



**IN BETWEEN REMEMBERING AND FORGETTING: A
CRITICAL READING OF ATATURK CULTURAL
CENTER AS A PLACE OF MEMORY**

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Master's Thesis

Graduate School

İzmir University of Economics

İzmir

2021

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A Thesis Submitted to
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Master Program in Architecture

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ABSTRACT

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Master Program in Architecture

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June, 2020

The formation and maintenance of memory is possible with processes defined through concrete objects. In particular, physical place is a mean of remembering, since it preserves the order of the memories desired to be remembered. Places where history is shaped, memory is revealed, and symbols take place are seen as places of memory by Pierre Nora who calls a place having material, functional and symbolic values as a place of memory.

In this study, the criteria of place of memory was examined in the context of Atatürk Cultural Center, through the concepts of memory and counter-memory. From the decision to build an opera house to the present day, the building has become the subject of many discussions. The historical and symbolic place of ACC are especially related

with being one of the most important examples of the Post-War International Style in Turkey, its involvement in daily life, and the values it represents.

In this thesis, concepts such as place and memory, collective memory, counter-memory, monument, destruction, and the historical process of the ACC have been investigated. With the obtained data, the ACC has been studied in terms of memory and counter-memory, with its material, functional and symbolic values. This study especially focus on the its architectural value and the social, cultural, and political values it symbolizes. The study aims to develop a methodology that will enable the buildings with architectural and symbolic values to be examined as a place of memory through different types of memory.

Keywords: Place of Memory, Collective Memory, Counter-Memory, Atatürk Cultural Center

ÖZET

HATIRLAMAK VE UNUTMAK ARASINDA: ATATÜRK KÜLTÜR MERKEZİ'NİN BİR HAFIZA MEKANI OLARAK ELEŞTİREL BİR OKUMASI

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Mimarlık Yüksek Lisans Programı

Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Dr. Burkay Pasin

Haziran, 2020


Belleğin oluşması ve sürdürülmesi, somut nesnelere üzerinden tanımlanan süreçler ile mümkündür. Özellikle, fiziksel mekân, hatırlanması istenen anıların düzenini koruyarak olmasından ötürü hatırlamanın araçlarından birisidir. Mekân, bir mimarlık ürünüdür ve mimarlık, bu ürünü ile bellek süreçlerinde işlevsel bir rol oynar. Tarihin şekillendiği, hafızanın ortaya çıktığı, anma törenleri gibi sembollerin görüldüğü mekanlar Pierre Nora tarafından hafıza mekanları olarak adlandırılmıştır. Nora'ya göre bir yerin hafıza mekânı olarak adlandırılabilmesi için materyal, işlevsel ve sembolik değerleri bir arada bulundurması gerekir.

Bu çalışmada, hafıza mekânı ölçütleri bellek ve karşı-bellek kavramları üzerinden, Türkiye'nin simge yapılarından biri olan Atatürk Kültür Merkezi bağlamında incelenmiştir. Bir opera binası yapılması kararı verilmesinden, AKM'nin yıkılıp


yeniden yapıldığı günümüze kadar yapı birçok tartışmanın öznesi haline gelmiştir. AKM, özellikle savaş sonrası enternasyonal mimarlık döneminin en önemli örneklerinden biri olması, günlük hayata dahil olması, toplumsal olaylara tanıklık etmesi, yıkım süreci ve temsil ettiği değerler ile hem tarihte hem de bellekte yer etmiş bir yapıdır.

Bu tezde, mekân ve bellek ilişkisi, kolektif bellek, karşı-bellek, anıt, yıkım gibi kavramlar ve AKM'nin tarihsel süreçteki değişimleri literatür araştırması ve arşiv çalışmaları yöntemleri ile araştırılmıştır. Elde edilen veriler ile AKM; bellekte ve karşı-bellekte, materyal, işlevsel ve sembolik değerleri bağlamında incelenmiştir. Bu çalışmalar özellikle yapının mimari değeri ve simgelediği sosyal, kültürel ve politik değerler üzerinde yoğunlaşır. Böylece yapının geçirdiği süreçler ve tanıklıkları farklı bellek türleri üzerinden karşılaştırılarak analiz edilmiştir. AKM'nin örnek olarak ele alındığı bu tez ile toplumsal hayatta yer eden, mimari ve sembolik değerlere sahip yapıların farklı bellek türleri üzerinden bir hafıza mekânı olarak incelenmesini sağlayacak bir metodoloji geliştirilmesi amaçlanır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Hafıza Mekânları, Kolektif Bellek, Karşı-Bellek, Atatürk Kültür Merkezi



To mom,



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor Assoc. Prof. Burkay Pasin for his guidance and patience during this study. I am grateful for his understanding and extra support in the face of the unusual pandemic challenges that arose during the dissertation. It was a great pleasure to know and have the chance to work with you. I also would like to thank my all committee members, Assoc. Prof. Ahenk Yılmaz and Assist. Prof. Emre Gönlügür for their interest, constructive criticism and guiding comments.

I would like to show my thankfulness to the TÜBİTAK 2210-A program, which is providing scholarships for master's level studies in Turkey, for contributing to my financial securement during the process of both my studies and thesis.

I am particularly thankful to my colleagues and friends Ecenur Kızılörenli and Ömer Can Bakan for their friendship and all the support during my thesis. It was a great pleasure that get through this process with you. I also thank to Müge Sever, Yeşim Alpaydın, Didem Tızman, Sezin Karcan Kaya, Özüm Karadağ, Selin Güngör and all my friends who always been very supportive during my times struggle. I am so lucky to have you all.

I am also grateful to all my family members, in particular my grandmothers Işıl Vardal and Pervin Engin for their endless support and trust through my education.

Finally, I would like to express my endless love to my father Ali Engin who have always been encouraging, loving and caring in every possible way, to my sister Derya Engin for her love and support and to my precious cat, Lupin for all his love.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACC: Atatürk Cultural Center



CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Problem Definition

Memory is the ability to retain and recall past knowledge and experiences when needed. It is not just a method of recording, but a process of encoding, storing and retrieving information, and almost every stage of this process has psychological and social effects. In short, it is shaped not only by individual experiences but also by the society. There are many factors that lead to the recall of past experiences, and these factors differ according to the personal traits of memory, culture, place and time. The formation and maintenance of memory is possible with processes defined through concrete objects. Everything from personal belongings to physical spaces that make up the built environment are parts of the world of objects that surround the individual. In particular, physical space is one of the tools for remembering, as it maintains the order of things to be remembered or desired to be remembered. In short, places are architectural productions and thus architecture has a triggering function for processes of remembering/forgetting regarding places.

Cities are produced not only architecturally, but also socially. The urban space is a place where many events that concern society take place, and every event leaves some traces in the physicality and image of the city. The relationships that individuals or communities establish with a place give values and meanings to the objects in the urban space or to a number of places, thus the urban space turns into a phenomenon that can be produced in many different ways in the memory of the communities. Buildings emerge as tools that shape urban spaces. Communities in the city interpret the urban structure, transform it into their own image and mentally reproduce it. The common place shared by the groups is necessary for the continuity of the collective memory, which includes concepts such as life stories, national consciousness, belonging, and values-laden ties between group members, and for the continuation of the unity of social groups.

The formation of collective memory is intertwined with spatial experience. These places, named by Pierre Nora as places of memory, are especially places where

memory appears and the most striking symbols such as holidays, emblems, monuments and commemoration ceremonies are seen depending on the centuries. History is shaped in these places. In order for a place to be a place of memory, it must have a combination of material, symbolic and functional values. The main *raison d'être* of a place of memory is stopping time, preventing the work of forgetting, immortalizing death. While describing the place of memory, Nora also emphasizes the difference between history and memory, stating that history is no longer something belonging to society, but memory is a social phenomenon. While history finds itself as a limited representation of the lived past; memory is life itself that is open to the dialectic of forgetting and remembering, unaware of constant change of form, suitable for long uncertainties and sudden resurrections, always in development.

Memory depends on the dialectic of remembering and forgetting. Counter-memory, on the other hand, is created by living memory, by memories and experiences that emerge from remembering the forgotten. Concepts such as forgetting, suppression, trauma and manipulation of collective memory emerge in the social use of these categories by policy makers. The process of activating the memory usually takes place with the memory studies of the power of the superior by a dominant race or nation or powers, this process is usually done primarily by producing discourses to get rid of those defined as others, and this memory is not organic, it is a memory determined by the dominant powers. Therefore, the counter-memory tries to break the official history by writing the history of the survivors; it is a resistant social vein formed against the continuity of official history.

Atatürk Cultural Center, which can be considered as one of the places of memory in Turkey, has been the subject of various discussions during the period of its collapse, as it is seen as one of the symbols of the modern movement in the country, particularly one of the most important examples of the post-war international style. With its involvement in daily life, witnessing to social events, the process of destruction and the values it represents, it is a building that has taken place in the official memory, collective memory and counter memory.

1.2. Research Questions

To analyze the configuration of memory in architecture in general and the ACC in particular, the following research questions were asked:

1. What kind of role does architecture play in memory?
2. How can we read construction of memory in case of the ACC?
3. What does the ACC represent architecturally and ideologically in modern Turkey?
4. How can we read the ACC as a place of collective memory and counter-memory?

1.3. Aim of the Study

The aim of this thesis is to examine what the Atatürk Cultural Center expresses in terms of architecture and ideology and to discover how it is recorded/coded in different types of memory. While doing this, firstly, the relationship between place and memory is examined. It aims to read memory through concepts or phenomena that are particularly relevant to architectural activity, such as monuments and demolition.

Some buildings, beyond their architectural identities, come to the right of an image in memory with the accumulation of social values, witnesses, memories and experiences of the user, and are carried beyond their physical existence. The ACC, which is one of the examples and symbols of the Westernization movement, has turned into a place of memory with its architectural value, the thoughts behind its construction and the place it has acquired in the cultural and daily life of the city dweller. The building has been the subject of many studies with its place in the history of modern architecture, its symbolic value, and its place in the urban memory. The study aims to discuss the place of the building in official memory, its relation with collective memory and its existence in counter-memory. Accordingly, it questions the material, functional and symbolic values of the ACC through the concepts of memory and counter-memory, and questions its place in these constructions of memory.

1.4. Significance of the Research

This thesis deals with the place the ACC has acquired in memory and counter-memory. Within the scope of the research, the processes of the building in the historical process, its witnesses and its relationship with the society are evaluated through these memory types and the material, functional and symbolic values of the building are analyzed within the scope of these memory types. With this analysis, the phases of the building in time are associated with the concept of memory that they express socially, culturally and architecturally in these phases. As a result, it is questioned whether the building is a place of memory or not through different memory concepts. Such a multi-layered analysis is important to decipher the hidden aspects of memory embedded in the ACC.

In the existing literature, there are many studies on the ACC. These studies concentrate especially on the architectural value of the building, as well as the social, cultural and political values it symbolizes. Apart from the works related to the ACC, it is mostly mentioned in studies of Turkish Modern Architecture, as well as in the urban studies about the Taksim Square due to its close relationship with the square. There are also studies dealing with the building, especially through collective memory. For example, Ganiç (2016) made a memory reading on urban spaces in his study on the ACC and examined the concept of urban space through the ACC. Esra Akcan (2013), on the other hand, discussed the relationship of the ACC with collective memory through the facade of the building. This thesis differs from these studies by examining the building not only through collective memory, but also through material, functional and symbolic values within the context of in different memory constructions. In this way, it does not only provide a new conceptual framework to read the history of the building but contributes to memory studies in the field of architecture.

1.5. Methodology

This thesis follows a case study research methodology involving two different data collection methods: literature review and archival research. The literature review provides theoretical data to form the contextual and conceptual frameworks of the thesis. Archival research, on the other hand, is used to collect data about the architectural features of the ACC, its transformative processes and how it is

remembered, forgotten and interpreted by the society. For archival research, national newspapers such as Cumhuriyet, architectural sources such as Mimarlık Journal and Arkitera website, Tabanlıoğlu archive in SALT Archive, were examined; social media tools such as Instagram and Twitter were scanned, and an online questionnaire survey with 70 participants was conducted. For the analysis of the ACC by different observers, the participants were grouped as architects, people who living in Istanbul, people who do not live in Istanbul, and people who watched a show in the ACC as least one. The views of the artists or staff who worked at the ACC were obtained from documentaries and interviews available in archives.

The second chapter provides the theoretical framework of the thesis. Before discussing Nora's concept of place of memory, the concepts of memory in different disciplines are treated and especially three states of memory are addressed: individual memory, collective memory and counter-memory. After making a general explanation of these concepts, the concepts of collective memory and counter-memory, which will feed the next stages of the study, are discussed more comprehensively. Since these concepts will be examined through the ACC, a literature review is made on the relationship of memory with place. At this point, Nora's concept of place of memory is touched upon. At the end of the chapter, the dialectic of forgetting and remembering is mentioned and how this process is related in collective memory and counter-memory is emphasized.

In the third chapter, a detailed reading of the ACC, which is the case study of the thesis, is made. After explaining the process of the Westernization movement, after the proclamation of the Republic, it examines the Post-War International period in Turkey, where the ACC is one of the most important examples. In the next stage, the stages of the building from the initial projecting process until it evolves into its present state are examined in a chronological order. The narration has been developed with the help of drawings, maps, indoor and outdoor photographs obtained from many different sources such as the archives of Hayati Tabanlıoğlu, the architect of the building.

In the fourth chapter, the case study is examined as material, functional and symbolic in different memory types using various data collection methods such as an archival research of archives and a questionnaire survey.

CHAPTER 2: THE ROLE OF PLACE IN MEMORY

Memory is defined as the ability of a person to retain past knowledge and experiences and to recall them when needed. There are many factors that lead to the recall of past experiences, and the fact that memory differs according to personality traits, behavior patterns, culture, place and the spirit of the time has caused the concept of memory to be included in the scope of research in different disciplines. There are many models of how memory works, dating back to classical times. For example, Plato sees memory as a wax tablet; impressions and coding can be made and stored on it and then these impressions can be retrieved later. This triple distinction, which is called as coding, storage and access, has come up to date with the scientific research (Foster, 2009). In short, people interact with his/her environment throughout his/her life and has the ability to store and recall the results of this interaction in his/her brain. Memory is the ability to store and recall these data.

Discussions about memory, especially in the 1960s, were directed to three memory assumptions. Atkinson and Shiffrin classified memory as sensory memory, short-term memory and long-term memory in 1968. Sensory memory is the first memory we create against the effects of the environment, and it includes the traces left by the data from our senses, it can be considered as instant memory. This information needs to be temporarily stored in order to perform functions such as understanding or calculation, this information is no longer required when the task is complete. Short-term memory is the name given to this system and is also called working memory. The information necessary for a short time is stored very temporarily, then becomes completely irrelevant. Some data in short-term memory are transferred to long-term memory and the capacity of this memory is unlimited and its duration is up to a lifetime. Every piece of information we call memory is kept in this memory. This memory actually does not lose any information, only we lose the path to that information in our minds, which we call forgetting (Baddaley, 2005). Long-term memories can be affected by social events, communities and place. If memory were only a method of recording, the reality of memories could be mentioned, but memory is the process of encoding, storing and retrieving information, and there are social, historical and psychological effects at every stage of this process (Schudson, 2007). In short, long-term memory is

shaped not only by individual experiences but also by society. What the individual remembers and forgets can be understood within the social context and gain a certain meaning within this context (Çağla, 2007). According to Bergson (2020), long-term memory is the main concept of every formation process in the theory of duration, it acts through perception and represented things; it depends on external influences such as social and cultural. Memory perpetuates the past in the present and it is in a continuity. Memory is a process of combination of remembering and forgetting with the impacts of society and environment, the remembering process is in question in the presence of a stimulating object, architecture can be associated with recalling processes through its products.

The object is the tool of the processes of memory formation and maintenance. The place, which is sometimes an object and sometimes a layout with objects that stimulate remembering, participates in the memory process. In this chapter, it will be examined how place is articulated to these processes, its relationship with collective memory and counter-memory as well as the impacts of place in forgetting and remembering processes.

