhood and adulthood. As indicated, "place-identity will be modified over the course of individual's lifecycle and is not bound by any of the aforementioned categories" (1978, p.60). We might address the temporal aspect of the habitation in the way people identify and relate to the place. On this point, as Nanzer (2004) indicates the lengthy stays in an area besides the repetitive use of those environments play important role in creating place-identity. Moreover, while such repeated inhabitations are bound up with personal preferences and the amenities the places offer, they are also linked spatiotemporally and cognitively with the shared use of the places, that is, the other users if not inhabitants, as well as with the past experiences and memories of the settings. By the same token, whereas the familiarity which is highly associated with not only places themselves but the length of habitations is an important factor in the

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formation of place-identity, it might not seem apparent to each person. In other words, not each user does not acknowledge the impact of the past experiences, memories, thus the values hitherto attributed to a place, which in turn contributed to the place-identity. In that regard, the question is how these different clusters of individual feelings and values attached to a place relate to each other has been pointed. Gieseking and Mangold (2014:78) argue that such encounters whether acknowledged or not creates interrelated cognition, which goes beyond "long-term and successive use of physical settings." The table below, which is prepared by Gill (2004) has an intention to conceptualize place identity and summarizes the components of place identity in literature (see Table 2).

individual/group identity	physical settings		activities/function	meaning/significance	spirit of place
	built environment	natural elements			
Expectations of place ·Recalled/celebrated history of location ·Past experiences with place ·Feelings of belonging/being inside ·Feelings of comfort/safety ·Perceptions ·Values/opinion/preferences ·Culture/religion/heritage/ethnicity/ spiritual bonds ·Personal memories of place ·Family influences ·Attachment to /with place ·Influences form portrayal of place by artists, poets, historians, writers, naturalists	·Spaces, colors, lighting ·Distance and Scale ·Building Styles, ·Architecture, symbolism, ·Technological Features ·Historical Buildings/heritage ·Entrances to place ·Public utilities, transportation network ·Streetscape ·Quality of structure maintenance ·Crown patterns, extent of settlement ·Open spaces, parks, horticulture, gardens ·Land use types (agricultural, commercial industrial) ·Sights, sounds, smell, texture	·Geophysical Structure/landform s/topography ·Natural Process of the region or locality ·Microclimate ·Uniqueness of Natural setting ·Natural Scenery/ Aesthetics ·Natural reserves, conservation areas ·Ecosystem ·Wildlife ·Viewpoints ·Compatibility with human purposes	·Institutional Government/ organizational structure ·Local institutions (police, fire, education, health ·Non-Governmental Organizations Economic activities ·Social events (festivals, parades, sporting events) ·Religious/cultural events ·Movement of people (patterns) ·Interpersonal interaction/Communication ·Tourism/recreation al activities	·Home place /my place /our place ·Place to live ·Place to work ·Retirement Place ·Historic Place ·Place of Worship ·Cultural Place ·Special Place ·Place to Visit ·Place to relax ·Place for recreation and leisure	·Character of place /personality of place (e.g. friendly place, small town atmosphere)

Table 2 Place Identity and Components of It (Gill, 2004)

2.1.2.3   Factors Affecting Identity of Place

Nature of memory concept is obliged to set a user-oriented perspective. As mentioned before, although; memory has social frames in forming and recalling processes, it has also personal aspect. Each person perceives their environment differently, and has its unique cognitive and mental map in their mind. For this reason, mnemonic spatial elements, likewise; may change person to person. One perceives place through its identity components and these components trigger cognition processes. As a result, factors affecting on cognition, determined as factors

affecting place identity, and so, memory within the scope of the study. At this point, Evans (1980) discussed three variables as follow:

- **Different Stages of Knowledge Acquisition:** The factors of development (both children and seniors) and acquaintanceship (length of residence, place of birth) are generally examined corresponding with map accuracy and map content. While increasing accuracy in cognitive maps is related with age and experience, these studies should take into account the use of real environments based on daily activity patterns instead of residence time.

- **Individual Variables:** Cognitive maps are studied within the scope of examination of gender and cross-cultural differences. Still, cultural differences studies should take into account the contents of mapping experience, travel mode and home range.

- **Physical Features:** These properties are basically examined according to two variables; environmental structure (such as street layout with a grid pattern) and landmarks. These studies bring out that size, shape and functional unicity are notable features of landmarks (Evans, 1980 as cited in Memluk Çobanoğlu, p: 101). On the flipside, Marcus (1982, p. 87,) asserts that the strongest memories of many individuals revolve around places. For example, the house where they grew up, the environment in which they first fell in love, their first neighborhood and first home, the first garden they groomed, the hidden places of their childhood and special places of their adolescence. Moreover, Francis (1995) adds that many studies have indicated that favorite childhood places include a number of environments, including both built and natural places holding special meanings and memories. Consequently, the physical characteristics that influence identity arise from both natural and built environmental elements.

In sum, length of residence, place of birth, developmental stages, gender, cultural differences, physical features of place are the factors that affects on construction of a mental picture. Therefore, memories inevitably affected by these variables.

The figure below shows summary of the relationship between notion of memory, place and place identity (Figure 5).
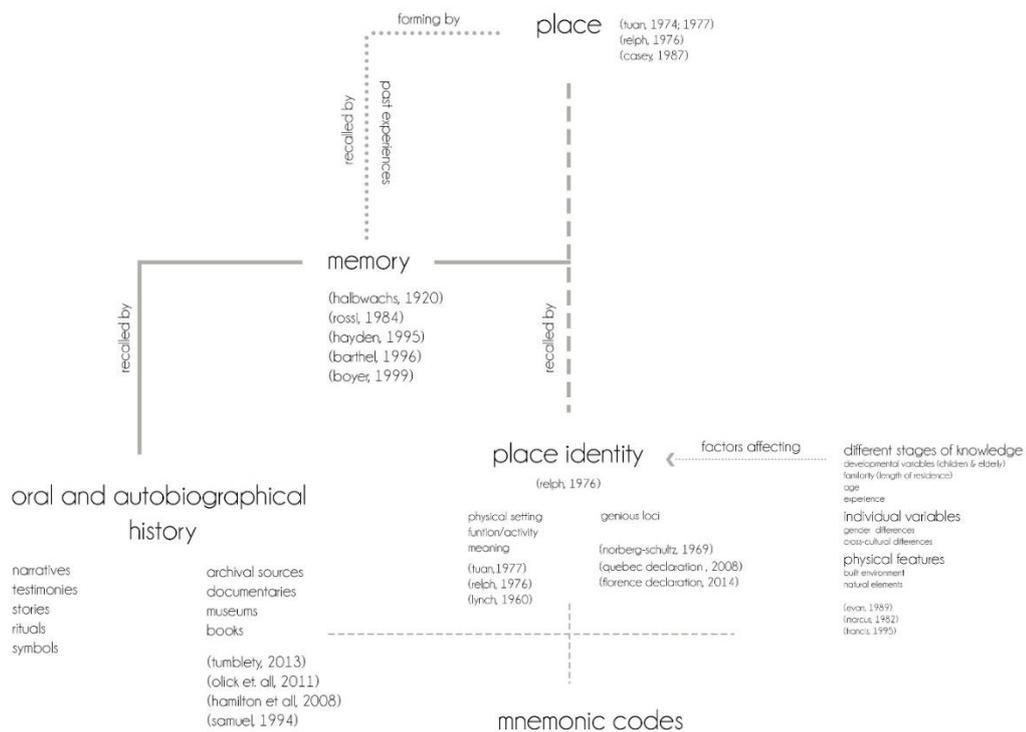
Figure 5 Relationship between Concept of Memory and Place

2.2 Concept of Memory in the Field of Conservation Planning

At the beginning of the 19th century, conservation or restoration studies were approached at monumental scale. Place or urban and rural settings were not the main concern. The comprehensive conservation studies at different scales began in much more later times. Today, historical sites are subject of larger-scale place discussions not only with the physical structures they have, but also with the social life that gives

the space its sprit. Even if the monumental structures and places are fixed, social life in these places are altered and evolved in time. In a similar manner, the question of what to conserve emerged as an important inquiry. Many scholars pre-admit that only change is constant, so extensive value determination analysis including both physical and social dimensions might be taking in consideration.

Accordingly, historical places appear as important sites as bringing together past and present of societies. These sites and monuments are the touchable evidence of the past (Barthel, 1996). The main motivation behind the conservation studies might be a belief on past offer significant to future generations (Hussein et. all, 2020). As a physically existing entity these sites are spectacle of everyday life (Boyer, 1996). Therefore, contemporary understanding of the preservation, conservation or restoration works provide a ground to maintain continuity of intangible values like shared knowledge, memories, social life etc. In other words, heritage sites are documented not only for their visible values but also for their intangible cultural and social values.

The first studies in the field of conservation and restoration that deal with the relationship between memory and built environment at the monumental scale belongs to Aldois Riegl. Art historian Aldois Riegl studied on the phenomenon of monuments. Even at the monumental scale, the works of Riegl have brought a series of new concepts and values to the history of architecture with the book called Modern Cult of Monuments. These value sets are differentiated in two commemorative and present-day values. The first one includes age, historical and intentional values and the former one means use and art value (newness and relative art value). Riegl expresses that monuments exist to leave a mark in memory with the words *"a human creation, erected for the specific purpose of keeping single human deeds or events alive in the minds of future generations."* (Riegl, 1902, pp. 69-83)

There are also some declaration and charters by International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) on the value assessment. To point out memory studies in this

field, it is necessary to mention them to see change in approaches and understandings.

In this regard, Venice Charter (1965) is an important breaking point in the field of conservation planning in terms of value determination. Although it does not directly refer to memory, places of memory or memory-scape, this charter is a significant milestone for conserving cultural practices that form memories. The Charter has an important theoretical framework that enables the development of conservation practices not only on individual monumental examples but also on a place scale within the evaluation of the heritage concept with social and cultural codes. Before it, physical and historical characteristics of the cultural heritage used as a measurement of value assessment. The charter opens a path towards comprehensive preservation and cultural heritage studies as uniqueness of architectural monuments embraces not only historical and aesthetic values but also symbolic, cultural and social values (ICOMOS, 1965).

The concept of places has been taking in consideration after Venice Charter. On the other hand, Burra Charter (1999) accepts general philosophy and conceptual framework of Venice Charter and extent the context of it. From this point on, cultural heritage or historical site are not seen through the lens of one single monumental entity. The Burra Charter has more extensive perspective on issues in conservation and restoration in terms of scale and type.

> "The Charter can be applied to all types of places of cultural significance including natural, indigenous and historic places with cultural values." (1999, p.1)

The charter makes valuable contribution on place studies by emphasizing cultural significance, bonds between place and people. It implicitly refers and provides some definitions on sense of belonging, place attachment, and other intangible factors that creates sense of stability and emotional ties (ICOMOS, 1999, p.1).

"Places of cultural significance enrich people's lives, often providing a deep and inspirational sense of connection to community and landscape, to the past and to lived experiences."

In this charter, the main emphasis is on the concept of cultural significance, which "*is embodied in the place itself, its fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and related objects*". The meaning of a place was addressed through its intangible aspects: symbolic qualities and memories. Undoubtedly, this meaning is created through social and physical components of place. In sum, physical settings of a place and emotional connection of people to these places are one of the main topics of the charter. Some significant definitions from charter are listed in table below (Table 3).

PLACE	"site, area, land, landscape, building or other work, group of buildings or other works, and may include components, contents, spaces and views."
CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE	"aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations." "Is embodied in the *place* itself, *its fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and related objects.*" "Places may have a range of values for different individuals or groups."
FABRIC	"all the physical material of the *place* including components, fixtures, contents, and objects."
CONSERVATION	"all the processes of looking after a place so as to retain its *cultural significance.*"
MAINTENANCE	"the continuous protective care of the *fabric* and setting of a *place,* and is to be distinguished from repair. Repair involves restoration or reconstruction."
ASSOCIATIONS	"the special connections that exist between people and a *place.*" "Associations may include social or spiritual values and cultural responsibilities for a place."

MEANINGS	"denote what a *place* signifies, indicates, evokes or expresses." "Meanings generally relate to intangible aspects such as symbolic qualities and memories."
INTERPRETATION	"may be a combination of the treatment of the fabric (e.g. maintenance, restoration, reconstruction); the use of and activities at the place; and the use of introduced explanatory material."

Table 3 Topics Discussed in Burra Charter (ICOMOS, 1999)

Beside these two charters, it is necessary to mention about Nara Documents on Authenticity, which was the basis of Burra Charter. The document emphasizes the importance of immaterial values and focuses on cultural context of heritage and its natural evaluation process through time (1994, p.2).

> "Depending on the nature of the cultural heritage, its cultural context, and its evolution through time, authenticity judgments may be linked to the worth of a great variety of sources of information. Aspects of the sources may include form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, and spirit and feeling, and other internal and external factors. The use of these sources permits elaboration of the specific artistic, historic, social, and scientific dimensions of the cultural heritage being examined."

ICOMOS as mentioned above make significant contribution on value assessment process by considering tangible physical, natural, visual and physical quality and intangible dimensions, which are memories, traditional knowledge, rituals, and belief or sense of belonging, locality etc., of places that directly touch the life of a community. The Quebec Declaration on the Preservation of the Spirit of the Place (2008) and Florence Declaration (2014) are two lastly introduced sources that center upon and handle spirit of the place and memory as useful tools for the conservation and restoration practices by ICOMOS. In Quebec Declaration, sprit of place is defined as a complex and multi-form asset.

"Recognizing that the spirit of place is made up of tangible (sites, buildings, landscapes, routes, objects) as well as intangible elements (memories, narratives, written documents, festivals, commemorations, rituals, traditional knowledge, values, textures, colors, odors, etc.), which all significantly contribute to making place and to giving it spirit, we declare that intangible cultural heritage gives a richer and more complete meaning to heritage as a whole and it must be taken into account in all legislation concerning cultural heritage, and in all conservation and restoration projects for monuments, sites, landscapes, routes and collections of objects." (2008, p.3)

On the other hand, Florence Declaration draws attention to threats on the landscape. The declaration is in search for preserving relationship between natural and cultural heritage through cultural interaction and sharing experiences and also, searching for new approaches to protect human rights by using of new and traditional knowledge. It also offers heritage sites as places of memory because of creating a connection between past and future (2014, p.2).

"We acknowledge that landscapes are an integral part of heritage as they are the living memory of past generations and can provide tangible and intangible connections to future generations. Cultural heritage and landscape are fundamental for community identity and should be preserved through traditional practices and knowledge that also guarantees that biodiversity is safeguarded."

With the different perceptions in conservation theory, the understanding of preservation or restoration has been developed and transformed both in scale and typology. The issue that the places are gaining value with the social life that gives the place its spirit has been one of the focal points of contemporary conservation studies. However, it can be said that dealing with issues such as memory, spatial memory and collective memory in the field of conservation and restoration is still quite limited. Although physical patterns remain as rigid elements, the social life surrounding them is constantly changing and transforming. All the mentioned

documents, charters and declarations put in forward that memory as an immaterial value gives the historical places or cultural heritages its sprit and meanings but it is difficult or almost impossible to put into practice to conserve a memory fully. At this point, it is so obvious that only change is inevitable and constant. Therefore, the topic of memory is discussed in the context of the social values and its relationship establish with the physical structure (see Figure 6).
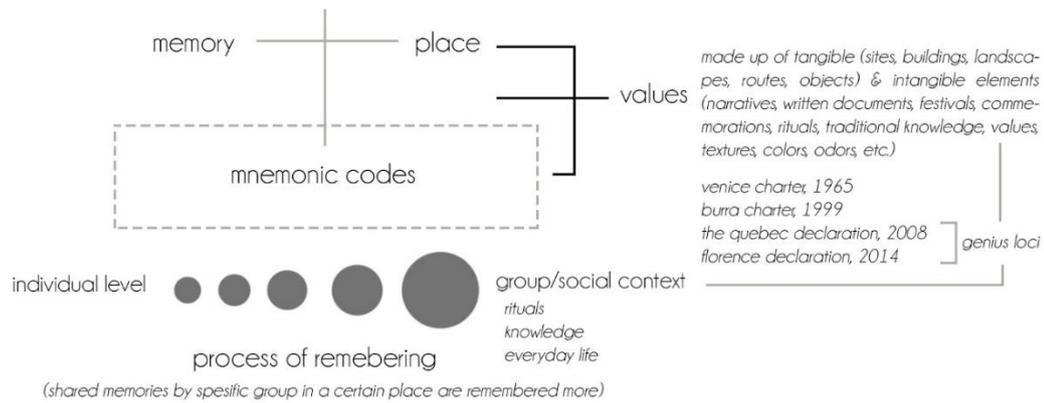
Figure 6 Concept of Memory in Context of ICOMOS

Beside from the physical, aesthetic or historical value of a structure or a place; stories, narratives, sharing knowledge, experiences or daily life practices of people, which shape the memory, slightly have become study area of conservation and restoration. In this context, it will be inevitable for conservation studies to adopt more all-inclusive models and approaches by going through innovative processes and to seek new ways by establishing close contacts with other fields such as urban design, politics, sociology and environmental sciences.

2.2.1   Landscape of Memory

Aforementioned charters and declaration put forward that the act of dealing with any kind of physical and non-physical elements, which have cultural, social or historic significance, expanded in terms of scale and type. At the very first stage of studies, the main concern was monuments, then; place took the role at the center. It has been concluded that landscape has an undeniable effect on social, cultural and physical

values.

The assignation of 'place' and 'space' are characterized by the disparity from 'being there', as opposed to 'activities', that define spaces through actions. According to Michel De Certeau (1986), 'space' and 'place' are being in a continuous interaction. Metaphorically, the city can be read as a script. The interaction between space and place, or in other words seeing and acting, generates 'geographies of actions. The meaningful and logical stories behind these 'geographies of actions' create the cultural significance of place, as referred to in Burra Charter (1999).

Emphasis on cultural significance brings about the discussions on landscape. The term is especially used by the international authorities ICOMOS and UNESCO. These two institutional bodies increase the attention on the landscape studies through their lastly introduced documents. Hence, within the scope of this thesis it becomes a necessity to make an argumentation on it.

People attachment to a place or a landscape is necessary to create a sense of belonging. Identity formation, in this sense, is affected from people attachment to place as well. For this reason, our memories can be hidden in landscape and also can be recalled by landscape. UNESCO World Heritage Categories of outstanding cultural landscapes (1992), has enhanced the critical interest to cultural landscape phenomena. Herein, Ken Taylor denotes that landscape is not just "what we see", but " a way of seeing." We recognize the land with our eyes but describe it through mind and attribute values to landscape for immaterial spiritual reasons (Taylor, 2008). He defines the term landscape as *"a portion of the earth's surface that can be comprehended at a glance"* in the earlier stages, but nowadays, rather than being a portion of view or a static entity, the expression of landscape is cultural process where the identities shaped. The bonds between landscape and identity, and, therefore; memory, thought and conception are essential to realization of landscape and people's sense of place (Taylor, 2008). Memory is one of the crucial strata of landscape. Simone Schema (1995: p.6-7) marks *"before it can ever be the repose for the senses, landscape is the work of the mind. Its scenery is built up as much from*

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strata of memory as from layers of rock.” A general theme as a basis for the idea of the institution of landscape itself as the formation for the entire things people does is that of the landscape as the rich source of immaterial values and human meanings that nourishes our existence (Taylor, 2008). That is why, there is an inseparable connection between mind and landscape since landscape affects on the body and our personal and collective memories.

Thus, one can deduce distinctive characteristics of experienced world and people experiences bear upon both tangible (material) and intangible (immaterial) identity. At this point, the concept of identity is inevitably woven with place meaning through images and symbols linked with place and landscape. The context of a place forms the formal experiences of the historical place and its backgrounds, as well as the way of interaction of people and the spatial context of those places. The context of places also varies with the vigorous intervention of ways of seeing and physical changes in the environment (White, 1996). Two types of ways of seeing can be mentioned at the cultural significance of places: the informal and formal. The formal ways, which are the aesthetic, the architectural, the historical, and the social ones, are recognized in the symbolic codes of the Burra Charter (1999). Informal ways refer to fragmented experiences of individual memories, experiences that are important to the individual and experiences that are attached to collective memory. (White, 1996).

2.2.1.1 Landscape of Memory: Memory-scape

The memoryscape concept draws upon the spatiality of memory and the notion of landscape. As mentioned in previous part of thesis, many scholars draw the attention on spatiality of memory, and the concept of memoryscape emerges to intertwine the notion of landscape and memory to describe the how people remember through their material environment. The concept, defined as simply as "landscape of memory" by some scholars (see Ullberg, 2013). Tim Edensor, on the other hand, explains the memoryscape as:

"the organization of specific objects in space, resulting from often-successive projects, which attempt to materialize memory by assembling iconographic forms, Social remembering is organized around places and objects built into the landscape, "archaeological metaphors" which provide stages for organizing a relationship with the past" (1997, p.178).

The desires and personality of residents can be symbolized by urban spaces, but these public definitions are both diverse and malleable. For instance, the method of choosing street names, embodies the struggle to regulate the means of symbolic development in the place. Memoryscape, at this point, serves as a model of analysis is to investigate the tool by which collective memory is recorded and contested in urban space (Roux, 2015; Aljundi, 2017) Tuan (1977, p. 87) mentions that experience of place depends upon five senses:

"an object or place achieves concrete reality when our experience of it is total, that is, through all the senses as well as with the active and reflective mind"

Memoryscape, in this vein, is a concept used to apply a series of investigation that covers tangible and intangible elements. To recognize the place around us smell, sounds, and sights from our former experience might help construct the social frame of memories.

2.2.2 Threats over Place: Museumification, Eradication and Disneyfication

Place identity, as it is deduced, is an instrument that used to evoke city's tradition (heritage sites) and past by professionals, who deals with city and architecture, through using unique environmental images and physical settings of the place (Gospodini, 2004). Nevertheless, several conservation and urban design practices in Turkey and even all over the world, is carried out in a highly standardized manner. Instead of producing more distinct and area-specific urban landscape, morphologically similar settlement patterns are designed. This kind of urban

intervention, specifically over historical places, creates a false sense of urban experience and presents monotonous urban environment rather than vivid one. These fake place experiences are denoted as "eradification", "museumification" and "disneyfication". Within the scope of the thesis, Diyarbakır, Suriçi district is one the settlement that is affected these kinds of intervention approaches. Therefore, it becomes a necessity to handle this categorization to interpret the changes the city undergone.

1. **Eradification** The term infers the demolishment or destruction of artefacts, places, buildings and features that have occurred involuntarily (e.g., war or natural disasters) or voluntarily (e.g., modernization, political regime change or cultural paradigm change) (Ashworth, 1998).

2. **Museumification** Ashworth (1998) refers to changes in the functional aspect and / or formal extent of artifacts, spaces, buildings and features that happen intentionally to alter the meaning of protected schemes and use them as tourism / economic resources (cited in Gospodini, 2004, p.228).

