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MASTER THESIS

DEATH IN THE CITY: CEMETERIES IN İZMİR

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2016**

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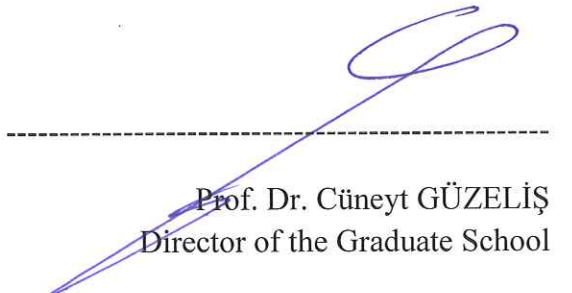


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ABSTRACT

DEATH IN THE CITY: CEMETERIES IN İZMİR

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In the pre-modern period, until the late-18th century, death was recognized as an inevitable part of the life cycle and an ordinary part of everyday life. However, with the modernist emphasis on rationality, which originated in the European continent, it came to be treated as a scientific medical topic, rather than a metaphysical reality and was alienated from daily routines. In line with this transformation, cemeteries in modern cities experienced significant shifts in their location and/or layout and were turned from rather haphazardly organized urban lots into highly regulated sites located on the outskirts of cities.

Circumstances were similar in the Ottoman/ Turkish context. First, in the mid-19th century, all inner-city burials were banned as health hazards following a series of plague and cholera epidemics that resulted in high death rates. Second, following the establishment of the Turkish Republic, in the 1930s, cemeteries were transformed into regulated areas and dislocated from every day routines by means of the introduction of new legal mandates.

The present work examines the historical breaks that exiled the cemeteries from the daily routines of modern cities in Turkey with particular emphasis on Muslim cemeteries in İzmir. By providing a historical analysis of the transformation of cemeteries, this study attempts to situate the burial grounds in Turkey within the contemporary global debates on the status of urban cemeteries.

Keywords: Cemeteries, Islamic Death Rituals, İzmir, Spaces of Death.

ÖZET

KENTTE ÖLÜM: İZMİR'İN MEZARLIKLARI

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Modern öncesi dönemde, 18. yüzyıl sonlarına kadar ölüm, yaşam döngüsünün ve gündelik hayatın bir parçası olarak görülüyordu. Avrupa kıtasından kaynaklanan modernist bakış açısının rasyonel tavrı ile manevi boyutundan koparılan ölüm, bilimsel bir olgu haline geldi ve gündelik yaşam pratiklerinden uzaklaştı. Buna paralel olarak, kent içinde oldukça karmaşık bir düzende konumlanan mezarlıklar, modern şehirlerde tanzim edilmiş, günlük hayata entegre olmayan kent parçalarına dönüştü ve yerleşimlerin dışına itildi.

Bu süreçte, Osmanlı devleti ve modern Türkiye de benzer durumları deneyimledi. İlk olarak 19. yüzyılın ortalarında meydana gelen veba ve kolera salgınları sonucunda oluşan sağlıklı koşullar nedeniyle kent içine gömüler yasaklandı. İkinci olarak ise, Cumhuriyet'in kurulmasını takiben, 1930'larda, yeni yasal düzenlemeler ile mezarlıklar kontrol altına alınabilecek kent çeperlerinde konumlanan alanlara dönüştürüldü ve gündelik yaşam döngülerinden uzaklaştırıldı.

Bu tez, yukarıda özetlenen gelişmelerin ışığında İzmir'deki Müslüman mezarlıklarına odaklanarak, gömü alanlarını modern şehirlerin gündelik rutinlerinin dışına atan tarihsel kırılmaları inceliyor; bahsi geçen dönüşüm süreci üzerine bir tarihsel analiz sunarak, Türkiye'deki gömü alanlarını, kent mezarlıklarının statüsü üzerine güncel küresel tartışmalar bağlamında değerlendirmeyi hedefliyor.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mezarlıklar, İslam Kültüründe Ölüm Ritüelleri, İzmir, Ölümün Mekânları.

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I would like to devote this study to my parents Aysun - Aydın Özmen and my brother Orkun Özmen.

Sabahat Gizem ÖZMEN
İzmir, 2016

TEXT OF OATH

I declare and honestly confirm that my study, titled “Death in the City: Cemeteries in İzmir” and presented as a Master’s Thesis, has been written without applying to any assistance inconsistent with scientific ethics and traditions, that all sources from which I have benefited are listed in the bibliography, and that I have benefited from these sources by means of making references.



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PREFACE

In the pre-modern period, until the late-18th century, death was recognized as an inevitable part of the life cycle and everyday life activities. Hence, cemeteries were mostly located within the urban boundaries and were part of the urban green fabric. With the modernist emphasis on rationality, which originated in 18th century Europe, cemeteries lost their integration with everyday life. They were turned into exiled spaces, located at the peripheries of cities. Cemeteries of the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey witnessed a similar historical shift, where the modernization process based on Western practices dates back to the early-19th century.

Currently, two seemingly contradictory developments mark the beginning of a new turning point in the physical and social status of cemeteries in the urban fabric. The first one is the establishment of online cemeteries which began to have world-wide appeal in the last two decades. These interactive, digital services provide a seemingly private space for commemorating the deceased, and allow sharing photos and memories as well as virtual flowers (Figure 1).

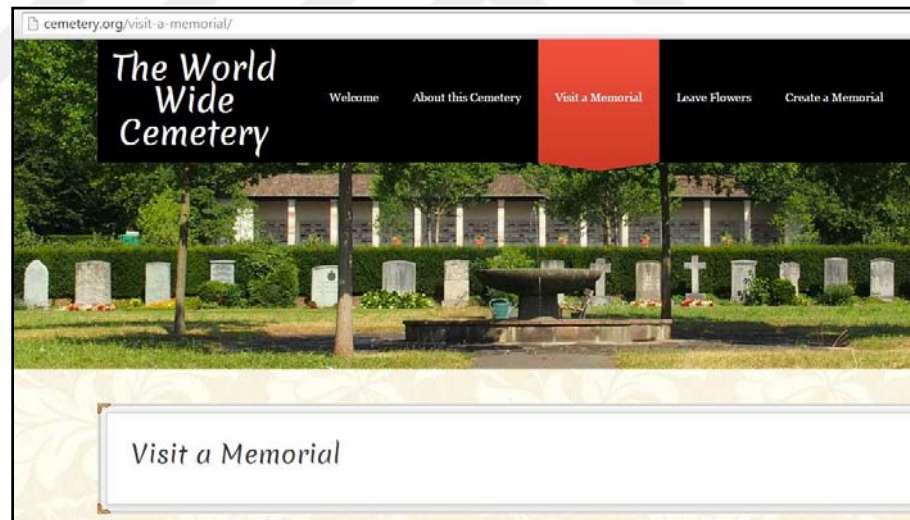


Figure 1.Digital Interface of “The World Wide Cemetery” (The World Wide Cemetery,2015)

The main motivation behind this phenomenon is to provide the opportunity for virtual grave visits for the ones who are not able to visit the graves of their beloved ones. In one of these examples, which is based in Italy, the aim of the database is explained as follows:

Today, in the world of Internet and social networks, a huge part of our life has moved online. In 2015, we are using internet for everything (...) [T]he

World Wide Web has become a fundamental support in phonetic moments when it's becoming more and more difficult to spend time with our loved ones. So the idea of RipCemetery is born from need to stay close to the people who are no longer in our lives ... RipCemetery was created out of the wish to be close to your departed loved ones at any moment you choose. This free web and mobile application is an online social community that brings people together to celebrate the life and memory of a loved one or even a pet (...) [T]he goal is to overcome time and space so everyone who is grieving can share their feelings and memories in an intimate and private place (RipCemetery, 2015).

Currently, these applications have been embraced by a significant international population. One of the most popular virtual cemeteries, i.e., Find a Grave, has reached 132 million grave records (Anon., 2015).

This contemporary phenomenon acquires a different character in the Turkish context. Distinct from the examples in other countries, virtual cemeteries are established by both metropolitan and local municipalities of Turkey rather than private companies. Moreover, their web-sites include announcements on daily or weekly death occurrences in the related neighborhood. Although the interface design and capabilities of virtual cemeteries vary, they commonly include photographs and detailed information on the location of each grave. In more advanced versions, the opportunity of leaving a condolence message and online prayer for the deceased are also provided (Figure 2).

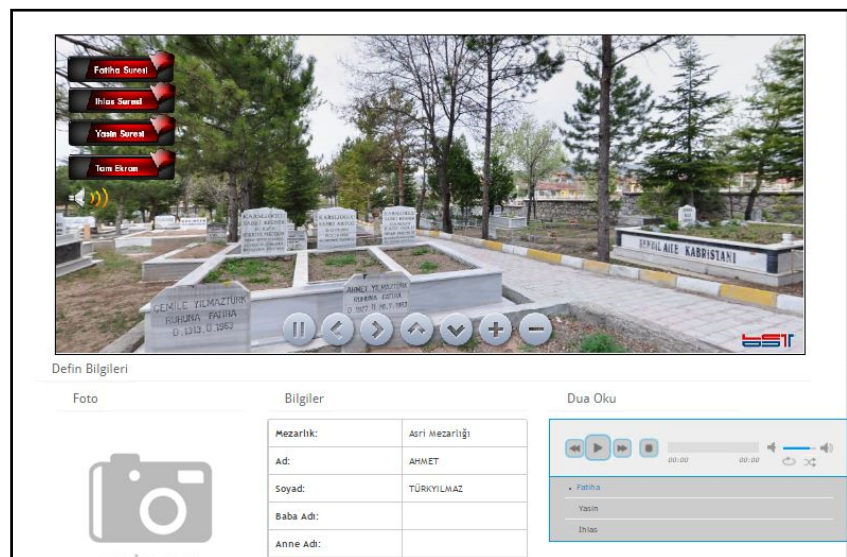


Figure 2. The Digital Interface of Zile Municipality, 360 Degree Panoramic Photo and Online Pray Capability (Kabirdua.com, 2015).

One of the first examples of online cemeteries in Turkey was launched by the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality in 2013 (Cbs.izmir.bel.tr, 2015). The GIS based interface provides search opportunities through the name, surname, birthday and father’s name of the deceased. Through the web-site, the visitor is able to get information on the death date of the deceased, the photograph of the grave, the name of the cemetery and the number of the burial plot. In addition, the interface provides a detailed description for the location of the grave in request (Figure 3). According to the municipality, reducing the time spent on finding the graves is the primary advantage of this interface. With the birth of online cemeteries, physical cemetery visits may potentially be totally excluded from urban daily practices world-wide.

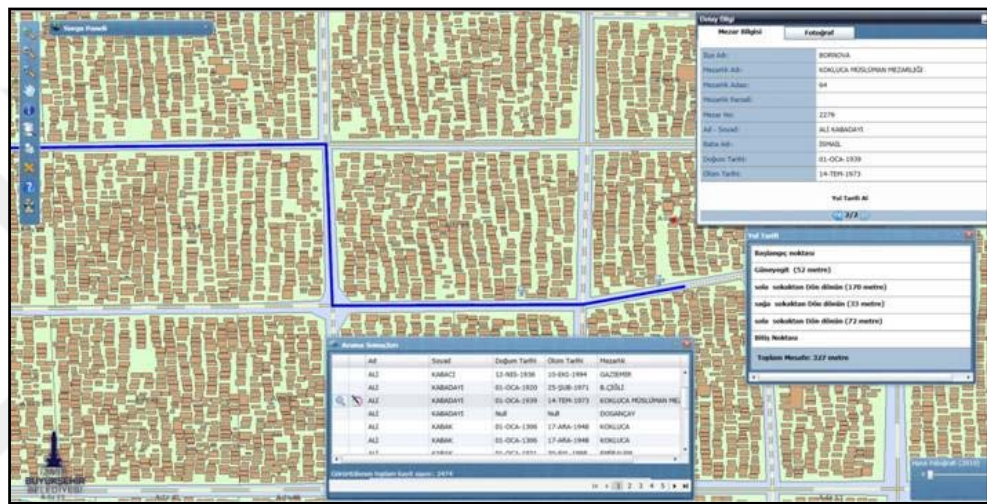


Figure 3. The Digital Interface of İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, Location and Details of a Grave (Cbs.izmir.bel.tr, 2015)

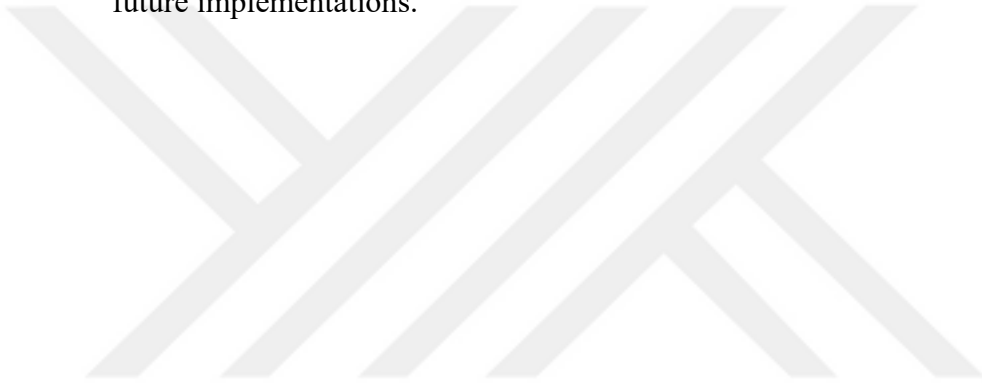
The second recent development is the return of cemetery grounds to prominent urban sites (Uslu, 2009). In the last few years, eco-cemeteries (which include eco-friendly planning and management principles shaped by ecological concerns) began to be established in North American and European cities. For instance, Prairie Oaks Memorial Eco Gardens in North America claims to “provide habitat for wildlife, a more diverse ecosystem, and more meaningful burial options for people who want to make a positive impact on the environment (Graves, 2015). According to their website:

Green cemeteries do not allow toxic embalming fluids, metal caskets, concrete vaults, or standing grave markers. Green cemeteries are green spaces. They often look like parks. Prairie Oaks will be planted with a variety of trees, native grasses and wildflowers which will be nourished by

the graves of outdoor enthusiasts, environmentalists and folks who just think green burial makes sense.

These seemingly contradictory developments mark a new turning point for the physical and social status of cemeteries in the urban fabric. On one hand, online cemeteries contribute to the isolation of burial grounds from daily practices by replacing actual cemetery visits by virtual ones. On the other hand, eco-cemeteries attempt to reintegrate cemeteries to the flow of everyday life, as well as to the existing green areas in the city, by actualizing their potential as urban parks.

The following is an analysis of the historical shifts in the cemetery scapes of the Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic in order to provide a contextual basis for future implementations.



1. INTRODUCTION

[The cemetery] is a place of paradoxes, neither of this world nor of the next, neither the space of the living nor the place of death. It is a void whose overwhelming message is the absence of the dead person, no longer with us in life and yet somehow present within the aura of the monument (Etlin, 1994, 172).

Cemeteries are sacred spaces which lend themselves to be analyzed at symbolic, spatial, socio-cultural, ecological and recreational levels. They do not only provide for the profane need of burials of deceased bodies but also help the preservation of memories and establish a symbolic association with loved ones. Every individual is spatially or spiritually connected with cemeteries in his/her daily practices which render the latter as significant components of the urban fabric.

Cemeteries are not only valuable for their spatial and symbolic aspects but also bear historical, cultural, ecological and recreational significance. They contribute to the records which reflect the culture and history of their location by means of their architectural and sculptural elements, most commonly manifested in the forms of the gravestones and inscriptions. On the other hand, they are sites for the materialization of religious/cultural beliefs and rituals concerning the perception of death. Cemeteries also offer a wealth of green spaces for the public with their flora and fauna.

Despite their social, cultural and architectural significance, urban cemeteries were excluded from the routines of everyday life with the advent of modernity in Europe in the mid-eighteenth century. As historians have emphasized, pre-modern practices of private domestic burials and urban cemeteries located in the vicinity of religious structures, were gradually replaced by mass cemeteries in the margins of urban life (Ariés, 1974; Ariés, 1981; Veinstein and Güntekin, 2007).

In our modern urban lives, almost all cemeteries are regulated sites located on the outskirts of the cities. With the exception of special days, such as death anniversaries and religious holidays, they do not participate in the daily life of the urban community and stand as expansive yet dormant grounds. Surrounded with high walls and protected by monumental doors, they are both visually and

physically hidden from everyday activities. Thus, the mobilization of modern administrative mechanisms marks a turning point in the marginalization of cemeteries in the context of the urban fabric.

This study presents an analysis of the transformation of cemeteries to provide a historical basis for contemporary discussions on their status in the Turkish context.

1.1. Aim and Significance

Death and its related spaces has received relatively low attention in the architectural and urban planning circles in Turkey. Although there are some key studies which focus on the folkloric aspects of death and their spatial reflections (Örnek, 1971; Eldem, 2005; Veinstein and Güntekin, 2007; Tryjarski and Er, 2012) the vast majority of these studies involve archeological or art historical approaches.

Although few studies from landscape architecture (Uslu, 1997; Aktan, 1999; Karaoğlu, 2007; Özarslan, 2007; Özkardaş, 2010) and urban planning disciplines (Cömertler, 2001; Ertek, 2006) evaluate the spatial aspects of cemeteries and emphasize their significance within the green fabric of cities, their analyses are limited to individual case studies. On the other hand, a limited number of studies from the field of architecture mostly focus on the architecture of the graves (Gökdeniz, 1992; Soydaş, 2002, Alpaslan, 2005; Süslü, 2005; Cihan, 2012; Junejo, 2012). Only one study (Kor, 2013) discusses cemeteries in a larger framework, and emphasizes the lack of architectural and urban planning professions in the design process of modern Turkish cemeteries.

In short, research on cemeteries in Turkey predominantly cover the design principles and architectural aspects of cemeteries through case studies and do not address the issue at the urban scale. These studies mostly exclude the debates on the location of cemeteries in cities and their relation with everyday life. Finally, the majority of these studies focus on İstanbul and Ankara as only few analyze the situation in İzmir (Aktan, 1999; Özkan et. al., 1996).

The present work focuses on the historical breaks that exiled the cemeteries from daily routines of modern cities in Turkey and transformed them into problematic areas in the urban fabric, with particular emphasis on İzmir. The aim is to contribute to the existing literature by filling this apparent vacuum and analyze the cemeteries of İzmir in the urban context in relation to everyday practices. The study also seeks

to provide a historical analysis of the transformation of cemeteries during the modernization process of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic. By providing such historical analysis it attempts to situate the cemeteries in Turkey within the contemporary global debates on the status of urban cemeteries.

1.2. Scope

This thesis illustrates how the spatial, administrative and behavioral codes of cemeteries were transformed and regulated by modern administrative mechanisms in the Turkish context. It also explains the historical background of the adaptation of Islamic rituals regarding death, to the modernization of everyday practices in Turkey. Hence other related spaces of death such as houses, hospitals, mosques and *gasilhanes* (i.e., spaces for the ritual cleansing of the dead body) are addressed to support the historical focus.

Against a general historical background which is exemplified by various urban areas throughout the study, the main focus is the Muslim cemeteries in İzmir. This is justified by the dominance of the Muslim population in the city and the relatively larger amount of available documentation on Muslim cemeteries. Rural cemeteries, war cemeteries and memorials are left beyond the scope of the study, as they deserve attention at such different levels as the study of the rural landscape for the former and the ideological construction of collective memory for the latter. Here the thematic focus is kept on the relationship between everyday practices and death in the urban context.

1.3. Method

The research method for the following study includes close readings of primary and secondary sources, site visits and informal interviews. Primary sources consist of legal and administrative documents on cemeteries, Islamic declarations on death rituals, as well as historical maps of İzmir and European travellers' records of Ottoman cities. Theoretical studies on the conceptualization of death and historical studies on İzmir constitute the majority of the secondary sources. Site visits include visits to cemeteries, *Yatırs* and *Türbes* of İzmir. The informal interviews were held with citizens of İzmir who witnessed the modernization of rituals regarding death ceremonies.