2.1. Collective Memory

Research on the brain has begun to reveal findings on how individual memory functions; one of them is the reconstruction of the data in memory by combining it with the features of the remembered moment. According to Nietzsche, memory has nothing to do with the brain or nerves, it is an original feature; because people carry the memory of all past generations with him/her (Barash, 2007). During the reconstruction of memories, traces are carried from the memories of the past generations in our memory, which is why memory can be considered both individually and socially, just like an identity. Durkheim treats memory not only as recall of memories, but as a collective product that attributes meanings to those memories. While he sees individual memory as the research subject of psychology, he sees the collective memory as the subject of sociology. Schudson (2007) is of the view that there is no such thing as individual memory, memory is primarily collective because rather than individual human minds, it is embedded in institutions as rules, laws, standardized procedures and registers. However, the first name who theorized the

concept of collective memory, which has been discussed since Aristotle, is the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (Wilson, 2015). Halbwachs introduces the concept of collective memory, but states that this memory is not found in society, but in social groups. The individual can define himself/herself with a group and compare his/her background with that of the group. From this moment on, he/she must not lose his thinking habits and remember as a member of the group he/she is a part of, looking from the group's point of view and referring to the concepts common to the members of the group. When the memories of the individual are examined, it is seen that the memories of the individual remind him/her of his/her immediate surroundings or others, even only in the memories in which he/she was involved, because the memories are actually based on the memories of other people and the individual is never alone. Therefore, it has made social groups the leading actors of memory and recall. In this context, collective memory is included in the memory of the individual and makes it possible to remember the memory. Collective memory encompasses but does not interfere with individual memories; evolves according to their laws (Halbwachs, 1992). While social and cultural events and groups in which the individual is included take place in the memory of the individual, they also play a role in shaping the individual. Remembered or forgotten memories, memories that have more personal meaning, actually emerge with the group in which the individual is included.

According to Halbwachs (2007), collective memory belongs to a group limited by space and time. In order for an event, place or person to be in the memory of the social group, this event, place or person must have a meaning for this social group. From this point on, Halbwachs suggests the concept of "images of remembering" in the context of the transference between concepts and experiences in memory; a personality or a historical event; he says that he transfers a symbol or a concept to the collective memory, so that society becomes an element in the system of thoughts (Assmann, 1997). Jan Assmann calls images of remembering as figures of remembering, and he bases this on the fact that the figures are not only understood as icons, but also their monumental forms. According to Assmann, these figures are classified into four groups: commitment to the group, reconstruction process, adherence to time and place. Group commitment is the area where the identity processes of social groups develop. In this area, collective memory exists with the coexistence of the members of the groups and this memory cannot be transferred. The process of reconstruction explains

that a thought that has affected the society also affects the collective memory. The past arranges the present and the future differently with what they experience, memory can move in two different directions, back and forth. According to Assmann, figures of remembering want to be embodied in a certain space and they are always based on an abstract space and time, although not in a geographical or historical sense. For example, celebrations based on a certain religion or national feelings repeated over time are common grounds experienced by certain groups. By continuing regularly, they ensure the continuity of collective memory (Assmann, 1997).

According to Halbwachs, collective memory is limited in time. The narrowness or width of the time limit may differ for each community, so different collective processes can be mentioned for different communities, and a single event can affect different communities in different collective consciousnesses. Each individual is a member of more than one community, participates in many different social ideas, navigates in different collective times. This is one of the different factors of differentiation between individuals, within the same period, in a certain region of space, the consciousness of different people does not always go in the same collective currents (Halbwachs, 2007) Continuously repetitive activities are within all these remembering figures in collective memory, except for the effect of different collective times, there is a need for a place where memories occur and come alive. For example, a country, a city, buildings, squares can form the spatial framework of the collective memory. Halbwachs sees place as one of the indispensable conditions of collective memory and mentions that even if social groups leave their own spaces, they are still symbolically reconstructing these spaces (Halbwachs, 1992; Assmann, 1997).

In summary, individual memory is in a constant exchange with the social groups it has been involved in or encountered throughout its life, memories are formed by this exchange with social groups that are entered and exited throughout life. Although Halbwachs (1992) evaluates individual memory as a social concept, he states that it is different from collective memory and that individual memory is independent. The memory of social groups consists of the memories of the individuals that make up that group. What is individual in memory is only what the individual perceives. Each individual needs others to accumulate memories, forget or remember, because individual memory depends on a social framework and this framework is the collective

memory. The common space shared by the groups is necessary for the continuity of the collective memory, which contains the concepts such as life stories of the groups, national consciousness, belonging, the bonds loaded with values among the members of the group, and the unity of the social groups. Place, on the other hand, is the basis of the identity, memories and continuity of group members.

2.2. Place and Memory

The formation and maintenance of memory is possible with processes defined through concrete objects. These objects are transformed into images for the individual or community by being associated with individual or social experiences and begin to take place in the memory. In a process where these objects are absent, individuals and communities cannot remember. Everything from personal belongings to physical spaces that form the built environment which constitute the physical environment and are parts of the world of objects that enable the individual or communities to remember. Boyer (1994) mentions that objects have a mysterious power that triggers the individual, so that objects become the stimuli of memory. Halbwachs (1992) asserts that if the interaction between the mind and objects disappears, the individual will find himself/herself in a different environment where there are no stimulating objects. Connerton (2009), proposes that memories protected by connecting to the world of objects surrounding the individual is based on this approach of Halbwachs. Place, on the other hand, as an object, is an order in which these images are placed, as well as the places where memories take place or producing some imaginary representations. If we consider objects as tools of memory, we can consider place as the context of memory. In short, places are productions of architecture and thus architecture has a triggering function for memory processes. Architecture, especially through its monuments and urban artifacts, connects the past to the present - in an imaginative and original sense - and shapes the perceptions of cultures, communities or nations (Boyer, 1994).

Assmann (1997) states that the individual is surrounded by every day and personal belongings such as beds, chairs, dinner sets, clothes, tools, houses, vehicles, villages and even cities, reflections on the streets and things that he/she finds himself/herself in, and that the world of these things is suggests that there is also a reminding time

index. Cicero says that such an index can also be in the context of place, and those who want to train memory skills should identify places, visualize the images of the things they want to remember, and locate them in the places they have determined. This method is called the art of memory, and although the first use of this concept is in the story of Simonides, an ancient Greek poet in *De Oratore*, written by Cicero in 55 BC, some attribute the first use of the concept to Pythagoras, others to the ancient Egyptians (Yates, 1966). The art of memory was accepted as a form of art, not just a technique, and was developed by orators, especially in the Classical period, as part of the rhetoric, in order to memorize speech completely. The art of memory is not only aimed at recording individual memory but is also used by people who want to influence the interpersonal memory of individual groups to create collective recall modes. In the art of memory, all the mental stages performed by the individual are based on architectural experience. Therefore, the architectural features of the place of memory art defined in different sources in each period reflect the characteristics of that period (Yılmaz, 2010). In short, place determines how associations and representations defined over objects are stored in memory and remembered/forgotten in this context.

Halbwachs (1992), argued that physical objects or space can provide the stability and permanence that the world of thoughts cannot provide for the individual. The relationship established by space in memory, explains what will happen when individuals return to their essences and travel to the earliest memories and says, “we cannot go outside of the place”. What is described here is not an uncertain place; this is a place that we know, remember and can easily locate. Halbwachs (1992) states that he made great efforts to remove this spatial context and remember the past that is free of context and emphasizes that emotions and thoughts are bound to a place and memories cannot be recalled if they cannot access these places in memory. Structures built with the awareness of spatial requirements, relevant techniques and technologies are reproduced when socially experienced (Lefebvre, 2004). For this reason, built spaces become a place based on people's experiences. To become a place, the space must be filled with memories and traces of experience. Boyer (1994), who examines the relationship of collective memory in the context of the city, states that the city carries the traces of the memory of the society with its previous architectural forms, city plans, public usage features, daily experiences, public discussions and gatherings. Similarly, Aldo Rossi (1982) stated that the city is not only produced architecturally

but also socially. Socially produced memory items such as libraries, museums and monuments experienced by the society exemplify the spatial response. In this context, memory as the place of experiences in human consciousness and reproduction reaches the spatial dimension when combined with the city.

Pierre Nora (2006), on the other hand, in *Le Lieux de Memoire*, in which he locates place at the center of collective memory, underlines that history is formed with place by evaluating place as the history of history and says that it is place that creates the sense of continuity. He states that those affecting collective memory are sociological factors that include habits based on tradition, ethnographic, psychological by moving the subconscious to social groups, and politics with the power to change reality. However, the memory that takes its source from the society is resistant to all kinds of effects; it is continuous, unlimited and it depends on the space relation. Memory is the life itself produced by the groups that have always lived. For this purpose, memory is open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unaware of their constant change of form, very sensitive to all kinds of uses and hand games, is suitable for long uncertainties and sudden resurrections, and is in a continuous development (Nora, 2006). The formation of collective memory is intertwined with spatial experience and is multiplied by experiences shared in the public sphere. When considered in the social order, components of collective memory such as traditions, acts such as commemoration ceremonies and rituals find their correspondence in the space. Therefore, these components have a spatial character in that they organize the reality of the present situation and represent the past as an external reality (Kansteiner, 2002). These places, named by Pierre Nora as places of memory, are the places where memory especially emerges and the most striking symbols such as holidays, emblems, monuments and commemoration ceremonies are seen depending on the centuries. Places of memory are important meeting places with various dimensions. History is formed with these places; it is about the tools, production, and operation of spaces. If it is true that the main *raison d'être* of a place of memory consists in stopping time, preventing the work of forgetting, determining the state of objects, immortalizing death, embodying the intangible to encompass most of the meaning in at least one of the signs, which is the reason for the passion for them, place of memory, they live in constant transformation, with their meanings constantly relapsing and their branches elongating in an unpredictable way (Nora, 2006). The place of memory is ambiguous

and simple, artificial and natural, achievable through concrete emotional experiences, and sensitive to abstract details. In fact, it is material, symbolic, and functional, with three meanings of the word and these three aspects always coexist in a place of memory. Given the idea of a historical generation, it is material with its demographic content and is supposedly functional with memories which are passed down from generation to generation, and symbolic because it characterizes events (Nora, 1989). In short, what Nora refers to as a space of memory is not only an architecturally produced place; in terms of memory, such activities, archives, documents such as testaments, homage and commemoration ceremonies that contain material, symbolic and functional properties can also function as a place of memory.

Some buildings in the city are important for the architectural discourse in the city in terms of their meanings and values. Urban structures and monuments that make up the urban space are above all works of art and define some important values for the city. It should not be necessary to defend monumental buildings in the city, because it is important that these works were not deliberately destroyed (Rossi, 1982). It is expected that these structures will not only be physically preserved but also preserve their place in the collective memory and continue to be a part of daily life. On the other hand, Leeuwen (2005) criticizes the insistence that the protecting buildings, if they cannot be added to daily life, and defines this as the insistence not to touch the unnecessary and incompatible structures. Boyer (1994) states that because of his longing for the past of individuals and communities, he wants the preservation of the surviving parts of the past and the reconstruction of those that no longer exist, but the reconstruction of any historical element that has no place in the memory of individuals and communities regarding urban space, disrupting collective memory. it is a dangerous aspect of the building activity.

At this point, the question of which elements in the urban space should be preserved or which are destructible begins to arise. Boyer (1994) argues that there is no question of separating the architecture of the city as "beautiful" or "ugly", even if it does, this distinction will not offer a solution. When individuals and communities establish a special relationship with any building in the city, regardless of this distinction, if the building has a place in the collective memory, the necessity of protecting the structure subject to this relationship arises. Artun (2011) deals with the destruction of some

buildings in the urban space as a kind of defeat. In particular, the destruction of architectural products created by a particular discourse is perceived as the defeat of that discourse. Beyond the collapse of the buildings, the demolition of the demonstration created by the building and its representations in the collective memory is a tragic event. In such cases, photographs and images of destruction can become a fact or the event of destruction becomes a monument. For example, the Pruitt-Igoe blocks, designed in 1951, were labeled as the disgrace of architecture over time, first evacuated and abandoned to its own destiny, then demolished by exploding (Figure 1); according to Jencks, 16 March 1972, 3 pm, when the demolition took place, is the moment when modern architecture dies, and the destruction itself is a memorial dedicated to this death (Artun, 2011).

Freud explains that the fact that everything will face death or extinction, or that all beautiful things end in nothingness with decay and wear, does not diminish, even increase the value of the beautiful, and emphasizes that the value of pleasure increases when the possibility of pleasure is limited (Riegl, 2015). Interpreting Freud's approach through the concept of monument, Riegl (Riegl, 2015) emphasizes that the possibility of pleasure from objects whose antiquity has consolidated and that have gained a memorial value is limited, but on the other hand, the value of pleasure increases. This point of view is important in order to understand how some buildings that have lost their usage intensity gain weight independent of the purpose of use in the urban space. Although it is painful to observe the aging of some buildings in the urban space, the structures in question are more valuable than ever before, and the memories stored in the collective memory through these structures are more vivid than they have been before. The destructive processes of natural or human activity faced by the structures that are part of social life in the city create tremors in the collective memory; On the other hand, as these structures are depleted, they turn into monuments that stimulate the collective memory with every image and the process it goes through. How the collective memory is maintained depends on the image of the monument and the destruction activity. The destructions faced by the structures that are the carrier of the collective memory in the urban space, at this point, appear as processes that trigger forgetting and, in this respect, it is a collective memory activity.



Figure 1. Demolition of a Pruitt-Igoe Building (Source: Fiederer, 2017)

2.3. Counter-Memory

Aristotle redefines the scope of reminiscence in his short treatise "On Memory and Reminiscence" in *Parva Naturalia*, attributing memory not only to humans but also to some animal species but limited the ability to remember to humans. According to the Aristotelian theory, memory functions to keep past images in the mind, while remember is defined as the consciousness of past images. The ability to remember uses past images to bring back those forgotten and to relate them consistently (Barash, 2007). But the individual also needs a social group to remember. Individuals often remember something because others provoke them to remind them; because the memory of others comes to help and gets support from their memory. No matter how personal, every memory probe, every reminiscence, or even just remembering events we witnessed, or even unspoken thoughts and feelings, relate to a set of thoughts that many others have (Connerton, 2009). We situate what we think and remember within the mental spaces provided by the group.

Connerton (2009) examined the recalling process of collective memory especially through transference actions that are not based on writing and recording. His study under the headings of commemoration ceremonies and bodily practices mentions that

the information extending from the past activates recall as a result of stimulation of collective memory with repeated re-enactments. Assmann (1997) states that collective remembering takes place in two ways in collective memory. The first of these is the "original remembering" form that provides expression with various symbols such as dances, ceremonies, pictures, clothes, jewelry, roads, places, as well as linguistic expression in societies where there is no culture of writing, and the other is the "biographical remembering" in which people's recent past is told. Assmann (1997) states that remembrance forms that keep collective memory alive, such as rituals, festivals, religions, and celebrations that provide rooted remembering, form the basis of their social identities, based on the remembering figures of Halbwachs.

Place is the main actor of remembering. Ricoeur (2017), saying "the moment of remembering is the moment of recognition", points out that the events experienced or seen in the memory in time and place, the places visited are remembered, and the remembered memories are dependent on the place. This is the starting point of Nora's places of memory. The feature of these places is that they are "spare memory replacing dead memory" as a triggering force to remember. Apart from place, written sources, rituals and traditions, are also an important source of remembrance for collective memory. Halbwachs points out that there are different forms of remembering being written down by history and tradition. At this point, memories are completely eliminated from the state of reconstruction, and the past, which is regarded as neutral, is preserved in this way and transforms into a shared whole (Assmann, 1994). One of the written sources to help remember is history. While describing the places of memory, Nora also emphasizes the difference between history and memory, stating that history is no longer something belonging to society, but memory is a social phenomenon. While history finds itself as a limited representation of the lived past; memory is life itself, which is open to the dialectic of forgetting and remembering, unaware of constant change of form, suitable for long uncertainties and sudden resurrections, always in development. Memory, which takes its source from the society it is based on, is resistant to all kinds of effects, is continuous, unlimited and depends on the relation of space; history is about the production and functioning of spaces. (Nora, 2006).

Like memory, history cannot be regarded as a purely objective source. The practice of reconstructing history can find a guiding impetus from the memory of social groups at important points; and in turn, it can make important contributions to the shaping of the memory of social groups. One extreme example of such an interaction occurs when the state apparatus is used systematically to erase citizens' memory (Connerton, 2009). In his “Theses on the Concept of History”, Walter Benjamin confronts two conceptions of history that have political implications: the history of victors with a conformist, linear understanding, and the history of the oppressed who take the traumas of the society (Witte, 2007). According to Foucault, official historiography especially tries to strengthen the memory shaped by the state and make it undisputed. Counter-memory tries to break the official and conservative historical tradition by writing the history of the survivors. Counter-memory is a resilient social vein formed against the continuity of official history. He uses the concept of counter-memory to express that there is not a single collective memory, and that his memory is only aware of the existence and struggle with alternatives (Foucault, 1977).

As much as the remembered and the forgotten; it is also important how, by whom and with what effects it is remembered or forgotten. Viewing the practices of remembering and forgetting in the context of power relations fueled by contradictions and tensions also reveals the complexity of the mechanisms that produce, shape, or destroy memory. Remembering and forgetting the possibilities of resistance and opposition occurs when considered within power relations. Thus, unlike classical historiography, a geological historiography is also a counter-memory construction. It is necessary to lead transformative practices by listening to forgotten or silenced memories. Counter memory constitutes a formation that stands against mainstream media and official historical discourses and enables political opposition (Baydar, 2015). Concepts such as forgetting, suppression, trauma and manipulation in collective memory emerge in the social use of these categories by policy makers. The process of mobilizing memory usually occurs with memory studies of the power of the superior by a dominant race or nation or powers, this process is usually done primarily by producing discourses to get rid of what is defined as others, and this memory is not organic, but a memory determined by ruling powers (Levene, 2005). Attempts to forget also involve identity formation process, so tools such as the manipulation of collective memory through education and unilateral historiography are used in post-destruction memory policies.