3. **Disneyfication** "is the creation of an area based on an abstracted, fictional history made to look and feel authentic, first seen in Disneyland in California with the re-creation of the American Main Street of the nineteenth century. But this trend has spread to urban areas, such as the case of St. Nicholas quarter in east Berlin, in which buildings and urban spaces have been replicated in authentic-looking medieval styles for which there is no historical origin in order to provide a pleasurable tourist experience." (Nasser, 2003, p. 472)

These terms are commonly used in conservation planning literature. In highly, globalized and mobilized society interventions over historically or symbolically important urban place usually are carried in out by authorities for the sake of economic and political benefits. Severcan and Barlas, at this point, argue that the loss

of public places from the urban landscape by such interventions is not the merely defect of capitalization and globalization. The users and producers of this rational world, who became mesmerized by "consumption patterns and ideologies and aimed to create the most profitable, prestigious and image making of commodities" (2007, p. 676). This tension leads to creation of themed production of public spaces, and commodification of cultural entities. Places have become more visible over the touristic maps but lost its spirit authenticity. Especially, in multi-cultural and multiethnic urban settlements, creating images through the place identity has lack of tendencies in bringing together these cultural diversities. Change in physical environment leads to alteration in public attitudes. In addition to being less visible to eye, as new interests and understandings of the history disappear and the symbolism of the monument is reinterpreted, the meaning of many monuments also becomes less evident. Memories and visibility are interrelated (White, 1996). The mission of the conservation practitioner or urban planners becomes the duty of rescue when the change is inevitable.

In the previous parts of the thesis, it has been stated that the conservation theory has evolved and transformed both in terms of scale and scope, with documents published by ICOMOS at different times. Conservation approaches that protect only physical structure have been replaced by approaches and methods that protect the life, social fabric and memory of a specific site in a more comprehensive manner. As in many parts of the world, these concepts (museumification, eradification or disneyfication), which bring about certain standardization and homogenization of the place, fail to preserve the core values of the field. The main motivation behind these tendencies is to attract more tourists and to gain economic profit as stated above. In this context, these spaces are transformed into spaces that resemble a replica or a decor rather than a living one (Sudan, 2012). In other words, these spaces offer a created or fictional space experience devoid of the social values of a frozen time. At this point, the bond and sense of belonging established by a tourist and someone who lived there in the modified place before, is quite different since their memories about the place is different. In this vein, while the previous state of these spaces shows the

characteristics of a living place, these interventions transform and erase the memory of the place so; these places turn into a space only visited but not living literally. Concordantly, it would not be wrong to say that approaches that reveal to enhance conservation of continuity of social life, rituals and memory determine the criteria for successful in conservation and urban design disciplines.

2.3   Conflict and The Cities

Through processions, parades, re-enactments of historical events and commemorative rituals and ceremonies the city has the potential to be the scenery of performances of memory. Accordingly, such multilayered characteristic the city always had is inherently suggestive of several coinciding narratives which most often signifies and reveals the existence of diverse communities effective in and reflective of the city. (Maeker, et. all, 2018, p.15). At this point, Sleight proposes the concept of palimpsest to read the cities in more accurate way (2018).

> "Successive generations leave their mark upon [the town], and some of the marks have proved surprisingly durable; they stay there to be read if anyone cares to read them. The visual evidence which is our concern here is the evidence that presents itself when we look at the town: the patterns of its streets and buildings, the blemishes upon the uniformity of the present that remind us of the past. If we think of what we see as a text, we recognise very soon that it is not a simple one: beneath the characters that we first trace, there are other words and phrases to be read: the town is a palimpsest." (Martin 1968: 155 cited in Sutcliffe et. all, 2018, p. 127)

Such localized contexts frame and interrogate both concrete and intangible memories including those contested, performed and lost.   Sleight (2018) claims that a palimpsest being a multilayered document, a matter of enhancement, carries some imprints to different extents, of previous settings. He adds the organization of the built environments such as the street layout and traces of paths, thus offer a surviving

ground lasting, in some cases, even for centuries whether their surroundings have been subjected to drastic changes. Yet at the same time, such configurations bear the risk of even total erasure. Nevertheless, revisiting the spatial configurations of the city surface so as to delve into the memory, even as the first step to comprehensively conceive of it, is still a significant one (Sleight, 2018).

In this context, post-conflict historical urban environments function as multi-layered archives of traumatic or violent histories and the digging policy of these histories. In some cases, urban transformation, rehabilitation or recovery process in post-conflict serves for improvement project or legitimation of certain ideologies (Olick et. all, 2011). At the same time, cities contain many narratives that are marginalized or not accepted in the public sphere, but these blocked histories can infiltrate into the urban space in ways that upset the leading representations of the past. Intersecting and contradictory memories and narratives as well as the city's built forms accumulate in alternative ways that are more subtle or hard to access. Tumblety (2013) offers oral history as a material to give a voice to unheard in a specific time and place. Connerton (1994) questioned how the memory is manipulated by totalitarian attitudes. He states that:

> "The attempt to break definitively with an older social order encounters a kind of historical deposit and threatens to founder upon it. The more total the aspirations of the new regime, the more imperiously will it seek to introduce an era of forced forgetting … A particularly extreme case of such interaction occurs when a state apparatus is used in a systematic way to deprive its citizens of their memory. All totalitarianisms behave in this way; the mental enslavement of the subjects of a totalitarian regime begins when their memories are taken away" (Connerton, 1994, p.26)

Although totalitarian approaches try to manipulate the past by trying to determine what is worth remembering, autobiographical or oral history studies attempt to address what is true through narratives and testimonies. (Hamilton et all, 2008, Tumblety, 2013). Aldo Rossi also criticizes totalitarian tendencies post-conflict top-

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down implementation over city and its architecture. He claims that these types of approaches have lack of understanding of urban environment. The city as an collective entity is something built over time, and the structure of the city arise from the ruins once again when people settled in.

> "Certain catastrophic phenomena such as wars or expropriations can overturn seemingly stable urban situations very rapidly, while other changes tend to occur over longer periods and by means of successive modifications of single parts and elements. In all cases many forces come into play and are applied to the city, and these forces may be of an economie, political, or some other nature. Thus, a city may change through its own economie well-being, which tends to impose strong transformations on styles of life, or, in another instance, may be destroyed by war. Yet whether one considers the transformation of Paris and Rome during the eras just mentioned, the destruction of Berlin and ancient Rome, the reconstruction of London and Hamburg after huge fires had devastated them, or the bombardments of the last war, in each case the forces, which governed the changes, can be isolated." (Rossi, 1982, p. 139)

The destruction effects of war and conflicts bring loss of physical structure and local inhabitants, meaning, function and form of city environment modifies inevitably. It triggers amnesia or forgetting process and loss of identity because of pre-conflicts physical and social structure not exist anymore. As mentioned before, after World War II, many cities in Europe faced devastating affects of war. After that, this period universal authorities have declared some documents to protect world heritages and raise the world communities and general awareness. Recently, due to war and inner-conflicts in Middle East, lots of historic and cultural heritage is under the pressure of extinction.

The first convention declared by UNESCO is The Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict in 1954, which aims to protect *"property of great importance to the cultural heritage of every people"*.

The awaken of further conflicts caused to extent the content of convention in 1999 along with the conservation of "cultural heritage of the greatest importance for humanity". UNESCO World Heritage Convention 1972 and List of World Heritage in Danger are the other instruments that have universal significance for identifying and protection natural and cultural heritages across the world. UNESCO is also working on the right to access cultural heritage is actually a human right with Faro Convention (2005) and International Legal Actions through Criminal Court and Legal Action

2.4   Conclusion Remarks

The change over place does not only have impacts on physical settings. It also changes and transforms social fabric. As stated above, place has a vital role in the identity construction processes of both individuals and societies. People perceive the elements that give the place its identity and remember through them. In this context, as it is seen, many academic studies from various fields have been conducted on memory conjuncture. All aforementioned studies have directly or indirectly revealed that memory is place-oriented as well as social. In this chapter, theories on memory and place relation point out that memories are actually an integral part of the identity of place. Thus, components of place identity inherently affect people's perception of environment. Beside these, people's narratives, traditional knowledge, culture and stories, which enhance the memory (see Figure 7). These memories in turn contribute to the production of places. For this reason, I shall argue that every dimension that shapes the place experience, and so, its identity, is actually the mnemonic elements of the place. In this case, meneomic elements can be defined through its relation to place identity components.
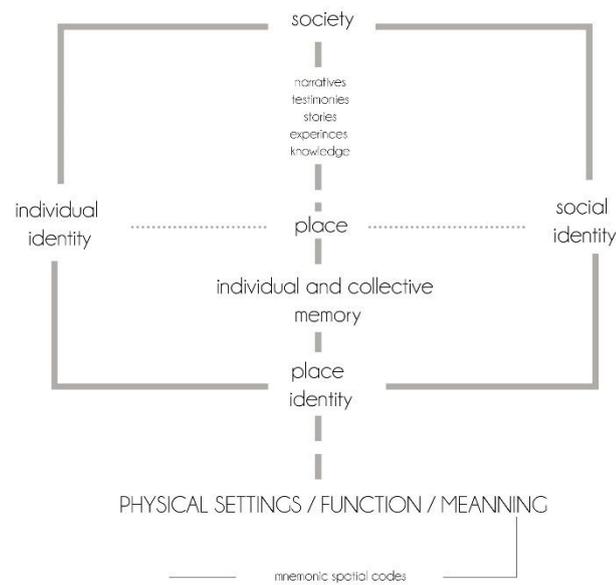
Figure 7 Frameworks of Memory in the Context of the Study

As mentioned above the meaning of place, and so, identity and the memories are altered through some canonic or unnatural way. Every chancing circumstance gives its trace on our physical surroundings. These traces, then, become a part of our daily life experience; we give them a function and meaning. These visible or invisible codes are what are called sprit of place (Relph, 1976). All of these are what constitute the place identity. Scholars found that memories and place identity are two correlated concepts. In Aldo Rossi's point of view, for example, "one can say that the city itself is the collective memory of its people, and like memory it is associated with objects and places" (1982, p.130). At this point, place identity gives tangible and intangible elements of the place and what is called mnemonic spatial codes ,in this study, is components of place-identity. Components of identity of place defined by Relph (1976) are shown in Table 4.

Components of Place Identity	Description
Physical Settings	•Natural Elements: Landscape, Topography, Trees •Built Environment: Place, Colors, Size, Materials Used, Lightening, Building Styles, Street/Plot/Block Layout etc.
Function	• Land-use Pattern (commercial, industrial etc.) • People Movement (events, purposes) • Touristic/Recreational Activities
Meaning	• Cultural or Symbolic Meaning • Places for Meeting • Places for Relax • Good Pace-Bad Place • Places to Work • Leisure Time Place

Table 4 Components of Place Identity

 As stated in the theoretical framework, place identity actually consists of four components. These are physical settings, function, meaning, and genius loci. However, within the scope of this study, genius loci were excluded from these categories. Because, as mentioned in the definition, the spirit of the space is the sum of all values that are visible and invisible for sight. At the same time, there are very few studies in academic literature that create an outline on how to measure the spirit of the place. Therefore, study only focuses on other three components. The literature survey puts that concept of memory is not just social or psychological phenomena, it is a cultural entity and it is woven with place. As it is discussed in this part of the thesis, beside from physical dimensions or place, memories also transformed through narratives, stories, knowledge etc., orally or by the sources which are already written

(archival sources, books documents). In this context, the questions in the interviews are formed by considering the theories upon urban identity and the factors affecting it.

In sum, components of place and place identity are two inseparable instruments that shape memory. Our personal or collective identity has enviable impacts on our mind. We perceived and recognize the world around us by them. For this reason, mnemonic characteristics of the case district analyzed through place identity components, which are physical settings, function and meanings in methodological part of thesis.

Drawing a general framework on the literature that deals with relationship of place, memory and post-conflict historical urban areas were the main aim of this chapter. Following part of the thesis provide information about methodological framework.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

This chapter aims to provide a methodological framework based on theories which is take place in Chapter II to answer the main research questions of the thesis:

- What were/are the mnemonic spatial codes to which local ordinary people refer in establishing connections with their environments in Suriçi?
- Which of these codes can still be observed in the existing urban fabric? Where can we observe these codes and in what forms (e.g., in newly developed parts of the district versus preserved areas, in-situ versus ex-situ conservation)? More specifically, whether, how and to what extent do the newly developed urban areas managed to integrate these codes into urban fabric?
- To what extent do the newly developed urban areas promote place identity? Why and why not? How do the participants describe Suriçi in relation to their memories attributed to places in this district?

The chapter constitutes of parts related to site selection of the research, the methodological approach of the research, data collection and analysis methods used within the scope of the research and limitations of the research.

3.1 Site Selection

Historic sites have many strata composed of tangible and intangible elements. As Barthel (1996) mentioned; these sites are tangible evidence of history and memory of the city with their physical structure. Physical built fabric stores both individual and collective memories through their long association with society. However, rapid

changes due to destruction and regeneration processes modify or destroy tangible and intangible elements of these places which in turn influence the memory storage function of these environments. In this regard, Suriçi area in Diyarbakır, which is the historical core (citadel) of Diyarbakır province, Turkey is selected as case study for this research due to both its historical value and stratified structure as well as the current redevelopment process occurred in the district. (see Figure 8).

Figure 8 Satellite Image of Suriçi before Conflicts (the image that was shared with participants to construct their own mental maps; Google Earth)

Diyarbakır is located in the southeastern part of the Turkey in Anatolian region. Suriçi's heritage values undoubtedly serve very dynamic and unique urban characteristics. The district carries different characteristics as a result of testifying wide range of historical periods through its existence for seven thousand years. Suriçi is a walled settlement, which has hosted many civilizations (e.g., Persians, Mitanni, Arameans, Assyrians). Today, the area includes a variety of monumental structures like bastions, fortress, churches, mosque, and traditional houses from different periods (Kejanlı, 2004; Kankal, et al., 2018). Outside of the walls the district has its natural thresholds: Hevsel Gardens and large basalt plateau from Mountain Karacadağ and Tigris River (Ertekin, 2002).

What makes this area significant for this research is that the area hosts memorable, imageable, spatial characteristics like street patterns, significant monuments including churches, mosques etc. (see Chapter IV for detailed information), which

give the place its identity and its unique urban pattern. The district is also bearing the traces of different periods that have been constantly changed and transformed because of migration and the unstable social, political and economic context of the region. In addition to these, the historical district has been the target of conflicts and subjected to a controversial reconstruction process recently. Although the district has a long and multi-layered history, the period between before and after conflicts in 2015 will be investigated within the scope of this research.

3.2   Data Collection

The study seeks to investigate the mnemonic spatial codes that contribute to place memory and place identity (derived from the literature review in Chapter II) in a post-conflict historical urban fabric. In this regard, case study method is employed for the Suriçi district in Diyarbakır.

For the case study, qualitative data collection methods are used. Although all three research questions posed by the author necessitated her to investigate local people's point of view, and thus demanded the use of self-reported instruments, in order to better understand the context and interpret the responses, before the field research, the author investigated the historic documents and narratives (written sources, archival documents and cartographic documents) about the chosen site. Hence, the data collection constitutes of two main parts: library and field research.

3.2.1   Library Research

The on-desk research is conducted to provide a ground for historical background and understand the spatial development patterns of the case study area. The interview questions that are used in on-site phase determined based on this first on-desk stage of research. In the analysis of historical development and evaluation (second phase of on-desk research) the sources that are used listed as follow:

- **Written sources:** Reports, Articles and other academic studies on historical background, books Armut Ağacına Mektuplar (Letters to Pear Tree) (Jale Erzen, 2017) and Gavur Mahallesi (Mıgırdıç Margosyan, 2017), Travelers' diaries from different period of time.
- **Archival documents:** Photography
- **Cartographic documents:** Development, Conservation and Land-use Plans and their reports, Google Maps, Google Earth, Maps taken from Articles

First stage of the study, is formed as literature review on concept of memory and identity.. Therefore, the thesis studies approved by the METU Graduate School of Social Science (Taş, 2019) and Natural and Applied Sciences (Eyyüpoğlu, 2018, Usta, 2018, Türk, 2019) and the National Thesis Center (Bakan, 2018, İpek, 2020, Kaya Taşdelen, 2020) were used as first sources to create a bibliography in the very beginning of the study. In this context, the sources that do not have online access for the bibliography created based on mentioned studies have been accessed as hard-copies from the libraries of TED University (TEDU), Middle East Technical University (METU) and Bilkent University. Apart from this, for theories, which are discussed in Chapter II, articles found through Google Scholar and Google search engine. To create a base for the field research, firstly, the researches and studies conducted by METU Master of Urban Design Studio with the theme of "Recovery Urbanism" during 2016-2017 semesters were used as initial source, and then other published and online sources on the history of the area were reached through Google Scholar. In addition to this, hard-copy resources were reached from the mentioned libraries, which are not open for online access. Besides, a list of traveler diaries created and, only Turkish and English printed ones were used. Apart from this, since it is not possible to go to the area due to the COVID-19 pandemic, photographs are obtained via online sources.

3.2.2 Field Research

Because of COVID-19 pandemic, since March 2020, the Turkish government has been imposing curfew and travel restrictions aiming to limit the community spread of the disease. For such reasons, it was not possible for the author to carry out site observations and face-to-face interviews in the field. Hence, to answer the research questions, semi structured in-depth interviews are conducted through video conferencing. Video conferencing is a tool that creates a real-time environment with audio and video (Mann & Stewart, 2000). Currently, it has become one of the most popular means of communication via distance**.** Apple's Face-Time, Whatsapp Video Call, Skype or Zoom are just some of those applications that virtually built face-to-face communication experience. Nehl et all (2015) states that video-conferencing attracts attention in qualitative researches for conducting interviews remotely.

3.2.2.1 Design of the Semi-Structured Interviews

Semi structured in-depth interview is chosen as a means of data collection within the scope of this research. The interviews are conducted with local people of Diyarbakır above the age of 18 with their full consent during December, 2020.The interview questions combine two types of information; primarily descriptive information is collected from the responders (such as sex, age, length of residence etc.) later open-ended questions are asked to derive their unique mnemonic codes related to the case study area. Before starting the interview, each participant was informed about the content and aim of the research as well as the recording and transcribing of the interview. Besides, interviewers are acknowledged about moral ground of the study and assured that the obtained information will stay anonymous and only used for the scope of this research.

All interviews were conducted by the author. The author asked interviewers pre-defined but open-ended questions. The order of these questions changed from one

context to another with respect to the answers she obtained from the participants to keep the dialogue coherent, friendly and natural. Probes were used whenever needed: e.g., Could you please elaborate on this point? What do you mean with this? Could you please repeat this final point? Duration of the interviews lasted 30-45 minutes. Each participant answered the entire question in the guideline (please see the Appendix A for Turkish guideline and Appendix B for English one). The interview guideline was designed to answer the three research questions posed by the author. Thus, there were questions related to determine the place identity components and factors affecting to it.

In the theoretical part as it is mentioned age, gender or cultural differences, length of residence are the some factors that affects on construction of mental maps in people's mind (Evan, 1980). Therefore, first part of the interview is structured to gain personal information of participants whether to make an analysis in this vein. Hence, the participants asked such questions:

- How old are you?
- How do your describe your gender?
- What is your profession?
- Where did you live in Diyarbakır?
- What is your relationship with Suriçi? How often do you go to Suriçi? For what purpose would you go / do you go?

Beside this, memoryscape studies shows that people experience of place can be shaped through people's five senses (Tuan, 1977). Scent, voices and sights are other factors that trigger the human's memories. thus, responders also asked to describe smell or sound that are associated with Suriçi.

As it is mentioned before, components of place identity is described as mnemonic codes in Chapter II. Moreover, it is stated by some scholars like Marcus (1982) and Francis (1995) people's memories about their living environment shaped through

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built environments and natural elements, which are defined by Relph (1976) as identity components of a place. For this reason, to capture the mnemonic codes through place identity elements participants asked to:

Questions for participants who were not born in Suriçi:

- Which streets/avenues were used mostly in Suriçi? were the most important to you? show it by drawing?
- Which squares and places were used mostly in Suriçi? were the most important neighborhoods? Would you mark it on the map?
- Which natural elements were prominent in Suriçi? (tree, park etc.) Is it possible to show it on the map?
- Where did people spend most of their time outside home in Suriçi? Which activities can be done here?
- How successful do you find the transformation in the field?
  (Scale it: Unsuccessful/Average/Successful)
- What comes to your mind first and how would you describe the Traditional Diyarbakır House?

If the participant were born in Suriçi:

- How were your daily life practices? show it on the map?
- How do you remember the house you lived in? How would you describe the street you live in? What was the significance of the street for you? Where did you live? With what characteristics do you remember the street/neighborhood you live in?
- Do you have a memory you want to share about the field from your childhood?
- Is there a photograph that shows the street, courtyard, your home in the period you lived in there?

By this way it is aimed to answer first inquiry of the study. Moreover, to answer second and third questions of the thesis, which are required to comparison of pre-conflict and post- conflict situation of the site the participants asked as follow:

- As you know, after 2015, the district went through a traumatic period of conflicts. Following the end of the clashes, reconstruction activities started in Suriçi. Did you have the opportunity to experience the site after the conflicts? What were the changes that caught your eye?
- If you compare the situation of Suriçi before and after the conflicts, what would you say?
- What do you think about the newly developed area after the conflicts? Do you think it has elements that make up the architectural and urban form characteristic of Suriçi? Does it reflect the traditional texture? What are the reflecting components it has? or In what extent does it not reflect?

If the participant lived in Suriçi or still lives there:

- Was your neighborhood among the areas that were re-built after the conflict? What were the changes you observed in your neighborhood if it was affected by the conflict?

The following parts include selection process of participants and method of analysis sections.

3.2.2.2   Selection of the Participants

The participants are selected from local people of Diyarbakır. Respondents are chosen through personal convenience and snowball sampling (Figure 9) (Naderifar et all., 2017) based on their willing to participate to the study. In this sampling process, people, who is known to live in Diyarbakır, were conducted. The person who is conducted informed about the scope study and asked to communicate the

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local people who are willing to participate the study. The sample group is defining as local people of Diyarbakır and their selection criteria are as follow:

- The sample group divided up into two, those who were born in Suriçi and those who were not born in Suriçi but lived in Diyarbakır. All participants on the other hand, are people those who have a connection with the district of Suriçi for a long time.
- All participants are still living in Diyarbakır and frequently visit the district.
- People who know and observe pre and post conflict situation of the site
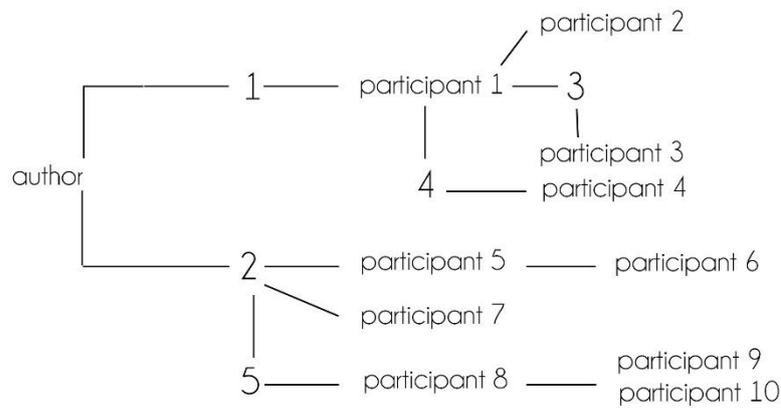
*numbers show people who not participate the study but making contact with proper people for study

Figure 9 Sampling Process of Participants

The table below shows gender and age distribution of participants. Sample size is determined through Janice M. Morse's (1994) guide, who denotes that minimum 5 participants are required for the qualitative researches, which aims to understand structure of an experience. Therefore, the sample size is determined as 10 interviewers (see Table 5). Two cluster is defined for the study: local people those who were born in Suriçi and local people those who were not born in Suriçi but frequently visit the site (at least two or three day in a month). Within the scope of thesis local people of Diyarbakır means those who spent time in Suriçi in a period of

their life or at least use the site in their daily life (please see Appendix C for detailed information about participants).