The legal and administrative documents include codes, decrees, regulations and by-laws¹ issued on cemeteries during the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic. Through the analysis and comparison of these documents, the modernization and secularization processes of administrative, spatial and behavioral codes of cemeteries have been documented. The spatial reflections of these governmental and managerial interferences have been studied through the comparison of the Muslim cemeteries in the Ottoman and the Republican periods. For this comparison, historical sources, European travelers' contemporaneous records and on-site observations have been used.

For the specific case of İzmir, the shift in the cemetery-scape of the city has been narrated not only through historical sources and European travelers' contemporaneous records but also master plan reports. Furthermore, visual evidences, particularly on the removal of inner-city cemeteries, have been provided by a thorough study of historical maps and their comparison.

There were a number of limitations which determined the selection of these maps. First of all, since the major transformation of cemetery lands was experienced between the early-19th and late-20th centuries in İzmir, the analysis is limited by the maps of this specific period (Appendix 2). Secondly, the maps which do not delineate the location of cemeteries have been excluded. As a result, the 1836, 1876, 1922 and 1968 maps proved to be most informative for the purposes of this study (Figure 11).

Other than cemeteries, this thesis also includes the relatively more lateral spatial components concerning death in the city, such as mosques, hospitals and houses the occasional disruptions in the primary functions of these spaces which take place during the death rituals are examined by the analysis of Islamic orders. Informal interviews proved to be helpful in understanding the adaptation of death rituals to modern urban environments.

Finally, the theoretical framework of the study is informed by the work of a number of contemporary cultural historians and theorists. The main argument of the study is inspired by the work of the renowned French historian, Philippe Ariès: *Western Attitudes toward Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present* (1974). There, Ariès discusses the changes in the perception of death and the transformation of burial grounds with the emergence of modernism. Foucault's interpretations on

¹ See the glossary for the explanation of these terms.

cemeteries as “heterotopic spaces” (1986) also support the main arguments of the thesis. Heterotopia, a term coined by Foucault, denotes spaces of otherness (1986). According to him, heterotopias are spaces which generate breaks in the apparent flow of everyday lives. Foucault provides a broad range of examples for heterotopic spaces including prisons, fairs, motels and cemeteries. Regarding the latter, he states:

[I]n a time of real belief in the resurrection of bodies and the immortality of the soul, overriding importance was not accorded to the body's remains. On the contrary, from the moment when people are no longer sure that they have a soul or that the body will regain life, it is perhaps necessary to give much more attention to the dead body (...) In any case, it is from the beginning of the nineteenth century that everyone has a right to her or his own little box for her or his own little personal decay; but on the other hand, it is only from the start of the nineteenth century that cemeteries began to be located at the outside border of cities (...) [T]here arises an obsession with death as an "illness." The dead, it is supposed, bring illnesses to the living, and it is the presence and proximity of the dead right beside the houses, next to the church, almost in the middle of the street, it is this proximity that propagates death itself (...) [T]he shift of cemeteries toward the suburbs was initiated. The cemeteries then came to constitute, no longer the sacred and immortal heart of the city, but "the other city," where each family possesses its dark resting place (1986, 25).

Thus, Foucault contributes to the main argument of the study by relating the exile of cemeteries and death from daily practices to the concerns of modern hygiene and the notion of heterotopia.

2. URBAN MODERNIZATION AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE CEMETERY-SCAPE IN İZMİR

İzmir, which has been home to various religious/ethnic groups such as Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Jews and Levantines, experienced the transformation of cemeteries, during the modernization of cities, in a most prominent way.

There, the first breaking point which mobilized the modern approach and shifted the perception of death in the city was a regulation that was passed in 1865 in order to avoid the spread of Black Death. In accordance with this, inner-city burials were banned and existing burial grounds, especially non-Muslim ones, were moved to the outskirts of the city (Beyru, 2011, 251-54). Before that, with the exception of the Jewish cemetery, there were no non-Muslim cemeteries located outside of the city since the latter used to bury their deceased in the courtyards or gardens of their religious structures. With the new prohibition, minorities built their own burial grounds outside the city which significantly transformed the cemetery-scape of İzmir (Figure 11). The Jewish cemetery and Muslim cemeteries were already located on the peripheries of the city and they remained in place.

Similar to other cities of Turkey, the second significant turning point for İzmir's cemeteries occurred in the early 1930s. Following the new regulations, the inner-city cemeteries were promptly removed. The vacated former burial grounds were mostly transformed into parks and new cemeteries were located outside of the settlements. What follows is a detailed analysis of these transformations in the socio-cultural context of İzmir.

2.1. Historical Context

Until the late-18th century, regardless of different religious and cultural practices, death was regarded to be an ordinary phenomenon and acknowledged as an inevitable part of the life cycle (Ariés, 1974; Laqueur, 2001; Noys, 2005). With the modernist emphasis on rationality, which is rooted in the Enlightenment, death lost much of its religious and holy significance. It came to be treated as a scientific medical topic and seen as a phenomenon that is opposed to life, rather than a metaphysical incident. The spiritual aspect of death was largely repressed by modernity. Hence, death was transformed into an unspeakable phenomenon, pushed out of everyday practices and became a taboo topic.

As the spatial symbolizations of death, cemeteries underwent many changes in relation with the transformation in the perception of death. Although such perceptions vary based on religion, culture or ethnicity, most cemeteries in modern societies experienced this shift through changes in location or layout.

In the Western world, cemeteries used to be located in the churchyards, at the central parts of the cities until the end of the 18th century. Their spatial organization was more like a gathering of sculptured mausoleums and individual tombs without any rational order (Foucault, 1986, 25). For example, the famous *Cimetière des Saints-Innocents* in Paris consisted of the combination of chapels for burials, groups of individual tombs and communal graves. Since the graves were not individualized, the precise location of a person's body or bones was not known. As long as the burial was placed in the sacred space of the church, the exact location of the body was not considered to be significant either (Johnson, 2012, 3).

Despite being burial spaces, cemeteries, also constituted important parts of the cities' scarce public open spaces. There, the living and the dead were not separated. Cemeteries were places of gathering for people of all ages where a variety of public and individual activities, such as resting, meeting, dancing as well as gambling took place (Johnson, 2012, 3-4).

These pre-modern conditions were wiped away with the introduction of the hygiene based modernist approach to urban administration systems. Urban burial places came to be seen as a problem since dead bodies and their associated spaces were not regarded to be clean. The modernist solution was to create a new community of the dead by means of hygienic burial spaces, largely aestheticized and devoid of any foul smells. Cemeteries were removed from the heart of the cities and transported from the churchyards to the margins of urban boundaries. According to renowned cultural theorist Michel Foucault, the displacement of cemeteries was initiated with the emergence of the attitude towards death as an illness. Since cemeteries were seen as sources of disease, they were alienated from everyday spaces and practices (Foucault, 1986, 25). Consideration of public health was a significant reason that underlied the process of the dislocation of cemeteries from urban centers (Laqueur, 2001, 12).

Circumstances were not dramatically different in the Ottoman Empire, where the modernization/Westernization process began in the late Ottoman era² and continued with the establishment of the secular nation-state in 1923 which marked the “project of modernity” that took its inspiration exclusively from the West. In the Ottoman period, until the mid-19th century, burials of the general public were located in large cemeteries outside of the city walls whereas the political elite which consisted of high-ranked bureaucrats and military officials were buried in the grounds of religious complexes in the city (Vatin, 2007, 197). Whether located inside or outside the city walls, Ottoman cemeteries were included within the routines of everyday life. Similar to Western cemeteries, life and death used to be intertwined in those spaces which constituted green areas of the everyday fabric, where children played and adults rested or conversed (Gönen, 1992, 35).

Ottoman cemeteries underwent significant changes in the late-19th and early 20th centuries, under the influence of Western developments. In the first quarter of the 19th century, the death rates increased dramatically in Ottoman cities as a result of a series of cholera and plague epidemics (Vatin, 2007, 199-200). As a consequence, burial spaces which covered large areas of urban land became ungovernable, inner-city burials were banned and new cemetery grounds began to be located far away from settlements.

Following the foundation of the Turkish Republic, new regulations were introduced regarding physical and administrative aspects of modern cemeteries (Appendix 1). Significantly, these regulations legitimized the dislocation of untouchable inner-city Ottoman cemeteries and marked significant turning points in the transformation of cemeteries which resulted in a new urban cemetery-scape and needs to be explained within the context of the modernization of the urban environment.

2.2. Urban Modernization

With the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, modernizing the cities of the new nation state came to be an issue of primary significance (Serçe et al., 2003, 5). Accordingly, an urban planning committee was established in Istanbul shortly after the establishment of the Turkish Republic. The committee translated European sources related with urban planning and published them in Turkish journals to propagate principles of modern planning (Tekeli, 2007, 20). In addition, foreign

² The modernization process of the Ottoman Empire was initiated with the promulgation of the *Tanzimat Edict* which is also known as *Noble Rescript of the Rose Bower*, on 3 November 1839. For an extended account of the process see the work of Bernard Lewis (Lewis, 2002).

architects and planners were invited to the country to prepare master plans for major cities like İstanbul, the new capital Ankara and İzmir.

In İstanbul a competition by invitation was held by the Turkish government to prepare a master plan for the city. The French architect and urban planner, Henri Prost's plan was selected from three alternatives by European urban planners. His plan was based on modernizing the city in terms of transportation, hygiene and aesthetics (Bilsel and Pinon, 2010, 100-101). The Master Plan consisted of two separate plans, namely the Old Istanbul Plan (the south of the Golden Horn) and the Plan of Galata-Pera (the north of the Golden Horn). However, sources written on the Prost plan do not include any discussion on cemeteries.

Ankara witnessed a similar process. Following the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the small central-Anatolian town of Ankara was declared as the new capital, which witnessed a radical transformation to deserve its new title (Yavuz and Akgün, 2000). The priority of the new urban administration was to provide for the requirements of a Western life style in a modern urban layout. In the light of these principles, the first urban plan for Ankara was prepared by Carl Christoph Lörcher, a German architect, between 1924 and 1925 which included a large burial ground away from the settlement areas.

The plan was only partially applied when an international competition was organized for Ankara's urban plan. The winning project by German planner Herman Jansen reflected a modern approach to urban planning with its zoning principles, large boulevards and open areas (Batur, 2007, 74-75). Lörcher's proposed cemetery's location remained unchanged. The new cemetery was appropriately named as *Asri Mezarlık* (modern/contemporary cemetery). In 1935, an international competition was announced concerning the inner layout of this burial ground (Mezarlık Proje Müsabakası: Ankara, 1935). According to the program of the competition, new regulations regarding cemeteries were to be the primary consideration in the proposed projects. The winning project by Martin Elsaesser, a German architect, abandoned previous traditions (Nicolai, 2011, 178-79) and included a non-denominational and a non-hierarchical structure in which the main parts were reserved for Muslim burials, and the rest were to be used by Christian and Jewish communities (Figure 4).

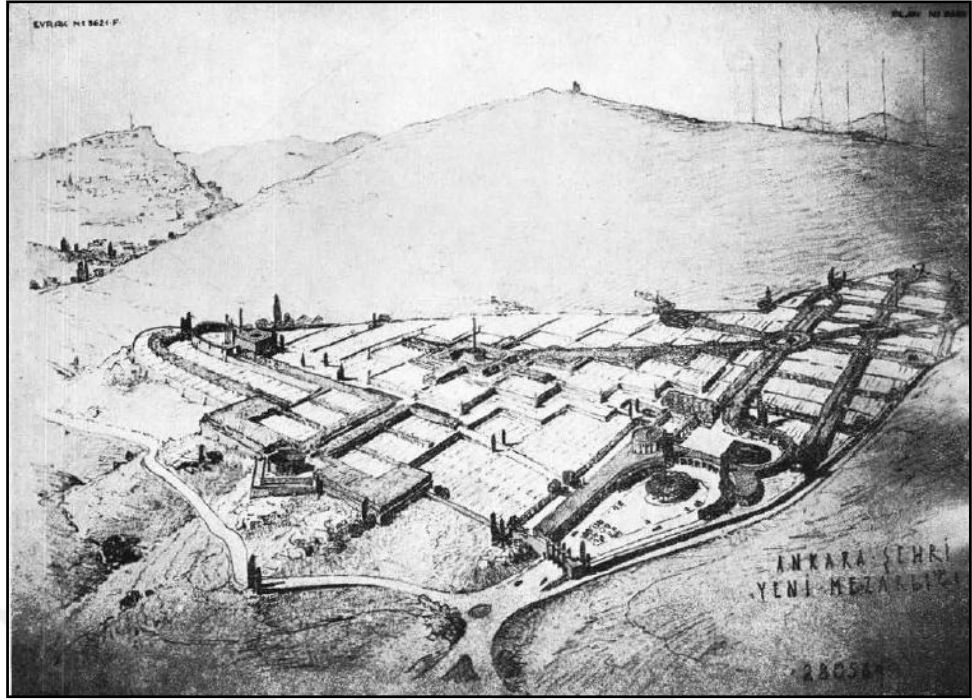


Figure 4. The Winning Project of Ankara Asri Cemetery by Elsaesser in 1935 (Mezarlık Proje Müsabakası: Ankara, 1935, 321)

As these examples illustrate, cemeteries were significantly affected by the urban modernization process as modernist concerns of hygiene and sanitation rendered them undesirable in urban centers. More significantly perhaps, since they occupied large areas in the urban fabric, cemeteries were a serious obstacle in the development of cities.

In İzmir a French urban planner, René Danger was invited by the municipality for İzmir's master plan in 1924. His plan involved large radial boulevards, an expansive green area and public squares. The plan consisted of six main zones with primary emphasis on hygiene and involved significant decisions on the dislocation of cemeteries (Bilsel, 2009, 12-13). Thus, Danger's plan heralded the removal of cemeteries which also marked the initiation of the changing cemetery-scape in İzmir.

2.3. The Changing Cemetery-scape in İzmir

In the early 19th century İzmir's cemeteries defined the boundaries of the city (Kayın and Avcı Özbakan, 2013, 45). Yet due to urban growth, those which had once been located on the outskirts of the city were surrounded by settlements by the mid-19th century (Figure 5) (Serçe et al., 2003, 213). These cemeteries became a major topic of public disconcert. Complaints which were mainly based on hygienic

and aesthetic concerns increased after 1908 (Serçe, 1998, 274). However, since burials in the central city cemeteries were forbidden by law in 1856, sanitary concerns alone were not the only reason for their relocation³ (Eyice, 1996, 130).

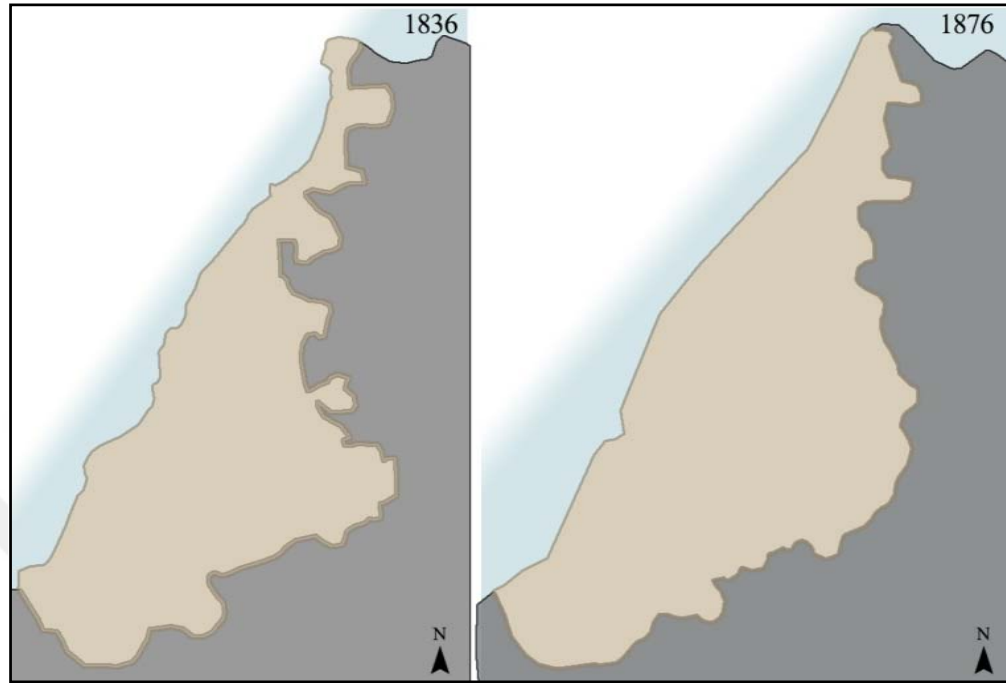


Figure 5. Approximate Settlement Borders of İzmir in 1836 and 1876 (Derived from Graves' Map of 1836 in Beyru, 2011, 55 and Saad's Map of 1876 in APIKAM archive)

Relocation of the inner-city cemeteries first became a matter of debate during Governor Rahmi Bey's tenure, between 1913 and 1918. Although these cemeteries had been a major topic of public complaint, there were also objections against the removal process. However, Governor Rahmi Bey was determined and the relocation process of the Jewish cemetery located in Bahribaba was initiated in 1914 (Say, 1941, 98) (Appendix 3). Because of World War I the process could not be completed until 1932 (Serçe et al., 2003, 222).

İzmir witnessed a great fire in September 1922, which demolished almost half of the inner-city (Figure 6). Hence an urgent necessity emerged for the reconstruction of the damaged parts. When Danger prepared the first Master Plan of the city, Prost was appointed as the adviser (Bilsel, 2008, 243).

³ For an extensive account of legal processes see section 4.1.1.



Figure 6. The Area Demolished by 1922 Great Fire of İzmir (Derived from İzmir Map of 1925 in Atay, 2012, 20)

A native committee was established by the municipality to assist Danger which consisted of an engineer, an architect and two doctors. The committee was responsible for specifying the requirements of the city and prepared a detailed report which identified eight areas that required attention: the residential zone, the port and its warehouses, accessibility, the commercial zone, the industrial zone, the infrastructure, cemeteries and public institutions (marketplace, butchery etc.) (Say, 1941, 61). Among these, public health and sanitation were of primary importance as indicated by the appointment of two doctors in the committee (Bilsel, 2008, 243-244). Identified as one of the eight areas that required attention, the construction of an urban cemetery was planned to be located outside of the settlement area in Kokluca (Figure 7) (Say, 1941, 64).

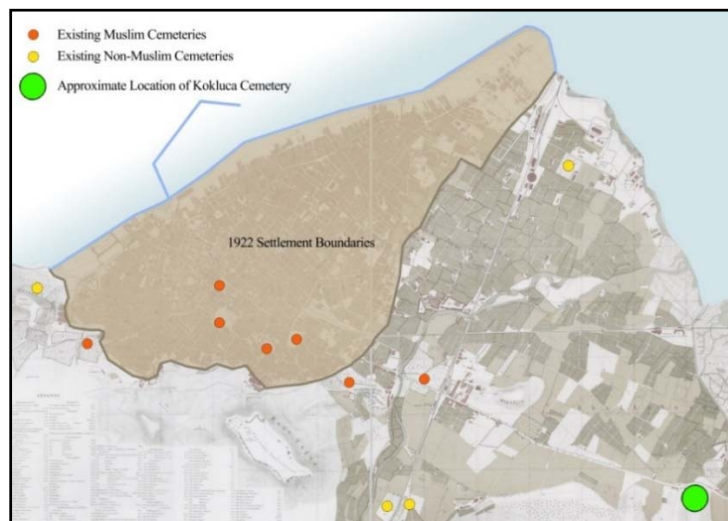


Figure 7. Approximate location of Kokluca cemetery in relation with settlement borders of İzmir in 1922 (Derived from Saad's Map of 1876 and Map of 1922 in APIKAM archive)

Besides cemeteries there were few green areas for recreational purposes in İzmir. Provision of green areas was an integral part of urban modernization process (Serçe et al., 2003, 213). According to Danger and Prost's plan, the removal of cemeteries would provide the required vacant spaces which could be transformed into public parks (Bilsel, 2008, 248). In accordance with this approach, existing cemeteries were marked as public parks on the plan (Figure 8).