However, in the face of adverse events, when the policy of facing and remembering the past is followed rather than the policy of forgetting, a new page can be opened, and the burdens of the past can be removed.

The national past memory created by the support of the state traditionally aims at affirming the correctness of a nation's choices. Monuments generally tell the story of noble events, victories, and remind the martyrs of a post-struggle, and tend to naturalize the nation's own values, laws and ideals. In this age, where mass memory production and consumption are abundant, it seems that there is not a sufficient proportion between memorization of the past and its deduction. When we gave memory a monumental form, we deprived ourselves of the responsibility to remember; the monuments took responsibility for memory and freed the audience from this burden. The more we put this task on the monuments, the more forgetful we became. In contrast, the counter monument briefly shows the limitations and possibilities of all monuments, and in the memorial areas; memory exists as a counter-index of the intersection paths of time and history. For example, the Berlin Wall; from self-destruction, it criminally points out that guerrilla art is its official property and becomes a counter-monument. Memory can be regarded as a reminder in its work, which is a process that concentrates on the figurative space of a past moment. The counter-monument reserves this: It forces the memorial to disseminate, not collect, the real effects of time in one place. By dissolving itself over time, the counter memorial imitates its own distribution of time, becoming more like than memory. It tries to enliven memory, no less than the eternal monument, but by clearly pointing to his own changing face, he also expresses the inevitable, even fundamental evolution of memory itself over time (Young, 2017).

2.4. Remembering and Forgetting

Efforts to suppress history, which are not to be shown in historiography, rebuild itself as a counter-memory against this suppression act with remembering. The rewriting of history with this act of remembering, includes the memories and experiences of victims. According to Pierre Nora, memories are the symbolic aspect of the power struggle, the conquest of the past, the emergence of what has been lost. All memories are primarily counter-histories (Nora, 2006). Counter-memory is created by living

memory, by the experiences and memories of arises with remembering the forgotten. Memory is subject to the forgetting-remembering dialectic. Forgetting and remembering work hand in hand, helping one another to achieve an optimal form. This union of forgetting and remembering has also been the subject of Greek mythology, according to the Greeks they form an inseparable couple; Lesmosyne and Mnemosyne, which are represented as equals that need each other. In short, these two are both coexist, but Mnemosyne, which represents remembering in this existence, includes Lesmosyne, which represents forgetting (Casey, 1987). This synergy of remembering and forgetting also makes it possible to explore how memory can be used politically. In these historical processes, eliminating the traces of the gaps and wounds created in the collective memory and creating a healthy collective memory is achieved by efforts to remember. Collective memory consists of categories such as forgetting, remembering and recollection, like individual memory. Recollection is one of the most important functions of individual memory, on the other hand, it functions to establish our identities through the past in the collective memory and to create the future. Paul Ricoeur examines forgetting with a cognitive and objective approach. In the objective approach, he makes the assessment that memory faithfully carries the past that it constructed itself, based on memories. Forgetting is felt primarily and often an attack on the reliability of memory. Therefore, memory defines itself in the first stage as struggle against forgetting. It avoids recallable processes of forgetting and absolute forgetting that result in the erasing remembrance traces and emphasizes that emotions are driven by deep forgetting through speculation. He evaluates forgetting on the same plane as memory and history. He considers forgetting to be the most comprehensive and threatening problem behind memory and history (Ricoeur, 2017). Forgetting is a necessity for the individual as well as for the society. It is necessary to know to forget in order to enjoy the present time, the waiting of the present; but it is also a need for memory to forget. We can say that the relationship between remembering and forgetting is the same as between life and death (Auge, 2019).

Connerton puts modernity at the center of forgetting. He says that forgetting based on modernity depends on remembering. Economic growth and rapid population growth stemming from industrialization from the 19th century caused the cities to grow especially outward, and the necessity of the new buildings emerged. Public spaces have been eroded to construct new buildings or old buildings have been transformed

and radical changes have occurred in the social structure. With modernity, social life has brought the necessity of individuals to live faster in order to keep up with the rapidly developing world, buildings have become rapidly consumed commodities, life has ceased to be people-oriented, it has become a state of common memories and values (Connerton, 2009). Changing cities cause changing memories. Freud rejects the Aristotelian approach to the idea that the aging and aging processes of objects will also apply to the images of objects and argues that this process is not valid for images (Boyer, 1994). This approach of Freud describes the continuity of the images of urban objects in the collective memory, beyond the physical continuity of urban objects. Although the physical continuity ends at the time of destruction, according to him, the imaginary continuity does not experience the same end.

The change experienced in the urban space and this situation that emerges completes a deficiency and starts to conflict with the image of the place in the collective memory. For this reason, events such as the change of the social environment and destruction affect the collective memory. This conflict also supports this approach of Rossi (1982), who argues that the most easily recognizable indicators of the city's development process are destruction. Individuals and communities that keep the images of urban space in their memory cannot match the gaps created by destruction with the images of the city; Thus, the city is reproduced imaginatively in the collective memory through its new physical condition. This situation is different for monuments. The Aristotelian approach argues that when an object is produced to sustain memory, the aging or destruction of the object in question will trigger forgetting (Boyer, 1994).

In his book *The Architecture of City*, Aldo Rossi (1982) argues that preserving memories in the human mind is similar to preserve the urban fabric, because for him buildings mediate the remembrance of the city. One of the main areas of interest in history is the change in the landscape and texture of the city, but the essence of city's memory is successive events, so this is the preferred psychological context for making sense of a city: preserving or destroying the built urban fabric that constitutes our collective memory of space. The collapse of large numbers of important buildings poses threats of forgetting or identity crises. The city loses its differences in texture and can no longer continue to guide the people living in it. After Rossi's work Boyer works on collective memory and the city and mentions that the modernist city has lost

its means of interpretation on “translate traditions and memories into meaningful and contemporary forms” (Boyer, 1994). Human memory is spatial, memory takes shape as space takes shape, public shared spaces can also take a place in collective memory. Physical manifestations such as monuments, symbols, structures, memorial places, street names can express the accumulation of memories and define a group with the traces left as a result of daily use. Çalpak (2012) suggests that radical changes in cities as a result of political decisions or wars will leave permanent marks in cities and cause significant disconnections in urban memory. Berman (1988), on the other hand, states that the necessary investments for some parts of the urban space were stopped due to economic or political reasons, thus, in many cases, the growth and development possibilities of these parts were eliminated, they were left to decay on the grounds that they completed their lives, and they were faced with the pressure of collapse in the end. tells. When communities have to submit to change, they redefine themselves in order to adapt to the new conditions that are emerging in the physical environment that was once all their own.

Based on the role of place in centralization on collective memory, Connerton (2009) examines topographic forgetting by stating that the spaces produced in the contemporary cultural environment cause collective memory loss and conducts this research under the heading of “the diameter of human settlement”, “the formation of speed” and “the deliberate destruction of the established environment”. Topographic inspection actually works like a mechanism that triggers each other. Speed generation involves the “deliberate destruction of an established environment at regular intervals”. Especially, the buildings that started in cities in the first quarter of the twentieth century did not last long and the memory was erased, resulting in an oblivion that emerged with the replacement of new ones. Modern cities transformed in this process consisting of similar urban and architectural textures were produced with light materials called modern spaces under the structural hegemony of capitalism and created a widespread loss of collective memory. Therefore, examining forgetfulness as a contemporary, cultural, systematic phenomenon is inevitably linked to the issue of place, more specifically to the issue of memory of place (Connerton, 2009). Although modernity caused shortening the life span of the buildings, the end of life of architectural products sometimes occurs not as a result of nature or human activities, but due to the different wishes and expectations of the city dwellers or those who

govern the city. Especially in the processes where the power and ideologies change, the symbolic example of the old and the structures that are part of the collective memory may face such treats. The processes in which buildings become rapidly consumed commodities such as degradation, demolition, renovation and replacement create disruptions in the collective memory continuity of monuments, structures and cities in general.



CHAPTER 3: ATATURK CULTURAL CENTER

The declaration of the Turkish Republic on 29th October 1923 led to much stronger changes in political, economic, social and cultural fields compared to the past. The target of the new regime was to reach the "level of contemporary civilizations" and to establish a modern country. Years following the proclamation of the Republic; had been the period when contemporary, innovative thinking dominated and reform movements which aimed at structuring the country gained importance. As in almost other aspects of social life, reform movements directly affected fine arts and architecture. In this period which witnessed of a radical change such as the transition from the Ottoman Empire to a national state and the Republic, the dependence of architecture on social changes can be observed more directly (Batur, 1984). During this period, it could be seen that the nation-state took the modernization process as a determining framework. In this respect, the 20th century architecture produced in Turkey is defined as Republic Architecture, Turkish Architecture or Contemporary and Modern Architecture. While the concept of Republican Architecture is associated primarily with the newly established state, the definition of Turkish Architecture is similarly interpreted through the relation of the Republic to the nation defined by it. Contemporary and modern definitions also make sense of architecture by associating it with the new administration, interpreting it within the framework of renewal and modernization processes that accelerated with the establishment of a nation-state (Ergut, 2009). In summary, a modernization process was required in architecture as in other fields. This is a trend that is not elaborated, does not use specific architectural and stylistic concepts and terminology, but has a definite direction (Batur, 1984).

The early republican history of Turkey contains evidence of how the leaders, artists, and intellectuals of the republican era imagined the nation's creative aspirations through rituals, symbols and spatial practices including architecture (Bozdoğan, 2002). What is sought is an expression that will represent the level of contemporary civilization that comes with the Republic for the first time and is desired to be reached. Turning to modern architecture is perceived as a necessity of being contemporary and as one of the complementary learners of transition from the Islam / East origin culture to the Western cultural system. During the Revolution years, when the ties with the old society and order were severed one by one, the Republican cadre considered the

new architecture as a symbol to reflect its political radicalism (Batur, 1984). In this period when statist politics and nationalist feelings were strong, the architects also attempted to carry out a "architecturalization of the modern" program, that is, they tried to show that the Turkish construction traditions and the rationalist principles of modern architecture were compatible. At first, the aesthetic rules of the "International Style" were rejected and either more territorial or more classical and monumental forms were turned. In a broader ideological sense, Turkish architects collectively contributed to identifying "national architecture" with the nationalist ideology of a strong and authoritarian state. Just as they had adopted the "new architecture" as an expression of the Kemalist revolution before, they called for establishing a "national architecture" that could represent the program of Kemalism to reveal the historical roots of the Turks in this period. While new architecture embodies the aspirations of the new nation for the future, national architecture was born from the desire to construct a deep-rooted historical identity for the nation (Bozdoğan, 2002). National / international and the like based on the dilemma created fiction, fact of Turkey in the 20th century historians who have studied the architecture produced in how they describe this production, it gives us information about how to define their comments. National / traditional approach international-contemporary-modernity quest tensions arising from the alliance is a long time in Turkey constitute the dominant discourse of cultural production. It can be said that the discourse that prevails in the interpretation and history writing of the architecture of the Republic period is shaped over these identity discussions that are restricted between dilemmas (Ergut, 2009).

The role of government in the advent of modern architecture in Turkey is significantly positive. The transformation has been quite radical; it was initiated at a high level and with a certain integrity. The administration, which formulates its development direction and policy as "reaching the level of contemporary civilization", should benefit from foreign experts in order to close the cultural and technological gap (Batur, 1984). Especially early urbanization projects and applications have been given a special place within the scope of the modernity project of the Republic period. This new discipline which was emerged in the early 20th century with the idea of planning cities in accordance with the requirements of the industrial age, new transportation technologies and public health has been seen as an effective tool of modernization, an area of expertise that should be utilized in creating the urban environment and modern

city image required by the contemporary society life that is desired to be created by the administration of the Republic. It has been seen as an area of expertise that should be utilized in creating the city image. For this purpose, in the field of urban planning as well as in the field of architecture, Western - mainly German and French - experts were invited to the country and realized the first plans of the cities (Bilsel, 2007). Henri Prost was invited to plan Istanbul and he will remain in this duty until the end of 1950. During this period, he developed the European Side Master Plan (1937), the Anatolian Side Master Plan (1939) and the Bosphorus Coasts Plan (1939-1948), as well as the implementation plans of these regions and the Ten-Year Plan Program covering the period 1943-1953. Henri Prost's planning for Istanbul is based on three main principles, "environmental health", "transportation / circulation" and "aesthetics". In addition to the master plans, urban arrangements, square, dock and park arrangements have been made in detail, and some of these have been implemented. Henri Prost played an active role in the spatial transformation of Istanbul, the historical capital, at a time when the modernization breakthrough of the Republic was decisive not only in the country and city administration but also in the social life. Henri Prost's effect on the transformation of the urban space of Istanbul continued after 1950, as before (Bilsel, 2010).

With the victory of the Democrat Party (DP) on May 14, 1950, Turkey's early republican period ended. The DP regime has abandoned the secular authoritarianism, statist economic policies, and nationalist self-sufficiency of the Republican People's Party, promoting populist democracy, private entrepreneurship, and a more ambitious regional role for Turkey in the post-war international order. During this period, the country's early Western-oriented cultural policy remained unchanged, but the meaning of "western" in the collective consciousness of the nation changed from "European" to "American". Turkey has been identified by American social scientists as one of the most successful examples of the universally defined modernization process, better known as the modernization theory. The dichotomy between tradition and modernity is at the of modernization theory. While modernity was presented as an absolute blessing, tradition was presented as an obstacle to the realization of modernity. With the increasing mobility of societies, development of communication technologies and becoming more "modern" with indicators such as urbanization, it is assumed that new thought and behavior patterns will replace traditional features and cultural practices.

During the nation building that started in the 1930s, it mostly turned to Ankara and other Anatolian cities due to the limited resources of the republic; Istanbul had to wait for the first planning studies until 1940s. The old imperial capital Istanbul, which has lagged behind especially the new capital Ankara for a period of twenty years, has experienced a revival with the new DP administration, have been the showcase of the urban modernization project and with the new roads, public squares, parks and construction of new iconic modern buildings in the Prost Plan. According to urban historians, despite the economic difficulties caused by the war, the transformation of Istanbul from an Ottoman city into a republican city began in those years, and it became a public relations campaign and a prestige struggle both domestically and internationally by the prime minister of the period, Adnan Menderes (Bozdoğan and Akcan, 2012).

In the Cold War world of the 1950s, Turkey was accepted into the Western Club as a new NATO member, primarily for geopolitical reasons. This development constitutes an important ground for the positive reception of international architectural movements in Turkey in this period when modernization theory and development discourses are at the center. During this period, Turkish architects mostly abandoned the search for Turkish national style and started to concentrate on international style. This style came to be seen as a new transnational aesthetic of bureaucratic and technocratic efficiency best symbolized. Therefore, instead of expressing Turkishness through architecture, the supranational language of modern technological progress began to be adopted as visual witnesses of the success of Turkish national modernization in the international context. More numerous and less famous than their early republican counterparts, the architects of the 1950s constituted an entirely new generation in their careers in which a new commitment to the International Style coincided with a significant organizational transformation of professional practice. Two main sources of inspiration were particularly important for these architects in terms of their new openness to international influences. The first was American corporate modernism, especially the glass curtain wall examples. The second is the post-war works of Le Corbusier. Particularly the paradigmatic *Unite d'Habitation* (1948) and Corbusian works of Latin American and Caribbean architects featured in the Turkish architectural media. Reflecting all these aesthetic influences, the Istanbul Hilton Hotel, designed by Skidmore, Owings & Merrill, is the indisputable symbol of

post-war modernism in Turkey. It is also an example of the role of modern architecture in US Cold War Policy. In particular, embassy buildings and Hilton hotels were seen as powerful visual tools to project America's positive image abroad. While some versions of concrete brise soleil remained the norm on the facades of office and hotel buildings, the first important experiments with glass curtain walls cast in front of the structural frame also appeared during this period. Atatürk Cultural Center is one of the most iconic and controversial examples of the glass-concrete-box formula of 1950s modernism (Bozdoğan and Akcan, 2012).

Referring to the master plan he prepared for Istanbul, Henri Prost said, "The new face of Istanbul will honor the young republic." (Akpınar and Ayataç, 2012). The idea of building an opera house in Taksim Square first appeared in Henri Prost's plan (Figure 2). In this sense, Taksim is a suitable place to be the main component of the city's "new face": an opera house to be built here will be a sign of the young republic that has turned its face towards the West. The plan envisaged the conversion of the Topçu Barracks and the cemeteries around it into a park, and the construction of an opera house in Taksim Square. Henri Prost proposed two important cultural structures that would revitalize the region; Istanbul Opera and Şişhane Comedy Theater (Can, 2014). The fact that an opera house will be built in Taksim Square is also an ideological breakthrough. The opera house will be the place of the new national identity that is tried to be developed together with the republic (Boysan, 2011). In this chapter, the processes of the Atatürk Cultural Center, which was rebuilt twice and destroyed as a result of long discussions in the republican era, will be explained.