Place Experience	Woman	Man	Total Number
People who were born in Suriçi	3	2	5
people were not born in Surii	2	3	5

Table 5 Sample Size and Sex of Participant

3.3 Method of Analysis

Information obtained from both library research and field research will be analyzed to derive the mnemonic spatial codes of the case study for the pre- and post-conflict era of the area. Participants' memories and experience of Suriçi derived from semi-structured interviews and historic documents and narratives are elaborated through qualitative content analysis (see Krippendorff, 2004) later to be translated into 'narratives maps'. Maps of participants, on the other hand, created on digital environment and used within the scope of the study to capture data in more accurate way.

3.3.1 Representation of Data and Analysis: Narratives Mapping

As it is mentioned in Chapter II, memory basically depends upon our past experiences., but it is reconstructed in present constantly and transformed future generations through place and narratives. Due to interdisciplinary characteristics of the term, there is no one single method of representation of memory. Hence, one of the cartographic representation techniques is chosen to represent data collected through literacy sources and interviews. As Harley (1987, p.1) mentioned, maps are "*undoubtedly one of the oldest forms of human communication*". They serve as a bridge between inner mental world and physical surroundings (Harley, 1987). Maps have been spatiotemporal expression of oral, written and visual stories and their

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relationships with places (Caquard et all., 2014). Especially for place or landscape-based data representation or un-written mnemonics in society, maps are like a "memory bank" (Harley, 1987). They are simple expression of diverse settings from very personal to global scale (Caquard et all., 2014). In this regard, Tally denoted that "we organize our knowledge on maps in order to see our knowledge in a new way" (2014, p.1). For this reason, in this study data that obtained from interviews are represented through mapping. In this context, narratives from oral and written sources gain focal importance. Past always reconstructed itself in present through narratives. Tally (2014, p.1) supports this idea and gives a reference on James Joyce's book of Ulysses "… to give a picture of Dublin so complete that if the city one day suddenly disappears from the earth, it could be reconstructed out of my book". Place and narratives, as it is deduced, very important components for analysis of determining mnemonic spatial elements. one of the main limitations such user-oriented studies is the subjectivity of the knowledge obtained. Hence, to reach more accurate form of data, the author benefits from distinct and variety of sources to capture the mnemonic codes and to show memoryscape of the case study area. Later, mnemonic spatial elements that are derived from narratives is translated into maps by the author, namely, the 'narratives maps'.

At this point, within the scope of the study, Zoom has been selected as video-conferencing application to be used for interviews. During the interviews a satellite image, which shows pre-conflict urban pattern of Suriçi, were shared with participants. In the first stage, Annotate tool of Zoom was introduced to the participants and they were asked to create their own mental maps by marking and drawing on the map in line with their answers to the questions. During the interviews, the responders were asked to evaluate the transformation process of the district by showing both the old and current situation of the area through the images shared from Yandex Map and Google Earth over the street view. The data obtained from participants' narratives and maps created by them were conceptualized by the author

and transferred to maps, which represents mnemonic codes in districts based on identity components.

3.4   Limitations of the study:

Each person carries their own mental map in their mind, as mentioned before. This research also aimed to ask the users to draw their own mental maps of Suriçi. However, as stated, it was not possible to go to the field due to the COVID 19 outbreak. For this reason, digital mapping is seen as way of data collection and representation. Additionally, the site was visited by the author in the beginning of 2020. However, due to COVID-19 pandemic, it was not possible to see the site and make direct observation again in the late 2020. Therefore, to understand current situation in Diyarbakır photography and renders from various sources and satellite images taken from Yandex Map, Google Earth and Google Maps are used. For the same reason, the participants have been selected from local people of Diyarbakır because it is almost impossible to make a contact with Suriçi residents remotely. The district is an important memory place that gives the city its identity not only for the residents of Suriçi, but for the whole of Diyarbakır. Considering that the property texture of the district has changed over the years, it is thought that the changes experienced in Suiçi by the local people of Diyarbakır, even if they do not live in Suriçi today, will allow consistent discussions.

3.5   Concluding Remarks

The research as it is already mentioned, has three main research questions. To answer these questions qualitative research approach is used to examine the pre and post conflict period of Diyarbakır, Suriçi. As it is mentioned, the study divided into two phases: library and field research. Due to, interdisciplinary characteristics of concept of memory, various sources are used to interpret mnemonic spatial codes of Suriçi. Summary of the methodological framework is given in Figure 10.

STAGE 1 Q.1

the notion inquired
"mnemonic codes of local people"

physical setting: natural and built environment
activity/function: land-use
meaning: cultural &symbolic

data collection
data source

written sources: reports, booksarticles
visual: archives, cartographic documents
narratives: surveying, books

method of analysis
content analysis

a collective map
of mnemonic codes
"narratives mapping"

STAGE 2 Q.2.

"mnemonic codes
exist/not exist to what extent?"

inqury method: comprasion with
existing situation

data source

collective map of mnemonic codes
"narratives mapping"

inventory of existing and lost

Q.3. "what happened to place identity?"
evaluation of STAGE1 and STAGE 2

Figure 10 Methodological Framework

Beside this, mental maps of participants are created through digital platforms. These maps are represented in continues chapters. Following chapters covers case study and results sections.

CHAPTER 4

THE CASE OF DİYARBAKIR SURİÇİ

Diyarbakır, Suriçi district is one of the oldest settlements in the Turkey that host many civilizations. It comes the fore with its multiethnic and multicultural characteristics. This historical site has very unique urban characteristics. However, Suriçi, recently, has been target of conflicts and exposed very traumatic urban experience in 2015. These conflicts hugely damage its social and physical fabric. Thus, within the scope of thesis, in this chapter, factors affecting the Suriçi's current identity are tried to be examined within its historical background..

4.1 Brief History of Diyarbakır Suriçi

Diyarbakır's first settlement, Amida Höyük, was located at the crossroads of historical trade routes from Anatolia, Iran and Mesopotamia. The city, which had been under the rule of Hurri-Mitanni for 300 years between 1800-1500 BC, was later under the rule of the Mithtans, Assyrians, Medes and Persians, respectively. The city, which came under the domination of the Hellenes in 330 BC (Kejanlı & Dinçer, 2011; Parla, 2005), the border of the city at that period shown in map III in Figure 11. Diyarbakır Suriçi region, which was under the rule of Romans between 30 BC and 330 AD, reached its present borders during this period. The structures in Diyarbakır Suriçi can be examined in five periods (Kejanlı & Dinçer, 2011; Parla, 2005). According to Site Management Plan (2014), The oldest structures in the city wall belong to the Byzantine period and are shown on map V in Figure 11 (M.S 395-639). Other structures belonging to this period are The Virgin Mary Church and Mar-Petyum Church. The Byzantine period was followed by the period of İnanoğlu and Nisanoğlu (AD 1097-1183). The same source added that Ulu Mosque and Kale Mosque symbolize architechtural value of this period. Furthermore, This period is

followed by the Artuklu period (1183-1232 AD). Artuklu period buildings in the Suriçi region are as follows: Hacı Ahmet Mosque, Kara Mosque, Zinciriye Madrasa, Mesudiye Madrasa, Artuklu Palace, Artuklu Arch (please see map VII in Figure 11). reports also mentioned that Akkoyunlu structures are shown in map VIII (1401-1507). Buildings belonging to this period; Lale Bey Mosque, Sheikh Safa Mosque, Taceddin Masjid, Sheikh Matar Mosque, Nebi Mosque. The last period buildings of the Suriçi Region belong to the Ottoman Empire (1515-1920 AD). The names of some of the buildings belonging to the Ottoman Period are: Government Building, Murtaza Pasha Mosque, Vahap Aga Bath, Fatih Pasha Mosque, Small Bath, Ali Pasha Mosque, Behram Pasha Mosque Ottoman (Site Management Plan, 2014) (please see map IX in Figure 11).
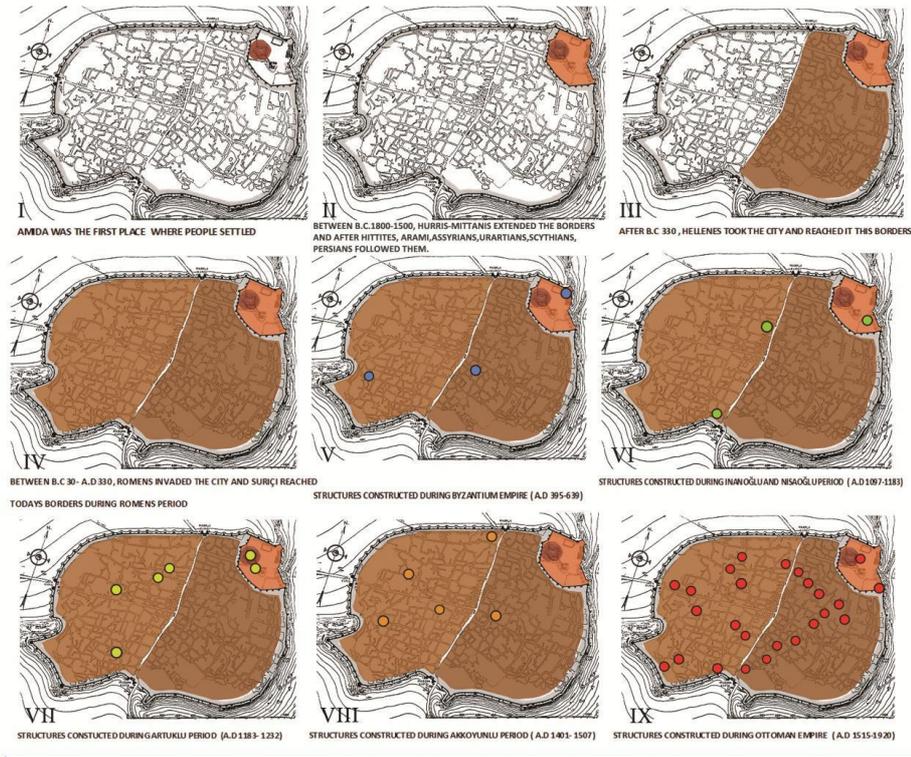
Figure 11 Historical Development of Suriçi District (Suriçi Site Management Plan, 2014)

4.1.1   Suriçi in Ottoman Period

Diyarbakır, Suriçi has formed and developed progressively. As Figure 11 illustrates, from ancient times to today Suriçi settlement developed inside of the walls. Additionally, present macro-spatial formation of the district has been shaped in Ottoman period as seen in the figures. From prehistoric times to Ottoman period, almost no monumental structure has survived, except two main axes which are: Gazi and Melik Ahmet Street. Therefore, in the rest of the study, the author will examine Ottoman and Republic periods, which gives the settlement its current identical structure.

In this part of the study, author reviewed itinerant's diaries to explore the period to make the discussion compatible with theoretical framework. To reveal how the urban memory and therefore the urban fabric transformed, in this study, the period after the proclamation of the Republic was chosen as the focal period. However, many studies on Diyarbakır city history have referred to the fact that the city's current identity was shaped largely in the Ottoman period. For this reason, in this thesis, the spatial and social structure of the Ottoman period also has been examined

It is known that Diyarbakır came under domination of Ottoman in the 16th century (Beysanoğlu, 1965). During this period, the urban macroform naturally underwent various transformations. After the Ottoman conquest, the city was divided into four quarters named after the four main entrance gates. After 1540, the number of neighborhoods increased, and the neighborhoods began to be called/known/named by the mosques, madrasas or social names in their regions (Diyarbakır Suriçi Conservation Plan Research Report, 2012).

In the following section of this part travelers' diaries are used to understand this period. Furthermore, in the following part paths, edges, nodes, monumental structures and districts that that were referred highlighted in diaries in bold.

In 17 th century, many travellers visited the city. As in the line of visiting time, these travellers are: Polish Simeon, Tavernier, Evliya Çelebi, Henry C. Barkley, Benjamin

Schneider and Poullet. French traveler Tavernier was traveling to many Anatolian cities such as Ankara, Izmir, İznik, Iskenderun, Kars, Mardin, Cizre and Van. The traveler also visited Diyarbakır during this trip. Tavernier (2006, p.287–288), who has visited the city around 1631, described the city as;

> "From Mirzapa, we come to Diyarbakır, where the Turks call **Kara Amid**. Diyarbakır is a big city built on a hill to the right side of the Tigris, which takes the shape of a half-moon here; a cliff stretches from the city fortress to the river. Double walls surround the city; seventy-two towers stand out on the outer wall. It is claimed that these signs were made in honor of the seventy-two followers of Jesus. The city has only **three gates**; there is an inscription in Greek and Latin on the west-facing door that mentions a person named Constantinus. There are **two or three beautiful squares** in the city and a **magnificent mosque** transformed from a **Christian church**. Beautiful galleries surround the mosque; around the galleries **mullahs, dervishes, booksellers, and paper sellers and other** people dealing with similar religious affairs are living. One mile away from the city, in the north direction, water is brought to the city through a channel cut in from a part of the **Tigris**. All of the **red leathers** produced in Diyarbakır are washed with this water because water has a feature that beautifies leathers. These leathers, both in terms of color and texture of leather, are superior to all other leather goods produced in the Levant. A large number of leather goods are produced here, and a quarter of the inhabitants of the city are engaged in this business. Soil yield is very high and brings huge income. There is **very good bread and very good wine** in Diyarbakır; there are more delicious meats that you cannot eat elsewhere; especially, you can eat it from pigeons that surpass Europe in terms of taste and size. The city is very crowded, it is estimated that only over **twenty thousand Christians live here**. **Two-thirds of them are Armenians, most of the rest are Nestorians and some are Jacobites**. **Capuchin Priests** have also been found for a short time; living in a small room of a caravanserai in the city, these priests do not have a private house…

The Tigris is passed in Diyarbakır and if the melting snow does not puff up **the river**, this process is always done at the crossing point. If **the river** is swollen, you can cross the **stone bridge**, which is a **quarter mile from the city.** "

Evliya Celebi who visited the city in 1655-1656 details about the city's social, cultural, commercial life. This information has been collected and analyzed by Bruinessen ve Boeschoten in the book named Evilaya Çelebi in Diyarbekir (2003). Bruinessen ve Boeschoten (2003) had very comprehensive and detailed analysis of Evliya Celebi's itinerary; the authors collected these details from their reviews. In the book, it was stated that Evliya Çelebi worked by referring partly to his memories about the city and partly to a rather mixed pile of notes.

"It provides information on the city's history, lists leading administrative and religious authorities, depicts the city's architectural monuments (**first its walls and fortress, then its mosques, madrasas, inns, and baths**), and provides many interesting details about its inhabitants in a more or less orderly fashion. At the end of the chapter, the places where to visit in the city are introduced and, as usual, the miracles of the saints are described" (Bruinessen and Boeschoten, 2003, p.33).

Bruinessen and Boeschoten (2003) state that Evliya Çelebi devotes a great place to the city's water resources along with monumental elements such as mosques and mederees in his travel book. It is mentioned here that he includes various historical and legendary stories about water resources. Moreover, the authors also state that he has notes on the sociological observations he made on trade and craftsmen in the city. In addition, Evliya Çelebi includes long descriptions of Turkish baths.

Henry C. Barkley (2007, p.200-201), who also visited Diyarbakır during his trip to Anatolia and Armenia in 1878, however, in depicting the city, he painted a very pessimistic picture:

"There is no place so gloomy and like a prison. It was built on **a flat land** a

few miles from the **Tigris river**, surrounded by **huge black stone walls** with **old-style towers** every twenty meters. The walls were so high that only the **minarets** inside were visible. It seemed that they were rotting very quickly, and later we saw parts of the river-side walls fall out by leaving fifty-meter gaps. (...) There was nothing unusual or beautiful in the city. **Its streets were narrower** than in an exposed city, probably because it was placed within the walls. Their **home was smaller and cramped**. And a strong smell dominated the city. It was a place with bad days, as the abandoned and **destroyed houses show**. The locals migrated to better gardens or became victim to one of the repeated attacks of typhus at certain times."

As mentioned above, the city was temporarily evacuated at various times due to epidemics and disorders in various periods of this century. The impact of the epidemic of typhus and the disorder caused by local riots was not only factor that contributed to Barkley's pessimistic outlook, as the traveler put it. It is evident from the notes of the traveler that Barkley is also a great British nationalist. This is another factor of this pessimistic narrative.

Regarding the physical and social appearance of the city in this period, the depictions of the traveler Buckingham can be viewed. Buckingham (1827) describe city with its physical and natural settings.

"The city of Diarbekr is seated on a **mass of basaltic rock**, rising in an eminence on the west bank of **the Tigris,** the stream of that river flowing by the foot of **this hill**, from north-east to south-west, as it makes a **sharp bend** in that direction from the northward. The **form of the town is very nearly circular**: it is **walled all around**, and is about three miles in circuit. There are **four gates** now open in the city, and these are called by the names of the respective quarters of the country to and from which they lead. The first, which is on the south-west, is called Bab el Mardin, or **Madin Kaupusee:** the second, on the west, is called Bab el **Roum, or Oroum Kaupusee:** the third, on the north, is called Bab el Jebel, or **Daugh Kaupusee;** and the

fourth, on the east, is called Bab el **Jedeed, or Yenghi Kaupusee.** The first leads to Mardin, the second to Asia Minor, or Roumelia, the third to **the mountains,** and the fourth, which is a new one, to the river. **The citadel,** standing about midway be tween these two last-named **gates**, is thus in the north-east angle of the town; and, seated on the eminence of rock here, in a line with the walls, it overlooks the **stream of the Tigris** below, and by its **elevation commands the whole of the town**. **The city-walls have round and square towers, at irregular inter-wvals**, **and being high and strongly built of hewn stone, present an appearance of great strength; but the most securely fortified portion of it is that on the north, where the square towers are very thickly placed, and where there is a long battery of guns mounted, pointing through covered embrasures.** The remote boundaries of the view from hence, while standing on **the citadel**, are sufficiently marked to convey an idea of the nature of the country in which this city is placed. On the west is seen the range of **Karaj Dagh**, or **the black hills**, which are of a moderate **height, regular outline,** and distant from ten to fifteen miles, going in a north-east and south-west direction." (1827, p. 372-373)

Buckingham's diaries of the city give very detailed information about the city formation and social, economic and cultural activities in that period of time when traveller visit the site (see Figure 12).

CROSSING THE TIGRIS, AND FIRST APPROACH TO DIARBEKR.

Figure 12 A Scene from Diyarbakır (Buckingham, 1827, p. 364)

Benjamin Schneider, who visited the city in 1850, attributed the city's charm to its pleasant physical appearance, its central location, and the diversity of the population. He states that although its importance as a trade center decreased (Merguerian, 2013 cited in Taşdelen, 2020), he observed that trade with Urfa, Mardin, Bitlis, Harput, Muş, Mosul, Baghdad, and Aleppo continued.

The diaries of the travelers included important memories describing the period's eating habits, epidemic disease, urban morphological characteristics, landscape, multicultural, multi-ethnic, and multi-layered structure. Although memories are subjective as they are based on individual experience, the memory of that period contains many details specific to the period's social, economic, and political life (health problems, sanitary, and infrastructure issues). The important structures of the period such as materials, mosques, madrasa, hans/inns, houses built with basalt stone, courtyards, which are still a part of daily life today, are also emphasized. These structures are still important structures that shape the city's past and present and form the identity of the area. The images from travelers' diaries are shown below (please see Figure 13).
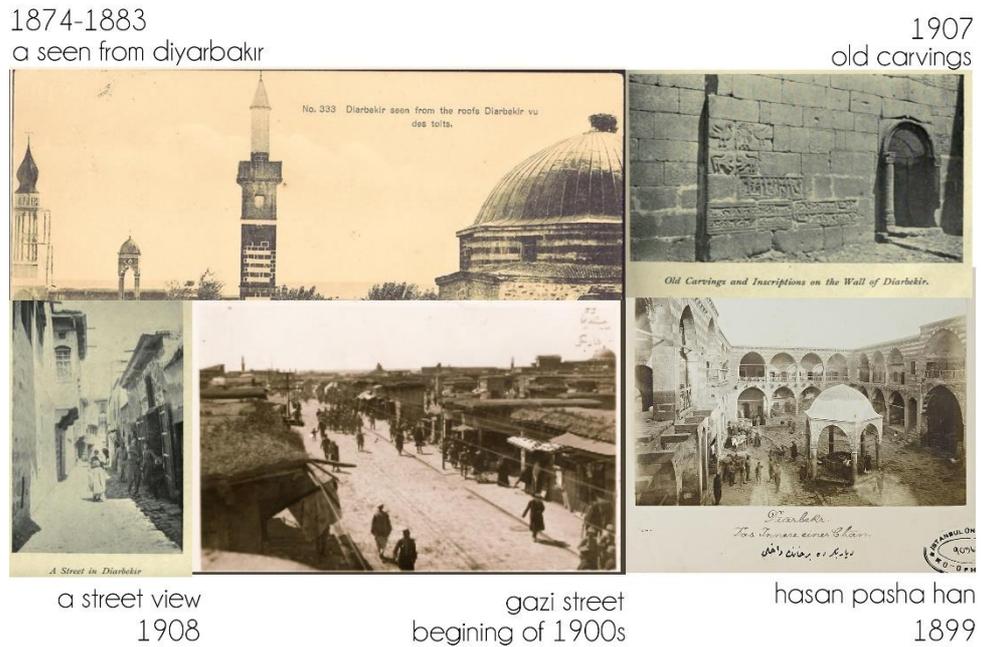
Figure 13 Urban Scenes in Traveller's Diaries from Suriçi, Diyarbakır. (Retrieved from: Baran Zeydanlıoğlu)

Some neighborhoods that were exiting in the 16th century, are still existed with the same name. Cami-i Kebir, Hasırcı ve Lala Beğ which were registered in 1540 still exist. Also, Ali Paşa, Camiü'n Nebi, Cami-i Kebir, Fatih Paşa, Iskender Paşa, Lala Beğ ve Tabanoğlu neighborhoods that were registered in 1847 still exist with the same name. Many uses such as neighborhoods, religious buildings, madrasahs-schools and libraries, baths, inns, bazaars, bazaars, and churches were recorded in Diyarbakır between 1790-1840 (Diyarbakır Suriçi Conservation Plan Research Report, 2012). This is an example of how memory is transmitted not only with concrete physical elements but also through street names.