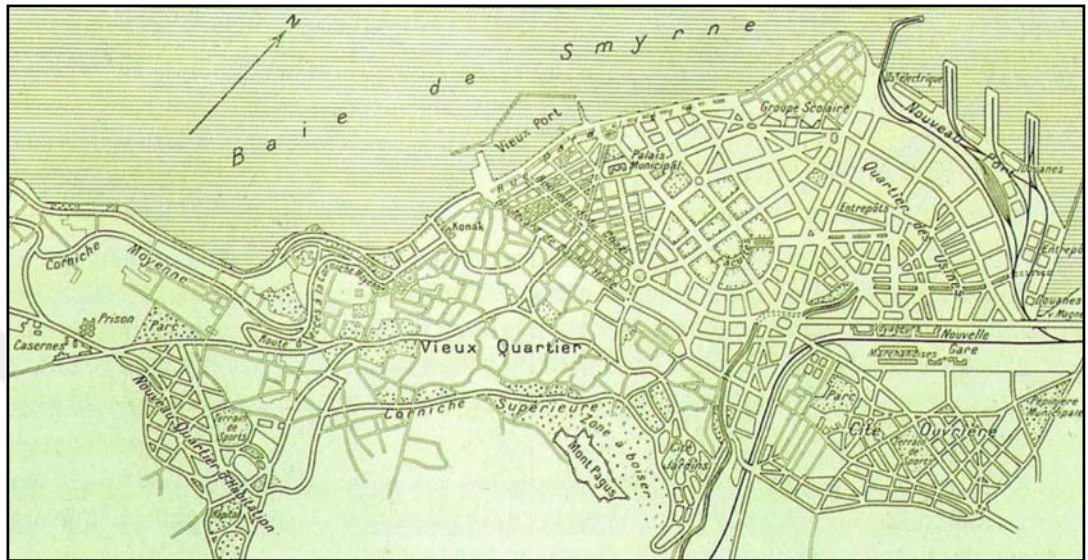


Figure 8. Danger and Prost's Plan (APIKAM archive)

Danger and Prost's plan was approved by the municipality in 1925 and reconstruction activities were initiated with few changes (Serçe, 1998, 254-60). Applied parts of the plan included the cemeteries and hence Kokluca cemetery was opened for burials. The Municipality established another urban cemetery in Karşıyaka to fulfill the burial requirements of the city. However, since Kokluca cemetery was not easily accessible from many parts of the city, in 1930, an alternative cemetery, Paşaköprü Muslim cemetery was opened for burials on the road to Seydiköy (Figure 9). These cemeteries were all located away from settlement areas and conformed to hygienic requirements (Say, 1941, 98).

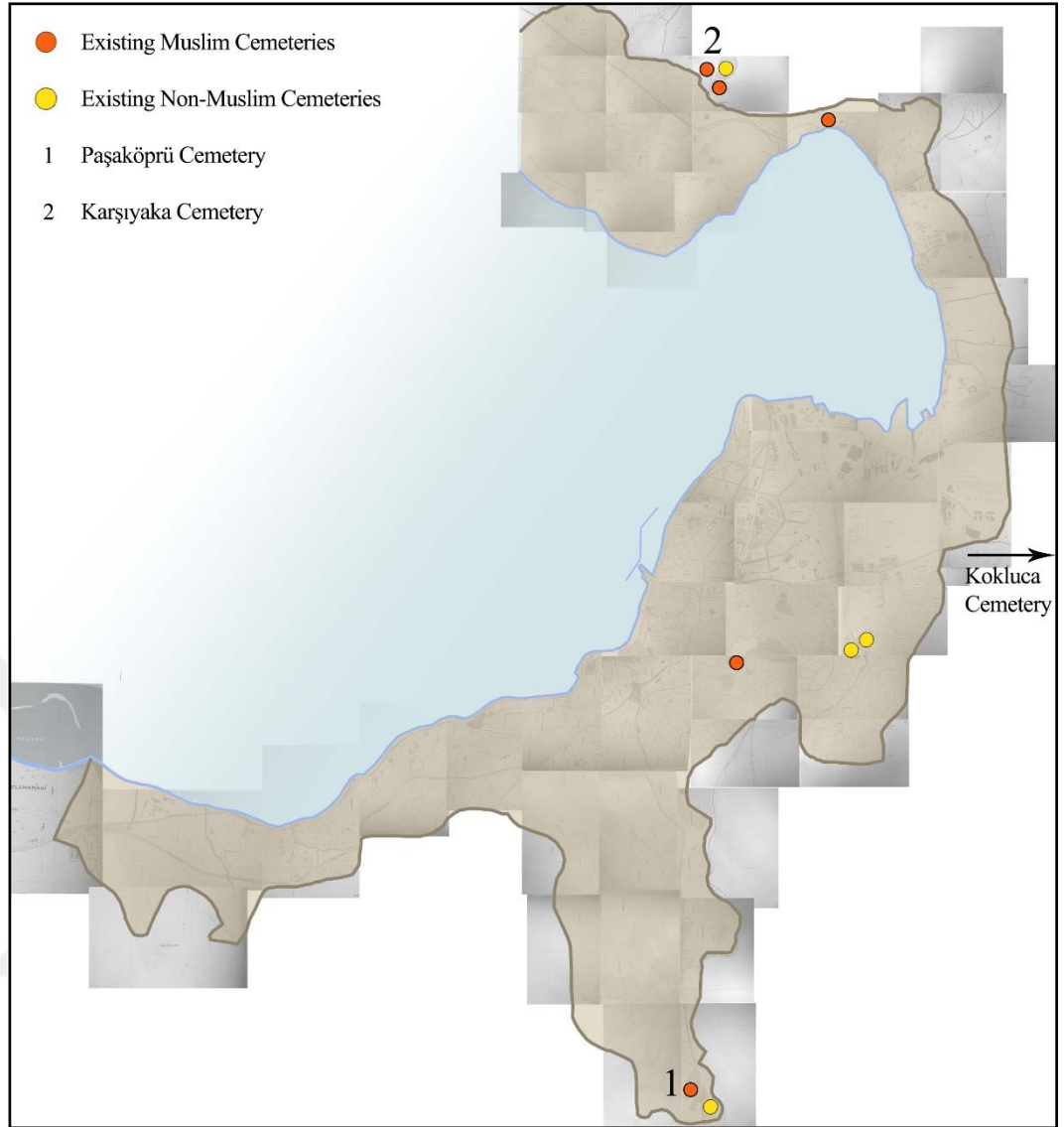


Figure 4. Locations of Paşaköprü and Karşıyaka cemeteries in 1968 (Derived from İzmir Municipality City Guide of 1968 in APIKAM archive)

Within a few years, it became clear that Danger and Prost's plan could not be put in practice due to rapid urban growth. In 1932 the municipality decided to work with Jansen, the winner of Ankara's urban planning competition, to revise the plan (Kayın and Avcı Özbakan, 2013, 55). He was asked to review Danger and Prost's plan and prepared a detailed report. Jansen was critical of Danger and Prost's decisions as not being economical and not addressing the needs of the city. However he agreed with their proposal regarding the transformation of old cemeteries into public parks and preserving the existing trees within their boundaries⁴ (İBMZD, 1932).

⁴ The status of the graves is not mentioned in any of the documents.

The removal of the cemeteries was not legal until 1931 since they were still *vakf*⁵ properties. After the devolvement of the *vakfs*' cemeteries to local municipalities in 1931 one of the biggest obstacles for the relocation of the cemeteries was removed and legal and planned processes of transformation of cemetery grounds to recreational areas was initiated (Serçe et al., 2003, 214).

The transformation of cemeteries into parks was of primary significance for Mayor Behçet Uz, who investigated the inner-city cemeteries according to Jansen's comments. Accordingly, between 1932 and 1935, the Sarımsaklıdede Muslim cemetery (Figure 10, cemetery number 2) was transformed into a public bazaar and a children's playground (Appendix 4). In addition, the cemeteries which remained in between dense neighborhoods such as Namazgah and Faik Paşa (Figure 10, cemetery number 6 and 7) were removed to make place for public parks to promote public health (Appendix 5 and 6). Çorakkapı Muslim cemetery (Figure 10, cemetery number 8) which used to be one of the biggest Muslim cemeteries of İzmir and located between the Muslim and *Frenk* neighborhoods was relocated to a new burial ground; Paşaköprü Muslim Cemetery (Figure 10, cemetery number 17) (Aktan, 1999) (Appendix 7). Other inner-city cemeteries were forested (Alim Baran, 2013, 63).

⁵ The *vakf* was an institution in the Ottoman Empire which owned dedicated lands for pious purposes. *Vakf* properties were untouchable and under the administration of the Sultan (Lewis, 2002, 92).

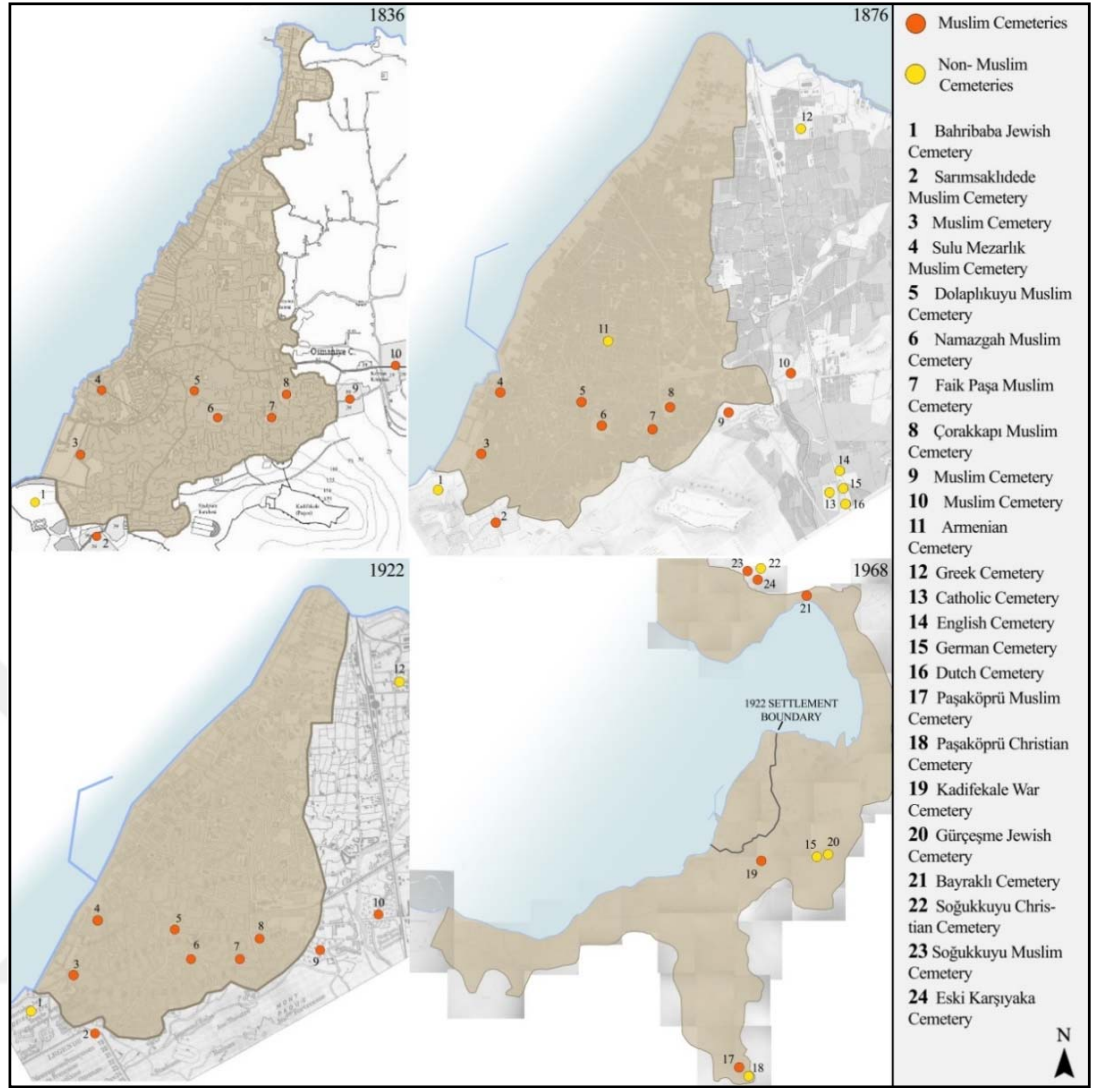


Figure 10. Cemeteries in 1836, 1876, 1922 and 1968 (Derived from Graves' Map of 1836 in Beyru, 2011, 55 and Saad's Map of 1876, Map of 1922, İzmir City Guide of 1968 in APIKAM archive)

In 1939, shortly after the transformation of the inactive cemeteries, the municipality published a planning report which excluded the topic of cemeteries (İzmir Belediyesi). In 1951, an international competition for the new construction plan of İzmir was announced by the Metropolitan Municipality. In the competition program, the port, railway and highway connections, green areas, industrial areas and residential areas were identified as the main areas for intervention whereas squatters were seen to be the major problem (İzmir Belediyesi). Cemeteries were excluded from the agenda. However, the inactive inner-city cemeteries and active cemeteries of İzmir were mentioned in the report of the winning project. According to the plan, inner-city cemeteries would be transformed into public parks. Active cemeteries such as Soğukkuyu, Bayraklı, Kokluca and Paşaköprü (Figures 7 and 10) were not included in the boundaries of the planning area (Aru, 1954, NA).

The 1968 map which appears in the city guide prepared by the Metropolitan Municipality provides significant clues about the changing cemetery-scape of İzmir in the 20th century. The dramatic differences between the 1922 and 1968 maps reflect modernist hygienic concerns and the 1931 regulation⁶ marks a significant breaking point in this transformation (Figure 10). By 1968, cemeteries were mostly located at the borders of the city. More significantly, all inner-city cemeteries that existed in 1922 were removed (Appendix 8). Although their exact removal dates are not known, the removal process ended before the 1940s⁷ (Say, 1941, 98).

In the 1968 map earlier cemetery spaces feature as green areas for various recreational purposes. However, during the rapid population growth and urbanization, these green areas were predominantly transformed into residential areas especially after the 1980s (Aktan, 1999). Reminders of earlier cemetery lands, *Türbes* and *Yaturs*⁸ which are surrounded by residential areas stand to-date as historical traces of a previous era.

In the mid-20th century, as a result of rapid urbanization the new cemeteries also turned into problematic areas and generated obstacles for growth (Aktan, 1999). As the peripheries expanded and the urban outskirts were re-defined, the formerly exiled cemeteries were included within the new boundaries of urban areas. Hence, cemeteries which were surrounded by residential areas became a public concern and a second dislocation process came to the agenda of urban administrations. Finally, in 1994, with the introduction of a new law, the removal or relocation of cemeteries was banned and existing cemeteries remained on their own grounds.

⁶ *Mezarlıklar Hakkında Nizamname*. See 4.2.1 section for a detailed account.

⁷ A map drawn in 1932 by Jacque Pervititch for insurance companies to determine the damaged parts of the city after the Great fire shows that inner-city cemeteries still existed at that time (Atay, 1998, 137). See Appendix 9.

⁸ See section 3.3 for a detailed account.

3. TRANSITORY INTERRUPTIONS OF EVERYDAY SPACES

According to Islamic convictions, death is an initiation of an eternal new life rather than an end. The rites and rituals relating to death are based on this understanding (Karaman et al., 1998, 354). These implementations are significant since they are dedicated to the deceased's fate in eternal life (Tryjarski, 2012, 145). Death related rites and rituals can be categorized into four phases based on their spatial differentiation. These involve the procedures right after the realization of death, the preparation of the dead body for interment, the burial process and mourning.

The procedures right after the realization of death and mourning rituals are mainly indoor practices. Before the beginning of modernist practices, preparation for interment was used to be performed in domestic spaces (Örnek, 1979, 50). Although in townlets and villages of Anatolia it is still performed in domestic spaces, in modern metropolitan cities this practice was replaced by the use of *gasilhanes* in mosques, hospitals or cemetery grounds. Finally, the burial process is performed entirely in the cemetery grounds.

The spaces of death related Islamic rituals including *gasilhanes* and cemetery grounds are dispersed in various locations of the urban fabric. Regardless of different periods or regions, after a death is actualized, these spatial components, which range from domestic to public spaces, become devoid of their everyday functions and temporarily serve as interconnected spaces for the performance of specific rituals.

Most visibly, with the growth of cities, the funeral corteges of pre-modern practices were inevitably removed from central areas. As the cemeteries were moved to the outskirts, longer routes were required to be covered during funeral ceremonies and pedestrian funeral corteges were replaced by vehicular ones.

After the 1930s, with the emergence of multi-storey apartment buildings, both the layout of the residential areas and the relation between domestic and public life witnessed significant changes (Tanyeli, 1998, 140). On the other hand, as hospitals, rather than residential buildings turned to be modern places for dying, death and its rituals were partially displaced from domestic life (Ariés, 1974, 88). In modern

cities, the *sela*⁹ announcements and funeral prayers in mosques are left as the only reminders of death in daily urban practices.

3.1. Domestic Practices

According to the Islamic tradition, the death of a subject has to be announced instantly to the public in order to inform his/her relatives, friends and neighbors (Örnek, 1979, 41). Consequently, the latter gather in the deceased's house to share the bereaved family's sorrow and initiate the death related rituals and requirements.

In pre-modern practices, the death of a subject was propagated by word of mouth (Örnek, 1979, 41). Because of the relatively small size of neighborhoods and close proximity of individual houses this was the most efficient practice to inform the immediate vicinity. In smaller settlements or villages, town criers and *sela* announcements could also be used for these announcements. The loud cries which spread from the deceased's house were also indicators of death. In the late 17th century the French traveller Jean de Thévenot reported,

When any one Dies in *Turkey*, the Neighbors soon have the news of it, for the Women of the House a Howling and crying out so loud, that one would think they were in Despair: all their Friends and Neighbors having notice of this, come to visit them, and fall to making the same music as they do, for these visits are not rendered for Comforting, but for Condoling (Thévenot and Lovell, 1687, 57).

Before the initial emergence of apartment blocks, which served high income groups in Istanbul in the 1910s, most of the population used to live in one or two-storey houses and close relatives used to share the same neighborhood which resulted in close-knit communities (Ortaylı, 1985, 93). After the 1930s, with the spread of multi-storey residences to the middle classes, several related families started to share a single building (Bilgin, 1996). This new residential typology received considerable criticism from the public for not being appropriate to Turkish domestic traditions (Balamir, 1994, 29). However, apartments mushroomed despite the criticisms and both the physical and the social structure of residential areas began to see significant changes. This process was an inevitable outcome of the urban

⁹ *Sela* is the verbal public announcement done by the imam of a mosque to announce an occasion of death or time for the *namaz* on specific Islamic holy days like Fridays and *Bayrams*.

changes that accompanied the development of industrialization and capitalism (Tekeli, 2011).

Turkey, as a late industrialized country, experienced significant urban transformations in the 1950s when land values increased dramatically. Rising land prices made it too expensive for citizens to live in one or two-storey buildings on single plots. On the other hand, migration from rural to urban areas generated new housing demands and the spread of apartment buildings accelerated. Furthermore, with the rise in land values, single-owner apartments were no longer affordable by middle-class families (Balamir, 1975). In 1954, the first legal arrangements were made which allowed flat ownership and this culminated in the 1965 Flat Ownership Code. Henceforth, unrelated families began to live in a single building. This led to the emergence of a new kind of neighborhood, which consisted of strangers and which rendered a radical change in domestic life and notions of privacy. Consequently, extended families were replaced by nuclear families, whereby the modern house became more privatized (Tanyeli, 1998, 144).