Figure 2. The Location of Opera House Marked on the 1944 Pervititch Map (Source: Salt Archive, 1944)



Figure 3. Taksim Square before the Construction of Opera House (Source: Can, 2014)

3.1. Design and Construction Process

When Lütü Kırđar was appointed as the governor and mayor of Istanbul in 1938, he considered three cultural projects that he thought would meet the expectations of the cultural life of the city: the winter theater, the summer theater and the conservatory. Shortly after Kırđar's inauguration, the number of those who wanted a theater structure in Istanbul was not low in a survey initiated by the Cumhuriyet newspaper, but the priority of other expenditures initially overshadowed this requirement (Kırđar, 1947). The first step regarding the building was taken in 1939, upon the proposal of Henri Prost the Istanbul Governorship and Municipality asked Auguste Perret, another French architect, to prepare a project for the "Grand Theater" as an opera house. Perret, who came to Istanbul, prepared a project both for the Grand Theater and for the Comedy Theater planned to be built in Şiřhane between 1939-1940 (Batur, 1984). Auguste Perret designs a building in the east of Taksim Square, in a west-east orientation. This structure, which extends in the direction of the square, envisages the opening to Taksim Square with a foyer that is elevated with a few steps from the ground, and these steps also define the main entrance. Perret constructs the building on a hierarchical mass composition and this approach, in a sense, aims to reveal a monumental building right next to Taksim Square. The monumentality represented by the building is read through Perret's suggestions regarding the shell: Perret places vertical windows on the facades, which he defines through the column system, and this order reinforces the weight and monumentality of Perret's proposal (Ganiç, 2016). However, the Grand Theater and the Comedy theater could not be realized during the Second World War due to economic reasons (Batur, 1984).

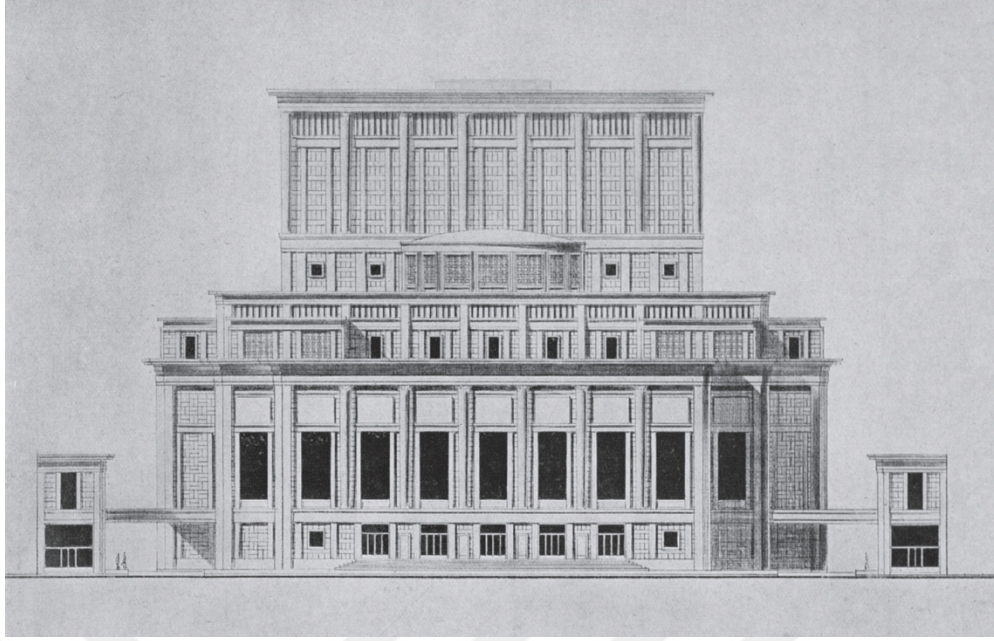


Figure 4. Auguste Perret's Proposal for the Grand Theater (Source: Aydemir, 2018)

In the following years, the foundation of the building was laid on May 29, 1946 and it was started according to the projects of Rükneddin Günay and Feridun Kip (Figure 4). In this design, the composition of the mass repeats the heavy and monumental effect of the project prepared by Auguste Perret, but the dominant height of the stage tower is reduced. Principles similar to those in Perret's project are also adopted in façade design; Taksim Square façade is constructed in the form of vertical bands separated by the carriers. This proposal continues to soften the monumental effect Perret suggested (Ganiç, 2016). The project of the building, whose construction started in 1946, was neoclassical with its exterior architecture and rather Baroque theater forms with its interior volumes (Tabanlıoğlu, 1966). However, again due to economic reasons, the building had to wait for a long time, with the skeleton of the project completed on the shore of Taksim Square, and when it was understood that the construction of the project could not be continued by the municipality and with the law enacted in 1953, the issue was transferred to the Ministry of Finance. After being transferred to the Ministry of Finance, Paul Bonatz made sketches (Figure 5) on the current project in 1954-55, but after leaving the country, Güney and Kip continued to work on their previous projects (Tabanlıoğlu, 1979). Looking at Bonatz's sketches, it is understood that he did not suggest radical changes on Güney and Kip's suggestions, but only suggested some minor innovations that would increase the number of audiences that

the great hall could receive or that would affect the fiction of the building, albeit a little (Ganiç, 2016).

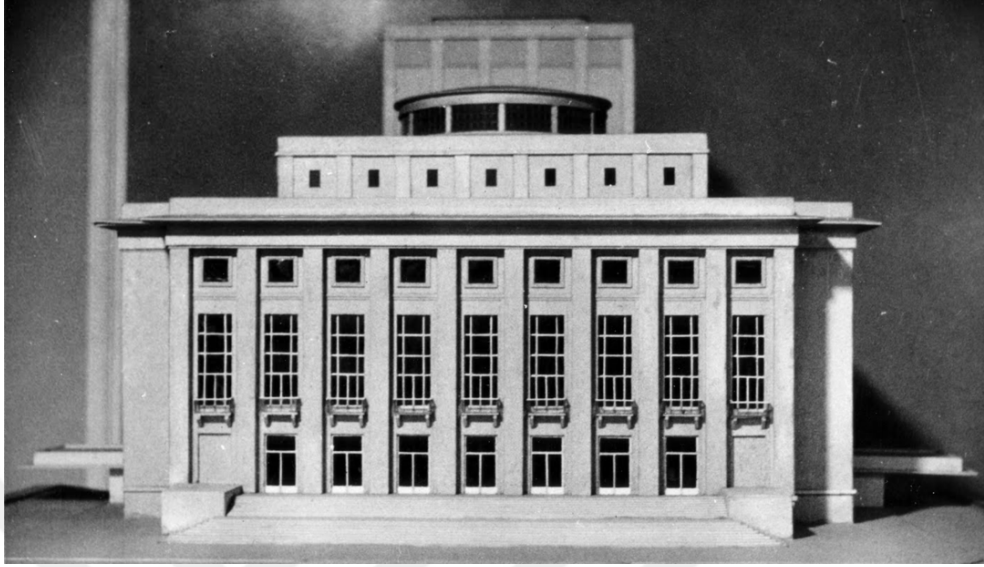


Figure 5. Model of the project designed by Rükneddin Güney and Feridun Kip for the Istanbul Opera House and Constitutes the Basis of the First Implementation (Source: Can, 2014)

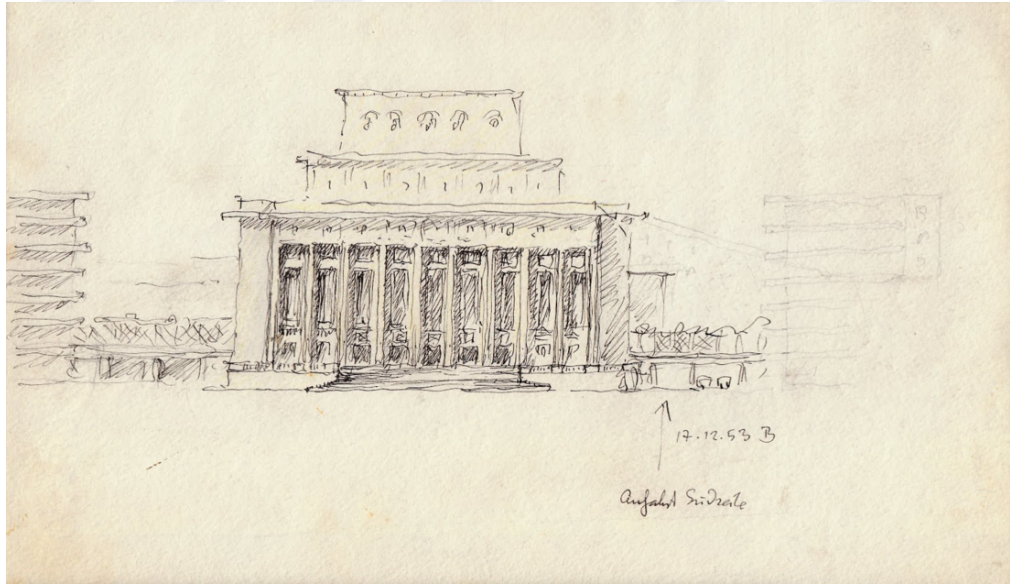


Figure 6. Ideas Given by Paul Bonatz on Rükneddin Güney and Feridun Kip's Istanbul Opera House Project (Source: Can, 2014)

Hayati Tabanlıoğlu was a student at the Faculty of Architecture of Istanbul Technical University at the beginning of the construction of the Istanbul Opera House. Due to the faculty's proximity to Taksim Square, he had the opportunity to observe the

construction of the opera house. After graduation, he went to Germany upon the invitation of Gerhard Graubner to work in his office and found the opportunity to work in theaters in cities such as Munich, Bochum, Kassel. He also studied for his doctorate on theater structures at the Technical University of Hannover, and in his thesis, he examined the relationship between the audience and the playground in theater buildings. In 1955, he met with Bonatz who was working on the remaining carcass construction of Istanbul Opera House, and he complained about the construction was inconclusive. After returning to his country, Tabanlıoğlu started to work at the Ministry of Public Works. Due to his knowledge of the theater buildings, he was assigned for the Istanbul Opera House project, whose project was transferred to the Ministry of Public Works in 1956 (Tabanlıoğlu, 1977b). The rough structure (Figure 6) of the audience section made according to the old project has affected the restructured projects in a restrictive way. Before Tabanlıoğlu's assignment for the project, Architect Clemens Holzmeister who had also designed many public buildings in Turkey, asserted that this skeleton could not be used as an opera house. But Tabanlıoğlu tried to use the completed skeleton of the building as effectively as possible and argued that the dimensions of the skeleton were kept quite large for only an opera house. Thus, the building, which was considered only as an opera house until 1957, gained the quality of a large Cultural Center with various function units, with the idea of Tabanlıoğlu that the program of building in such an important location should be more comprehensive (Tabanlıoğlu, 1979). After that decision a grand hall, a concert hall, a chamber theater, a children's cinema, and an art gallery have been added within the building.



Figure 7. Istanbul Opera House Construction Designed by Rükneddin Güney and Feridun Kip (Source: Can, 2014)

The directors of the period sought Gerhard Graubner's knowledge about the new project. Graubner mentioned the details of urbanism, technical issues and gave some suggestion in his report. Graubner, who particularly touches on the visibility of the building within the scope of urbanism, said that the existing buildings in the vicinity surround the opera house and cover it with a city view (Figure 7), so the Opera House can only be seen from Taksim Square. For this reason, the main façade has been arranged in an effective way and will enable the building to be distinguished from other structures. He stated that the glass facade facing the square should be made of light metal covered steel construction and aluminum joinery. According to Graubner, the façade, which will create a semi-transparent appearance, will create a very strong architectural expression with the exterior appearance of the halls full of beautifully dressed audiences, especially during show times, and the chandeliers hitting the lights on Taksim Square (Graubner, 1957). In this report, Graubner also made recommendations to the Ministry to work on technical issues. One of the greatest achievements of Hayati Tabanlıoğlu in this structure is that he was able to make the state acknowledge the need for assistance in specialization issues such as stage and headquarters lighting while building a cultural center (Tabanlıoğlu, 2007). He worked with artists and experts from other disciplines in the design of the interior. Johannes

Dinnebier took charge as the lighting consultant and designed the lighting fixtures of the grand hall and the large foyer (Figure 8). At that time, imports from abroad were generated when the lamp was produced by specially made prototype Paşabahçe in Turkey (Dinnebier, 2012). The 100 square meter Hereke carpet in the large foyer and the paintings of Oya Katoğlu and Mustafa Plevneli in the foyer and the work by Cevdet Bilgin were designed exclusively for this cultural center. Some surfaces in the interior are covered with mosaics and ceramics interpreted by Sadi Diren. On the stage technique, it was studied with Willi Elle, who was recommended by Graubner (Tabanlıoğlu, 1979).

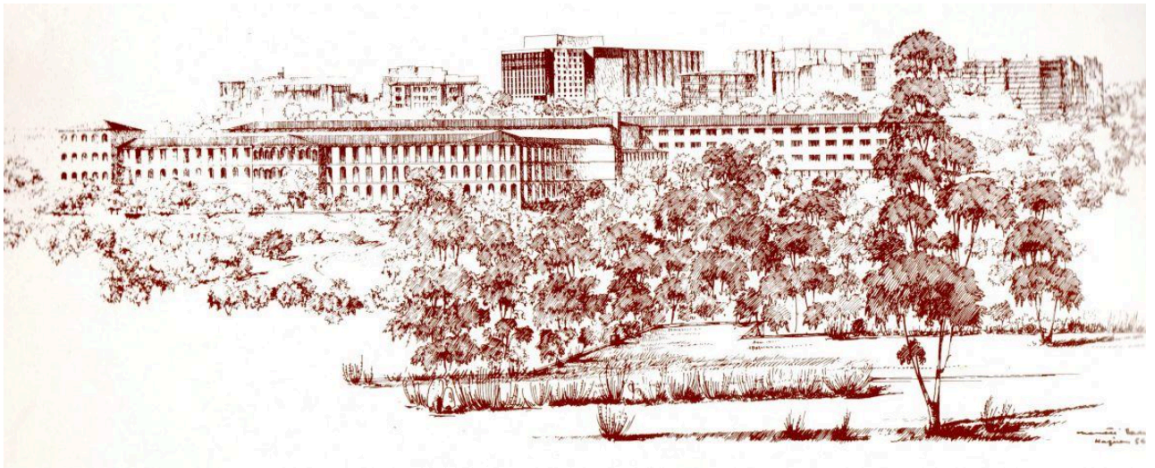


Figure 8. Sketch by Hayati Tabanlıoğlu, Istanbul Cultural Palace from Bosphorus (Source: Arkitektuel, 2015)



Figure 9. Lightings of foyer area designed by Johannes Dinnebier (Source: Can, 2014)

The construction of the Istanbul Cultural Palace took 13 years after it was transferred to the Ministry of Public Works. The reasons why the construction, which lasted for

23 years in total, is not completed, in short, the continuous project changes, funding opportunities, and the difficulties encountered in the execution of a complex building that can be called for the first time in the country in accordance with the existing laws and formalities (Tabanlıoğlu, 1977a). The building, which was put into service under the name of Istanbul Cultural Palace on April 12, 1969, was given to the State Opera and Ballet and the General Directorates of the State Theaters, and the opening (Figure 9) was made with the opera "Aida" (Tabanlıoğlu, 1979). When the building was opened, it is Europe's second largest and world's fourth largest Opera (Küçükdoğan, 2008). A structure with rotating stages and electronic light installations in sizes, volumes, which will solve the problems experienced by the State Opera and Ballet and State Theaters before, has emerged. In this respect, it is thought that performances that need a large scene, decoration, crowded figuration and rich lighting can now be staged in this Cultural Center without any problems (Gökçer, 1969).