However, under the impact of modernization, in order to meet the increasing population's and market's needs, the city entrance gate and part of the walls were demolished (see the traditional urban pattern in Figure 14).
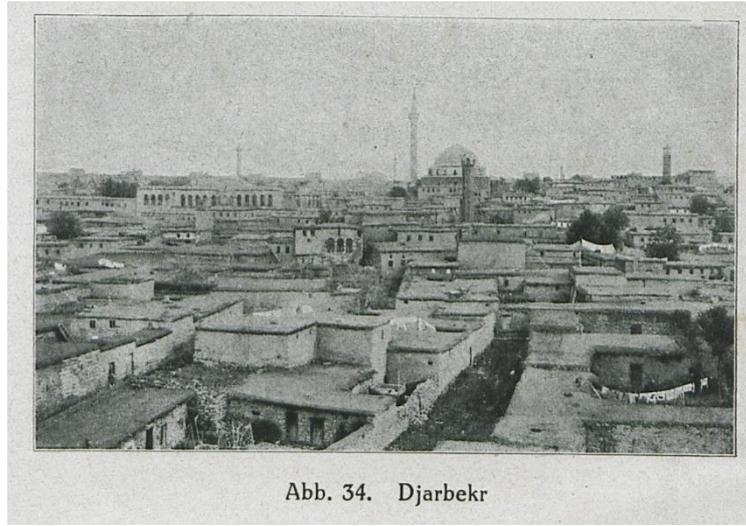
Abb. 34. Djarbekr

Figure 14 Diyarbakır in 1919 (Oruç Ejder Archive Retrieved from: Antoloji Diyarbakır)

In 1916, two streets were built: İzzet Paşa Street and İnönü Street (see Figure 15), which connected the Inner Castle to new development areas and trade areas (Kejanlı, 2009; Karaca, 2014).
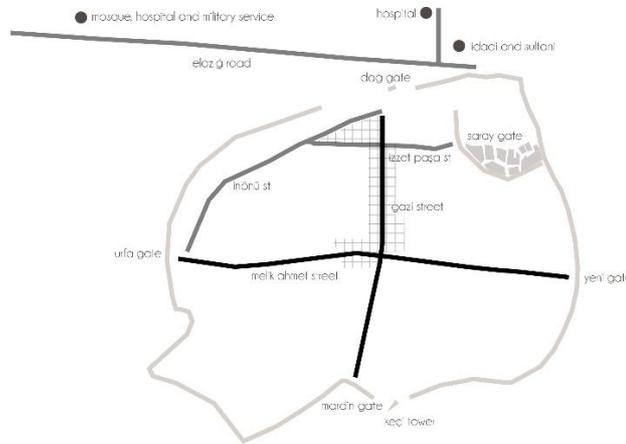
Figure 15 New Roads and Commerce Areas Added in 1916 (Original Map Taken Form Kenjanlı, 2009 Redrawn by Author)

In sum, ss mentioned above, the city has so many historical layers witnessed with many historical strata, which gives districts its own cultural heritage value. Historical studies on the development of Suriçi districts put that form of the city, reached its certain order in the Hellenistic period and then, spread over a wide area in the Roman

Period. During, this period, water and sewage infrastructure layout are re-established. After Christianity of the Roman Empire, there were some large monumental structures, like monasteries, churches, clergy schools, and libraries took place in urban settlements of Suriçi. Hence, the formation of the Suriçi urban pattern had Hellenistic and Roman urbanism understandings. The monumental roads with colonnades perpendicular to each other changed during the Byzantine period and the urban texture formed by large buildings lost its monumental feature at that period of time. Unfortunately, very few of these buildings, such as houses, churches, monasteries, and small but organized shops, that were constructed in this period have survived until today. Under the impact of Islamic states followed the end of the Byzantine period, urban fabric transformed and differentiated once again. (Kejanlı & Dinçer, 2011). Nowadays, Suriçi is surrounded by walls and covers 1,5 km^2 area in total. The walled district is divided up into four-part by Melik Ahmet ve Gazi streets. These two main road axes that meet main and bypass services intersect at the center and draw the outline of the Roman city plan, which has Hellenistic origin. As a result of the changes, only these two main road axes have survived today (Tuncer, 1999).

4.1.2   Suriçi in Republican Period

In this part of the study, the plan documents were examined to understand the changes and transformations the city experienced after the Republic period. The changes in the social context and physical fabric of the city, were tried to be evaluated through the plan decisions and strategies. City plans are documents that contain important information and data about the history and memory of the city in terms of archival value. Starting with the proclamation of the new regime, the modernization process in Turkey seen in many urban areas was also observed in Diyarbakir. The planned history of the city has been periodically examined under three periods.

4.1.2.1   First Period 1930s- 19960s

In parallel to preparations for the new regime and modernization in 1920s, Diyarbakir city is very much re-entered the construction process as many cities in Turkey (see Figure 16).
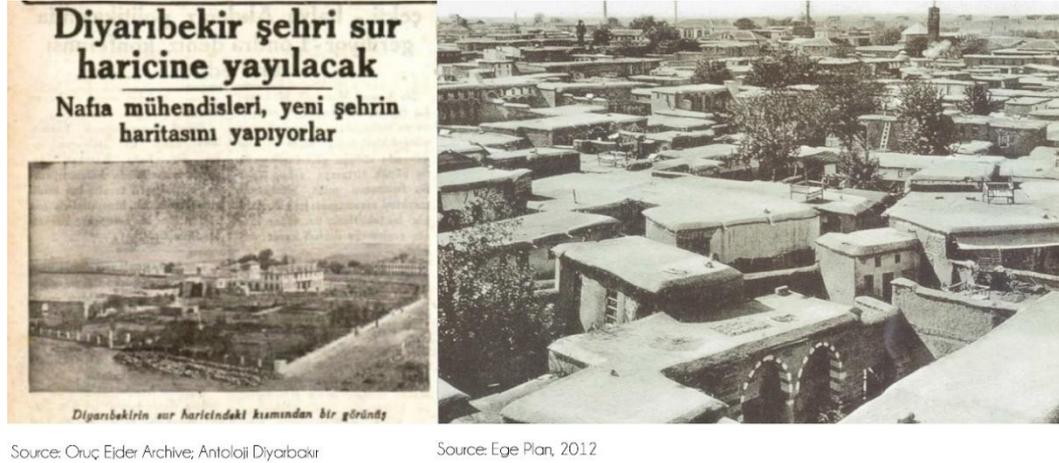
Figure 16 1935 Akşam Newspaper and Traditional Urban Pattern

New planning studies carried out with the western style modernization approach based on urban health and well-being issues. Depending on these developments, new legal regulations were made in the 1930s (see Figure 17). With the development plan made in 1932, the first settlement construction outside the walls (see Figure.17) was started and the city entered the period of planned development. (Kejanlı, 2004, KAİP, 2012, Bekleyen & Dalkılıç, 2011). In the same period, Diyarbakır walls were irreversibly damaged by the government to provide airflow in the city. Some of the signs and zodiac intervals were destroyed (Kejanlı, 2004), the destruction was blocked by the attempts of Albert Gabriel by French Archeologistt Professor, who visited Diyarbakır at that time. German urbanist Hermann Jansen also made some suggestions to meet the needs of the growing population and the transforming city. The basis of these suggestions is that Suriçi is insufficient and the city should be opened to the outside (Arslan, 1999, p.95; Kozanlı, 2004, P.97 cited in KAİP Research Report, 2012).
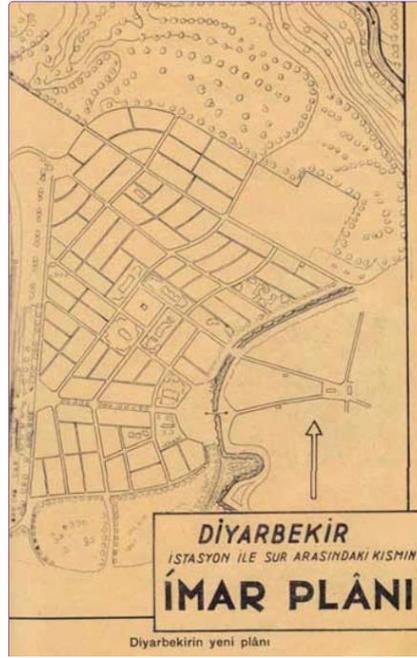
Figure 17 1932 Development Plan to Out of Sur (Neslihan Dalkılıç Archive taken from: Kejanlı &Dinçer, 2011)

As Kejanlı (2004, p.104) stated, after the 1950s (urban macroform between 1945-1950 is shown in Figure 18), population growth and concentration occurred in the central business areas of the city, which are the zoned and planned areas. In 1954 with the permission of the law numbered 6217, construction of multi-story housing units and workplaces approved and this caused the demolition of 1-2-story traditional houses which had been under individual ownership until that date. In these years, the qualitative differentiation of the trade axes on Gazi Street between Dağ Kapı and Balıkçılarbaşı and Melik Ahmed Paşa Street between Balıkçılarbaşı and Urfakapı became evident. While Gazi Street is a more modern and specialized bazaar, Melik Ahmed Pasha Street has remained like a town-type bazaar where retail and wholesale trade takes place, shaped according to the needs of the countryside.
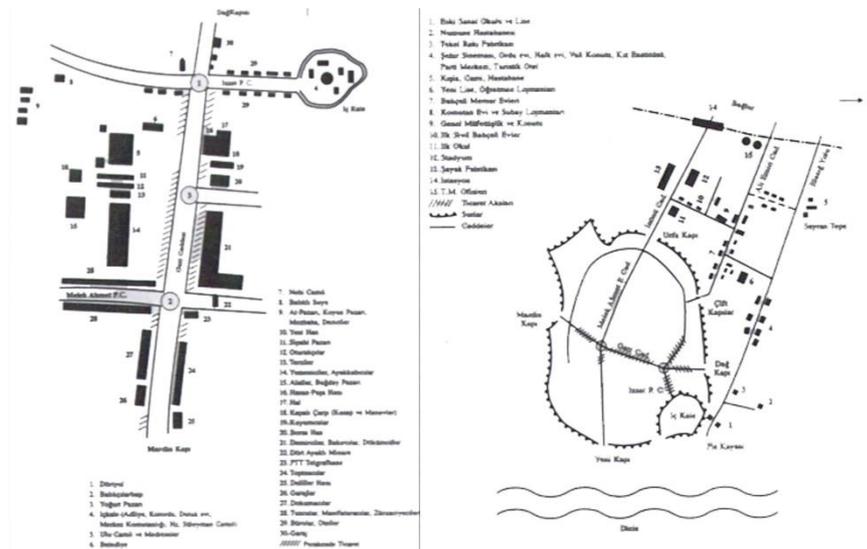
Figure 18 Suriçi City Center and New Town between 1945-1950 (Arslanlı, 1999 taken from KAİP Anaylisis Report, 2012)

A new zoning plan prepared in 1965-1967 did not have a conservation understanding that regulates both the inner and outer walls of the city. The effect of this is the destruction of the historical texture to a great extent. (KAİP, 2012) According to Kejanlı's narration (2004, p.108)

> "The 1970s are the years when urban transportation accelerated and intensified and these effects caused the destruction of the historical texture. In this sense, in the historical core, the expansion of the roads in accordance with the development plan dated 1965, the increase in the number of floors of the buildings around the central business area, the neglect of historical and cultural artifacts, the deliberate destruction by the users whose usage rights are restricted, the destruction of green areas and the inadequate social infrastructures and the process of environmental degradation occurred. "

In the 1930s, the new streets and streets around Dörtyol in Suriçi became new cluster areas for business and commercial activities. Business and commercial activities were predominantly small businesses, and most included traditional craft and trade activities. Parallel to the increase in the population and the growth of the economy, while the activities in the central business and trade area of the city gradually

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increased in the historical city (Suriçi), after the 1950s and 1960s, these activities expanded and spread beyond this core.

In the 1950s, the traditional neighborhood structure of the city has changed. First of all, families with high income tended to move to new housing areas in Yenişehir in accordance with their new lifestyle. It is known that there was a serious decrease in the population of the Jewish, Armenian, Greek, and other minority groups in this period. (Çelik, 2010)).

4.1.2.2   Second Period 1970s-1990s

As stated above, the plan arrangement made in 1965 was insufficient to protect the historical structure of the city and to respond to its changing needs. In this context, important attempts were made to preserve the historical structures in 1970, and 115 artifacts in Diyarbakır Suriçi were registered together with their surroundings (İpek, 2020).

Densification and illegal construction showed itself in the 1980s (see Figure 19 for Land-use Plan). The concentration was realized by the construction of high buildings and also underground bazaars at several points. In the meantime, some streets that previously had residential functions have been turned into a business and commercial areas (KAİP, 2012). While Gazi Caddesi and the Dörtyol area have primary business and commercial functions in Suriçi as the busiest areas, Melik Ahmet Caddesi hosts the second commercial activity. İzzetpaşa Street also includes service activities such as office buildings, hotels, and coffee houses/kiraathane (Kejanlı, 2004, p.115).
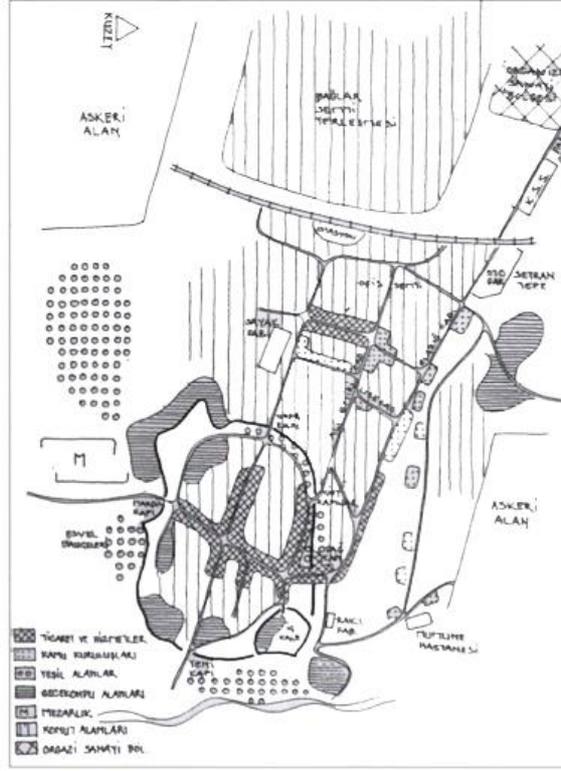
Figure 19 Diyarbakir Land-use Plan (KAİP Analysis Report, 2012)

The 1988 was an important breaking point in terms of the start of urban conservation studies by declaring Suriçi as an urban protected area. In the temporary construction decisions, first of all, decisions were taken to protect the walls and to prevent the increasing unplanned urbanization in Suriçi (KAİP, 2012, İpek, 2020).

In the 1990s, two basic facts shape the spatial development of Suriçi. The first one was immigration and the other one was the urban conservation plan. With this plan, problems and goals of different scales in Suriçi were determined; Accordingly, the urban fabric was divided into sub-parts. The plan was prepared on a 1/1000 scale to solve spatial problems such as the increasing pressure of the commercial fabric in the center on the traditional texture, the transportation problem in the area, the illegal construction based on the walls, the need to clean the environment of the structures that need to be protected (İpek, 2020).

The settlement has long roots from past to present, has been focus of significant commercial development. Trade development is concentrated in the northwestern part of the area where integration with the city is achieved and on the main transportation axes. Residential use continues to dominate the area. However, after intense migrations; there was a significant change in the quality of the buildings, a deterioration in the texture of traditional stone structures in the courtyard in the past, and high-rise building's construction characteristics were realized with plan decisions and illegal development (KAİP, 2012).

4.1.2.3   Third Period 2000s

In the first years of the Republic, the borders of Diyarbakır were today's Suriçi borders. With the development plan implemented in 1932 and the proposal of new residential areas outside the walls, the Suriçi experienced its first population loss in the 1950s. Many sources write that the settlement lost a large part of the Armenian, Jewish, Greek, and Yazidi population in the 1960s (Çelik, 2010). Today, the area has largely lost its multi-ethnic structure, and in the 1990s, due to its social, political, and economic conjuncture, there was a lot of outmigration in the area. The vast majority of the population living in the Suriçi was migrated from the countryside to the city because of the evacuation of villages, unemployment and so on. (Bakan, 2018; Kejanlı, 2004).

The increasing population density in the settlement and the deterioration in the urban texture have revealed the necessity to make a new conservation plan. In the current situation, the commercial use that exists on the main transportation axes such as Gazi Street, Melik Ahmet Street, and İnönü Street, caused the spread and fringing of not only the intersecting streets, but also the streets behind them. Although there has been partial fringing, the main reasons for the revision of the development plan for conservation purposes are the generalization of this fringing with the plan decisions in a way that creates a new texture that is contrary to the texture, moreover, the high-rise construction proposals have been developed despite the narrow street structure.

The regulations regarding trade use, which differ from the traditional structuring features in the area (from the residential housing with courtyards); brought about the construction decisions in adjacent order. Therefore, plan decrees that need to be reconsidered throughout the area and in 2012 Diyarbakır Conservation Development Plan was implemented (KAİP,2012, İpek, 2020). The Diyarbakır Castle and Hevsel Gardens Site Management Plan, approved in 2014, is an important study in terms of providing a comprehensive planning strategy for the walls and its surroundings. The plan in question is a plan to preserve the cultural and natural values of the Hevsel Gardens and Surici, which are included in the UNESCO World Cultural Heritage List. In the study, it was aimed to protect and sustain the social texture by including strategies for the protection of the original and intrinsic values of the Walls, Suriçi, and Hevsel Gardens located on its periphery. Additionally, strategies on immigration, unemployment, and employment at a large scale are implemented (Diyarbakır Castle and Hevsel Gardens Site Management Plan, 2014).

Suriçi has a very unique historical background that inevitably shapes the structure of the city. The strong historical past of the city impacts its heritage value as well. Authenticity value of the settlement dated back to thousands of years ago. Due to its major cultural assets and universal significance, Diyarbakır Walls and Hevsel Gardens were assigned to World Heritage List by UNESCO in 2015. After that period of time city, community, and the city has very traumatic urban experience in the context of conflicts. The district also has very traumatic experience in that period of time which is pointed out further parts of the study.

4.2   The Identity Formation of Suriçi

Theoretical framework states place based memory studies stress that memory has been already place-oriented. It is produced through images and recalled by them. As it was mentioned earlier, to understand the memoryscape of a city, physical settings, function and meaning, which gives the city its identity, should be examined to capture mnemonic codes. Therefore, to dig one step further to open a path towards

memoryscape of Suriçi, natural and human-made tangible elements that shaped the city urban pattern both in physically and socially were examined in detail by reviewing the existing literature.

4.2.1   The City, Texture and Streets:

Suriçi which was under the influence of many different cultures and administrations from the first years of its establishment until it passed under the Ottoman rule and defines the borders of the old Diyarbakır has a structure surrounded by walls. It was demolished and rebuilt over time and obtained its present texture (please see Figure 20) (Parla, 2005, Oguz & Halifeoglu, 2017).
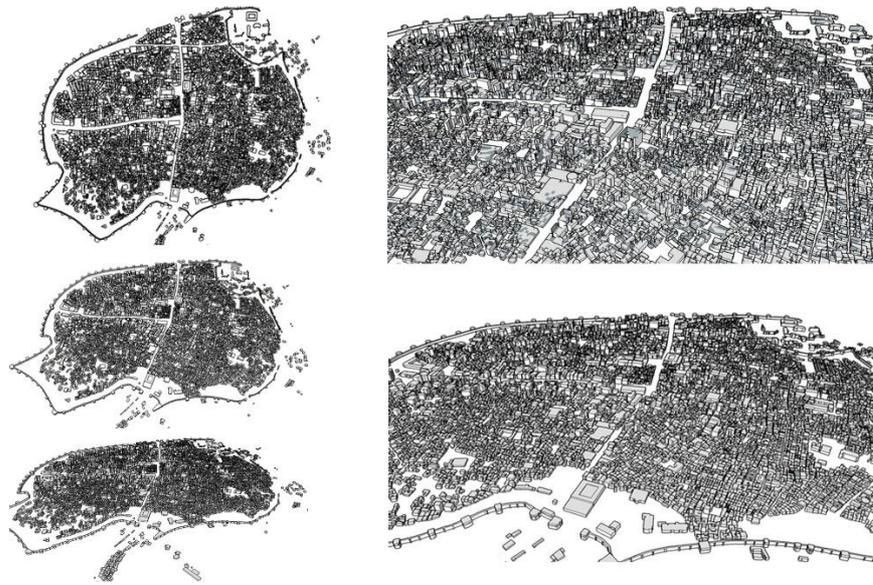
Figure 20 Suriçi Urban Texture before 2015 (3D Model Build by Students of METU MUD, 2017)

The most important factor shaping the spatial fiction of Suriçi, which is built on a flat plateau, is the climate. Melik Ahmet and Gazi Streets are important spines that divide the Suriçi area into four parts (cardo and documents), which shaped its macro-form today. The walls have four main gates opening to four main directions. These were named according to the city they reached. They are Urfa Kapı in the west,

Harput Gate in the north (Dağkapı), Mardin Gate in the south and Yeni Gate in the east (Özyılmaz, 2007). In the study by Orhan Cezmi Tuncer on Diyarbakır Houses published in 1999, he stated that the streets are quite curved, and the settlement pattern consists of narrow streets other than the main spines (Gazi and Melik Ahmet Streets) that show current pre-conflict street pattern of Suriçi). He wrote that the street walls were drawn as accurately as two parcels at the most, and that it had a parcel structure that pulled back and pulled forward, and sometimes crooked. For this reason, he stated that there are no straight extensions of the road. In addition to this, a result of street formation plot size and shape are varied as well (see Figure 21). However, since the wings surrounding the courtyard are perpendicular to each other, the courtyard system has a regular rectangular geometry (Özyılmaz, 2007, Tuncer, 1999).

Figure 21 Traditional Urban Layout of Suriçi

It is possible to say that the street texture, which carries the traces of the Byzantine period, did not suffer much deterioration before the conflicts because it is known that the sewage system was used since the Roman period, otherwise; it would disrupt the system (Tuncer, 1999). These irregular geometries, which constitute the authentic urban and street texture of Suriç, are an important part of daily life.

As mentioned above, its location has a great influence on the physical structure of the city. The development of the settlement in an area surrounded by fortresses can be attributed to security problems. In addition, the hot-dry climate has led to the production of buildings with courtyards that allow adjacent and spatial articulation and the formation of an organic street texture. Access to some houses is via narrower streets connected to the main street (Özyılmaz, 2007). Photographes below shows the present condition of street section in Suriçi district (Figure 22)
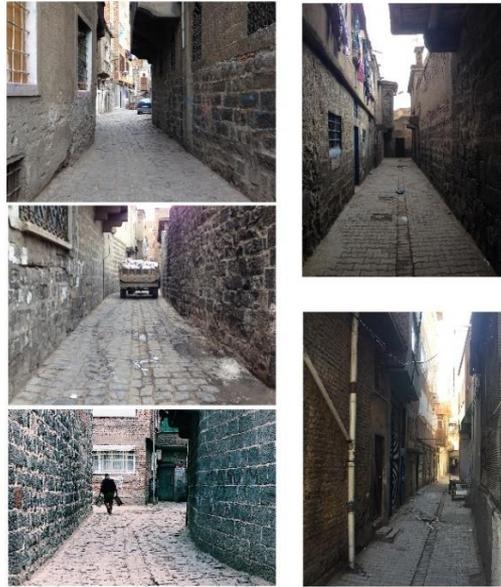
Figure 22 Street Sections from Suriçi (METU MUD, 2017)

4.2.2   Landmarks/Monumental/Registered Structures:

Diyarbakır Suriçi urban texture has traces of several periods carried out different architectural values that shaped by different states and culture. Today, urban texture of Suriçi still shows multicultural and multilayered characteristics carriying the traces of past (Soyukaya,2015, p.7-28). The number of registered buildings that were built in different periods is shown in Table 6.