The transformation in residential typology reflected in the decreased visibility of death in the cities since the private sphere lost its integration with the public sphere and became relatively isolated in the apartment units. Beforehand, indoor ritual practices were more visible and integrated with urban practices. The news of a neighbor's death spread rapidly among residents since residential boundaries were relatively porous. With the new residential typology and increasing privatization of everyday lives this phenomenon almost came to an end.

To sum up, as cities grew in size and population, pre-modern communication methods were replaced by new ones (Örnek, 1979, 42). Although *sela* announcements are still in practice, mostly in smaller settlements, printed obituaries are more widespread. In İzmir, the local newspaper *Yeni Asır* started to publish obituaries in the 1950s.

With the spread of the use of Internet and social media, digital announcements too became a popular way to announce the death of relatives and acquaintances. By means of digital networks such as Facebook, large numbers of people can be reached almost instantly. On the other hand, a specific web page launched by Nisan Advertisement and Media Agency, provides accessibility to both current and archived obituary notices in various newspapers in Turkey (Vefatlarimiz.com,

2015) (Figure 11). It is also possible to leave a message of condolence to the bereaved family through this digital interface.

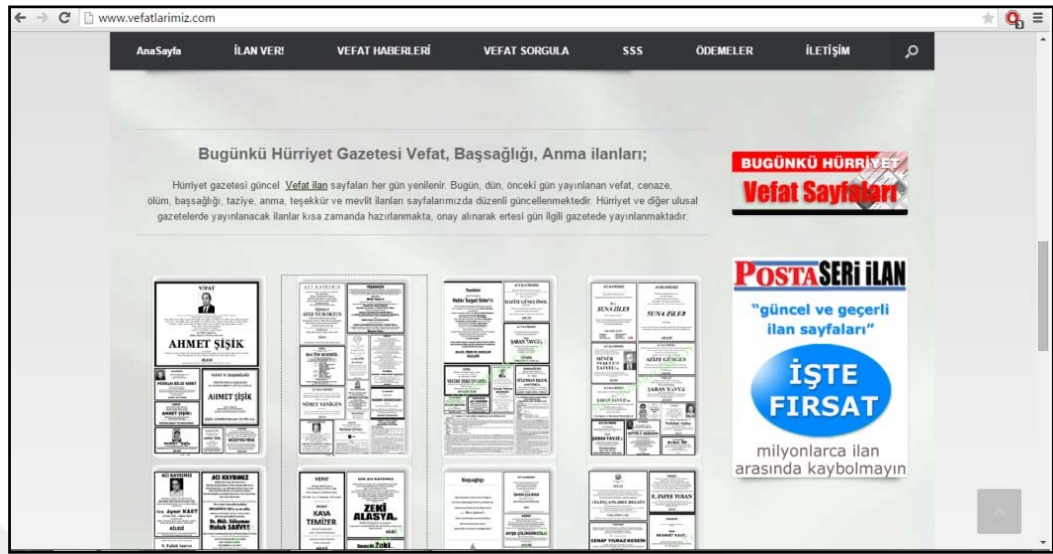


Figure 5. The Interface of the Web Page (Vefatlarimiz.com, 2015)

The Islamic rituals which follow the announcement of death mainly involve indoor practices. As a result of religious requirements, transitory alterations occur in the daily practices of the deceased's house as the private space of the home is transformed into a semi-public space, where routine domestic functions are temporarily suspended.

Following death, preliminary preparation of the deceased for eternal life is essential. This preparation is based on hygienic and religious requirements. The rituals are related either to the dead body or the space of death in the house (Örnek, 1979, 44-47). The eyelids of the deceased are closed, the chin is tied to keep the mouth shut and while the body is laid on its back, a piece of iron, generally a knife or scissors, is placed on the belly and the head is turned in the direction of *Kaaba*. Spatially, the windows of the room of the death bed are opened and the room is illuminated. Subsequently, parts of the Qur'an are recited in the room. Hence the room becomes more visible and accessible compared to its routine use since it is illuminated, the windows are opened and people outside the household are allowed to enter to fulfill Islamic requirements or to see the deceased for the last time.

According to cultural convictions, the soul of the deceased remains in the house for a while (Ekitap.kulturturizm.gov.tr, 2015). To make the soul realize the death of the body, a pair of shoes of the deceased is placed in front of the door which

indicates the departure of the body. These are later to be taken by people who are in need¹⁰. However, with the replacement of single-storey houses by apartment buildings, the direct connection of houses with streets are lost. Although shoes are still donated to the poor by the bereaved family, their cultural significance related to body/soul relationship has faded.

These activities are followed by the preparation of the dead body for burial. The body is ritually washed, wrapped in a sheet and placed in a coffin (Karaman et al., 1998, 355-59). The funeral wash is the most significant part of this preparation which requires a sheltered space according to Islamic requirements. These spaces are only accessible for those who wash the body. According to Islamic provisions, if the corpse is female only women, and otherwise only men are allowed to perform the ritualistic wash. Exceptionally, the wife of the deceased is allowed to wash her husband. Otherwise, closest relatives or friends of the deceased may help to perform this ritual.

In pre-modern practices, the wash ritual is mostly performed in the courtyards of the houses (Örnek, 1979, 50). The gardens, canopies or any other appropriate spaces of the house can be used for the funeral wash. Although the layout of the house varies due to socio-cultural, demographic and climatic differences, some common characteristics are prevalent (Bertram, 2012, 46). Most significantly, houses are not directly connected to streets and include a front garden or a courtyard surrounded by high walls. These are neither inside nor outside spaces where the majority of everyday activities such as cooking, resting and eating are performed (Yürekli and Yürekli, 2007). The funeral wash marks a momentary interruption in the everyday flow of activities in these spaces.

During the wash, the courtyard is open to anybody who wants to be involved. The wash is mainly performed by Muslim preachers with the help of the relatives of the deceased. To heat the water a large boiler is set up in the courtyard and a *teneşir*¹¹ is transported from a nearby mosque. After the body is prepared, it is carried to the mosque. However, in the last two decades, this ritual has almost come to an end

¹⁰ Interview with Aysun Özmen in 17 April 2015, İzmir. Aysun Özmen, aged 54, has been living in İzmir for forty-eight years.

¹¹ *Teneşir* refers to the bench on which the corpse is washed. It has a porous texture which eliminates dirty water from the surface.

since with the emergence of multi-storey apartments, courtyards of neighboring houses become visible from upper-floors and the privacy of the ritual is violated¹².

Courtyards, as the semi-public spaces of traditional Turkish houses, functioned as intermediary spaces between the interior and the street (Gözübüyük Melek, 2004, 67). They distanced the house from the street but at the same time established a controlled link. The private and the public realms were distinguished more sharply in the apartment houses where the link between the house and the street was lost. (Fehim Kennedy, 1999, 107).

After the wash ritual, the funeral is performed in the mosque and the body is transported to cemetery¹³. During the days following the burial, the mourners accept visits of condolence by their neighbors and relatives in the deceased's house. These are performed to express sympathy and wish patience to the bereaved family. Generally, these visits are limited to three days but may extend to seven or ten days due to regional diversities (Karaman et al., 1998, 369).

Significantly, to cook meals in the deceased's house is forbidden during the mourning period and the neighbors send meals to the house of the deceased (Başoğlu, 1959, 17). Only *helva*, a sweet made of semolina or flour, is cooked in the house after the burial in order to be served to the visitors. Since many visits are paid during the mourning process, the doors are left unlocked. Along with the living room, the kitchen and the bedroom can be used for hosting crowds of visitors. If necessary, the neighbors' houses are also used for hosting the latter. For six nights following the burial, visitors gather in the house to pray for the deceased. After or before the prayer session they have dinner together in the house. These meals used to be more ceremonial until the late twentieth century where large dinner tables were set to share the food¹⁴. This practice is now usually replaced by simpler and faster meals.

Finally, it is obligatory to commemorate the dead collectively by praying and reading passages from the Qur'an on the evening of the 7th, 40th and 52th days following the burial. These prayers which are called *Mawlid* are different in content

¹² This information is provided by Necla Elitez during an interview on her experiences in her hometown in 23 April 2015, İzmir. Aged 73, Elitez was born in a small settlement of Manisa and moved to İzmir thirty years ago.

¹³ See section 3.2.

¹⁴ The information is based on the interview done with Aysun Özmen in 17 April 2015, İzmir.

than the prayers offered in the first six days. After the remembrance ceremonies, a ritual meal called “meal for the dead” is served to the guests (Örnek, 1979, 88) traditionally accompanied by *helva*, sherbet, candy or Turkish delight. This tradition is commonly repeated on the death anniversaries.

Unique to İzmir, a local desert *lokma* is prepared on the 7th day of the burial and on the anniversaries. To fry the desert, large boilers are set up in front of the houses or apartment blocks (Figure 12). *Lokma* is distributed not only to neighbors, relatives and friends of the deceased but also to the passers-by. This ceremonial tradition remains as one of the few reminders of death in the everyday life of the city.



Figure 6. Preparation of *Lokma* in a street in İzmir (Author’s Photo Archive)

With changes in housing typologies and domestic life, these rituals have partially mutated. As Seher Dönmez explains, the modern pace of life makes it difficult for the hosts to deal with the disruption of the everyday domestic routine, which requires additional maintenance to keep the order of the house¹⁵. Since, due to their relatively small size, apartments are not suitable to accommodate ritualistic practices which involve large numbers of guests, prayers are begun to be performed in mosques. Moreover, public condolence houses (*taziye evi*) began to be

¹⁵ The information is based on an interview with Seher Dönmez in 17 April 2015 in İzmir. Dönmez, aged 78, was born in a small town of Manisa and moved to Izmir forty-five years ago.

established by municipalities as a contemporary alternative (Zeytinburnu.bel.tr, 2015).

To summarize, from the 1930s, parallel to the changes in urban residential typology and due to hygienic concerns, death rituals which used to take place in domestic spaces, such as the funeral wash and condolence visits, began to be performed mostly in the public realm. Hence, death rituals and consequently the very phenomenon of death began to be excluded from domestic spaces.

3.2. Public Spaces

According to Islamic mandates, the dead body is required to undergo special preparations before the burial (Örnek, 1979, 48). This involves three main transactions which are the funeral wash, the shrouding and the funeral prayer (Karaman et al., 1998). The funeral wash and the shrouding are staged in the same space, in a sheltered area, whereas the funeral prayer is performed in the mosque.

According to both cultural and religious customs, the preparation, especially the funeral wash, needs to be done in a short time mostly due to hygienic concerns (Örnek, 1979, 48). Besides domestic spaces, this ritual can be performed in sterilized spaces called *gasilhanes* and performed by *gassals*¹⁶.

The foundation of *gasilhanes* is relatively recent. Until the mid-19th century, there were relatively few health complexes in the Ottoman Empire (Bolak, 1950, 47). Modern health facilities were established as part of the reforms that followed the declaration of the Tanzimat Edict¹⁷. Modern hospital complexes began to be constructed which were modeled on Western examples. This process was accelerated especially in the capital city of Istanbul, which witnessed a series of epidemic diseases¹⁸.

The first modern hospital complex, Gureba Hospital, was founded in Istanbul in 1843 (Bolak, 1950, 47-48). In the original plan of the hospital a *gasilhane* was not included. However, a separate exit was included which was integrated with the

¹⁶ *Gassals* are the professionals who wash dead bodies in *gasilhanes*. The family and the relatives of the deceased are allowed to enter the *gasilhanes* during the wash to help the *gassal*.

¹⁷ The Tanzimat Edict brought reforms in law, education, administration and attire. For an extended account see (Lewis, 2002) and (Mardin, 1991).

¹⁸ Istanbul saw major cholera epidemics in 1831, 1847 and 1854 (Eldem, 2005, 204).

postmortem examination room on the ground floor and named as “corpse exit” (Figure 13, A). More significantly the exit directly opened to the neighboring mosque’s courtyard. Hence, the spaces of burial preparation which used to be performed in various locations in the city were gathered in a single controlled space.

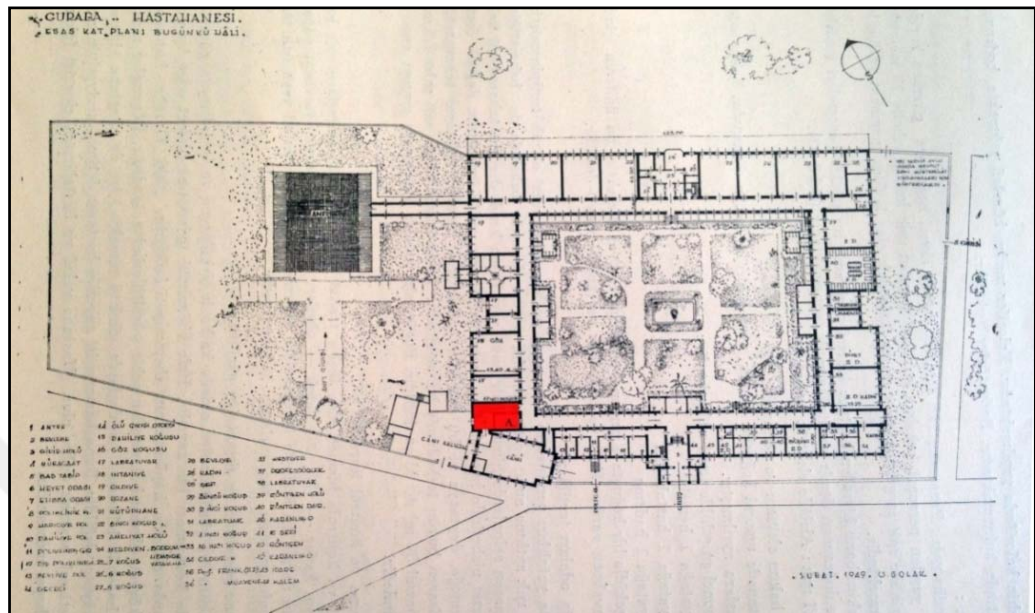


Figure 7. Ground Floor Plan of Gureba Hospital (Bolak, 1950, 53)

In the Ottoman period there was no specific body of laws and regulations regarding the involvement of *gasilhanes* in hospital layouts. However, some state decrees mark the changing attitude in the early 1900s. In 1913 with a by-law on hospitals, the *gassals*' and the *gasilhane* cleaners' responsibilities were defined (Ergin, 1995, 3468). In another instance, in 1916, the addition of a *gasilhane* to a hospital was not only approved but also stated as a priority (Ergin, 1995, 3437).

After the establishment of the Turkish Republic, more modern hospital complexes were established in various cities (Bolak, 1950). However, until the mid-20th century *gasilhanes* were not considered as a parts of hospitals. Trabzon Nümune Hospital and Bursa Memleket Hospital, which were founded in 1947 and 1952 respectively, were two leading examples which included *gasilhanes* and their related functions in the original layout.

In both hospital plans, *gasilhanes* and other related spaces were isolated in the basement (Bolak, 1950). The connection with the upper floors was provided by separate vertical circulation elements which were marked as “corpse elevators”.

Access to the outside was provided by a separate hall which was marked as “corpse exit”.

In Trabzon Nümune Hospital, the “corpse elevator” (Figure 14, H) opened to a hall which was connected to the waiting room (D), the imam’s room (F), the morgue (G) and the “corpse exit” (E). Behind the hall the *gasilhane* (A), the postmortem examination room (B) and the doctor’s room (C) were located. The *gasilhane* and the postmortem examination were planned in separate volumes but were directly accessible by a door.

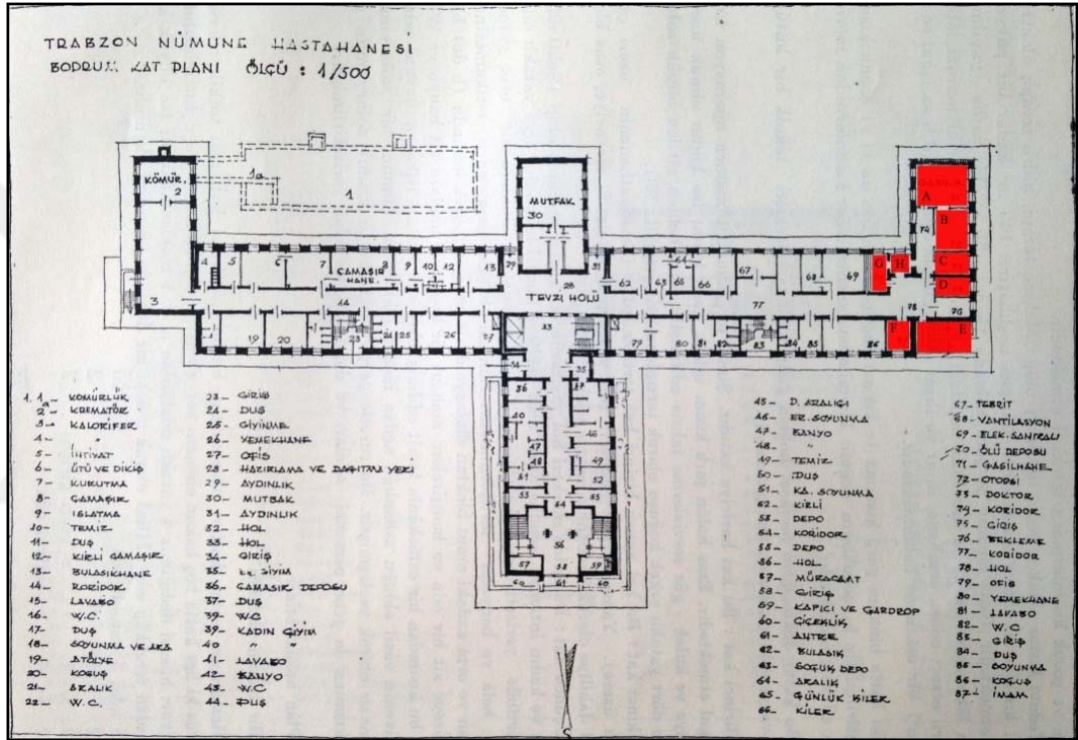


Figure 8. Basement Floor Plan of Trabzon Nümune Hospital (Bolak, 1950, 95)

In Bursa Memleket Hospital, the layout was not significantly different. The “corpse elevator” (Figure 15, I) directly opened to the “corpse ceremony hall” (H) which connected to the waiting room (J) and the “corpse exit” (G). Behind the hall, the *gasilhane* and postmortem examination were planned in the same volume (A). Other related functions, the imam’s room (E), the doctor’s room (F), the supply store (B) and the morgue (C) was connected with the *gasilhane* with a separate corridor (D).

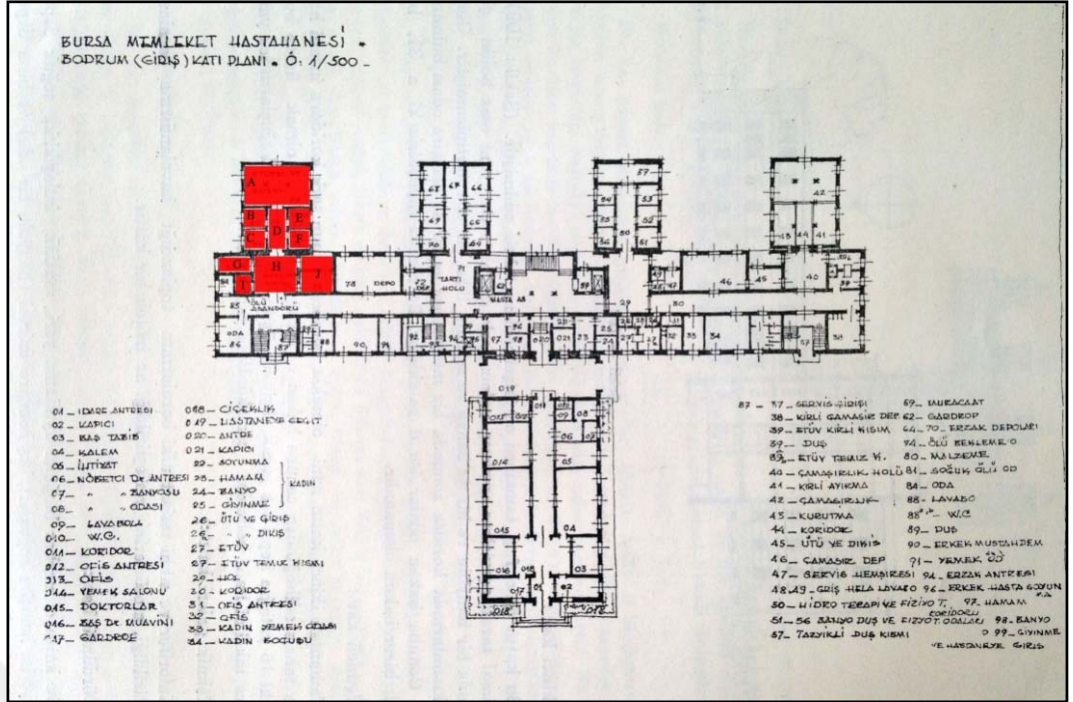


Figure 9. Basement Floor Plan of Bursa Memleket Hastanesi (Bolak, 1950, 120)

The inclusion of *gasilhanes* in hospital layouts became compulsory by a law on hospitals that was passed in 1982 (Özel Hastaneler Tüzüğü). These spaces were required to be located away from common areas and patient rooms; they should not be directly accessible to the public and should be disinfected.