Figure 10. An article on the opening night of the Cultural Palace and photographs by Erol Dernek, published in the 17th issue of Ses magazine (Source: SALT Archive, 2018)

What Batur (1984) said about the architecture of the period, who defines the 1950s as "the first period in architecture to open to the international system", finds a response - in a sense - in the renovated projects of the opera house. The international trend of

architecture in the 1950s was usually manifested by horizontal, spreading rectangular shaped masses; in this period, the façade begins to be constructed as large glass surfaces formed by metal frames, ignoring the axes of the reinforced concrete skeleton and applied independently of the structure (Batur, 1984). Hayati Tabanlıoğlu's proposal appears as one of the indicators of opening to the international system in this sense. Purifying the interior from baroque orientations, Tabanlıoğlu also rescues the heavy, monumental shell envisaged by previous projects from classicist tendencies. Tabanlıoğlu's proposal reveals a clear and simple rectangular prism that followed the dominant architectural trend of the period. Perhaps the most controversial and iconic example of the "glass and concrete-box" formula of 1950s modernism was the Atatürk Cultural Center. However, the main façade of the building in Taksim Square that gave the ACC not only its iconic status in post-war Turkish modernism, but also its famous public face for admirers and critics: a transparent glass skin aluminum mesh screen thinly covered with geometric patterns (Bozdoğan and Akcan, 2012). Trying to purify the project from classicist trends, Tabanlıoğlu tried to create the main façade facing the square in qualities and lyricism that would characterize such a culture and art building. The idea of creating large glass surfaces with metal frames, mostly independent of the structure, adopted by the international trend of the period in the construction of facades, emerges with the block added on the Taksim Square facade of the building in Tabanlıoğlu's suggestion (Ganiç, 2016). In the past - as in the design of Auguste Perret and design of Rükneddin Günay and Fahrettin Kip - the monumental effect of these building types was heavy stone facades, but in the new design period, the external and internal volumes were interconnected as clearly as possible, the outer world was pulled into the interior, it calls for the strict expression of the bond between, necessitates avoiding the stimulating elements, and expresses this frequently and satisfactorily in such representative buildings. The proposed solution for the Opera house facade in Taksim Square is a bold attempt to create a satisfying architectural expression with the construction and technical means of that time (Graubner, 1957).



Figure 11. Figure 10: The front façade of Istanbul Cultural Palace (Source: Can, 2014)

Before the opening of the Istanbul Cultural Palace, Tabanlıoğlu recommended that the most important problem of the building was its technical management and therefore the building should not be opened to the public without a qualified technical staff and that the Cultural Center should be an organization affiliated to the prime ministry (Tuygun, 1971). However, the opening of the building was brought up to the general elections upon the request of Süleyman Demirel, the prime minister of the time, and this caused the building to be opened completely without planning. An administration or technical manager was not assigned to the building as envisaged, and the problems encountered were tried to be solved cursory (Küçükdoğan, 2008). The building, which was opened with incomplete technical personnel, became unusable as a result of the fire that started on the evening of November 27, 1970 when the play "Cadı Kazanı" was performed (Figure 11). The fact that there is no loss of life in the fire is attributed to Tabanlıoğlu's success in the solution (Figure 12). The rows of seats were arranged by removing the alleyways, thus preventing the conflict in the alleys and directing the escape from both sides (Tarcan, 1993).



Figure 12. The fire of November 27, 1970 (Source: Can, 2014)

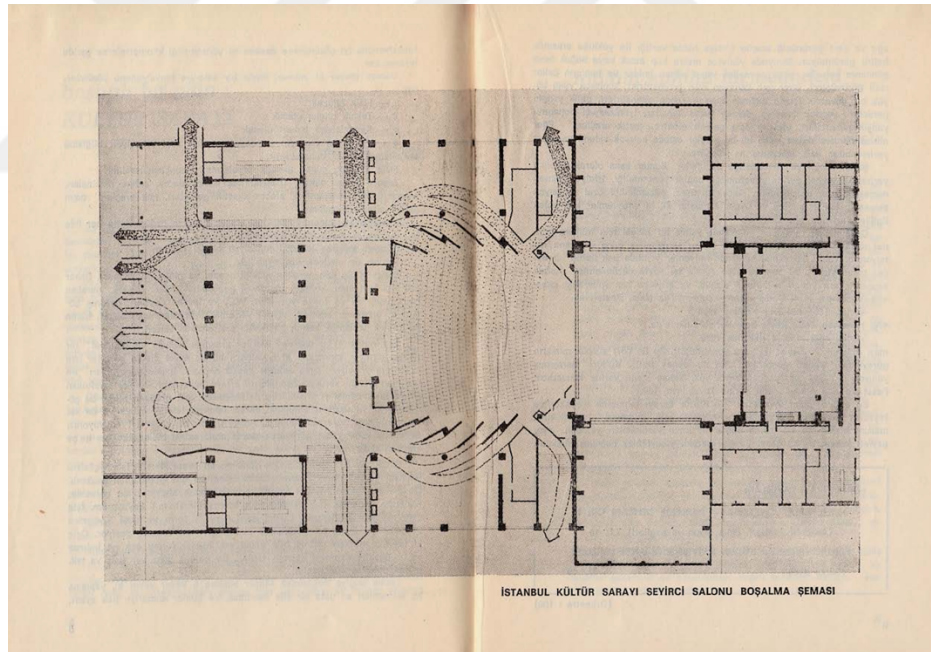


Figure 13. Istanbul Culture Palace audience hall emptying scheme (Source: Tarcan, 1993)

After the fire, the building was reopened under the management of Hayati Tabanlıoğlu, at the end of the restoration process that started in 1973, this time on October 6, 1978 with the name "Atatürk Cultural Center". Tabanlıoğlu does not suggest extensive changes during the repair process, and a number of innovations are made in the great

hall and interior. As the biggest change in the second construction, these changes were made in the installation and interior space by taking advantage of the building opportunities developed in the country compared to the first (Tabanlıoğlu, 1979). Specifically, the first project the aluminum façade brought from Germany, but in the second project aluminum produced in Turkey with the contribution of Arçelik (Figure 13) (Boysan, 2012). Hayati Tabanlıoğlu, in "some of his memoirs" he wrote with the project, says that the greatest happiness of the producers, especially the architect, is to realize a project and see that it can fulfill the functions planned. Atatürk Cultural Center, on the other hand, continues to be able to fulfill the functions planned from 1969, when it was opened to service under the name of "Istanbul Cultural Palace", until 2008, when it was closed for restoration and becomes the center of the cultural life of the city. The building, in fact, is not only the center of the cultural life of the city; at the same time, it becomes one of the carriers of the collective memory in the city and in this sense goes beyond the architect's initial expectations.



Figure 14. Aluminum produced in Turkey with the contribution of Arçelik for front façade design (Source: SALT Research, 2018)

3.2. Restoration and Demolition Process

Before the ACC was closed for restoration in 2008, its demolition was declared for the first time in 2005 by the minister of tourism Atilla Koç who stated that “we will

demolish the Atatürk Cultural Center and rebuild it'' in a congress he attended and started a discussion with these words (Güven, 2005). Whereas, as emphasized in the articles in the Venice Statute, witnessing a historical event or an important development presupposes the preservation of a building whether is in an urban or rural settlement. In this context, the ACC should evaluate not only as a building but as an iconic landmark (Tabanlıoğlu, 2007). In 1999, Murat Tabanlıoğlu visited the ACC with the technical group that renovated the London Opera House and received evaluations that all the equipment and infrastructure were sufficient and that only some renovations were required (Tabanlıoğlu, 2007). In addition, as a result of the expert reports of the ACC, it was decided that the materials used in the building system were still qualified and durable (Güneysu, 2013).

For the ACC, which was evacuated on June 1, 2008, a cooperation protocol was signed on October 18, 2008 by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Agency (Koyuncu, 2012). The ACC has continued its cultural life very actively until the day it was closed. The Great Hall was full in 225 days (98 days for opera and ballet, 56 symphony orchestras), the concert hall is full 155 days, the chamber theater was full in 200 days, Aziz Nesin Stage was full in 207 days, and the cinema hall was full in 135 days. However, the ACC has three problems according to Murat Tabanlıoğlu; the building's connection with the sea is very lacking, its relationship with the environment is disconnected and closed to the outside (Tabanlıoğlu, 2005).

After the cooperation between the Ministry and Istanbul 2010 Agency, a contract regarding the renovation project was signed with Tabanlıoğlu Architecture, and the architectural project was approved on December 24, 2008, the whole project was approved by the Protection Board on May 29, 2009. The project included equipping the Atatürk Cultural Center with today's technologies, strengthening it against earthquakes, increasing the stage performance and increasing the publicity of the ACC (Koyuncu, 2012). As one of the studies conducted under the auspices of the 2010 Capital of Culture Agency, a research was conducted under the direction of Sehran Adalı. Determinations about who and how they used the building were obtained, and in the next stage, a meeting was held with the theme of what should be here (Tabanlıoğlu, 2012). Tabanlıoğlu met with the artists and managers during the process

of the new project and directed them by considering their comments in the decisions made. According to Tabanlıoğlu, the ACC building could not be used fully despite its capacity due to management and understanding problems. Especially in the last years, if there was no representation inside, the ACC's door was closed. Therefore, efforts have been made to make the new design a cultural center to be used every day. The project, which was tendered in 2009, was suspended as a result of the lawsuit brought by Kültür-Sen against the Ministry of Culture and Tourism on 27 July 2009. After the decision to suspend, the parties gathered to compromise, and the project was revised. The revised project has been approved by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and submitted to the conservation board. However, despite the fact that Kültür-Sen did not withdraw its case, the new project could not be evaluated by the board and the project, which was approved on December 16, 2009, was canceled. As a result, the restoration process of the ACC had been stopped (Koyuncu, 2012). After the 2010 Culture Agency withdraw from restoration project, the Ministry of Culture has started restoration work again. In 2012, the bidding was reopened with the budget of the ministry after the Sabancı Foundation committed 30 million Turkish liras for the renovation works in return for the names of the concert hall (Bora, 2017). The renovation works were planned to be completed on October 29, 2013 Republic Day, but in May 2013, the works were stopped with the decision of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

After the renovation works were stopped, the building was left almost abandoned and could not be used for a long time. During the Gezi Park Resistance in 2013, the Prime Minister of the time, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, declared that ‘let's demolish it and make a new baroque-style opera for the ACC’, which came to the agenda again with its front façade. Again, during the Gezi Park Resistance period, it was used as the Police Headquarters and the chamber of architects filed a criminal complaint against the use of the building as a police station in April 2014 (Girit, 2015a). The ACC was registered as a Group 1 cultural asset with the Istanbul Protection Board Law No.2 on November 1, 1999 (Girit, 2015b). Therefore, as mentioned in the report published by the Chamber of Architects during the collapse debates, it is a crime to leave the cultural property to be destroyed by not being restored, and the criminal complaints made by the chamber of architects on this issue were not put into action. The Chamber of Architects also stated in this report why Atatürk Cultural Center is a cultural asset. According to the

report of the Chamber of Architects (*Cumhuriyet Gazetesi*, 2017), the ACC has a documentary value due to the construction technologies of the period in when the country was built, reflecting a design concept, as well as the cultural life of the period to the space. It has an identity value as a physical part of the memory of Istanbul, and the architectural understanding of the period in when it was built. It has a functional and economic value in terms of still meeting the needs of society, and a continuity value resulting from its ability to find a place in contemporary society for more than 40 years. In summary, the ACC is a very important symbol and has a unique value. Unlike the statement of the Chamber of Architects, some architects stated that the ACC should be demolished. Sinan Genim (2019), especially in his various columns and articles, states that the building has the effect of fascist German architecture and that he could not get rid of this effect in the subsequent renovation works. He advocates that a modern opera house should be built in a public space like Taksim Square, which strives to reflect the republican values of Istanbul, instead of replacing a building that oppresses people, lacks aesthetics and is repulsive against all efforts. While these discussions were ongoing, from the photographs taken by some architects who were able to enter the building during the Gezi Park Resistance, it was understood that the building was made unrecoverable. It was determined that technical parts and other items were sold at second-hand dealers and scrap dealers, and it was noticed that sound and light systems were started to be used in other buildings (Yılmaz, 2015). After this, especially artists, architects and journalists reacted to the collapse of the ACC and stated that the building has a place in the collective memory. In his article in *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, Azmi Karaveli (2018) mentions the place of the ACC in the daily life of the local people of Istanbul and the ideological thought behind the destruction decision:

“They are trying to demolish our days without a mobile phone,” We meet in front of the ACC”, our historical May 1, our Gezi days, the theaters we go to that place, our IDSO concerts, the hours we spent in the queues of the Istanbul Festival ... They say that, in fact, “We are going through times when urban and ideological transformation is blessed, do not persevere, look to enjoy it, too.””

While the debate on collapse was still ongoing, Adrian Smith + Gordon Gill Architecture's project for the ACC was the first in the category of future public

buildings in the WAN Future Project Civic Building 2015 and raised doubts about the situation. Later, Perkins + Will Architecture's project for the ACC was announced (Karakoç, 2016). Despite all the objections and discussions, the demolition decision was made for the ACC, which was closed on the grounds of renovation and abandoned to its fate over the years (Gazete Duvar, 2018). In the same year, the new project (Figure 14) prepared by Tabanlıoğlu Architecture was introduced. Stating that the most important problem of the ACC during the restoration process is not its inaccessibility, Tabanlıoğlu said that with the new design, the building will be a practical cultural center every day and the main hall and other small halls will be directly accessible from the square. He stated that the weak relationship between the stadium, the Technical University and the Atatürk Library and the square will be re-established with the transitions to be created within the ACC (Merdim, 2018). One of the most striking aspects of the new design is that its facade is almost exactly the same as the old ACC. Uğur Tanyeli (2020) stated in his comments about the façade:

“Probably, there is now a building whose façade will be covered with a similar large surface with old metal elements so that it looks like the old building. I have a hard time understanding why it is compared to the old structure. Is the aim to preserve an image? If we loved the image so much and could not sacrifice it, why do we preserve the image of the building that we could not fully use for 50 years? If this is protectionism and respect for the historical past, how is this protection and respect?”

The demolition of the ACC started with the permission of building demolition by Beyoğlu Municipality on February 13, 2018. At the end of 3 and a half months of work, the ACC building was completely demolished on May 30, 2018 (Gazete Duvar, 2018) And the foundations of the new ACC structure were laid on 11 February 2019 (Merdim, 2019) and is planned to be completed by the end of 2021.



Figure 15. The new project of Atatürk Cultural Center (Source: Karakoç, 2017)

CHAPTER 4: ATATURK CULTURAL CENTER AS A PLACE OF MEMORY

4.1. Theoretical Framework

According to Nora (1989), a place of memory is any significant entity, material or intangible in nature, that becomes a symbolic element of the memorial legacy of any community by human will or the influence of time. The places of memory are not things we recall, but are places where memory ferments, not the tradition itself, but its laboratory. In other words, places of memory are places where cultural memory is formed and preserved. Although the reason for the existence of place of memory is to prevent forgetfulness, to immortalize death, places of memory are constantly open to transformation with the constant relapse of their meanings.

Nora (1989) asserts that in order for a place to be a place of memory, it must have material, symbolic and functional values together. Although an archive is purely material in sight, it turns into a memory if an investment is made in it by the imagination. Fully functional objects such as testaments and guides become symbolic to the extent that they are also the purpose of a ritual. These three aspects always coexist in a place of memory. Nora gives the idea of "a historical generation" as an example in this regard. The historical generation is material with its demographic content, it is functional by the transmission of memories from generation to generation, and it is symbolic in that it characterizes events by referring to them. With these features, a historical generation is a place of memory.

In his '*lieux de memoire*' (Places of Memory), Nora (2006) lists the places and objects of national memory, focusing on objects such as emblems, symbols, handbooks and inherited properties, from places such as archives, museums and cemeteries. Therefore, it can be said that the concept of national identity plays an important role in the formation of collective memory and places of memory. As Gaskell (2001) puts that the primary function of collective memory is to preserve the coherence of the social group and to secure its identity today and in the future.

Counter-memory, on the other hand, tries to break the tradition of formal and conservative memory, is a resilient social vein created against the continuity of official memory, is aware of the existence of alternatives and struggles with them. In order to determine the response of a place as a place of memory in the memory or counter memory, a matrix was created (Table 1). In this matrix, first of all, how the different memories are represented were examined, then what could be their material, functional and symbolic reflections in daily life and the built environment.

Table 1. The matrix showing the correspondence of different types of memory as place of memory

Types of Memory	Represented in	Material	Functional	Symbolic
Memory (Officially & Collectively)	-Historiography -Discourse -Education -Politics -Media -Events/ Activities /Celebrations	-Museums (History, ethnography, etc.) -Monuments (Victory, protagonist, etc.) -Archives -Libraries -Cultural Heritages -Art Pieces (Paintings, Sculpturs, etc.) -Public Spaces -Landmarks	-Traditions -Rituals (Ceremonies, Parades) -Remembering -Linking Communities	-Indication of Power -Power Struggle -Invisibility of others' memories -The Conquest of the Past -Victories -Togetherness -Sharing -Belonging
Counter Memory	-Counter- Discourse -Protest -Alternative Media	-Counter- monuments -Museums -Locales	-Remembering the Forgotten -Linking Communities	-The Emergence of what has been lost -Forgotten -Suppression -Trauma -Destruction -Manipulation

If how different types of memory are represented is examined, we can see that representation methods are similar at some points. It can be seen that official memory is primarily represented and transmitted by historiography. Official historiography tries to strengthen and make unquestionable memory, especially shaped by the state. Also, this memory is passed on from generation to generation through education and

discourse. One of the methods of transferring the official memory is through mainstream media. The presence of the printing, newspapers, magazines, radio, cinema and television enables the connection with the past.