Type of Monument	Number of Listed Buildings
Diyarbakir City fWalls and Inner Castle	2

Palace	1
Military Structures, Prison and Government Institutions and Schools	10
Hamam/Bath	11
Han	5
Shirine	1
Mosque	40 (32 Building)
Tomb	19
Church	11 (10 Building)
Madrasah	4
Fountain	36
Uncertain Ruins	2
Total	141

Table 6 Number of Registered Monuments of Cultural Heritage Buildings, (Suriçi Field Management Plan, 2014, p. 48)

4.2.3 Housing Characteristics:

Climate, topography, materials, and sociocultural values have effectively shaped the city of Suriçi and its houses. There is a hierarchy from general to specific in the historical city settlement of Suriçi. This hierarchical fiction is formed in squares, streets, courtyards, and houses. The houses are mostly entered with the names such as street gap, entrance gap, passage, and then the courtyard is reached from here (Özyılmaz, 2017). In traditional Diyarbakır houses, in addition to indoor spaces such as the rooms and service units of the house, open areas such as courtyards, stone areas, passages, and iwans are among the critical areas of use (see Figure 23). Housing elements, façade types and construction materials are listed in Appendix D.

Figure 23 Housing Typology of Traditional Diyarbakır House (Öyılmaz & Sahil, 2017; Redrawn by Author)

4.2.4 Identity of Suriçi in Narratives

This chapter aims to explore the elements that constitudes Suriçi's identity. In many parts of the thesis, it has been emphasized that narratives have an effect on process of identity and memory construction. Therefore, apart from technical survey author benefits from two journal that narrates about Suriçi during the time span of Republican Period. The First one is written by Jale Erzen and named as Armut Ağacına Mektuplar (Letters to Pear Tree). In the book published by Akılçelen publishing house in 2017, the author narrates his memories about Suriçi with sketches (see figure 24) of the natural and built environmental elements of the area.

"… The old building around the **Grand Mosque,** the stone workmanship of the **Mesudiye Madrasa** is the product of a very fine taste… The courtyard of the Grand Mosque and all the surrounding walls are **black basalt stone, female stone perforated, male stone hard**. Black stones give the city a harsh atmosphere, among **the dry yellow fields**. **The Tigris** has become thinner, narrowed, and **historic gardens** on both sides are surrounded by **lush green trees**. **The city walls** are wrapped around the city, **slums** approaching to the bottom… The old city in the **inner city** is filled with structures made of **high black walls**, **the courtyards** are entered through **small** and **narrow doors,** sometimes **the pool** but mostly a **huge mulberry tree** completely covers the sky stand in the middle. " (p.205-206)

Figure 24 Drawings of Jale Erzen in Letters to Pear Tree (Erzen, 2017)

The second one is Gavur Mahallesi written by Mıgırdiç Margosyan published by Gomidas Institute London in 2017. Margosyan is an Armanian, whose childhood passed in Suriçi. In his book, he supported his memories and narratives by photographes (see Figure 25).

"...**Tigris river** meanders, snakes, and zigzags its way downstream, as it was for ages, it passes bu Diyarbakır's famous and historical **city walls**, and irrigates a wide valley, before moving on." (p.44)

"…My father took of his jacket and cloth cap…his jacket smelled like sweat. Then he headed for **the well** in **the cortyard**, stopping in front of **the old hand water pump**." (p.54)

"…You could enter the city from four different gates. Those same gates from the folk song that went '**Diyarbakır's four gates,** see the what the lover makes!', the **Mardin Gate, the Mountain Gate, the Urfa Gate** and **the New Gate**. Those who came in through the New Gate had to cross the **Tigris River."** (p.78)

"…the historic **Great Mosque** with its **enormous minarets.** To this day, I've never seen a **mosque** with as many toilets. All of the **nearby workroom** and shop owners, artisians and especially apprentices ran here." (p.84)

Figure 25 Photographes from Gavur Mahallesi (Margosyan, 2017)

The highlighted words from the quotations are the natural and built environment elements that give the district its identity, which is already discussed and listed in this chapter. The memories about the site composed of identity components of Suriçi from landscape to wells in the courtyards. Furthermore, it has been observed that

some buildings that comes fort its functional aspect, which is located around some historical buildings, are also included in the memories.

4.3 Distortion on Urban Fabric and Conflict

As stated above, the physical and social fabric of the Suriçi district started to move outside of the walls to new development areas in the 1950s. In the 1960s, residences of different ethnic origins also began to leave the area. Even though development plans have been prepared to protect tissue since the 1970s, these plans were insufficient to conserve the site completely in terms of scope. Only some monumental structures that has historic significant are conserved through plan. The traditional texture is consisting of one or two storey basalt stone or mud brick houses, which has been replaced by multi-storey apartments in the 1980s in exchange for condominium ownership (Eyyüpoğlu, 2018, Türk, 2019, İpek, 2020, Taşdelen, 2020). The most obvious deterioration in Suriçi urban texture was at this date. During this period, many traditional Diyarbakır Houses were demolished. Apart from this, the current situation analysis reports of development and conservation plans do not limit the deterioration in traditional tissue with this. Likewise, interventions such as smaller scale (painting, etc.) on historical buildings also caused major deterioration (see Figure 26).

Figure 26 Distortion on Physical Structue of Houses. (METU MUD, 2017)

Diyarbakır City Walls was in the UNESCO World Temporary Cultural Heritage List in 2002. After that, it was registered in the UNESCO World Cultural Heritage List

with the name "Diyarbakır City Walls and Hevsel Gardens Cultural Landscape" on July 4, 2015. Nevertheless, the buildings in Suriçi are not in this list. The district was declared as an Urban Protected Area with the conservation development plan in 1988. But this plan, as it is stated, is not sufficient to protect the area. The most comprehensive Conservation Development Plan was prepared in 2012 for the Suriçi district. However, as of 2015, Suriçi has undergone a heavy conflict, and its urban fabric has been severely damaged. Against the declaration of self-government in Suriçi, in 2015, governor of Against the declaration of self-government in Suriçi, in 2015, the governor of Diyarbakır periodically ordered a curfew between September and December. The curfew was abolished in March 2016 when the conflict ended. The entire population of Cevatpaşa, Fatihpaşa, Dabanoğlu, Hasırlı, Cemal Yılmaz and Savaş Neighborhoods in Suriçi, where severe conflicts took place and the prohibition was declared, was evacuated. All entrances to the site where the demolition exists blockaded by police forces for a long time, except for construction machines. In the report conducted by UCTEA (2017), it was stated that 706 workplaces and houses were damaged. Even though 693 building stocks could be restored by simple interventions, they were all demolished. The coordination board also stands 13 buildings that should be examined in detail. After the clashes, many registered cultural heritage elements were also severely damaged. Kurşunlu Mosque, Hacı Hamit Mosque, Paşa Hamam, Mehmet Uzun House, Armenian Catholic Church, Four-Legged Minaret are the registered buildings, which were subjected to destructive effects of conflicts. Under the pressure of conflicts, the city became a place of destruction, displacement, and reconstruction. Suriçi was heavily damaged during the operations lasting 103 days in total. While carrying out necessary policies by institutions that could protect Suriçi, The Council of Ministry declared the urgent expropriation on some of the parcels in the site on March 21, 2016. UCTEA Diyarbakır Provincial Coordination Board announced a report stated that satellite images dated May 10, 2016, shows 13% of the region was demolished after the end of conflicts, however, after that date, it has been known 72% of the Suriçi region was demolished in total. It is also stated that the districts lost one third of its population

after conflicts. As of 2016, a rapid expropriation decision covering almost the entire Suriçi region was declared. The majority of the population was evacuated and removed from their dwellings. From this point on, the demolition of a huge part of the settlement began with the closure of access to Suriçi.   Through the implemented plan decisions, security- and defense-oriented decisions have been taken (see Figure 27). Moreover, it proposes the transformation of the city's infrastructure and superstructure to a great extent, which also paves the way for the demolition of many buildings.
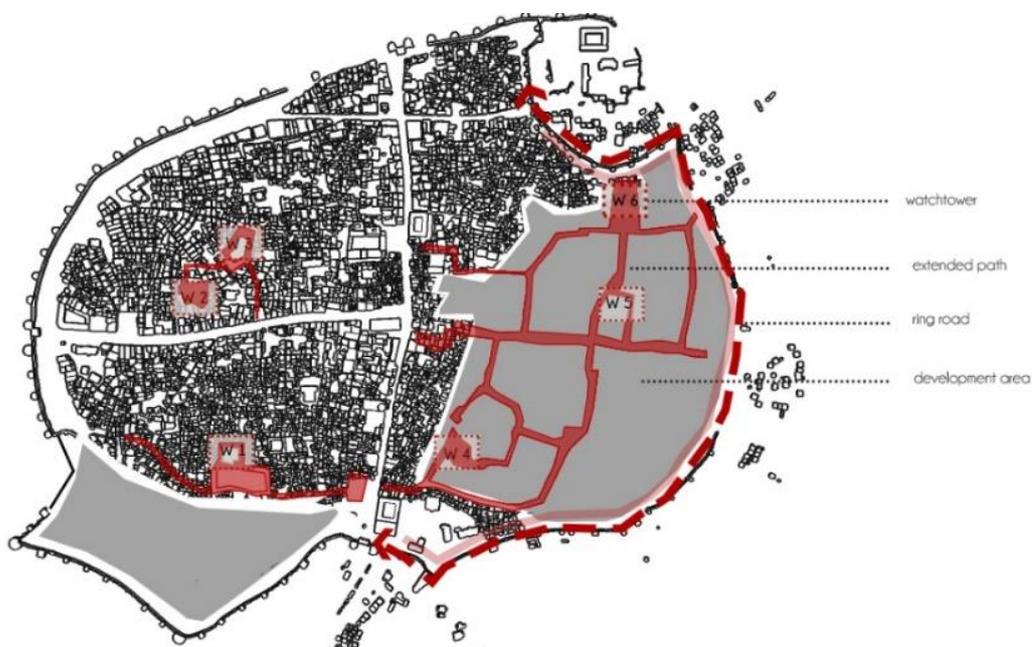
Figure 27 Proposed Plan and Texture of Suriçi after Conflicts

Moreover, it proposes the transformation of the city's infrastructure and superstructure in a great extent, which also pave the way for the demolition of many buildings. Along with the six neighborhoods that is currently invisible because of massive destruction, the original street texture of the Suriçi has largely disappeared. While the deterioration in registered buildings can be renewed with restoration works, the deterioration in the tissue or urban layout is very serious. (see Figure 28).
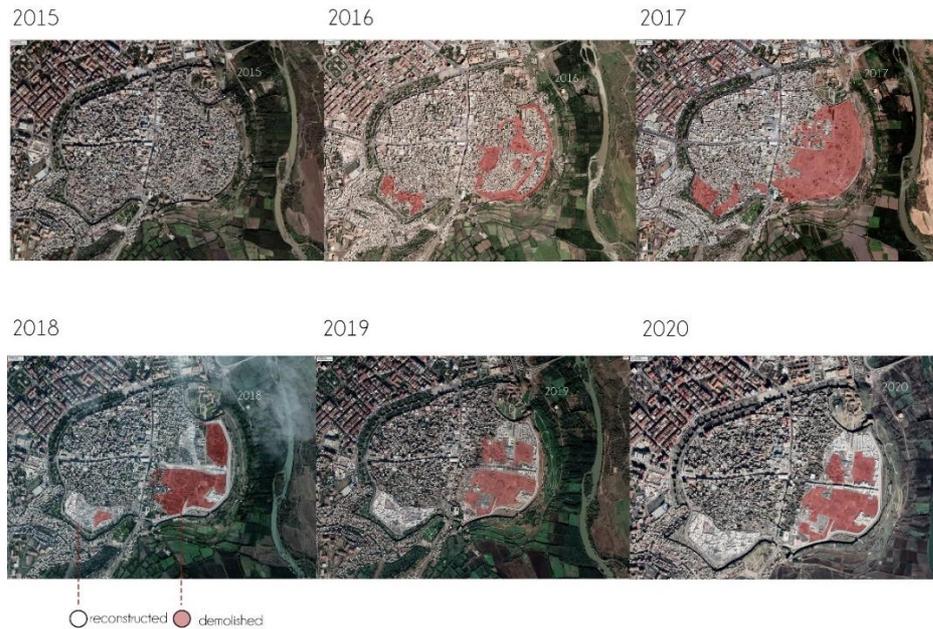
Figure 28 Gradual Changes on Macro-Spatial Formation of Suriçi after Conflicts (images taken from Google Earth Pro colored by author)

4.3.1 Post-Conflict Situation

While the demolition process continues, the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization took a revision decision in December 2016 on the Urban Conservation Plan (Figure 29) Prepared in 2012. 'Security' stands out as the main reason for revision of the plan. In this context, interventions such as the construction of six police stations/ watchtowers in and road widening implementations are proposed in revision plan (UCTEA, 2017) (see Figure 29). A ring road that will connect the watchtowers is also among the implementation decisions. Aforementioned plan brings about the demolition of fifty-nine registered buildings, which is already damaged by the conflict. The decisions taken with the new plan disrupt the traditional spatial pattern of Suriçi district as well.

Suriçi Conservation Plan in 2012   Parcels that urgent expropriation decision has been taken in 2016   Post-Conflict Plan Revision in 2016
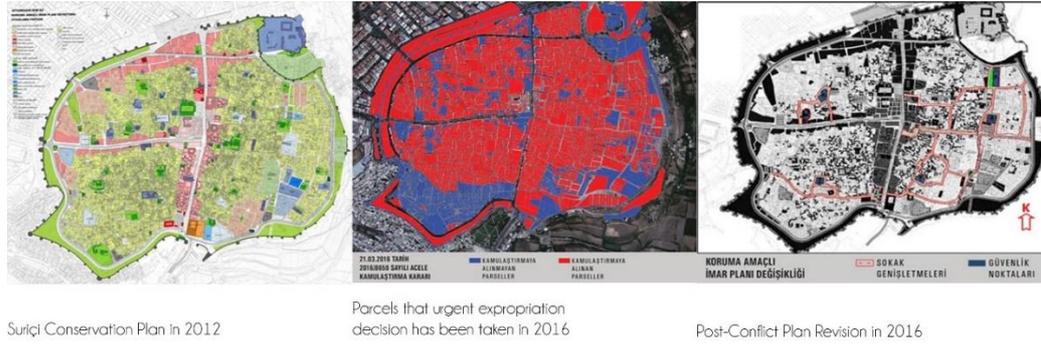
Figure 29 Implemented Plans in Suriçi Before and After Conflicts (Mimarlık Dergisi, 2017)

UCTEA Chamber of Architects Diyarbakır Branch published a report in 2017 on this issue. According to the report:

• Features of the traditional urban setting that are stated in the Conservation Plan (2012) are not preserved. Especially, original street texture and courtyard structure has deteriorated in great extent.

• Dead-end streets, which are one of the main characteristics of Suriçi's narrow streets, are not protected and the street texture is produced incompatible with the traditional texture.

• As the courtyard structures are not preserved, the elements in the courtyard such as stairs, pool, tree, floor covering or wall structure are incompatible with the traditional texture or are not included in plans at all. In addition to this, the courtyard boundaries have changed drastically and in many places, the boundary of the courtyars became smaller (Figure 30). .

• In traditional urban setting, there is a bay window in each parcel, in newly constructed area, on the other hand, more than one bay windows were used in one plot. Likewise, the windows in the traditional structure are placed only on the right and left wings of bay window, however; in newly developed area there are windows in each façade of the bay window (Figure 30).

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• Instead of basalt stone, which is the most obvious original material of the traditional of Diyarbakır Houses, basalt coating is applied to the facades.

• The pattern of property ownership and plot settings has been deteriorated in a great extent.

Figure 30 Renders and Photographes from Post-Conflict Implemantation

Some neighborhoods in Suriçi were evacuated with curfews, which became uninterrupted as of December 2, 2015. The residents of the neighborhoods that were not allowed to access settlement after the operations and conflicts announced to end in March 2016 couldn't return to their homes, and businesses in settlements due to demolition process. Access to the demolished area has been still restricted and under control (UCTEA, 2019). Apart from the designated streets of the six neighborhoods that are still banned, the demolition of the streets of Ali Paşa and Lale Bey neighborhoods, which were partially destroyed in 2012, resumed on 22 May 2017. It was stated in Samer's report (2017) that the residents were forced to evacuate their neighborhoods and warned with the announcements and notice text. This situation has brought about the processes of displacement and expropriation, and the Suriçi district lost its population to an extended manner. (Samer, 2017)

4.4   Concluding Remarks:

Theoretical framework of this study denotes that memory studies are human needs to explore the past. Therefore, to put mnemonic codes, it is necessary to work on history of the city. This chapter mainly aims to draw historical frame to understand which processes constitute identity of Suriçi. Within the limits of the studies it is tried to introduce case study area and its development stages.

Diyarbakır, Suriçi is a walled settlement with its very unique urban pattern, which host tens of civilization. City fabric carries tarces of many historical strata. Additionally, macro-spatial formation of the city inevitably affected from its natural landscape. Its natural boundaries like Tigris, Karacadağ, defined the city borders. It would not be wrong to claim that natural and built environment identify the habits of residents from different scales. These also have impacts on spatial formation of the city from architectural characteristics to macro-spatial formation.

This chapter shows that both the city and the community have been changed over time. Even, in different historical period of time the city has faced some challenging situations, it still conserve some of its tangible and intangible values which is inherited from past. It is authentic urban pattern of Suriçi is admired by universal authorities like UNESCO. In recent, Suriçi district has very traumatic urban experience due to conflicts that occurred in 2015. As a result of conflicts, huge part of the district was demolished. Currently, a re-construction process carried out by central authority. Hence, chapter IV is structured to present pre-conflict identity of the site. It promotes a basis to define mnemonic elements of Suriçi.

Chapter II states that urban environment or a specific place has been remembered through identity components. These components defined as physical settings, function and meaning (Relph, 1976). The travelers diaries and the journal named Letters to Pear Tree and Gavur Mahallesi support this very claim from theory survey. In this chapter it is tried to specify formation of the identity components of Suriçi district that is inevitably changed in time. As it is emphasized in theoretical

framework to understand the current identity structure of Suriçi, it is necessary to read past of the city. Case study has revealed that the identity of Suriçi includes natural and urban landscape elements in different scales and form. Street texture, traditional houses, monumental structures and topography, which form the macro and micro spatial formation, are important factors that contributes the identity of Suriçi.

In this context, in the following parts of the thesis, it will be examined that whether these components are expressed or not as mnemonic elements by local people of Diyarbakır and to what extent these elements are included in their memories. The following chapter involves results of interviews that are conducted with local people of Diyarbakır. Thus, the backbone of the chapter consists of the results obtained from site research sections that cover semi-structured interviews.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

5.1   Identity of Diyarbakır, Suriçi

To answer the first inquiry of the study, which is given below, it is necessary to define identity components of place.

> *"What were/are the mnemonic spatial codes that enhance urban and social memories of the Suriçi in Diyarbakır's local people point of view, who still have connection with district?"*

When it is asked to how local people identify their surroundings, and how they recalled them through memories, participants mention both natural and built environment elements. How participants define their surroundings in terms physical settings, function and meaning is given as follows:

- **Physical Settings:** Physical Settings defined through by participants as natural and built environments elements. Natural elements are grouped by author based on information grasped through interviews as trees in courtyard, natural landscape, water and cemeteries. Built Environment, on the other hand, is grouped under four subtitles: street pattern and inventory, housing characteristics, landmarks/monumental buildings and modern mnemonic structures, which were stated by the participants.

- **Function:** Functional aspects of physical setting defined by respondents as: Land-use pattern (commercial activities, economic activities, agricultural field etc.), people movement (events, purposes, daily walking), touristic

activities, recreational activities, administrative function, outdoor activities (weekly or daily picnics), infrastructure/sewage (e.g. Haramsu), shading, border and vista/view point.

- **Meaning:** Meaning attributed to place by participants are: cultural and symbolic Meaning (when they described the place or land by referencing its cultural and spiritual significance that comes from religious activities, rituals or genius loci, e.g. *Hevsel is sprit of Suriçi*), places for relax *(e.g. I still visit the courtyard that I lived, voices of bird on the trees always gives me the peace)*, places for study (when referring its educational function, e.g. *when I was a child, we went with school in Traffic Park to be reached about Traffic rules),* places for kids (when responders refer function of playground or park), places for commemoration/rituals (when participants mean a commemoration activity, *e.g. In recent I remember Sheikh Matar Mosque as a place where used to commemorate Tahir Elçi*), places to work (when participants refers work place *e.g. 'when I went to high school, I worked as a journeyman in a pharmacy there in Eczacılar Street' or 'my brother's jeweler store is on Gazi Street'*), places for shopping *(e.g. When I was a child, we went Japanese Passage with my family to buy shoes for me)*

Based on this first step of identity analysis of Suriçi the following section describes mnemonic elements of the districts in detail with regard to defined components of identity, that are addressed by respondents above.

5.1.1 Mnemonic Codes of Suriçi for Local People of Diyarbakır

It was observed that the built and natural environment elements were prominently included in the participants' memories of Suriçi district of Diyarbakır. Mnemonic elements mentioned by the participants within the scope of the study are as follows:

5.1.1.1 Natural Elements

All of the participants mentioned the borders of Suriçi extents outside of the City Walls. The traces of walls are not marked as a border of districts. All participants mentioned Hevsel Gardens, Fiskaya Slope, Fiskaya Waterfall (see Figure 32.), Kırklardağı and Tigris River as important elements that constitute the landscape character of Suriçi District. These areas are defined as areas for leisure time activities (like weekly organized picnics (see Figure 31) and agricultural activities for those who were born in Suriçi. Hevsel Garden is remembered through agricultural activities that took place in Hevsel, as well as its natural landscape elements.

a picnic at tigris in 1950s · a picnic at gazi mansion in 1930s · fiskaya waterfall in 1900s

Figure 31 Places for Outdoor Activities in Diyarbakır (Oruç Ejder Archive retrieved from diyarbakirhafizasi.org, 2020)

> *"We had very huge poplar trees. These tres defined the border of each parcel. What my father told me about Hevsel is that there were amazing peach trees. Peaches were sent to Bursa from here"*

> *"Everyone knows that Diyarbakır is famous for its watermelon. However, production of lettuce is also very common and famous in here. There are always lettuce fields in this area in Hevsel."*

Apart from that, the responders described cemeteries as an essential natural mnemonic element that carries the memory of the area.

> *"Going to the cemetery was both painful and joyful for us. The old cemetery is where I met my Aunt Feride and where I met Tigris".*

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Plane, mulberry, and fig trees in the courtyards are another natural reminders. Apart from this, although it is stated that the number of parks in Suriçi is quite limited, Anzela Park and Traffic Park, which were close to the City Walls or surrounding it, are memory places that contain natural elements. Even though, the mentioned places are remembered as a recreation and playground area, Traffic Park (see Figure 32) is also recognized because of it educational function for children those who was living in Suriçi.

Finally, all participants put water into words as an important mnemonic element. The wells in courtyards, the Balıklıgöl and Haramsu in neighborhood-scale, and lastly Tigris River and Fiskaya Waterfall in landscape scale (see Figure 32) are important wetlands that give the area its identity (see Table 7).