Hospitals were not the only places to include *gasilhanes*. By the 1930 Municipality Code (*Belediye Kanunu*), municipalities were put in charge of the funeral preparation of the corpse. They were also required to build and manage the *gasilhanes*. Although their location was not specified, they were mainly located on the cemetery grounds. The number of *gasilhanes* in the city were to be determined in accordance with the population size. Hence, indoor funeral washes were terminated and part of the death rituals were removed from the home to take place in sterilized public spaces.

In the early-1970s, private organizations began to be established to fulfill the entirety of Islamic funeral requirements. Instead of the rituals performed with the help of relatives of the deceased, professional companies began to organize the process¹⁹. However, in the last decade since municipalities took on the

¹⁹ Interviews done with Koçak and Günel funeral organization companies in İzmir on 13 May 2015.

responsibility of the preparation and transportation of the dead body without charge, private companies ceased trading.

Furthermore, the spatial requirements of public *gasilhanes* were defined for the first time in 2010 (Mezarlık Yerlerinin İnşası ile Cenaze Nakil ve Defin İşlemleri Hakkında Yönetmelik). The interior walls and the floor were required to be covered with easily washable materials; heating services and integration with sewerage system had to be provided.

By the 1930 code, municipalities were held responsible for the transportation of the deceased (Belediye Kanunu, 1930). Before then, following the wash and the shrouding, the dead body was carried to the mosque for the funeral prayer by pedestrian corteges (Örnek, 1979, 50). In the case of a hospital death, after the funeral wash in the hospital's *gasilhane*, the coffin is taken to the mosque, again by the municipality by a funeral car.

When death happens at home, the dead body is taken from the house to the *gasilhane* and then to the mosque by the municipality. These *gasilhanes* are spread in various locations of the city to serve different neighborhoods. In 2010, funeral preparation cars were instituted by the municipalities to serve as mobile *gasilhanes* (Mezarlık Yerlerinin İnşası ile Cenaze Nakil ve Defin İşlemleri Hakkında Yönetmelik). According to the related regulation, the interior of these cars should be covered with easily cleanable materials. In addition, it should contain a heating apparatus for water, a cooling chamber for the body as well as water depots for both clean and effluent water. These vehicles provided the possibility of performing the funeral wash in close proximity to the deceased's house.

Since 2010, the use of these cars has been common in smaller settlements (Haberler.com, 2015). Notably, the municipalities which involve villages in their administrative boundaries prefer to use these cars instead of building *gasilhanes* since they provide accessibility for longer distances. During the last decade, funeral preparation cars have become a part of the capitalist economy. Private companies provide various car options in different sizes and forms (Kaysericenezaraclari.com, 2015) (Figure 16). Moreover, in recent years, these cars began to be exhibited at international fairs in Turkey as urban furniture which marks the commodification of death rituals, which are increasingly divorced from their spiritual context and integrated into consumptive practices.



Figure 10. Van Type Funeral Preparation and Transportation Car
(Kaysericenazearaclari.com, 2015)

According to Islamic provisions, the funeral prayer is obligatory for every Muslim and required to be performed in mosques (Karaman et al., 1998, 360-62). To perform the funeral prayer in the cemeteries is forbidden. Hence, the mosques have always been the space of the last prayer for the deceased. Each mosque has a special platform, *musalla taşı*²⁰ in its courtyard. The funeral prayer takes place in the attendance of not only the relatives and friends of the deceased but the entire community of acquaintances. During the prayer, men line up in front of the *musalla taşı* and the coffin, whereas women are required to stand behind them. Unless an obligatory situation such as a heavy rain takes place, the prayer is forbidden to be performed inside of the mosques. According to historian Edhem Eldem, visibility was one of the most striking characteristics of the death culture in the Ottoman Empire (2005, 24). Although the reason for the prohibition of indoor funeral prayers is not clear, the visibility of the ceremony may be the main cause.

Following the funeral prayer, the deceased is carried to the cemetery for burial (Karaman et al., 1998, 365). According to Islamic convictions, to carry or follow the coffin to the cemetery is a good deed. The coffin is carried on shoulders by no less than four people. This is considered to be a way of showing love and respect to the deceased. The congregation does not walk in front or on the sides of the coffin, but follows in silence and prays. Pedestrian funeral corteges were a

²⁰ *Musalla taşı* is a platform with two legs to place the coffin. It is generally made of marble or stone.

significant part of the rituals until the placement of cemeteries outside urban centers, when the use of funeral cars became increasingly more prominent.

In pre-modern practices, such corteges which were an integral part of daily life, had been remarkable for European travelers who vividly depicted these in their accounts. In the Ottoman period, it was common place to come across an Islamic funeral cortege (de Amicis, 1878, 294) which included imams who led the crowd, and the relatives and friends of the deceased. Thévenot described,

He is after that carried to the Burying-place, then priests going before, saying certain prayers and often calling upon the name of God; after the Body, comes the Relations and Friends, then the Women, who altogether cry along the streets like Mad-women, and holding a Handkerchief about their neck with both hands they pull it sometimes this way, and sometimes that way, as if they were out of their wits for Grief. In fine, being come to the Burying-place where the Corps is to de Interr'd, they take it out of the Coffin or Beer, put it into the Grave, and so depart, leaving the Women there to make an end of their Music. If it be a Person of Quality, his horses are led in state (Thévenot and Lovell, 1687, 58).

Cemeteries are the last destination of the burial process. The quiet resting space of the dead, temporarily transform into the space of funeral ceremony. After the coffin is carried to the grave-plot, the congregation squats on heels (Karaman et al., 1998, 366-67). The grave must be deep enough to reach the head of an average person standing in it. The body is buried without the coffin. According to Islamic provisions, burials are not to take place after sunset.

Before the funeral cortege arrives at the cemetery, the burial place of the deceased is excavated by grave diggers for interment in accordance with Islamic requirements such as facing the direction of *Kaaba*. The body is placed in the excavated pit with his/her shroud by two closest relatives (Ekitap.kulturturizm.gov.tr, 2015). Wooden plaques are then placed diagonally on top of the body to avoid landslides. First, the closest relatives throw a shovel of soil to cover the wooden plaques. Then, the pit is filled with earth by other family members, relatives and friends. After the grave is filled with earth, the Imam and the congregation read passages from the Koran for the repose of the deceased's soul. Two temporary wooden headstones and two flower pots are placed on each

end of the earth mound to mark the grave. After the Imam reads the last prayer, the congregation offers condolences to the bereaved family.

Unlike the practices regarding death until the late-19th century, the majority of modernist practices began to be organized in sterilized spaces like *gasilhanes* in hospitals or cemeteries by professional *gassals* rather than the family of the deceased. Although most of these practices moved to public spaces from domestic spaces, they lost their visibility in the urban realm (Figure 17). This transformation is due to the institutionalization of these practices by either municipalities or private companies. Hence, like cemeteries, death rituals too have been exiled from central urban areas.

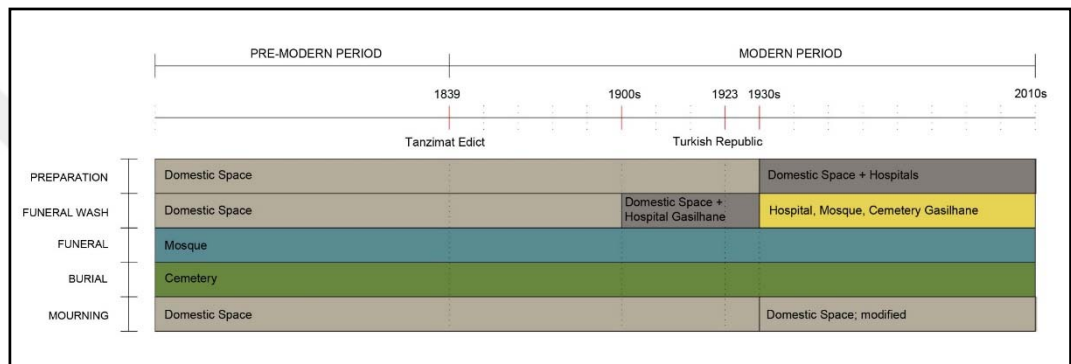


Figure 11. Spatial Changes in Rituals Regarding Death between Pre-Modern and Modern Periods (Drawn by the Author)

The history of the shifted attitude towards death in Turkey in general and in the specific case of İzmir make an important contribution to the academic discussions on spaces of death in contemporary cities. These discussions include two interpretations which complement each other.

First, according to Ariés (1974; 1981), with the rise of modernity, death lost its religious/spiritual meanings, and is transformed into a technical matter for medical professionals. Hence, death became a taboo subject and was inevitably exiled from the urban context and daily practices. In other words, death in the city became a “forbidden” topic. Rather than religious mandates which governed individuals’ behavior, modern institutions were given the authority to administer various stages of this process.

Second, Tony Walter (1991), a sociologist who works on death, states that death in modern societies was not a “forbidden” but a “hidden” topic. He supports his argument by mentioning undermined death rituals. Parallel to Walter’s opinions, a

theological and social theorist Philip A. Mellor (1992), links the disappearance of death in the city to the privatization of the experience of death and its rituals in modern times. According to Mellor, these rituals and practices became increasingly more privatized with modernity and in accordance, pre-modern death rituals which were performed as communal events lost their significance. Hence, death was gradually removed from or remained hidden in the public domain.

İzmir presents a complicated case in the light of these arguments. On one hand, the prohibition of inner-city burials in the 1850s and the relocation of centrally located cemeteries in the 1930s verifies the arguments of Ariés. During the following years this attitude was intensified with new regulations; the landscape of death significantly shifted; and death in the city was repressed by administrative actions. However, managing the religious rituals was beyond the authority of administrative mechanisms and the spiritual realm helped the continuity of the visibility of death in the city. As the most remarkable examples, *Türbes* and *Yatırs* still provide the grounds for the spatial existence of death in the urban fabric which will be explained in more detail in the following section.

On the other hand, parallel to Walter's and Mellor's arguments, as in many cities of Turkey, pre-modern death rituals which were diffused to the streets and were performed as public ceremonies disappeared in İzmir. For instance, in modern practices, funeral processes transformed into a more private matter for the family and the friends of the deceased. Since the last quarter of the 20th century, they began to be organized by professional groups of funeral specialists like private companies and municipalities, where the involvement of the mourners is significantly reduced. Hence, the phenomenon of death lost its visibility in the public realm.

However, although death rituals were transformed through the process of modernization and became more privatized, some practices such as the distribution of *lokma* still remain extant as reminders of pre-modern practices. Such practices interrupt the sterilized scape of death in the urban realm and make death visible once again in the spatial practices of the public domain.

3.3. Special Burials

In this thesis special burials refer to those that are embedded in the urban fabric and built for people who have been assigned heroic status by the public. *Yatırs* and

Türbes are such burials which are socially constructed holy spaces where believers pay regular visits.

Yatır means “the grave of a holy-man who is believed to have miraculous powers and helps people” (Tdk.gov.tr, 2015). It is defined in the Islamic Dictionary as “the grave of a holy-man which is believed to help or harm people. He may rescue or punish those who pray for him” (İslami Bilgiler Ansiklopedisi, 1988, 285). On the other hand, *Türbe* is “the building that houses the grave of a significant person” (Tdk.gov.tr, 2015). During the Ottoman period, the Sultans, their family members and significant governmental figures were buried in *Türbes*. Despite the differences between the definitions of *Yatırs* and *Türbes*, they are mostly used synonymously in daily discourse.

Türbes and *Yatırs* are regarded as sacred spaces by the public in accordance with popular legends. They are frequently visited by believers for praying and making wishes. According to cultural beliefs, the souls of the holy-men remain around the grave and perform miracles. These visits are mostly performed on Fridays, the holy day of Islam. Women visit *Yatırs* and *Türbes* more frequently than men since the mosque is only partially accessible for women in the Islamic culture (Figure 18). These spaces are visited mostly in times of stress and perform as therapy spaces in the urban fabric. In *Yatırs* and *Türbes*, specific rituals are performed after praying, such as walking around the grave, lighting a candle and tying a piece of cloth on a nearby object such as a tree or a pole for the realization of the wishes. These rituals vary depending on the legend relating the *Yatır* or *Türbe* in question (Köse and Ayten, 2010).



Figure 12. Women Visitors of a *Yatır* in İzmir on a Friday (Author’s Photo Archive)

Türbe and *Yatır* visits are widely acknowledged as proper Islamic practices by the public. However, religious authorities claim that grave visits should not include any rituals other than praying. According to Ali Köse and Ali Ayten, two religion psychologists, these rituals are products of popular culture shaped by everyday life, rather than religious sanctions (2010).

With the modernization of cities, the urban population lost their connection with sacred spaces and this raised a spiritual gap in their everyday lives (Köse and Ayten, 2010, 48-51). During the process, *Yatır* and *Türbe* visits remained to be the only survivors of previous practices and gained a socially constructed untouchability which prevented their immediate removal from the urban fabric.

In fact, the removal of *Türbes* from city centers did come into the administrative agenda during the modernization of cities. Following the establishment of the Turkish Republic, *Türbes* were abolished by a law that was passed in 1925 (Tekke ve Zaviyelerle Türbelerin Seddine ve Türbedarlıkları bir Takım Unvanların Men ve İlgasına Dair Kanun). The main motivation behind this attempt was the secularization of everyday practices.

During the following years, there had been two significant amendments to the 1925 law. In 1950, a small number of *Türbes* were reopened to visits by the approval of the Ministry of Education. These included the *Türbes* of significant figures of the Ottoman Empire. In 1990 *Türbes* which were considered to bear aesthetic value or belonged to significant figures in Turkish history were allowed to be reopened. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism was behind this decision and in charge of their maintenance.

Yatırs and *Türbes* have significant influence on the identity of their surroundings and usually give their names to their neighborhoods or districts (Köse and Ayten, 2010, 116). İzmir exemplifies this phenomenon in a most visible way. There, *Yatırs* rather than *Türbes*, cover a larger part in the urban landscape. The legends on the majority of these *Yatırs* are based on the stories of heroic figures in the Independence War²¹. They are mostly remainders of older cemeteries which have been removed to the outskirts of the city. Today they are isolated burials, embedded into the urban fabric. For instance, İplikçi İsmail Dede's grave, is one of the *Yatırs* in the Namazgah neighborhood of İzmir. Unlike others, which stand alone, this one

²¹ Interview with Bilsel Başaran on 17 October 2014 in İzmir. Başaran is the owner of a house located on top of Salih Dede Yatır (Figure 22) in İzmir.

is surrounded by family members' burials. Located in a tight open space lined by residences, this mini-graveyard, the remainder of a re-located older cemetery, is hidden from sight with the exception of two grilled windows (Figure 19). Although the significance of the holy-man is not exactly known, the grave stones prove the *Yatur*'s existence since the early 1700s (Daş, 2012, 66).

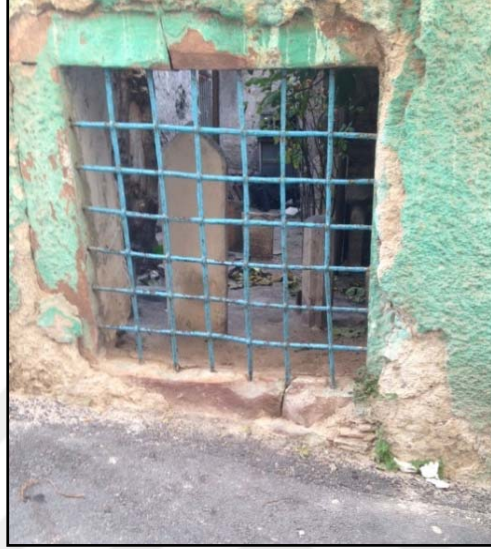


Figure 13. İplikçi İsmail Dede's *Yatur* in Namazgah, İzmir (Author's Photo Archive)

In another instance, in Namazgah, two coffins which belong to Tezveren Dede and his wife are preserved in a room that is attached to Şeyh Camii. The visitors stand on a flat stone that is placed between the two coffins to pray and to state their wishes (Figure 20).



Figure 14. Tezveren Dede's *Yatur* in Namazgah, İzmir (Author's Photo Archive)

In some specific cases, although the grave or coffin of the holy-man does not exist, material traces of an older burial generate the sacred space. For instance, in Damlacık, Arap Dede's grave has been removed during a road construction. The remaining grave stone is preserved and acknowledged as a praying spot (Figure 21). After praying, visitors leave candles to a box that is placed on the gravestone.



Figure 15. Arap Dede's *Yatır* in Damlacık, İzmir (Author's Photo Archive)

Unlike many others, the grave of Salih Dede, is not directly accessible since it remained under a house in the course of urban reconstruction processes. In time, the space under the stairs that lead to the entrance of the house has become a holy space where people pray, make their wishes and light their candles (Figure 22).



Figure 16. Salih Dede's *Yatır* in İzmir (Author's Photo Archive)

In one extreme instance, in Ballıkuyu, a tree located in an old cemetery ground is recognized as the *Yatır* of Dut Dede (Figure 23).



Figure 17. Dut Dede *Yatır* in Ballıkuyu, İzmir (Author's Photo Archive)

There are many *Türbes* in İzmir that are frequently visited not only by the local citizens, but also by the citizens from neighboring districts. Emir Baba Türbesi located in Namazgah is one of the best known *Türbes* in İzmir (Figure 24). It used to be part of a building complex which consisted of a communal kitchen, a public bath, a guest house and a *Semahane* which did not survive to date. However, the *Türbe* and its *Hazire*²² as the sacred grounds are relatively well preserved.



Figure 18. The coffin of Emir Baba in his *Türbe*, İzmir (Author's Photo Archive)

Whether named as *Yatır* or *Türbe*, these sacred spaces are significant signs of the phenomenon of death in the urban fabric. They are the survived indicators of death in the city center after the displacement of cemeteries to the outskirts.

²² *Hazires* were small cemeteries in mosque grounds where burials were under permission of the Sultan.

4. ADMINISTERING THE SPATIAL ORDER OF CEMETERIES

Following the Tanzimat Edict of 1839, inner-city burials were banned in the Ottoman Empire as a result of hygiene based approach under the influence of the West. However, until the Republican period, the spatial order of the cemeteries and their location in the city did not significantly change since they were acknowledged as untouchable, sacred grounds. After the establishment of the Turkish Republic, a series of new codes regarding cemeteries were introduced which played a crucial role in the transformation of cemetery-scapes and modernized burial grounds differed significantly from their pre-modern predecessors.

4.1. Pre-modern Burial Practices

During the Ottoman Empire, where the Islamic regime prevailed, Sultans were the only authority for both administrative and religious implementations. This reflected in the spatial order of the cities where the mosques and mosque complexes were the most prominent architectural features (Cansever, 2010). Cemeteries had a special status in this order. The most privileged ones were located on the premises of religious structures within the city walls. These included the mausoleums of the Sultans and small cemeteries for eminent people. Public cemeteries for common folk were located outside of the city walls. The following sections explain administrative, spatial and daily aspects of burial practices until the late 18th century in the Ottoman Empire.