These tools also allow the construction of collective memory, as they provide the opportunity for cultural archiving. In the formation of collective memory, as distinct from historiography, media tools and discourse, this memory is transferred mostly through activities. Because collective memory is defined as memory built and shared by groups. Various groups have different collective memories and are influenced distinctly by different events and form diverse memories.

Since counter memory is generally treated as the memory of the repressed, we usually see this memory in protests. As "oppositional knowledge-production", counter-memory promotes the production, dissemination and reinforcement of alternative understandings and interpretations of the past from the dominant ones. Since counter-memory is not a type of memory that is shared directly in mainstream media, it is possible to see its representations in alternative media such as social media.

The material value of official memory appears in museums, monuments, archives, libraries, cultural heritage, and art works. These structures or objects are places of memory where evidence from the past is displayed, enabling history to be passed on to the next generations. History is shaped by these places, it is related to the tools, production and functioning of the spaces. These venues often tell stories of noble events, victories, and remind martyrs after a struggle, and tend to naturalize the nation's own values, laws and ideals. The functional task of this memory is primarily a "reminder". Official memory creates traditions and enables cultural heritage to be transferred from generation to generation, so memory defines itself as a struggle against forgetting in the first place. When we think symbolically, we see that official memory generally represents the winners. For Nora (1989), memory functions as the symbolic aspect of the power struggle, the conquest of the past.

Museums, monuments, libraries and archives are also important places to keep the collective memory alive and strong and resistant. Places that have taken place in memory as a place of memory, these are often used as a meeting/gathering place in

collective memory. These spaces experienced by the society are also produced by the society and serve as examples of spatial response. In this context, memory, which is the place of experience in human consciousness and reproduction, forms into the spatial dimension when combined with the city and forms place of memory (Rossi, 1982). The formation of collective memory is intertwined with spatial experience and reproduces through shared experiences in the public sphere. When considered within the social order, components of collective memory such as traditions, acts such as commemoration ceremonies and rituals find their correspondence in space. Therefore, these components have a spatial character as they organize the reality of the current situation and represent the past as an external reality (Kansteiner, 2002). Collective memory is created by groups. Individuals feel belonging to different groups and each group has different collective memories. Every individual need others to remember. Therefore, collective memory is the symbol of unity and sharing.

Different groups have different collective memories as well as different traditions and rituals. Memorial ceremonies are also a kind of ritual and can be regarded as one of the functional values of the counter memory. In addition, counter-memory ensures that groups that have experienced the same pains and traumas unite and the past is not forgotten. The counter-monument briefly shows the boundaries and possibilities of all monuments and memorial sites; memory exists as a "counter-index" of the intersection paths of time and history, forcing the true effects of time to spread, not to one place. By dissolving itself over time, the counter monument mimics its time distribution and becomes more similar than memory. In addition, museums appear as counter memory places. The task of the counter-memory is to remind those that have been suppressed and forgotten and to bind these groups together. Concepts such as forgetting, suppression, trauma and manipulation in collective memory emerge in the social use of these categories by policy makers. The process of activating the memory usually takes place through memory studies of the power of the supreme by a sovereign race or nation or powers, this process is usually done by producing discourses to get rid of those identified as others, and this memory is not organic. but it is a memory determined by the governing powers. Therefore, these concepts are symbolic values of counter-memory because counter-memory is basically the emergence of the lost.

4.2. Conceptual Analysis of Atatürk Cultural Center

Atatürk Cultural Center has been the subject of various discussions since its construction started in 1946 and has taken its place in the memory of the country. The structure has meant different things to different communities, and it has been one of the rare structures that occupy different types of memory. For this reason, it was deemed appropriate to analyze the ACC as a place of memory in the memory and counter memory with the matrix created. The information used in the matrix was obtained as a result of the survey and archive scanning. With the information obtained, first of all, what the ACC means for architects, artists and staff who worked in the ACC, people who live in Istanbul, people who does not live in Istanbul and people who has watched a show in the ACC, as material, functional and symbolic values has been determined. This information used in the matrix and the data obtained as a result of archive studies were used in the matrix (Table 2) in which the ACC was examined as the memory a place.

Table 2. Examining the ACC as a place of memory from different types of memory

Types of Memory	Represented In	Material	Functional	Symbolic
Memory (Officially& Collectively)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Architectural History -Historiography -Mainstream Media -Architectural Drawings -Events 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -One of the important examples of Post-War International Style in Turkey -Reflects the architecture and technology of the period it was built -Façade -Material use (Aluminum, marble, lighting, etc..) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -An art and cultural center -The relation with the square (Creates one of the boundaries of the square and defines it) -Technical equipment is sufficient for all kind of performance -Location (Easily Accessible) -Ability to host different events at the same time with different sizes of stages -Unintentional monument -A popular meeting point for locals -A background for Taksim protests 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Landmark -Symbol of 60s' Modernism -The image of environment -Witnessing daily life and important events
Counter Memory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Alternative Media -Protest 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Carcass -Façade (as an interface) -Fire (The cultural center had to rebuilt after the fire) -Vandalism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -A meeting point for protests -A background for protests -A police headquarter during and after Gezi Park resistance -Dysfunctional period (Deprivation of cultural production) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Destruction -Fire -Naming Process

4.2.1. Material

When the material value of the ACC in the official memory is analyzed, it can be seen that the building is one of the most important examples of Turkish Post-War International Style. The building reflects the design and technological features of its period. Considering the periods when the building was first built and rebuilt due to

fire, it can be said that it also witnessed the technological and economic development of the country in construction sector. Its facade, which is always in the spotlight, is one of the first examples of aluminum curtain wall facade in Turkey. Since aluminum was not processed yet in Turkey when it was first built, all parts of facade were produced in Germany and assembled in Turkey. Likewise, the production of the lighting units has also took place abroad. However, with the increase in the economic and technological power of the country after the fire, everything used in the building could be produced in Turkey. The building reflects technology of the period not only with the building materials, but also the with the use of stage equipment, stage lighting and sound systems and the latest technology products, and with this feature, the ACC has become the most important cultural center of Istanbul and even Turkey.

All materials used in the building have been carefully selected by Hayati Tabanlıoğlu and have an important value. The floors in the foyers are covered with marble, and the ceilings are made of flat, cassette and wooden elements in various appearances. In a sense, the staircase at the main entrance (Figure 15) designed by Tabanlıoğlu is the signature of the architect in the interior of the building. This staircase appears not only as a circulation element, but as a work of art that completes the foyer area and has become one of the images that appear in people's minds when the ACC is mentioned. Apart from that, the lighting systems were produced specifically for the building and added a distinct value to the building. Some surfaces in the interior are covered with mosaics and ceramics made by Sadi Diren by interpreting the motifs of Anatolian civilizations (Diren, 2012). The Heneke carpet in the large foyer or the paintings of Oya Katoğlu and Mustafa Plevneli in the foyers and the Cevdet Bilgin sculptures (Figure 16) are unique to this place (Tabanlıoğlu, 1979). These works have played a role in the building being a synthesis of Turkish culture and Western modernization. Bozdoğan and Akcan (2012) mention about the use of all materials and works in the building as follows:

“..enhancing the feeling of lightness and transparency were the spacious foyers with polished floors, the enhancing effects of the overhead lighting in the form of geometric chandeliers, halos or stalactites, and, like a modern sculpture suspended in space, an elegant spiral stair of very light steel construction floating in the main entrance hall. The artwork and interior furnishing of the entrance hall and the main foyer were carefully selected and incorporated into the design, including an abstract

sculpture by Cevdet Bilgin, paintings by two prominent Turkish artists, Oya Katoğlu and Mustafa Plevneli, and a 10 m square Hereke carpet covering the floor of this temple to the republican, westernized ideal of modern Turkish culture.’’

In short, the ACC is a modern architectural heritage with the materials, technological elements and construction techniques used and is included in the official memory as such.

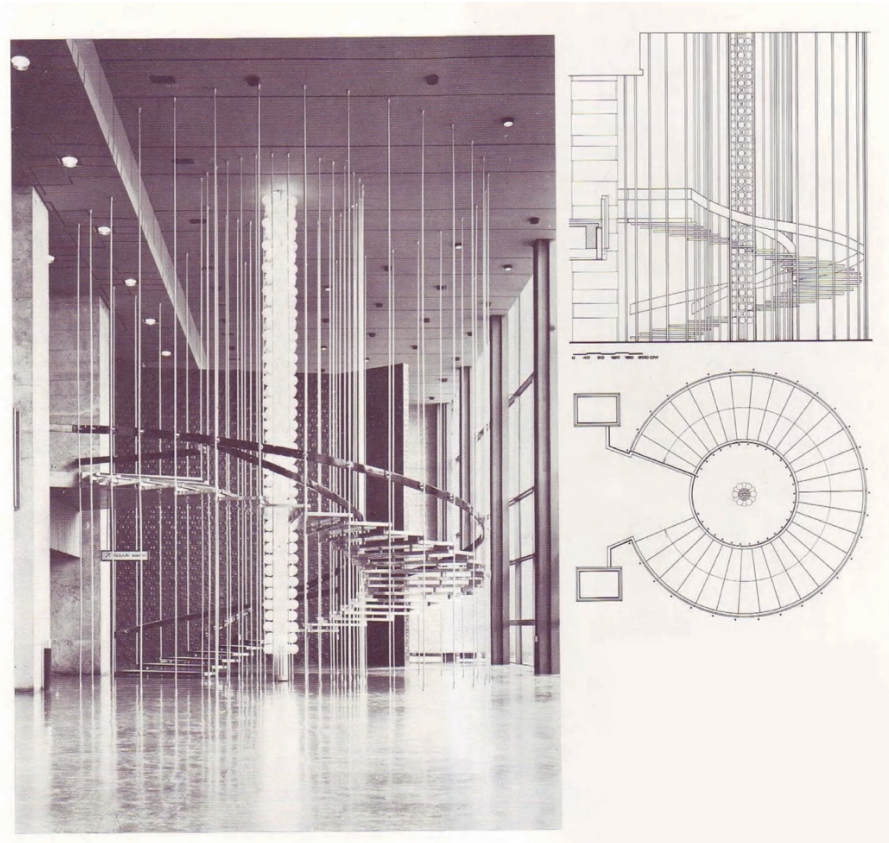


Figure 16. The staircase in the main entrance (Source: Tabanlıoğlu, 1979)



Figure 17. Ceramic panel of Sadi Diren (left), sculpture of Cevdet Bilgin (center) and paintings of Oya Katoğlu and Mustafa Plevneli (right) (Source: Tabanlıoğlu, 1979)

According to Halbwachs (1997), collective memory belongs to a group limited by time and space. For an event, place or person to be in the memory of the social group, that event, place or person must have meaning for that social group. From this point on, Halbwachs proposes the concept of "images of remembering" in the context of the transference between concepts and experiences in memory; a personality or a historical event; He says that he transfers a symbol or concept to the collective memory, so that society becomes an element of the system of thoughts (Assmann, 1997). In the collective memory, when we consider the material value of the ACC, it can be seen that the facade of the building stands out. 20.4% of the participants of the survey answered the question that "what is the image that appears in your mind when the ACC is mentioned" as façade (Figure 17). Therefore, the facade can be considered as an image of remembering. The facade is a part of daily life, especially for those living in Istanbul. For some, the facade is a window opening to the city, for some it is a screen, for some it is a giant theater curtain with metallic flutter. Although the building is thought to be one of the buildings that symbolize 60s' modernism in the country and its architectural value is indisputable, according to some, it is a cold building that reflects the cold war period. As seen in the survey, especially people living outside of Istanbul have negative thoughts about the building.

According to Lefebvre, space is socially produced. Spatial practice / perceived space, representations of space / conceived space, and spaces of representation /

representational space / lived spaces are the inseparable conceptual triad of spatial production. Lefebvre mentions about behavior patterns related to spatial practice. It includes the physical experience of spaces and daily practices. Spatial practice is full of representations of space. Lefebvre describes the space which designed with the representation of the space. This is the place of city planners. They are products such as representation, physical model and plan that enable space to be read. The representational space, on the other hand, is the lived space where symbols and signs come together to help people understand their world, and it is a passively experienced space. This is the space where social relationships take place and where we actively experience it in daily life (Löw, 2008).

Considering Lefebvre's trilogy, people living in Istanbul and not living in Istanbul have different experiences, so the way their perception of the building changes. For this reason, the space is produced in different ways in line with different experiences. One of the reasons why the building plays such a role in the daily life of the city dwellers is its relationship it establishes with Taksim Square. The importance of this relationship is revealed when the second popular answer to the question of what is the image that comes to mind when the ACC is mentioned in the survey is Taksim with 16.3% (Figure 17). According to some, the building does not dominate the square due to the low entrance level of the foyer, and according to some, the visual aging of the sunshades prevents the building from being liked by large masses of people (Akay, 2016). In fact, Hayati Tabanlıoğlu's aim here is to create a lower foyer that integrates with the small open space in front of the building and makes it a meeting place for citizens. The past time has shown that Tabanlıoğlu's goal has been fulfilled and that the ACC had become a meeting center. Especially for people lives in Istanbul, the ACC has become a building that witnesses the daily life of the city dwellers. It is a building that defines Taksim Square, which they see when they exit the Taksim metro, wait for a minibus in front of it, meet people. They see this facade in their daily lives and create a sense of belonging.

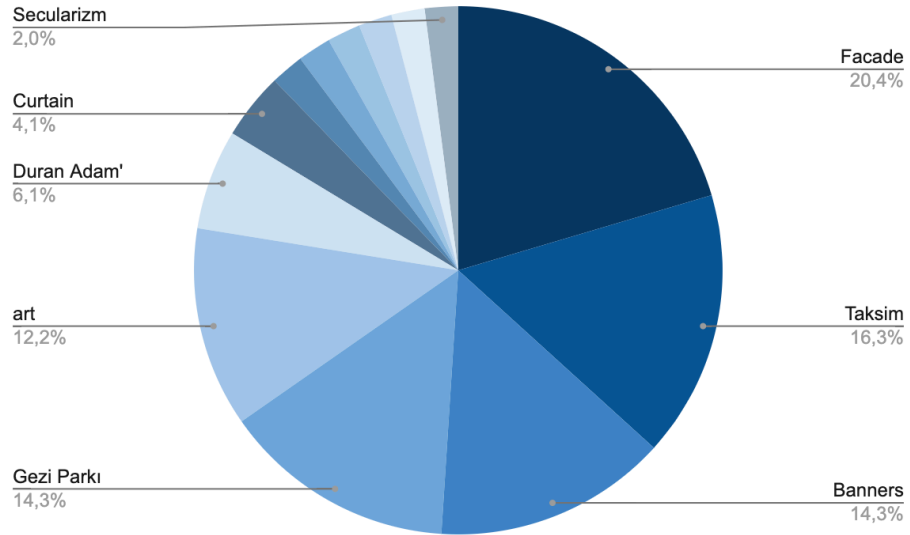


Figure 18. Answers of “what is the image that appears in your mind when the ACC is mentioned” (prepared by the author)

Considering the material value in the counter memory, the transformations of the ACC has undergone from its past to the present can be discussed. If we need to start from the first construction process, the construction of the building, which started in 1946, could not continue for a long time due to financial difficulties and it occupied Taksim Square for a long time as a concrete carcass (Figure 18). The fire that broke out during the play called “Cadı Kazanı”, about 1 year after its construction was completed, is one of the events that take place in the counter-memory. The reason why the fire is considered as a material value is that the building has become unusable after the fire. All the stage and equipment burned down, and reconstruction caused enormous costs. Although several changes were made in the building after the fire, the facade was left exactly the same. The ACC’s facade can also be considered a material value in the counter memory, but it stands out with the front witnesses in the counter memory and its use as an interface. In particular, posters hung on the ACC front during the May 1 celebrations, known as Bloody First of May, and during the Gezi Park resistance, were used to convey the thoughts of the protesting groups and the ACC became the setting for these social events. The images of the worker banner tied in chains by his hands on May 1 and the images of the whole posters in the Gezi Park were connected with these events and the ACC façade became one of the images that come to mind as these events are remembered years later (Figure 19). The front façade was used not only by activist groups during social events such as demonstrations, but also by the government to

convey a message during periods when it was closed, or simply as an advertisement (Figure20) board.