Physical Settings/Natural Elements	Function	Meaning
Trees in Courtyard - Fig - Mulberry - Plane	Recreational Activities Shading	Places for Relax Cultural and Symbolic Meaning (Genius Loci)
Urban Landscape: - Trafik Park - Anzela Park	Educational Activities Recreational Activities Playground	Places for Relax Place for Study Places for Kids
Natural Landscape: - Hevsel Garden Lettuce Field Peach Trees Poplar Trees - Karacadağ - Kırklardağı - Fiskaya Plum Tree	Recreational Activities Economic Activities Agricultural Field Vista/View Point Venue for Outdoor Activities Daily Life Activities	Places for Relax Cultural and Symbolic Meaning Places to Work

• Basalt Plateau		
Water • Fiskaya Waterfall • Tigris River • Wells in Courtyard • Haramsu • Balıklıgöl	Recreational Activities Vista/View Point Venue for Outdoor Activities Infrastructure/Sewage	Places for Relax Cultural and Symbolic Meaning
Cemeteries • Armenian Cemetery • Mardin Gate Cemetery • Old Cemetery	Recreational Function Vista/View Point	Places for Commemoration/Rituals Cultural and Symbolic Meaning

Table 7 Natural Elements Mentioned by Interviewers

The map (Figure 32) below shows each mentioned mnemonic natural elements that are pointed by participants. Trees in courtyards, urban landscape, natural landscape, water and cemeteries are essential mnemonic natural elements, that took place in responders' mind.

Figure 32 Mnemonic Codes from Natural Elements Denoted by Participants

5.1.2 Street Pattern and Inventory and Housing Characteristics

The field study clearly states that, climatic and geographical conditions have affected many factors in the district, from macro and micro formation of the settlement to eating habits. The eating habits of the region are varying from season to season. Due to the hot climate conditions of Diyarbakır, the participants as frequently preferred inner-connection roads to reach the primary roads due to the bay windows and walls shading described narrow street structures. Diyarbakır's Kuçes (narrow streets are defined as Kuçe in every-day language of Suriçi residents) are an essential part of daily life (see Figure 33).

Figure 33 Street Life in Suriçi (Source: METU, MUD, 2017)

While it is a playground for children, they are socializing areas, which are seen as part of the home by adults. In addition, dead-end streets (Kuçe Dead Ends-Kuçe Çıkmaz) are a critical reminder element (see Table 8).

"We lived in a house with a small courtyard in Kuçe Dead End."

"Since our streets were paved with square basalt stones, we always played hopscotch (çizgi, sek sek); I remember I was playing hopscotch for hours and forgot to go home "

"The street was our second home. Every woman living in Suriçi would clean the street before cleaning her house

".

Physical Settings/Built Environment	Function	Meaning
Street Pattern and Inventory: • **Main spines:** Gazi and Melik Ahmet Streets (see Figure 34) Balıkçılar Bazaar (see Figure 34) Peynirciler Bazaar	Main Commercial Spines Economic Activities Main Nodes on Spine Traditional Commercial Activities Daily Life Activities Stores	Places to Work Places for Shopping Cultural Meaning
• **Inner roads:** Demirciler Street Bakırcılar Street Eczacılar Street Touristic Street Yogurt Bazaar Dead End Streets Narrow Streets	People Movement/Daily Circulation Every Day Life Activities Places for Gathering Playground	Place for Meeting Places for Socializing Places for Work
• **Wells** Kastal (refers street well in daily language)	Water Source	Place for Meeting Water Supply
• **Tandoors**	Bread Making	Places for Socializing Food Supply
• **Stones**	Waiting Point	Places to Sit
• **Kabaltı**	People Movement/Daily Circulation Guidance	

• **Square Shaped Basalt Pavement**	Furniture/Laying Playground	Places for Socializing Places for Kids

Table 8 Street Pattern and Inventory Mentioned by Interviewers

Likewise, most responders stated that traditional houses consist of summer and winter sections due to the region's prevailing climatic conditions. Therefore, they are positioned to face north and south. Streets are defined as places where many collective activities took place. The parts of traditional houses (see Table 9), such as roofs and courtyards, which are open for collective usage, are essential places for collective production processes (see Figure 35.) and socialization (making winter supplies, wheat pulling, rolling dough, bread making in tandoor etc.).

> *"Music culture is also so advanced in Suriçi. Families would gathered in the courtyards and organized Eyvan or Velime nights. Everything was done in collaboration."* (please see Figure 34)

Physical Settings/Built Environment	Function	Meaning

Housing Characteristics:
 	
Traditional Houses with Basalt Stones:
• Courtyards
• Doors
  Wooden Doors
  Huge Knob
• Fence
  Square Shaped Iron
  Cage for Windows
• Pools/Pump/Well
• Eyvans
• Taşlık (Stony)
• Storeroom/Cistern
• Roof-top (Dam)
	Daily Activities
	In-Out Interaction
	Social Interaction
	People Movement/In-Out Circulation or Interaction
		Places for Relax
		Places for Socializing
		Places for Sharing/Interacting
		Places of Production
		Places of Other Collective Activities
		Cultural and Symbolic Meaning

Soil Roof-Top Eaves of Roof-Top • Stairs • Ornaments Star Sun		
Traditional Adobe House: • Soil Roof-top • Boxy Room • Shared Bath	Daily Activities Labor Production	Places for Relax Places for Sharing/Interacting
Materials • Basalt Stones Female/Male Basalt Stones • Soil • Iron Handcraft	Used Materials Ornaments Protection	Cultural and Symbolic Meaning

Table 9 Housing Characteristics Mentioned by Interviewers

Some important nodes and streets mentioned by the participants are represented through map below. Street inventory is that are denoted by them also illustrated on the map. Additionally, housing that is marked by participants are shown in Figure 34.
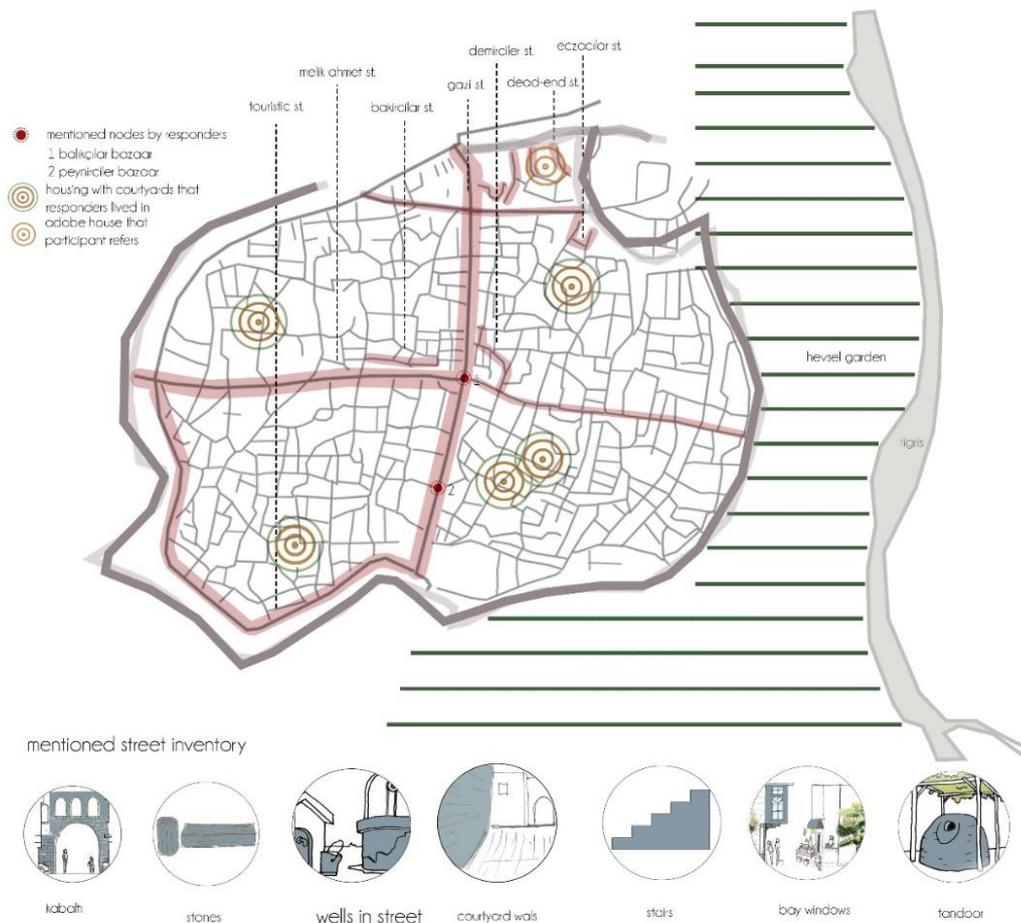
Figure 34 Mnemonic Codes from Street Pattern, Nodes and Inventory of Street and Housing that Participant Lived Before

Although memory is an individual act, it also has some social frameworks, as it is discussed in Chapter II. Halbwachs (1952) stated, memory is meaningful as long as it is shared with a group in a particular place at a specific time. Only in this way, memory is acquired, preserved, and recalled with external factors (memorial images, stories, space, etc.). In this context, the streets and courtyards are prominently included in the participants' memories as important mnemonic elements since they are places of various collective actions.

Figure 35 Scenes from Roof-top and Courtyard (Retrieved from: diyarbakirhafizasi.org, 2020)

5.1.3   Landmarks/Monumental Buildings:

Generally, these structures emerge as important mnemonic elements that reflect Suriçi's identity due to their historical value and symbolic meanings (see Table 10),. However, it was observed that the participants did not mention the details of architectural feature of the buildings, such as symbols on walls, window type or doors. When it asked to how they define the buildings? How they remember them?, respondents only mentioned the trees in the courtyards or building material which is basalt stone. These structures are mostly remembered for their functional aspects, which is another dimension of place identity.

> *"The Courthouse made of Black Basalt was located in the Inner Castle, close to the Hz. Suleyman."*

Walls surrounding the city are denoted as an important element of the identity of the settlement. The City Walls were not seen as a border either by most of the participants. It is defined as an interface that provides the connection to the Hevsel Gardens and the new city. Additionally, they also offer a view terrace or vista point

.

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Physical Settings/Built Environment	Function	Meaning
Landmarks/Monumental Buildings: • **Churches** Surp Giragos Church St. Mary Church Disused Church in Inner Castle (St. George)	Religious Activities Touristic Activities	Cultural or Symbolic Meaning Places for Commemoration/Rituals
• **Mosques** Sheikh Matar Mosque Melik Ahmet Mosque Grand Mosque	Religious Activities Touristic Activities	Places for Commemoration/Rituals Cultural and Symbolic Meaning
• **Hans** Sülüklü Han Hasan Paşa Han Delilller Han	Touristic Activities Commercial Activities	Places to Work
• **Caravansary**	Touristic Activities Commercial Activities	Places to Work
• **Bathhouse** Küçük Bathouse Mirza Bathouse Çardaklı Bathouse	Every Day Life Activities Touristic Activities	Places for Hygiene Cultural and Symbolic Meaning
• **Shrine/Tomb** Hz. Süleyman Sarı Saltuk	Religious Activities	Places for Commemoration/Rituals Cultural and Symbolic Meaning
• **Other registered buildings** Cumhuriyet Primary School Süleyman Nazmi Primary School	Administrative Function Educational Activities Public Buildings/Public Activities Touristic Activities	Places to Work Places to Study Places to Visit Cultural and Symbolic Meaning

Ziya Gökalp Primary School Ali Paşa Primary School Gazi Köşkü House of Mehmet Uzun House Of Cahit Sıtkı Trancı House of Ahmet Arif Cevat Paşa Mansion İslender Paşa Mansion Sur Municipality Küpeli Pool Dıngıllava Pool		
• **Gates** Urfa, Mardin, Dağkapı and Yeni Gate Tek Gate Çift Gate Saray Gate	City Entrance	Entrance In-Out Interaction
• **City Wall** Keçi Tower	Border Vista/View Point People Movement/Circulation	In-Out Interaction Cultural and Symbolic Meaning
• **Inner Castle** Old Prison Provincial Hall Old Courthouse Gendermate Station	Touristic Activities Public Activities Administrative Center	Administration Place Places for Interacting

Table 10 Landmarks/Monumental Buildings Mentioned by Interviewers

Besides, Cevat Pasha Mansion, Iskender Pasha Mansion, House of Mehmet Uzun, Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı and Ahmed Arif also mentioned by participants when describing traditional elements of the settlements and housing typologies.

Beside this, author draws a series of steches (Figure 36) from satellite images to show memory-building processes of narrow streets and monumental buildings as participants, who were born in Suriçi mostly refers huge doors in their narrow streets, basalt pavements and ornaments on walls. The choosen route, therefore; includes the walls surrounded Surp Giragos Church (image 1-2), huge gate of the church with some symbols on it (image 3) and finally reached the Sheikh Matar Mosque (image 4).
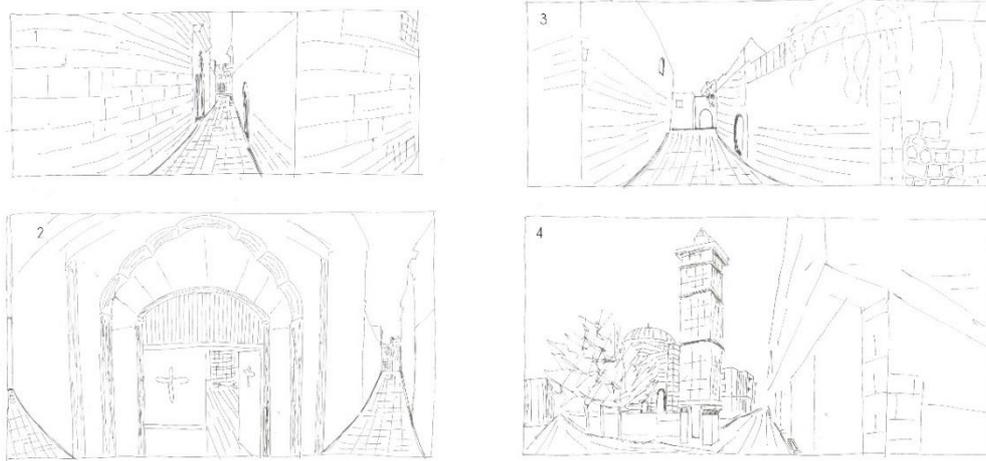
Figure 36 Personal Sketches from Surp Giragos Church to Sheikh Matar Mosque

5.1.4 Modern Mnemonic Structures

While the participants shared their memories of childhood and early youth, they defined some modern period buildings that form Suriçi's identity and reflect its memory. Structures such as Dilan Cinema (see Figure 37), Yenişehir Cinema, Japon Passage, Yanık Çarşı (Çarşiya Şewiti), Grand Post Office, Aydın Büfe and Gökdelen

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(The Skyscraper/Officers' Club) are the recent past memory places mentioned by the participants, which are shown in Table 11.

> *"Gökdelen was the tallest building ever built in Diyarbakır in our time. It is a nine or ten-story building. Later on, higher structures were built of course we called hem as the skyscraper. Today, it is used for officers' club."*

Physical Settings/Built Environment	Function	Meaning
Modern Mnemonic Structures: • Dilan Cinema • Yenişehir Cinema • Yanık Bazaar (Çarşiya Şewiti) • Japanese Passage • Grand Post Office • Gökdelen (Officers' Club) • Aydın Büfe	Every Day Life Activities/ Social Activities Commercial Activities	Places for Entertainment Places for Shopping Public Usage

Table 11 Modern Mnemonic Structures Mentioned by Interviewers

Some of these buildings still exist but some of them don't exist. Therefore, the map prepared below (see Figure 38) include both visible and invisible building that constitute Suriçi' memoryscape.

Figure 37 Dilan Cinema in 1950s (Antoloji Diyarbakır, 2020)

Legend for map markers:
- invisible buildings
- noden buildings
- city walls
- shrine/tomb
- mosque
- bathouse
- churches
- caravansay
- hans
- inner castle
- other registered buildings
- gates

Map labels: dağ gate, tek gate, çift gate, urfa gate, mardin gate, saray gate, yeni gate, hevsel garden, Tigris

● existed landmarks/monumental buildings

1 Ali Paşa Primary School	16 Melik Ahmet Mosque	31 Dinglava Pool
2 St. Mary Church	17 Son Saltug Tomb	32 Dilan Cinema
3 Baker Thomas	18 Grand Post Office	33 City Walls
4 Cemil Paşa Mansion	19 Sur Municipality	34 Gökdelen (Officers' Club)
5 Deliller Han	20 İskender Paşa Mansion	35 Kadı Bath
6 Caravansary	21 Grand Mosque	36 Aydın Büfe
7 Mardin Kapı Police Station	22 House of Ahmet Arif	● not existing mnemonic buildings
8 Keçi Tower	23 House of Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı	a House of Mehmet Uzun (unknown cur-
9 Gazi Mansion	24 Hasan Paşa	rent situation of it)
10 Şeyh Mutahhar Camii	25 Inner Castle and Archeological Museum	b Cumhuriyet Primary School
11 St. Giragos Armenian Church	26 Old Courthouse	c Slaughter House
12 Süleyman Nazif Primary School	27 Jandarma Station	d Tannery
13 Suluklu Han	28 Provincial Hall	e Yeni Şehir Cinema
14 Hasan Paşa Han	29 Hz Süleyman Mosque	f Küçük Bath
15 Yanık Çarş–Çarşiya Şewitli	30 Küpeli Pool	g Mirza Bath

Figure 38 Mnemonic Buildings Marked by Responders

5.1.5 Other Mnemonic Elements that Constitute Memoryscape of Suriçi

All natural and built environment elements that creates Suriçi's identity is overlapped as it is shown in Figure 39 The elements picked up local participants memories (too see each mental map[1] drawn by participants please see Appendix C).

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[1] Although the maps of the 1st and 3rd participants appear visually weak, the narratives offer very comprehensive content within the context of their references to spatial elements. Likewise, although the map of participant 10 seems rich in terms of spatial references, there is no visual saturation in terms of narratives. The maps

Hence, three maps, which are already represented above are overlapped. This map, in other words, is memoryscape of Suriçi.
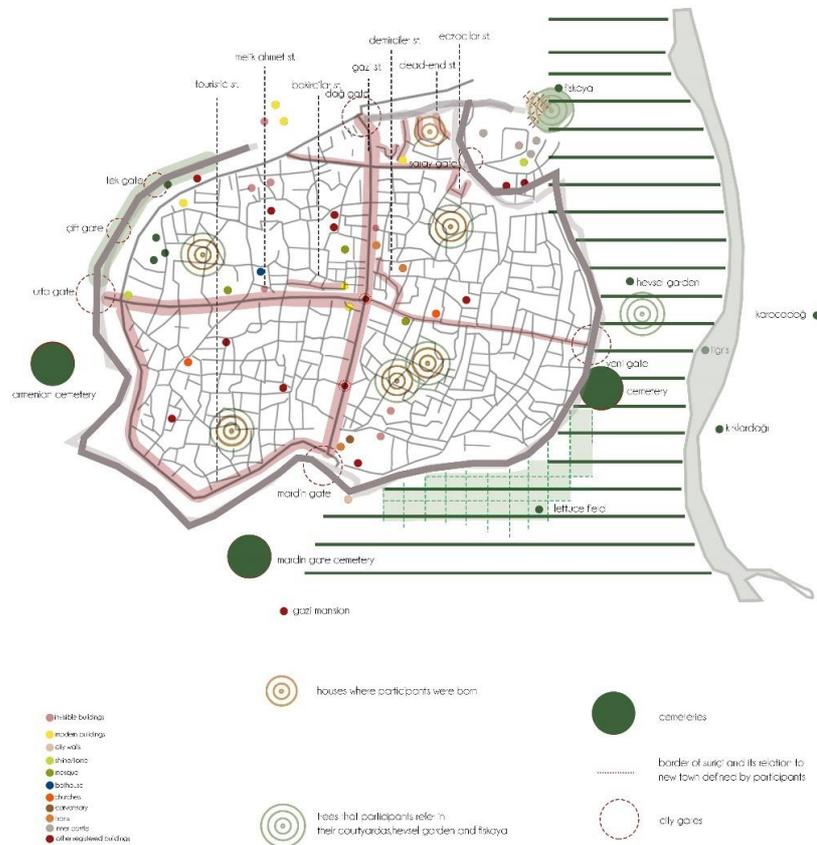
Figure 39 Overlapped Mnemonic Natural and Built Environment Elements Marked by Participants

Beside this, Tuan (1977) understanding of places and place experience associated with five senses that affects on previewed environments as it is explained in Chapter II. For this reason, participants are asked to describe what could be smell or sound of the Suriçi that remind them their past? Results show that besides visible elements,

created in this context were redrawn by the author to reflect the data obtained from the interviews in the most accurate way.

there are also invisible mnemonic elements that trigger the respondents' memories of place. The results is shown in Table 12.

Elements	Description by participants
Baker Thomas	**"You couldn't smell the rising smell of bread and black cumin from this oven anywhere else."**
Tandoor	"When I was a child, my mother opened the dough and took it to collective tandoor in Ali Pasha. I can't forget the smell of those breads"
Tannery and Slaughterhouse (Tabakhane/Mezbaa)	"The skins cut in the Slaughterhouse were brought to the Tannery and processed. I still remember the bad smell; the most traumatic smell of my childhood."
Peynirciler Çarşısı	"After the conflict, the smell of moldy cheese spread all over the bazaar. This is my recent smell of Suriçi. It reminds me of conflicts. "
Rosary Street	"The Rosary Sounds rising from the back of the Grand Mosque and the smell of amber make me feel like Here, it is the Suriçi. "
Demirciler Bazaar and Bakırcılar Bazaar	"Some streets in Suriçi have their sounds. For example, behind the Sheikh Matar Mosque, you can hear the sound of the blacksmiths."

Table 12 Memoryscape Analysis of Suriçi through Smells and Sounds of Districts

5.2   The Effects of Place of Birth in Locals' Memories of Suriçi

Participants who were born in in Suriçi described the elements that constitute Suriçi's identity within social and physical codes. They have described the physical texture in more detail, from doorknobs, doorways in courtyards, symbols on stones and windows' cage to street elements.

"Our house had a wooden door, and the wooden door had a huge knocker"

"There are figures on the exterior structures of the houses. There are stars. There is the sun."

They mostly refer their initial place, as a place of daily life activities are carried as well. Moreover, they also recalled their memories by mentioning district level usage like Gavur Mahallesi. Beside this, the house that respondents lived in for a while, trigger their memories with its architectural elements. The map below shows the map of participants who were born in Diyarbakır. (see Figure 40)

Figure 40 Memory map of participants who were born in Suriçi

As it is seen in Figure 40 those born in the area have more mobility and their activity areas vary. Their narratives differ from those who were not born in the field, with reference to the environment they lived in and the activities they have. They also give more references to areas of social and symbolic significance. Therefore, areas of story and memory are beginning to form.

Although respondents who were not born in Suriçi also have memories about entire Suriçi district, it has been observed that their spatial experience is limited to the use of cafes and restaurants on main spines Gazi and Melik Ahmet Streets. Nevertheless, they have referred to elements that reflect the Suriçi's identity, which are placed close to the main link roads or in the places they have experienced.

> *'There was an arched (cabalti) street there in the Melik Ahmet Mosque. We used to pass there to get to the mosque.''*

Users who spent a part of their lives in Suriçi showed their borders in district scale (Gavur Mahallesi see in Figure 40) and, additionally; defined the borders of Suriçi regionally (Figure 40). Those who were not born in Suriçi have shown their activities on the primary spines linearly, and the place, which they think that shows mnemonic characteristics, are shown in the map below (see Figure 41).

Figure 41 Memory map of participants who were not born in Suriçi

Since the participants who were not born in the field are using the field to meet their needs or socialize, their spatial experiences naturally focus on main roads where they can meet their commercial or daily needs. Apart from that participants who lived in Suriçi before highlighted some structures from new town when they narrate their life in district. It was observed that the participants also took the new town into the district borders. While those who were not born in district did not mention the buildings or architectural elements in the new town, they drew the border in a way not to include the new city. The only factor common to all participants; is the reference of each participant to natural elements in their memories of the field.