4.1.1. Administrative Structure

In the Ottoman cities, both small cemeteries within the religious structures and the public cemeteries located outside of the city walls were owned by *vakfs*. There were also privately owned cemeteries mostly for family burials (Mezarlıklar Hakkında Nizamname, 1931). Burials within the boundaries of the city walls were delimited and not permitted without the authorization of the Sultan²³ (Veinstein, 2007, 21). According to contemporary historians this limitation was due to urban

²³ After the 1740s, in case of approval for a burial within the boundaries of city walls, the role of the Sultan became more symbolic and the decisions were made by the Board of Trustees (Vatin, 2007, 199).

considerations rather than sanitary concerns²⁴. Although contemporaneous travelers' accounts emphasize the absence of cemeteries within city walls, documents prove the contrary²⁵. The number of inner-city burials peaked in the late 18th and early 19th centuries as a result of the plague epidemic. Hence this practice came to an end by the late 19th century by a regulation (Vatin, 2007, 192). The regulation of 1868 was based on the prohibition of burials on church and mosque grounds. Burials in cemeteries close to residential neighborhoods were also banned. Although the exact motivations behind this regulation were not known, hygienic concerns seem to have dominated (Vatin, 2007, 201-02)²⁶.

In the Ottoman period there was no specific body of laws and regulations regarding the placement and layout of burial places. However, state decrees on individual instances such as the construction of a specific road or the removal of a particular cemetery, provide partial clues for the administrative approach to cemeteries (Ergin, 1995). For instance, a state decree in 1890, related to a cemetery's relocation, stated that regardless of the physical and sanitary conditions, dislocation of dead bodies could not be permitted (Ergin, 1995, 4478). Another decree of 1893 responded to a request for a road construction at the site of a cemetery. According to this, coverage of dead bodies by roads would not be compatible with the sacred nature of burials and could not be approved (Ergin, 1995, 4002). These and similar examples indicate that cemeteries were considered to be inviolable spaces the integrity of which needed to be preserved.

4.1.2. The Spatial Fabric

Like mosques, *madrassahs* and baths, Muslim cemeteries were distinct components of the identity and fabric of Ottoman cities. Both cemeteries on the outskirts of cities and those which were located within urban religious complexes, *Hazires*, provided noticeable green areas (Eyice, 1996, 124-27). These were diligently

²⁴ Although some historians in the 16th and 17th centuries claimed that hygienic concerns prevailed, according to Vatin, since there were no epidemic threats at that time, urban considerations might have governed such processes (2007, 195-96).

²⁵ According to documents such as burial records and application letters for individual burials, there had been burials within the city walls of Istanbul between 1453 and 1867 (Vatin, 2007, 192).

²⁶ In 1866, two years before the regulation, an International Health Conference was held in İstanbul. Statements regarding the dislocation of inner-city cemeteries to prevent the cholera epidemic in the conference documents support this claim (Vatin, 2007, 202).

recorded by European travelers who visited Ottoman cities between the 16th-19th centuries.

The 16th century marks the beginning of the period when European travelers recorded their travel impressions. By the 19th century these included painters, archaeologists, botanist and geologist who were appointed by Monarchs to obtain information about culture and daily life in the so-called Orient, which included the Ottoman Empire. Their primary motivation was to explore the roots of European civilization. These travels, which peaked in the 18th and 19th centuries, were recorded in memoirs, journals, letters, reports and albums (Sakaoğlu, 1995, 8-9).

According to the reknowned cultural theorist Edward Said, the Orient is a concept that was invented by the West during the period of colonization (1978). It was the means of the colonizing cultures to deal with the colonized ones by presenting the latter as Others to strengthen their hegemony. This vision was reflected in the contemporaneous travelers' accounts where non-Western geographies were presented in contrast to the West.

Within this context, Ottoman cemeteries which were located on the outskirts of the cities provided perfect examples, which were extensively reported in the contemporaneous travelers' accounts. Despite their Orientalist tone, which will be exemplified below, they provide significant clues about daily practices in the Ottoman cemeteries.

4.1.2.1. Locational characteristics

Western travelers who visited the Ottoman Empire were predominantly from France, Germany and England and the most frequently visited city was the capital, Istanbul. Hence, everyday life in Istanbul was more extensively included in their accounts than the provinces. Such authors as Jean de Thévenot, Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, Théophile Gautier, George Sandys, Jean de Mont and Edmondo de Amicis provided valuable information on the socio-cultural history of Istanbul.

Although visited less frequently, Izmir proved to be an attractive destination for travelers because of its multi-cultural landscape. It was visited mostly by German travelers, followed by the British and French in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Ottoman cemeteries were predominantly portrayed in contemporaneous traveler's accounts by their thickly set dark green trees which made them easily recognizable. Indeed, they were generally introduced as large cypress forests rather than cemeteries (Beyru, 2011, 252).

Muslim cemeteries were mostly located within a reasonable distance from the center (Thévenot et al., 2009, 108). In İstanbul burial spaces for common people were mostly positioned outside of the city walls. However, there were also burials within the city walls in *Hazires* (Vatin, 2007, 189-190). In the first quarter of the 18th century, Sandys reported burials in private gardens as well (Vatin, 2007, 193). İzmir was also surrounded by Muslim cemeteries. These were located on the immediate outskirts of the city and prevented the haphazard urban growth of the city in the 19th century by providing a legible boundary (Beyru, 2011, 251-52).

One of the most striking features of Ottoman cemeteries to Western visitors was their size (Lacquer, 1996, 3). Muslim cemeteries occupied extensive areas since multiple burials in one spot were not possible according to religious codes. The French traveler Tournefort, claimed that,

The cemeteries are of a prodigious Extent, for they never bury two Persons in the same Grave; and the Ground they take up about *Constantinople*, if it were till'd, would bear Corn enough to feed that great City for half the Year; and there is Stone enough in them to build a second Wall round it (1741, 86).

These cemeteries were particularly located on hilly terrain and offered spectacular sceneries of the landscape. Hence, beside ritualistic visits, the local population rested and meditated in these green areas which functioned as recreational grounds²⁷ (Gönen, 1992, 34).

İstanbul's Muslim cemeteries, especially those in Galata and Üsküdar, were widely featured in contemporaneous traveler's accounts. Especially Üsküdar, a small, scarcely populated vicinity of İstanbul, was well-known by its glorious cemeteries. These cemeteries provided an extensive view of the Marmara Sea and the Bosphorus for their visitors (Olivier and Gökmen, 1977, 33-35). The Galata cemetery on the outskirts of Pera hill and Eyüp cemetery on the ridge of Pierre Loti

²⁷ See section 4.1.3 for a detailed account.

hill with their extensive views of the Golden Horn were the most widely-known ones (Figure 25) (Gönen, 1992, 34).



Figure 19. Vista of the Golden Horn from the Eyüp Cemetery (Özgür Sanal Video Archive, 1928, 01:08:15)

In İzmir the cemeteries on the outskirts of Pagos and located on two sides of the Kervan bridge (Figure 11, cemetery number 10), at the entrance of the city, were featured in travelers' accounts by their vistas. Especially, those along Kervan Bridge, which housed Turkish coffee shops, were frequently visited by the public for recreational purposes (Pınar, 2001, 210).

4.1.2.2. Layout and Spatial Practices

European travelers defined the Ottoman cemeteries as tranquil and colorful spaces where birds sang and flowers grew. They were both spaces of serenity and melancholy (Olivier and Gökmen, 1977, 33). According to French traveler Théophile Gautier who visited Istanbul in the 19th century, Muslim cemeteries of Ottoman lands were places of eternal rest rather than abodes of dead bodies unlike depressing, dreadful examples of the West where the graves were covered with lugubrious, cadaverous forms, under the shadow of the trees (1875, 109-10). He reported,

I should perform in the Montmartre Cemetery only with ineffable horror, a cold sweat breaking out all over me, and nervous starts at the least sound, although I have confronted a hundred times in the course of my travels much more genuine

subjects of terror. But in the East death is so familiarly mingled with life that one ceases to be afraid of it. The dead on top of whom one drinks coffee, with whom one smokes a chibouque, cannot possibly turn into spectres (1875, 110).

In these cemeteries there was no regular physical order. They were rather chaotic environments with no maintenance where gravestones in various shapes were in close proximity. They were merged with wild plants and bones were scattered on the ground mingled with dead flower bouquets (de Amicis, 1878, 286). The Pera cemetery in İstanbul was depicted by de Amicis as a forest where innumerable clustered marble stones were dispersed sporadically (1878, 56). He also reported how gravestones in the Galata cemetery were largely slanted, fallen or broken (de Amicis, 1878, 52).



Figure 20. Clustered gravestones in Aşiyân Cemetery, İstanbul, 1910s (Özgür Sanal Video Archive, 03:33:12)

Although there was no regularity in the Muslim cemeteries, they were marked by a hierarchy based on social order. Pashas and aristocrats were buried with their family members whose graves were surrounded by railings or low walls. The privileged classes of the society also had family vaults whereas the rest had individual graves (de Amicis, 1878, 52).

4.1.2.3. Architecture of the Grave

In Muslim cemeteries, graves typically consisted of two ornamented and embossed marble pillars. According to Muslim beliefs these two stones were for two angels who judged the souls of the deceased (Amicis, 2010, 57-58). The first one bore inscriptions which stated the identity of the deceased person and verses from the Koran. The second stone was ornamented by floral motifs and rarely included verses (Olivier and Gökmen, 1977, 36). These two stones were placed at either end of a rounded mound which indicated the presence of the corpse beneath (de Amicis, 1878, 52). Generally, a mound was preferred over a flat surface as it prevented the visitors from stepping on the soil that covered the dead body (Ragheb, 1996, 20).

Grave dimensions were not standardized by Islamic provisions. The width and length of the graves were flexible and dependent on the body frame of the deceased. Although the depth of the graves was also not fixed, there were varying interpretations in accordance with different religious orders (Ragheb, 1996, 18-19).

The deceased's identity, which was the primary theme of the gravestone, was introduced not only through inscriptions, but also by figures. These figures and inscriptions referred to the deceased person's age, profession, social rank and way of death. For men the headstone was crowned by a turban²⁸ whereas for women it was a mushroom shaped figure and mostly ornamented by floral motifs (Lacquer, 1997).

The variety in the architecture of the graves was not limited to gender differences, as they were also markers of social hierarchy. Indeed, men's headgear styles, which indicated their wealth and social rank in the Empire was reflected on the headstones. Dervishes, Pashas and Palace members belonged to highest ranks and state employees, janissaries, tradesmen, and craftsmen followed them. Conspicuously, there was no variety in women's grave headers (Lacquer, 1997).

In other words, the social order in the Ottoman society was also recognizable through the variety of the graves. Wealthier people's individual graves were distinguished from the others since they were elevated from the ground like sarcophagi and covered by marble (Thévenot et al., 2009, 108). The marble pillars of the individual graves were also indicators of social difference. Unlike the simple

²⁸ In 1829, the turban was replaced by fez in Ottoman society in the context of cultural modernization reforms. Henceforth, fez shaped headstones too, appeared in the cemeteries (Lacquer, 1997, 155).

stones of the graves of lower classes, the graves of middle-class individuals were ornamented by figures and embossed with writings in gold (Olivier and Gökmen, 1977, 36).

4.1.3. Rituals and Daily Practices

The funeral ceremonies of Ottoman society involved loud lamentations and crowded corteges. There were no written rules that restricted the sepulture ceremonies. Cemetery visits that followed the funeral day were an integral part of the ceremonies which became part of everyday practices thereafter. The bereaved people visited their loved ones' graves especially on special days like religious holidays. Besides, every Friday the entourage of the deceased left food and beverages on the graves for passersbys to indicate their respect and love (Thévenot et al., 2009, 108-109).

These visits, like funeral ceremonies, were depicted in European travelers' accounts (Figure 27). Especially, the visits of women seems to have attracted the latter's attention (de Amicis, 1878, Thévenot et al., 2009, Beyru, 2011). After a funeral was performed, groups of women spent several hours in the cemetery performing acts of praying and expressions of lamentation (Thévenot et al., 2009, 109).



Figure 21. Muslim Funeral in İstanbul (Tr.travelogues.gr, 2015)

Each grave included a hole near the head. It was believed that through that hole the deceased could hear the lamentations, receive a few drops of rose water or sense the smell of flowers. Besides, to mark their affection for their loved ones, visitors placed bread and fish in these holes (de Amicis, 1878, 56-57).

Ottoman cemeteries were not surrounded by walls and were easily accessible to the public (Eyice, 1996, 131). There were no written laws or prohibitions regarding the intended use of these spaces. For instance, some cemeteries which were contiguous with neighborhoods were utilized by the residents to hang out their laundry or put out their cattle to graze. More commonly, with their shadowy landscapes, Muslim cemeteries were places for picnicking, gathering and resting, as well as functioning as playgrounds for children (Figure 28) (Gönen, 1992, 34).

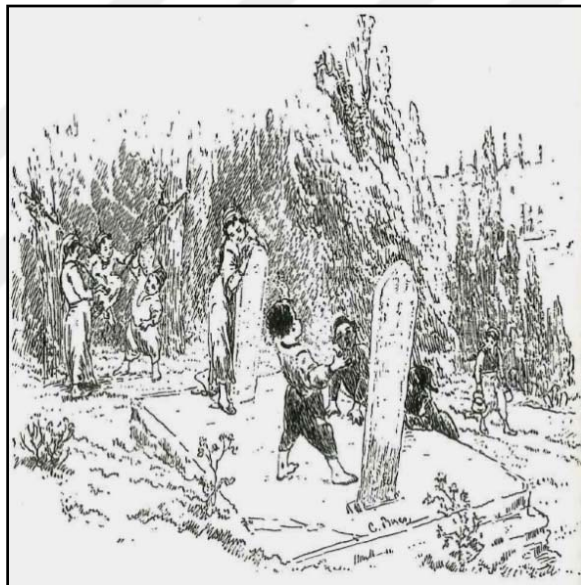


Figure 22. Cemetery view from İstanbul (de Amicis, 1877)

Since life and death was intertwined in them, many travelers were impressed by the multiple use of cemeteries. Italian traveler, de Amicis reported a scenery during his visit to Pera cemetery in the 19th century,

As we stood looking at one of these [tombs], two Turks came up, leading a child between them and seating themselves upon a tomb, opened a bundle and began to eat. (...) [T]his done, they both lighted their pipes and smoked, while the child played about among the tombs (de Amicis, 1878, 56).

This situation was dramatically changed in the first half of the 20th century, which is the topic of the following section.

4.2. Modernizing the Cemetery

According to Foucault, during the 15th and 16th centuries, the feudal territorial regime which was based on sovereignty and laws was replaced by the administrative state and a society of regulation and discipline (1991). The focus of government and power shifted from controlling a territory to administering the individuals and their relations and interactions. By the late-18th century, the administrative state made way to what Foucault calls governmental state, which corresponded to a society of government. Henceforth, control of populations, their needs their distribution on the territory and their interaction with the environment became the primary targets of political control.

The modernization period of the Ottoman Empire, followed by the foundation of the Turkish Republic can be read in the light of the governmental shift that is explained by Foucault. As stated earlier, the Westernization process of the Ottoman Empire commenced in 1839 with the declaration of the Tanzimat Edict, and continued at an accelerated pace with the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923²⁹. One of the most significant transformations in the new Nation State was the separation of the religious and administrative spheres. As a result, administrative aspects of cemeteries and burials were separated from their religious context. This also reflected in the physical appearance of the cemeteries in the urban fabric.

Shortly after the establishment of the Turkish Republic, a set of new laws were introduced related to the management of the cemeteries (Appendix 1). These clearly marked a radical shift in the spatial regime of the latter which included the control of the visitors, their circulation and behavior as well as planning regulations regarding the location and layout of the lands of the deceased.

4.2.1. Secularization of Cemetery Administration

The first legal codes related to cemeteries appeared in the Public Health Code (*Umumi Hifzısıhha Kanunu*) of 1930 when local municipalities were put in charge of the construction and maintenance of cemeteries (1930, 1087). In addition, despite the late nineteenth century Ottoman ban on the dislocation of the existing cemeteries under all circumstances, the 1930 code legitimized this phenomenon

²⁹ For detailed historical accounts of the Westernization process of the Ottoman Empire see (Lewis, 2002) and (Mardin, 1991).

under specified circumstances which involved sanitary drawbacks and physical inadequacies.

The first regulation that was entirely devoted to cemeteries appeared in 1931. By the new regulation, all public cemeteries that belonged to *vakıfs* and non-proprietary cemeteries were devolved on local municipalities. Although cemeteries located in the mosque premises and private cemeteries were not to be devolved, burials within such sites were placed under the authorization of municipalities (Mezarlıklar Hakkında Nizamname).

Supported by the authorizations of 1930, this new regulation eased the obstacles on the dislocation of inner-city cemeteries and initiated the transformation of cemetery-spaces. In the specific case of İzmir, widespread dislocation of cemeteries to the margins of the city in the early 1930s marks a striking instance to show the effects of this decision³⁰ (Serçe, 1998, 276).

Although a series of new codes regarding cemeteries were introduced after 1931, most were based on the Public Health Code of 1930. Yet some significant additions were made in 1994 and 2010. The 1994 code reinstated the cemeteries' inviolability and banned their dislocation. Contrary to the 1930 code this time their dislocation was only approved in the case of new road constructions and with the authorization of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Mezarlıkların Korunması Hakkında Kanun, 1994). This addition was significant because it marks changes in cemetery lands in urban areas between 1930 and 1994.

In 2010, a by-law was passed, which involved additions to specifications regarding the selection of cemetery sites (Mezarlık Yerlerinin İnşası ile Cenaze Nakil ve Defin İşlemleri Hakkında Yönetmelik). Due to the latter, an interdisciplinary committee consisting of local authorities on health, agriculture, cadaster and urbanization was put in charge of the inspection of existing cemeteries. By the new regulations, cemeteries which did not provide the required conditions had to be renovated rather than removed. After the renovation, if the cemetery in question still did not fulfill the necessary requirements, it would be closed to further burials. This specification was significant in indicating the shift in the approach towards the dislocation of inadequate cemeteries. Today the survived cemeteries stand as reminders of modernism's exclusion of death from everyday urban lives.

³⁰ See section 2 for the details.

These developments are manifested in İzmir in a number of ways. In 2011, a by-law was introduced by the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality (İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Mezarlıklar Şube Müdürlüğü Mezarlık ve Defin Hizmetleri Yönetmeliği) by which specific regulations regarding the governance, maintenance and construction of cemeteries in İzmir were put into effect. Due to the hierarchy of written laws, there were no specifications that contradicted the previous codes and regulations but specific clauses were added concerning the context of İzmir.

Since İzmir had been home to various religious/ethnic groups throughout its history, non-Muslim cemeteries there were as prominent as Muslim ones to the extent that in 1876, the number of Muslim and non-Muslim cemeteries were equal. There were seven non-Muslim cemeteries in total, which included a Jewish, a Greek, an Armenian, a Catholic, an English, a German and a Dutch cemetery (Figure 29). Different from the previous laws, non-Muslims' burial practices were included in the new by-law. Accordingly, minority cemeteries' spatial organization including grave dimensions and burial space assignments would be regulated by the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality Cemetery Management Office. Permissions for burials in non-Muslim cemeteries were put under the Metropolitan Municipality's authorization. Minorities' funeral and burial processes were left to be done according to their own religious/ethnic traditions.