Figure 19. The carcass of the opera house that has stood for a long time in Taksim square (Source: Can, 2014)



Figure 20. The façade of the ACC during 1 May 1977 (left), Gezi Park Resistance (right) (Source: SALT Research, 2018a)

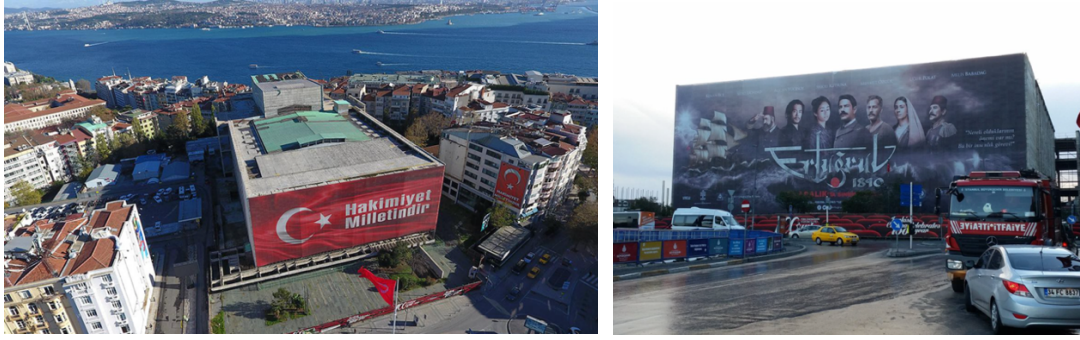


Figure 21. Different uses for facade, After 15 July coup (left) and as an advertisement board of a movie (right) (Source: SALT Research, 2018a)

Before the ACC was closed due to the restoration in 2008, it was decided to stop the renovation works of the building on May 23, 2013, after the examination made by the ITU Faculty of Civil Engineering. At the end of May, news appeared in the press that the construction was stopped until a second order, with the instruction sent from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism to the new building and construction company that carried out the project. Ministry of Culture and Tourism officials stated that the contractor firm applied to the ministry and informed that the current project is not earthquake resistant, that the static building cannot be strengthened with the current project, and that they prepared a report for the new project. On the other hand, Sami Yılmaztürk, the chairman chamber of architects of the Istanbul Büyükşehir Branch, of the period, said that contrary to the claim that it was irreparable and demolished, it was technically possible to repair and strengthen the ACC and that it was wanted to be demolished not because the building was rotten, but because it was a structural symbol of modern Turkey and the Republic. (140 Journos, 2017). The building, which was evacuated for the purpose of restoration in 2008, remained closed for a long time due to discussions and the whole process was passed with controversy and contradictory statements. When it was closed for restoration, the building was looted and made unusable. According to the statements of Orhan Aydın, the spokesperson of the Artists Initiative and theater artist, and Üstün Akmen, the head of the Theater Critics Union, who closely followed the process, the ACC was emptied, and many items were thrown down from the windows in the rear and given to mobile collectors by trucks. When the ACC was established in the market, it started to be seen that spots, sound and light tables, stage parts and curtains purchased by the state were sold. It was determined that some of the ACC seats were installed in the hall of the Samsun State Opera and Ballet,

and sound mixers, columns and microphones are also used in the same hall. It has been determined that all the fixtures and cornices of the Art Gallery are in the Islamic Science and Technology History Museum, and the dismantled radiators, boilers and similar scraps were transferred to the National Estate by trucks (Yılmaz, 2015).

The decay and aging of the building can easily be seen from the last photographs of the building, where the suspended ceilings, lighting fixtures, large hall seats and the round staircase in the foyer are removed, which are meticulously designed, enriching the interior with their presence (Figure 21). When architects look at these photographs, they state that the ACC has become like this not because of the effects of natural conditions and time, but because of the mentality of the managers and their lack of business. Mistakes made during the restoration process are also among the reasons for the building to become like this (Gümüş, 2015). Mücella Yapıcı (2015), General Secretary of the Chamber of Architects Istanbul Branch, asserts that the government has deliberately left every area that it wants to transform for many years to collapse, and the state of neglect causes the destruction to be legitimized. She emphasizes that while the ACC is in a condition to be repaired despite all warnings, the repair is delayed due to reasons such as lack of resources. At the end of this process, he stated that it would be said that it is impossible to strengthen the ACC with fake reports. As a result, the ACC has been the subject of much discussion since the day its foundation was laid and witnessed many unfortunate events. Processes such as being under construction for a long time, fire process, vandalism are the material values that form the counter memory of the building.

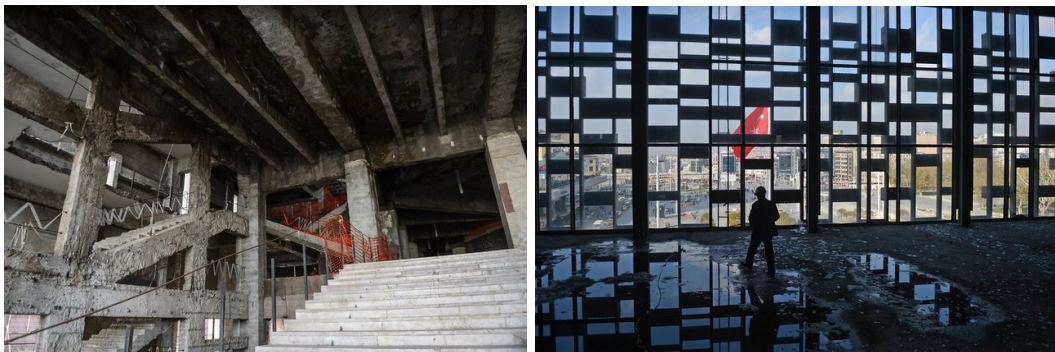


Figure 22. Images of the ACC before its demolition (Source: HaberTürk, 2017)

4.2.2. Functional

When official memory is analyzed functionally, the ACC may be simply considered an art and cultural center. Large hall for 1317 people, concert hall for 530 people, cinemas for 206 people, theater for 196 people, Aziz Nesin stage for 132 people, art galleries, workshops (paint shop, tailor shops, ironworks, carpentry shops, props workshop), units such as rehearsal halls, decor and costume warehouses make the building suitable for different artistic productions (Ganiç, 2016) (Figure 22). The ACC, which can produce almost every product itself and works like a factory in the process of a show, had become the most important cultural center in Turkey with its stage, light and sound equipment's, and has provided convenience to artists and technical staff in the exhibition of large productions. The podiums and sidewalls of the front stage, which provide multi-purpose use to the large hall, have a special order with movement possibilities (Figure 23). The podiums can be lowered 3 meters according to the stage level. This variability of the front stage elements, together with the mechanical and electrical installations of the stage, provides all kinds of representation and musical activities such as large opera and musical theater, small and large theater, operetta, concert (Tabanlıoğlu, 1977). It has the capacity to perform different shows at the same time with different sized stages and different functional venues. In this way, many units were able to work in the same building. When the ACC was closed in 2008, it was used by 6 separate directorates: Istanbul Atatürk Cultural Center Directorate, State Opera and Ballet Directorate, State Theater Directorate, State Classical Turkish Music Ensemble Directorate, Symphony Orchestra Directorate and Modern Folk Music Ensemble Directorate (Ganiç, 2016). One of the reasons why the ACC is functional especially for the audience is its location. The building is one of the elements that define the boundaries of the square, and its transportation is very comfortable. Accessible by metro and other public transport, the ACC also had a 254-vehicle car park. With all these features, the ACC is functionally included in the official memory.



Figure 23. Different units in the ACC (Source: Tabanlıoğlu, 1979)

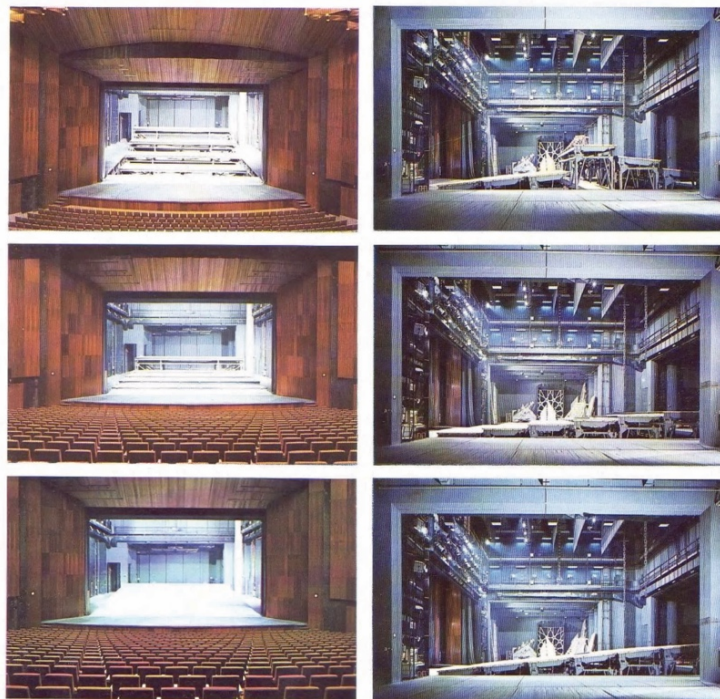


Figure 24. Various situations of stage podiums (Source: Tabanlıoğlu, 1979)

Aldo Rossi (2016) argues that although some functions and values of some urban works still exist, some of their characteristics have completely changed. In this case, it is important whether the surviving values are related to the physicality of the building. Building is a complex entity that develops and changes over time and space. When examining the spatio-temporal state of the buildings, Rossi explains that when the building was newly built, it would not have the same value. What is mentioned here is that the form can be judged in itself only if there is no temporal accumulation that makes an urban work singular. At this point, the concept of "locus" comes to mind. Locus, in Rossi's definition, is the relationship between a particular place and the buildings within it. It is both singular and universal at the same time. The collective memory traces the collective subject's locus ties with itself and how the locus is positioned.

The approaches mentioned here are important to explain the place of the ACC in the collective memory. What makes the ACC one of the pillars of collective memory, as well as form and function, is its testimony over time, in other words, its locus. In short, the ACC took place in the collective memory with different functions besides the official memory and thus existed in the collective memory. Considering the functional value of the ACC in the collective memory, it comes to mind that it is a cultural center that brings together the citizens with art. Although it is thought that the activities taking place within the ACC appeal to an "elite" segment, the fact that the tickets are very convenient had made the building a place where people from all walks of life can meet. As Maral (2010) mentioned, the CC is not only culture, opera, ballet, orchestra, representation, light, sound, exhibition, cinema, etc., it was socialization. Although the distinctive line was advocated with strange labels such as "decent", "distinguished", "elite" according to some people, no, it had a much more important mission: to create an option.

The ACC participates in daily life in many ways; first of all, the building was not only a meeting point for art, but a meeting point in general. Especially when Istanbulites meet someone, the ACC was one of the places they gave as a reference. It has become an easy meeting point due to its proximity to the subway exit, bus and minibus stops and its connection with the square is very accessible. Considering the ACC's relationship with Taksim Square, the building has also become a background for

meetings, events and actions in the square, and with this function, it has also taken place in the collective memory (Figure 24).

In the "Monument Cult" research, Riegl (2015) divides the monument into two as intended and unintended monuments, according to him, some buildings that are not produced for the purpose of being a monument can turn into monuments in the context of the values attributed by their masses or historians. These buildings are not built to commemorate a particular event or person but are considered unintended monuments as long as they are monuments of irreplaceable value to modern man. With the concept of the unintended monument, Riegl makes a significant expansion in the definition of a monument to include each artifact regardless of its original significance and purpose, as long as the monument reveals the passage of a significant period of time. Age becomes the mark that defines the object as a monument. According to Riegl's proposition, the logic of the monument is turned upside down, fragility rather than permanence becomes its sign (Arrhenius, 2003). Beyond being a cultural building, the ACC has gained a memorial value as the building witnesses the traces of time, participates in daily life and is reproduced imaginatively by the society, and it is an unintended monument when considered in the context of Riegl's definition.

AKM, bitmemiş Menü senfoni



Kültür Servisi - Ataturk Kültür Merkezi (AKM), önceki gün, kapatılışının ikinci yılında, kültür merkezinin iki yıldır kapalı olmasını protesto eden ve bir an önce açılması için talepte bulunan opera, tiyatro, bale sanatçıları ve sanatseverleri bir araya getirdi. Yeditepe Üniversitesi'nden Prof. Dr. **Taylan Ula**'nın öncülüğünde AKM'nin önünde bir araya gelen sanatçı ve sanatseverler, "AKM bitmemiş senfoni", "Kültür Başkenti Baştan Alınsın, AKM Açılınsın", "Kültür, Kültür Başkentini Teğet Geçti" gibi çeşitli pankartlarla duygu ve düşüncelerini ifade ettiler.

Kendisini bir 'AKM sever' olarak tanıtan Prof. Dr. Taylan Ula yaptığı açıklamada, AKM'nin, Kültür Bakanlığı ve İstanbul 2010 Ajansı arasındaki anlaşmazlık yüzünden açılmadığı yönünde duyular aldıklarını, artık resmi bir ağzdan açıklama yapmasını istediklerini söyledi. İki sene geçmesine rağmen binaya tek bir çivi bile çakılmamış olmasını, merkezi ve mahalli yönetimlerle birlikte İstanbulluların da ayıbı olduğunu belirten Ula, AKM'ye bir an önce kavuşmak istediklerini sözlerine ekledi. Protestocular arasında yer alan İstanbul Devlet Opera ve Balesi Müdürü ve Sanat Yönetmeni **Suat Arıkan** ise bu buluşmada sahnesini özlemiş bir sanatçı duyarlılığıyla yer aldığı, ilk kez 1981'de adım attığı AKM ile duygusal bir bağ olduğunu söyledi. İDOB'nin seyircileriyle kopmamak adına Kadıköy Süreya Operası'nda yapılarını salıncıyor olmasına karşın özellikle balede büyük yara aldıklarını belirten Arıkan, AKM'ye bıraktıkları şartlarda geri dönme razı olduklarını söyledi.



'Grup Yorum'a özgürlük'

Grup Yorum üyeleri, F tipi cezaevlerinde tutuklu bulunan arkadaşları Ali Aracı, Muharrem Cengiz ve Korsakoff hastası İhsan Cibelik'in serbest bırakılmasını istedi. Ataturk Kültür Merkezi önünde bir araya gelen grup adına konuşan grubun solisti Özcan Şemver, Grup Yorum'un kurulduğu gündünden itibaren müziği ile politika yapmasının bedelini ödediğini ifade ederek "Grup Yorum 20 yaşına girecek, ancak bu ülkede 20 yıldır özgürce türkü söyleyemiyoruz" dedi. Grup Yorum üyeleri daha sonra gitar ve saz eşliğinde 1 Mayıs 1989 yılında polis kurşunuyla yaşamını yitiren genç işçi Mehmet Akif Dalcı için yazdıkları "Haklıyız kazanacağız" marşını söyledi. "Türküler susmaz, halaylar sürer" sloganları atan grup, "Grup Yorum'a özgürlük" yazılı pankart taşıdı.

Figure 25. Some news of protests in front of the ACC (Source: SALT Research, 2018a)

The ACC could not serve the institutions it hosted both after the fire and during the period when it was closed for restoration. Considering that the ACC is the most important cultural center in Istanbul, the places where these institutions will exhibit their shows and rehearse have been in trouble. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism notified that the center will be undergoing comprehensive maintenance and repair within the framework of the 2010 European Capital of Culture activities by sending a letter to the directorate of the Istanbul State Opera and Ballet, the Directorate of the State Theater, the Symphony Orchestra, the Directorate of the Classical Turkish Music Choir and the Directorate of the Modern Folk Music Community. The Ministry declared that it would remain closed between June 1, 2008, and October 1, 2009 (140 Journos, 2017). In this process, the State Opera and Ballet Directorate was given the Süreya Cinema, which was transformed into an opera, ballet and orchestra stage in 2008, in order to be able to perform its shows, and the Symphony orchestra started to exhibit its shows at the Fulya Art Center. Opera, ballet and theater artists, on the other hand, started their work and rehearsals in Tekel Building, which is 10 kilometers away from Süreya Opera House. This situation posed a logistical problem for the institutions

that can meet all their needs within the same building. Rengim Gökmen (2010), who was the director of the State Opera and Ballet at that time, said "We play opera-ballet in insufficient halls". This move has actually shown how much art institutions contribute to where they are. When the ACC, which held about 30 shows a week, was closed, Taksim Square and Istiklal Street lost its old atmosphere, became desolate, and Kadıköy underwent a transformation with the demonstrations moved to the Süreya Opera House (Aslan, 2017). On the other hand, with the closure of the ACC, the artists had the opportunity to organize small tours to cover the neighboring provinces and to present their arts to people who have never seen opera or ballet before (Arıkan, 2008). This period when the ACC is dysfunctional can be considered as its functional value in the counter memory. The ACC, whose maintenance and repair works did not end within the period specified by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, remained closed for a long time due to bureaucratic processes. Although the first purpose of closing was to train for 2010 Capital of Culture activities, the ACC could not be used in the year when Istanbul held the title of "European Capital of Culture".