5.2.1 Differences Regarding Expression of Social and Physical Codes

Participants who lived in the district for a while, described Suriçi through its multi-ethnic and multi-cultural characteristics by referring the neighborhood relations and community life. The neighborhood named as Gavur Mahallesi, which lost its population over time, is described by responders as a settlement where Armenian and Assyrian communities live.

> *"There was an Armenian baker named Thomas; my house was right above his bakery ... We would have waited in the line of bread for 2 hours."*

> *"I had Christian friends. I played with them on the street for hours. "*

Most of the participants who were not born in district, explained the multicultural structure of the area by referring to structures buildings such as Assyrian and the Armenian Church or family elders' memories.

> *"My mother used to say that she got along better with her Christian neighbors ... I don't know why, but they left Suriçi years ago."*

5.3 First Distortions in Social and Physical Tissue

Respondents, who moved from Suriçi to other places, stated that the area's social fabric has changed over time with the migration to Diyarbakır's newly developed areas. It has been denoted that after the earthquake that took place in Lice in 1975, the district became the place, where migrants from Lice resided. From this date on, the settlement started to lose its old multi-ethnic structure as the Armenian and Assyrian communities left the area in time. At the same time, it was mentioned by the participants that the multi-storey constructions that started in the field after the 1980s also damaged the physical tissue. During this period, as described in Chapter IV, the Conservation Plan of Suriçi was not adequate to protect the fabric, many

traditional Diyarbakır Houses were transferred to multi-storey buildings in return for condominium ownership.

> " The crowd of contractors in the 1980s affected Suriçi a lot. We sold our house with courtyard and bought four flats from the apartment. I think it is one of the giant evils done to Sur. Today, some houses have no sun. But I guess that was also a social need for extended families."

5.3.1   Conflict in 2015 and Post-Conflict Situation

This part sets a frame to answer second question of the thesis, which is:

> "Which of these codes can still be observed in the existing urban fabric? Where can we observe these codes and in what forms (e.g., in newly developed parts of the district versus preserved areas, in-situ versus ex-situ conservation)? More specifically, whether, how and to what extent do the newly developed urban areas managed to integrate these codes into urban fabric?"

The participants stated that the period of conflict was a challenging period for the whole of Diyarbakır. It has been stated that all urban and social values belonging to the traditional texture were destroyed in the region where the conflict occurred, except for some historical buildings. The participants interpreted this period, as it is attempt of forgetting the past. Responders see the conflict as a new memory writing process as well. Watchtowers, scripts on the walls that are written by forces, police barricades, and bullet marks are seen in various parts of Suriçi as traces that reflect the memory of the conflict (see Figure 42).

Figure 42 Paintings, Police Barricades and Bullet Marks (METU MUD, 2017)

All participants stated that after conflicts entering and leaving the newly built area is still prohibited or highly under controlled. It has been stated that the visible parts of the new development are produced with a completely different construction technique, which are entirely incompatible with the texture of the traditional settlement. It has been stated that especially the streets' width and the materials used to resemble a Central Anatolian texture rather than Suriçi.

> "Saying to meet at the fountain in front of Hz. Suleyman requires a memory ... We lost our memory"

> "The house where I grew up is destroyed. I do not have stones that I feel belong to. Our house has no wooden door, our door has no big knocker anymore ... There are guards in everywhere in Suriçi."

The participants have also expressed the newly developed street patterns and uniformity of urban texture that brings standardization of place, by claiming that they have greatly changed their experience of place as follows. The satellite images that are taken from Melik Ahmet, Gazi and Hz. Süleyman Street are shown in Figure 43.

> "All of the signs look alike. I used to recognize Sülüklü Han from the confectioner's counter and the scent rising from that counter. Now all the signs are the same, and that dessert shop is gone. I couldn't find Sülüklü Han when I first went after conflict."

Figure 43 Satellite Images from Melik Ahmet, Gazi and Hz. Süleyman Streets
(Gıoogle Earh Pro, 2020)

All the respondents also took attention on that after conflicts the districts lost it is social codes. It is impossible for any residents of Suriçi to afford a house in newly developed area.

"They took Suriçi from lower-income groups and gave it to the rich ones."

The transformation of the spatial identity and memory of the area before and after the conflict is summarized in the table below (see Table 13).

Identity	Components of Identity	Pre-Conflict	Post-Conflict
Tangible values	Physical Setting (Form and Function)	**Street Pattern and Inventory:** • Narrow Street Pattern • Wells • Kastal (refers street well in daily language) • Stones • Kabaltı • Square Shaped Basalt Pavement **Traditional Houses with Basalt Stones:** • Courtyards • Doors • Other Architectural Elements that listed before **Materials** • Basalt Stones • Female/Male Basalt Stones • Soil • Iron Handcraft **Landmarks/Monumental Buildings** • Sheikh Matar Mosque • Surp Giragos Church • House of Mehmet Uzun	**New Street Pattern:** • Street arrangements / extension works do not completely match the authentic texture of the area. • Street pattern lacks the elements that make up the identity of the area such as wells, stones and tandoors. • Street cross section has changed. • Plots are incompatible with the old texture in terms of shape and size. • Street pavements are reminiscent of Cobblestone in terms of shape and material used, which are incompatible with the texture. • Street lighting has baroque period motifs far from authenticity. • Security service areas (watchtowers, etc.) disrupt the texture of the area and the traditional street order. **Housing Characteristics:** • Façade arrangements, courtyard connections, courtyard-street relationship are deteriorating.

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		• Cumhuriyet Primary School • Hürriyet Primary School • Architectural characteristics do not reflect the original housing characteristics. **Materials** • White façades not reflects the original Suriçi's urban texture. • Instead of Basalt stones, Basalt-looking façade siding is used. **Landmarks/Monumental Buildings** • There are still traces of conflicts (Lead Scars) on monumental structure. • House of Mehmet Uzun, Sheikh Matar Mosque Surp Giragos Church are monumental structures that is heavily affected by conflicts.
	Natural Elements	**Trees in Courtyards:** Fig Mulberry Plane Not observed in newly developed area/Only traces of old trees exist
Intangible Values	Everyday Life/Community/Socialscape	Multi-cultural and multiethnic community High sense of solidarity Collective daily production (preparation of winter victuals, wheat pounding etc.) Lead scars Scripts on the Walls (written by forces during conflicts) Police Barricades

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		Watching Towers Loss of population Loss of social values
	Meaning	Cultural and symbolic Meaning Spirit of whole Diyarbakır with its landscape and also inner physical and social values/identity	Loss of population Loss of physical and cultural significance Loss of historic and symbolic meaning Loss of cultural significance Loss of genius loci

MEMORYSCAPE

Table 13 Memoryscape of Suriçi District in Time Period of Pre-Conflicts and Post-Conflicts

5.4 Concluding Remarks:

The answer of first and second question is discussed former part of the thesis. Third and last question the thesis is required to evaluation of first and second questions' results, which means discussion carried out by this chapter aims to answer the question.

> "To what extent do the newly developed urban areas promote identity Suriçi? Why and why not? How do the participants describe Surici in relation to their memories attributed to places in this district?"

The results show that identity components of place trigger the memory processes. In others words, the study clearly states that narrators recalled their memories in mind through social frameworks that is created by identical characterizes of a specific place. One of the important outcomes of the study is that identity of Suriçi Districts feeds from lots of tangible and intangible elements. There are both physical and social factors affecting to identity of district. When respondents asked 'how they remember Suriçi?' or 'what elements constitute the identity of Suriçi', all participants both refers natural and built environment elements as mnemonic codes of district. This result of the study supports the arguments considered within the scope of theoretical framework. Apart from that, scent and sounds of the city also reminder of specific events and places for those who experienced the district. Again, even though respondents may not have directly experienced the events or a situation in a specific time, it has been observed that the narratives heard from the family elders also constitute a spatial memory of Suriçi. At this point, it was seen that the participants told the stories and narratives they heard by referring to spatial elements. It would not be wrong to say that the memory clings to place and lives with it.

Moreover, the participants who were born in Suriçi explained the transformation process of the area in two stages: before and after the conflicts. It has been stated that the transformation processes in the field, especially after the 1980s, both commercialized the field and damaged its original texture. The transformation process of the area after the conflicts, on the other hand, has been expressed as the new buildings and road widening interventions do not reflects construction practices of Suriçi. All the participants, in this vein, denoted that the newly produced texture, which is incompatible with the identity of the district, does not belong to Diyarbakır. Due to quite standard urban pattern shaped by implementations after conflicts, the interviewers also emphasized that they have difficulties in finding location and direction. In addition to this, it was mentioned that the district was cleansed of its social codes and the population that had to leave Suriçi as a result of conflicts, could not find a place in the newly built area because of exorbitant price of houses. In this context, the newly developed area neither allows the old to live, nor offer a qualified urban form. Newly developed urban area does nor reflect the identity of the Suriçi. District of Suriçi is highly commodified with a top to down intervention (to see the current situation district please see Figure 44). Newly constructed sites are produced in typo-morphology, which does not reflect the identity of the district. The participants consider current interventions as a bad imitation of Suriçi. These interventions do not attempt to preserve the inherent characteristics of the local, in this context; it lacks conservation and planning approach that produces proper user-oriented design and policy. The implementations, which do not allow the local people to take housing in the area reconstructed after the conflict, do not protect the public interest. These are applications made for the sole purpose of obtaining economic benefits and attracting more tourists. The newly constructed area does not promote the identity of Suriçi because it is lost its original architectural style, urban settings and residents who lived in the districts could not turn back to site.

Source: Dilan Kaya Taşdelen   Source: Dilan Kaya Taşdelen   Source: Didem Türk

Figure 44 Current Situation of the District (January 2021)

In sum, many of the findings the results section supports the theories that is discussed in Chapter II. However, there is still some gaps in academic literature in defining memory and identity relation over place. The next chapter includes the conclusion part of the thesis and the general discussion for further studies.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

"As this wave from memories flows in, the city soaks it up like a sponge and expands. A description of the city as it is today should contain all the city's past. The city, however, does not tell its past, but contains it like the lines of a hand, written in the corners of the streets, the gratings of the windows, the banisters of the steps, the antennae of the lightning rods, the poles of the bags, every segment marked in turn with scratches, indentations, scrolls."

(Calvino, 2002, p.62)

For decades, from ancient time to today, studies on mind capacity in remembering and forgetting processes described by method of loci, which required visualization of conversant environment in recalling processes. Scholars from many fields approached this concept in distinctive manner. Today, the concept of memory has been associated with a cultural phenomenon, which affected and shaped by some external factors. These factors are named social frameworks of memory by Halbwachs (2016). Built environment, at this point, emerges as important component of this social frame. Professionals form in the field of geography, urban planning and architecture or even from history claim that memory is naturally place oriented concept. Therefore, to understand city past or identify mnemonic elements that constitutes memory of place it is necessary to deal with concept of place and its identity. Identity and memory two interrelated concept as it is discussed deeply in Chapter II. What affects one inevitably affects another. There is no certain definition on place identity and components on it, study mainly focused on Relph (1976) understanding of place identity. In this vein, mnemonic elements affiliated with physical settings, activities/function and meaning. Place identity is shaped through lots of tangible and intangible dynamics. The term of place identity therefore; is

composed of landscape, natural elements, size and shape of layouts, building structure, functional dimensions, and other social and cultural values. It is still quite limited to find a comprehensive analysis on relationship between memory and place identity in a comprehensive manner that combine knowledge of different disciplines. This thesis aims to draw a preliminary basis for this purpose.

In this study, Suriçi is determined for a case study. What makes it significant to study Suriçi, is thr district shows the feature of actual palimpsest, which has traces of historical period with its urban settings. In addition to this, the district also has carried signs of prehistoric period within its landscape that covers Hevsel Gardens, which has served as agricultural field for thounsands years past. Suriçi draws attention with its authentic multi-layered and deep historical background. These feature of district makes it what is defined as palimpsest by Sleight (2018).

The main goal of the study is to investigate mnemonic elements that constitute place identity and in what extent they changed and evolved from memories of citizens. At this point, Diyarbakır, Suriçi is examined in pre-conflict and post-conflict period. Accordingly, the district went through under reconstruction process after conflicts. Whether newly developed urban pattern constitute identity of Suriçi or not is another inquiry to discover within the scope of this thesis. To this end, the author applied a qualitative method in data collection process, which is explained in Chapter III in detail. The reason why to apply this method, as Tally (2014) states physically disappearing of place does not mean it cannot be rebuilt again. In this context, memory studies also underline that stories and narratives are means of discovering the past. Understanding the past of the city is also important in setting future-oriented design policies and strategies. There is the fact that in different section of the study it has been highlighted that cities are growing through dilemma between demolition and reconstruction process. If it is considered destruction and rebuilding processes as a presupposition, it would not be wrong to argue that the identity of place and memory will inevitably change over time, because even if physical environment

continues to exist as a spatial constant, the social fabric surrounding it will change from one generation to another. As a matter of fact, the fieldwork in Chapter IV and the interviews with local participants clearly revealed that the traditional fabric of Suriçi has undergone various transformations in line with needs of changing social structure.

6.1 Findings and Discussion

This research revealed that the natural environment, built environment elements, activities carried out in these areas and the meanings attributed to these elements that form the identity of the city, are important mnemonic elements. Built environment elements, such as the narrow streets of Suriçi, traditional houses with courtyards, churches and mosques were determined as elements reflecting the urban identity by the participants. Furthermore, as natural elements, like trees in courtyards, Hevsel Gardens, cemeteries and water have also come to the fore as reminders. That's why, the result of the study supports the theory at this point (Marcus, 1982, Francis,1995). The results showed that participants' own personal boundaries also changed through length of residence and familiarity with places. However, all participants showed the boundaries of Suriçi with its topography and cultural landscape elements around it, instead of defining it as an area surrounded by walls. On the other hand, when we look at the profile of the participants, we see that the insideness and outsideness factors have a significant effect on spatial perception by referring to the place of birth. In other words, the situation, which we can define as being from inside and outside, where the place of birth is largely effective, is an important factor that affects how we perceive the city and our environment. In this context, it can be said that the place of birth has greatly changed the perception and experience of space. Likewise, this situation affects how we sense the city and our environment. As can be seen from the maps of the participants, there is a group that sees a part of city walls as a threshold to the new city. This difference in perception can be seen as a factor that makes one group, who were born in Suriçi, more mobile than another. For those who

were not born in the area, city entrances can likewise be elements that create this perception because people, who were not born in district always use the city gates to access the site. The theoretical framework reveals that memory is also an inseparable part of place identity. However, the city walls, for example, as it can be understood from the results, were not seen as a physical edge by users as in the Lynch theory (1960), on the contrary, they were considered as a permeable physical element instead of a boundary because it provides in and out interaction and allows movement on and within it.

In addition, it has been observed that the respondents, who were born in the district, frequently mention areas such as the street, the courtyard and house that they lived. Especially, streets, courtyards and roof-tops are the most remembered built environment elements that are also places of many collective activities, like food making or eyvan nights. This determination supports the idea discussed in the theoretical frame, which is sharing group memories are recalled most (Halbwachs, 2016). Trees, on the other hand, are other important mnemonic elements that took place in participants mind.   This inference promotes Marcus (1982) and Francis (1995) claim. In addition to this, it was also seen through the narratives of the interviewers that the experience of space is a perception practice based on five senses. In this context, the study supports the memory (Halbwachs, 1952, Rossi, 1982, Hayden, 1997, Boyer 1996) and identity (Assmann, 2008, Relph, 1976) theory studies presented in Chapter II. Apart from this, it has been stated that the newly produced texture after the conflict does not reflect the identity of Suriçi. In this context, it is critical to read past of the city and its transformation processes correctly to produce rational urban design, planning and conservation policies and strategies. Memory studies can be used as a tool to read the history of the city in a more accurate way. Moreover, it is necessary to consider heritage value of Suriçi. Technology, craftsmen and social fabric that produce the identity and memory of the district in time do not exist anymore. For this reason, as professionals it is required to hard work to understand identity and history of the city to choose the best and the most

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accurate solution. Otherwise, produced place creates replicas, imitations or decors rather than presenting a real place experience.

As stated in the case chapter of the study and in interviews' results, the destruction in the texture of the district during conflict is not the first deterioration in urban tissue. Since the needs of the population in Suriçi could not satisfy the population needs, therefore; the original texture deteriorated over time. At this point, instead of standardized urban textures that do not reflect the identity and memory of a place, more creative urban design and conservation approaches should be developed, which also respond to current needs of the citizens. However, the contemporary process of transformation of urban environment, which is carried through by authorities, bring a disruption in memory making processes due to homogenized and standardized urban pattern that ruptures identity of place as well. Furthermore, in the last decade, especially form WWII and on, historical cities have been become a battlefield area. Conflicts, which took place in historical cities threat world cultural heritage that has universal significance. International authorities like UNESCO and ICOMOS impose a series of sanctions to protect historical cities and have set principles and rules to keep them alive. These standards and principles of international authorities take place in published documents, declarations and charters, which is already given in Chapter II. In this context, Diyarbakır Suriçi City Walls and Hevsel Gardens are already in the World Heritage List of UNESCO. Apart from that, the committee also made a command on post-conflict reconstruction process of Suriçi through 43. UNESCO World Heritage Committee in 2019:

> "..the work carried out by the State Party to rehabilitate and protect the property and its buffer zone; however regrets that the reconstruction work has started before the mission has taken place and its conclusions known and before Heritage Impact Assessments (HIAs).." (p.181)

At this point, UNESCO's attitude was late, but still an important step, but it did not go beyond an attempt to create a general public opinion on the destruction process about Suriçi. moreover, the delegation assigned by UNESCO could not find the opportunity to visit the area yet.

Moreover, the top-down implementations and destruction process in Diyarbakir, as in many other cities of Turkey, not only affects on historic structures or urban pattern but also have impacts on modern buildings, that are the sign of modernist movements of Republican Period. In this context, a building called by participants as Skyscraper (Gökdelen) since it is the first high-rise building of Diyarbakır, was demolished in October 2020 due to earthquake risk. It currently functions as officers' club and it is the one of the most important symbols of city of Diyarbakır. This building was designed by architect Harutyan Sarafyan, who designed the Dilan Cinema. These two buildings are a product of the Republic's desire of to create a modern society. Both of them are important buildings that are symbolizing the Republican period. In this context, it would not be wrong to claim that this process of destruction on historical and modern structures is also ideological, as it is referred in theoretical framework. In different periods, within the framework of the changing approaches of the authorities, the place was used as a tool to transform the society. In this context, the traces of the past have been erased and a new memory writing process has begun. History is manipulative. What is worth to remember is determined by ever-changing ideologies. Memory studies have great importance in understanding the transformation processes of the city and developing more consistent conservation and urban design policies for the future. Especially in recent years, the threat of destruction on important buildings, which is a symbol of specific period, reveals the critical significance of memoir, documentation and archive studies containing written and visual materials. For this reason, the thesis offers a methodological contribution to how memory studies can be carried out.

6.1.1 Limitation of the study

Suriçi is historical core of City of Diyarbakır. Thus, the district has symbolic meaning for the whole citizens, not only for those who were born in Suriçi. However, The sample size (10 participants) is proper for this kind of qualitative analysis but it is quite limited when considering population of whole Diyarbakır (1.756.353 (TÜİK, 2020)). It is the challenging part of such user-oriented studies because perception and memory of the people about their surroundings may vary person to person. Therefore, this kind of studies substantially benefits from very subjective knowledge. In this context, quantitative and qualitative mixed methods can be applied in case of larger sample size for further studies in order to obtain more qualified data when studying on memory and urban identity. In this context, other measurement methods can be used with various constants (physical setting, function in the scope of this thesis) and variables (activity and meaning) that are specified in the literature. At this point, the memories of the narratives can be used for archiving and documentation purposes. Memories of narrator can be collected online via the website or social media. Memories collected on these platforms may be represented through digital maps. Crowdsourcing, in this sense, would be used as a method of data collection and analysis. (see Ghezzi et. all, 2017). Beside this, as in every study, the method applied in this thesis has both advantages and disadvantages. The interviews had to be conducted remotely due to the Covid-19 pandemic. One of the advantages of the method is that online meeting applications offer a face-to-face meeting environment. Apart from this, through the digital tools (recording, annotate etc.) application offers, it eliminates the factors that make the process cumbersome (traveling, hard-copy materials, recording devices etc.). The disadvantages, on the other hand, it is required everyone, who participate the study, should be computer literate, which inevitably limits the user profile. An environment that is switched to face-to-face interaction in a reality can be considered as an important factor in terms of making the participant feel more comfortable. Particularly, in this study, the interaction of the participants with urban elements in the field has critical meaning in terms of triggering or

recalling participants' memory. Moreover, the images shared with the participants via Google Earth and Yandex Map were insufficient to show the current setting of the field. The participants rarely mentioned significant structural elements of street setting such as bay window, neighborhood fountains, and kabaltı. In this context, if it were possible to visit the field with participants, it would be possible to make a more comprehensive analysis of how the functions and meanings of these structures are embedded in the memories. Beside this, literature is quite limited in revealing how these elements recall the memory and in explaining in which period (childhood, early youth, adulthood memories etc.) these elements are more present in memories.

6.2   Implications for Urban Design and Future Research

The concept of memory often used in oral and autobiographical history. The study on this concept is essential to understand present situation with the help of past. Besides, it is also seen a way of art from ancient times. As it can be deduced, the recently implanted plan after conflicts has no interest in exploring city identity and history. Therefore, all the participants alienate the newly developed urban pattern. The settlement that is affected by conflict, now, totally sterilized its traces of past. In other words, reconstructed urban pattern after conflicts could not set a bridge between past and present. In addition to these, the conflict area also lost its social codes within its mnemonic elements. Community participation, setting flexible, adaptive and creative urban design strategies in post-conflict urban fabric is essential outcome of the results' chapter for the future implementation. Another important outcome of the study is determination of design principle needs to inter-disciplinary works. The transformation of the urban fabric sometimes appears in very traumatic way like in Suriçi so, multidisciplinary studies may cover human-scale to macro-scale works of professions from distinct fields such as psychologist, sociologist etc. As it is stated by Boyer (1996) and Rossi (1982) city itself is collective memory. Therefore, there is also need of good documentation and archival studies of city form, which may include city views, panoramas, street sections, paintings, photography

plans etc. that shows infrastructure and superstructure of the city. In addition to this, to read the city in more comprehensive and accurate way there is also needs for recording narratives and stories about the city. As it is mentioned in theoretical framework. All the studies point out that good reading of urban space by knowledge of past and history offer the best solution to set strong and smart urban design principles, which do not create conflict between society and physical environment. Policies regarding the urban design should be respectful to whole value of the city. For these reason author asked a few questions for further investigations based on outcomes of the study.

First of all, within the scope of the study, it was seen that natural and built-environment elements of the city, together with their meaning and function, are important elements that trigger the memory of the participants. However, academic studies on explaining how these factors, such as age, gender and ethnicity, effects on the identity of the place and so, memory are quite limited, so following questions can be seen as inquiries that need to be addressed in further studies in the fields of Environmental Phycology.

- How does the gender factor affect the experience of the place? How does place memory change according to different gender groups? Who remembers more what with which spatial element?
- What kind of behavioral pattern do natural and built environmental elements trigger? What kind of memory do physical settings' elements, such as bay window, tree or street layout, produce?
- Which form trigger what kind of memory?