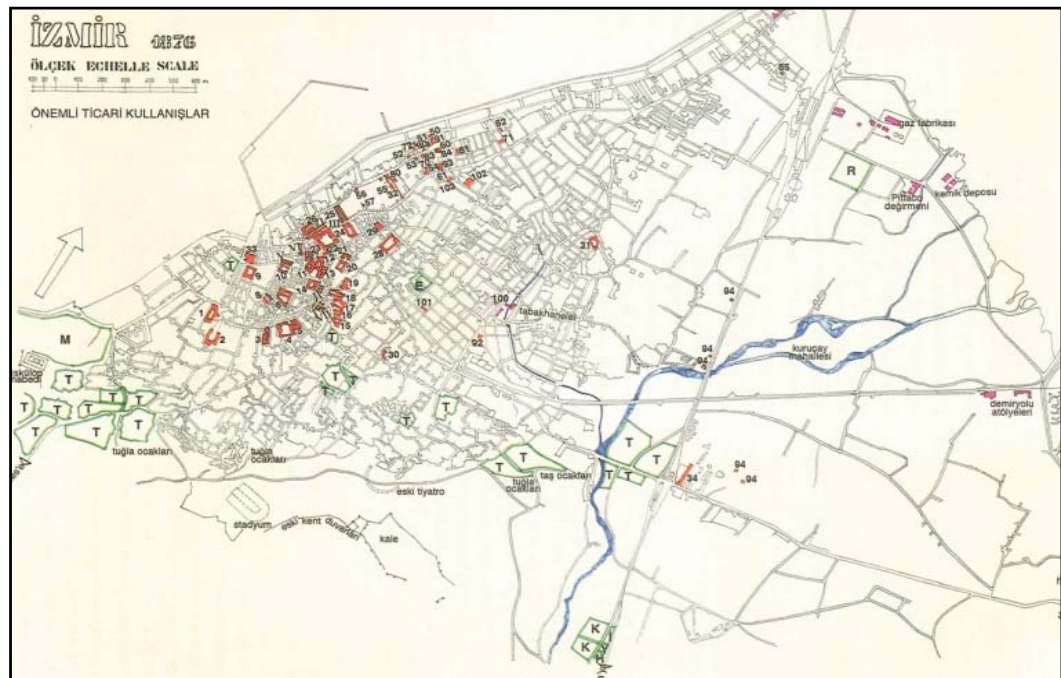


Figure 23. Cemeteries and commercial buildings of İzmir in 1876 (Beyru, 2011, 75)

The legend reads as follows:

T: Muslim; M: Jewish; E: Armenian; R: Greek; K: Catholic; I: English; Y: German; H: Dutch

4.2.2. The Modern Spatial Regime

Since the main aim of the new regulations was transforming the cemeteries into codified spaces, specifications related with their spatial organization were of primary importance. These were regulated at three scales including the position of the cemetery within the urban scape, the layout of the cemetery and the architecture of the grave. Urban scale decisions included the spatial requirements in the immediate vicinity of the cemeteries and the criteria for the latter's location. Cemetery grounds, on the other hand, were regulated by rules regarding layout, landscaping and required facilities such as offices. Regulations concerning individual graves emphasized the standardization of their dimensions (Appendix 1).

4.2.2.1. Site Requirements

Urban scale decisions on cemeteries were first made in 1930. Henceforth, cemeteries had to be located at an “adequate” distant away from residential areas and surrounded by walls³¹ (*Umumi Hıfzısıhha Kanunu*, 1930, 1087). These new necessities extensively limited both physical and visual accessibility of cemeteries.

Appropriate siting of cemeteries included specifications such as the quality of the soil and proximity to underground sources (*Umumi Hıfzısıhha Kanunu*, 1930, 1087). In 2010, a by-law detailed the specifications for suitable cemetery locations and the interdisciplinary committee which was responsible for inspection of existing cemeteries was also put in charge of the site selection of cemeteries (*Mezarlık Yerlerinin İnşası ile Cenaze Nakil ve Defin İşlemleri Hakkında Yönetmelik*). Along with the soil quality and proximity to underground sources and settlements, geographical, geological and meteorological conditions and accessibility of cemeteries were taken into consideration. Hygiene, one of the biggest concerns of modernity, was the primary consideration in these requirements.

³¹ These specifications were detailed by new regulations in 1931 and 1942. According to the 1931 regulation the height of the surrounding wall was to be at least two meters (*Mezarlıklar Hakkında Nizamname*). In the 1942 by-law the “adequate” distance was specified as 500 meters (*Mezarlık Nizamnamesinin 8. Maddesinin Birinci Fıkrası Mucibince Hazırlanan Talimatname*).

4.2.2.2. The Order of the Grounds

The 1931 regulation standardized the spatial layout of cemeteries by specifying lot dimensions, inner road hierarchies and their connections (Figure 30) (Mezarlıklar Hakkında Nizamname). Cemeteries, which were surrounded by walls, were required to have only one gate which was controlled by gatekeepers to ensure that they were only accessible in case of commemorative visits and funeral ceremonies. The gate would lead to a primary road within the premises for main circulation.

The primary road had to be integrated with secondary roads that would define the burial lots in a regular geometrical order. Additionally, all roads had to be lined with trees and burial lots should be divided into parcels and enumerated accordingly. In addition, facilities such as office buildings and mosques were required to be built for the cemetery employees. By the new layout requirements, the inner circulation of cemeteries was delimited and no facilities were provided for visitors.

4.2.2.3. The Grave-plot

By the 1931 regulation, besides the general layout of the cemeteries, individual burial spaces were also regulated by dimensional requirements (Mezarlıklar Hakkında Nizamname)³². Henceforth, decisions on any kind of construction in burial grounds such as stairs, railways and walls, were placed under the authorization of local municipalities. Unlike the variety of graves in Ottoman cemeteries, the architecture of graves was controlled (Mezarlık Yerlerinin İnşası ile Cenaze Nakil ve Defin İşlemleri Hakkında Yönetmelik).

In 1931, the burial lots were hierarchized in three categories (Figure 30) (Mezarlıklar Hakkında Nizamname). First class graves would be located on the primary road and consisted of family lots which could include a maximum of four burials. Second class graves would be sited along secondary roads and included individual burials which could be purchased for a charge. Third class graves on the other hand, belonged to the less privileged segments of the population and were free of charge. They were to be located on the tertiary roads of the cemeteries.

³² Although specifications regarding grave dimensions were also stated in the 2010 by-law, there were no further amendments to the previous regulation (Mezarlık Yerlerinin İnşası ile Cenaze Nakil ve Defin İşlemleri Hakkında Yönetmelik).

Hence the spatial layout of cemeteries was rigidly defined and structured based on a social hierarchy.

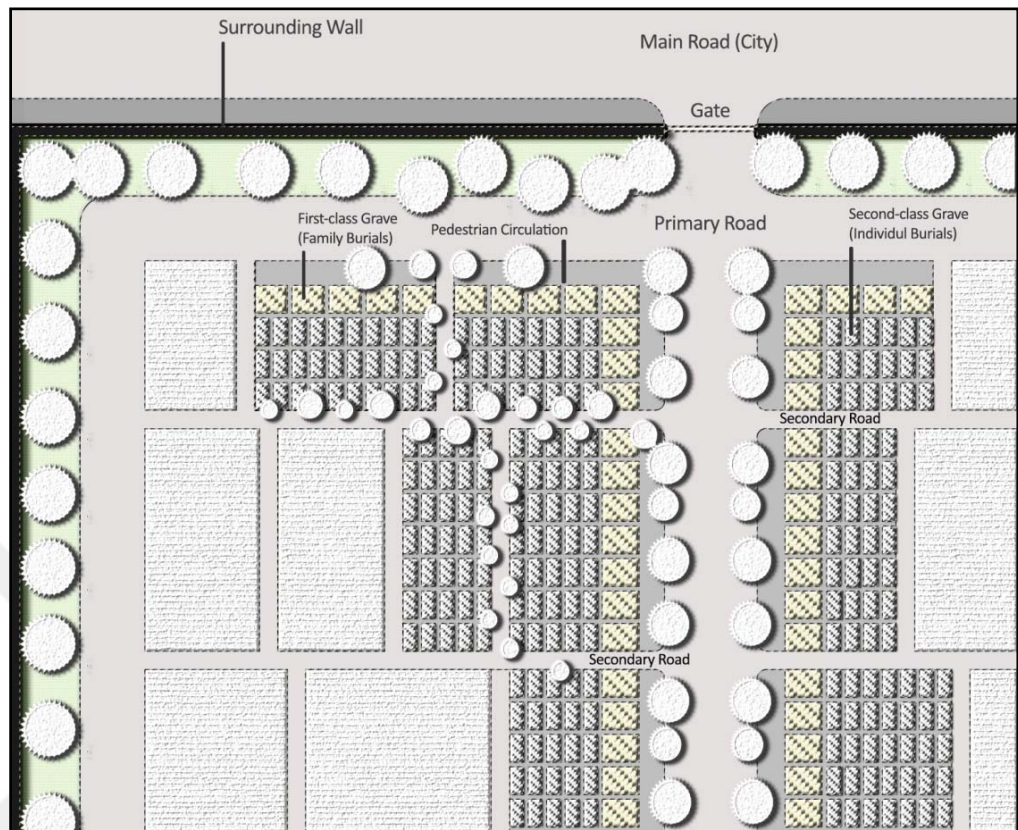


Figure 24. Typical modernized cemetery layout according to the 1931 regulation (Drawn by the Author)

4.2.3. The Behavioral Regime

The set of rules introduced after the establishment of the Turkish Republic, regulated the spatial practices of the cemeteries besides the physical environment. The activities of visitors on cemetery grounds were put under limitation and control.

By the 1931 regulation, the time and duration of cemetery visits were to be determined by local municipalities and in any case no visits were allowed after sunset. Drunks, beggars, paddlers, animals and children without parents were not allowed to enter at all (Mezarlıklar Hakkında Nizamname). Visitors' behaviors were also regulated: sitting on the graves, walking off the defined roads and climbing up the cemetery walls were prohibited.

Hence a very different kind of spatial regime was provided through various prohibitions. Cemeteries transformed into partially accessible, controlled urban

lands in which daily activities were suspended. They were divorced from their status in the Ottoman era where they used to serve as recreational areas and public parks. Being isolated and having restricted access, the modern cemeteries of the Turkish Republic were turned into heterotopic sites.

According to one interpretation, “[Heterotopia] introduces a third realm between the private space of the hidden and the public space of appearance, a third sphere that we could venture to call the space of hidden appearance. It gives space to everything that has no place either in the public or the private sphere. It is the sacred space where the remainder rests (de Cauter and Dehane, 2008, 91).”³³

In the Turkish context, by means of the afore-mentioned codes, cemeteries were deprived of their pre-modern status, where they used to serve as public spaces by being freely accessible and serving as a part of daily flow. Hence, in line with the Foucauldian understanding of heterotopias, the modern cemeteries of the Turkish Republic, with their introverted and isolated grounds, turned into hidden places which mark a “third space” beyond the public/private dichotomy of modernist spaces.

³³ Foucault’s use of the term heterotopia was not entirely clear and hence lends itself to a variety of interpretations. My use of the term here is arguably the common denominator of a wealth of explanations published in *Heterotopia and the City* (de Cauter and Dehane, 2008).

5. CONCLUSION

Cemeteries of contemporary İzmir are marginalized areas being located in the peripheries of the settlement areas. They stand as inactive green spots dispersed in the urban fabric without an organic integration with everyday life.

The history of changes in the cemetery-scape of İzmir dates back to mid-19th century when the inner-city burials were banned as a result of epidemic diseases since cemeteries were regarded as sources of illnesses. Hence, new cemeteries were required to be located on the outskirts of the city. This historical break was significant since it marked the initiation of the transformation of the cemetery grounds. However, since cemeteries in the Ottoman era were *vakf*'s properties and their removal were not legally possible until the 1930s, existing cemeteries remained intact. Only after the establishment of the Turkish Republic, new regulations legitimized the removal of existing cemeteries and the cemetery-scape in İzmir was significantly transformed.

The process of cemeteries' removal from the inner-city came to an end by the 1994 law and new cemeteries continued to be established at a certain distance from the central areas of the city. Furthermore, with the advent of online technologies, the emergence of virtual cemeteries has intensified the repression of the phenomenon of death in the city.

With reference to the arguments of Walter and Mellor, death was neither totally "forbidden" nor "hidden" from everyday spatial practices in the specific case of İzmir. Although spatial traces of death were erased by administrative determinations and death rituals lost their visibility in the urban realm, some surviving practices constitute cracks in the regulated grounds of the modern city. In addition, it is the modern individuals themselves who re-integrate death in everyday practices. The specific patterns in İzmir show how death, as a highly spiritual realm, is not a phenomenon that can totally be regularized or repressed in daily life.

The contemporary developments of cemeteries include two contradictory approaches. First, online cemeteries aim to (re)integrate practices related to death to the routine of daily life by providing the opportunity of grave visits in every place where the Internet is available. However, in reality they intensify the isolation of the phenomenon of death from the public realm. Online cemeteries promote the privatization of the experience of rituals related to death. They reduce grave visits to an activity performed by individuals, mostly at home, rather than a communal

activity that takes place in the public realm. Furthermore, online cemeteries narrow the experience of grave visits by limiting it to a computer screen and the sense of sight, and diminish the broader contextual significance of the activity. The second approach is the foundation of Eco-cemeteries, which exemplify the attempt to reintegrate burial grounds to the existing green spaces of the urban fabric as well as the recreational activities of daily life.

The case of İzmir is a significant contribution to this discussion, but from a different angle. There it is daily practices themselves which balance the privatization and isolation attempts. In addition, as the above mentioned cases exemplify, the spaces of death can only be partially regulated and controlled as a modernist public space by administrative decisions. The specific patterns examined in this study are the indicators of the potential of death related practices to break the regulated ground which presents how death as a highly spiritual phenomenon is an inevitable part of life which cannot be totally isolated from everyday urban practices. Death is neither a totally public, nor a private phenomenon. Although, it is separated from the urban context by administrative regulations, it is often integrated with everyday practices. This argument provides an important key to contemporary debates on cemeteries.

In that sense eco-cemeteries seem to be a plausible way of such re-integration so long as they do not disregard existing practices by turning into yet another set of highly regulated urban parks. This study aims to provide a historical basis for future studies on contemporary discussions regarding the status of cemeteries in the Turkish context.

GLOSSARY

In the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey, laws are hierarchized according to the authority that issues them. The Constitution occupies the first place and codes, international treaties, statutory decrees, regulations and by-laws follow respectively (Ansay and Wallace, 2007, 5-8).

Code (*Kanun*): *Kanun* is a legislation procedure which is defined by The Turkish Parliament (Ansay and Wallace, 2007, 6).

Decree (*Şura-yı Devlet Kararı*): The determinations on a specific issue introduced by the State Council (*Şura-yı Devlet*) in the Ottoman Empire (Ergin, 1995).

Şura-yı Devlet: The council which was responsible for administrative procedures in the Ottoman Empire. It was established after the *Tanzimat Edict*. It corresponds to The Council of State in the Republic of Turkey (Tural, 2006).

Regulation (*Tüzük-Nizamname*): *Nizamname* or *Tüzük* includes statements for the mode of application of codes. It is introduced by The Turkish Parliament or related Ministries (Ansay and Wallace, 2007, 7-8).

By-Law (*Yönetmelik-Talimatname*): *Yönetmelik* or *Talimatname* involves statements for the applications of regulations and codes in particular fields. It is introduced by related governmental authorities (Ansay and Wallace, 2007, 8).

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APPENDIX 1

NAME - DATE	ADMINISTRATIVE	SPATIAL			BEHAVIORAL
		LOCATION	LAYOUT	GRAVE	
UHK* - 1930	Clause No.211 - prohibition of burials in any ground except public cemeteries	Clause No.212 - criteria for the cemetery's location			
	Clause No.212/213 - requirements for construction and maintenance of cemeteries by responsible institutions				
	Clause No.214 - dislocation of the existing cemeteries under specific circumstances				
	Clause No. 215/216/217/218/219/220/221 - documents, responsible institutions or individuals for burial permission				
	Clause No.222 - transportation of the dead body				
	Clause No.223 - conventions on burial process				
	Clause No.224 - requirements for construction of crematorium				
	Clause No.225 - required documents for cremation of the dead body				
MHN* - 1931	Clause No.1/2/3/6 - devolvement of the vakfs' cemeteries to local municipalities	Clause No.5 - prohibition of burials in any ground except public cemeteries	Clause No.9/10 - requirements for spatial elements (wall, gate) to protect the cemetery	Clause No.20/21/22/23 - classification of the graves, their standarts and locations	Clause No.15 - maintenance of cemeteries
	Clause No.4 - procedure on sale of pre-cemetery grounds		Clause No.11 - requirements for the layout of the cemetery		Clause No.16/17/18/19/37/38 - cemetery visit principles and prohibitions
	Clause No. 7/8 - requirements for construction of urban cemeteries by local municipalities		Clause No.12/13 - forestation of cemetery		
	Clause No.27/32/33/34 - responsible individuals or institutions during burials		Clause No.14 - construction and requirements for water drilling		
	Clause No.28/29/30/31/35/36 - procedural actions, requirements and documents regarding burials				
	Clause No.24/25/26 - requirements and prohibitions on constructions in grave scale by owner				
MNM* 1942	Clause No.6- dislocation of the existing cemeteries under specific circumstances	Clause No.1/2/3/4/5 - criterias for the cemetery's location	Clause No.7 - requirement of funeral preparation area in any settlement		
MKHK* - 1994	Clause No.1 - ownership of cemeteries				
	Clause No.2 - prohibition of removal or relocation of cemeteries				
	Clause No.3 - responsible institutions for maintenance of cemeteries				
MYIC* - 2010	Clause No.8 - ownership of cemeteries	Clause No.5/6/7 - criterias for the cemetery's location and responsible individuals/institutions	Clause No.11/12/13 - requirements for the cemetery layout	Clause No.14 - dimensions for the grave-plot	Clause No.39 - prohibitions during burials
	Clause No.9 - responsible institutions for maintenance of cemeteries				
	Clause No.15/16/17/18/19/20 - documents and requirements during burials				
	Clause No.24/25/26 - responsible institutions and process of preparation of the dead body for burial				
	Clause No.27/28/29/30/31/32/33 - transportation of the dead body				
	Clause No.39/40/41 - requirements for burials				

* UHK: Umumi Hıfzısıhha Kanun (Public Sanitary Code)

MHK: Mezarlıklar Hakkında Nizamname (Regulation Regarding Cemeteries)

MNM: Mezarlık Nizamnamesinin 8. Maddesinin Birinci Fıkrası Mucibince Hazırlanan Talimatname (By-law Prepared Regarding Cemetery Regulation's 8. Clause)

MKHK: Mezarlıkların Korunması Hakkında Kanun (Code Regarding Cemeteries' Protection)

MYIC: Mezarlık Yerlerinin İnşası İle Cenaze Nakil ve Defin İşlemleri Hakkında Yönetmelik (By-law Regarding Construction of Cemeteries, Funeral Transportation and Burial Transactions)