The ACC served as a logistics and supply center for the activities of the police teams during and after the period when it was closed and the Gezi Park Resistance. A mobile barber shop was established inside the building for the police officers who were working in Gezi Park protests, and it was used by officers who could not go to their homes with growing hair and beards (Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 2017). The ACC was mostly looted during the police occupation because during that period, the police set up barricades and nobody was allowed to approach (Yılmaz, 2015). Considering that the renovation project in the ACC was stopped on the grounds that the determinations regarding the safety of life and property that could affect the building statics and the necessary inspections would be made and that no action was taken in the building until then, the fact that the police were placed in the building caused controversy. In order for the ACC to get rid of this situation, the chamber of architects filed a criminal complaint against the use of the building as a police station in April 2014 and a campaign was launched on the website of change.org. Following these efforts, with the evacuation of the front door, especially in social media, it was interpreted as withdrawing from the ACC. However, it was determined that the police did not withdraw, only left the front door. One of the reasons why the ACC was the police headquarters in the Gezi Park Resistance was that the building was not only a meeting

place for the urbanites but also a meeting point for the protests. The ACC was chosen as the meeting place for many actions / gatherings that took place over the years, and the building witnessed all of these, and Gezi Park became a part of these actions on days like May 1.

4.2.3. Symbolic

Cesare Brandi examines an architectural work with a "*tempo storico*" or historicity line and it consists of three stages: the creative process of the artist or the architect, the aging of the work and the interventions it has undergone until today, and the process of perceiving and understanding it today. While the first stage is a process at the beginning of the life of the building, the other two are the symbolic values that history has brought to it through all the meanings and changes it has acquired today. There are qualities in buildings that accumulate over time and gain value from social culture. These qualities may have remained from the time they were made or may have been added over time (Ersen, 2010). When the ACC is evaluated in this context, the building has different symbolic values that it has acquired both in the time it was built, in the process it went through and in the way it is perceived today.

Considering the material value of the ACC in the official memory, it is seen that the building is one of the most important examples of Post-War International Style in Turkey, therefore, when considered symbolically, the building stands out as one of the symbols of 60s' modernism in the country. According to Gökhan Karakuş (2012), who is one of the curators of the exhibition 'Execution of Modern' held in 2012 about the ACC, modernism in the ACC is a concept that should be evaluated in terms of technique and management with its opera / theater program. For example, if we take the aluminum facade, its industry was established in Turkey in the 1950s, and it is one of the modern industry examples. It is not enough for the architect to just need and draw, there is a production. The materials and methods you depend on in that production are also modernist. All these - art, design, production, technique, management - constitute a truly modernist program. The strength of the building is due to the combination of all these. The survey conducted by Lütfi Kırdar when he was the mayor showed that citizens wanted a theater building. Everyone, from its administration to its theater actor, from its architect to its engineers, has asked for this building and the life that the building will bring. Although there were economic

difficulties and interruptions in the implementation process after the Second World War, Istanbul achieved this building with various difficulties, and it is possible to evaluate this as a passion reflecting the spirit of modernism (Derviş, 2012). In short, the ACC, with all its components, has become a symbol of modern movement and modernization in Turkey. The building acts as a landmark in Taksim Square, one of the most important squares in Istanbul. According to Kevin Lynch (1990), sign items are point references perceived by observers as external items. Landmarks tend to be used as a guide by individuals who know the city better. The spatial significance of a structural element makes it a landmark in two ways, either it must be visible from many points, or it must contrast with the surrounding elements in terms of features such as height and alignment. The ACC is visible and accessible from many points, especially because it is one of the elements that defines eastern edge of the square, and it creates a contrast and being able to be distinguished from the surrounding buildings, especially by means of its façade composition. Therefore, the building acts as a landmark, satisfying both conditions.

According to Lynch (1990), environmental images follow a two-way process that takes place between the observer and his environment. The environment reveals relationships and differences. The observer chooses and makes sense of what he/she sees for his/her own purposes. The image created in this way limits what is seen and emphasizes what is desired to be emphasized, while the image itself is tested against the percolating perceptual inputs of the environment with which it is constantly interacting. Thus, the image of a given reality can be quite different among different observers. An environmental image can be divided into three components: identity, structure, and meaning. It would be useful to summarize them separately for analysis, but in reality, all three go together. An identifiable image requires first of all the identification of an object, thus separating it from other things and accepting it as an entity. This reveals its identity. It does not mean that it is equivalent to anything else, it expresses its uniqueness or singularity. Second, the image must include the spatial or textural relationship of the object to the observer and other objects. Finally, it should have a practical or emotional meaning for the observer. Meaning is a relation, but it is quite different from a spatial or tactile relation. At this point, the importance of urban buildings emerges. Urban works, according to Halbwachs (1992), are one of the main carriers of imagination and collective memory. Therefore, they constitute the city and

bear the environmental image and are parts of the city that should not be destroyed. Although these works are unique examples of architecture, they represent one of the most important testimonies in the city and the singularity of these buildings stems from these testimonies (Rossi, 1982).

Considering these conditions, the ACC can be considered an urban building in the collective memory, since it includes the components of identity, structure and meaning. In the questionnaire, 77% of the participants answered symbolically to the question of which of the material, functional or symbolic values of the ACC comes first. From this result, it can be said that the ACC stands out in the collective memory with its later meanings before its function and material value. Many of the material and functional elements of the building enabled the building to be symbolized in the collective memory. As an example of Post-War International architecture, the ACC is seen as one of the representations of the innovation movement and had become a symbol of being ‘Western/American’. The ACC carries the cultural memory of the city, brings people together with culture and has become one of the most important symbols of being an urban citizen. As a symbol of art and modernization, the ACC has become symbolic with the social events it witnessed and has become a symbol of "resistance".

When we consider counter memory, we first encounter fire and destruction activities. One of the most striking photographs of the history of the building was the fire that took place at night during the performance and the demolition process of the building. As described in a reference to Artun (2011), the demolition activity itself can reveal a monument. It can be said that this situation resulted in the fire of the Istanbul Palace of Culture and the destruction of the ACC. Images of the fire moments - based on the live witnesses or photographs in the newspapers published the next day - is one of the traces of the Istanbul Culture Palace fire engraved in memory. The fire was reported in newspapers with headlines such as "An Art Treasure Turned into Ash", "We Had an Opera", "The Cultural Palace Built in 23 Years Was Ash in 45 Minutes" (Figure 25). According to Oğuz Özlem (2015), the fire took place in the European press with extremely bad headlines and it was written that the burning of the first generically beautiful opera house built years later damaged Turkey's image on the way to being modern and the line that efforts were made in this direction. Demolition photographs,

on the other hand, were actively shared on social media and took place in memory in this way. When searched on social media accounts with the keyword of “Atatürk Kültür Merkezi”, it was seen that most of the photos shared recently belonged to the demolition process of the building (Figure 26). Among many factors, information and communication technologies emerge as “memory technologies” in the process of shaping, reconfiguring and mediating memory and memory applications. Given its technological possibilities such as openness, accessibility, usability, and interaction, social media encourages the emergence of alternative and anti-historical narratives and proliferation of the usual against official versions of history. This process significantly affects the knowledge production of the past. Social media embraces a wide and diverse range of issues to engage in the production of historical knowledge and to facilitate the spread of alternative memory frames as counter hegemonic discourse. The integration of fragmented, individual experiences and memories with general historical knowledge and the facilitation of diversified mnemonic practices builds the collective memory of the society accordingly. This situation can cause an ideological tension between the authorities and their citizens; here the collaborative production of memories of conflict struggles against forgetting for the ideological shaping of state-dominated collective mis-recall, recall and citizenship.

While the authorities consolidate and reaffirm dominant historical narratives as part of current management strategies in line with new ideological studies and cultural governance, people question their doubts, insecurities, resistance and challenges from the authorities and their ideological discourse on social media tools (Liu, 2018). The reason why the ACC demolition is shared so much on social media can be perceived as a stance against the demolition decision. Before the demolition, the President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and the Prime Minister of the time Binali Yıldırım made statements that the building would be demolished, and a new baroque-style opera house would be built in its place. Although these statements received a lot of reaction and many times different efforts were made about not demolishing the building, the first pickaxe was shot at the ACC on 13 February 2018. In its press release, the Istanbul Büyükşehir Branch of the Chamber of Architects used the expressions "We have learned that the ACC, one of the most important landmarks of modern Turkish architecture, has begun to be destroyed by hiding from the public." On February 23, the front facade of the ACC started to be dismantled. Construction equipment was included in the demolition

on March 6 and the demolition process started with the concrete breaking machine on the roof on March 8 (Atatürk Cultural Center, 2017). And it is possible to follow the entire demolition process through the photos shared on social media (Figure 26).



Figure 26. News after the fire (Source: SALT Research, 2018)



alper_durmaz • Takip Et
AKM Taksim

alper_durmaz # 🇹🇷 Atatürk Cultural Center building was destroyed by AKP in 2018 #atatürkkültürmerkezi #taksimsquare #akm #fujiopera #canon1

🇹🇷 April - 2018 #taksimmeydani #taksim #fujifilm #35mmfilm #35mm #AKM #streetphotographer #istanbul #türkiye #35mm #streetphotographyinternational #spi_collective #analogphotography

50 beğenme
27 MART 2019

Yorum ekle... Paylaş



beyogluharitasi • Takip Et
AKM Taksim

beyogluharitasi AKM | 2018 | Dönemin Kültür ve Turizm Bakanı Atilla Koç tarafından yıkılıp yeniden yapılacak! 2005 yılında açıklanan #AtatürkKültürMerkezi'nde yıkım başladı 🇹🇷 @kubra_ekmekci

#BeyoğluYıkılmadımAyaktayım #mappingbeyoglu #placesofmemory

smykarakaya ve 36 diğer kişi beğendi
26 NİSAN 2019

Yorum ekle... Paylaş



theworksofdesire • Takip Et
Taksim

theworksofdesire Demise of Atatürk Cultural Centre. #atatürkkültürmerkezi#atatürkkültürmerkezimedokunma#gezi#geziforever#notoerdogan#wrecked#abandonedplaces#terkedilmiş#yıkılmış #deserted#sokakfotoğrafçılığı#street photography#danslesrues#intikam#kültürdüşmanıbelediye#fascistdictatorship#instawreckingball#instaabandoned#

134h

hayat0_00 Bi girip bak beğenmezsen tekrar gidersin 🇹🇷

134h Yanıtla

58 beğenme
29 MAYIS 2018

Yorum ekle... Paylaş

Figure 27. The photos of demolition process on social media (Source: Instagram, 2020)

It is a universal feature that places have names like people. Place names are not just markers that constrain and mark, identify, negotiate locations in social interaction of

places. Place names have a very strong influence on bringing to mind events in known stories, it functions effectively as a reminder of geographies that evoke exemplary behavior and therefore have a moral aspect. While giving names to places, people who perform naming operations can be particularly selective about the memories they want to be remembered (Connerton, 2009). Lynch (1990), on the other hand, asserts that non-physical characteristics of names that improve the imaginability of an item. Names are important for clarifying identity. Whether historical, functional, social or economic, their meanings and connotations reveal a completely different world underlying physical qualities. The ACC was opened with the name of Istanbul Culture Palace in 1969 with the addition of other functions to the program of the opera and ballet building, which was originally envisaged, and received criticism for this choice of name. For example, theater artist Muhsin Ertuğrul says that the name "Palace" scares people and a more modest name should be given (Ganiç, 2016). After the fire in 1970, the Minister of Culture of time Talat Sait Halman (2010), who visited the wreckage, said that the name of the palace would be changed and made the following statement regarding this name change:

“Months after the fire of the Palace of Culture in 1970, when I held a sorrowful press conference over the debris, I stated that we would take action to revive the building and that the name "Palace" would be changed to "Atatürk Cultural Center" because it did not suit a modern and democratic country. The prime minister of the time was not satisfied with the removal of the name "Palace of Culture" but could not recommend the "Atatürk Cultural Palace". If I had just put the name as "Cultural Center" or "Istanbul Cultural Center", it probably would have canceled it. Prime Minister Erim did not dare cancel because of the name Atatürk. And the name "Atatürk Cultural Center" was liked by the public. Since then, it has been a center description that has been used comfortably. I am proud to be the name man of the ACC. But still, there is a doubt in me: If the name "Palace" had not been removed instead of the ACC, maybe the ACC would not have been in its current state if it had been going on?”

Wilson (2015) also states that these images, which are encountered everywhere in urban spaces in Turkey, function to represent Atatürk in his absence (ie, to present him again) and to keep alive the Turkish collective identity and memory that is compatible with these images. One of the topics of discussion in the period when the ACC's

decision to demolish was realized over the name of the building. Discussions about the name continue during the reconstruction of the building. The President Recep Tayyip Erdogan spoke about the ACC at the ceremony when he attended at the opening of the historical Atlas Passage and said ‘‘I do not say Atatürk Cultural Center anymore, we have prepared it as an opera house’’ (T24, 2020). After this announcement, discussions began about whether Atatürk's name should be removed from the name of the new building.



CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

This thesis started with examining the relationship between space and memory. As examined in Chapter 2, a physical environment, namely place, is required for the realization of social productions such as social events, tradition and culture. Places, while bearing the traces of the society they contain, also bear social meanings. These places called by Nora as place of memory, incorporate material, functional and symbolic values together. For this reason, while the place is being constructed, it becomes the center of the remembering or forgetting processes. The process of remembering is a process that occurs with the presence of familiar objects or the structures that contain these objects. However, in today's modern world where everything is changing rapidly, as Connerton mentioned, the life span of buildings is also short, and this triggers the forgetting process. Social amnesia may occur with spaces produced with the effect of modernity and changes in the physical dimensions of these spaces and deliberate destructions based on political and economic systems. Processes of destruction caused by different reasons cause the disruption of collective memory and in some cases the formation of counter-memory. The effort to create a counter-memory allows us to remember dangers that occurred in the past and are likely to occur in the future. This is only possible by recognizing and critically (re-)presenting the past events in the present.

It emerges as a general result of the narrative in the second chapter that architecture is directly related to its products and memory processes. Atatürk Cultural Center is an architectural example, shaped as a result of the Westernization and American-oriented modernization movement. The building, which has been the subject of various discussions from the first day of its construction until the day it was demolished, is one of the significant buildings in the memory of the country with its architecture, location, representation and testimony. In this direction, a chronological historical reading of the ACC, as a place of memory, was provided in the third chapter. In this chapter, the processes starting from the construction of an opera house in Taksim Square to its demolition and the announcement of the new project are explained and at this stage, without adopting any attitude, the opinions of professionals and actors involved in the process are included and a detailed reading of the breaks in the history of the building was made.

In the fourth part, firstly, a matrix was created to determine the response of a place as a memory area in official memory, collective memory or counter-memory. In this matrix, how these different types of memory are represented was examined, and then, based on Pierre Nora's place of memory conditions, the material, functional and symbolic reflections of these memory types on daily life and built environment were discussed. If a place is evaluated with its content at a certain time, it can be said that this attitude decreases the possibilities of the place, because there are also different dynamics in and around a place that are interrelated and internalized by the society. Thus, a place can turn into another place in different times and be perceived differently. Therefore, analyzing a place from a single point of view does not provide a comprehensive framework about that place. Places can be generated, modified, destroyed, and regenerated, as seen in the ACC example. Therefore, it can be concluded that a place can be read from various points of view and express different meanings in different types of memory. For this reason, the ACC has been considered as a place of memory in official memory, collective memory and counter-memory. Material, functional and symbolic values of the building were examined with the matrix created in the context of these memory types.

According to the analysis, it is possible to read through the memory of the building between the past and the present. When the ACC is considered in the official memory, it is seen that this type of memory is represented in the architectural history, historiography and mainstream media, and the building stands out with its architectural value. The building stands out with its use of materials and its technical infrastructure as a cultural palace, as well as being one of the examples of post-war international architecture in Turkey. In the collective memory, the building emerges mostly with what it represents and witnesses by the society. The building has become a meeting point, especially due to its location. For this reason, it witnesses the daily life of Istanbulites and takes place in their minds. In the counter-memory, the building generally emerges from the period when it was closed and as the background of the social events it witnessed. Their use in different functions, especially in the period when it is closed, constitutes the counter-memory of the building. In short, it has been determined that the ACC has material, functional and symbolic values in official memory, collective memory and counter-memory.

This thesis provided a theoretical framework that examines the relationship of architectural activity in memory through the discussion of concepts such as place memory, urban memory, monument, and destruction. It develops a unique methodology that provides a different perspective on the concept of place of memory, which has been discussed for many years in memory studies. With this methodology, new theoretical frameworks can be created to make memory readings of not only the ACC, but also other buildings that bear witness to social life and have architectural and symbolic values. Thus, the processes and testimonies of the building can be mixed and analyzed over different memory types. Although critical theories of memory have been studied in detail, their association with the field of architecture and an example such as the ACC is an important contribution to the academic architectural literature. This thesis is expected to raise other research questions related to spatial studies on memory.

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