In addition to this, it has been emphasized that the case area has been subjected to many transformation processes. Historical tissue has been damaged in a great extent over time. As mentioned, property texture of the area has also undergone constant change and transformation as well. Questions about the way of relationship

established between conservation and urban design practices are also important inquiries to be questioned for future design strategies.

- What are the limits of intervention of urban design in the field of conservation planning?
- What is the impact of changing property fabric on the identity and memory of the place?
- What kind of alternative memory places can be created on the newly created tissue through urban design?

Lastly, as it can be understood from the narratives of travelers about the case area, the settlement has always functioned as an urban landscape throughout history and it was the place of an urban community. Even, Hevsel Gardens surrounded the districts shows urban agricultural field characteristics. However, in time, the urban community of the district moved to in more prestigious areas of the city of Diyarbakır. Recently, a rural community, who migrated from the villages due to political and economic reasons, has been settled in in the district. Therefore, question below is addressing another issue that needs to be investigated.

- What kinds of differences are there between place experiences of these two groups (urban and rural community)? With what codes do the new owners/comers of the place remember the site?

The concluding chapter starts with a quotation from Invisible Cities. The findings and outcomes of this thesis pretty much support this narrative. Again, the author wants to end this thesis with a quotation from Calvino's book (2002).

> "The inferno of the living is not something that will be; if there is one, it is what is already here, the inferno where we live every day, that we form by being together. There are two ways to escape suffering it. The first is easy for

many: accept the inferno and become such a part of it that you can no longer see it. The second is risky and demands constant vigilance and apprehension: seek and learn to recognize who and what, in the midst of inferno, are not inferno, then make them endure, give them space." (p.204)

As the last words, cities are more than what is drawing on paper or on screen. Therefore, there is always need for further investigation. In this context, the author argues that design is political. At this point, it would not be wrong to say that the responsibilities of architects or planners or other professionals who are dealing with or interested in discipline of urban design, are to give a place to whoever and whatever is not inferno in the midst of the inferno.

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A. Appendix

Interview Guideline (in Turkish):

1. Katılımcıların kişisel geçmişine dair sorular

Yaşı, cinsiyeti, mesleği

Diyarbakır'ın nerelerinde yaşadınız? Ne kadar süredir Diyarbakır'da yaşamaktasınız?

Suriçi ile olan ilişkiniz nedir? Suriçi'ne ne kadar sıklıkla gidersiniz? Hangi amaçla giderdiniz/ gidiyorsunuz?

	2015 öncesi	2015 sonrası
Suriçi'ne ne kadar sıklıkla gidersiniz?	o Her gün o Haftada 1-2 o Ayda 1-2 o 3-4 ayda bir o Yılda 1-2	o Her gün o Haftada 1-2 o Ayda 1-2 o 3-4 ayda bir o Yılda 1-2
Suriçi'ne hangi amaçla gidersiniz?	o Alışveriş o Gezi o Ziyaret o Diğer	o Alışveriş o Gezi o Ziyaret o Diğer

Katılımcı Suriçi'nde doğmuş ise:

Suriçi'nde nerelerde yaşadınız? Harita üzerinde gösterir misiniz?

Suriçi yerleşkesini nasıl hatırlarsınız?

2. Çatışmalar öncesindeki durumu anlamaya ve mnemonic kodlari bulmaya yönelik sorular

Suriçi'nin sınırlarını nasıl tariflersiniz?

Suriçi'nde en çok hangi sokaklar/caddeler kullanılırdı? Sizin için en önemlileri hangileriydi? Çizerek gösterir misiniz?

Suriçi'nde en çok hangi meydanlar ve mekanlar kullandırılırdı? En önemli mahalleleri hangisiydi? Harita üzerinde işaretler misiniz?

Suriçi'nde hangi doğal öğeler öne çıkmaktaydı? (ağaç, park vb) Harita üzerinde göstermeniz mümkün müdür?

Suriçi'nde insanlar ev dışında en çok nerede vakit geçirirlerdi? Buralarda neler yapılır?

Eski Diyarbakır Evi deyince aklınıza ilk ne geliyor? Geleneksel Diyarbakır Evi'ni nasıl anlatırsınız?

Suriçi ile özdeşleştirdiğiniz bir yapı ya da sembol var mıdır? Bu yapıyı en çok hangi özelliğiyle hatırlıyorsunuz? Haritada gösterir misiniz?

Suriçi ile özdeşleştirdiğiniz bir koku ya da ses var mıdır?

    X sesi bana ……..hatırlatır

    X kokusu bana ..…….hatırlatır

Sizce Suriçi'de yer, yol ve yön bulmak kolay mıdır?

Dışarıdan gelen misafirlerinizi Suriçi'ne götürür müydünüz? Evete ise nerelere götürürdünüz?

Katılımcı Suriçi'nde doğmuş ise:

Günlük yaşam pratikleriniz nasıldı? Nerelerde vakit geçirirdiniz? Harita üzerinde gösteriri misiniz?

Oturduğunuz evi nasıl hatırlıyorsunuz? Nasıl tarif edersiniz/anlatırsınız yaşadığınız sokağı? Sokağın sizing için önemi neydi?

Nerede yaşıyordunuz/yaşıyorsunuz? Yaşadığınız sokağın/mahalleyi sokağı hangi özellikleriyle hatırlıyorsunuz?

Alana dair paylaşmak istediğiniz bir anınız var mı? (Çocukluğunuzdan, hatırladığınız vs.)

Orada yaşadığınız döneme ait, sokağı, avluyu, evinizi vs. gösterir benimle paylaşableceğiniz bir fotoğraf var mı?

3. Çatışmaların başladığı döneme ilişkin sorular

Çatışmaların olduğu dönemde Suriçi'ni görme fırsatınız oldu mu? Çatışmalı dönemde kent nasıldı?

4. Çatışmalardan sonraki dönüşüm sürecine ilişkin sorular

Bildiğiniz üzere 2015 yılından sonra alan çatışmaların olduğu, travmatik bir süreç yaşadı. Çatışmaların bitmesiyle de alanda yeniden inşa faaliyetleri başladı çatışmalarda sonra alanı deneyimleme fırsatınız oldu mu? Gözünüze çarpan değişiklikler nelerdi?

Suriçi'nin çatışmalardan önceki durumunu ve sonraki durumunu karşılaştıracak olursanız neler söylersiniz?

Alanın çatışmalardan sonra geçirdiği dönüşümü anlatır mısınız?

Bu dönüşüm sizin Suriçi'ni ziyaret etmenizi ya da kullanımınızı değiştirdi mi?

Alandaki dönüşümü ne kadar başarılı buluyorsunuz?

- o Başarısız
- o Orta
- o Başarılı

Çatışmalardan sonra inşa edilen yeni yerleşkelerle ilgili ne düşünüyorsunuz? Sizce Suriçi'nin karakteristik mimari ve kentsel biçmini oluşturan elemanlara sahip mi?

Geleneksel dokuyu yansıtıyor mu? 'Yansıtan tarafları nelerdir?' veya 'Hangi özellikleri itibariyle yansıtmıyor?'

Katılımcı Suriçi'nde doğmuş ise:

Yaşadığınız mahalle de çatışması sonrası yeniden inşa edilen alanlar arasında mıydı? Çatışmalardan etkilendiyse mahallenizde gözlemlediğiniz değişiklikler nelerdi?

B. Appendix

Interview Guideline:

1. Questions about the personal background of the participants

How old are you?

How do your describe your gender?

What is your profession?

Where did you live in Diyarbakır? How long have you been living in Diyarbakır?

What is your relationship with Suriçi? How often do you go to Suriçi? For what purpose would you go / do you go?

	Before 2015	After 2015
How often do you go to Suriçi?	○ Everyday ○ 1-2 a week ○ 1-2 per month ○ Every 3-4 months ○ 1-2 per year	○ Everyday ○ 1-2 a week ○ 1-2 per month ○ Every 3-4 months ○ 1-2 per year
For what purpose would you go to Suriçi?	○ Shopping ○ Travel ○ Visit ○ Other	○ Shopping ○ Travel ○ Visit Other

If the participant was born in Suriçi:

Where did you live in Suriçi? Can you show it on the map?

How do you remember the Suriçi district?

2. Questions to understand the situation before conflicts and to find mnemonic codes

How would you describe the borders of Suriçi?

Which streets/avenues were used mostly in Suriçi? What were the most important to you? Can you show it by drawing?

Which squares and places were used mostly in Suriçi? Which were the most important neighborhoods? Would you mark it on the map?

Which natural elements were prominent in Suriçi? (tree, park etc.) Is it possible to show it on the map?

Where did people spend most of their time outside home in Suriçi? Which activities can be done here?

What comes to your mind first when you think about Traditional Diyarbakır House? How would you describe the Traditional Diyarbakır House?

Is there any structure or symbol that you associate with Suriçi? With what feature do you remember this structure the most? Can you show it on the map?

Is there a smell or sound that you associate with Suriçi?

> The sound of X reminds me of ……
>
> The scent of X reminds me of   ……

Do you think it is easy to find a place, way and direction in Suriçi?

Would you visit Suriçi with your guests from outside? If yes, where do you go?

If the participant was born in Suriçi:

How were your daily life practices? Where did you spend time? Can you show it on the map?

How do you remember the house you lived in? How would you describe the street you live in? What was the significance of the street for you?

Where did you live? With what characteristics do you remember the street/neighborhood you live in?

Do you have a memory you want to share about the field from your childhood?

Is there a photograph that shows the street, courtyard, your home in the period you lived in there? Can share with me?

3. Questions about the beginning of the conflict

Did you have the opportunity to see Suriçi during the conflict period? How was the situation in the city during the conflict period?

4. Questions about the transformation process after the conflict

As you know, after 2015, the district went through a traumatic period of conflicts. Following the end of the clashes, reconstruction activities started in Suriçi. Did you have the opportunity to experience the site after the conflicts? What were the changes that caught your eye?

If you compare the situation of Suriçi before and after the conflicts, what would you say?

Could you tell me about the transformation of the district after the conflicts?

Has this transformation changed your visit to Suriçi or your usage?

How successful do you find the transformation/regeneration process in the field?

- o Unsuccessful
- o Average
- o Successful

What do you think about the newly developed area after the conflicts? Do you think it has elements that make up the architectural and urban form characteristic of Suriçi? Does it reflect the traditional texture? What are the reflecting components it has? or In what extent does it not reflect?

If the participant was born in Suriçi:

Was your neighborhood among the areas that were re-built after the conflict? What were the changes you observed in your neighborhood if it was affected by the conflict?

C. Appendix

Information about Participants

Participants who were born in Suriçi	Participants (P)	Age	Length of Residence in Suriçi/Visiting Frequency	Level of Education	Gender
	P1	55	27 years /1-2 times in a week	University	Woman
	P2	58	24 years/1-2 times in a week	High school	Man
	P3	56	30 years/1-2 times in a week	University	Woman
	P4	29	21 years/1-2 times in a week	University	Man
	P5	46	28 years/1-2 times in a week	High School	Man
Participants who were not born Suriçi but	P6	31	-/1-2 times in a week	University	Woman
	P7	51	-/Everyday (for more than 20 years)	High School	Woman

lived in Diyarbakır	P8	26	-/3-4 times in a month	University	Woman
	P9	27	-/1-2 times in a week	University	Man
	P10	27	-/1-2 times in a week	University	Man
*All participants were born in Diyarbakır and still living in there.					

Maps of participants, who were born in Suriçi
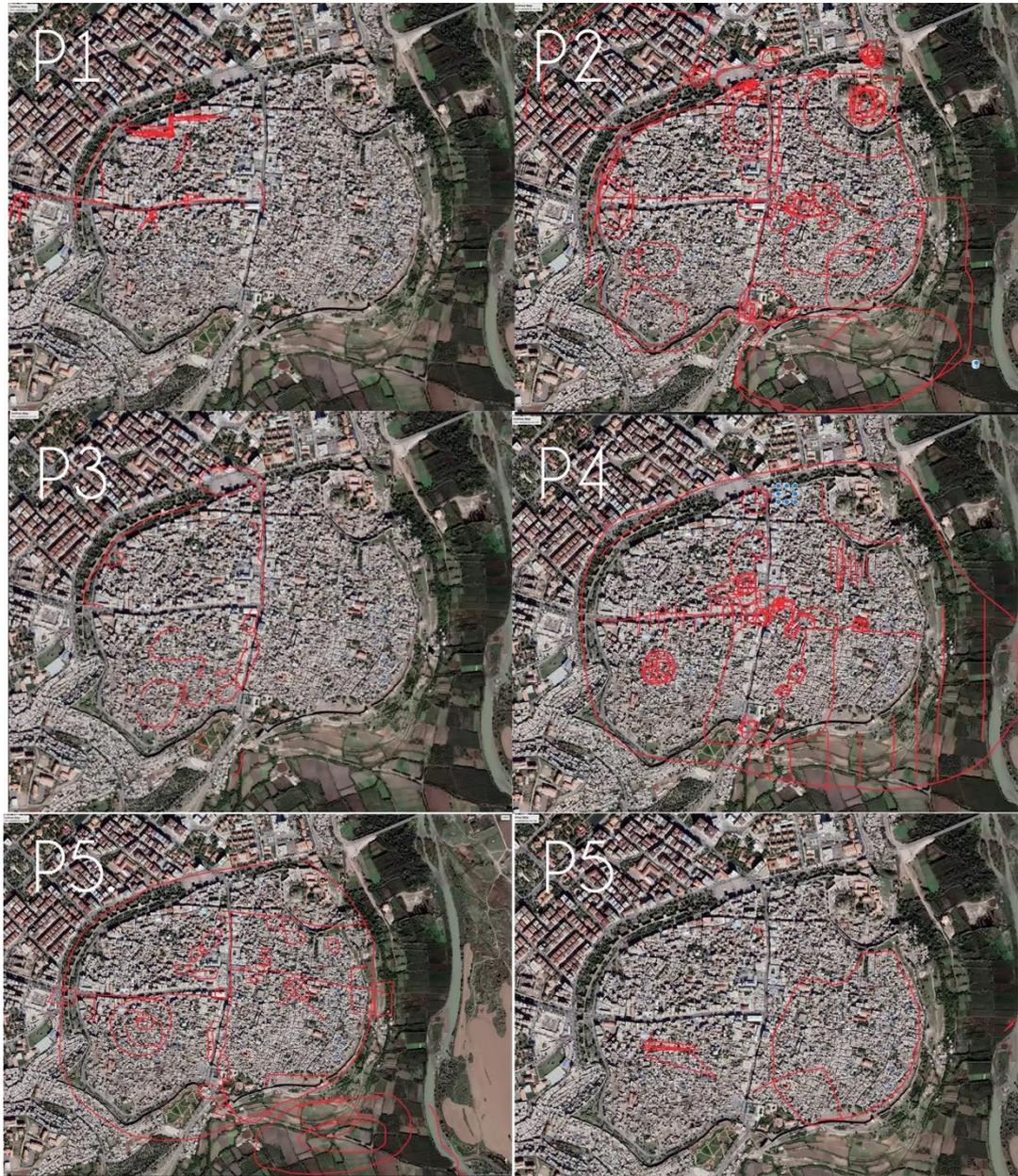
Maps of participants, who were not born in Suriçi but has been lived in Diyarbakır for a long time
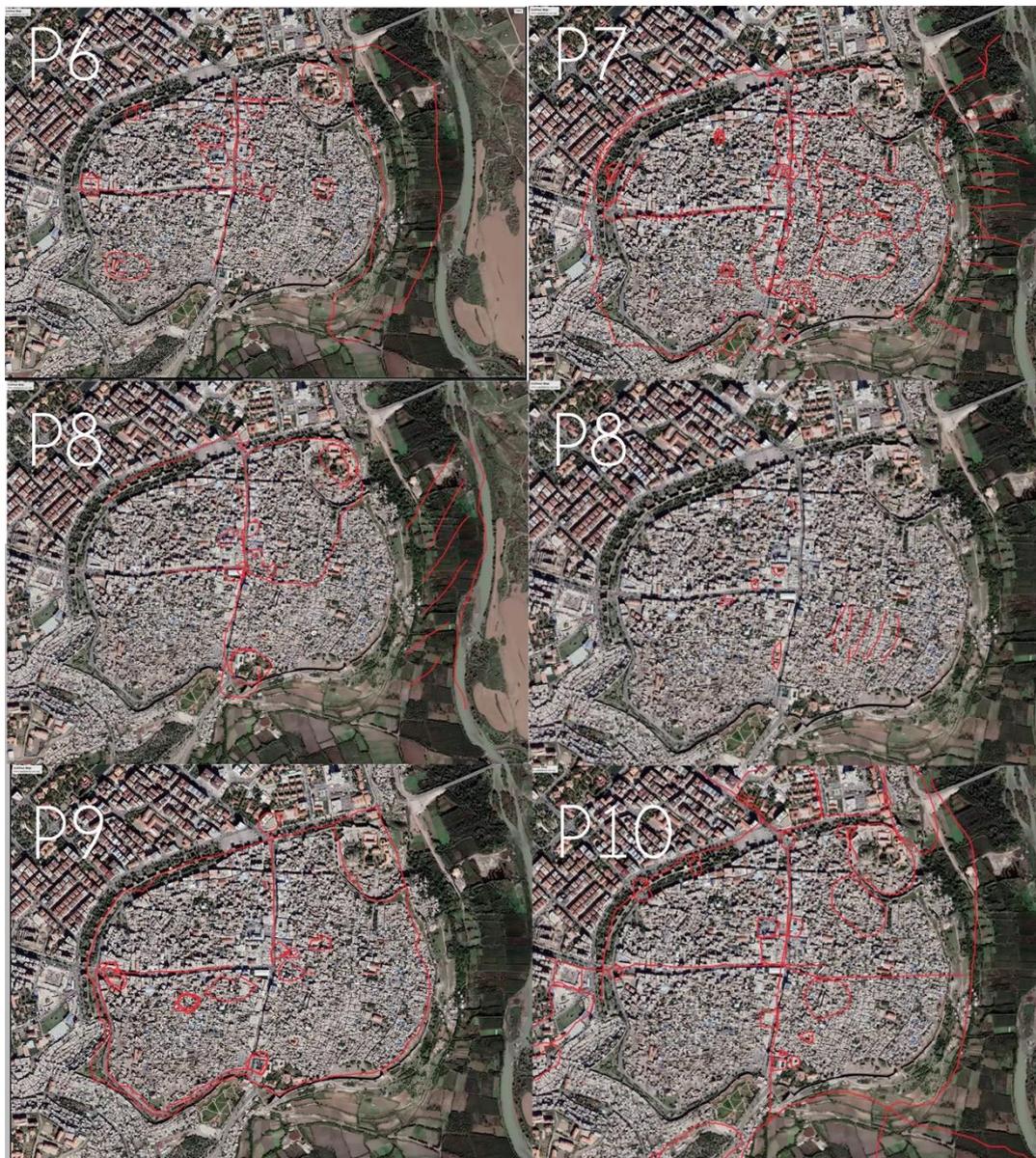
D. Appendix

Typo-morphological Elements of Diyarbakır Houses

Housing Elements	Description
Passage	"In Diyarbakır house general plan and understanding, somebody can reach the courtyard those whose courtyards do not have a facade to the street can be reached through a passage."
Stony	"Stone paved courtyard, sofa, under the stairs, etc. It is a passage place where shoes are removed, located right next to the room or the iwan in traditional houses. (Özyılmaz, 2007)"
Courtyard	"The courtyard is the most critical place in Diyarbakır traditional housing architecture. The courtyard, which is called "havş" in the region, continues its importance in traditional life in daily life. Life is established around the courtyard."
Eyvan	"The eyvan is the critical unit after the courtyard in Diyarbakır traditional housing architecture. The eywan, the enclosed space surrounded by three sides between the rooms, is closed to the outside and opens to the courtyard, and is at least one step higher than the courtyard."
Room	"In traditional Diyarbakır houses, rooms are multi-purpose spaces. Every room contains every action. It is called the main room, sofa room, intermediate room, according to its functions. According to the temperature difference, summer and winter rooms have emerged."

Kitchen	"There is no design element in the kitchen other than the stove and chimney. It is generally positioned in the north direction in accordance with its functions; its facade faces the courtyard with an arch."
Storage Room/Cellar	"In traditional Diyarbakır houses, the cellars are generally arranged on the basement floor to preserve the belongings by taking advantage of the coolness of the basement."
Bay-windows and bow-window	"In traditional Diyarbakır houses, bay windows were built in order to expand the plan and provide visual richness. Bay-windows are generally located in the narrow part of the bay window."
Gezemek	"A stone staircase leads to the upper floors of Diyarbakır traditional houses. In front of the rooms, you come to an area whose name is to wander just like its function. In Diyarbakır Suriçi houses, the stairs always end with a platform. (Tuncer, 1999)"
Serdap	"It is one of the items arranged especially in large houses to be used in case of insufficiency of the iwan, interior room, and kitchen units to cool off on hot summer days."
Stairs	"In Diyarbakır Houses, the ladder stands out as a visual element with its embroidery and iron railings and is an integral part of the courtyard and the element that provides the connection between floors."
Kabaltı	"The room on the street where the houses are faced is called kabaltı in Diyarbakır traditional architecture. This application, which benefits from the 3rd dimension of the street in Southern Anatolia, is a solution for the hot continental climate that exceeds Anatolia."

Toilets	"In traditional Diyarbakır houses, restrooms are closest to the street. The toilets in the ground floor are arranged in the courtyard or the passage between the door and the street. (Özyılmaz, 2007)"
Bath	"The number of baths in traditional Diyarbakır houses is very low, mostly in large wealthy houses."
Pool	"Water is one of the indispensable elements of Diyarbakır houses. The longing for coolness due to the hot climate of the region has led to the construction of many large and small pools in homes. Generally, three types of pools are encountered in the study area. These are rectangular, elliptical, and rectangular-elliptical eight-sided with chamfered corners."
Façade Layout	**Description**
Courtyard Gates	"The courtyard doors, which are located on the courtyard wall, which is usually rubble stone, are framed with a thin section of stone."
Room Doors	"In buildings, room doors usually open to the courtyard or the iwan. Generally, doors with low arches outside have flat lintels inside."
Windows	"In traditional Diyarbakır houses in the Suriçi region, the windows are shaped according to the area's climatic and social characteristics."
Iwans	"One of the determining elements of the plan typology in traditional Diyarbakır houses, the iwans are also an essential element of the facade facing the courtyard."

Chimneys	"The number of unique chimneys from Diyarbakır houses is very few. Significantly, the original chimneys were lost and changed, as a significant part of traditional buildings was destroyed by adding floors."
Ornaments	"A white mortar called "cas" formed by mixing slaked lime and egg white was used to give a common effect on the facades constructed with thin-faced stone masonry."

Construction Technique and Materials

"Traditional Diyarbakır houses were built with the stacking technique using basalt stone, easily found in the region. Basalt stone, which has black color, has types defined as male and female depending on the pores' frequency and rarity. Dense porous basalt stone with high strength is used in walls and columns. Female basalt stone, which has a more porous structure, is generally used in the courtyards' flooring. In the courtyards washed on hot days, the water settling in the pores of the stone causes coolness in the courtyard. Generally, female basalt stones are used in decorations, as they are tough and softer than male stones that are difficult to process (Özyılmaz, 2007)."