APPENDIX 2

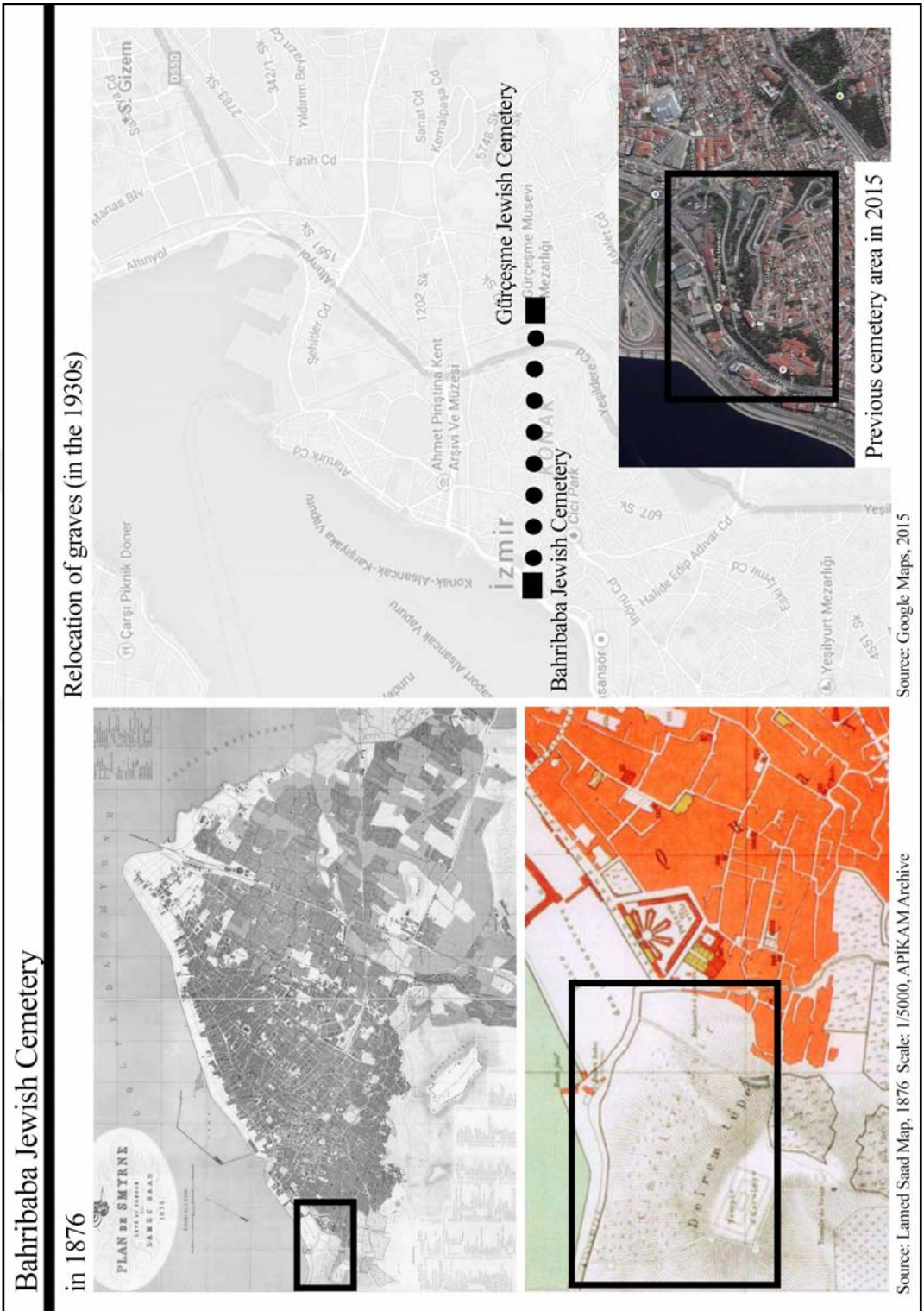
İzmir Maps in Chronological Order:

- 1836 T. Graves Map, Scale: NA Source: Beyru, 2011, 62
1856 L. Storari Map, Scale: 1/5000 Source: Atay, 2012, 25
1876 Lamed Saad Map, Scale: 1/5000 Source: APİKAM Archive
1880 İzmir Map, Scale: 1/20.000 Source: Beyru, 2011, 85
1885 Demetrius Map, Scale: NA Source: Beyru, 2011, 84
1895 Murray Map, Scale: NA Source: Beyru, 2011, 82
1905 İzmir Map, Scale: 18.000 Source: Beyru, 2011, 83
1905 Goad Plan, Scale: 1/3600 Source: İzmir National Library
1923 Jacque Pervititch Map, Scale: 3/2000 Source: Prof. Dr. Çınar Atay Archive
1925 Map, Scale: 1/25.000 Source: Prof. Dr. Çınar Atay Archive
1932 Jacque Pervititch Map, Scale: 1/2500 Source: Prof. Dr. Çınar Atay Archive

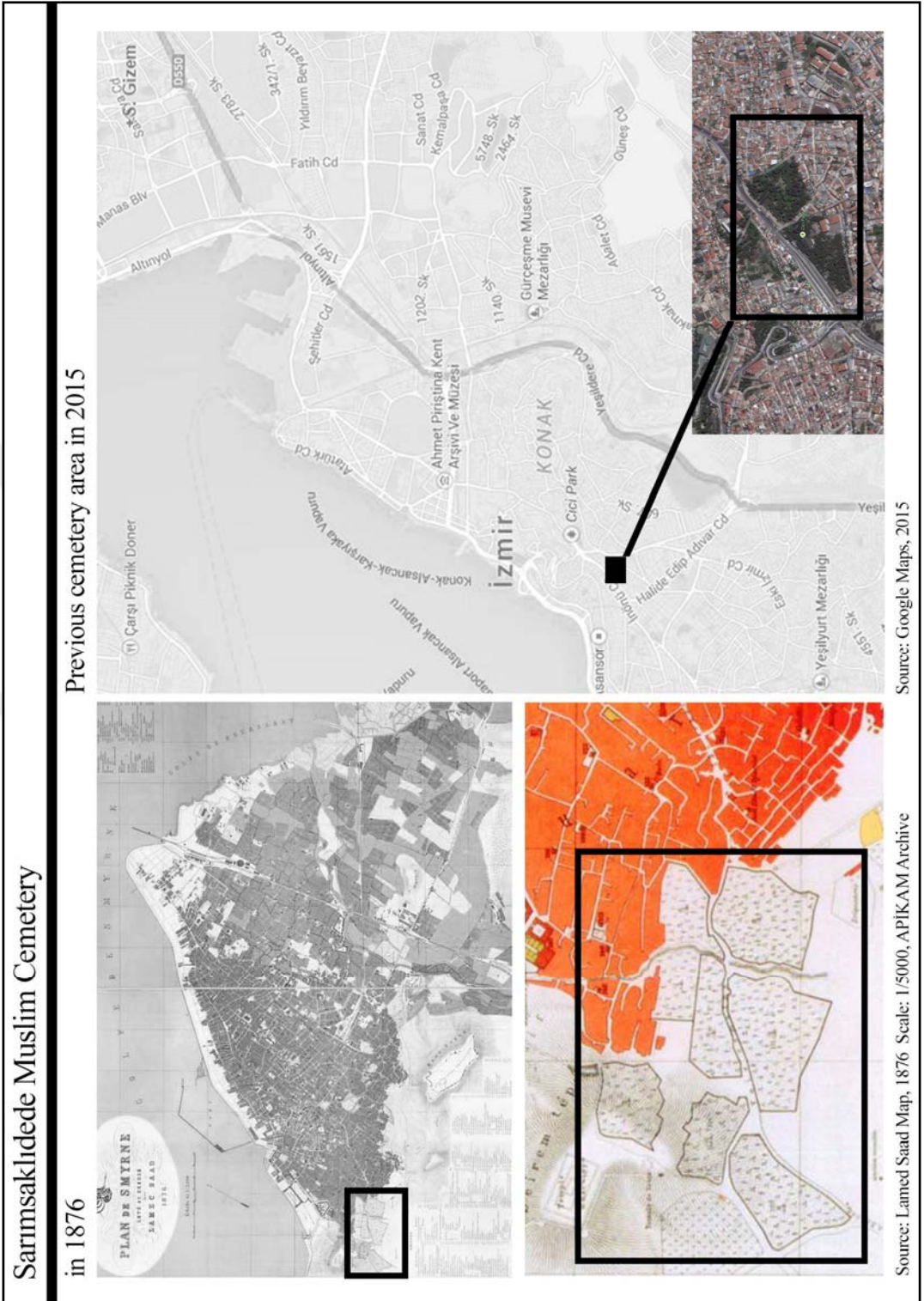
İzmir Plans in Chronological Order:

- 1925 Danger & Prost Plan, Scale: 1/25.000 Source: APİKAM Archive
1949 Le Corbusier Plan, Scale: NA Source: APİKAM Archive
1951 Aru & Özdeş & Canpolat Plan, Scale: 1/5000 Source: APİKAM Archive
1973 İzmir Master Plan, Scale: 1/25.000 Source: İzmir Metropolitan Municipality Archive
1989 İzmir Metropolitan Area Master Plan Revision, Scale: 1/25.000, Source: İzmir Metropolitan Municipality Archive

APPENDIX 3



APPENDIX 4



APPENDIX 5

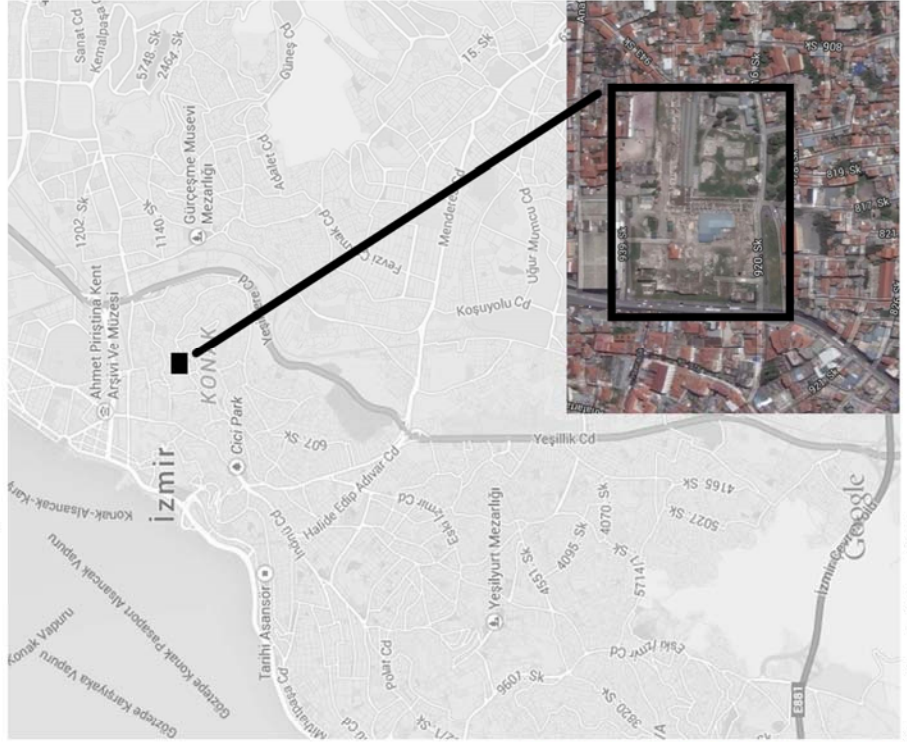
Namazgah Muslim Cemetery

in 1876



Source: Lamed Saad Map, 1876 Scale: 1/5000, APIK-AM Archive

Previous cemetery area in 2015



Source: Google Maps, 2015

APPENDIX 6

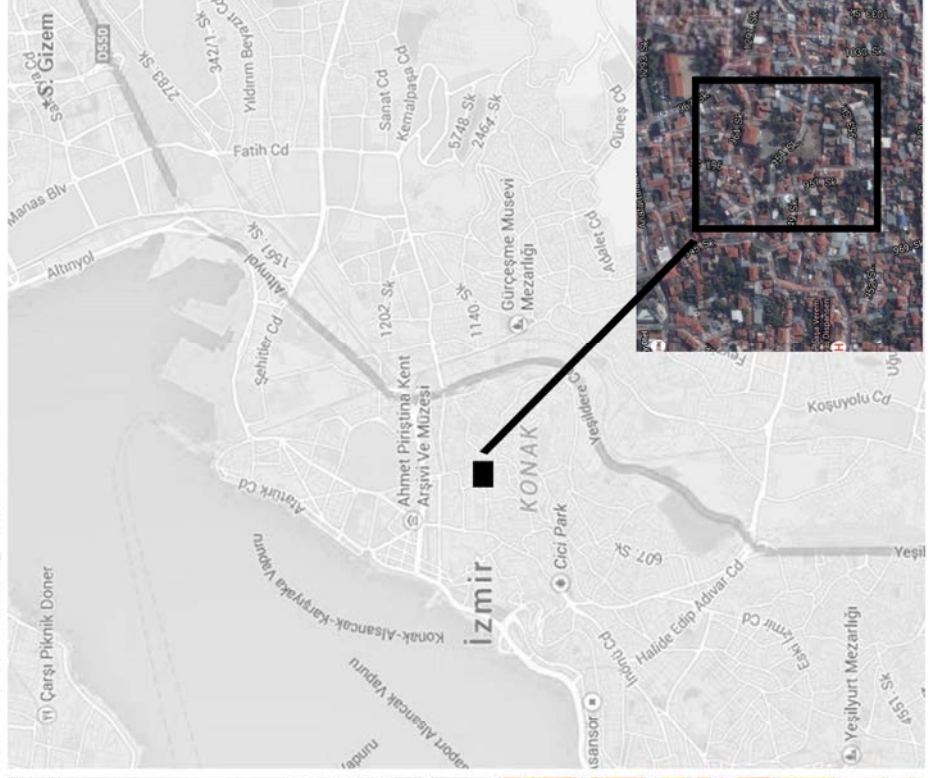
Faik Paşa Muslim Cemetery

in 1876



Source: Lamed Saad Map, 1876 Scale: 1/5000, APIKAM Archive

Previous cemetery area in 2015



Source: Google Maps, 2015

APPENDIX 7

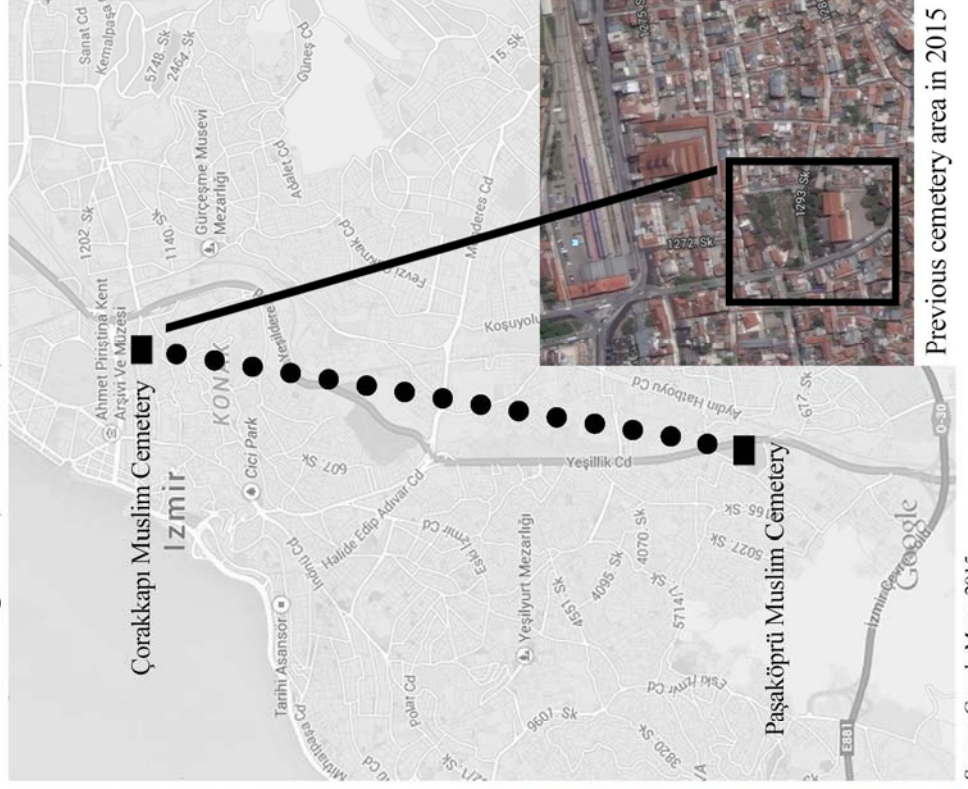
Çorakkapı Muslim Cemetery

in 1876



Source: Lamed Saad Map, 1876 Scale: 1/5000, APIKAM Archive

Relocation of graves (in the 1930s)



Previous cemetery area in 2015

Source: Google Maps, 2015

APPENDIX 8

Existing Cemeteries in İzmir Metropolitan Area in 2014 (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality)

	Cemetery Name	Religion	Location (District)	Area/m2	Ownership	Date of Establishment	Burial Status
1	Gültepe Cemetery	Muslim	Konak (Central D.)	20.750	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	1980	In-Active
2	Gürçeşme Jewish Cemetery	Jewish	Konak (Central D.)	3.280	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	1928	In-Active
3	Kadifekale War Cemetery	Muslim	Konak (Central D.)	21.030	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	NA	NA
4	Old Balçova Cemetery	Muslim	Balçova	14.287	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	1960	In-Active
5	New Balçova Cemetery	Muslim	Balçova	38.776	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	1985	In-Active
6	Aşağı Narlıdere Cemetery	Muslim	Narlıdere	31.500	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	1940	In-Active
7	Narlıdere War Cemetery	Muslim	Narlıdere	1.000	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	NA	NA
8	Narlıdere Yeniköy Cemetery	Muslim	Narlıdere	5.200	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	NA	NA
9	Yukarı Narlıdere Cemetery	Muslim	Narlıdere	49.945	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	1989	Active
11	Paşaköprü Christian Cemetery	Christian	Karabağlar	65.843	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	1955	Active
12	Paşaköprü Cemetery	Muslim	Karabağlar	98.750	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	1930	In-Active
13	Uzundere Cemetery	Muslim	Karabağlar	17.000	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	1985	Active
14	Yeşilyurt Cemetery	Muslim	Karabağlar	17.983	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	1975	In-Active
15	Buca Anglikan Cemetery	Christian	Buca	3.770	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	NA	In-Active
16	Buca Gökdere Cemetery	Muslim	Buca	165.000	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	NA	Active
17	Old Buca Cemetery	Muslim	Buca	32.402	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	1970	In-Active
20	New Buca Cemetery	Muslim	Buca	338.800	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	1984	In-Active
21	Old Gaziemir Cemetery	Muslim	Gaziemir	24.813	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	1980	In-Active
22	New Gaziemir Cemetery	Muslim	Gaziemir	15.604	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	1999	Active

	Cemetery Name	Religion	Location (District)	Area/m2	Ownership	Date of Establishment	Burial Status
23	Altındağ Jewish Cemetery	Jewish	Bornova	34.720	Jewish Cemetery Community	1934	Active
24	Çamdibi Cemetery	Muslim	Bornova	24.000	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	1980	In-Active
25	Doğanlar Cemetery	Muslim	Bornova	25 000	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	NA	Active
26	Old Bornova Cemetery	Muslim	Bornova	158.132	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	1940	Active
27	Hacılarıkırı Cemetery	Muslim	Bornova	220.750	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	1960	In-Active
28	Işıkkent Cemetery	Muslim	Bornova	27.876	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	1980	In-Active
29	English Cemetery	Christian	Bornova	5.650	Con Paterson Vitel	NA	In-Active
31	Kokluca Cemetery	Muslim	Bornova	102.500	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	1920	In-Active
32	Altındağ Kokluca Greek Cemetery	Christian	Bornova	15.000	NA	1925	Active
33	Jewish Cemetery	Jewish	Bornova	6.182	Isak Dano, Yasova Agdatay	NA	In-Active
34	Pınarbaşı Cemetery	Muslim	Bornova	90.387	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	1980	In-Active
35	New Bornova Cemetery	Muslim	Bornova	65.000	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	2006	Active
36	Soğukkuyu Christian Cemetery	Christian	Bayraklı	1.926	Karşıyaka Municipality	NA	Active
37	Soğukkuyu Cemetery	Muslim	Bayraklı	113.000	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	1930	In-Active
38	Dedebaşı Cemetery	Muslim	Karşıyaka	16.000	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	NA	In-Active
39	Doğançay Cemetery	Muslim	Karşıyaka	946.000	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	1995	Active
40	Kayalar Family Cemetery	Muslim	Karşıyaka	850	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	NA	Active
41	Örnekköy Cemetery	Muslim	Karşıyaka	594.000	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	1984	In-Active
42	Balatçık Cemetery	Muslim	Çiğli	4.040	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	NA	In-Active
43	Büyük Çiğli Cemetery	Muslim	Çiğli	15.000	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	1970	In-Active
44	Küçük Çiğli Boşnak Cemetery	Muslim	Çiğli	1.500	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	NA	Active

APPENDIX 9

Cemeteries in 1932 Pervititch map (Derived from Atay, 1998, 138-39)

